

Media Heritage and Memory in the Museum:
Managing Dennis Potter's Legacy in the
Forest of Dean

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Abstract

This research explores the ways in which Dennis Potter (1935-1994) is made inheritable to audiences through a rural Heritage Lottery Funded project. With the sale of the written Potter Archive to the Dean Heritage Centre, Gloucestershire, in 2010, this study explores in great detail the processes enacted to interpret the Potter Archive as cultural (television) heritage. Through a creative and innovative research design which utilises autoethnography, inventive qualitative methods and a level of quantitative analysis, this study examines the ways in which Potter is made intelligible to past television audiences, project members and collaborators, local people, and the casual tourist within the heritage environment.

A unique and irreproducible study, this interdisciplinary research sits as a contribution to an emerging field that is located at the interface between Memory studies and Museum Studies and explores the way various forms of mediation are connected to these fields. Inherently at stake in this research is the valorisation of television *as* heritage, as Potter remains well within living memory. Through proximate and intimate connections to this multifaceted heritage project this work represents one of the first interventions to explore turning television into heritage at a local level drawing together the macro level of cultural policy with the micro level of enacting that policy.

In asking how Dennis Potter's legacy is managed in the Forest of Dean heritage environment, this thesis explores the ways Potter's legacy is mediated, how television heritage is consumed and made meaningful (or struggles for meaning) in the museum space, how a writer's legacy is interpreted by heritage professionals, volunteers, past television audiences and museum visitors, and how television as heritage is consumed online. This thesis makes visible the underlying mechanisms by which the Dennis Potter Archive is (or might yet become) articulated as television heritage, through examining the core managerial, interpretive and memorial processes involved in this high stakes, multi-partner project.

I declare that the work in this thesis was carried out in accordance with the regulations of the University of Gloucestershire and is original except where indicated by specific reference in the text. No part of the thesis has been submitted as part of any other academic award. The thesis has not been presented to any other education institution in the United Kingdom or overseas. Any views expressed in the thesis are those of the author and in no way represent those of the University.

Signed

Date

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Abbreviations

AHD	Authorised Heritage Discourse
CDA	Critical Discourse Analysis
DCMS	Department for Culture, Media and Sport
DHC	Dean Heritage Centre
DPHP	Dennis Potter Heritage Project
GVP	General Value Principle
HLF	Heritage Lottery Fund
ICOMOS	International Council on Monuments and Sites
LAG	Local Action Group
RMC	Rural Media Company
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UoG	University of Gloucestershire

1. Thesis Introduction

1.1 Introduction

Dennis Potter (1935-1994) was born into a working-class family in 1935 in Berry Hill in the Forest of Dean, Gloucestershire. He attended Bells Grammar School in Coleford and (an unusual achievement for the son of a miner) went on to read Philosophy, Politics and Economics at Oxford University. After completing his education, Potter went on to find fame and notoriety as perhaps:

The most instantly well-known and *scrutinised* of all British film and television writers. For more than quarter of a century, millions watched, enjoyed or were outraged by his TV plays and serials. He was celebrated by the ‘serious’ newspapers as a ‘genius,’ whilst excoriated in the British tabloid press, in relation to his sexual themes, as ‘Dirty Den’ and ‘Television’s Mr Filth,’ (Cook, 1995, p.1).

This research explores the ways in which Dennis Potter (the Forest man, the TV auteur, the controversial celebrity) is made inheritable to audiences through a rural, Lottery Funded, heritage project. Potters’ relationship with the Forest of Dean (and indeed, the Forest’s relationship with Potter) is a complex one. His childhood as ‘a clever scholarship boy,’ often meant that while ‘the other children played in the Forest, the clever child would be left to climb trees on his own,’ (Cook, 1995, p.10). This, coupled with his 1960 debut documentary *Between Two Rivers* which was seen to have ‘pronounced upon and patronised the Foresters, adopting a position of superior knowledge as to what they were and worse, what was good for them,’ (Cook, 1995, p.15) began a complicated relationship between Potter and his homeland. John Cook (1995) suggests that ‘almost Potter’s entire writing career can be viewed as an attempt to atone for the damage caused by *Between Two Rivers*, through devotion to the very medium, the “people’s medium” of television, on which he felt he had betrayed his own people,’ (p.17).

With the sale of the written Potter Archive to the Dean Heritage Centre (DHC), Soudley, Gloucestershire, in 2010, and with Potter’s controversial history with the Forest of Dean in mind, this study explores in great detail the processes enacted to interpret the Potter Archive as cultural (television) heritage and examines the ways in which Potter is made intelligible to past television audiences, local people, and the casual tourist within the heritage environment. This interdisciplinary research sits as a contribution to an emerging field that is located at the

interface between Memory studies and Museum Studies (Arnold de Simine, 2013) and explores the way various forms of mediation are connected to these fields.

Inherently at stake in this research is the valorisation of television *as* heritage, as Potter remains well within living memory. Thus, questions about what it is that people remember about Potter, his television work, or his celebrity; or who it is that gets to do that remembering, has already been well documented elsewhere (Garde-Hansen & Grist, 2014). What this thesis does, is to make visible the underlying mechanisms by which the Dennis Potter Archive is (or might yet become) articulated as television heritage, through examining the core processes involved in this high stakes, multi-partner project.

The embedded, lived, placed nature of this study sheds light on the heritage environment ‘from within’, an ‘inside-ness’ wrought by a close personal connection to the rural Forest of Dean community, and a closeness obtained through living and participating on the Dennis Potter Heritage Project (DPHP) for nearly three years. Three years as volunteer, stakeholder, researcher, television watcher and community member fostered the unique conditions under which this study was conducted. This perspective allowed the heritage environment itself to open out to the gaze of the researcher in unprecedented ways. As such, this study asks not only how Potter becomes museum-ised, memorialised, mythologised (Burke, 2011), even, but how the community of the Forest of Dean is able to participate in and make meaning from this process.

1.2 Research Aim and Lacuna

Overall, the aim of this research is to explore the management of Dennis Potter’s legacy in the Forest of Dean heritage environment, through an examination of the affective (Clough, 2007; Thrift, 2008) encounters audiences have with the past within the public, mediated space of the DPHP. By focussing on the way memories are (re)constructed and deployed by heritage producers, and how they are experienced and (re)remembered by audiences, the timeliness of this research is crucial. The DPHP is a venture unique to the Forest of Dean and to the heritage of Dennis Potter which makes this research an inimitable contribution to existing scholarship.

By assuming a broadly cultural studies approach, this research makes use of theory and literature from the fields of media, heritage, and memory studies. These fields are not naturally symbiotic but when utilised for cultural research, and their component concepts chosen carefully, they can complement one another epistemologically in enquiry. This

research strategically employs the concept of ‘affect’ (Clough, 2007; Thrift, 2008) and the cultural turn to the ‘everyday’ (Highmore, 2002) to weave these heterogenic disciplines together.

The distinctive interdisciplinarity of this study, where media meets memory in the heritage environment, invites an examination of the link between affective experiences of personal and public histories and memories (Kuhn, 1992), and of the specific media forms and meaning-making processes that influence such encounters (Koivunen, 2011). Using the Forest of Dean heritage environment and the legacy of Dennis Potter as a case study, this investigation explores the complex relationship between audiences’ affective engagement with Potter’s archive, their memories of his television work, and the heritage producers’ attempts to represent and manage Potter’s history, whilst meeting visitor expectation.

In the creation of the *Memory studies* journal in 2008, and in the content of many books in the field, there is a scholarly fascination with ideas surrounding affect and remembering, which situates this research within two current academic trends – memory and emotion. *Communicative* memory (Assmann, 1992; Halwachs [1954] 1992; Garde-Hansen, 2011); *multidirectional* memory (Rothberg, 2009); *prosthetic* memory (Landsberg, 2004); and *mediated* memory (Van Dijck, 2007; Garde-Hansen, 2011), are all concepts that will be of use in this study. These concepts, when studied in detail, highlight the plural and composite nature of memory (Misztal, 2003) and also highlight the nexus between memory, the media, and affect in a lived/embodied encounter. These ideas will be tested on a heritage-based case study, which makes this research a unique contribution to existing scholarship.

With its focus on the way Dennis Potter’s legacy is managed in the Forest of Dean heritage environment this study examines the myriad issues associated with the managing of a film and television written archive by a non-specialist institution. The research offers a nuanced critique of a complex local heritage project and can thus offer a great deal to the heritage environment of the Forest of Dean in particular. With a focus upon cultural memory, media, heritage and place, it positions issues of ‘being’ and ‘not being’, the liminal, the personal and the spatial as important for the management of television history in a rural heritage environment. Television exists outside and beyond television texts, and television heritage can be found in the memories, archives and industries of a wide range of stakeholders. It is this network of stakeholders that is identified in this thesis with the aim to produce a set of recommendations for good practice. The findings of this study might also be usefully applied

to the wider UK heritage environment in order to strengthen future projects of a similar nature, in which media texts and the textuality of media plays an important role.

1.3 Structure of the Thesis

First, this study will present the design of this research, and then produce the findings of a detailed literature review against which later original analysis can be contextualised. This thesis then moves into the close analysis of key findings. This study has four main analytic chapters which focus on aspects of managing the Dennis Potter Archive and DPHP. First, this study explores the heritage management processes enacted at the Dean Heritage Centre and questions the discourses that proliferated about Potter during the earliest stages of the Project. This section utilises Heritage and Museum Studies perspectives and theories to interrogate the ways in which museum management processes have impacted on the way Potter is represented within the museum space. It asks how the process of interpreting the Potter Archive as a legacy is continued in the public forum of the Potter Exhibition, and explores the interpretative work of the Dean Heritage Centre in order to trouble the perception of the museum visitor as ‘passive receiver’ of museum messages (Hooper-Greenhill, 1994).

The promotion of an active relationship in the heritage environment between producer and consumer, present in seminal work on Heritage Interpretation (Tilden, 1957; Uzzell, 1989a, 1989b), highlights the affective dimension within heritage studies, a dimension overlooked in previous research. Within the *International Journal of Heritage studies* to date, there is no exploration of the representation of one public figure by a sole heritage project from its conception to its completion. Similarly, most research into mediated heritage focuses not on the idea of mediating *a particular* heritage (such as Potter’s) but on the uses of various *media* or *mediums* for education or engagement (Clari, 2010). Thus, the first chapter of this study asks how heritage management processes are experienced by staff, volunteers and visitors in affective, everyday ways. It explores the impact of the lived realities of people’s lives (their cultural capital, taste and habitus – Bourdieu, 1984) on the way the heritage is created and maintained, and critically analyses the way in which the Potter Archive is constructed as a ‘legacy’ and as a ‘homecoming’ at the same time.

The second chapter of this study explores the way Potter’s heritage is interpreted by the Dean Heritage Centre for museum visitors. Through textual analysis of the Exhibition, this chapter explores the number of complex meanings visitors might draw from the vision of Potter’s legacy presented by the Dean Heritage Centre, and the semiotic or discursive frames through

which museums are commonly understood. Concepts of space are employed in this chapter, and the suitability of commonly used Museum Studies methods such as the General Value Principle (GVP) (Bitgood, 2005, 2006) to theorise about visitor movements in the museum, is questioned by applying the method to a small, rural heritage museum.

A note on the term 'rural' is pertinent here. Owain Jones (1995) suggests that the term 'rural' is a social and cultural construct and that 'lay discourses in rural places will be affected by discourses in urban places, the swirling flows of popular culture connecting and cross-fertilising them,' (p.47). Jones' point resonates, as this research explores the effects of the displacement of an archive of popular culture (Potter as TV history) from urban centre (London) to 'rural idyll' (Forest of Dean), and explores an embodiment of this cultural cross-fertilisation in action. How are discourses surrounding the rural 'Potter' and the urban 'Potter' created or transformed at/by the DPHP? Hence, this research takes the 'place' of the Forest of Dean or Gloucestershire as the arena in which heritage is enacted alongside the rural 'spaces' in which heritage is performed: the Dean Heritage Centre, Soudley, Berry Hill where Potter once lived, and the Scowles in Crow's Nest Wood. An age old dichotomy, the distinction (or competition?) between urban and rural is one that is felt in the reaches of the Forest of Dean.

The concept of an 'unmanaged continuation of the past in the present' (Highmore, 2002) will also be explored in the second chapter. Avoiding digress into a psychoanalytic dissection of Potter's predilection to ruminate on the more traumatic elements of his childhood (Delaney, 1995; Cook, 1998; Creeber, 1997; Carpenter, 1999; Gilbert, 1996), this research focusses instead on attempts to actively manage the past (Macdonald, 2006) in the museum environment. This chapter asks how the more controversial elements of Potter's past are strategically 'forgotten' (Connerton, 2008) in the mediated present of the Dennis Potter Exhibition, and examines processes of remembering and forgetting in the wider museum environment.

The third analytical chapter in this thesis extends the focus on the Potter Exhibition through an exploration of comments written in the visitor book in the Potter Exhibition room. This chapter seeks to valorise the use of the visitor book as a key research resource for those studies which seek to understand audience reception of exhibitions and museums, and as a critical resource in which processes of memory and remembering can be located. How far

might the visitor book represent a space for remembering connections to past television, both real and imagined, and a place for landscapes and geographies of memory to be articulated?

Throughout, taste, value and cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1984) are critical concepts which will allow the complex relationships between community members, Project partners and the heritage itself to be explored in more detail. As Pierre Bourdieu argued in *Distinction* (1984):

Hidden behind the statistical relationships between educational capital or social origin and this or that type of knowledge or way of applying it, there are relationships between groups maintaining different, and even antagonistic, relations to culture, depending on the conditions in which they acquired their cultural capital and the markets in which they can derive most profit from it ([1984] 2013, p.4).

This study explores the relationships people have to past television (to popular culture as a form of constructed heritage) and highlights differences in cultural capital, taste and habitus as ways to explain issues surrounding the management of Potter's legacy through the DPHP, and visitor/audience responses to the heritage on site and online.

New and digital media have emerged as part of a material and narrative cultural transformation, a transformation marked by questions of 'access,' 'authenticity,' and 'truth' (Clari, 2012). Such questions are mirrored in the heritage environment, and so the final analytical chapter of this study examines the online presence of Dennis Potter and the DPHP. How is Potter consumed as virtual heritage, and how far does the museum control or affect the manufacture of Potter as heritage online?

In recognising the increasing role of new media in the 'doing' of memory work, this study explores the 'Digital Storytelling' project which emerged from the wider DPHP. Chapter 9 analyses the digital stories of local fans, extras and local people with a connection to Potter that were created for the Potter Audio trail at the museum, and to be uploaded to aca-fan site 'Potter Matters.' It asks how far participatory media projects like this strand of the DPHP offer horizontal access to below the line memories, and questions the ways digital storytelling might foreground those below the line memories which are commonly unheard in favour of the memories of above the line producers, writers and actors. With its focus on collective memory and the material culture of the past, chapter 9 asks how far digital storytelling projects might foster affective community engagement based on remembering past television.

As this study will demonstrate, the UK heritage environment is complex and multifocal, and management processes are spatially, geographically, financially and contextually contingent. Laura-Jane Smith's (2006) argument that different types and representations of heritage elicit different levels of identification from audiences, links to the argument that heritage is a two-fold process: it is a social and cultural process, at once about conservation and preservation of spaces, places and objects; and it also acts as a provider of meaning and experience to social groups. In other words, heritage is a multilayered performance (Smith, 2006, p.3). This study sees the DPHP as a multilayered performance: it has conserved (and now preserves) the Dennis Potter Archive; and now seeks to manage Potter's legacy and invest it with meaning, to produce a meaningful cultural experience for those interested social groups. It is precisely along the axis where (television) heritage meets memory in the museum environment that the means of producing a meaningful cultural experience of the Potter Archive can be located, and these are the processes which the following study explores in detail.

2. Research Design

2.1 Introduction

The design of this research was co-crafted by fortune and circumstance and by methodological necessity. By adopting a broadly Cultural Studies approach to this research, I was able to employ several interpretive, qualitative research methods to explore the management of Dennis Potter's legacy in the Forest of Dean heritage environment, whilst simultaneously carrying out more quantitative methods. In heritage/museum based research the research methods adopted are usually more quantitative in nature; aimed at gathering information about footfall, financial turn over and impact, though qualitative and quantitative methods are increasingly combined. As Marjan Melkert and Katleen Vos (2010) suggest of cultural tourism:

The multidisciplinary approach in tourism research is gradually evolving into an interdisciplinary approach, in which the perspectives of various disciplines are combined and synthesised, (p.37).

This research works across several disciplines: Media Studies, Memory studies, Heritage/Museum studies, and is therefore informed by a variety of research methods which are not normally synthesised in quite the way that this study employs. The methods adopted were chosen in order to valorise two key elements of heritage that are often missed by solely quantitative, large-scale research methods. Firstly, that heritage is personally and individually felt by those proximate to it, on a daily basis, in a lived way and through lay knowledge. Secondly, that heritage is socially experienced by groups, interacting and participating with one another. In this chapter, I will therefore document the innovative research design and explain the rationale.

2.2 'Occupying the Borderland': Good-timing and 'finding' autoethnography

I conducted this complex and multifocal research on the DPHP from a perspective afforded to me, in part, by the virtue of good-timing. I was aware of the DPHP before this research began because I live in the Forest of Dean where media interest in the Potter Archive 'coming home' had already begun to mount. I officially started this research whilst the Dean Heritage Centre drew up plans for the Potter Exhibition room, when the Centre had just taken possession of the Potter Archive, and whilst community media projects funded by the DPHP were still taking place. Therefore, being in situ and my proximity to the heritage meant I had

unprecedented access to observe heritage management processes and memory work as it was engaged in over a period of time; proximity and access therefore became critical to the methodological choices I made, and structured the whole enterprise of the research.

Gary Fine and James Deegan (1996) suggest that serendipity is an identifiable component of 'good' qualitative research. Understood 'as the unique and contingent mix of insight coupled with chance,' this research has been serendipitous from the outset. Fine and Deegan (1996) state:

The direction of a course of analysis and the research questions asked can be influenced by the alliances a researcher makes in the early stages of a project. It is not sufficient that one makes contact (good fortune), but one must also be able to capitalize on this contact (serendipity).

The proximity to the DPHP, the intimacy I have with the Forest of Dean as a resident, and my position as a member of the cultural group that the DPHP wants to engage with, meant that the timeliness of this study could not simply be an interesting aside; it also facilitated the particular methodological approach I adopted toward this study. That approach had to take into account the practical and everyday gifts of time that I donated to the heritage itself. During the course of the research I supported the DPHP as a researcher by providing academic assistance and advice. I worked on the Project as a volunteer in many capacities: cataloguing the Potter Archive (see Appendix 8), carrying out interviews for an 'audio trail', speaking to the local press, filming a tour of Potter's Forest of Dean, and many other tasks. As Margaret Graham (2004) suggests, the financial survival of not-for-profit heritage centres and museums often relies on the gift economies present between heritage producer and consumer. Of rural heritage environments (such as the DPHP) especially, Graham writes, 'some of the most isolated independent heritage organisations would not survive without the support of volunteers' (p.23) and the gifts of time they provide. By positioning myself as a researcher that has bought into the gift economy of the heritage environment of the Forest of Dean, I was afforded a unique perspective from which to gather data.

While engaged in gathering lay knowledge about Potter through every day work at the site of the heritage, I continuously ensured the methods I used were applicable to the purposes to which they were being put. As Celia Lury and Nina Wakeford (2012) suggest 'it is not

possible to apply a method as if it were indifferent or external to the problem it seeks to address, but that method must be made specific and relevant to the problem,' (p.2). For example, the research employs autoethnography as the basis of a complex methodology that sees autoethnography as both product and process (Grist, 2013). Ruth Behar suggested the emergence of autoethnography was as a result of scholarly efforts to 'map an intermediate space we can't quite define yet, a borderland between passion and intellect, analysis and subjectivity, ethnography and autobiography, art and life,' (1996, p.174). With its varied usage, autoethnography has no one strict definition. It is a debated methodology, and when one considers the 'postmodern notion that a unified, grand narrative for knowing the world does not exist,' (Lyotard, 1984, p.4) many scholars find that 'autoethnography is not for everyone,' (Keefer 2010, p.208). As a critical method, autoethnography can be readily adapted to best suit varied research purposes and to make it more specific and relevant to the problem under examination.

This research adopts an innovative approach to autoethnography namely because I have employed several other research methods alongside it, and because I understand autoethnography differently as a result. By carrying out interviews in a creative way (see below), by utilising textual and production analyses, by conducting lengthy periods of participant observations as a volunteer rather than as a researcher, and by choosing to include extracts from my Research Diary in this thesis, the methodological approach to this research was complex. Lury and Wakeford (2012) suggest the turn to more 'inventive methods' for social and cultural research was heralded by 'changing conceptions of the empirical, an intensification of interest in interdisciplinary work, and the growing need to communicate with diverse users and audiences,' (p.i). The observational data gathered for this research was often received in and documented in anecdotal form, and therefore 'anecdote' (Michael, 2012) is important in conceptualising a narrative constructed 'for the telling' (p.25) as an innovative research method. Mike Michael (2012) writes:

Anecdotes, insofar as they refer to incidents that have befallen their author, can be a means to writing self into the narrative in order to problematize the authorial voice [...] Put yet another way, anecdotes can come to mark events of the transition of, and invention in, the research process in which the researcher 'becomes,' (p.28).

2.3 Proximity and Intimacy: Researcher Roles

I quickly realised that the proximity and intimacy I shared with the Project (and thus the anecdotal nature of my personal or intimate experiences at the DPHP) could not be ignored, and that looking for ‘distance’ might damage this research. It was only when I realised that my many (and sometimes competing) roles at the DPHP could be mined in different ways for data that autoethnography emerged as a methodology. The methods employed for this research therefore sought to reveal what is ‘personal’ about producing and consuming heritage. An early entry in my research diary recalls this realisation:

3rd May 2012:

[...] This is an ethnographic approach, I suppose, because I’m doing participant observation [and volunteering]. People keep asking me what I think of Potter. Do I like him? Do I like his work? How do I feel about the Archive coming back to the Forest of Dean? I live in the Forest and I studied him at school... I am interested in how people feel about it all, and I suppose my feelings on it will come into it all somewhere... I feel like I’ve got so many different hats to wear, I need to find one to settle on... Is it autoethnographic then if I include my own thoughts in my research?

I was only a few months into my study when I wrote this entry but I had already realised that my complex identity as PhD researcher, volunteer and Forest resident had both complicated and enriched my research, and therefore sought to create a definition of autoethnography that would work well for this type of project. I worked with an understanding of autoethnography that was an amalgamation of Haewong Chang (2008), Carolyn Ellis and Arthur Bochner (2000), Deborah Reed-Danahay (1997) and Leon Anderson’s (2006) theoretical work.

Chang states that ‘autoethnography is ethnographical and autobiographical at the same time,’ (2008, p.2). Ellis and Bochner suggest autoethnography is best understood as ‘an autobiographical genre of writing and research that displays multiple layers of consciousness, connecting the personal to the cultural,’ (2000, p.739). Reed-Danahay defines autoethnography as ‘an ethnography of one’s own group,’ or a genre of ‘autobiographical writing that has ethnographic interest,’ (1997, p.2). By combining these definitions, I understand autoethnography as an ethnographic methodology (which allowed me to carry out congruent methods such as participant observations and detailed interviews) which offers the researcher a critically self-reflexive voice and a more visible role in the finished text. In this way I made a conscious decision to write this research up in the first-person.

As it works across multiple discourses autoethnography therefore remains diverse in approach. From ‘evocative’ autoethnography (Ellis & Bochner, 2000; Hayano, 1979), to

‘analytic autoethnography,’ (Anderson, 2006) it has been used by ‘soft’ and ‘firm’ qualitative researchers alike (see Gherardi & Turner, 1987). Leon Anderson suggests ‘analytic’ autoethnography which sits within the ‘analytic ethnographic paradigm,’ rescued from the ‘personal’ and the ‘evocative’ (2006, p.374), and works to create theoretical understandings. He defined his revised methodology as:

Ethnographic work in which the researcher is (1) a full member in the research group or setting, (2) visible as such a member in the researcher’s published texts, and (3) committed to an analytic research agenda focused on improving theoretical understandings of broader social phenomena, (2006, p.374).

This study uses Anderson’s principles of analytical autoethnography. I am a full member in the research setting, and am visible as such in this thesis. This research strives to improve our understanding of the intersections between memory and the media within the heritage environment, and to explore broader social phenomena associated with the cultural world of the Forest of Dean.

Reed-Danahay states that ‘autoethnography is more authentic than straight ethnography and that the voice of the insider can be assumed to be more true than that of the outsider,’ (1997, p.3). This provides a clear rationale for adopting autoethnography as a ‘way in’ to understanding the complex web of associations, meaning making practices and institutional relationships present at the DPHP, and suggests that an approach which utilises the voice of the researcher will lend a sense of authenticity to this finished research. Reed-Danahay’s statement also raises questions about the role of ‘insiders’ and ‘outsiders’ in autoethnographic research¹. This study will therefore use autoethnography as a way in to explore how far a heritage project assists in the creation of a collective memory (Halbwachs [1925] 1992) about what it is to ‘be’ from a place or region and to become oneself in relation to that place.

As both a ‘memory institution’ and a heritage attraction, the DPHP will reach more than just the immediate community of the Forest of Dean. Moving away from popular ways of thinking about ‘being’ and ‘not being’ from a place in terms of ‘insiders’ and ‘outsiders,’ this research sees memory, identity and landscape as inseparable parts of a whole environment.

¹ In the Forest of Dean, it is still held that a ‘true’ Forester must be born within the ‘Hundred of St. Briavels,’ an administrative structure for the Forest of Dean created in the eleventh century (Currie, 1996). I moved to the Forest when I was ten-years-old and yet I find myself within a cohort which will never be a ‘true’ insider, as the number of home births rapidly diminishes.

At the 2008 Assembly of The International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS) Ken Taylor (2008) argued that:

Landscape and memory are inseparable because landscape is the nerve centre of our personal and collective memories. [...] Expressions of everyday heritage link comfortably with current international notions of the significance of cultural landscapes and ideas of the ordinarily sacred, (p.4).

Symmetry can be drawn between myself as researcher and Potter as my object of study which adds weight to my choice of autoethnography for this research². Researcher, volunteer, contributor, Forester (albeit with non-traditional roots), neither a Potter fan nor a Potter hater (I was not the target audience for Potter's productions, nor part of the generation who remembers them being broadcast); media consumer, insider, outsider: my myriad identities meant I occupied a unique position in and towards the DPHP. What then do I expect to contribute in terms of 'memory' if I do not share collective memories of being a Forester and consuming Potter? The concept of liminality is important to this research in terms of researcher positionality and the broader environment in which it takes place. As Hazel Andrews and Les Roberts (2012) suggest the liminal 'connotes the spatial: a boundary, border, a transitional *landscape*,' as well as relating to a personal sense of being 'betwixt and between' established or conventional positions (Turner 1969, p.95).

The virtue of being 'betwixt and between' meant that I was able to explore the working practices of the project and the cultural identities and social exchanges between workers. Thus, the use of autoethnography meant that a by-product of this research was an exploration of the personal-professional dialectic. An autoethnographic mixed methods approach to research is as much about critically reflecting upon *how* the method produces data as much as the data it actually produces, and as Stephen Pace (2012, p.13) suggests such an approach 'harmonises well with current arguments about the need for flexible, intuitive, [...] practice-led approaches to research.'

2.4 Participant Observations & Mapping Visitor Routes

This approach was inspired by John Thornton Caldwell's (2008) pioneering work on American production cultures. Caldwell et al. (2009) argued that no longer restricted to 'sites

² Potter himself admitted to struggling with the strong sense of 'place' in the Forest of Dean upon his return from University – something I experienced myself when I finished my first degree at the University of Nottingham.

of deviance and difference' scholars have sought out more everyday spaces 'where people actively make meanings through their consumption habits, active bodies and ritual activities' (p.3). Such an approach lends itself well to Memory studies, when Halbwachs argues that rituals fill and feed the 'apparent void between periods of effervescence and ordinary life,' (Cosser, 1992, p.25). By conducting ethnomethodologies we are now able to recognise 'the ways people generate stories in the contexts of their lived realities,' (Caldwell, 2009, p.3). I applied these tools to the heritage environment of the Forest of Dean, and conducted participant observation on other volunteers, members of staff and visitors to the Dean Heritage Centre. I therefore sought to research the active and ongoing meaning making processes associated with the management of a heritage project, processes that I was myself engaged in. These processes included observing spontaneous affective responses to the DPHP in all its contexts – displayed by visitors, staff, volunteers and myself, to the Potter Exhibition, in interviews, at the Potter Celebration Event and so on.

Caldwell's (2008) exploration of the 'cultural geography of production spaces' (which in this study I extend to the production spaces of mediated heritage) suggests that field and participant observations 'provide a much surer sense of the social logic of production space and trade rituals,' (p.104). I observed decision making processes as they were engaged in by the DPHP partners, and detailed the triumphs and tribulations along the way. I collected, collated and observed mediated responses to the work of the DPHP as they arose. It was therefore precisely the proximity I had to my object of study that enabled this type of research: I was researching a process that I was a part of. I spent almost two-years conducting participant observations in various capacities and in different locations, and amassed a great deal of qualitative data.

Combining participant observation with qualitative interviewing is by no means a new or innovative approach in the humanities and social sciences though its application in Media Studies is more infrequent, as securing access for prolonged periods of observation is unusual (see, however, Gans 1979). Therefore, as Caldwell (2008) said of his methodological combination of textual analyses, interviews, and ethnographic field observations, my approach is similarly 'synthetic' (p.4) in order to present the fullest picture of the phenomena under observation possible.

In the autumn of 2013 I carried out a series of participant observations on visitors to the Dean Heritage Centre as they experienced the Potter Exhibition room. Ten participants were

recruited as they paid entry to the Centre and offered the chance to participate. I observed the 'path' these visitors took around the exhibition; noting time spent in each 'zone' and detailed any conversations they had with fellow visitors. This mapping exercise was inspired by work done by researchers at the National Museum Wales exhibition *Origins: In Search of Early Wales*³ who sought to investigate how the exhibition was experienced by visitors. Melanie Youngs, Steve Burrow and Philippa Diment (2008) developed a tracking methodology with which to explore which areas of the exhibition were most attractive to visitors, which exhibits were least popular, and how the exhibition could be improved in the future. Operating in a large exhibition (roughly four times the size of the Potter Exhibition at the Dean Heritage Centre) and with a large volume of visitors, these researchers had a team of eighteen who observed 148 visitors during a three month period. They later employed Geographical Mapping Software to make visible the paths visitors took around the exhibition and to analyse the vast amount of data they amassed. Due to time and budget restraints, this research was unable to employ sophisticated software to analyse findings and to display patterns of movement. Instead, observations were carried out by myself, were 'drawn up' using standardised computer software, and analysed using Alessandro Bollo and Luca Dal Pozzolo's (2005) 'Attraction and Holding Power' indices, and Stephen Bitgood's (2005) 'General Value Principle'.

In order to explore the visitor experience in as full a way as possible, after I had observed the routes visitors took around the Exhibition, I then employed a brief questionnaire (see Appendix 7) with which to gather general feedback on their experiences of the exhibition. Maria Economou (2004) used a similar combination of methods in her study of visitors to a Scottish museum. Economou utilised participant observation to explore the experiences of groups made up of people of different ages (families and/or individuals) and asked the younger visitors to draw a picture of their experience, whilst the older members created mind-maps and concept diagrams (2004, p.37). Economou suggests that employing a variety of creative, 'flexible', and 'wide-ranging' methodologies such as interviews, questionnaires and observations can yield detailed results (2004, p.38).

³ Please see www.museum-id.com/idea-detail.asp?id=18 for more information on the Exhibition and the evaluation project.

2.5 Netnography (Kozinets, 2010)

Another creative research method was employed to analyse the presence of Potter and the DPHP in the online heritage environment and on social media sites. Robert Kozinets (2010) coined the methodology 'netnography' as a way into understanding the social activities and encounters of individuals as they are found on the Internet (p.1). Netnography 'the ethnography of online groups, studies complex cultural practices in action, drawing our attention to a multitude of grounded and abstract ideas, meanings, social practices, relationships, languages and social systems,' (Kozinets, 2010, p.25). Kozinets (2010) argues that social scientists are no longer able to 'adequately understand many of the most important facets of social and cultural life without incorporating the Internet and computer-mediated communications into their studies,' (p.3). This was a trial I faced when planning this study. Heritage attractions are often heavily marketed online through institutional webpages, are constantly reviewed through social media by heritage consumers, and social media is in turn moderated by heritage providers. As Kozinets (2010) puts it, online social life and the social worlds of 'real life' have 'blended into one world,' (p.3) and it was the task of this research to understand that world as it pertained to the Dennis Potter Heritage Project in the fullest way possible.

In asking how Dennis Potter's legacy is made meaningful for individuals and for communities, this research had to take into account computer-mediated or online groups, especially groups of people who come together through their shared interest in television. Kozinets (2010) states that online communities can be defined as groups of 'people who share social interaction, social ties, and a common interactional format, location or "space" albeit, in this case, a [...] virtual "cyberspace,"' (p.8). I examined the Dean Heritage Centre's website at regular intervals throughout the period of study, and captured 'screen shots' of pertinent information. I joined Twitter in order to 'follow' the museum online, and kept watch on the Centre's Facebook page. Google Alerts were set up which allowed me to collate other webpages which mentioned Dennis Potter, the Dennis Potter Heritage Project or this research. Of particular interest were sites set up by aca-fans (Jenkins, 1992), and friends, family and colleagues sent links to 'pages of interest' which were mined for data of use to this study.

2.6 Questionnaires

Traditional research methods used in Media Studies have employed large scale surveys (see Gerbner et al. 1986; Hasebrink & Domeyer 2012) and questionnaires. Questionnaires have

also been used in Museum Studies, or more specifically, Visitor Studies (Weil, 2000), in order to gather information on visitor enjoyment and engagement, and thus the likelihood of re-visiting the institution. Chieh-Wen Sheng and Ming-Chia Chen (2012) designed a questionnaire as a specific tool with which to study the expectations of the museum visitor. Their study employed factor analysis to discern the categories required for their Likert scale model questionnaire, and conducted a large-scale survey of appropriate museums (2012, p.56). Sheng and Chen also required participants to keep a qualitative journal documenting their museum experience from which to extrapolate the ‘meaning’ behind each visit or importantly the meaning derived from it (p.57).

Questionnaires can therefore provide a useful tool in the study of the museum visitor. I employed a number of different questionnaires for this research and targeted different audiences (including the museum visitor). Unlike Sheng and Chen (2012) my ambition was not to create a questionnaire as a tool with which to measure visitor expectations. Though measuring ‘expectation versus reality’ eventually emerged through interviews with key personnel involved in the management of the DPHP (which I will address in more detail in a later chapter) the aim of my questionnaires were to sample more detailed responses on a variety of topics. I used open-ended, qualitative questionnaires with respondents who were invited to write down their thoughts and feelings rather than pinpoint their responses on a Likert scale. This choice enabled the collection of more empirical, interpretivist data which was based loosely on my research questions.

I sent out ‘Pre-Launch Questionnaires’ (see Appendix 6) to key members of staff at the Dean Heritage Centre, timed to gather responses about the DPHP before its official launch. The issue of timing was critical throughout, as Project milestones were reached (or put forward) I needed to document the (changing) approaches to the management of Potter’s legacy. At the launch, I offered members of the ‘Potter Talks’ audience questionnaires to complete. Moreover, a similar style of qualitative, open-ended questionnaire was left in a pile at the Exhibition Room at the Dean Heritage Centre for a number of weeks: an uncomplicated alternative to physically handing out intercept questionnaires. This method was time and cost-effective, and enhanced my relationship with the DHC staff, who welcomed the exploration of visitor responses to the wider museum and exhibition. Without the pressure of myself as a researcher ‘hovering’ and waiting to collect their responses, I found these questionnaires yielded rich data.

2.7 Obtaining Interviews

This research makes use of nine detailed interviews which were obtained in a number of different ways. The way that I obtained interview data can be seen as a part of the broader creative approach, made necessary by the complex and multifocal nature of the DPHP itself. As Valerie J. Janesick (2001) suggests, ‘the qualitative researcher may benefit from exercising creativity by being awake to the intuitive inclinations ever present in fieldwork,’ (p.533). By intuitively adapting to the situations and contexts I found myself in, I was able to collate a series of interviews which were obtained in innovative and creative ways.

The first set of interviews came from the ‘Digital Storytelling Project,’ a sub-project of the DPHP organised by Project Partners from the University of Gloucestershire. The ‘Digital Storytelling’ interviews had several purposes: to be uploaded to Potter fan site ‘Potter Matters’, to be used in the Dean Heritage Centre, and later became data for this study. By adopting a creative approach and by obtaining permission to use these interviews in my research, I was able to ‘sew-in’ useful excerpts from this mediated product of the DPHP to the larger body of my research. This approach to obtaining interviews sits well with the ontological and epistemological foundations of this research, and supports the use of memories that ‘creep in sideways,’ (Samuel, 1994, p.5) voices and memories that come from above, and from below.

These interviews were conducted with fans of Potter’s work, extras that had been involved in the production of his television work, and members of the community who remembered Potter on a personal level. Many of these interviews were conducted ‘in place’ at the Dean Heritage Centre and often sitting within the reconstructed 1950s sitting room and Potter exhibition. The importance of space and place to the management of Dennis Potter’s legacy is an issue that I will explore in much more detail in a later chapter. I quickly realised that choosing an appropriate interview setting directly affected participants responses in myriad ways. As Sarah Elwood and Deborah Martin (2000) suggest:

The interview site itself produces ‘micro-geographies’ of spatial relations and meaning, where multiple scales of social relations intersect in the research interview. [...] These micro-geographies can offer new insights with respect to research questions, help researchers understand and interpret interview materials, and highlight ethical considerations in the research process (pp.649-50).

Conducting these interviews within the DHC itself seemed to yield more detailed responses from participants – their memories and recollections seemed furnished with extra detail and more enthusiastically narrated. Serendipity intervened in the research process once again, as it was sheer luck that the Dean Heritage Centre seemed to be the most easily accessible place for participants to reach when I conducted my own interviews. In this way I was able to make use of ‘being in place’ when carrying out solo-interviews later in the research process.

Finally, I located and interviewed specific individuals who worked on the DPHP, individuals who represented the DHC, the Rural Media Company (RMC), and the University of Gloucestershire (UoG). By interviewing key members of each organisation (such as managers and bid-supporters) I hoped to explore affective motivations for taking part in the DPHP, and to isolate individual narratives which focussed on the memories of past television, of Potter, and narratives about the mechanisms of managing heritage. Each interview lasted between 30 – 90 minutes.

2.7.1 Self-Disclosure: Interview Techniques

The focus on valorising the everyday meanings of cultural heritage (Highmore, 2006) and on highlighting affective connections to past television as exhibitable heritage necessitated the unique style of interviews I carried out *with* my participants. At various times with different participants, I was asking them to explain what heritage *meant* to them, what being from the Forest of Dean (or not) *meant* to them, how Potter (the man/the work/the legacy) made them *feel*, and asking them to divulge personal recollections on partnership working, and life in the heritage sector. To explore these issues fully, I realised my participants wanted to know more about me and why I had chosen to do the work I was doing. How could I expect them to tell me what they felt about their lives, if I didn’t tell them how I felt?

The issue of self-disclosure in qualitative research is an on-going debate, though these narratives on self-disclosure are most usually directed toward the issue on the part of *participants* rather than of researcher (Abell et al, 2006, p.222). Caldwell (2008) for example, explores the ‘self-disclosure’ of media workers in his study of the American film industry (pp.339-343), a self-disclosure that is (un)managed by professional boundaries and which results in a kind of ‘industrial bi-polar disorder’ (p.339). Local participants in this study performed a different kind of self-disclosure, which will be explored in more detail in a later chapter, but at this stage it is worth noting that this type of self-disclosure is less framed by professional boundaries and more about wanting to assist myself as researcher in the

production of locally meaningful knowledge. As this research has at its core an autoethnographic approach, and is a non-traditional autoethnography that is inherently local in nature, it therefore seemed natural to explore my own understandings of the topics at hand *with* my fellow participants. Moreover, this methodological choice was in some sense a response to concerns I had about the balance of power within the interview setting (Kvale, 1996, p.126). By revealing more about myself I answered these demands from my participants and thus redressed the power-balance our relationship.

This generally unstructured style of interviewing did, however, present me with some difficulties. Tom Wengraf (2001) suggested that qualitative interviewers working in this way must pay ‘double attention,’ to understand the responses given by the participant whilst ensuring the ‘level of depth and detail’ needed for the research project (p.194). By adding the concept of ‘double attention’ to the multiple capacities I was already working in (researcher, volunteer, resident) I found myself working hard to ensure the interview did yield useful data, whilst carefully treading the line between researcher-participant and interviewer.

2.8 Using ‘Visitor Books’ as a Research Resource

In keeping with museological practice, the Dean Heritage Centre has visitor books located around the Centre. Historians have provided useful insight into the contextually and culturally contingent nature of visitor expression through visitor books (Reid, 2000, 2005; Katriel, 1995). Despite being a common museological practice, visitor books are, however, rarely used as a research resource within Visitor or Museum Studies. Sharon MacDonald (2005) argues that ‘an exhibition’s visitor book should, perhaps, be seen as an integral part of that exhibition – an interactive exhibit in which many visitors participate (either by writing or reading) - and, therefore, included in any exhibition analysis,’ (p.120).

Perhaps as a response to the ‘turn toward the audience’ currently underway in the modern museum environment, or perhaps as an evaluation measure for reporting to funders, the Dean Heritage Centre decided to place a visitor book within the Potter exhibition space itself. By seeing the visitor book as an ‘interactive exhibit’ which invites both active and passive participation of visitors this research used the Potter Exhibition visitor book as a rich source of data. By photographing the (useful) pages of the book over a year-long period, I amassed a large number of images that could be coded and mined for data. I bracket the word ‘useful’ knowingly, as I made a conscious decision to exclude pages of children’s scribbles or entries that did not directly relate to the Exhibition or the Potter Project. I did, however, retain a few

select images of these occurrences in order to facilitate a brief discussion of this phenomenon in a later chapter.

2.9 Data Analysis Technique

This research amassed a great deal of qualitative data: interview transcripts, fieldwork notebooks, photographs, and a Research Diary made up the bulk of the data set. Intercept and management questionnaires were also utilised, which resulted in a level of quantitative or statistical data to analyse. Employing multiple methods in this way and working within a multi-media heritage environment meant Uwe Hasebrink and Hanna Domeyer's (2012) concept of media repertoires became useful. A media repertoire is conceptualised as the 'entirety of media' a person regularly uses (p.758). Such a framework creates the opportunity to explore 'cross-media environments' such as the one under exploration here, and to consolidate multiple research methods.

By conducting a detailed literature review for this research in line with each of my research questions, a bank of concepts emerged with which to begin to explore these different types of data. First, I examined the transcripts of interviews and the qualitative aspects of the different questionnaires used and manually coded interesting concepts present in the data using different colours. These codes were then arranged into thematically related groups. In the border of the interview transcript, notes were made to pinpoint the early interpretation of the data. This process was based loosely on Barney Glaser and Anselm Strauss' (1967) constant comparison model. Nancy Leech and Anthony Onwuegbuzie (2007; 2008) suggest that constant comparison can be fruitfully employed to analyse different types of data, including focus group transcripts and semi structured interview transcripts. This method of data analysis was therefore employed across several different formats including interview transcripts, and even used to analyse annotated photographs of visitor books. Once the first round of coding was complete, the findings were constantly compared and contrasted between later transcripts and photographs. This enabled consistency, and ensured that a full picture of the data was being obtained: the stories that emerged from the data were more or less supported across each transcript or format.

Due to this multiple methods approach used in this research, and though I experimented with CAQDAS, the decision was made to reject the use of software such as Nvivo to complete data analysis. I realised that Nvivo tended to miss certain themes or codes that I had already preliminarily identified, and was not suitable for mixed data sets. I felt more comfortable

analysing transcripts and quantitative data sets by hand, using a colour coding system with a word-processor based ‘bank’ for reference. Udo Kelle & Heather Laurie (1995) argue that CAQDAS might be more useful for the analysis of larger data sets. As this study is relatively small in scale Kelle’s (1995) suggestion that ‘the central analytical task in qualitative research—understanding the meaning of texts—cannot be computerized,’ (p.3) supports my choices.

Chris Barker and Dariusz Galasinski (2001) suggest that:

The products of ethnography are always texts. This assertion leads to the examination of ethnographic texts for their rhetorical devices, along with a more dialogical approach to research so that ethnography becomes less an expedition in search of ‘the facts’ and more a conversation between participants in an investigative process, (p.9).

With this in mind, this study made use of the tenets of critical discourse analysis (CDA) as proposed by Norman Fairclough and Ruth Wodak (1997). CDA approaches the socio-political and socio-historic contexts in which texts are produced and interpreted: critical to understanding the function and reception of the museum. The methodological utility of CDA to heritage studies has been explored by Emma Waterton et al. (2006) who suggest that CDA has a number of useful applications. Waterton et al. suggest CDA facilitates a dialogue between stakeholders and takes into account the power relations that underlie dominant heritage discourses (p.340) (see literature review chapter on the Authorised Heritage Discourse). By approaching heritage texts that emerged from the DPHP through the methodology of CDA, this study explores ‘how a particular discourse acts to constitute and mould the various representations of heritage,’ (p.340) within the Forest of Dean heritage environment specifically. CDA is an ‘analysis of discourse as a form of social practice,’ it is multi-layered (p.343) and highlights the importance of ‘intertextuality’ (p.344).

When used to interrogate heritage texts, this methodology connects well with the memory-based agenda of this research, which focuses on the multidirectionality of memory (Rothberg, 2009), the formation of cultural, collective and prosthetic memories (Assmann, 1995; Halbwachs, [1925] 1992; Landsberg 2004), and the mediated and spatially located nature of memory (van Dijck, 2007; Nora, 1989) at the Dennis Potter Heritage Project. Building on this idea of multimodality, the following chapter examines and reviews in detail the literature from a range of fields with which to contextualise the arguments made later in this study.

3. Literature Review (Part 1): Heritage Theory

3.1 Introduction to Literature Review

Inherent in the Dennis Potter Heritage Project (DPHP) is the bringing together of television and the museum. Through museologising past television, the DPHP has the potential to transform the popular medium into a form of heritage (the process and success of which will be explored in more detail below). In so doing, however, the DPHP also redraws the boundaries between low and high culture, and brings into question issues surrounding remembering and forgetting, heritage policy, and definitions of heritage. This literature review is therefore divided into three parts. The first part explores the interdisciplinary field of heritage studies and focuses on issues of definition, the importance of space and place, the commoditisation of heritage and questions of cultural value. The second section of this literature review moves toward ‘theories of practice’ and explores issues around collecting, interpreting and remembering in the museum environment. The third section examines literature from the complex field of Memory studies in order to posit theories of social remembering that are pertinent to an investigation of processes of remembering and forgetting in the museum.

Throughout both sections, this literature review aims to highlight the suitability of using the underused concept of affect (Clough, 2007; Thrift, 2008) to study heritage encounters as this research uses the concept as a ‘way in’ to understanding heritage management processes and memory-work as they are engaged in and enacted at the DPHP .

At stake will be the extent to which the literature on heritage and the museum connects and/or disconnects with the literature on (social, cultural) memory and remembering. How does the Dean Heritage Centre articulate social and cultural memory as ‘popular’ and ‘shared’ through the frame of remembering past television? If museums or heritage centres are (becoming) ‘places of memory,’ (Nora, 1984; Arnold de Semine, 2013) and if we are currently riding the ‘wave of nostalgia,’ (Denholm, 2010) or in the midst of a nostalgia ‘epidemic’ (Goulding, 2001) how do the complex agendas of heritage providers intersect with different modes of remembering television at sites of heritage?

Literature Review (Part 1)

3.2 Introduction

This thesis asks a number of questions about the relationship between the museum/heritage environment and processes of remembering and forgetting and fandom. What is at stake in the relationship between region and nation when the cultural heritage of media history is involved? What makes heritage valuable, who makes heritage valuable and for whom? This study explores the role of unofficial knowledge in the heritage environment and asks questions about the intersections between unofficial collections, processes of fandom and authorised heritage discourses (Smith, 2006). What processes of remembering and forgetting are manufactured, enacted and mined by the museum, and what is the impact of nostalgia on museum audiences? I will begin by offering a working definition of heritage as a basis from which to conduct the complex and multifaceted research that takes place further below.

3.3 Defining Heritage

Benjamin Porter and Noel Salazar suggest the products of heritage – development, tourism, and management – are far easier to define than the concept itself (2005, p.362). Defining ‘heritage’ is therefore a difficult task. It is worth offering some institutional definitions of heritage that bisect the local, national and international levels, which will also aid the exploration of space, place and heritage below. At an international level, UNESCO (United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation) define heritage as:

The legacy of physical artefacts and intangible attributes of a group or society that are inherited from past generations, maintained in the present, and bestowed for the benefit of future generations (UNESCO, 2014).

At a national level, English Heritage suggests that heritage can be seen as:

All that has been passed to us by previous generations. It is all around us. It is in the houses we live in, our places of work, the transport we use, our places of worship, our parks and gardens, the places we go to for our sport and social life, in the ground beneath our feet, in the shape of our landscape and in the placing and arrangement of our fields, villages, towns and cities. Heritage is also found in our moveable possessions, from our national treasures in our museums, to our own family heirlooms, and in the intangible such as our history, traditions, legends and language. (English Heritage, 2014).

Surprisingly, the Heritage Lottery Fund, do not directly define heritage, though the concept of preserving ‘natural heritage and the heritage of cultural traditions and language,’ features highly within their Strategic Framework for 2011- 2018. To the HLF, heritage might also be defined as ‘the many different things from the past that people value and want to pass on to future generations.’ The wide range of heritage projects they fund (including the DPHP) suggests what the HLF might view as heritage: historic buildings and townscapes, places and events, archaeological sites, collections of items or archives, habitats and species, and links to industrial, maritime and transport histories.

When taken together, these institutional definitions suggest that heritage is bound up intrinsically with notions of identity-making and relate to the idea of ‘legacy’. Interestingly, then, it appears that heritage policy may be defining heritage through its projects, rather than the other way around. Clive Gray (2007) asserts that there are increasing pressures on heritage providers to account for and justify public funding (p.2) and that ‘the museums sector, in particular, is effectively being used as a tool for the attainment of the policy objectives of actors and concerns that have traditionally been seen to lie outside of the museums sector itself,’ (p.4). One way that museums have become a tool for policy objectives, then, can be located in the way heritage is defined by institutional bodies: definitions of heritage are reflective of the aims of current heritage policy.

The definitions presented above also suggest heritage is geocentric, and the distinction between urban, rural, natural and manmade-features is regularly made. Potter’s heritage is grounded in the Forest of Dean, both physically and intangibly. This is important, as the Dean Heritage Centre’s acquisition of the Potter Archive therefore returns television to a region, and makes television into a form of heritage (both tangible and intangible).

Seeing heritage as artefacts or physical remainders of the past works toward a useful definition of heritage— if heritage can be seen as material culture, anything pertaining to the physical artefacts of times gone by, then the Potter Archive is part of the tangible heritage of the Forest of Dean. By seeing heritage as a two-fold process (Smith, 2006, p.3) composed of both tangible things and intangible processes, this research reflects broader changes in our understanding of heritage borne out through historical discourses. As Yahaya Ahmad (2006) suggests:

Since the Venice Charter of 1964, the scope of heritage has broadened from a concern for physical heritage such as physical monuments and buildings to groups of buildings, historic urban and rural centres, historic gardens [...] to non-physical heritage including environments, social factors, and lately, intangible values, (p.294).

3.4 Intangible Heritage and Affect

The focus on the more abstracted or intangible nature of heritage (i.e. ‘it is all around us,’ and ‘attributes’) can be traced within scholarly articulations of the nature of heritage. Robert Cormack (1976) wrote:

When I am asked to define our heritage I do not think in dictionary terms, but instead reflect on certain sights and sounds. I think of a morning mist on the Tweed at Dryburgh where the magic of Turner and the romance of Scott both come fleetingly to life; a celebration of the Eucharist in a quiet Norfolk Church with the medieval glass filtering the colours, and the noise of the harvesting coming through the open door; or of standing at any time before the Wilton Diptych. Each scene recalls aspects of an indivisible heritage, and is part of the fabric and expression of our civilisation, (p.14).

Such poetic definitions of heritage therefore problematize marking out heritage as simply physical ‘things’ located in geographic ‘places’. If this is unpacked, it becomes clear that heritage *means* something *personal*. Cormack’s definition of heritage is saturated by reminiscence and nostalgia – a concept I will explore in more detail below. Buried within these discourses are some quite progressive ideas that relate to the way we understand or make sense of heritage. Cormack’s ideas clearly link (though this was probably not his intention) the idea of heritage with the concepts of affect (Clough, 2007; Thrift, 2008) emotion and sensory experience, and indicates a direct relationship between heritage and memory. Little research has been conducted in the field of heritage studies that utilises affect or emotion as truly investigative concepts, and as this research seeks to explore the emotional (affective) encounters audiences have with the past within the DPHP, Cormack’s early linkage of these two areas adds credence to my approach.

Patricia Clough (2007) suggests that ‘affect refers generally to bodily capacities to affect and be affected or the augmentation or diminution of a body’s capacity to act, engage, and to connect, such that autoaffectation is linked to the self-feeling of being alive,’ (p.2). This study asks how people experience the museum visit and how the museum is able to influence a range of affective responses from audiences, or in other words, how do audiences respond

bodily (emotionally) to engaging and connecting with past television as heritage? Clough (2007) goes on to argue that the ‘affective turn’ in social and Cultural Studies brings forth and makes visible the ‘ghosted bodies and the traumatised remains of erased histories,’ (p.3). When such a reading of affect is applied to the heritage environment we are presented with a ‘way in’ to hearing marginalised voices and lesser known histories. This study will explore the affective dimension of managing Dennis Potter’s legacy in the museum environment and will examine those ‘below the line’ memories of marginalised voices, evidence which might constitute part of a wider epistemological change in the museum as a whole.

3.5 Epistemological Change in the Museum

Silke Arnold-de Simone (2013) suggests that modern manifestations of the museum (since the Early Modern opening of royal archives to the public) ‘established a museum-form that is defined through its role as an apparatus of the modern nation-state,’ (p.7). In this form lay knowledge was not considered important to/for/in the museum, museums were not ‘sites of memory;’ rather the museum was an institution from which state or ‘hegemonic national narratives and ideologically instrumentalising bodies of knowledge as part of new disciplines of power’ (p.7) were disseminated. The construction of these dominant discourses effectively naturalised less dominant narratives and social and cultural experiences (Smith, 2006, p.4). This research draws upon Arnold de Simone’s work, in particular her argument that the modern museum has experienced an epistemological shift, moving away from top-down nationalistic representations of historical knowledge toward a bottom-up, memory-based institution (2013). In order to further illuminate this epistemological shift, this research asks how encompassing television as heritage might add to this understanding of the museum.

The root of this epistemological change can be traced to the work of early museum studies practitioners such as Peter Vergo. His seminal piece *The New Museology* (1989) resembled one of the earliest attempts at defining a new understanding of heritage, the relationship between heritage and the museum, and the role of the museum itself. As Rhiannon Mason (2011) suggests, it was in the wake of Vergo’s work that a profound epistemological shift occurred in heritage studies – Vergo’s legacy meant that the concept of heritage changed from being about ‘something’, to being a managed ‘process’ engaged in and maintained for someone. Defining the scope of the ‘new’ museology as working at a deeper level, below even financial success/failure and footfall figures, Vergo wrote:

Beyond the captions, the information panels, the accompanying catalogue, the press hand-out, there is a subtext comprising innumerable diverse, often contradictory strands, woven from the wishes and ambitions, the intellectual or political or social or educational aspirations and preconceptions of the museum director, the curator, the scholar, the designer, the sponsor – to say nothing of the society, the political or social or educational system which nurtured all these people and in so doing left its stamp upon them, (p.3).

Taken together, the papers in Vergo's volume represent an epistemological shift in the Academy: scholars began to articulate the fact that heritage needed to have meaning, or represent something that a person or a group of people could truly identify with to be (commercially/financially/emotionally/personally) successful. Who it was (and is) that 'decided' that meaning, and who that meaning is meant 'for,' an issue Vergo alluded to in his introductory remarks cited above, is an important issue I will address in more detail in the remainder of this review.

This epistemological transformation had connections to the work of the Popular Memory Group. This group based at the CCCS in Birmingham held broad concerns over 'the dialogical relationship between recollections of the past' that were 'narrated in the present,' (Smith, 2008, unpaginated). In 'Popular Memory: Theory, Politics, Method,' (1982) they wrote:

It is useful to distinguish the main ways in which a sense of the past is produced: through public representations and through private memory (which, however, may also be collective and shared). The first way involves a public 'theatre' of history, a public stage and a public audience for the enacting of dramas concerning 'our' history, or heritage, the story, traditions and legacy of the British people.

By the early 1980s then, a profound epistemological concern about the role of memory within the heritage environment or museum was already being articulated along the lines of intangibility, temporality, public/private and rites of remembrance. The term 'theatre' found in this quotation from the Popular Memory Group invokes the work of Raphael Samuel (1994) who wrote significantly on popular memory in his *Theatres of Memory*. Exploring the relationship between memory and History, Samuel suggested:

History is not the prerogative of the historian, nor even as postmodernism contends, a historians “invention.” It is rather a social form of knowledge; the work in any given instance, of a thousand different hands, (p.8).

3.6 Heritage from Below

To Samuel, and to an increasing number of heritage professionals, unofficial knowledge was as important as scholarly exploration of historical ‘fact.’ Recognising this dualism was as critical to defining/developing heritage as an object of study as it was in practice on the ‘ground.’ As Iain J.M. Robertson (2012) suggests:

Samuel’s argument, and (somewhat ironically) it was pivotal in the development of the academic exploration of heritage, was that the rise of a much more broadly defined heritage – culturally more pluralist and radically different from previously hegemonic versions – was an effective counterblast to the elitism of ‘history’; drawing as it (heritage) does on a much wider range of ‘unofficial knowledge...’ (p.2).

The role of ‘unofficial rememberers’ is therefore a crucial concept in Robertson’s understanding of heritage, and underpins the contributions to his edited volume *Heritage From Below* (2012). Robertson’s volume questions the ‘nationalist, top-down, commercial and tourism-focussed perspectives of the mainstream manifestations of heritage,’ (p.1) and instead suggest that heritage is ‘formulated from much more than the material realm. It is found and articulated through our rhetoric, spaces and performances,’ (p.7). The role of unofficial knowledge and the spaces and places in which heritage is performed are therefore critical concepts in understanding the economies of remembering and forgetting in the heritage environment of the Forest of Dean. Moreover by building a definition of heritage upon the concepts of unofficial and official memory, the heritage literature is further connected to work on memory (which will be explored in more detail below).

In a similar way, Laurajane Smith defines heritage as ‘acts of remembering that work to create ways to understand and engage with the present,’ (2006, p.5). Such a definition of heritage is very different from marking out physical artefacts and archives as sources of tangible heritage, which connects heritage theory to discourses of memory supplied by the likes of the Popular Memory Group and proponents of ‘heritage from below’. Smith invites us to critically reflect on the issue of tangibility and intangibility in defining heritage, and in

so doing to explore who the right to remember belongs to, as Robertson questioned. These arguments support Arnold de Semine's (2013) contention that the museum is experiencing an epistemological shift from storehouse of artefacts to storehouse of (cultural/prosthetic/communicative/mediated) memory as I will explore in more detail in subsequent chapters.

Smith's assertion with regards to temporality (it is the responsibility of the museum or archive to present the past in a relationship with the present and future) also references Jacques Derrida (1998) when he writes of the archive that:

It is a question of the future, the question of the future itself, the question of a response, of a promise and of a responsibility for tomorrow. The archive: if we want to know what that will have meant, we will only know in times to come (p.36).

Though David Uzzell's (1998) work concentrates mainly on heritage interpretation, which I explore in more detail below, his memory-based understanding of heritage is useful to cite here. He suggests the physical artefacts stored within museums, archives and heritage centres act as a kind of stimulus to memory when he writes, 'images and artefacts serve to provide triggers for long-forgotten events and ways of life,' (p.5). In this articulation, are the artefacts themselves 'heritage' or are the long-forgotten events and ways of life stimulated by these artefacts heritage? Critical to this study is the understanding that heritage is made at the intersection at which the two meet. This research is conducted at precisely that trigger-point: at the intersection between those images, artefacts, and documents (the Potter Archive) and the meaning-making practices (such as community media projects and volunteer work) and memory-work that surrounds them. This research will therefore utilise a concept of heritage as a complex process, composed of both tangible 'things' and intangible practices/performances.

Though they share common factors the literature presented so far has illustrated that definitions of heritage are divergent in focus: heritage has a multifaceted and contested nature as a concept. By making such an acceptance, we can use a concept of heritage made up of many different ideas and apply it to individual case studies or pieces of research, such as this one, with fruitful results. In other words, the most useful definition of heritage for situated research such as this might be found when applied to an individual case-study or heritage environment. This understanding of the plural and composite nature of heritage and its competing or contested definitions connects to the literature on Memory studies: defining

‘memory’ is just as slippery – memory is contested, plural (Miształ, 2003) and multi-directional (Rothberg, 2008).

The breadth of definitions also support Smith’s argument that heritage is a two-fold process: it is a social and cultural process, at once about conservation and preservation of spaces, places and objects; but it also acts as a provider of meaning and experience to social groups. In other words, heritage is a multi-layered performance (2006, p.3). There is also a tension between the content of the archive and the process of archiving itself. As Derrida asserts in *Archive Fever* (1998):

The technical structure of the archiving archive also determines the structure of the archivable content even in its very coming into existence and in its relationship to the future. The archiving produces as much as it records the event, (p.17.)

Derrida also asserts that ‘there is no archive without consignment in an external place which assures the possibility of memorisation, of repetition, of reproduction, or of re-impression,’ (p.11). In other words, there is a mutual relationship between the archive and the geographic/physical and temporal space in which it inhabits. This study explores the possibilities of ‘memorisation’ or ‘memory-work’ based on the Potter Archive within the ‘external place’ of the Forest of Dean heritage environment. It is for this reason that literature concerned with space, place, nation and region, and the relevance of these pivotal concepts will now be explored in some detail.

3.7 Space & Place

As definitions of heritage are intrinsically bound to notions of space and place, this research asks what geocentric understandings of heritage, heritage as ‘Englishness,’ are at work in the heritage environment of the Forest of Dean. If not Englishness, then what kinds of geo-heritage are being performed? Is the concept of heritage (defined above) changed or transformed by including the popular medium of television, and even more specifically, television that draws ‘region’ into its displacement of culture away from urban-centric heritage centres such as London?

As Bella Dicks (2000, p.66) suggested nearly ten years ago, we should ‘redirect our deployment of polarities in heritage representations towards those between the local and particular and the general and generic,’ (in Robertson, 2012, p.3). For heritage, then, ‘place or the “local” is not inevitably consumed by the national or global, rather the national or

regional are made up of innumerable places,' (Smith, 2006, p.76). Laurajane Smith (2006) holds that heritage is complexly linked to the concept of space, in that space not only helps heritage audiences to construct a sense of 'abstract identity' but that it also helps to position the individual within a web of connections to the nation, the community, and to the social, cultural and physical world around them (p.75). Moreover, space has increasingly featured in the discourse of heritage policy, linked to issues of globalisation and conservation concerns (Smith, 2006, p.75), as noted above.

Thus the focus on the nation in heritage discourses is not to forget the local. In 'Census, Map, Museum' Benedict Anderson (1991) wrote that these three institutions 'profoundly shaped the way in which the colonial state imagined its domination – the nature of the human beings it ruled, the geography of its domain, and the legitimacy of its ancestry,' (p.163). As a tool for nation building then, the museum became a politicised, grounded space for heritage to be consumed (Anderson, 1991, p.165). As Stuart Hall (2005) notes 'a shared national identity thus depends on the cultural meanings, which bind each member individually into the large national story,' and grounding heritage in space is a 'powerful source of such meanings,' (p.24). Furthermore, Hall offers that, 'what the nation "means" is an on-going project under constant reconstruction. [...] We 'should think of The Heritage as a discursive practice. It is one of the ways in which the nation slowly constructs for itself a sort of collective social memory,' (p.25). If we see 'heritage' as a discursive practice through which community and nation are constructed through a form of collective social memory, grounded by connections to landscapes and physical geographies, identities might be thought of 'as endlessly in the process of creation - as defined not so much by a bounded sense of 'difference' but the endlessly deferred Derridean "différance"- or as "travelling" (Clifford, 1997),' (MacDonald, 2003, p.6). Similarly, Hall (2005) poses that identity is 'better conceptualised as the sediments over time of those different identifications or positionalities we have taken up and tried to "live."' In other words identities are 'culturally formed,' (p.219) and the spaces and places which feature in heritage discourses play a major role in this formation over time.

It is easy to understand certain spaces as heritage when they are conserved as 'history' in their own right (for example, country houses⁴, cathedrals, ancient monuments etc.). These spaces bring with them carefully manufactured meaningful narratives about the past which are consumable, but heritage spaces are not confined to the country house alone. As Graham

⁴ Much has been written on the role of the country house in the making of the British heritage industry. See Hewison (1987), Barker (1999), Lumley (2004), Smith (2006).

Fairclough et al. (2008) argue ‘heritage places, and more latterly people’s landscapes as a whole, come to act as authentic memorials to the events of the past and thus to an explanation of the present,’ (p.7). So how does a place, devoid of monument, country house or cathedral, transform into a heritage attraction? This research takes place within the heritage ‘industry’ (Hewison, 1987) and therefore, as Mike Robinson (2000, p.v) suggests, it would be hard to conceive of tourism without heritage, and vice versa. If places are socially constructed, heritage spaces do not exist independently of ‘the social, cultural and environmental contexts that shape [them],’ (Robinson, 2000, p.vi). As the Forest of Dean is marketed as the ‘Home of Potter,’ and as tourists are expected to arrive in increasing numbers to the area to view the exhibition and Archive, this research employs the concept of media(ted) tourism in order to explore these heritage encounters and it is to this literature that I now turn.

3.8 Media Tourism

Potter’s television productions, famously, used Forest locations in which to film, as well as employing Forest locals as extras and even location scouts. Since his death in 1994, locations around the Forest of Dean (including his childhood home) have become well-trodden fan-tourist routes. The idea that this rural space which is without gift-shop or gatekeeper should become so well visited is interesting, and an idea that will be explored in more detail. As David Uzzell (1998) notes, however, ‘places move from being a memory to being an historical record and artefact. This may not be the case, of course for the inhabitants of those communities close by those sites for whom heritage may mean something different altogether,’ (1998, p.3).

How will the communities of the Forest of Dean experience Potter-tourism after the Archive is made public and the Forest is marketed as the ‘Home of Potter’? As noted above, one of the most involved members of the DPHP currently lives in the former Potter house, and is already frequently visited by members of the public. The increasing encroachment of private spaces by public heritage tourists that these visits might signal will be explored in more depth in later chapters. Who has the right to remember in this (privately owned) space? To whom do these culturally important spaces belong? This research will therefore trace Uzzell’s concern in the contemporary Forest of Dean heritage environment and explore how understandings of heritage are transformed by the DPHP.

John Connell and Chris Gibson (2005) suggest that ‘niche tourism,’ is one factor in a complex process of mediated supply and demand within the industry which has resulted in

the ‘increased commodification of culture,’ (p.2). Niche tourism encompasses not only fans of literature (think of those who undertake a pilgrimage to Stratford-Upon-Avon for Shakespeare or Nottinghamshire for D.H. Lawrence) and music (for example, Graceland for Elvis or Liverpool for the Beatles) but also film and television. As Connell and Gibson suggest ‘films and television series attracted tourists to regions such as north Yorkshire, where one part of the county became James Herriot country and another was Heartbeat Country,’ (2005, p.2). In this reimagining of the tourist geography, the Forest of Dean as the setting of many of Potter’s television works might well be termed ‘Potter-land’ (Stead, 1993).

Connell and Gibson (2005) further suggest that tourism ‘transfers capital between people and places, influences the social organisation of destinations, enables the revitalisation, preservation and also the destruction of cultural phenomena, and creates new landscapes,’ (p.6). The creation of these ‘new landscapes’ for tourism can also be traced to cinematic depictions of real-and-imagined geographic places (Soja, 1996), on which much has already been written (see for example Brunson, 2007; Bronfen, 2013). From this body of work a pivotal concept emerges: cinematographic tourism (Schofield, 1996, p.336) otherwise known as film-tourism (Pratt, 2007), or ‘screen tourism.’ Les Roberts (2012) holds that images of a city found on screen represent an intangible ‘heritage of ideas,’ and also a tangible ‘heritage of objects,’ and it is the confluence of the two results in landscape visited by the cinematographic tourist (p.139). This research explores the extent to which Potter’s Forest of Dean, or ‘Potter-land,’ encompasses both spheres of tangible and intangible heritage through its various spatial, physical and emotional manifestations.

The visits of screen tourists are not just limited to the locations associated with film or television production, as the British Film Institute’s ‘Stately Attraction’ (2007) report suggests:

Screen products can also generate a wider locus of influence far beyond such locations: influencing 'associated' sites, such as the Wallace Monument in Stirling (associated with *Braveheart*), and also increasing awareness of the UK in general, (p.7).

This research will explore this idea in more detail by exploring the relationship between the associated sites of Potter’s television production (such as his childhood home and village and the exhibition at the Dean Heritage Centre) and the specific locations of television production (shooting locations and cast and crew facilities) as tourist attractions. In this way this research

will address the more liminal spaces often visited by tourists – the private spaces such as homes and the micro-spaces such as the village hall. How might the DPHP erase the uneasy aspects of Potter's depiction, and how do processes of erasure connect to remembering and forgetting in the museum environment? How far does the cultural economy of the Forest of Dean depend on such visits? Moreover, are Potter-tourists even understood in this way in the area? This research will go some way to answering these questions.

From Schofield's (1996) exploration of Manchester's media heritage, Charlotte Brunsdon's (2007) work on London, Roberts' (2012) examination of Liverpool, to Elizabeth Bronfen's (2013) book on the filmic geography of Hollywood, much of the work on screen tourism has focussed on the city. The rural has been treated, however not as extensively. Andy C. Pratt (2007) explores rural film-making and touches upon screen tourism. He asserts that with 'so much digital post-production of film making, the [rural] locations do not appear as they are seen in films: they can, and are, morphed into numerous forms. It raises the question of what exactly the film tourist is viewing in the countryside,' (p.169).

Though Pratt's remarks on the transformative qualities of digital post-production and the affect this has on visual representations of real, lived places are salient, it appears that the situation for screen tourists is more like Edward Soja (1996) suggests in his discussion of real-and-imagined geographic spaces. Soja defined this 'thirdspace' as a space in which 'everything comes together [...] the real and the imagined, the knowable and the unimaginable [...] everyday life and unending history,' (1996, p.54). In this way the spaces screen tourists visit may be unknowable, but the tourist knowingly visits the *imagined* space as a form of what Will Brooker (2007) terms 'fan pilgrimage' – visitors come for what the real space *means* or represents, in some cases, rather than what is actually there. The significance of place to the heritage environment as explored above, and thus the role of the heritage producer (in this case the DPHP) in creating cultural value from the cinematographic landscape will therefore be explored in much greater detail than in previous treatments, in this research.

Thus through exploring the gradations present within tourism this literature review reflects Yaniv Poria et al.'s (2003) suggestion that a definition of heritage tourism cannot be simply reduced to 'tourists who visit heritage sites.' Based on a reading of David Urry (1990), Poria et al. posit that heritage tourism relates to an, 'actual relationship between the space and the individual. [People do not visit heritage sites simply to] gaze, be educated or to enjoy

themselves. For some, it is argued that this is an emotional experience, that people come to feel rather than to gaze,' (2003, p.239). Here the relationship between tourist and visit - or 'Journey' (Crang & Franklin, 2001) - is compounded by the concept of affect. As Roberts (2012) suggests the 'layers and topographies of emotion and memory – the premium attached to the film location as a signifier of place is one that has proved to be of growing value to the tourism and heritage industries,' (p.6).

The construction of this emotional 'premium' around the Potter Archive through the memory-work of the DPHP is primary focus below. By exploring the affective responses visitors have to the Potter Exhibition (which in effect recreates the fan pilgrimage without the fan having to leave the exhibition environment) I will further elucidate the value of emotion within geocentric representations of heritage. How does remembering Potter as heritage reimagine the Forest of Dean as an attractive destination?

Usefully, Pratt (2007) argues that film and television productions that represent the rural do not automatically become meccas for the film tourist, rather this process is dependent on three factors: 'that the viewer recognises the location; second, that the film is sufficiently successful to attract a big audience; third, that tourists thus spurred on can actually access the site,' (p.180). How far the Forest of Dean meets these three criteria will be traced below, but the notion of 'access' as used in this context has links to questions about the wider accessibility of heritage in general. Who is the target audience for (Potter's) heritage? Is Potter's heritage sufficiently enticing to all social groups? In order to better understand the heritage management processes that try to deal with these issues at work, in the following section I will explore the concept of class, community and identity as it applies to the heritage environment. As Smith (2011) suggests provokingly in the heritage industry, 'class still matters,' (p.1).

3.9 Class and Community

As the Forest of Dean is a primarily working-class area and as Potter's work negotiates complicated understandings and representations of class, it is important to understand how the Dean Heritage Centre (re)constructs and represents a class-consciousness and class-based identity through the Potter legacy. Like other heritage projects such as the Titanic Belfast Exhibition, the DPHP is a project which represents working class issues. Some historical context is therefore needed to foreground the concepts of class and community as they are

used below. The DHC was founded in 1983, midway through the Thatcher era and during a time when:

Museums were being “shaken-up” – challenged to pay their way. Museum professionals, who had traditionally been specialists skilled in identifying and classifying objects, were being retrained to communicate the value of their collections and attract the public, (Ballantyne & Uzzell, 2011, p.85).

How was the concept of class employed in this ‘shake-up’ and what is the relevance of class to the museum environment of today? From its early use as a vehicle from which to disseminate national values and to foster a sense of national identity, to the manifestation of the museum of today, the museum has long ‘been implicit in accessing, ignoring, confronting, re-affirming and forging identities,’ (McLean, 2008, p.283) and class plays a major role in this process. As Armanda Scorrano (2012) suggests in her article on the construction of Australian national identity through the museum (and indeed, a great deal of salient work from the field of heritage studies originates from Australia):

The nation-state has consistently used cultural institutions such as museums to further its aims. Indeed, from its inception the modern public museum has acted as a cultural arm of the nation-state. It operated as a tool for civic education and as a promoter of those elements required for the continuation of the nation-state, (p.345).

In the United Kingdom the view of the museum as a tool for education and to reinforce the nation-state was heavily criticised during the heritage ‘debate’ of the 1980s. As explored above, heritage commentators such as Robert Cormack were attacked for ignoring the multicultural composition of Britain in the 1980s, an argument borne from examinations of the changing role of museums during the period. In an era of so-called ‘enterprise culture’ fostered by the state against the backdrop of high unemployment, unpopular fiscal policies and equally as unpopular Youth Training Schemes, a large number of new museums and heritage centres were founded. During the 1980s many new museums were established on the back of ‘expansion schemes that encouraged investment by providing tax incentives, loan guarantee schemes [and] enterprise allowance schemes to enable the unemployed to set up on their own,’ (Candlin, 2012, p.32). ‘Symptomatic of deindustrialisation’ and of an ‘individualistic enterprise culture,’ heritage in the 1980s was thus imbued with a lack of

agency (Candlin, 2012, p.33) and was an arena in which democratising aims were disregarded in favour of incentivised, profit making ambitions.

Arnold de Semine (2013) holds that ‘the concept of heritage that had gained ground in 1980s Britain with its core values of tradition and kinship [sought] to establish a relationship between people and places based on the idea of a stable and enduring national identity,’ (p.150). How then was this received in the rural, industrial, coal-mining villages of the Forest of Dean in which a vision of the national was/is articulated along the lines of distinctive regionalism? It is here that the connection between heritage-based literature and work on memory is absolutely vital, as the relationship between heritage and memory was so important in underpinning the epistemological transformation of the heritage environment in the 1980s.

Samuel (1994) argued that the number of small-scale, individual, local, ‘DIY’ museums that emerged during this period (like the Dean Heritage Centre) represented ‘one of the most remarkable additions to the ranks of Britain’s memory keepers – or a notable augmentation of them,’ (p.27). The academically ingrained assumption until that point was that ‘knowledge filters downwards,’ (Samuel, 1994, p.4) which leaves no room for ‘the knowledge that creeps in sideways,’ (p.5). In the Academy, this position was challenged by the popular memory movement (as explored above) and on the ground - by that ‘sideways’ knowledge that crept in, oral histories and private (personal) collections offered by the ‘under-labourers’ and ‘hand-maidens’ of history - ordinary people. In this class-structured understanding of the relationship between memory and historiography, Samuel argued that memory-keeping was no longer the sole remit of the state, nor were its goals simply the proffering of sanctioned materials by ‘the powers that be’ to promote a sense of *national* identity. Meaning-making practices extend beyond the remit of the professional curator for the consumption of the upper and middle-classes, into the realm of the local, personal, representational; and toward marking out regional histories as equally important.

Elizabeth Carnegie (2006), in her study of the Glasgow People’s Museum, coined the term ‘class tourists’ to explain the museum visitor who searches for the historical ‘Other,’ for proof of their own or familial pasts, or for historical ‘truths’ which interpret their own social or cultural background (p.80). In this understanding of the intersection between class and heritage, Carnegie’s concept is reminiscent of the literature surrounding screen tourism as explored above. One tourist comes in search of a personal, familial past; the other comes in

search of landscapes connected to a memory of television. Both come to the heritage environment seeking meaning and emotional engagement through memory. It seems therefore that these two concepts might be usefully combined. In this research, the relationship between class and heritage (and thus family and genealogy) is compounded by the territorial defence of the Forest of Dean as a (regional) space of television memory: 'Potter-land'. How the two interact with each other in the liminal space of the DPHP will therefore be explored in later chapters.

MacDonald (2003) reminds us of Anthony Giddens' (1990, 1991) argument that identities are increasingly 'becoming "dis-embedded" from locality and from the traditional frameworks not just of nation and ethnicity but also of class and kinship,' (p.6). Benedict Anderson's work on 'imagined communities' (1991) is therefore a salient concept when exploring the ever more fractured role and importance of class in the heritage environment. Similar to Alison Landsberg's (2004) notion of prosthetic memory in which a museum visitor might emotionally engage in another person's experience without having lived through it themselves (see below), Anderson's imagined communities are comprised of residents who will never likely meet each other though are united by a shared interest – the nation. Linking heritage to memory, Udo J. Hebel (2008) suggests that theoretical approaches to interpreting the social, political and cultural power of imagined communities is inherently connected to processes of cultural memory and collective commemoration in the nation state (p.47).

Anderson's concept of imagined communities (1991), intangible but decidedly connected, offers much to this study, though 'community' itself remains a slippery term. Anthony Cohen's (1985) argument that community is constructed as a symbolic reality links usefully with Anderson's work, and sits well with the ontological position of this research. He argues that 'people construct community symbolically, making it a resource and repository of meaning, and a referent of their identity,' (p.118). This research will explore in more detail the way in which the Forest of Dean has utilised the Potter Archive as a referent of a Forest identity, and how far Potter fans are drawing upon the Forest as a referent of their fan identity. How far can fan cultures be seen as imagined communities, symbolically constructed around the mythogenic construction (Burke, 1997, p.51) of Potter as a man and a writer, and contested (personal) memories of popular television?

Smith suggests that in recent years the Academy has begun to reject the ‘intellectual fashion of considering class a defunct, almost boorish interest, as it is a political position that is just that, a political position, but not one that captures the reality of modern working class life and culture,’ (2012, p.3). In this way Hall’s position noted above that identity (like class) ought to best be thought of as ‘sediment’ created over time is particularly relevant. Concepts of class and community as they were articulated and understood in the 1980s have a limited lifespan when applied to the contemporary heritage environment.

Similarly reflecting on academic trends, Beverley Skeggs suggests that the terminological focus on the words ‘everyday’ and ‘ordinary’ promoted by reality TV excursions onto the council estate or the street, are ‘euphemisms used to stand in for ‘working class’, because in many different nations it is no longer fashionable to speak about class identifications,’ (2011, p.2). I would argue that the focus on the ‘everyday’ and the ‘ordinary’ present in the heritage environment works in a similar way. As Ben Highmore (2002) suggests:

To invoke the everyday can often be a sleight of hand that normalises and universalises particular values, specific world-views. Politicians, for instance, are often fond of using terms like “everyday life” or “ordinary people” as a way of hailing constituents to a common culture: people like us, lives like ours, (p.1).

In the heritage environment, by avoiding the explicit political rhetoric involved in the word ‘class’ itself the heritage producer seeks to seal off exclusionary categories and appeal to as wide an audience as possible. Thus the ‘ordinary’ and the ‘everyday’ are drawn into a complex web of power and ideology in which heritage becomes a commodity in the debates over cultural value.

3.10 Cultural Value

Speaking at the ‘Missing out Conference’ hosted by English Heritage in 2010, Smith deliberated:

Why is the question always framed in terms of why are not certain ethnic and socio-economic groups visiting the heritage of the elite and middle classes? Why is it assumed that everyone *wants* to visit these places or that the versions and narratives of the history and cultural inheritance that they represent are – or should be – at all meaningful? [English Heritage, 2010].

Museums and heritage centres are now perceived as cultural things imbued with meaning, value and a story, as much as the objects or artefacts they contain. As Smith (2006) notes, the value of the visitor experience in the modern museum is derived from ‘being in place, renewing memories and associations, [and] sharing experiences,’ (2006, p.1) rather than adopting a ‘restrained,’ ‘distanced’ or ‘unaffected’ approach to unfamiliar objects and subject matters as with earlier museums. Again, the underused concept of affect or emotion that I employ in this research can be found dormant within Heritage studies based literature, adding weight to my approach. It is also worth highlighting that the concepts of memory articulated here further connect the Heritage studies literature with theories of memory, which I will treat in more detail below.

The renewing of memories and associations, the sharing of experiences of which Smith speaks, are performances enacted by visitors at museums or sites of heritage which are stimulated by the presence of objects on display or in exhibition. Susan Pearce (1994) suggests the term ‘objects’ refers to ‘selected lumps of the physical world to which cultural value has been ascribed,’ (p.9). These ‘lumps’ become culturally significant or ‘valued’ through the process of selection, presentation and representation in the museum space (a process known as interpretation, which will be explored in more detail below.)

A strand of this study explores the performances of visitors to the DPHP, stimulated by Potter-related objects on display in the Dean Heritage Centre. This recognises that cultural value does not inherently lie in the physical artefacts that sit archived in boxes or displayed behind glass cabinets, and that cultural value is also made up of the myriad responses these objects elicit from audiences. ‘Value’ can therefore be conceptualised in a number of ways: cultural, emotional and financial. Brian Graham (2002) suggests that ‘heritage is more concerned with meanings than material artefacts. It is the former that gives value, either cultural or financial, to the latter and explains why they have been selected from the infinity of the past,’ (p.1004). He also argues that heritage should be theorised as a form of ‘knowledge, a cultural product and a political resource,’ and its value is intimately tied to notions of space. He writes:

We have to remember that these are not necessarily bounded places – although they can be – but hybrid places, occupied by overlapping and fragmented identities and social groups and consumed economically by multiple markets (p.1016).

With an awareness of the ‘overlapping and fragmented’ nature of cultural value and the spatially contingent nature of the concept, this research will explore manifestations of cultural value ascribed on and created around the various components of the DPHP manifested as they are in different spatial (and non-spatial, memorial) locations: the (official) Potter Archive, the DHC, Potter the man, and memories of Potter’s television work.

Cultural value and its relationship to the museum or heritage centre therefore extends beyond the value sanctioned within the four walls of any given institution, as it reaches out to encompass the everyday practices and values of ordinary people, further validating the use of the concept of the ‘everyday’ in this research.

Cultural value, however, also connects to notions of cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1984) and habitus. If museum visitors are not passive consumers of a museum’s message but are active participants in the museum experience, how then do the different levels of cultural capital and the different habitus’ of visitors, staff, volunteers (and researchers) affect the way Potter is conceived, articulated and consumed as heritage? The following section of literature review moves toward an exploration of theories of practice in the museum space, and examines collecting, interpreting, and notions of ‘authorising’ heritage discourses.

4. Literature Review (Part 2): Theories of Practice – Collecting & Interpreting Heritage

4.1 The Authorised Heritage Discourse

Heritage management is a broad and complex topic, and one to which countless books are dedicated.⁵ One of the most influential books to date, and one that is especially useful for this research, is Smith's *Uses of Heritage* (2006). To help define and explain how heritage is managed and propagated in the Western world today, Smith coined the term 'Authorised Heritage Discourse,' (AHD). Smith suggests that the AHD is still reliant on the power/knowledge claims of those technical and aesthetic experts like Vergo (1989) that so affected the paradigmatical change in the operation of museums back in the 1980s, and continues to affect the operation and function of museum and heritage sites today.

Smith's work is not geographically specific to the heritage environment of Britain, as with this study, but she does suggest that the AHD is distinctly western in character. Smith's argument that the AHD is a 'self-reverential discourse,' which 'privileges monumentality and the grand scale,' (2006, p.11) helps to situate the epistemological position of a British AHD. It appears that the AHD in Britain sits comfortably alongside (or gave birth to) the grandiose rhetoric about heritage characteristic of the 1980s as explored above, and situates it as a discourse that undoubtedly celebrates the monumentality of the country house. Smith goes on to suggest that the privileged position of the AHD has a direct set of consequences (2006, p.14) worthwhile exploring in detail, as each applies to the DPHP and the wider heritage environment of the Forest of Dean.

First, Smith suggests that the AHD obscures non-dominant narratives, or at best, subsumes such narratives within the AHD. These non-dominant narratives and cultural experiences include those of women, homosexuals and ethnic minorities among others. As Smith suggests that heritage is intimately connected to the construction, expression and representation of identity (Smith, 2006, p.116) the obscuring of non-dominant narratives has important consequences for identity construction at sites of heritage. What non-dominant narratives can we expect the AHD of the DPHP to obscure, and what affect will this have on identity

⁵ See for example, Peter Howard (2003) *Heritage: Management, Interpretation, Identity*, London: Continuum; C. Michael Hall & Simon McArthur (1998) *Integrated Heritage Management*, London: Stationary Office Books; or Routledge's *Issues in Heritage Management Series*.

construction through the DPHP? Conversely, does the focus of the DPHP on highlighting more obscure narratives such as below the production line memories of those who worked on Potter's productions, or fans of his work, commonly excluded from serious academic attention, mean that the AHD is subverted through a project like this? Later chapters will address these questions in some detail.

Most discourses (lay, professional and academic) theorise heritage in a linear, temporal relationship. In the AHD, the present maintains tangible artefacts of value or valued cultural (intangible) attributes from the past, for the benefit and enjoyment (not for the present but) for the future. The concept of intangible heritage is therefore one that is widely debated within Heritage studies. I am inclined to view intangible heritage as Smith does, when she suggests that 'heritage is a mentality, a way of knowing and seeing,' (2006, p.54) and as such all heritage is really intangible.

Smith suggests that another consequence of the AHD is that its concern with the material past (2006, p.17) disconnects heritage from the present. Smith argues that the importance placed on the preservation of the material past is intrinsically linked to promoting its inherent value for the future, which displaces the relative importance of the past for the present (2006, p.29). This is an argument supported by many heritage commentators and historians alike as explored above: Marc Laenen, (1986, p.14) in another example, many years before, also suggested that it was characteristic of many British museums to present the past in isolation from the present. This is a concern that is, however, recognised in the heritage environment, as heritage practitioners Roeland Paardekooper and Katrin Pres (2011) suggest 'the main challenge lies in helping visitors find new ways to explore a complex past and to ask new questions that help them understand the present, thus generating ideas for the future.' One way to help visitors find new ways to explore the past and the present is to open the museum to a wide range of collecting practices.

4.2 Collecting Practices

In a survey of UK collectors Pearce (1997) notes that collecting for (and donating to) the museum is the remit not only of the elite who can afford to collect priceless antiques, but is also connected to ordinary and everyday experiences and practices. In this research it is the ephemera of everyday life (family photographs) and the ephemera of fandom (TV guides, DVD/video/CD collections) that have helped stimulate Potter-based memories when grouped together through the DPHP, and retaining these artefacts together has helped to create a

meaningful collection. But why are these artefacts, that sit outside the remit of the official Potter Archive, important and how does this phenomenon relate to wider practices within the heritage field?

Graeme Were and Jonathan King (2012) question how best museums are ‘to develop collections of the everyday and record the mundane without turning museums into unmanageable time capsules?’ (p.10). Giddens’ (1991) concept of ‘ontological security’ offers some insight as to why museums are becoming more and more concerned with preserving artefacts of the everyday. Giddens suggests that objects and artefacts that resonate with people on a personal level create a ‘certain level of familiarity and routine’ which ‘engenders confidence,’ (Schofield, 2009, p.105). Again, the literature on heritage connects with that on memory, as I would argue that ontological security can only be wrought from familiar objects on display in the museum environment if there are sufficient social collective memories around the object to engender it.

In her work on memory and collecting practices, Fiona Parrot (2011) argues that:

[...] embedding memories in the lives of others relies on the sensory or memorable character of the collected objects, the composite and partible nature of these collections, and the extension of these collections through other media including digital archives and photographs, to mediate relationships between individuals, (p.296)

What do the incorporation of personal (fan) collections and related ephemera into ‘official’ heritage institution collections tell us? Little work has been done that considers the role of the institution in turning fandom into a legitimate form of heritage (though the literature on screen tourism addressed above is useful). By exploring the official and unofficial repositories of Potter related artefacts, and professional and lay memory-work, this research therefore aims to generate much needed discussion and a ‘way in’ to a larger exploration of these ideas.

By eschewing the naturalising view of collecting as a basic human instinct, and by avoiding the Freudian view of collectors as ‘anally-retentive outsiders’ (Pearce, 1999) collecting can be seen as a meaningful, self-aware and socially active process. Pearce suggests objects are like all human manifestations from which we derive meaning: they are only significant in groups or sets to which meaning can be attached (1999, p.16). In this way then, objects within

museum exhibitions become meaningful when contextualised as part of a collection. Based on this assumption, this study will analyse how well the Potter Archive sits alongside the existing contents of the Dean Heritage Centre collection in order to explore issues of continuity in interpretation practices (the literature on which will be examined below) and the effect of (dis)continuity on affective visitor engagement.

MacDonald (2011, p.81) suggests that although collecting is a practice that is fundamental to the museum, in recent years the museum has become fundamental to collecting practices beyond it, a view supported by Eilean Hooper-Greenhill (1994, p.2). The museum as a storehouse of cultural value, then, has become fundamental to the creation and preservation of different and competing types and forms of heritage as cultural value with an ever increasing reach. This research explores the ‘reach’ of the institution, through looking closely at partnership working and community participation (including adding to the ‘archive’). Once something has ‘become heritage,’ then, how is it made communicable to visitors and audiences?

4.3 Heritage Interpretation

Many comprehensive texts that take either ‘heritage’ or the ‘museum’ as their object of study include some discussion of the concept of ‘interpretation⁶’ at heritage sites. Simply put, heritage interpretation is a process through which objects, artefacts, places or ideas are explained, contextualised and made available to audiences or visitors at sites of historical importance, or museums. This process will be important to this research, as the way the DPHP contextualises the Potter Archive for audiences, and the way in which the exhibition room is created, set up, and made interpretable, will be explored in detail. Moreover, heritage interpretation is perhaps one of the only areas of Heritage studies as a whole that tends to use the concept of affect with any real purpose, and as such this adds further support to my research design choices.

Uzzell (1989) coined the term ‘hot interpretation’ to explain how visitors engage with heritage in an affective way, rather than in a purely cognitive manner. He suggests that emotions colour the way we make sense of the world and the information we receive, especially the information that comes readily interpreted at heritage sites (2008, p.502). This

⁶ Heritage interpretation dates back to the seminal work of American writer Freeman Tilden, titled *Interpreting Our Heritage* (1957). This text outlined several ‘principles’ for heritage interpretation, drawn from his work in the US National Park State Service.

work adds credence to my approach, as a later chapter of this study explores the affective responses people have within Potter exhibition at the DHC in particular. Uzzell's work therefore gives us an understanding of the interpretative processes at work and their impact on emotional responses at heritage sites.

The concept of heritage interpretation and in particular Uzzell's term 'hot interpretation' connects with Clifford Geertz' (1973) concept of 'thick and thin description' in Cultural Studies (and 'sures up' the ontological foundations of this research) when Geertz' writes that the aim of thick description is to draw 'large conclusions from small but very densely textured facts; to support broad assertions about the role of culture in the construction of collective life by engaging them exactly with complex specifics,' (p.28).

Similarly, Uzzell's notion accords with Marshall McLuhan's (1964) concept of hot and cool media. McLuhan suggested that various forms of media affect audiences in different ways through a process of decoding. Where hot media such as a movie or a book provide 'thick' description and detailed interpretable (or readily interpreted) information, cool media such as the telephone or a cartoon provide a less high-definition message from which to imbibe meaning. But is interpretation (hot, cold, thick or thin) always necessary in the heritage environment? Howard (2003) suggests that heritage professionals must always consider the possibility of adopting a minimalist approach to interpretation for their institution (p.245).

Urry (1990) suggests that the tourist gaze is produced when people visit a place, encounter an object, or experience something that can be distinguished from ordinary or everyday life encounters. Urry (1990) writes that there is a specific form of 'seeing' in action within the museum environment:

There is the seeing of particular signs that indicate that a certain other object is indeed extraordinary, even though it does not seem to be so. A good example of such an object is moon rock, which appears unremarkable. The attraction is not the object itself but the sign referring to it that marks it out as distinctive, (p.13).

The tourist gaze in the museum is therefore implicitly related to interpretation practices, but as Bella Dicks holds, 'local feelings about heritage are forged out of quite different spaces from those held by professional encoders, whose practice is orientated towards the capturing of a visitor market,' (2000, p.149). In this way an object, collection, archive or landscape has different inscriptions of cultural value welded to them, as well as different levels of cultural

capital held by audiences, and heritage interpretation practitioners must be hyper-vigilant of these contested meanings in their institution. This study will explore the interpretation practices enacted at the DPHP and in the Dean Heritage Centre in particular in order to understand the interaction between the 'local feelings about heritage' of which Dicks speaks and the demands of the commercial market in which these ascribed values are then circulated.

Hooper-Greenhill (1991; 1994; 2007) argues that the increasing focus on the educational role of modern museums and heritage sites/centres has resulted in another specialised form of heritage interpretation at work in the museum. When the aim is to educate rather than simply provide information (as advocated by Tilden in his second principle) the interpretive practices engaged in shift. Thirteen years ago, Hooper-Greenhill coined the term 'post-museum' to denote future directions of the museum, suggesting that the post-museum 'negotiates responsiveness, encourages mutually nurturing partnerships and celebrates diversity.' She also suggests that the post-museum would be born outside of the major European cities (2000, p.153). The move away from urban-centric discourses about heritage and the production of heritage sits well with the remit of this research, as the displacement of the Potter Archive away from urban centre to rural outpost is unusual. Hooper-Greenhill's concept of the post-museum also implies that the post-museum visitor would have an awareness of the interpretation processes in action within the institution. This connects with Urry's (1990) notion of the 'post-tourist' who 'knows that he or she is a tourist and that tourism is a series of games with multiple texts and no single, authentic tourist experience,' (p.91).

4.4 Nostalgia

If we expect museums and exhibitions to change in relation to the way society sees and makes sense of the world (Arnold de Semine, 2013, p.130) and if there now exists a 'post-tourist' who understands that the museum visit is a game, what is the role of nostalgia in exhibitions?

Nostalgia is perhaps the most obvious way in which the spheres of heritage and memory are connected. Though the concept is readily employed nostalgia has not been explicitly theorised in the field of Heritage studies, instead articulations are generally based on broad definitions of nostalgia (*nostos* – the return home; *algia* – longing) used in Memory studies.

Today, heritage remains tied to notions of belonging and identity as I have suggested above, but in a climate of globalisation, technological advancement and increased commodification,

heritage has become an integral part of wider consumer society. Heritage works at the interface between commerce and memory, history and finance. As David Lowenthal wrote in 1989, 'Nostalgia's role in merchandising, its capital value, and its investment prospects seem omnipresent. Nowadays nothing sells as well as the past,' (1989, p.22). In a consumer society when (and how) does nostalgia become heritage, and vintage become nostalgia?

Svetlana Boym (2007) highlights the spatially grounded nature of nostalgia, centralising the importance of the 'home' rather than the 'longing'. She suggests that nostalgia can be seen as the force which binds memory, place and emotion together (Boym, 2007, p.11). The breadth of these definitions therefore supports the theoretical choices I have made in positioning memory, emotion and space, in a relationship of interdependence, and the focus on 'home' will become an important feature of a later chapter.

There is an almost unanimous scholarly acceptance of nostalgia as a negative emotion (or one that has weak respect for historicity, at the very least) especially when it is at work in the heritage environment (see Hewison, 1987). Working with literature from consumer-behaviour studies, however, Goulding (2001) suggests that nostalgia can be reconceptualised and seen less as a 'pathological disorder and more a part of preference in the consumption of goods and experiences,' (p.567). When nostalgia is understood in this way, its activity in the heritage environment becomes far more measurable. Morris Holbrook and Robert Schindler (1991) for example, in an analysis of personal tastes, found that 'preferences peak at critical periods, about the age of 24 [...] leading to a nostalgia [in later life] for aesthetic objects of consumption associated with that earlier period,' (in Goulding, 2001, p.568). This study explores the way visitors to the Potter exhibition interact with the space and the artefacts on display. By examining the visitor demographic, this study unpacks this age-based construction of nostalgia. Who are those visitors most affected by nostalgia for the 1950s as represented at this heritage attraction? Are younger heritage consumers similarly affected by nostalgia manufactured in this space?

Goulding (2001) challenges the contention that nostalgia is 'a personal emotion that can only be evoked from the actual well of lived experience,' (p.568) by arguing that people are able to identify nostalgically with events, artefacts or people that they have encountered through books, films, heritage attractions and other narratives. This argument connects to Alison Landsberg's (2004) theory of prosthetic memory when she writes that a 'person does not simply apprehend a historical narrative but takes on a more personal, deeply felt memory of a

past event through which he or she did not live,' (p.2). Is nostalgia, then, the catalyst that engenders this 'depth' of memory in the heritage environment? Rodney Harrison (2013) suggests:

To make sense of the heterogeneous piling up of traces and practices in of the past in the present [as in the heritage environment] we must [be able to] distinguish between active and passive processes of remembering and forgetting, as well as the politics of collective memory and forgetfulness, (p.231).

It is with this idea of depth, memory and its operation in the complex heritage environment in mind that I now turn to examine literature from the interdisciplinary field of Memory studies in order to contextualise arguments made later in this study

5. Literature Review (Part 3): Memory Theory

5.1 Introduction

In the following section, I will review several key theories from the field of Memory studies relevant for this research. I will proceed chronologically and thematically, and as memory occupies a central analytical and theoretical position in many different academic disciplines (Passerini, 1983) I will adopt an interdisciplinary approach. I will start with a discussion of the problems facing the academic who is interested in exploring memory, and then go on to discuss key theories and theorists in the debate. At stake here, as throughout this literature review, will be the extent to which this literature supports, critiques or destabilises theories and concepts explored above with regards to Heritage studies.

Defining ‘memory’ simply as ‘what we remember’ does not suffice when it is the social operation of memory in the individual or the formation of memory in societies or communities that is the object of study. But defining memory as an analytic concept is a difficult task, as Astrid Erll & Ansgar Nünning (2008) suggest, “‘cultural’ (or, if you will, ‘collective,’ ‘social’) memory is certainly a multifarious notion, a term often used in an ambiguous and vague way,” (p.1). The following sections position Memory studies theories and concepts in order to make them analytical tools with which to analyse the findings wrought from extensive research on the processes of remembering (and forgetting) on the DPHP.

5.2 Collective Memory

Maurice Halbwachs ([1952] 1992), suggested that memories are recalled ‘externally’ and that the ‘groups’ of which people are a part in modern societies provide the impetus to ‘reconstruct’ or remember. Halbwachs’ definition of the ‘group’ includes not only the physical sharing of space by more than one individual, but also groups defined by a common or mutual interest (in his case studies: religious groups and social classes.) Halbwachs’ concept of social frameworks for memory is therefore reminiscent of Anderson’s (1991) work on imagined communities as explored above. Halbwachs (1992) writes that:

It is in this sense that there exists a collective memory and social frameworks for memory. It is to the degree that our individual thought places itself in these

frameworks and participates in this memory that it is capable of the act of recollection (p.38).

In Halbwachs' definition individual thought is only capable of being recalled when placed within the continuum of social frameworks. He goes on to suggest that another precondition of memory is the understanding that 'the past is not preserved but is reconstructed on the basis of the present' (1992, p.40), and that the mind 'reconstructs its memories under the pressure of society' (1992, p.51). Thus issues of temporality are once again recalled: a concept which, as explored above, has wide reaching ramifications in the heritage environment. How does the Dennis Potter Heritage Project reconstruct the memories of past television audiences, fans, extras and experts within the museum space in the modern moment? To best understand the conflation of time and collective memory Susan A. Crane (1997) suggests that:

If history is both the past(s) and the narratives that represent pasts as historical memory in relation to presents/presence, collective memory is a conceptualisation that expresses a sense of the continual presence of the past, (p.1373).

This theory is important to this study in two ways: first, it invites the researcher to investigate and understand the social frameworks within which individual participants in their studies recall certain events; and second, the focus on temporal stages of remembering has an important function in the museum environment, as explored above. Halbwachs' theory of collective memory also leads to questions about nationality, class, identity, the family, and promotes questions about the individuals' relationship within the many other collectives or groups in which they reside. Thus, the nexus between class, region and memory will be explored throughout this study. It is not enough, however, to state that group membership, alone, allows individual thought to become the act of recollection. Garde-Hansen (2011) states:

Media enters its relationship with a concept of collective memory at the point at which we depart from Halbwachs' initial ideas. Thus, media mediate – textually, visually, sonically, electronically – and by doing so they require Halbwachs' concept to divorce itself from personal remembering in the context of a face-to-face group encounter (2011, p.38).

As this study works at the interface between local memories and mediating processes as they are engaged in at the DPHP, Garde-Hansen's argument is of great importance, and highlights the limitations of Halbwachs' initial ideas in the modern (museum) environment. I will discuss theories regarding the specific relationship between the media and social memory in more detail below, but there are several things we can take from Halbwachs at this point. First, his concept of group membership is of obvious importance – individuals do not exist alone but rather coexist within a collective, and the influence of the people we share our lives with will obviously impact on our memories. Second, the idea that the past is recalled externally and is shaped by the present (1992, p.38) means that if we are trying to understand the past (or our memories of the past) then the present is hugely influential in reconstructing those memories, especially in the context of the museum environment. What does 'being in place' in the museum environment do to what is remembered by audiences in the context of the Potter Exhibition? Third, we can take Halbwachs' term 'collective memory' and employ it strategically and usefully, as even though this research is based in the modern environment which makes parts of his theory redundant, his term is widely used in the vast majority of the literature in Memory studies,⁷ and is a term that made use of in this study.

Where Halbwachs worked within the Annalists tradition, this study steps away from utilising an Annalists view of society and culture which focuses not on 'distinct memories' of individuals in favour of highlighting 'socio-cultural mode[s] of action' (Confino, 2008, p.81), but takes the two in conjunction: working with an understanding of individual and cultural memory as 'multidirectional' (Rothberg, 2009). How are individual memories of Potter or his television programmes remembered within the context of a socio-cultural encounter, such as in the museum? Alon Confino (2008) suggests that working within these (modified) parameters could provide the scholar with a more comprehensive view of the past than can be gained through 'top-down' historical approaches or psychological formulations of memory. Again, this Memory studies based concept links to the work cited above by Samuel (1994) when he argued for the salience of knowledge that creeps in 'sideways' (1994, p.5).

Similarly, Garde-Hansen asserts that psychological and neurological explanations of memory and remembering may be 'so scientifically focussed that they ignore the quotidian or

⁷ See for example: Forster, K.W. (1976) "Aby Warburg's History of Art: Collective Memory and the Social Mediation of Images," *Daedalus*, 105(1), 169-176; Assmann, J (1995) "Collective Memory and Cultural Identity," *New German Critique*. 65(1), 125-133; Olick, J (2011) *The Collective Memory Reader*, New York: Oxford University Press.

everyday emotional encounters that people have with the past,' (2011, p.15). This is of importance to this study as until now, most research in/on the heritage environment has comprised of statistical analyses of footfall or measuring turnover and so on, as noted above. By approaching memory from a more qualitative, experiential angle this research explores the affective, everyday encounters people have with the past in the heritage environment. But how do individual, personal memories (and even collective memories) conceived and performed within a cultural institution such as a museum become transferable and transportable (Landsberg, 2004, p.2) cultural memories, capable of analysis in the way that this study proposes?

5.3 Cultural Memory

Jan Assmann (1995) posits the term 'communicative memory' as a useful analytical tool for the study of those 'everyday emotional encounters that people have with the past,' of which Garde-Hansen speaks and on which this research is focussed. He suggests that 'communicative memory' is socially mediated and relates to commonplace interactions between people, the memories of which are constituted by the fact that they are formed between members of a group (as Halbwachs suggests). Communicative memory, in Assmann's definition, has a limited temporal horizon but can be transformed from communicative memory (memories of the everyday) to cultural memory (or a collective memory of some significance held over generations). This transformation is achieved when a communicative memory finds a formation in culture most commonly through the media, and therefore surpasses the limited temporal horizon.

Assmann (2008) insists that 'cultural memory is a form of collective memory, in the sense that it is shared by a number of people and that it conveys to these people a collective, that is, cultural, identity,' (p.110). The question of how far museums and heritage sites should play a role (or do play a role) in assisting the formation of cultural/national/personal identity is one explored above and one which is taken up in the body of this study, but by 'breaking down' Halbwachs' theory of collective memory to include an analysis of the cultural sphere (something Halbwachs never did) Assmann's legacy means we are able to work with an understanding of memory that works at the nexus between the group and the culture that collective is part of. Pierre Nora suggested that places of memory are 'where [cultural] memory crystallises and secretes itself,' (1989, p.7). For this research, the museum and wider heritage environment is taken as the crystallised nexus at which the two meet. An underlying motivation seeks to trouble the epistemological construction of the Dean Heritage Centre as it

is presently understood (as rural, industrial, grass-roots museum) through the lens of memory. Do the cultural memories that come sutured to a television archive work to extend or reconfigure the Dean Heritage Centre as a place of memory?

In terms of temporality, Assmann's work actively contradicts the idea that when viewed culturally memory becomes history (as when artefacts were stored in the cabinets of curiosity of traditional museums.) He posits that the study of objectivised culture has revealed that it has 'the structure of memory,' (1995, p.129) an assertion that appears to hold if one views the museum as storehouse of objectivised culture. Yet how does the concept of the museum as 'storehouse' work when exploring the museum as a partner with its visitors in the process of making meaning from collections and archives? Assmann's argument is salient to this study as it asks how far the museum has transformed from traditional storehouses of 'history' into more affective and interactive institutions engaged in memory-work, rather than petrifying the past as 'history.' Despite serious academic attention, a continuing motif within much of the literature in Memory studies is still the attempt to define the differences between history and memory (Radstone 2000; Carrier 2000; Rossington & Whitehead 2007). This preoccupation connects with a similar concern over the relationship between past (history), present (representation), and future (interpretation) active within Heritage studies, as discussed above.

The concern with stages of temporality and memory is an important issue for this study as it asks questions about the cultural memory of Potter and processes of heritage management connected to managing memory. By situating the museum as the cultural space in which communicative memory finds formation, later chapters will explore in more detail the question that this theory raises: Does the museum environment take the communicative memories of individuals and transform them into cultural memories by a process of (re)performance and representation? What function do artefacts, archives or collections have in the process of memory? How far does the Dean Heritage Centre's Potter Exhibition constitute a space for memory?

5.4 Places of Memory

Assmann (2008) later argued that:

Things do not "have" a memory of their own, but they may remind us, may trigger our memory, because they carry memories which we have invested into them, things such as dishes, feasts, rites, images, stories and other texts, landscapes, and other

“*lieux de memoire.*” On the social level, with respect to groups and societies, the role of external symbols becomes even more important, because groups which, of course, do not “have” a memory tend to “make” themselves one by means of things meant as reminders such as monuments, museums, libraries, archives, and other mnemonic institutions. This is what we call cultural memory, (p.111).

In *Les Lieux de Mémoire* (1984-92) (*Places of Memory*) Pierre Nora highlighted the change from historical to social consciousness, by exposing the socially constructed nature of memory and its physical signifiers⁸ in the modern environment (his places of memory). As cited above, Assmann (2008) suggests that these signifiers are voluminous: from the mundane (food) to the sublime (rites) these triggers mediate processes of memory. As Peter Carrier (2000) suggests, Nora’s argument displaced the authority to remember from the historian to society itself. This research explores the impact of this (continuing) shift within the museum or heritage environment. As noted above with reference to Samuel (1994) historians can no longer be seen as the sole proprietors of ‘memory,’ as the responsibility to create and maintain memories lies with each individual in society. With his or her complex participation in a myriad of group identities and roles, the individual now acts as a ‘remembering organism,’ and are the new proprietors of a sort of ‘prosthesis-memory’ (Carrier 2000, p.46). Landsberg’s theory of prosthetic memory which has been frequently mentioned throughout this literature review will be treated in more detail below. But what role does the museum play in this process? Can the Dean Heritage Centre be seen as a ‘place of memory’ and as a ‘remembering organism’ through which members of society are given a place/space to remember, where all the ‘remembering’ has already been done for them? Or are audiences given more agency with regard to their memories of Potter through the DPHP?

Conceptually, places of memory can be seen as the ‘cultural support for a particular collective memory’ which engenders the formation of a shared identity (Carrier 2000, p.38), but rather than promoting a sense of a ‘fixed’ collective memory or identity as Halbwachs did, Nora recognised the flexible, ‘plural and composite nature of social memory’ (Carrier 2000, p.40). Nora suggests that ‘the passage from memory to history has required every social group to redefine its identity through the revitalization of its own history,’ (1989, p.15) though he maintains that sites of memory do not naturally facilitate or promote any form of homogenous social cohesion on their own. Similarly, Arnold de Simine (2013) argues that

⁸ See Stuart Hall (ed.) (1997) *Representation: Cultural Representations and Signifying Practices*, London: Sage.

these ‘imagined communities’⁹ from which collective memories stem ‘are not necessarily geographically or nationally bounded,’ and ‘do not presume any kind of affinity among community members,’ (p.8). This is an important consideration for this study, as it dispels any assumption that the Potter exhibition as a site of memory will automatically produce or foster community identities, rather it is a constant process of negotiation and performance. This is an interesting concept with which to examine the expectations of the DHC management and the DPHP as a whole: how far did the Project expect the acquisition of the Potter Archive to facilitate community cohesion or identity building? A later chapter of this study analyses this concept in more detail.

Nora recognised that sites of memory are formed by a sense of rupture from the past, exacerbated by the role of the media in society. He writes that ‘there are sites of memory because there are no longer environments of memory. These sites are traces of environments long gone, due to transformations of modernity,’ (1989, p.7). A later chapter of this study explores the interactions visitors have to the Dean Heritage Centre exhibition space and as such the conceptualisation of metaphoric sites of memory is interesting. If the museum is itself a ‘space of/for memory,’ and the objects/archives within the museum can also be seen as symbolic sites of memory, what affect will the turn toward collecting and exhibiting artefacts of the ‘everyday’ (as noted above) have on processes of remembering and forgetting? Taking Nora’s work as a place from which to start, this study will go some way to answering this question.

Laura Basu suggests that ‘sites of memory’ have been relatively under-theorised, especially in Media Studies (2009, p.139). As this research draws upon theories of mediated memory (Garde-Hansen, 2011) Basu’s argument that we might be better served by repurposing Nora’s places of memory is important. She advocates seeing the media and its impact on memory and remembering as a ‘memory *dispositif*,’ rather than viewing the metamorphoses of modernity as the (negative) driving force behind the crystallisation of memory at ‘sites’ as Nora holds. In this way we might better understand the process ‘by which a memory site may develop and function over a period of time through the process of mediation and remediation,’ (p.139). Museums and local heritage centres like the Dean Heritage Centre can be seen as sites of memory, but they can also be seen as part of a ‘memory *dispositif*’ as Basu suggests. This study asks, therefore, how processes of mediation impact on the way Potter’s

⁹ See above for more on Anderson’s (1994) concept of ‘imagined communities’.

heritage is managed and interpreted through the DPHP. Basu's (2009) concept resonates with this study: what better way to conceptualise the museum than as the 'memory machine:' an institution that provides a physical space of memory but one that is also active in constructing, representing and remediating memories over time.

5.5 Mediated Memory

Jose van Dijck's (2007) term 'mediated memory' builds on earlier cultural theorists' formation of the mediation of memory. Unlike those early theorists, van Dijck holds that 'memory is not mediated by media, but media and memory transform each other,' (p.21). She suggests that 'mediated memories are concurrently embodied in the human brain and mind, enabled by technologies and objects, and embedded in social and cultural contexts of their use,' (p. xiv). Similarly, Garde-Hansen (2011) reminds us that 'it is impossible to think about memory and media without connecting it with popular culture and interpersonal communications,' (p.41). As Arnold de Simone (2013) suggests 'shifts in the meanings of memory and in the shape of memorial practices have been catalysed by technological innovation,' and the influence of new media technologies (p.3). A later chapter of this study explores the digital representation and interpretation of Potter's legacy through institutional content uploaded to the World Wide Web, and content uploaded online independently of the DPHP. It asks questions about the social media and web presence of Potter and the DPHP, and about the relationship between the media and memories of past television.

To van Dijck (2007) existing models that acknowledge the relationship between memory and the media are, however, inherently flawed for three reasons. First, she suggests that these models discern memory as internal, physiological whereas the media is discerned as external and the tool with which human memory is outsourced. Second, she holds that there is the distinct separation of corporeal and technological memory. Third, she argues that 'media are qualified either in terms of their private use or of their public deployment, as mediators of respectively personal or collective memory,' (p.25). She writes:

Media are thus paradoxically defined as invaluable yet insidious tools for memory – a paradox that may arise from the tendency to simultaneously insist on the division between memory and media and yet conflate their meanings (p.16).

This research is conducted from a perspective that sees memory and media as connected though not conflated, and insists that the realms of private and public memory are similarly connected: primarily, through the representation of memories mediated by particular

technologies within the museum/heritage environment. But the success of media in transforming memory, to van Djick, lies not only in the technologies utilised or the ‘tools’ (eg. Cameras, videos or blogs) but in the group membership that supplies the collective relevance to any given cultural memory. She argues that collectivity not only evolves from events or shared experiences; it can also advance from objects or environments – anything from buildings to landscapes – through which people feel connected spatially (2007, p.10). The importance of space and place in the heritage environment was explored in some detail above, and thus the literature on memory and the analysis wrought from Heritage studies are once again connected: space is as important to processes of remembrance and the construction of heritage as it is to providing spaces for that memory and heritage to be constantly performed and re-performed.

Similarly, the literature that surrounds mediated memory connects to the work found in Heritage studies in the concern over the relationship between history and memory as I have already explored. van Dijck (2007) holds that:

[...] to properly understand their own existence in the grand scheme of historical events, people continuously sharpen their own remembered experiences and the testimonies of others against available public versions – official documents, exhibits, text books, and so forth, (p.10).

More than this, Garde-Hansen (2011) reminds us that our memories of the past (historical events and personal ones) are both mediated and, critically, *remediated*, especially through the use of new technologies (pp.105-119). This study asks how existing ‘available public versions’ of Potter alongside the ones that are created by the DPHP. How do people continuously ‘sharpen’ their own remembered experiences of Potter or his television work against other available versions: scholarly versions; mediated versions; remediated versions; the version appropriated, modified and conferred by the DPHP; and the slippery, multidirectional version of Potter created through rites and rituals of public/lay remembrance endorsed by the Project?

On the institutionalisation of personal memory items related to the Holocaust (the event on which much memory research and theorisation has concentrated, as I will explore below) van Dijck argues that:

The inclusion in our public memory sites of many individual testimonies, each presenting a unique prism through which to make sense of historical events, will never add up to an overall collective view of the Holocaust, (2007, p.11).

If we apply this statement to the subject of this research, van Dijck's (2007) argument suggests that although museums and heritage sites such as the Dean Heritage Centre are increasingly embracing individual testimonies (oral histories) and personal reflections, a universal understanding of Potter (or what he/his work/his legacy means) can never be achieved. But this argument seems to run the risk of reverting to earlier articulations of the nature of 'best practice' in the museum: to present a universal, top-down version of 'history as fact,' one to be uncomplicatedly (and unquestioningly) consumed by all members of society. As Joyce Appleby et al. (1994) suggest, a generation of post-war scholars increasingly questioned 'fixed categories previously endorsed as rational by all thoughtful men,' arguments that:

[...] denaturalised social behaviour once presumed to be encoded in the very structure of humanness. As members of that generation, we routinely, even angrily ask: Whose history? Whose science? Whose interests are served by those ideas and those stories? The challenge is out to all claims universally expressed in such phrases as "Men are..." "Naturally science says..." and "As we all know..." (p.4).

I would argue that these questions are still being asked today, and remain especially relevant to research carried out within the museum environment. Never being able to come to a 'collective' or 'universal' understanding of an event or person (such as the Holocaust or Potter) does not depreciate the (cultural) value of a collective *memory* of that event or person, as even collective memories can be increasingly multidirectional and contested, especially with the use of new digital media. As Arnold de Semine (2013) suggests, for some it is the 'capacity of media representations not only to mould memories but to create and generate them,' which is 'seen as a chance to pass on memories to generations who have no first-hand experience of the events in question,' (p.23).

5.6 Prosthetic Memory

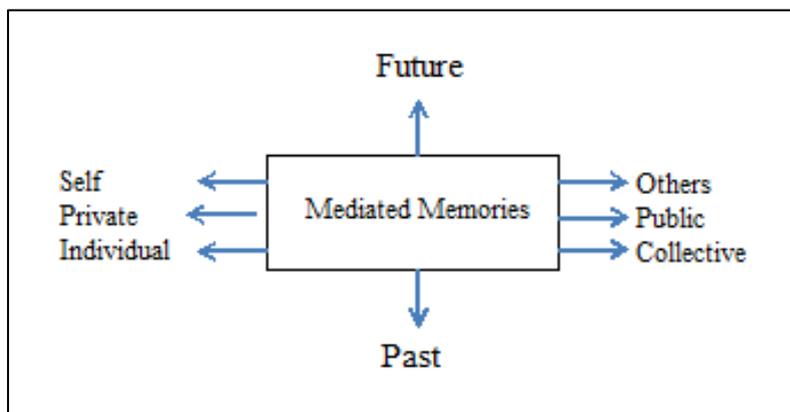
Landsberg (2004) suggests that prosthetic memory 'emerges at the interface between a person and a historical narrative about the past, at an experiential site,' where a person can take on a 'deeply felt memory of a past event through which he or she did not live,' (2004, p.2). In Landsberg's view, regardless of age, sex, gender or ethnicity the resulting prosthetic memory

created by affective engagement through the media (or at a heritage site or museum) ‘has the ability to shape that person’s subjectivity and politics,’ (2004, p.2). She suggests that:

Prosthetic memories are transportable and therefore challenge more traditional forms of memory that are premised on claims of authenticity, “heritage,” and ownership.

This new form of memory is neither inherently progressive nor inherently reactionary, but it is powerful, (p.3).

Landsberg (2004) holds that the turn to mass culture heralded by the twentieth-century means that memories in the modern moment have now ceased to ‘belong exclusively to a particular group and instead have become part of a common public domain,’ (p.11) through a process of mediation. van Dijck (2007) proposed an analytical model with which to approach mediated memories as a conceptual tool, and is worth reproducing here (Figure 5.1) as it makes visual the problematic of private versus public articulated through Landsberg’s assertion:



(Figure 5.1: from van Dijck, 2004, p.22)

In explaining this diagram, van Dijck (2007) argues that:

Mediated memories are not static objects or repositories but dynamic relationships that evolve along two axes: a horizontal axis expressing relational identity and a vertical axis articulating time. Neither axis is immobile: memories move back and forth between the personal and collective, and they travel up and down between past and future, (pp.21-22).

In suggesting that prosthetic memory is ‘less interested in large-scale social implications and dialectics than in the experiential quality of prosthetic memory and in the ramifications of these memories for individual subjectivity and political consciousness,’ (Landsberg, 2004,

p.20), prosthetic memory can be mapped onto van Dijck's (2007) model, working at the nexus between future mediated memories and others/public/collective. Situated in heritage environment this research works across other dimensions and asks how promoting individual and personal explorations of the past (including the relationship of these memories to the future) are integrated with official, public discourses, sanctioned memories which are archived and safeguarded for posterity.

In his critique of Landsberg's work, Rick Crownshaw (2013) argues that a difficulty of conceptualising prosthetic memory as an analytic tool for the study of cultural memory is that prosthetic memories work 'above' the AHD of a given institution in order to unite a potentially disparate group of visitors and forge 'unexpected alliances across chasms of difference,' (Landsberg 2004, p.3). In this way the theory of prosthetic memory connects with the Heritage studies literature, in particular the work on Authorised Heritage Discourses (Smith, 2006) as explored above. At stake in Crownshaw's critique of prosthetic memory seems to be the idea of scale: he takes issue with the 'nebulosity' of the 'collective' and the transcendental nature of the concept when applied *across* often disparate institutions and organisations. When applied to an individual case study, such as the subject of this research; when the discourses and ideologies that structure the DPHP and Dean Heritage Centre as transference site are extracted and understood; perhaps then the utility of prosthetic memory as a 'way in' to understanding visitor experiences and memories in the museum environment is made visible.

Landsberg's (2004) argument that empathic engagement predicated the formation of prosthetic memories which transcend notions of class, gender, and race has been widely criticised. Arnold de Semine (2013), for example, holds that Landsberg's theory 'needs to be read as a response to postmodernism and the elusiveness of the "real" or the "referent,"' and should be treated carefully as even prosthetic 'memories potentially serve the ideological interests of the [classed] group that produces and communicates them,' (p.34). What then are the issues surrounding difficult, contested or counter-memories as they are (mis/under)represented in the heritage environment?

5.7 Counter-memory and 'Difficult' Memory

Concerned as he was with dichotomies of power and authority, Michel Foucault (1977) suggested that 'popular memory' can be defined as a form of collective knowledge held by groups of people who are unable to record their own histories, almost in defiance of the

traditional or official view (in Misztal 2002, p.62). This concept of ‘counter-memory’ accords with the work of the Popular Memory Group and the arguments of Samuel (1994), as explored above, and highlights the multi-directionality of memory: it comes from below, above and sideways. Counter-memory suggests that below-the-line or marginalised histories and memories will also carve out a place, and the museum has a pivotal role in this process of negotiation (as explored above). This research asks how much ‘space’ is made for counter-memories of Potter in the DHC Exhibition, and asks how audiences express these differences through their experiences of the museum.

Barbara Misztal (2003) suggests that studies of counter-memories ‘illustrate that collective memory constructed from the bottom-up can exist in different relations to the dominant or official representation of the past’ (2003, p.66). Memories, or representations of memories, are thus plural and composite. Misztal’s suggestion also confirms that an approach to memory which works from the ‘bottom-up’, rather than the ‘top down,’ will be more beneficial for the study of social memory.

‘Bottom-up’ or ‘sideways’ investigations that focus on diverse experiences have usually termed the types of memories treated as ‘personal’ memories, or ‘autobiographical’ memories, especially when treating memories of the Holocaust¹⁰ but this does not mean that they are isolated or held internally without influence from the external world (or social framework – as we have seen above). The epistemological construction of these memories (and though not traumatic, are the *types* of memories treated in this study) are also highly emotionalised, politicised and mediated (Garde-Hansen 2011, p.37) especially when given formation in culture through the museum as a cultural institution. Scholars that focus on this idea of a ‘dissonant heritage’ (Ashworth and Tunbridge 1995) made up of competing or traumatic memories most usually focus on examples from countries with an obviously ‘difficult’ past, such as memories of Nazi Germany or Soviet Russia.

The concept of ‘dissonance’ in Heritage studies might usefully be applied to more localised, less-traumatic examples of difficult memory (Robertson, 2012). As MacDonald argues in *Difficult Heritage* (2009) some memories of the past are ‘recognised as meaningful in the present but [are] also contested and awkward for public reconciliation with a positive, self-affirming contemporary identity,’ (p.1). Studies have acknowledged Potter’s problematic

¹⁰ See Young (1993); Zelizer (1998); Epstein, Hope & Lefkowitz (2001); Reading (2002); Rothberg (2009); Jacobs (2010) for more on the social memory of the Holocaust and Soviet Russia.

position within Forest society (Cook 1995, Creeber 1999, Carpenter 1998). This research asks how the DPHP chooses to remember Potter or how the authorised heritage discourse it constructs about Potter interprets his legacy for audiences in the present moment.

Collective memories are shaped by national concerns, and through engaging in memorial activities in the ‘present historical moment’ they are also dependent on the ‘conflation of private and public,’ (Young, 1993, p.15). As the Potter Archive and exhibition could be seen as a ‘memorial activity,’ or at the very least, a commemorative activity, the suggestion that collective memories are shaped by the highly emotionalised and politicised national concerns of the present moment is important to this study. Moreover, as explored above, the local/national/international dichotomies which operate in the heritage environment of the Forest of Dean are further compounded through difficult or contested memories: emotionalised and politicised concerns about how best to use the Potter Archive or how best to remember him extend from the individual and private sphere, into the local, to the regional, into the national, and out further into the international arenas as various stakeholders voice multifocal opinions. In these cases, it is often what is strategically forgotten as much as what is remembered that helps reconcile multidirectional memories and dissonant heritages, and this will be a focus of later chapters of this study.

5.8 Remembering and Forgetting

It was within the context of twentieth century concerns regarding commemoration and memorialisation that Paul Connerton (2008) sought to disentangle the commonly held and unexplored relationship between memory (remembering and commemoration) and forgetting. In his assessment, Connerton suggested that one type of forgetting was one that is ‘constitutive in the formation of a new identity,’ wherein newly shared memories are ‘constructed and accompanied by a set of tacitly shared silences,’ (p.62).

This understanding of memory links with Halbwachs, Nora and Durkheim’s theories of collective remembering, and despite their applicability on a more national scale; they are also useful formulations for this research. The idea that societies or groups forget and share ‘tacitly held silences’ in an attempt to forge a new identity will be a salient notion in this research. How far has Potter undergone a rehabilitation of sorts in the Forest of Dean since his archive was won for the area? This theory might engender a new reading of Potter: is he now seen as a local hero, or still the controversial author that depicted the closure of Forest coal-pits in 1960 with vicious irony? (Daly 2011). Have local people have strategically

forgotten his early misdemeanours, and now remember his virtues in an attempt to form a shared identity and collective memories that centre on Potter's later or most famous work? This study will explore these questions in some detail.

Another of Connerton's 'types' of forgetting is 'forgetting as annulment,' related to the storing and maintenance of physical documents and artefacts in archives and libraries. He suggests that:

Taken together, the great archivalization and the new information technologies, the one centralizing, the other diffusive, have brought about such a cultural surfeit of information that the concept of discarding may come to occupy as central a role in the twenty-first century as the concept of production did in the nineteenth century (2008, p.67).

The rise of amateur collecting and the prominence of the individual archiving of personal or familial pasts as explored above, has an important impact on processes of 'producing and discarding' in the museum environment. What impact do 'fannish' collections or a hoard of 'everyday ephemera' brought into the museum and thus sanctioned by the AHD (see above) as 'legitimate' history/heritage, have on the difficult choices as to what is 'forgotten' or 'discarded' and what is retained? As Nora (1989) wrote on the role of the museum and the archive:

A strange role reversal has occurred between the professional, once reproached for an obsession with conservation, and the amateur producer of archives. Today, private enterprise and public administration keep everything, while professional archivists have learned that the essence of their trade is the art of controlled destruction (p. 14).

While storing items in locked filing cabinets may once have meant 'forgetting' about them, or 'disregarding' them in favour of other items, the influence of new media technologies means we are now able to gain access to everything all at once. What will be the impact of these new technologies on collective memories? These are questions that will be addressed in more detail below.

5.9 Conclusion

Wulf Kansteiner (2002) suggests that there are many methodological problems associated with the study of social and collective memory. He suggests that some of these issues can be addressed by 'further developing the methods of media and communication studies,

especially regarding reception,’ and to do this we should conceptualise memory as the interaction between ‘three types of historical factors’ (2002, p.180). The first, he suggests, is the cultural and intellectual traditions that shape our representations of the past. The second, ‘the memory makers who selectively adopt and manipulate these traditions,’ and the third, ‘the memory consumers who use, ignore, or transform such artefacts according to their own interests,’ (p.180).

I wish to conclude this literature review by positing that Kansteiner’s suggestion is of the utmost importance for to this study. Through asking questions about the cultural and intellectual traditions present in the Forest of Dean; by examining closely the ‘memory makers’ such as the Dean Heritage Centre, Potter fans and academics; and by exploring the consumers of Potter-based memory and memories of past television, this study will highlight how Potter’s television heritage is used, ignored or transformed. By exploring heritage management processes enacted at the DPHP; examining the ways in which Potter’s legacy is mediated through the DPHP; and by exploring how processes of (social/cultural/prosthetic/mediated) memory are enacted in the museum space since the acquisition of the Potter Archive, this research seeks to fill a lacuna in existing knowledge.

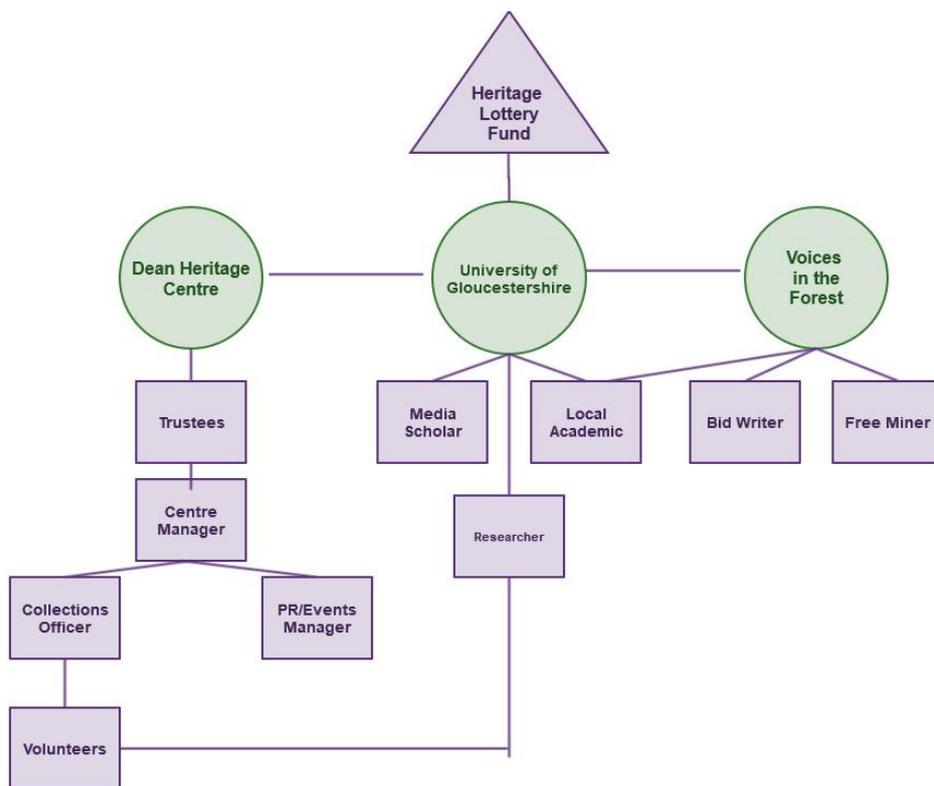
The following (and first) analytic chapter of this study builds upon the theories, concepts, questions and problems posed throughout this literature review and explores processes of heritage management and affective engagement, asking how Dennis Potter’s legacy is managed on the Dennis Potter Heritage Project.

6. Managing Dennis Potter’s Legacy on the Dennis Potter Heritage Project

6.1 Introduction

This chapter asks what heritage management processes are engaged in on the Dennis Potter Heritage Project (DPHP) and what impact these management activities have on staff, volunteer, visitor and project partner experiences of affective engagement with Potter’s legacy.

This affective engagement is conceptualised in two main ways: first, how audiences and visitors respond to, interact with and remember Potter (both during the Exhibition and through past engagement such as first time broadcast of his television plays); and second, how staff at the Dean Heritage Centre (DHC) and project partners from Voices in the Forest Community Interest Company (Voices) and the University of Gloucestershire (UoG) engage with one another and with Potter’s heritage in seeking to manage Dennis Potter’s legacy. Figures 6.2 and 6.3 make visible the complex network of associated institutions and individuals involved in the DPHP.



(Figure 6.1: Network Map – The Dennis Potter Heritage Project)

Institution	Function	Role in the DPHP
Dean Heritage Centre	Local history museum; Tourist attraction; holder of small rural history library/archive	Main partner; Home to the Potter Archive and Potter Exhibition; main liaison with the Potter Estate
University of Gloucestershire	Higher Educational Institution	Bid supporter; Academic support; Facilitated Digital Storytelling Projects

Voices in the Forest	Community Interest Group	Initiated drive for community support for Potter Archive to stay in the Forest; Main writer of HLF bid
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(Figure 6.2: Roles of Partners in DPHP)

The connections between partners on the DPHP were complex and multiple, some more direct than others. Some of these connections pre-existed the DPHP (for example the relationship between the DHC and Voices) though others were connections forged by contact with Potter through the DPHP (for example between the media scholar and the trustees, or the bid writer and the media scholar). The complex network of associations that made up the DPHP might therefore be usefully conceptualised as an attempt to forge new connections (even if in a rather unmanaged way, as I will explore in more detail below) or to ‘shore up’ existing relationships for the benefit of the Project.

Besides the three major partners listed above, underlying this network was another key ‘institution’ at work throughout the DPHP – the Potter family. The family and estate had a function and a role in the Project, as gatekeepers, copyright holders or interest-defenders, positions often expressed through Potter’s long-serving agent. Though the family and the agent may not have been conceptualised as major partners in the DPHP they were important players throughout the Project, who influenced and shaped how Potter’s legacy was imagined and managed through the DPHP, especially with regard to use and access to the Archive.

With the complex network of associations and obligations in mind, it is therefore useful to explore the way in which the Potter Archive was won. Drawing upon the responses I have had to the DPHP in my various roles (which were described in some detail in the research design chapter), this section draws upon data obtained through multimodal autoethnographic research. As such, extracts from my qualitative research diary will be analysed alongside interview transcripts and evidence wrought from extensive periods of (auto)ethnographic participant observations. In what follows, critical discourse analysis (CDA) (Fairclough 1997; 2012) is employed in order to examine the funding applications made by the DPHP partners (as detailed above) to the Heritage Lottery Fund (HLF).

I will first begin by examining the creation of the DPHP by exploring the ‘bid’ process in which the DPHP partners engaged to secure funding from the HLF. This section will then

examine HLF accounts for grants awarded over £100,000 in the same year, in order to establish and provide a context for the climate in which the DPHP was granted funding. Next, CDA will be employed to analyse the Bid Documents sent to the HLF, and will identify linguistic and rhetorical devices used to establish the founding discourses that proliferated within the DPHP in its earliest stage, in order to contextualise some later observations.

I will then explore the construction of the Potter Archive as ‘legacy’ in an effort to contextualise the cultural capital built around this screen archive. Next this chapter will explore management perceptions of the DPHP. I will then explore concepts of ‘being’ and ‘not-being’ from the Forest of Dean as a way in to understanding broader issues surrounding the management of the Potter Archive. I will address the question of cultural value and financial value by asking how far (and in what ways) Potter’s legacy or heritage has been commoditized through the DPHP. By exploring issues surrounding the economic value of the Potter Archive, I will move into a discussion of volunteers and will then explore the multi-partner aspect of the Project. The concluding section asks how partnership working has been experienced, and what impact the multifocal partnership has had on the wider management of the DPHP. It is worth noting that although this study may overlap with concerns found in official project evaluations (such as a HLF SWOT analysis) this research is not an evaluation of the DPHP. By approaching the DPHP with depth and from ‘the inside’ this study explores aspects of an evaluation report that are often missed: the people, the places, the processes and the practices that determine what gets to ‘be’ heritage and how.

6.2 The Bid Process

Voices in the Forest were pivotal in raising awareness of the possibility that the Potter Archive might be sold abroad, and one of the main sources of passion and enthusiasm for the Project throughout. As one of its founding members suggested ‘we heard that the Archive material might go to Texas [...] and we all recognised that this was a priority,’ [interview with author, January 2014]. Tracing the evolution of the Project in its earliest stages, the Voices representative explained:

Really, at the start, the [idea for the DPHP] was a Voices thing, but from very early on it made sense that the Dean Heritage Centre would be involved. However, conversations did happen with Gloucestershire Archives, when approaches to the team at the Dean Heritage Centre weren’t... The Dean Heritage Centre at that time, as someone put it, ‘We’re offering them a banana, and they need a life raft.’ So there

were conversations with Gloucestershire Archives, there were conversations with the University [of Gloucestershire] about housing the Archive here... Right up until the early approaches to the Lottery, Voices really was the lead partner. But the feedback from the Lottery was, 'Hold on, this doesn't make sense. Why aren't the Dean Heritage Centre leading it?' and from then on the Dean Heritage Centre became lead [interview with author, January 2014].

The management of the DHC has changed hands several times since the idea of securing the Potter Archive for the Forest of Dean was initially put forward by Voices. After a serious fire in 2009 which caused economic difficulties for the Centre, the DPHP proposal was initially ill-timed. The Project was therefore 'floated' to other institutions, though it was eventually the HLF who demanded the Dean Heritage Centre take lead on the Project. Thus, cultural policy has a direct influence over local heritage, in affecting project membership and leadership.

The following section explores the first and second round applications made to the HLF for a grant over £100,000 to purchase the Potter Archive (commonly called 'bid documents' by those involved on the DPHP). Through textual analysis of these two key documents this section examines the discourses, rhetoric and assumptions made by this distinctly local project to secure funding.

In response to the funder's demands, a multi-partner group was constructed, with its base in the Forest of Dean and with the Dean Heritage Centre as the 'lead partner'. The main bid-writer for both applications was a key member of Voices in the Forest (Voices) though the content of each bid was shaped with input from all partners. The bid writers from Voices were successful past HLF recipients, who knew how to construct the bid for the Potter Archive because they had evaluated their own past successfully funded projects. As such the multi-partner aspect of the DPHP was constructed in a way that provided its members with an awareness of the established discursive framework of previous successful HLF projects, which steered the proposal to success.

The first round application bid was a one-hundred page long summary of the proposed DPHP and includes conservationists' reports, letters of support from interested parties, and projected income, amongst proposals for various heritage activities created off the back of the Potter Archive. The second round application for the HLF grant was twenty-five pages long and was similarly composed by a representative of Voices. The second round application

followed a more conventional format, and answered a series of predesigned questions created to examine how far potential funding recipients might meet HLF's range of expected outcomes for heritage, people and communities.

The HLF's range of expected outcomes (or criteria against which success is evaluated against) is based on the impact of projects for people, communities and heritage, and are therefore useful baselines from which to identify discourses concerned with three key areas of interest to this study: space and place; media; and memory. This section makes use of CDA, a methodology that highlights and critiques the ways in which power relations are embedded and maintained through discourse, and how these discourses are produced and transformed within specific social structures (Cui, 2010, p.18). As this thesis explores the management of the DPHP by a multi-partner group, a project which has secured the investment of the largest private heritage investor in the United Kingdom, the politics of cultural value and representation through discourse are therefore pivotal concerns. The methodological utility of CDA to Heritage studies has been explored by Emma Waterton et al. (2006) (see section 2) and as such principles such as 'intertextuality,' 'modality' and 'inevitability' will be extrapolated from these heritage texts that have come from the DPHP.

6.2.1 Heritage Lottery Fund Awards 2010-11

Examining awards made at a national level, which involves some degree of quantitative analysis, is useful to explore other projects who secured funding over £100,000 from the HLF during the same period. This exploration will highlight wider trends (in terms of what types of projects were granted funding) within heritage management made visible at a national level.

The HLF awarded 362 grants over £100,000 for the year ending 31 March 2011. By examining these records, five broad categories of projects were established: churches/religious conservation; places or townscapes; archives/collections; skills/training/apprenticeships; and single heritage projects. These, of course, related broadly to the channels for funding applications structured by the HLF: Collecting Cultures; Heritage Enterprise; Transition Funding; Townscape Heritage; Parks for People; Landscape Partnerships; and Grants for Places of Worship.

In 2011, of the 362 grants awarded the largest number were made to projects which focussed on the regeneration of places/townscapes, followed by grants made to fund the upkeep of religious buildings; and the lowest number of awards (25/362) were made to restore or

enhance collections or archives (which included the DPHP). The HLF funding patterns closely echoes concerns raised in the Heritage studies scholarship as examined in the literature review chapter of this study. The evidence wrought from examining HLF funding from 2011 indicates a turn toward investing in the importance of physical spaces and places as heritage and toward recognising the increasing importance of raising levels of heritage/conservation knowledge and skills within communities. It is interesting that from the ‘birds-eye’ view of hindsight and with the close proximity afforded by an autoethnographic approach to this study, that it appears the various facets of the DPHP seem to cover many of the concerns endorsed by the HLF as important: space and place, investing in archives, and the involvement of the community. It is therefore now worth exploring in more detail the applications for funding proposed by the DPHP in order to establish these discourses.

6.3 Founding Discourses of the Dennis Potter Heritage Project: The Forest of Dean as the ‘Home of Potter’

As a methodological approach to the study of heritage texts (such as the funding applications made by the DPHP to the HLF) CDA has much to offer. Waterton et al. (2006) suggest the utility of CDA for analysing the ways in which we write about and speak about our heritage lies in its ability to underscore intertextuality (the referencing other key documents or works, even inherently); to examine discourses that indicate inevitability (or the naturalisation of dominant heritage discourse – meanings and values which dominate as inevitable); and invites us to explore modality (expressions of truth and certainty which negate all other options). Whilst exploring the thematic discourses that arise from the study of the funding applications to the HLF, this section will identify these components used in CDA (intertextuality, inevitability and modality.)

As in the Heritage studies scholarship and as indicated by the analysis of the 2011 HLF awards explored above, space and place are important concepts in the management of heritage in the UK (and abroad). One of the major characteristics of both bid documents for HLF funding, composed by the DPHP partnership, is the concentration on the concepts of space, place and location as pivotal arguments for the Potter Archive to be housed in the Forest of Dean. Thus, place has a (cultural and economic) value. A brief quantitative assessment of the first round bid document revealed that the words ‘Forest,’ ‘local,’ ‘community,’ and ‘home’ are used frequently in the text (277 times). What does this tell us about the prevailing discourses in this first bid for funding, and how does this speak to how Potter’s heritage is to be managed by the DPHP? The intertextuality of the concept of space

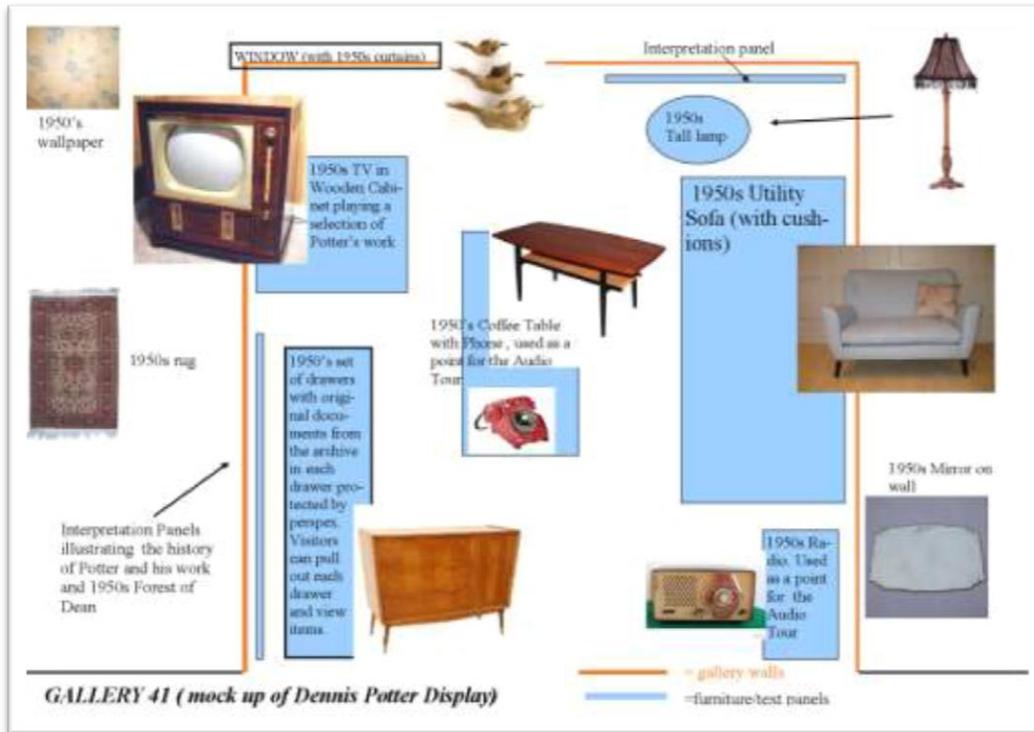
and place as common concerns within heritage management and policy is realised in the bid documents for HLF funding. Space and place is therefore used as a discourse that constructs meaning through ‘thematic continuity, embodying familiar principles of heritage management,’ (Waterton et al., 2006, p.344) and thus adds weight to the application for funding.

In the first round funding application the DPHP proponents wrote that acquiring and housing the Potter Archive at the Dean Heritage Centre would ‘create a unique selling point for the Dean Heritage Centre as the ‘Home of Dennis Potter’ to increase visitor numbers,’ (Bid Doc 1, p.37). In the same document they wrote, that ‘developing a community film with the Rural Media Company based on the archive will be used to launch the DHC as the ‘Home of Dennis Potter,’ (Bid Doc 1, p.39). In the second round funding application the DPHP proponents suggested, ‘As part of the initial scoping of this project, both organisations [Voices and UoG] have given their support for the developing [sic] the Dean Heritage Centre in the Forest of Dean as the ‘Home of Dennis Potter’ and the most appropriate place for any archive to be made available,’ (Bid Doc 2, p.7).

The use of the term ‘home’ in the sense that the Potter Archive is ‘coming home’ or returning to its creative ‘oikos’ or origin, is the strategic employment of nostalgia. More than this, the Bid Document constructed a vision of the archive as ‘homeless’ and homeless in the city of London. The bid writers ascribed a value to the rural home of Potter, a cultural value but also a financial value, that of capital investment in region. In the funding applications, nostalgia is a rhetorical device employed as an affective tool with which to persuade the reader (the funders) that the Forest of Dean is the best (and only suitable) place for the Archive to reside. Here the Archive is engendered with some sort of agency – orphaned in the discourse, the Potter Archive ‘deserves’ to ‘return’ as if it would be ‘unhappy’ anywhere else. This discursive construction of the Archive as orphaned, however, forgets the role of the Estate and the Agent both of whom have a stake in the Archive (as rights owner and rights agent). The bid document thus constructs a powerful discourse about the Archive and what it could achieve, but in doing so it strategically forgets the economies underlying the desire to purchase, other than to add touristic value. This use of ‘home’ is the critical employment of a dominant heritage discourse which proliferates at local, national and international levels. Here, ‘nostalgia’ as a longing for home is naturalised as a dominant heritage discourse, its meaning and values are unquestioningly consumed by the reader through the use of the rhetorical device of ‘inevitability’ (Waterton et al. 2006, p.46).

Similarly, by strategically employing the term 'home' in their application for funding, the DPHP applicants drew on a wider bank of affective connotations which lends support to their call to house the Archive in the Forest. As Mihaly Csikszentmihalyi and Eugene Halton (1981) suggest, 'few English words are filled with the emotional meaning of the word "home." It brings to mind one's childhood, the roots of one's being, and the security of a private enclave where one can be free and in control of one's life,' (p.121). Home is broadly conceptualised in the bid as the Forest of Dean, but 'home' also relates to a feminised, domestic space in which television plays a central role. As Stuart Hall argues, the choices which shape television viewing and the sense made from encounters with television are 'related to a pattern of choices about what and when to view which is constructed within a set of relationships constituted by the domestic and familial settings in which it is taking place,' (1986, p.vi). Thus, through the use of 'home' the bid constructs a 'placed' narrative about the Archive: the (orphaned) Potter Archive should return home to the Forest; and because television is of/in the home, Potter could be reconnected to the mode in which he was originally consumed.

Similarly, another level at which the term 'home' works is through the continuity of representations of the 'home' at the Dean Heritage Centre: the 'home of Dennis Potter' is physically recreated in the Dean Heritage Centre in their Potter exhibition, in which a 1950s sitting room is recreated replete with family photographs and the ephemera of everyday life of the period. In the first round application for funding, the DPHP partners included a (low-resolution) 'mock-up of the Dennis Potter display' (figure 6.1) which was justified in more detail in the second round bid. This application suggested the 1950s sitting room exhibition would work as an 'integral part of one of the museum's public galleries as an important contribution to the recording of the Social [sic] environment of the Forest of Dean in the mid-20th Century, as well as a writer and playwright of genius,' (Bid Doc 2, p.8).



(Figure 6.3: Mock Up of 1950s sitting room, Bid Doc.1, p.52)

In this way the notion of ‘home’ is related to the wider social environment of the Forest of Dean during the 1950s and 1960s and draws upon the readers’ cultural and inherent understanding of both the notion of ‘home’ and of these historical periods. Interestingly, the Centre Manager noted in a later interview that the Potter Exhibition (also known as the ‘1950s Sitting Room’) was only loosely tied to the Potter Project to begin with. She said:

If you took out all the [Potter] photos then it’s just still a ‘50s room. It was more about creating a typical ‘50s scenario rather than it being Potter’s. [...] It only turned out like that because we got the side board and the photos, and it’s become the Potter room as part of the exhibition. [...] If you look at that room you would say, “Yes, it’s an average 1950s room of an average ‘50s man or family.”

The 1950s Sitting Room was therefore described to the HLF in relation to the management of existing collections and artefacts already in situ at the Dean Heritage Centre. Interestingly, the Centre Manager did not connect the 1950s Room to the description of Forest sitting rooms in Potter’s 1962 essay *The Changing Forest*. By omitting the Exhibition’s connection to Potter’s work, and instead concentrating on the logical, practical work the Exhibition could do for the museum, the second round bid document suggested that:

Currently the museum's chronological permanent displays only go up to 1945, leaving any objects in our collection post-1945 in storage. The Potter Archive would enable the museum to create displays exploring life in the Forest of Dean from the 50's up to present day (Bid Doc. 2, p.10).

Reconfiguring the DHC as the 'Home of Dennis Potter' served a dual purpose: first, audiences and visitors could find out more about Potter through the visually stimulating exhibition (which meets the HLF criteria that demand heritage producers make archives and collections 'relevant' and accessible for visitors, and thus demonstrating intertextuality). Second, the Dean Heritage Centre could extend its chronological repertoire of displays and thus its 'reach' and ability to compete in the tourist industry, and also allowed the audience to enter the period of 'living memory', which the DHC had not yet entered. Moreover, when approached through CDA, this proposal reveals an instance of what Waterton et al. (2006) call apparent 'inevitability': by using the Potter Archive to expand the existing range of the Dean Heritage Centre (and thus increase footfall and financial turnover), this approach to managing the Potter Archive is constructed as 'common-sense' or 'natural' (Waterton et al. 2006, p.343). But in this sense of serendipity or 'inevitability' the heritage gets lost. The 1950s Room is discursively constructed as a 'selling point,' a phase of the Project which would facilitate cohesion across the Dean Heritage Centre's site; it is not sold to the HLF as an accurate representation of an 'Old Forest Parlour.'

The concept of 'home' is employed in a much more obvious way in the application to the HLF - as a marketing device. First, by rebranding the Dean Heritage Centre as the 'Home of Potter' the DHC's audience for the Potter Archive could be expanded. It appears that managers at the Dean Heritage Centre and DPHP partners felt that 'the Home of Potter' might appeal to a wider audience than, perhaps would 'The Potter Archive,' the connotations of which might only interest fans and academics. In interview, the Dean Heritage Centre Manager and the Dean Heritage Centre Public Relations and Events Manager both expressed this sentiment. The Centre Manager revealed:

Eventually we want to maybe rebrand and rename to something like, "The Dean Discovery Centre," because like [sic] you're talking about heritage that can have different connotations for different people. So some people, if they're interested in

heritage it will attract them, but for kids and things and the family market we're trying to reach it can put them off. [Interview with author, August 2013].

Similarly, the PR/Events Manager noted of the change of name from Dean Heritage Museum to Dean Heritage Centre in 2002:

I think that was a good idea because I think the word 'museum' is a bit of a taboo if you're trying to get the kids to come out and do something, because they think, "Aw, museum, dull, dusty!" that kind of thing, whereas Centre is a bit more... [...] We've toyed with the idea of losing the 'heritage' word as well. [...] The word 'heritage' is just not engaging [...] to younger audiences. At the end of the day that's the people we need, we need the younger people who'll come again, you know. [Interview with author, August 2013].

Here, the PR/Events Manager reveals the underlying economies that drive the heritage industry: it is the family audience that spend the most money as visitors to museums and heritage centres. This is supported by the report of the 2010 National Museum Directors' Conference which used DCMS statistics to argue that 'Overall, the visitor economy contributes £114b or 8.2% GDP,' (p.4). Moreover, '80% of parents think that museums and galleries are among the most important resources for educating their children,' and '85% of learning in this country takes place outside formal schooling, and eight out of ten museum and gallery visits by young people operate outside school lessons,' (p.20). Thus, the Dean Heritage Centre has an awareness of national trends, and through rebranding seeks to appeal to the wider family market, though critically, the discursive emphasis for the DHC in rebranding seems to be on entertainment rather than education. Robert Lumley suggested in 1988 that 'it is not just that the market is at the turnstiles, but that its values and methods (marketing, advertising, retailing) are seen to be taking over, so that an educational function is displaced by an entertainment orientation,' (1988, p.11). Changing the name from the Dean *Heritage* Centre to the Dean *Discovery* Centre implies a shift from education to entertainment, as prophesised by Lumley in the late 1980s. But how far did education figure as part of the bid to the HLF for funding for the Potter Archive?

A focus on the local, national, and international implications of housing the Potter Archive at the Dean Heritage Centre emerged in the bid document, as a result of the bid writer's awareness of broader funding discourses at work at the time, especially regarding education.

They wrote that the DHC ‘will enable local, national and international access to both written and screen archive with appropriate multi-modal Interpretation,’ (Bid Doc. 1, p.8). The bid suggested that, ‘By offering a comprehensive educational programme both locally and nationally, with direct links to schools, colleges and universities via workshops, courses, loan boxes, tours and outreach programmes a wide target audience can greatly benefit,’ (Bid Doc. 1, p.12). Similarly, the second bid document reiterated that ‘the archive is of major importance as a representation of a local writer of national and international renown and as a major collection of literary work it will benefit from being located within the Forest and will bring researchers to the area,’ (Bid Doc. 2, p.4).

Through a focus on education and outreach, the DPHP partners communicated a willingness to connect a distinctly local and regional museum with local interests, to wider national and international audiences, framed by an implicit intertextual reference to national educational and international heritage policies (put forward by bodies such as UNESCO, ICOMOS and the DCMS). The statements presented above also reference a type of modality working within this funding application. The DPHP stakeholders argue they ‘will’ enable access to the Potter Archive; the Archive ‘is’ of major importance; it ‘will’ benefit from being located in the Forest; and it ‘will’ bring researchers to the area. Waterton et al. (2006) suggest, modality is a ‘useful indicator of self-identity,’ (p.345) and when used in this way, suggests the bid-writers are confident and committed to delivering this Project (critically necessary persuasive tools in order to secure funding).

The first round application for funding from the HLF suggested that the DPHP aimed to ‘promote a wider understanding, locally, nationally and internationally, of what should be valued, preserved and understood as the media ‘heritage’ of Gloucestershire by involving community members, schools, the UoG, Potter scholars and other stakeholders,’ (Bid Doc. 1, p.10). By focussing especially on increasing media literacy of the direct community and stakeholders, and by declaring an awareness of the importance of television heritage on a local, national and international level, the rhetoric employed in these funding applications was attuned to wider HLF impetuses regarding the use of new media in heritage projects. The critical awareness of audience, the inherent intertextuality and modality of the funding applications to the HLF are therefore ‘persuasive practices invoked to provide a sense of legitimacy and authority,’ (Waterton et al. 2006, p.345).

The founding discourses of the DPHP located in these applications suggest that spatially and emotionally located in the Forest of Dean, with commitments to ensuring the access and education of national and international audiences, the DPHP would bring the archive ‘home’ to the Forest of Dean. Overall, the Bids proposed that, ‘This project seeks to establish a public legacy and hub of learning activity based on Dennis Potter’s work and its links to his native Forest of Dean,’ (Bid Doc. 2, p.38). But the term ‘legacy’ is problematic: what does it mean in the context of the heritage environment of the Forest of Dean, and what is the public legacy of Dennis Potter’s work?

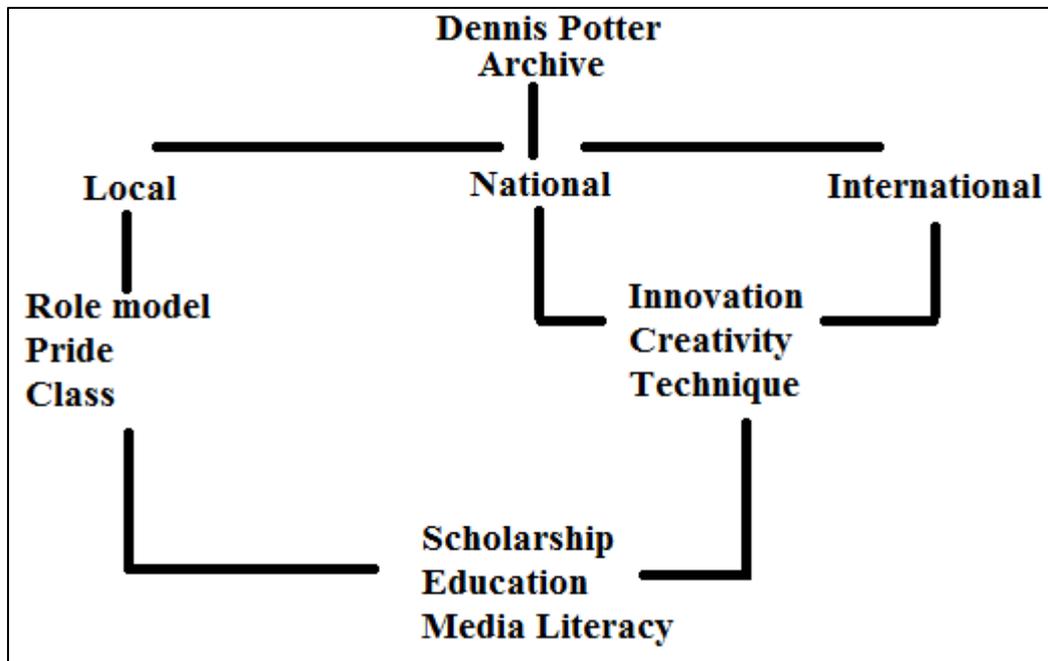
6.4 Creating a Legacy

Both in the funding applications submitted to the HLF and in the wider day-to-day discourse that surrounds the DPHP, the Potter Archive is frequently referred to as a ‘legacy’. Though Gary McCain and Nina Ray (2003) have explored the phenomena of ‘legacy tourists’ as those who visit museums, heritage centres and historical sites in an attempt to explore genealogical roots and pursue family history, as a broader concept for heritage based research ‘legacy’ is relatively under-theorised. It is for this reason that I will examine the term outside of the framework of ‘legacy heritage tourism’.

‘Heritage’ can be read as a synonym for ‘legacy,’ which is useful in making the concept meaningful to the DPHP, in the sense that heritage often includes drives for public education and learning activities. ‘Legacy’ might also be a ‘birth-right’ – but is the Potter Archive the birth right of the people of the Forest of Dean? Is the Forest ‘entitled’ to the Potter Archive? Examining a small selection of coverage by the local press can help illuminate the ways in which Potter’s legacy is tied up with the issue of heritage as a birth right. In the local press, the Bid process was perhaps most widely covered by Sarah Daly of the Forest and Wye Valley Review. After conducting interviews with the Collections Officer at the Dean Heritage Centre, myself in my capacity as a volunteer and PhD researcher, and with a representative from Voices, her article asked what the Archive means ‘for the legacy of this most famous of Forest of Dean sons?’ (Daly, 2012).

It is interesting that Daly asks what the Archive means *for* Potter’s legacy (rather than articulating the Archive *as* legacy). Throughout, Daly conceptualises Potter’s ‘legacy’ as bound to notions of space and place: Potter the Forest ‘son,’ and Potter the ‘internationally respected’ playwright. Legacy is explored through the ways in which the local (the Forest) is in contest with the national (London) and international (America). It seems that in

understanding Potter’s legacy, this idea of contest or competition might be reconfigured, as many of the concepts that build up ‘legacy’ overlap. A small diagram might help illuminate this:



(Figure 6.4: Visualising the geography of Potter’s legacy)

Potter’s legacy is therefore conceptualised in various ways on the DPHP. In the most literal sense, Potter’s legacy is the physical Archive of his work. If we see the Archive as the basis from which his legacy can be deconstructed, we see ‘legacy’ as having a different impact across the local, national and international levels. Potter’s legacy is therefore bound intrinsically to notions of space and place – the legacy of his television career and the impact he had on television as a medium is important on a national and international level; his legacy on the local level is local pride, he is offered as a role model for local people, and his legacy suggests that class and background can have an important positive effect; and his legacy for education, media literacy and scholarship transcends the local, national and international.

Though the Potter Archive (or Potter’s legacy) might hold latent value to fans and academics, for this legacy to have an impact for non-specialists, for local people and for the casual tourist, the DPHP (and the Dean Heritage Centre in particular) needed to extrapolate, communicate and interpret that meaning in an effective and affective way. How do the DPHP partners understand Potter’s legacy? How do they make sense of the Potter Archive in terms

of the wider aims and ambitions of the Dean Heritage Centre? What value do these partners place on the Potter Archive and wider Potter Project, and what impact might this have on the way Potter’s heritage is managed? The following section will address these questions in more detail.

6.5 Managing Perceptions: Positions on Potter

Sherene Suchy (2004) suggests that passion is pivotal to the success of individual museum projects and to ensuring the meeting of longer term goals. In her study, a leading museum manager in America suggested that ‘passion is what sells the museum,’ (p.29). This study takes the affective responses and perspectives of managers, volunteers and visitors to the DPHP as important grounds for measuring the success of the Project as a whole. Are all members of the DPHP partnership passionate about the Potter Archive? What impact does passion or affective engagement (or the lack thereof) have on the management of Dennis Potter’s legacy through the DPHP?

The perspective afforded by the autoethnographic approach has allowed the opportunity to get ‘close’ to those working on the DPHP. During extensive periods of field-work, I came into contact with many people who had worked (or continued to work) on the DPHP in various ways. In the various interactions I had with people involved in the Project, I soon began to identify a number of ‘positions on Potter’ that proliferated through the DPHP. Some people were passionate about Potter – they were loyal fans of his work and were enthusiastic about the Potter Archive’s return. Others were less enthusiastic, or admitted to disliking Potter’s TV work or the sentiment he expressed about the Forest of Dean in his early work. The table below summarises the ‘positions on Potter’ that I found expressed by representatives from the three main project partners ‘in the field’. It is important to recognise that these positions were surmised after nearly two years in the field, and based on a number of different conversations and interactions (and even qualitative questionnaire responses), rather than on singular or chance occasions.

Dean Heritage Centre Rural History Museum		Voices in the Forest Community Interest Company		University of Gloucestershire Educational/Research Institution	
Manager	nN	Bid Writer	P	Media Scholar	P
PR/Events	nN				

Collections	nP	Freeminer	P	Local Academic	P
Trustees	Pn	Local Academic	P	Researcher	Pn
Volunteers	Pn				
Researcher	Pn				
Key					
P = Positive n = Neutral N = Negative					

(Figure 6.5: Positions on Potter)

To make this table more meaningful, it is worth exploring the ‘key’ in some detail to begin with. Positive (P) responses were marked in my field notes and against questionnaire responses throughout the period of study. Positive affective responses to Potter manifested in many different ways: passion or enthusiasm for the Project as a whole; ‘fannish’ appreciation of Potter’s work; understanding the importance of Potter as a prominent figure in British television history, and so on. Negative (N) responses were classified as: a rejection of the importance of Potter to the Forest of Dean and British Television History (for example, ‘I don’t see what all the fuss is about...’); and expressions of distaste with the content of Potter’s work (for example, ‘He was really filthy. I didn’t like his TV work at all’). Neutral reactions (n) were marked by general apathy toward Potter as a television author, or by repeated expressions of ‘I don’t know enough about Potter to get excited about him.’

It is also worth noting that several people involved in the DPHP worked across institutions. As a researcher, I worked at the Dean Heritage Centre as a volunteer and used the experience to gather data, but I was also engaged with the UoG in my capacity as a PhD researcher. The ‘Local Academic’ listed here also worked across groups: as a key member of Voices and as an academic employed by the UoG. Some of these groups are made up of one person (eg. Manager at Dean Heritage Centre, or Media Scholar at UoG) whereas others such as ‘Trustees’ and ‘Volunteers’ are made up of a number of people. In this way I have based my understanding of their ‘position on Potter’ on the interviews I managed to secure with members of each group, and so cannot claim to speak for all members of the wider group.

It is interesting that two of the key members of staff (the Centre Manager and the PR/Events Manager) at the Dean Heritage Centre generally expressed neutral-negative positions on Potter. In interview, the Centre Manager explored her personal feelings about Potter and his work:

It's not that I don't like him [Potter] it's that I don't know his work. I remember when I was younger, *The Singing Detective* being on TV and thinking, "Oh, what's that?" and now my interest in watching it would be because Robert Downey's in it. I would want to see what all the fuss was about and my interest is on that side of things but not because it's Potter. I've been bought the DVD for Christmas and I haven't even watched it. [...] It's just not something I've ever thought, "Oh, Potter, I must sit and watch or read..." As the manager of this place and having the archive here, I feel like I should be but again it's just the time restraints. Also the kind of 'want' isn't there [Interview with author, August 2013].

The Centre Manager draws upon her memories of television and temporally locates her memories of Potter's television in her 'younger' years, perhaps suggesting that his work is now 'dated'. She does not state that she ever watched *The Singing Detective*, only that she was aware that it was on. She notes that should she watch *The Singing Detective* today, it would not be the original version (the one that 'all the fuss' was made about) rather it would be the 2003 remake directed by Keith Gordon and starring Robert Downey Jr. This response from the Centre Manager thus highlights notions of personal taste, and suggests that hers is a taste for modern Hollywood production rather than vintage BBC drama.

'Time' is also invoked in this extract as a reason that the Centre Manager has not become more engaged with Potter's history and television work – 'time restraints'. Understandably, running the DHC is not to simply manage the DPHP, there are a huge number of other commitments and duties in her remit, which means she does 'not have time' to acquaint herself more fully with Potter's work. The Centre Manager does, however, have a subconscious knowledge of Potter, and is aware of a collective memory of him, one that encompasses *The Singing Detective* and the subsequent 'fuss.' Thus, the Centre Manager claims a different form of social capital by not having watched Potter, perhaps, and by rejecting the original in favour of Hollywood re-make.

This extract suggests that the Centre Manager felt that she 'should' know Potter's work in her position on the DPHP, but freely admits that she feels no real desire (no 'want') to explore Potter's work. Again, such a sentiment highlights the idea of the cultural policy imposition of Potter as valuable heritage 'on' the DHC rather than a real desire to house and exhibit Potter from the grass roots. Moreover, this extract surmises a great deal of interactions I had with the Centre Manager throughout extensive periods of field work, and suggests that she has no

taste for Potter, though recognises his importance. The Centre Manager's personal memories of Potter's work on TV, reveals not a professional performance of managing an archive but an expression of personal taste. It appears that hers is a response that comes from the proximity that I had to her and the Project at the time of interview. It is interesting to wonder whether the Centre Manager might have answered differently had the press, the BFI or a more established academic been interviewing her.

Bourdieu (1984) argued that 'tastes (i.e., manifested preferences) are the practical affirmation of an inevitable difference. [...] Each taste feels itself to be natural – and so it almost is, being a habitus- which amounts to rejecting others as unnatural,' (p.49). The tastes of the Centre Manager are articulated as being at odds with what is required of her in her position within the Museum (and her professional habitus), and though not a common stance within the DPHP, this distaste for Potter was found echoed elsewhere.

The lack of passion (which participants argued was reducible to a lack of knowledge) is a sentiment echoed in the interactions I had with the Dean Heritage Centre's PR/Events Manager. In her interview we spoke about the excitement enthused by fans and extras who had been interviewed as part of the Digital Storytelling series. When asked how she felt about Potter and his television work, the PR/Events Manager suggested:

I don't think I have enough interest to get the excitement that someone... [like] an extra, [who] had that experience then they're going to be a lot more connected than someone like me who has to snatch reading and seeing bits of his things when I get the time [Interview with author, August 2013].

Implicit in their narratives about personal taste is the idea that the Centre Manager and PR/Events Manager's habitus' are not the same as that of a Potter scholar, a Potter fan or one of Potter's extras: as Bourdieu (1984) argues, 'taste classifies, and it classifies the classifier,' (p. xxix). One reason behind the PR/Events Manager's limited connection to the Potter Project might be her perception of her cultural identity in relation to her professional role. In interview, the PR/Events Manager noted that, 'living in the Forest I do feel like a foreigner. I don't fit in, in any way. I'm constantly reminded that I'm a foreigner. So that is why I don't feel connected to the heritage here,' [interview with author, August 2013]. How then do issues of 'being' and 'not being' connect to managing and marketing placed, regional heritage?

6.6 Positioning Potter: Regionalism, Being (and Not Being) from the Forest

One does not have to be an active ‘fan’ or passionate consumer of Potter’s work to understand the cultural value and historical significance of the Potter Archive, but it appears that the way in which the Potter Archive bid was won (through the concentration on aspects of space, place and home, and the distinctiveness of the region) might contribute to on-going issues surrounding the management of the Potter Archive now it is in situ. Jagath Weerasinghe (2011) suggests:

Local cultural contexts are no longer isolated islands of thought and tradition; they are in fact “globalised contexts” inhabited by communities and individuals who might well resist the interventions of heritage professionals who are solely guided by the authorised heritage discourse (p.139).

This is an important idea to transpose onto the cultural context in which the DPHP takes place: the Forest of Dean is no longer the ‘remote, in-ward looking [...] little enclosed world’ characterised by the ‘tight-knit closeness,’ of Potter’s childhood (Cook, 1995, pp.8-9). Rather, the isolation once felt in the Forest has been replaced with the effects of globalisation: high levels of out-commuting for work and education, and many positions within the Forest are now occupied by non-Foresters. This study, however, has revealed that those who work on the DPHP that have come from ‘outside’ (e.g. the local city of Gloucester, or from further afield) commonly expressed a real sense of boundary, of division between themselves and ‘true Foresters’ or local people.

During periods of fieldwork this sense of ‘not-being’ from the Forest was constantly referenced. Of the two main members of Dean Heritage Centre management and staff connected to promoting and managing the Potter Archive, neither are originally ‘local people’. In interview, the Centre Manager noted that despite working at the DHC for over three years, she is still referred to by staff and trustees that are ‘local’ as ‘that bloody Gloucester woman,’ [interview with author, August, 2013], though she is originally from Bradford, and has retained her accent. Taken out of context, this seems to be a xenophobic comment with profoundly negative connotations, though in the context in which it was said to the Centre Manager, she feels this is an expression of difference bound up with familiarity and jest. In exploring this notion of perceived difference in class identity the PR/Events Manager explained:

I'd say there's a lot of division between say me and people like [local poet, ex-miner and regular visitor to the Dean Heritage Centre] and people like that. They're [sic] lovely but you're a foreigner. [...] I think because a lot of people have grown up here and they've not really moved away they don't feel like they need more friends. [interview with author, August 2013].

Similarly, the Centre Manager suggested 'the attitude is very clichéd about Foresters. "Where do you work? Where are you from?" "Oh, have you got two webbed feet?" it's that attitude,' [interview with author, August 2013]. This is a sentiment echoed in interview by the Dean Heritage Centre Collections Officer, from Cinderford, who spoke about her identity as a Forester. Recounting an experience at a wedding in Wales, she said:

I have had it that I've met somebody's Uncle before their wedding, and I said, "We're from the Forest," and he was like, "Oh, have you got six toes?" It was just about like, "Why would you say that? Why would that be the first thing you say to somebody?" [...] You're being boiled down to where you're from, and I think wherever you're from that happens, unless you're from London, because obviously the whole world revolves around London [interview with author, August 2013].

There are two things happening in these extracts: difference is established and expressed from within to those that appear to come from outside; and difference is expressed about those on the 'inside' from those outside it. It is interesting that the Collections Officer establishes a further sense of difference: between the Forest of Dean and London, a rural/urban dichotomy which is at work both in the DPHP but also in Potter's television work.

The insights yielded from interviews with staff on the DPHP therefore indicate that the cultural identity of those who work on (or lead) heritage projects such as the DPHP is intimately connected to the delivery of the projects themselves. Projects so closely linked to cultural (and especially rural) identities and expressions of those identities such as the management of Dennis Potter's legacy, is often complicated social terrain which requires a degree of sensitivity and hardiness from all involved. This research has shown that there are barriers in place at the Dean Heritage Centre: for Dennis Potter's legacy to be managed effectively through the DHC these cultural constructions must be torn down.

What it means to be from the Forest of Dean and what it means to ‘not’ be from the Forest has emerged as a central conflict internal to the DPHP. Belonging and not-belonging have therefore structured management perceptions of both Potter and his television work. How can (and how do) those who self-identify as having little interest in or passion for Potter manage, promote and therefore ‘sell’ the heritage Project?

6.7 Selling Potter

Selling Potter through the DPHP was a more complex task than envisaged in the planning stages and during the bids for funding. Through close observation of the Project from its inception to its delivery, it seems that ‘selling Potter’ became fused to three complicated and interconnected issues: 1) interpreting a version of Potter suitable for consumption by local people and visitors to the museum, 2) convincing staff at the Dean Heritage Centre itself of the worthwhile activity of selling Potter, and 3) clarifying problems surrounding rights and ownership.

In its planning stages and during the funding application rounds, the DPHP structured its enterprise around the Forest of Dean and the Dean Heritage Centre as the ‘home of Potter’. In interview, the PR/Events Manager suggested that once the Potter Archive was in situ in the Forest of Dean, the approach was to ‘work back towards London,’ in order to garner more interest on the national and international scale [interview with author, August 2013]. Thus, processes of ‘selling Potter’ were made more complicated by conceiving the local and the international as two separate management entities in the DPHP.

6.7.1 Selling Potter to Local People and Tourists

‘Selling Potter’ to the Forest has been a much more difficult task for the Dean Heritage Centre and DPHP stakeholders than ever thought during the bid process and community fundraising efforts, and a task that fell (not unreasonably) within the remit of the DHC (rather than the other Project partners). The Centre Manager suggested in interview the DHC was not (in mid-2013) seeing the visitors that ‘people thought [the Archive] would bring, or were hoping it would bring. [...] [Potter is] such a niche market, so polarising in that people either love him or hate him... I thought, it’s not going to have a massive effect on our visitor numbers, and it hasn’t,’ [interview with author, August 2013]. With concerns about the ‘polarising’ nature of Potter as a (Forest) man and the controversial nature of Potter’s work in mind, it appears that in order to sell Potter (back) to the Forest, the Dean Heritage Centre adopted a view of Potter that was both geographically situated and politically neutralised. By

representing Dennis Potter at the Dean Heritage Centre as Potter the Forest family man, the Collections Officer suggested:

The exhibition [aims to show that Potter] did all this work, he was controversial which we do acknowledge, but he's also a family man, and this is what he was like [interview with author, August 2013].

The final chapters of this study will address in more detail the construction of the Dennis Potter Exhibition at the Dean Heritage Centre, the way in which an authorised heritage discourse about Potter and his history has been established, and the way Potter is mythologised in the museum. For now, however, this example illustrates the way in which the 'family' and the nostalgia for the domestic space of times gone by are employed as strategic marketing devices, devised to have a particular impact on the local visitor and the tourist.

By marketing Potter through the exhibition as a family man, as an everyday person with roots in the 1950s, and as a typical Forest of Dean man, the DHC attempts to reclaim Potter from his fame. At the very least, through nostalgia and the inference of the family, Potter is reclaimed by the Forest from London. By situating the permanent Potter exhibition temporally in the 1950s, the Dean Heritage Centre's representation of Potter is far removed from the time in his life most associated with his 'Dirty Den' persona, his (rumoured) unfaithfulness to his wife, and the perceived disloyalty to the Forest read in *Between Two Rivers* (1960). By separating Potter 'the man' from Potter 'the work,' a more sanitised version of Potter can be sold (back) to the Forest of Dean and to the tourist alike.

That Potter and his television work is still well within living memory has therefore become a key consideration in the way that his legacy is managed at the Dean Heritage Centre. By effectively managing the temporal period and engineering a domestic space in which visitors are invited to remember, Potter's 'seedier side' is successfully avoided. The fact that Potter still resides within living memory also has other implications for the way in which his legacy is managed through the DPHP. The DPHP stakeholders were able to recruit people who were extras in Potter's television work, local fans, and people who knew Potter in various capacities in order to undertake a series of oral history interviews which were later turned into digital stories. While the Project itself was bolstered by active community engagement only available *because* Potter is still within living memory, other members of the community and beyond expressed doubts as to the historicity of Potter and his work and thus the

appropriacy of the Archive's interment at the Dean Heritage Centre: 'Isn't it a bit new, still, to be going into the Museum?' [Local man in conversation with author, field notes].

6.7.2 Selling Potter and Staff Cultural Capital

Selling Potter is therefore a complicated task, and must be administered differently according to the audience. As I have already demonstrated, members of the Dean Heritage Centre management self-professed a lack of interest in Potter and a limited understanding of the cultural value of the Potter Archive, and so the task of selling Potter was made even more complicated. In a questionnaire sent in the summer of 2013, the PR/Events Manager was asked, 'What do you think is the cultural value of the Potter Collection, and the Potter Project (if any)?' She responded:

I think the cultural value of the Potter archive is the collection of artefacts that can be studied and evaluated by budding television and media professionals. I am yet to be convinced that it has much of a cultural value to the Forest of Dean in particular. You must understand that I know very little about Potter and his accomplishments. Perhaps after a little more research I would think differently [Pre-launch Questionnaire].

First, the PR/Events Manager locates the cultural value of Potter along a cultural/geographic divide between the Forest of Dean and more urban centres traditionally inhabited by 'budding television and media professionals' and by suggesting there is limited cultural value for the Forest, contradicts the bid document's earlier focus on place. In this way, the PR/Events Manager's thinking impacts on the way that Potter is 'sold': it is marketed differently along the division between the two camps. Selling Potter to television and media professionals or academics was left to the DPHP stakeholders from the UoG who had 'the knowledge to promote it to that arena,' [Centre Manager in interview with author, August 2013]. Second, the pre-launch response from the PR/Events Manager reinforces the notion that the ability to see value in Potter and the Potter Archive can only be achieved by having a deeper understanding of him and his work. This is linked to the first point that the cultural value of the Potter Archive is more easily translated to media academics and television professionals who already understand the inherent value of Potter's work (those with the taste and cultural capital to appreciate it). The PR/Events Manager wrote:

Instead of convincing me that a Potter celebration event would be supported and well attended by local people, the project has left me wondering if there really is the local

interest in Potter that was first heralded by those who were involved in securing the archive. I would love to be proved wrong. [Pre-launch questionnaire].

Evident in the PR/Events manager's discourse is a concern with the underlying economies of heritage: an assumption was made that local interest was pre-existing and in making that assumption the Dean Heritage Centre found itself, in reality, struggling to construct and generate that interest. Rather than articulating it in this way, to the member of staff ultimately responsible for marketing the Potter Archive, 'Selling Potter' became a question of proving or disproving the local interest established by the community initiative that sought to secure the Potter Archive in the first place. Bella Dicks (2003) suggests that in the process of marketization and the commodification of heritage 'the issues of commemoration and identity which are often the initial spurs for heritage initiatives at a grassroots level are rearticulated as questions of political and commercial ownership and control,' (p.31). Conceived at grassroots level through the work of community interest group Voices and built around notions of commemoration and identity, how far have the initiatives of the DPHP been rearticulated as questions of ownership and control since the acquisition of the Potter Archive?

6.7.3 Selling Potter: Rights and Ownership

Issues surrounding the (copy)right to the Potter Archive caused problems for the DPHP from its arrival on site, and have impacted on the way Potter is 'sold' at the museum. My Research Diary documents many questions that arose surrounding ownership and control of the archive:

Various Dates (2012-13)

Which of the manuscripts can be displayed in the museum? How should access to unpublished materials be negotiated for academics and scholars? Could pages be photocopied or reproduced in any way, or might that infringe copyright? Who owns the copyright for the unpublished works? Could any of Potter's unpublished works be made for the screen? How far does the arm of the BBC reach over the works originally produced for them? Do the DHC actually own the Potter Archive in any meaningful sense?

The Potter Archive is held under copyright until 70 years after Potter's death (Intellectual Property Office, 2013) (it will be released from copyright in 2064) and so the ways in which the Archive can be used by and at the Dean Heritage Centre are perhaps more limited than they might be. Questions of ownership and control permeate the enterprise of the DPHP and

have drastically impacted on the way in which Potter is sold through the Project, especially when it comes to making profit from the Archive. In interview the Centre Manager recalled interactions with Potter's agent, Judy Daish, and suggested that the Agent was unwilling to discuss any possibility of making money from the Potter Archive [Interview with Author, August 2013].

Selling Potter's heritage is therefore made more complicated by a myriad of relationships with different legal and moral responsibilities placed upon them. 'Making money off' the Potter Archive (or 'selling Potter') is tied to notions of loyalty (to the family, to the agent, to the community), is tied to issues over cultural capital, and to a conflict between the local, national and international. In order to keep the agent happy the DHC has to be very careful about the ways in which (and what) material is released to the public; in order to keep the family happy the Dean Heritage Centre need to maintain a relationship with the long-serving agent; in order to keep the community, the funders and the Project partners happy, the Dean Heritage Centre need to ensure meaningful access to the Archive.¹¹ It should be noted that there exists a difference between an idealised academic approach to a conserving and making use of a media archive and the real, lived, practical and costly realities of managing an archive within a rural history museum.

The Centre Manager later argued that the Potter Archive was actually 'costing [the Dean Heritage Centre] money and we can't make any money from [the Archive] whatsoever,' [interview with author, August 2013]. It therefore appears that the complex and interrelated economies of heritage have begun to dictate what gets to 'be' heritage itself. Instead of 'selling' the Dean Heritage Centre as the 'Home of Potter' as heralded in the bid documents, the issues explored above have in fact resulted in Potter being sold at the Dean Heritage Centre only as a secondary attraction.

6.8 Potter as a Secondary Attraction

Above, I explored the ways in which the Dean Heritage Centre was marketed in the bid process as the 'Home of Dennis Potter,' and the difficulties in selling Potter once the Archive is in situ. In interview over a year after the Potter Archive arrived at the DHC, the Centre Manager stated that the Dean Heritage Centre is 'not really marketed as the home of Potter,'

¹¹ It is important to reiterate that the Dean Heritage Centre is not a film and television archive (an important consideration that will be addressed later in this study with reference to the BFI, for example) and therefore staff have limited experience in liaising with agents, dealing with copyright and exploring how television history can be accessed and presented to audiences in the museum space.

[interview with author, August 2013]. Rather, she suggested that the vast majority of visitors to the Centre come ‘for their experience, whether it’s *The Gruffalo* or the carvers, but then when they get here and see what else is on site... Then they learn about Potter and heritage,’ [interview with author, August 2013].

When promoting the Potter Archive on Twitter the PR/Events Manager suggested that whenever she was ‘hashtagging Dennis Potter, I never put Dennis Potter, I always put ‘#Potter’ because you get more people than you would... It’s just playing on that! I do use Harry Potter, I get round it,’ [interview with author, August 2013]. Here we find Potter buried within more contemporary cultural icons such as the *Harry Potter* series, a new media tool creatively embraced to garner publicity for the Centre (and thus – covertly- Potter). Cultural capital does not circulate in the same way as economic capital, as John Fiske (2006) states. ‘Popular cultural capital consists of [multiple] meanings and pleasures [...] It is not a singular concept, but open to a variety of articulations,’ (p.541). These articulations manifest as social distinctions (Bourdieu, 1984). On the production of ‘popular’ culture versus ‘high’ culture, John Storey (2014) argues that ‘what makes something art rather than entertainment is not how it is produced but how and by whom it is consumed,’ (p.9). Though Potter was once consumed as popular culture through television as the domestic medium, in the discourse iterated by the PR/Events manager we find Potter articulated as a kind of ‘hard to reach’ or ‘dense’ figure, the remit of academics and elites alone. To the Dean Heritage Centre, Potter is ‘high culture’ and thus by burying Potter within the Harry Potter hashtag, the PR/Events manager redraws the boundaries of popular culture and popular taste as understood through the lens of the heritage project.

Redrawn as ‘high culture’, Potter is also found in the shadow of other more popular cultural figures when the words ‘Dean Heritage Centre’ are typed into Google. The autocomplete function on the search engine prompts us to search for ‘Dean Heritage Centre *Gruffalo*,’ with no mention of Potter. It might therefore be more appropriate to call the Dean Heritage Centre the ‘Home of *The Gruffalo*’ and thus see the Potter Archive and related exhibition as secondary attractions. The incredibly successful ‘*Gruffalo* Trail,’ a route around the Dean Heritage Centre grounds complete with wooden carvings and activities based on the popular 2010 children’s book by Julia Donaldson, has proved a great success for the DHC. *The Gruffalo* Trail was launched at the Dean Heritage Centre in March 2013 over two years after the acquisition of the Potter Archive, and was closely followed by the launch of the ‘*Gruffalo*’s Child’ trail the following year. As the Centre Manager suggested, ‘the museum

alone wasn't enough to keep this place going,' [interview with author, August 2013]. By installing the 'Gruffalo Trail,' the 'Gruffalo's Child' and later 'Room on the Broom' also by Donaldson (2012) the Dean Heritage Centre sought to capture the family market and then to sell the 'heritage' found in the Centre to an onsite audience. To consume the Dean Heritage Centre as a family oriented space bound to *Gruffalo's* and witches, then also becomes the chance to consume twentieth century television history through exposure to Potter, a phenomenon which will be examined in more detail through the analysis of the Potter Exhibition visitor books, in a later chapter.

Above, I established the ways in which the Dean Heritage Centre have attempted to commodify or 'sell' Potter, both back to the Forest of Dean and to tourists, and explored both the fiscal and emotional motivations for these actions. I have also explored 'positions on Potter' held, in particular, by Dean Heritage Centre staff. But there seems to be an overarching reason which can help explain why key members of staff hold a 'negative neutral' position on Potter, and, importantly, why the Potter Archive and Exhibition are now being sold (in the loosest sense of the word) as secondary attractions: timing. The table below (figure 6.4) taken from the second bid document, evidences the timeline DPHP stakeholders envisaged for the Project. At the time of writing, the Project is still on going, though various tasks have been completed. The most important task is cataloguing the Potter Archive itself, a task which to date remains uncompleted.

Timeline of the DPHP	
Date	Task

April '11	Start of Project
	Recruit Archivist
	Recruit Volunteers
	Train staff and volunteers in archiving
	Purchase storage equipment
May '11	Begin construction of exhibition
	Design and print publicity material ref archive
June '11	Begin community film
	Begin work with Lakers School
August '11	Training for audio trail begins
Sept '11	Record and edit audio trail
Oct '11	Start to record digital stories with University of Gloucestershire
	Give lectures and talks
	Launch/showcase of community film
April/May '12	End of first year/digital stories
	Continuation of archiving
March '12	Celebration Event
	Project Evaluation

(Figure 6.6: Timeline of DPHP, adapted from Bid Doc. 2, p.72)

As stated in the first round funding application to the HLF, ‘the care, organisation and cataloguing of the Potter Archive is critical to the successful outcome of this project,’ (Bid Doc.1, p.43) and to that effort, volunteers play a central role. The following section explores volunteering on the DPHP, and asks how engaged volunteers were in the DPHP. This section explores what is it like volunteering on a heritage project which was at first trumpeted and heralded as the ‘best thing to happen to the Dean Heritage Centre’ and for the Forest of Dean, but has subsequently slid into disillusion as cataloguing the Archive made slow and painful progress, and as Potter slipped into a secondary position behind *The Gruffalo*.

6.9 Volunteering on the DPHP

During the course of the DPHP there were several different roles that required the time of volunteers. From creating a walking tour of Potter’s Berry Hill, to assisting the production of the Digital Storytelling series, volunteers were necessary in a number of different ways. In this section, however, when I make reference to ‘volunteers’ I will be largely concentrating on those volunteers that undertook the cataloguing of the Potter Archive, as this was one of the pivotal and central tasks of the whole enterprise.

The phenomenon of volunteering in museums and heritage centres has been well documented (Goodlad & McIvor, 2005; Graham 2004, 2007; Holmes 2001, 2003, 2009). What is important to stress here, however, is that in most discussions of heritage volunteering, a distinction is usually made between those who volunteer in museums and heritage centres, and those who volunteer in archives and galleries (Holmes, 2001, p.10). This distinction is made to mark out the differences in volunteer 'expectation' of their experience. In other words, those who volunteer in an archive might have a different set of expectations from their experience, expect to gain something 'intangible' (Goodlad and McIvor, 2005), a gain which might be completely different to the hopes of those who volunteer at the front of house in a museum. What is common between groups of volunteers even within the heritage industry is the implicit understanding that volunteering must benefit the volunteer as much as it benefits the institution they gift their time to.

While the literature treats those who volunteer in galleries and museums separately, this study is unique. The environment under study here comprises a museum; it houses archive(s), and has a gallery. It is therefore impossible to separate volunteers at the Dean Heritage Centre into different heritage based activities as with previous studies. Volunteers who donate their time to the DHC make up a distinct body of volunteers, and are often called upon to divide their energies between tasks. This often runs counter to any original motivation volunteers might have had for donating their time in the first place and exploits the implicit understanding that volunteers must be able to reap some benefit from their experiences. The Dean Heritage Centre Volunteer Policy (January 2012) is very clear: the DHC must 'identify a volunteer's strengths, skills and interests in order to ensure both they and the museum gain most benefit from their involvement,' (p.3). How then, does redistributing volunteers across the site and engaging them in voluntary tasks they may have limited interest in completing, benefit the volunteer or the museum? This phenomenon speaks to wider issues of volunteer management at the Dean Heritage Centre, issues which are found crystallised at the Potter Archive.

Three men and four women made up the body of the Potter Archive volunteers and it is worth exploring their motivations for volunteering. Though the names have been anonymised (and replaced with characters from Potter plays – *Pennies from Heaven* and *Blue Remembered Hills*) the table below (figure 6.5) summarises the method of recruitment, motivations for volunteering, employment status when volunteering, where the volunteer lived, their current

volunteer status at the Dean Heritage Centre, and the reasons for ceasing volunteering their time cataloguing the Potter Archive.

Name	Method of Recruitment	Motivations for Volunteering	Employment Status	Age Bracket	Residency	Volunteer Status	Reasons for Ending Volunteering
Researcher	Researcher	Data gathering	Education	25-34	Local	No longer volunteering	Lack of observable data due to limited volunteers
Angela	Ex-Employee	Interest in Potter	Retired	64-74	Local	No longer volunteering	Illness and differences with staff and procedures
Eileen	Existing Volunteer	Asked to help	Education	18-24	Local	Occasional volunteer	Moved away for education
Joan	New Volunteer	Interest in Potter	Retired	55-64	Local	Continues to volunteer	N/A
Willie	Existing Volunteer	Asked to help	Retired	64-74	Local	Volunteers on other projects	Differences with procedures, lack of interest in Potter
Raymond	Existing Volunteer	Asked to help	Seeking Employment	35-44	Local	No longer volunteering	Obtained employment, little interest in Potter
Arthur	Researcher	Data gathering	Education	18-24	North England	No longer volunteering	Used volunteer role to get 'first look' at Archive, no interest in volunteering

(Figure 6.7: Table of Potter Archive Volunteers)

Holmes (2001) argues museums and heritage attractions do tend to attract older, retired volunteers, even though this age group is traditionally less likely to volunteer, (p.2). Of the seven volunteers who worked on cataloguing the Archive, three were retired people. Three were recruited 'in-house' and had already been volunteering their time in the museum. Two were recruited through their interest in Potter or a connection to the DPHP in an academic capacity (myself included). One was recruited due to her pre-existing connection with the Dean Heritage Centre, and her personal interest in Potter. Only one volunteer was recruited who had no pre-existing connection to academia or the museum.

Throughout the extensive periods of fieldwork undertaken at the DHC, I was thought of as both volunteer and researcher, a dual role I had worked hard to craft at the outset of my study. As a researcher and a representative from the University, however, I became thought of as the 'arm of the University,' stretched out on site to be made use of in various ways by Dean Heritage Centre staff. It took several months before I was able to clarify my role as researcher, and to make clear my position within the University. My position as representative from the University and as a volunteer who had experienced the difficulties in cataloguing an extensive archive short-handed, meant that the Collections Officer tirelessly petitioned me to 'recruit volunteers from the student body,' [field notes]. Explaining to the Collections Officer at the Dean Heritage Centre that I was not equipped with any real 'power'

or ‘sway’ at the University meant a constant renegotiation of my role within the Dean Heritage Centre, and became a barrier to affective engagement with the Centre as the host of my volunteering experience.

Willie, Joan and I made up the ‘core’ of volunteers who catalogued the Potter Archive, and between us donated over two hundred hours to cataloguing. A retired man, Willie was an existing volunteer who had previously donated his time to the shop, before being redeployed to the Gage Library. Joan responded to an advert in the local newspaper for volunteers and opted to volunteer her time cataloguing. At the time of writing, Joan was the only volunteer currently left working on the Project. I volunteered my time to catalogue the Archive as a means to collect research data (which was explored in detail in the research design chapter of this study). Raymond briefly catalogued the archive until he moved into paid employment. Eileen (the youngest volunteer on the Potter Archive) ‘helped out’ in the Gage Library infrequently, until she moved away to University (though continues to volunteer her time during holidays). Angela volunteered on the Potter Project very briefly, and though she was generous with her time in interview for this study she stopped volunteering after three sessions. Finally, Arthur was an English Literature post-graduate student, who volunteered for a short period of time. Arthur did not return to volunteering after the Collections Officer reminded him he was supposed to be cataloguing the Archive, rather than exploring its contents.

Of the seven volunteers recruited to catalogue the Potter Archive during the lifetime of the DPHP, at the time of writing, only one person remains as an active volunteer engaged in the task of cataloguing – the person recruited with no pre-existing connection to the museum or academia. Three key reasons have emerged which might explain the reduction in volunteer numbers: a lack of interest in Potter confessed to by volunteers themselves; volunteer frustration with cataloguing systems and processes; and cessation of volunteering to enter education or paid employment.

6.9.1 ‘I was never a man of literature,’ and ‘What’s the DPHP, anyway?’: Obligation and Limits to Volunteer Affective Engagement

In interview, volunteers said frequently that they did not even know the work they were doing was part of a wider heritage project. This was unexpected, and meant I had to spend a great deal of time explaining what the DPHP involved, what it aimed to do, and what their part was in the process. This lack of knowledge about the wider Project revealed that volunteers did

not feel part of the ‘bigger picture,’ and thus did not feel affectively engaged in the Project. Joan, Willie and Angela all suggested in interview that they did not know what the DPHP entailed and expressed a sense of frustration with this. Angela stated with real emotion, ‘It’s a shame. I came to volunteer but...’ [interview with author, August 2013]. In its Volunteer Policy, the Dean Heritage Centre itself states that a primary objective is to ‘involve volunteers fully in the working of the museum,’ (p.3). For volunteers to feel affectively engaged in their work they need to know how they are contributing to the wider aims or ambitions of the museum or individual Project. Perhaps with all the promotion and coverage in the press, the staff at the Dean Heritage Centre did not feel they needed to explain how the work of volunteers fit into the wider DPHP, though this was to their detriment.

As aforementioned, several of those who catalogued the Archive were volunteers drawn from other areas of the Heritage Centre: taken off the front desk or shop, or moved from a different project within the Gage Library. Citing the English Tourism Council (ETC) report of 2002, Graham (2004) suggested heritage attraction operators were even then voicing concerns about the difficulty in recruiting volunteers: ‘volunteers are becoming hard to find,’ (ETC Report, 2002, p.108, in Graham 2004, p.19). The Dean Heritage Centre have currently c.30 volunteers who fulfil a number of roles across site: from working in the shop to maintaining the grounds. This is not a large number of volunteers in practice, as they are not on site every day and often volunteer their time seasonally or in line with their own personal obligations. For this reason, and in part, due to a limited response to calls for serious volunteers in the local press (only Joan and Angela responded to the newspaper advertisements), the Dean Heritage Centre had to draw upon its existing bank of volunteers to catalogue the Archive.

Graham (2004) suggests that mainstream volunteering as a leisure experience often contains aspects of marginal volunteering, which is ‘distinguished by its marginalisation of free choice, and its emphasis on ‘disagreeable’, inflexible obligation,’ (p.14). It might be tempting to suggest that under pressure from stakeholders and funders to complete the task of cataloguing the Potter Archive, the Dean Heritage Centre loaded a sense of inflexible obligation upon the volunteers in order to coerce them into changing the tasks on which they volunteered. From the extensive periods of field work, and having been a volunteer at the DHC myself, this is simply not the case: the obligation experienced was more flexible than inflexible and contained no moral coercion (Graham, 2004, p.14). In interview, Willie suggested of his motivations to volunteer on the Potter Archive: ‘The Collections Officer asked me to do it... [...] I felt I wasn’t very well suited [to the task] actually, and I had never

volunteered to actually do Potter,' [interview with author, August 2013]. By asking Willie in person to change tasks, the Collections Officer placed a sense of obligation on her volunteer, though as Willie continued to catalogue the Potter Archive for over a year, and was by no means 'morally coerced' (Stebbins, 2001) into changing his volunteer role, this obligation was flexible.

But the initial act of obligating volunteers to change tasks at all impinges on the Volunteer Policy of the Dean Heritage Centre, and also disrupts the implicit understanding that volunteering should be a mutually beneficial process. Willie suggested that he is 'not a man of literature, I'm a man of maths and physics, and I couldn't quite really get round to enjoying doing Potter, the subject of literature,' [interview with author, August 2013]. Willie equated his lack of interest in cataloguing the Archive with his lack of interest in literature in general, and lack of knowledge about Potter (arguments similarly espoused by DHC management and marketing, arguments which similarly relate to notions of cultural capital as explored above). When asked if he had ever watched Potter's film and television work, Willie replied:

I was never aware of it. I recall some of the titles but that would be just because they were on. I may have watched something on the telly, but it just didn't register. I don't tend to watch something and wait to the end for the credits. I'm not really interested in all that. I don't know enough about him, [interview with author, August 2013].

Interestingly, though at odds with their volunteer policy, there seemed to be a preference for volunteers like Willie, over volunteers like Raymond. Where Raymond was engaged and interested in Potter as TV auteur (an interest that resulted in a reprimand and the end of Raymond's volunteering), Willie was more dispassionate and detached. Unaffected by the contents of the Archive (and thus demonstrating a different kind of cultural capital), Willie became frustrated with the process of cataloguing the film and television archive and suggested that volunteering his time archiving Potter's materials 'wasn't enough' for him [interview with author, August 2013]. He argued, 'I wasn't getting any value out of it and toward the end I was beginning to dislike the man [Potter] and his work,' [interview with author, August 2013]. Willie did not enjoy this volunteer role, and the faint negativity that this caused (Willie was never purposely negative or difficult during sessions) permeated the Gage Library, but Willie continued to donate his time for over a year due to this sense of obligation to the Collections Officer.

Similarly, I volunteered to catalogue the Potter Archive as a means to observe other volunteers interacting with Dean Heritage Centre staff and management and the Potter Archive. Over a period of a year, Willie, Eileen, Angela, Raymond, and Arthur each quit as a volunteer or renegotiated the tasks they volunteered on and I found myself sitting in a room void of volunteers but full of manuscripts to individually mark and input onto a database. I continued working on the Archive for a further four months before ending my time as a volunteer. I felt obligated (though not morally coerced) to continue to catalogue the archive as I had promised the Collections Officer my time, and felt I ought to continue to catalogue in order for the wider Project to succeed. In this way, volunteers at the DHC bought into the gift economy of local heritage, though this was felt most prominently through the ‘emotional labour of managing competing interests,’ (Garde-Hansen & Grist, 2014, p.12).

The cataloguing has taken a great deal more time than anyone expected. According to the ‘timeline’ proposed in the Bid Document (see above, figure 6.4) the cataloguing commenced in April 2011 and was due for completion in March 2012. In reality, the Potter Archive has been in situ at the Dean Heritage Centre for nearly three years, and the cataloguing remains incomplete due to a lack of volunteers. Difficulties in stimulating volunteer affective engagement in the DPHP, issues caused by the redistribution of volunteers to complete tasks they had limited knowledge or interest in, coupled with the slow progress made with cataloguing the archive led to a lack of motivation amongst volunteers (McCurley & Lynch, 1989) has also been a barrier to volunteer retention on the DPHP.

6.9.2 ‘We’re not really achieving anything...’ Volunteer Frustration as a Barrier to Volunteer Retention

Sinclair Goodlad and Stephanie McIvor (2005) suggest ‘the risks associated with museum volunteers often overshadow the benefits because many museum staff cannot think beyond the idea that volunteers are simply an extension of the paid staff,’ (p.19). These risks are often not identified and therefore not managed. At the Dean Heritage Centre, these risks included lack of affective engagement in Potter’s legacy (as explored above), a lack of volunteer interest in cataloguing the Archive itself, the difficulty in recruiting new volunteers, and the time it would take a small number of volunteers to catalogue the Archive. The Collections Officer noted:

I think that in the Bid, it was just assumed that we would have volunteers. I’m not saying that this is anyone’s fault... I just think it’s the fact that because we thought

there was going to be lots of local interest, we were going to get lots of local volunteers, even though there are people who are interested, they're a bit like... "Call me back when it's catalogued," [interview with author, August 2013].

Though there are a number of risks associated with the volunteer programme at the DHC, it does not seem that museum staff found it difficult to think of volunteers as anything but an extension of the paid staff. The Collections Officer was herself very grateful for the 'help' offered by volunteers, though professionally she found the slow progress made with cataloguing frustrating and potentially damaging to the Project itself. This professional concern with meeting targets and deadlines obviously filtered down into the day to day management of volunteers on the Archive. In interview, Joan suggested 'Sometimes I almost feel a bit under pressure because we're not getting on as fast as we might,' [interview with author, August 2013]. Similarly, Willie explained 'I thought that I was slowing [the Collections Officer] down from getting on with what she should have been doing,' [interview with author, August 2013].

This sense of frustration manifested most forcefully against the technology used to catalogue the Archive. MODES Complete was purchased with HLF funding in order to catalogue both the Potter Archive and to enable the Dean Heritage Centre to add the rest of its collection to an integrated database, in order to more effectively manage their existing collections. Though MODES is a tool 'fit for purpose' within the museum environment in general, it must be questioned whether it is the most appropriate software for poorly trained volunteers to catalogue a vast media archive such as Potter's. As someone fairly computer literate, even I found the system's interface difficult to use. The older volunteers in particular struggled with the database. Drawing on her experience as a previous employee at the DHC, Angela suggested that using MODES, 'We're not achieving anything':

It's so convoluted. [...] It's a shame in a way, that [the Dean Heritage Centre] couldn't have got someone to write a programme specifically for [archiving the Potter Collection]. I think it would have made archiving everything a lot, lot quicker and more enjoyable [interview with author, August 2013].

Willie and Joan made similar comments in interview, and suggested that the process of cataloguing the Archive was not only slow due to the limited number of people physically

cataloguing, but due to the systems in place to facilitate the process. Unlike the BFI's¹² Adlib Information Systems Database which stores and makes searchable over 80,000 different moving images, texts, and sound artefacts (Adlib, 2014) MODES is far less user-friendly. Willie explained his frustrations with the MODES system and also the procedure for archiving documents:

On MODES I thought there was a lot of unnecessary work! [...] I remember one day thinking, "Blimey. I've written SOYDH: DP.2012.22.... Over 400 times..." [...] And that's after you've taken out the stainless steel clip out of it. That will not go rusty! [...] Brief clips would've done the job. The little plastic things on string, that's what barristers use. It goes through the punch-hole, loops round and that's it. Pop that through and you've held it together and you only have to mark the number once! [Interview with author, August 2013].

From personal experience, I can confirm that the repetitive nature of 'marking up' a manuscript with the unique accession code ascribed to it is both frustrating and incredibly boring. It is understandable that Willie would become disillusioned with the task, especially when he held no special interest in Potter's work to begin with. Part of Willie's frustration stems from a difficulty in understanding why certain steps needed to be taken with the documents, such as removing pre-existing binders and clips, in order to ensure their preservation. This highlights the fact that the Dean Heritage Centre's volunteers are just that – volunteers – they are not professional archivists or cataloguers, they are inexperienced people (though willing to learn), and people who experience frustration. These specific frustrations have an origin which might also be explained with reference to the 'volunteer typology in heritage' model as put forward by Graham (2004) (see figure 6.6).

¹² The BFI work regularly with fan-based TV Archive *Kaleidoscope* based in Stourbridge, UK. During the final months of the period of study, the Dean Heritage Centre were approached by a representative for the BFI regarding collaboration on a potential Potter Retrospective in 2015, to which the Dean Heritage Centre responded with limited interest. Where *Kaleidoscope* and the BFI have fostered a productive and meaningful relationship through their collections, it appears that though a similarly de-centralised film/TV archive, the Dean Heritage Centre are reluctant to forge links with London-based groups such as the BFI.

Volunteer Type	Primary Benefit to Host Organisation	Primary Volunteer Motivation	Typology of DPHP Volunteer
Discoverers	Develop knowledge/people	Develop skills and knowledge	Arthur, Researcher, Raymond
Conservers	Preserve culture/heritage	Share/further existing skills	
Educators	Convey knowledge	Socialise and coach	
Learners	Education	Internalise skills and knowledge	
Befrienders	Widen access to recreation and learning	Soialise and network	
Adventurers	Preserve remote heritage assets	Experience challenge	
Investors	Generate income/self-sufficiency	Donate/fundraise	
Leisure Seekers	Provide leisure experiences	Further personal interest/hobby	Joan, Willie, Angela
Activists	Support heritage profession	Make a difference and engage with paid staff	Eileen
Health Seekers	Contribute to well-being of communit	Improve health and lifestyle	
Organisers	Organise and develop volunteering	Lead and instruct	

(Figure 6.8: Volunteer typology in heritage, adapted from Graham, 2004, p.27)

Perhaps the answer to the problems faced in using volunteers to catalogue the Potter Archive (limited number, little interest, difficulties with software, and limited understanding of archival procedures) can be traced to the typology of volunteer recruited for the task. Joan, Willie and Angela joined the Dean Heritage Centre as ‘leisure seekers’; Arthur, Raymond and I volunteered on the DPHP for different reasons, though largely as ‘discoverers’- because we each wanted to develop skills and knowledge; and Eileen volunteers at the Centre in an ‘activist’ manner - to engage with and support paid staff, and gain experience of the wider heritage profession. None of the volunteers that worked to catalogue the Potter Archive were, at heart, ‘Conservers,’ a typology of museum volunteer that would have been better suited to the task at hand.

The recruitment and ongoing management of volunteers was a critical task in the wider management of the DPHP. It is tempting to suggest that as Joan is the only remaining volunteer working to catalogue the Potter Archive, that the volunteer management portion of

the Project has largely been a failure. I think this would be to judge the Project and management prematurely. The difficulties in recruiting and retaining volunteers have a number of issues and motivations attached, as I have demonstrated, and may yet resolve with time. Moreover, it would seem foolish to attribute ‘blame’ for difficulties experienced in this multi-partner Project, as the responsibility for recruiting volunteers, and strategies for retaining them, might have been better thought out in the earlier planning stages of the Project. To understand how the partnership or multi-stakeholder aspect works on the DPHP is therefore (and obviously) central in understanding how Potter’s legacy is managed within the Forest of Dean heritage environment. It is to stakeholder involvement and partnership working that I will now turn.

6.10 Partnership Working and the Community as Stakeholders

This chapter has made reference to the ‘Project Partners’ in the DPHP and has also referred to them as ‘stakeholders’. In order to explore the ways this ‘partnership working’ has affected the management of Dennis Potter’s legacy in the heritage environment, it is worth deconstructing the concept of ‘stakeholder’. In their work on the long term strategic management practices of ‘top management teams,’ Fran Ackermann and Colin Eden (2011) suggest that there is a lack of clarity as to the conceptualisation of ‘stakeholder’ (p.179). Stakeholders are perhaps most commonly thought of as those who support institutions and groups from outside and whose support ensures the existence of those organisations. Ackermann and Eden (2011) augment this definition, suggesting that stakeholders might also include those individuals who ‘are *affected by* the organisation as well as those who can *affect it,*’ from outside (p.179).

If this conceptualisation of ‘stakeholders’ is applied to heritage projects, these individuals include not only those who have a financial stake in its success (funders, for example), and those members of external organisations that have collaborated to deliver for the Project, but also include those who are affected by and those that can affect the institution from outside of these networks: the local community. From a Cultural Studies perspective, one of the most important stakeholders in the Project was the community of the Forest of Dean – but were local people conceptualised as active stakeholders during the DPHP? Kelly M. Britt (2007) holds:

The production of heritage sites, at times, relies on volunteers and civic-minded citizens creating a direct link between heritage and social capital. However, the audience of visitors, many of whom are citizens themselves, also become involved in the creation of social capital as patrons of the site, creating a link not only between past and present (at a historic site) but also between producer and consumer and building social capital among all participants. This process creates the community as stakeholder, (p.152).

In the planning stages, the local community was definitely conceptualised as crucial to the success of the DPHP. Where other Project partners were able to capitalise on the creation of social capital through community media projects, periods of fieldwork and interviews with management suggested that Dean Heritage Centre did not view the community as an active stakeholder in the Project. *Community engagement* and conceptualising the community as *stakeholders* are two distinct things. In the Bid, it was expected that the primary method of community engagement on the DPHP (and thus a way to measure community interest in Potter) would be through the large numbers of local volunteers who would be committed to cataloguing the Potter Archive. As I have already explored, the Dean Heritage Centre simply are not seeing these numbers.

The DPHP has enjoyed the support of the local community in the form of two successful digital storytelling events (which will be explored in a later chapter) and a reasonably well attended 1950s fete. Where the Dean Heritage Centre are quick to suggest that perhaps the local community is simply not as interested in Dennis Potter as originally thought, conflating museum visitation with interest in Potter, I would argue that it would be premature to make such an argument. The community was keen to support the bid, and Potter is still thought of highly as one of the most important sons of the Forest, as evidenced by the success of the Potter Festival organised by Voices in 2004. The Dean Heritage Centre have already suggested in their forward plan that an audience they wish to attract more of is the local community, who make up only a small proportion of visitors to the Centre each year. Perhaps what we are witnessing on the DPHP is not lack of interest in Potter; it is not that the community has no stake in the preservation of the Potter Archive, but rather the continuation of existing local visitation trends, coupled with a mismatched understanding of the community's stake in the Project.

6.10.1 Leadership and Affective Engagement

Though the DPHP eventually emerged as a multi-partner project, tracing issues of ‘ownership’ and leadership of the DPHP speaks to wider issues of the management of Potter’s legacy as the Project went on. The concern over ‘ownership’ is not related to who ‘owns’ the Archive in a legal or financial sense, rather it relates to the affective engagement wrought from ‘owning the Project,’ in the sense of the investment of time, passion and energy involved in bringing it to life. As Harriet Deacon (2004) suggests, ‘ownership of an intangible heritage resource is not the same as ownership of a thing or a place,’ (p.13).

When exploring her experience of the multi-stakeholder aspect of the Project and the role of the Dean Heritage Centre as lead, the Centre Manager suggested:

I think to start with it was really good, especially working towards the Bid. I do feel it was definitely a case of when I came on board, they [the other partners] thought, ‘Oh, there’s a manager at the Dean Heritage Centre, there you go, it’s yours.’ Which I can see why – Voices had spent so long on it and worked so hard on it, they wanted somebody else to have ownership of it, [interview with author, August 2013].

The Centre Manager’s comments illustrate the temporal phases of ownership of the Project from the DHC’s point of view, and indicate the impact that the change of ownership (and thus leadership) had on affective engagement of staff and managers at the Dean Heritage Centre and successful partnership working. First, to the Centre Manager, the Project was not the ‘baby’ or special project that it was for Voices. She duly recognises the work put in by Voices in the early stages, and the passion that infused the Project at that time (Voices had already coordinated a successful Potter Festival in the Forest 2004 which forged strong links with the Potter family), an enthusiasm for Potter and the Archive that she (and to some extent, the team at the Dean Heritage Centre) were unable to replicate as the Project went on.

Second, the Centre Manager makes the point that as the bid was prepared, and ownership lay with Voices, the partnership between the Dean Heritage Centre, Voices and the University was successful. After the DHC gained a Centre Manager with focus, drive and direction, which coincided with winning the HLF Bid for funding, the responsibility to lead the Project passed to the Dean Heritage Centre, which resulted in it becoming something of a ‘hot potato’. ‘We were left to do it,’ suggests the DHC felt it was responsible for all aspects of the Project, as will be explored in more detail in later chapters. Expressing a similar sentiment, the PR/Events Manager suggested in interview that:

I mean for me, without sounding controversial, I do feel like we had all these people jump on board and say, ‘We should have it here,’ and we’ll house it, ‘and we’ll all help! It’ll all be great!’ And then I found that there was a lot of jumping ship [interview with author, August 2013].

With plans for educational programmes, community involvement, and an exhibition to enhance the museum experience based on the Potter Archive at the Dean Heritage Centre, from the outside it appears the museum was clearly the right institution to take the lead. Though from the inside (a sentiment experienced through fieldwork and in interview) it seems the Centre Manager feels she was not adequately briefed as to the scope of the Project (perhaps as she joined after the Project was already underway) and illuminates the feeling that this leadership role was somewhat ‘thrust’ upon them. As the representative from Voices argued, however:

Voices never had the ambition to grow into a big organisation and have a building and assets, nor to house the Archive, that was never the plan. We were, in a sense, set up to facilitate stuff, and to ‘do work,’ not to become an archive [interview with author, January 2014].

The feeling amongst museum staff that the DPHP was left on the Dean Heritage Centre’s doorstep (though, admittedly, not unsolicited) ultimately altered the dynamics of partnership working on the Project. As I will explore below, each partner had a different stake in the Project and thus claimed a different kind of ownership. The number of different stakes placed on the Project (from the funders, the partners and the community) impacted on the way in which relationships between partners were mediated and the way in which Potter’s legacy was managed overall.

6.10.2 What is at Stake in the DPHP?

Issues surrounding the leadership and emotional ownership of the DPHP therefore extend into a necessary discussion of the different stakes the community and Project partners had for the DPHP. The Project was a risky undertaking from the outset: would the Project receive HLF funding in the first place? If so, would the community be as receptive to the Potter Archive as hoped? Would the partnership be successful and endure throughout the day to day minutiae of running a multi-stakeholder project? Would the staff at the Dean Heritage Centre have the skills (and desire) to use the Potter Archive in a way which could be represented meaningfully to audiences? Risk permeated the entire enterprise of the DPHP, connected to

economic, social and cultural concerns. As Stephen Lyng (2005) suggests, the pursuit of risk is ‘itself a key structural principle extending throughout the social system in institutional patterns of economic, political, cultural, and leisure activity,’ (p.8). The following section explores risk through the concept of stake: whose interests might be best served on the DPHP and what of the production of Potter as heritage, both for partners and for the local community?

Ahmed Skounti (2009) holds that there are many different elements that create investment in heritage which arise from the economic, the political, the social and the cultural (p.75). In the following section I will concentrate on the Voices, the UoG and the Dean Heritage Centre. Though Lakers School and the Rural Media Company have important investments in the Project and delivered important sub-projects for the DPHP, theirs are fairly short-term economic or educational stakes, which can be explored in detail with reference to the other Partners.

Of all the project partners, it seems that Voices had the biggest emotional investment in securing the Potter Archive for the Forest of Dean. Skounti (2009) holds that there are social stakes involved in the management of heritage, which involve the drive ‘by groups and individuals to achieve social prestige, “notability” and symbolic capital all at once,’ (p.75). As one of the founding members of the group stated in an interview with the local press, Voices is a:

Community Interest Company that aims to raise the profile of creativity and heritage of the Forest of Dean. [...] The archive [wasn’t] for sale on the open market: everyone [wanted] it to stay in the Forest. Voices in the Forest have supported the Dean Heritage Centre [...] and it’s very much a partnership project. [...] It’s the obvious place for the Archive, (Forest Of Dean and Wye Valley Review, 2012).

In this sense the investment that Voices had in the DPHP was to continue its ‘good’ work, and to raise the profile of the creative history of the Forest of Dean by securing access to a locally important cultural resource. As Skounti (2009) remarks, ‘there are cultural stakes which rest on the affirmation of a strong, homogeneous and unchanging identity, sometimes manipulated to mobilise people,’ (p.75) to a common cause. As a community interest company born in 2007, three years after the introduction of the Companies Act of 2004 under Blair’s Labour, the policy directive framework which saw Voices created meant the ‘the primary focus remains on achieving benefit for the community,’ (CIC Association, 2014).

Voices (as with all the Partners, to some extent) aimed to create a sense of ‘notability’ for the Forest of Dean, a literary distinctiveness spearheaded by Potter’s achievements, and thus lend a sense of ‘respectability’ to the area. Heritage is therefore managed as a tool to engender a strengthening of Forest identity namely built around the heritage of Dennis Potter, which enables these social, cultural, business and professional stakes to be met.

Similarly, the investment that the University had in the DPHP was conceived around notions of cultural and academic value, and saw the Potter Archive as a springboard for new media and television research. With Potter academia largely reliant on the work of John Cook (1995; and Gras 2000), Glen Creeber (1998, 2007) Peter Stead (1995), Stephen Gilbert (1995) and the biography by Humphrey Carpenter (1998), the DPHP from an academic point of view, was to bring that scholarship up to date. On why ‘Potter matters’ (and thus one articulation of the academic ‘stake’ in the Potter Archive) Joanne Garde-Hansen suggests:

Television as a collective memory is a crucial notion if past work is to retain its ‘value’ in the future, if the archive is to be preserved, if the production values are to be remembered. These value systems frame the ‘official memory’ of Potter’s works, produced by professionals (from TV to archives to literary agents), and includes those memories deemed to be of archival value, (Potter Matters, 2014).

The Archive and DPHP offer the opportunity to completely reassess the way we currently approach the collective memory of television history, and re-evaluate the way in which we approach audiences. As only one of many possible routes of academic investigation Garde-Hansen’s comments highlight the international importance of the Archive to scholarship, and mark out the depth of the academic ‘stake’ in the Potter Archive.

The investment in Potter’s heritage held by the Dean Heritage Centre was two-fold. As a part of the cultural history of the area, and with popular (and funders) demands for the Archive to be housed at the museum, the preservation of the Potter Archive met their mission to protect, preserve and promote the unique history of the Forest of Dean. Though, as Skounti (2009) suggests, with any heritage resource, ‘there are economic stakes, linked to returns expected from controlling the resources such as business opportunity, job creation, investment, tourism, currency, and so forth,’ (p.75). Of all the Project Partners, it seems the economic investment in the DPHP was the greatest for the Dean Heritage Centre, but by the same token, they are the Partner that might see greatest return.

Throughout the Project there was the potential to create lasting relationships between Partners: groups with varied aims, ambitions and resources, though bound together by a shared commitment to the DPHP. Ylva French and Sue Runyard (2011) argue that ‘it may be easy to get stakeholder relations up and running, but more difficult to sustain communications in a positive way, especially with a small team,’ (p.207). Moreover, as the habitus of a Potter scholar and the habitus of a Potter archivist are very different, communicating (or failing to communicate) these differences became critical to the entire enterprise.

6.10.3 ‘Potter-illiteracy’ and Demands on Communication

Self-confessed as ‘Potter-illiterate’ [field notes] the Dean Heritage Centre staff relied on the University to make Potter meaningful and to collaborate on marketing events. This self-proclaimed lack of knowledge and the importance of communication therefore became critical to the Dean Heritage Centre’s relationships with Project partners. Identifying as ‘Potter-illiterate’ further establishes the differences in language, taste, cultural capital and habitus between partners. The UoG, as an academic institution, was seen as the partner with the ‘contacts and the knowledge to make the Project work’ [field notes], and thus, the partner with the most cultural capital. When speaking about the preparations for the Potter Celebration Event the Centre Manager suggested that marketing the event was incredibly difficult. She stated that ‘had it been any other subject, or somebody that we felt more confident about, it probably wouldn’t have been an issue. [...] I mean the PR/Events Manager was super stressed over that, because she doesn’t know Potter, she’s not a Potter fan’ [interview with author, August 2013]. Again, approaching Potter in terms of provenance rather than interpretively as ‘thematic’, the DHC were found equating the ability to market Potter with having prerequisite knowledge about him and his work. As the DHC felt there were partners who were Potter fans and experts better suited to marketing the event, staff often decried the lack of communication and assistance. Though it is within the remit of any marketing team to carry out research, the PR/Events Manager argued that:

In regards to the Potter Day [Celebration/Launch], it did end up with me doing the majority of it and having to chase up people who had the interest, and probably had the connections to be able to make it a really big day. [...] The main frustration was that people who actually had the interest in Potter weren’t as heavily involved in organising as they could have been [interview with author, August 2013].

This extract which addresses broad issues about communication (or lack thereof) speaks to wider issues of managing Potter's heritage at the Dean Heritage Centre. Those with the specialist skills to *market* and *advertise* wanted to draw extensively upon the specialist Potter expertise found in partners from the University to explain why Potter matters, as if the one could only exist with the other. An extract from my research diary further illuminates this:

2nd May 2013

Another day of field-work, and I continue to hear more comments which perceive the University to have had a lack of involvement in the Project. The University has delivered digital stories, added to the exhibition and supports the DHC externally. I'm being called upon at the DHC to deliver volunteers and to write promotional material about the relationship between the DHC and UoG, though that activity is useful for me and for my study. But the DHC's gentle insinuations that the University has cut and run from the Project are frustrating. As is their need for reassurance as to how to market Potter. How many times can I explain why I think Potter matters? Why Potter's important to academia, and why Potter's important to the Forest? I understand not having the passion for Potter that others do, but the DHC seem to think that this means the University needs to make Potter meaningful to the Forest. That's surely the role of the museum, communicating cultural value.

As an embedded, placed member of the project, and as a student with loyalty to my institution, this extract reflects the level to which frustration meant I ended up 'taking sides' in my diary. It also highlights the implicit recognition of the differences in languages, tastes and habitus of myself as researcher and the Dean Heritage Centre as a museum. Moreover, this extract illustrates the troubled nature of relationships when the cultural capital of group members is misaligned, and suggests that communication issues are one of many ways in which disjuncture is manifested. Furthermore, problems like these are important to reveal because analyses of cultural policy rarely reveal the underlying mechanisms and processes which shape projects (both positively and negatively) in the way that this research has done.

6.11 Conclusion

This chapter has explored the many and often competing heritage management processes enacted on the DPHP. It has examined the way the Potter Archive was won, the founding discourses that situated the Forest of Dean as the 'home of Potter,' and the impact of the strategic employment of nostalgia in the earliest stages of the Project. This chapter has explored the notion of legacy and investigated the way in which Potter's heritage which

appeared tied to competition and tension between the local, the national and the international, can actually be reconfigured. It explored the emotional or affective engagement of Project Partners in the Potter Project, through examining ‘positions on Potter,’ and suggested that being and ‘not’ being from the Forest of Dean had a critical impact on the way that the DPHP was managed, and the ways in which Potter’s heritage was commoditized. By exploring the notion of Potter as a secondary attraction, this chapter argued that the Dean Heritage Centre found the cultural value of Potter difficult to communicate to audiences, especially as their target audience became more family orientated. This chapter also explored in detail the experiences of volunteers on the DPHP, as well as issues that arose from partnership working. Through an exploration of the nature of ‘stakeholders’, the competing and complimentary stakes in the DPHP held by these groups, and by exploring questions of ownership, leadership and communication, this chapter has explored the many and often competing heritage management processes enacted on the DPHP. Inherently tied to these processes are questions of taste, language, and cultural capital. As Bourdieu (1984) states:

The dialectic of conditions and habitus is the basis of an alchemy which transforms the distribution of capital, the balance-sheet of a power relation, into a system of perceived differences, distinctive properties, that is, a distribution of symbolic capital, legitimate capital, whose objective truth is misrecognised (p.168).

Where this chapter has necessitated capturing the breadth of management processes that took place on the DPHP, the following chapter aims for depth. The following chapter examines the ways in which Potter’s heritage is represented and exhibited in the museum space and explores the ways audiences respond to and interact with the Potter Exhibition.

7. Interpreting Dennis Potter's Heritage in the Museum Space

7.1 Introduction

Put simply, the definition of interpretation is the process through which the museum makes an object, artefact, or historical event intelligible for its audience. The Heritage Lottery Fund (HLF) defines interpretation as being:

Not just about facts and figures, it is the way in which the interest, value, significance and meaning of heritage is communicated to people. It is a learning activity which communicates the stories and ideas behind the heritage and provokes the audience to think for themselves, coming to their own understanding about what its subject means to them ('Good-Practice Guide, 2013, p.3).

As homogenous 'lumps' drawn from the material or natural world (Pearce, 1992, p.5) which could easily have been any other 'lump,' the process of interpretation makes those objects or collections distinct and meaningful through articulating their social and cultural provenance and by contextualising their historical relevance. The Potter Archive can be seen as a 'lump of culture' once stored in boxes in an agent's office, and re-organised at the Dean Heritage Centre as evidence of the Forest's creativity and as critical artefacts in TV history. The process of interpreting the Potter Archive as a legacy began the moment the Archive was sold to the Dean Heritage Centre. How then, was that process to be continued in the public forum of the Potter Exhibition?

7.2 Interpreting Dennis Potter through the Exhibition: Interpretation Panels

A great deal of work on heritage interpretation focuses on the interpretation work done to make objects and artefacts meaningful (Pearce, 1992; Hooper-Greenhill, 1992; MacDonald, 2011) or on the specific type of interpretation done to make the historic built and natural environments intelligible for the public (Tilden, 1957; Uzzell, 1989a, 1989b). The Potter Exhibition is a gallery light on objects and artefacts which relate directly to Potter, and heavy on textual interpretative panels, which reinforces the view that textual interpretation remains the 'verbal workhorse of the museum' (Miller, 1990, p.85). The Potter Exhibition has ten interpretation panels which have roughly seven hundred words of interpretive text on each, which amounts to around seven thousand words of interpretive text in total (figure 7.1).



(Figure 7.1: Example of Interpretation Panel in Potter Exhibition)

Juliette Fritsch (2012) suggests that the interpretive language of a display or interpretive panel is a symbolic system (p.98). Symbolic narratives employed in interpretive panels in museums draw upon the world views and world experiences of individual visitors, and thus the range of interpretation possibilities is multiple. It is here that museums are often criticised for presenting a dominant world-view or for under-representing marginal or minority voices. As Fritsch (2012) goes on to suggest, ‘museum language is also about collectivity versus individuality. The stability of language is only a structure that allows us to communicate, changing and adapting meaning for individual use,’ and yet purely textual interpretation of objects and events do not capture the full range of emotional and affective responses audiences are capable of. One of the concluding sections of this chapter explores affective responses to the Potter Exhibition captured through questionnaire responses, and will therefore return to this idea in more detail but for now it is worth posing the question: how far does the interpretation work of the Potter Exhibition evoke a range of emotional or affective responses from visitors?

Marshall McLuhan’s (1964) work on ‘hot and cool’ media can be related to interpretation processes within the museum environment, as different media formats elicit different levels of engagement and encourage different levels of work to be done by the visitor (see figure 7.2).

Hot Media	Cool Media
Radio	Telephone
Movie	television show
photograph	Cartoon
printed word	Speech
Book	dialogue
Lecture	Seminar

(Figure 7.2, Hot and Cool Media, Berger, 2012, p.31).

Interestingly, most of the media formats employed in the mediated heritage environment can be described as ‘hot media’. Audio trails are reminiscent of radio, photographs adorn interpretive panels or make up exhibitions on their own (see Edwards, 2001), the printed word is visible in guidebooks, panels and signage, and the guided tours around exhibitions, museums or landscapes could also be understood as lectures. Hot media formats can be employed as tools for affective, immediate engagement, but ones which leave little trace on the environment itself, important for heritage environments in which preservation is key.

As a ‘hot media’ rich exhibition, and one which is ‘textually heavy’ what symbolic narratives are employed in the interpretation of Potter’s history through the Exhibition at the Dean Heritage Centre? A textual analysis of the panels taken together highlights the emergence of common themes: dedication, fame, influence, value, community, significance, innovation, creativity, inspiration, and acclaim to name but a few. It is not surprising that an exhibition about one of the most note-worthy sons of the Forest of Dean should use language that celebrates him, but it is the crucial continuity in this representation of Potter across panels and throughout the Exhibition that does the most important interpretive work for the visitor. Visitors are invited to interpret Potter (and his legacy for television and the Forest) as all of these things (valuable, memorable, commendable) yet are given scope for their own responses through the recurrence of words such as ‘challenge,’ and ‘upset’.

Potter is represented by the Dean Heritage Centre as a polarising character at various points in his career, which is acknowledged and interpreted for visitors through the ‘Forest on Potter’ panel in particular. This panel presents textual excerpts from letters sent by local

Forest people to the newspapers which highlight the difficulty in presenting this figure in a purely positive light. People did have negative reactions to Potter and his work, especially in the wake of his poorly received *Between Two Rivers* documentary and in the light of his more sexually explicit material. Of *Pennies from Heaven*, one letter reads, 'So obnoxious as to border on pornography,' and another 'The whole thing was silly and boring,' ('The Forest on Potter' interpretation panel). The positioning of textual interpretation in the exhibition space is important. By positioning this panel as the seventh of ten panels, the polarising nature of Potter as a man and author is couched between more positive representations (a panel which documents the rationale behind the 1950s sitting room and a panel which explores the creativity, innovation and importance of Potter as Author). Thus, the 'Forest on Potter' panel, positioned as it is in the Exhibition, becomes a polysemic interpretive stance through which the visitor is invited to draw multiple meanings.

As 'traditional media' (Leboeuf, 2004) used to interpret heritage in the museum space, information panels are increasingly called upon to interact with 'new media' used to engender affective, interactive responses and behaviours from museum visitors. In the Potter Exhibition, the panels line the wall and intertextually reference elements that can be found within the rest of the exhibition. The panel which explores 'Potter on the Forest' for example, references *The Beast with Two Backs* and *Between Two Rivers*, important Potter plays and documentaries that are found remediated through the memories of fans and extras on the Audio Panel. Similarly, the 'Potter on TV' interpretation panel explores the plays *Pennies from Heaven* and *The Singing Detective*, copies of which are displayed in the cabinet that occupies the centre of the Exhibition room. In this way, the interpretation work done by the panels relies upon the visitors innate understanding of how 'to do' an exhibition – when read in order (or not, as will be explored below) panels will reference other elements of the exhibition, but it is up to the visitor to make those connections. Such an approach to interpretation suggests a view of the visitor as an active participant in the meaning making process (Hooper-Greenhill, 1994, p.14). Interpretation in the museum is a two-way process which relies as much upon a clear interpretive framework from the museum as it does upon a level of cultural capital among its visitors, and it is through the differences in cultural capital amongst visitors that multiple meanings are gleaned from the same exhibition.

Apart from the 1950s room the Potter Exhibition presents few physical objects for visitors to look at and engage with, unlike traditional museum visits which are structured by a contact

with objects and artefacts from the past. What the Exhibition does have, however, is a display cabinet holding copies of scripts of Potter's most famous plays (see figure 7.3).



(Figure 7.3: Display Cabinet and Position of Labels)

Fritsch (2013) suggests there is a subliminal hierarchy in the positioning of interpretive labels in relation to the objects they seek to describe (p.99). It makes sense that description panels ought to be proximal to the object they describe or the narrative becomes fractured and visitors do not make the interpretive leap between the label and the object or artefact. The display cabinet in the Potter Exhibition houses four separate objects (texts) and four labels. In such a small space, the relationship between each of the interpretive labels and the artefacts on display is easy to follow, and as such the interpretive work done by the museum for the objects they seek to interpret for the visitor is successful.

While the panels at the Dean Heritage Centre represent a decent attempt at heritage interpretation, this was more a result of sheer luck than careful planning. The panels were written and created by a Project Partner (Local Academic and bid-supporter) who did a fantastic job of creating the interpretation panels with limited knowledge of heritage or museum based theories on interpretation, but a vast amount of knowledge on Potter, his work, and his history. When asked about existing interpretation practices at the Dean Heritage Centre, and whose job it really is to do interpretation work, the Centre Manager noted:

It's a mixture really. The interpretation that's currently on site is such a mixture of styles that it's not very cohesive. That's purely because of the staff turnover and people doing different things. There's been no real style guidelines [interview with author, August 2013].

Despite the fact that the DHC's approach to interpretation has been rather home-grown, their interpretation practices as they are evidenced in the Potter Exhibition still help to make Potter intelligible to visitors. The interpretation panels have just enough facts and detail alongside adjective fuelled description to engender a positive representation of this local figure, but critically allow enough 'wiggle room' that visitors are still entitled to draw their own meaning from the Exhibition. I observed an elderly woman leaving the Exhibition after spending a great deal of time painstakingly reading every word of every panel, scrutinising the contents of the display cabinet and gazing at the 1950s Room. As she left she turned and muttered, almost to herself, 'I don't care what they say. He was still a dirty ol'bugger as far as I'm concerned,' [field notes, Potter Exhibition, July 2013].

Thus, despite interpretative work done by the museum, meaning is multiple and contested. By viewing the contents of the Potter Exhibition as semiotically mediating artefacts (Roppola, 2013, p.117), and by understanding the Exhibition as a space in which the initial 'presentative condition' of representation takes place (Oakley, 2002, p.85), the following section presents a social-semiotic analysis of the Exhibition space in order to explore what the Potter Exhibition might really mean.

7.3 What does the Dennis Potter Exhibition Mean?: A Social-Semiotic Analysis of the Space

'Visitors' demarcation of museums and exhibits as particular types of representational media invites a semiotic perspective,' (Roppola, 2013, p.116). A semiotic analysis allows the researcher to denaturalise particular discourses that have become invisible, and enables an understanding of the way in which 'forms of representation act to mediate in the negotiation of meaning,' (Roppola, 2013, p.118). Such analysis sees the visitor as an actor in the wider material social-semiotic network in which they participate or 'act' to construct their own meanings, in their own diverse ways. Below I will explore the variety of different paths visitors take around the Potter Exhibition, which often run counter to what is expected. It is therefore first worth exploring the Exhibition space in more detail, as a distinct part of the social-semiotic network of which both the museum and the visitor are a part.

This section utilises a complex theoretical framework to conduct a ‘social-semiotic’ (Oakley, 2002; Pierce, 1984) analysis of the Potter Exhibition. Social-semiotic analysis links signs to the present social and institutional contexts in which they occur, which makes it a useful tool with which to interrogate the institutional context of the museum. This approach links to the ‘material semiotic network perspective’ which considers that as ‘people make meaning and perceive “reality” through their experiences, they are embedded in a network of relations, networks which are simultaneously human and nonhuman, social and material,’ (Roppola, 2013, p.117). Thus the epistemological construction of the museum as ‘a site of the production of knowledge and cultural sensibilities,’ (Rogoff, 1994, p.231) is important to consider when conducting a semiotic analysis of the exhibition space inside the museum’s walls. What do exhibitions mean, or what are they intended to mean? If meaning is a product of local recognition and interpretation (Oakley, 2002, p.84), and if it is socially and culturally constructed, then the meanings derived from exhibitions are multiple, contested and multidirectional (much like memory) and offer a range of open and more closed meanings. Museums, however, ‘intervene and close that infinite meaning in framing it in a particular discursive way,’ (Furo et al, 2011, p.23). The particular discursive semiotic frames (Roppola 2013) employed by the Dean Heritage Centre will be deconstructed in this section, in order to understand the multiple meanings drawn from the Potter Exhibition.

Bob Hodge (1998) suggests that:

Semiotic activity is intrinsically social, taking place in society as a dynamic and interactive process, and meaning occurs only in interaction, never as an intrinsic property of any sign. [...] Semiotics attempts to find a bridge between the different kinds of indicator or sign-systems [...] in order to locate the deeper levels of meaning where the primary encounter takes place between the museum and the public (pp.1-2).

The tools for conducting a socio-semiotic analysis must therefore be laid out in order to make clear the findings of such an analysis when applied to the Potter Exhibition. Processes of representation are pivotal to the museum, but the meaning of representation in terms of semiotics is more complicated and must therefore be defined. Todd Oakley’s (2002) definition is helpful:

Representation entails *mutual recognition*, meaning that a more-or-less isomorphic relationship exists between what the producer intends to be represented and what the

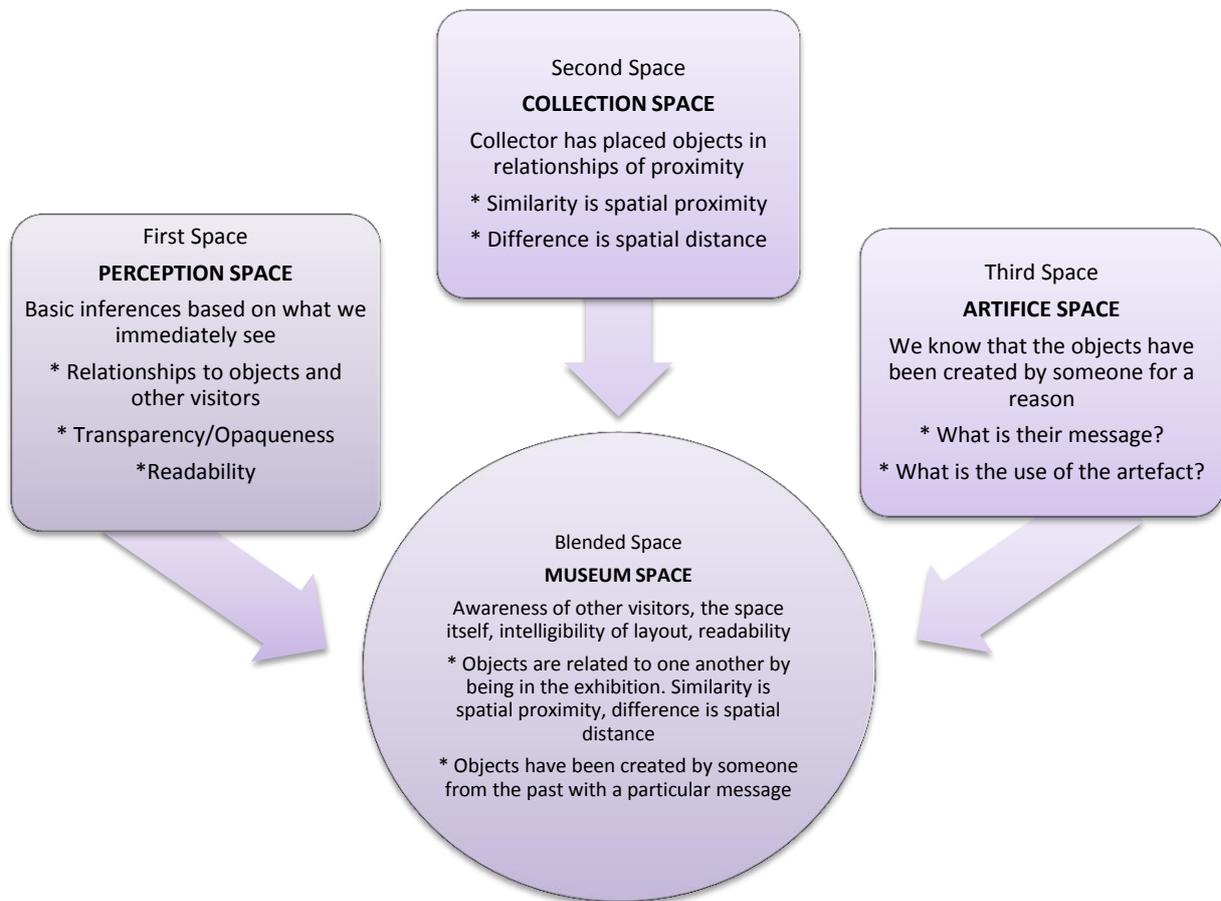
interpreter understands the producer to have intended to represent. [...]

Representation is intentional or presumed to be intentional (p.84).

Galleries and exhibition rooms (or ‘staging spaces’), display objects and interpretation panels in relation to one another (or in other words, museums intentionally represent) which produces the semiotic conditions that ‘encourage its inhabitants to signify, to draw inferences that may or may not be part of the representation,’ (Oakley, 2002, p.85). In order for processes of signification (or their relational signs: icons, indices and symbols (Peirce, 1984)) to be made useful for the analysis of the exhibition visit, the descriptive tool of ‘mental space models’ are helpful. Based on the theory of ‘conceptual blending’ (Fauconnier, 1985; Fauconnier & Turner, 2002) Oakley (2002) suggests there are a number of mental spaces which the museum visitor must access in order to make their visit meaningful. We employ mental spaces to understand narrative goals such as speaking and listening and these mental spaces are constructed by our prior social and cultural experiences. As Nigel Thrift (2008) argues, ‘the brain is a society, different parts of which are dynamically and differentially connected to all manner of environments,’ (p.13).

Mental spaces are connected to each other, which form ‘blended spaces, mental spaces that recruit selective conceptual structure from other mental spaces [...] and serve as the locus of conceptual integration,’ (Oakley, 2002, p.87). Oakley (2002) suggests that ‘blended mental spaces give semioticians a mechanism for grounding acts of meaning making in the immediate physical spaces in which human beings invariably find themselves,’ (p.87). In other words, ‘intelligibility depends on creating a tight network of interrelated but often distinct mental spaces,’ (p.88). The tight network of mental spaces needed to make the museum visit intelligible is made visible in Figure 7.4. The ‘museum space’ is the blended mental space made up by the overlap between three other primary mental spaces: PERCEPTION, COLLECTION and ARTIFICE¹³.

¹³ Specific mental spaces are capitalised in this study as with Oakley (2002), in order to make these spaces distinct from other uses of the same or similar words in the text.



(Figure 7.4: Blended Mental Space, adapted from Oakely, 2002, p.89)

The PERCEPTION space is the mental space which is first accessed by the museum visitor and relates to processes by which the visitor makes sense of their immediate surroundings. The visitor makes implicit inferences based on what they see: the transparency or opaqueness of a room, the readability (both literal and conceptual) of the exhibition's panels and works, the number of other visitors in the room, expected behaviours, and so on. The second space (known as the COLLECTION space) is accessed as the visitor begins to engage in the space. Drawing on their socio-cultural knowledge or cultural capital visitors understand that the exhibition has been created or compiled by a curator or a designer, and understand that a semiotic relationship exists between objects: objects placed closely together represent similarity; those that are far apart represent difference. These semiotic conditions produce the ability for the visitor to begin to 'read' the exhibition. In the third space, the ARTIFICE space, the visitor begins to appreciate individual objects, and understands that they have been produced (somewhere and at some point in time) by an artisan who wished to convey some

meaning through the object. Visitors begin to question: what is that meaning? Does the artefact mean the same to me as it did to its' creator? What does it mean today? When combined, the PERCEPTION, COLLECTION and ARTIFICE spaces work to create blended space, the MUSEUM space, a mental space produced by the specific semiotic conditions of the physical museum visit that enable the visitor to make sense and draw meaning from their experience of an exhibition.

The analysis of the Potter Exhibition that follows will be two-pronged. First, it will offer an autoethnographic 'walk through' of the Exhibition and relate this to the semiotic mental spaces that visitors are required to access in order to make the Potter Exhibition intelligible. This will be expanded to encompass processes of representation (what meaning is intended) and interpretation (what meaning is taken) in the Potter Exhibition. Second, this analysis will explore the construction of the Exhibition through the material semiotic frames proposed by Roppola (2013) in order to analyse the semiotic construction of the Potter Exhibition.

7.3.1 Autoethnography: Accessing the Blended Space in the Potter Exhibition¹⁴

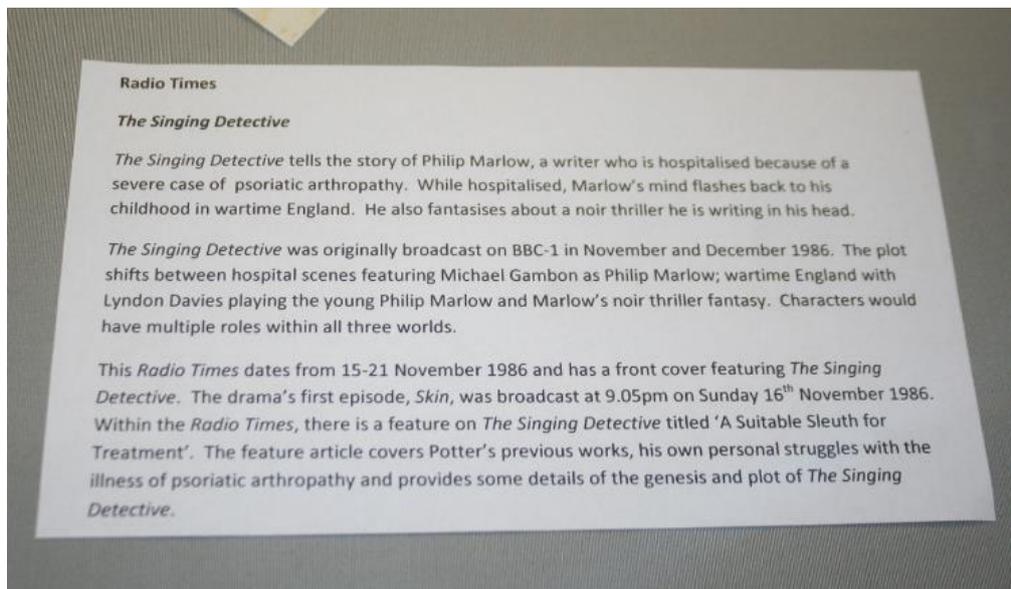
I enter the Potter Exhibition and immediately see in front of me a large display cabinet, a number of panels on the walls, and to the left - in the far corner - an impressive reconstruction of a 1950s sitting room. I am alone in the small room, and it is quiet. Unlike other exhibitions in the Dean Heritage Centre, there are few artefacts or objects on display in this room besides whatever is in the cabinet and the contents of the 50s style room, but there is definitely a lot to see and to read.

Here, the visitor accesses the first mental space of PERCEPTION. The visitor perceives the space in front of her in its totality – it is small, it is void of other visitors, but already the visitor has started to make affective connections to the space in front of her, as she characterises the 1950s sitting room as 'impressive'. The visitor has already marked out the space as different from other museums she has visited, noting that 'there are few artefacts or objects on display,' which highlights her cultural capital – she knows what to expect from a traditional museum. Visitors thus bring with them to the museum a 'higher-level conceptual' understanding of 'museum' and 'exhibit' which influences the way they experience, participate and evaluate their experiences (Roppola, 2013, p.76). The PERCEPTION space

¹⁴ As is common with autoethnography (Chang, 2008; Ellis, 1999; Ellis & Bochner, 2000; Reed-Danahay, 1997) this section will be written in the first person. The autoethnographic portion of this section is adapted from my research diary and is italicised in order to set it apart from the analysis, which is offered below pertinent extracts.

then naturally opens up the COLLECTION space: from her previous experiences the visitor understands that museums traditionally collect objects, and thus she looks to understand the differences in this space than other museums she has visited.

I begin to walk around the exhibition, pausing first at the panel on the wall which outlines acknowledgements to the partners involved in the delivery of the DPHP. I then move to the next panel, and read about Potter's impact on politics, culture, class and religion. I take a step to the left, and move on to read a panel called 'Prolific Potter'. This done, I move to examine a panel called 'Reinventing TV'. After reading this panel, I turn and look at the contents of the display cabinet. Inside I see a copy of the Radio Times magazine scripts of The Singing Detective and Pennies from Heaven. The Radio Times has a picture from the Singing Detective on the cover, and the label which describes this object describes the plot of the programme, which is useful if someone hasn't seen the whole play.



(Figure 7.5: Interpretive label to accompany Radio Times magazine in display cabinet)

The visitor reads the interpretive labels offered in proximity to the artefacts in the cabinet. The label that describes the cover of the *Radio Times* magazine (see Figure 7.5) provides a great deal of textual information to interpret the cover of the magazine for viewers. The interpretive work done here by the museum requires the visitor to access her prior understanding of Potter and her knowledge of his work (again, her cultural capital), and requires her to see Potter as an author. Thus, as the visitor engages with the objects on display, she accesses the ARTIFICE space.

Finished with the contents of the cabinet, I move back to the information panels as there are still a number I have not yet examined. I read a panel titled 'Potter on the Forest,' then another: 'Potter as Author'. Even though I'm used to reading a lot and I have spent countless hours in other exhibitions, I feel I need a break from reading so many panels. It's a lot to take in. I take a few steps, circling around the display cabinet, and move towards the windows that look out onto the museum grounds. I spend a minute looking out of the window and watching other visitors milling around. Refreshed, I move back to the panels resuming where I left off, and read a panel titled 'The Forest on Potter'. After I've finished, I move to the next panel which contextualises the 1950s room. I switch between reading a few sentences and looking at the replicated sitting room.

The movement of the visitor around the room and the activity of consuming so much information prompts the visitor to access another mental space in which to process what she has seen and learnt. This can be called the REST space, in which the COLLECTION, PERCEPTION and ARTIFICE spaces are given chance to knit together so that the visitor is able to create an intelligible narrative about what she has been exposed to. As she rests to absorb the information gathered so far, the visitor reengages the PERCEPTION space, noting the movement of other visitors and examining the space outside of the Exhibition through the window.

After I've finished reading these panels, I move to look at the 1950s room in more detail. There is some particularly garish 1950s wallpaper on the walls and lots of family portraits hanging from the dado rail. There is a sofa, an arm chair, side board and coffee table, all of which seem to be original 1950s furniture. The rug underneath the coffee table looks like something my Grandma had at her house on Skye! I feel it's a shame the room has to be cordoned off by a red rail – it would be nice to leaf through those magazines on the table and to twiddle the knobs on the wireless. It really feels as though someone lives here but had to leave in a hurry, it's like a preserved time capsule.

Again, the visitor accesses the ARTIFICE SPACE, noticing details about the material culture presented here for interpretation by the museum. She understands the space as being assembled by the museum (COLLECTION) to represent a distinct time and place, and understands the artefacts on display as being fashioned and constructed by an artisan with a purpose for that time and place. The visitor constructs another mental space here which can

be called the NOSTALGIA space through her affective connection to specific artefacts on display (the rug looks like something ‘my Grandma had at her house on Skye!’)

I notice a number of seats arranged to the left of the 1950s room, pointing towards the far wall. I know there used to be a video there (I actually helped create it!) but it is not working today. This is a real shame; I’d have loved to have watched the video properly, now I’m here as a visitor rather than as a Project participant. I decide to move toward the Audio panel – it seems to be the last thing to look at in the room. I scan the list of audio clips available to listen to, but realise that the machine is not working. I feel disappointed, but am quickly distracted as a group of visitors enter the Exhibition. I’ve finished in the Exhibition now, and feel tempted to record a note in the visitor book, now I have thumbed through the other entries. Obviously I’ve become familiar with the book through my research, but as a visitor, I’m inclined to note that I have really enjoyed the time I spent in the Exhibition.

This analysis of my own visit to the Potter Exhibition has a number of features which are shared by other visitors to museums. What ought to be noted, however, is that this autoethnographic ‘walk through’ of the Exhibition highlights the fact that my cultural capital, taste and habitus is markedly different than the average visitor. My appreciation of the exhibition, and the meaning I make from it, is (like other visitors) marked by the creation of a blended mental space prompted by distinct semiotic elements of the exhibition, but also by my own prior experiences. This socio-semiotic analysis is informed by the cultural capital I hold as a person, as a product of my generation, and as a result of my engagement with Potter through my research and personal interests. This is, nonetheless, an innovative method with which to make fairly abstract concepts more concrete in practice, and highlights the construction of mental spaces prompted by the specific material semiotic assemblage of the Exhibition.

By viewing visitors as active meaning makers within the museum, it is important to explore the museum as part of a material semiotic network in which a range of human and nonhuman (Roppola, 2013, p.69) actors engage to create meaning from an experience. Where the previous section has used a socio-semiotic approach to map the Exhibition space, the following section explores the institutional semiotic frames through which Potter is represented to visitors.

7.3.2 Exploring the Material Semiotic Network: Framing the Potter Exhibition

Tiina Roppola (2013) suggests there are four institutional frames (*displayer-of-artefacts frame, learning frame, enjoyment frame, and pilgrimage frame*) which set museums apart as distinct semiotic networks. Institutional frames can be seen as socially-shared semiotic classifications, which are shared and implicitly articulated by visitors through their visiting behaviours and emotional responses to museums. This section examines the semiotic frames that the Dean Heritage Centre uses, in particular in the Potter Exhibition. Many of these frames emerge in line with Roppola's (2013) work, though the analysis of such a distinct museum as the Dean Heritage Centre necessitates the creation of new frames. This section will therefore propose a conceptual notion of what constitutes the Dean Heritage Centre as a museum through its contact with Potter. The discursive or semiotic construction of the museum is important to meaning making processes as Suzanne Oberhardt (2001) states:

Call a museum a treasure house and people will view its objects as rare and valuable; call it a place of public education and there is an expectation for the enhanced capacity for learning; or call it a mausoleum and the objects will appear irrelevant and out of touch (p.45).

Traditionally, museums collect and display objects and artefacts of past material culture and construct an interpretive narrative around those objects which explain their provenance and cultural importance to the visitor. Through such a process the museum is discursively understood through the '*displayer-of-artefacts*' frame. The museum as a semiotic network, when viewed through this frame, becomes a 'treasure house' where those artefacts are used to 'construct narratives of cultural authority,' (Roppola, 2013, p.117).

As argued in Chapter Six, the Dean Heritage Centre set itself up as the 'Home of Dennis Potter' as a persuasive device with which to secure local support and funding for the Archive. With the Archive now in situ at the Dean Heritage Centre, it could be argued that as a material semiotic network the DHC is discursively constructed as a 'treasure house;' that treasure being the culturally and financially valuable Potter Archive. But the Exhibition cannot be usefully viewed through this frame, as the DHC has not constructed an exhibition made up of many display cabinets housing the artefacts found in the Archive, rather it has focussed on representing a history of Potter which connects to the local area and to television history. If there are no (or a limited number of) physical artefacts on display as with the

Potter Exhibition, Ropolla (2013) suggests that the museum might be more open to working with different forms of cultural knowledge. This type of exhibition links to the movement within the museum to become more inclusive, to open up a dialogue between the institution and the public in line with a host of other reinventions the museum has undergone through this process. If the Exhibition is not semiotically constructed as a ‘treasure house’ then it might be better understood as a ‘place of learning’ through the semiotic ‘*learning frame*,’ which again connects exhibiting practices to wider epistemological changes in the museum.

The exhibits in the Potter Exhibition are generally explanatory in nature (and thus understood through the *explanatory exhibit* frame) and are primarily interpretive panel based. The way the Exhibition is set up (its contents and its spatiality) is then key to understanding the material semiotic network through which the Exhibition is understood and from which visitors draw meaning. The Potter Exhibition is focussed on educating visitors about the impact of Potter on television, his connections to the local area, and in immersing the visitor in the domestic space of the 1950s. As a space of communication, the museum is also an environment of learning (Kress, 2013, p.7).

Gunter Kress (2013) states ‘learning happens in complex social environments; always in interaction with “the world”, whether as other members of a social group and their interests, or with the world as the culturally shaped environment; and usually of both: distinct and related,’ (p.3). Learning in the museum is also semiotically related to issues of production and consumption – the museum produces interpretable material for the visitor to consume, but this is also related to notions of choice which relies upon the interests of the consumer. Thus, the *learning frame* must be tied to the semiotically constructed *enjoyment/entertainment*¹⁵ frame: if the visitor does not find the experience entertaining or enjoyable then the capacity for the exhibit to educate is diminished. Consider the example given above, where I visited the Potter Exhibition as a visitor (rather than researcher) but became overloaded by information and needed to take a break. I had the choice in the informal learning space of the museum to end the learning process. Thus the exhibition might best be understood as part of a material semiotic network which connects to other more formal institutions through which people learn (schools, colleges, and universities, for example). The museum exhibition is a choice-based activity (unlike school): visitors choose

¹⁵ See Hooper-Greenhill (2007), pp.33-34, for more on the contentious concept of ‘edutainment’ within museum studies.

what they read and choose what they engage with, but the museum provides the semiotic conditions for learning.

With its text-heavy approach to education, the Potter Exhibition might help the Dean Heritage Centre to be understood semiotically as a place for learning, though this is problematic: with its space densely populated by detailed panels, might the Exhibition be off-putting to those visitors who have the desire to learn (enacting their choice as a consumer) but who have limited literacy skills? Does this not work against the drive for inclusivity and accessibility museums currently strive for? It is therefore important that exhibition designers exact 'theoretical precision about the semiotic resources (the kinds of ordering and arrangement, transformation and transduction) and the representational resources - the modes and their potentials' they use to create the condition for learning. These are 'essential semiotic requirements for the designer/sign-maker,' (Kress, 2013, p16).

Roppola (2013) suggests another semiotic frame for meaning making in the museum is the '*pilgrimage frame*.' The *pilgrimage frame* produces a vision of the museum as an element of the semiotic material network which has heightened value 'co-constituted by the material and the discursive: the museum as concretely preserving memory, as a tangible place to draw nearer to something deemed profoundly significant,' (p.188). As will be explored in a later chapter, the Potter Exhibition might be understood as the culmination of fan pilgrimages to Potter-land. Roppola (2013) gives the example of tourists visiting the Louvre in Paris to see the *Mona Lisa* as evidence of international level pilgrimages to sites of cultural heritage, and the example of tourists visiting Museum Victoria, Australia, to see the depression-era racehorse Phar Lap as national level pilgrimage. This study witnessed a number of people visit the Potter Exhibition in order to see 'Potter' in his homeland, which can be seen as evidence of a local level pilgrimage. The concept of 'pilgrimage' invokes notions of ritualised behaviour, and as I will later demonstrate in more detail, a pilgrimage to a museum involves ritualised performances of memory (such as writing in visitor books). Johanna Sumiala (2013) argues that pilgrimage is an example of 'mediatised ritual practice' that can be interpreted as a strategy which 'promises order, meaning and solidarity (all essential functions of ritual) among the devoted (e.g. the fans) in an era where traditional institutions such as world religions no longer carry out these functions,' (p.75). Through the *pilgrimage frame*, the Potter Exhibition becomes not only a space for the production and performance of memory but through the process of ritual, the museum becomes a space for the 'recurring, more or less formalised, practices that are involved in fanhood,' (Sumiala, 2013, p.75).

Overall, the *pilgrimage frame* allows the Dean Heritage Centre to be semiotically constructed as the hub of cultural authority (and memory) on (and of) Potter, and marks out the Forest of Dean as the mecca for tourists who want an ‘authentic’ experience of Potter beyond their television screens.

The analysis presented suggests that there are therefore a number of semiotic frames at work in the exhibition space which connect with and reinforce one another for the visitor to have a meaningful experience. Paul Kockelman (2005) notes ‘different semiotic frames are perfectly compatible with each other and intelligible with respect to one another. Thus, there is no privileged semiotic frame – they relate to each other as different faces of a Necker Cube,’ (p.270). Moreover, semiotic frames are not static constructs, rather frames change over time. This data yielded by this study suggests the construction of these semiotic frames can actually change from one exhibition to another within the same museum. In the wider museum, the Dean Heritage Centre’s primary mode of exhibition is through the display of artefacts (prehistoric tools, industrial machinery, etc.) which links to the *displayer of artefacts* frame (and thus produces a semiotic vision of the museum as storehouse of treasures). The other exhibitions also feature interactive elements such as arts and crafts, wood rubbing, clay modelling and digital media components which link to the *enjoyment* frame (and thus produce a semiotic vision of the museum as an entertainment destination). As these exhibitiv and interpretive practices are not engaged in as widely in the Potter Exhibition it appears that through the Potter Exhibition the semiotic construction of the Dean Heritage Centre as a museum is further augmented. The Dean Heritage Centre is a storehouse, an entertainment destination, a learning environment, and with the acquisition of the Potter Archive, the Dean Heritage Centre has become a location for screen tourists and a space for the performance of memories stimulated by a reengagement with past television.

So far, this chapter has explored the semiotic construction of the Exhibition and the semiotic or discursive structure of the museum itself. The chapter has explored issues of institutional or organisational framing, and posited that the Potter Exhibition is best understood through a conflation of a number of different frames. To add even more depth to the analysis presented so far, and to offer a fuller picture of the visitors’ experience in the Potter Exhibition, it is necessary to next deconstruct the way visitors engage in the physical space of the Exhibition. Do visitors move around the exhibition in the way that the planners intended? Do they read the panels in the order they were designed to be read in? Do visitors move around the space in a similar way as I did when I spent time in the Exhibition? Which parts of the Exhibition

most appeal to visitors, and which parts of the Exhibition are less popular? What does this tell us about meaning making processes as they are engaged in in the Potter Exhibition?

7.4 Mapping Visitor Routes in the Dennis Potter Exhibition: The General Value Principle

If the experience of visiting a museum cannot be separated from the physical space of the museum itself (Kaynar, 2005, p.189) then it is important to recognise the influence of the space in which those experiences take place. An interactional approach to visitor circulation in an exhibition (as opposed to a visitor-centred perspective which only considers the movements of visitors without considering the layout and orientation of the space in which the visitor moves, as in Falk, 1993) suggests that visitor factors and exhibition design must be considered in tandem to fully interpret patterns of movement.

This study utilises Stephen Bitgood's (2005, 2006) general value principle to explore the behaviour of visitors to the Potter Exhibition. The general value principle argues that the value of 'an experience is calculated (usually unconsciously) as a ratio between the benefits and the costs,' (Bitgood, 2006, p.1). When visitors decide whether or not to view an exhibition or part of an exhibition their decision is made by dividing the benefits by the costs. If a visitor walks up to an information panel, for example, and they are stimulated by the eye catching colour and presentation, but put off by the perceived length of time it would take to read the densely worded exhibit, the cost would be greater than the benefit, and as a result the visitor is likely to move on to the next part of the exhibition. Thus, in the museum exhibition space, choice 'is considered to be a measure of "value,"' (Bitgood, 2006, p.2). Such a principle allows the researcher to conduct observations of visitors in the museum space, tracking their movements, and observing lengths of time spent at various parts of the exhibition. These are cost effective research methods which yield a great deal of information about the affective engagement of audiences. Such methods can help museum authorities understand how the exhibition is working, the implications of which for educational learning in the museum environment have been well explored (McManus, 1989, Falk, 1993; McLean, 1993; Hooper-Greenhill, 1994; Falk & Dierking, 2000). This study employs the general value principle to explore which parts of the Potter Exhibition are most well visited, most engaged in, and thus most valued by visitors.

Hooper-Greenhill (2011) suggests that 'the need for accountability and the emphasis on evidence-based social policy have stimulated new approaches to the measurement of learning

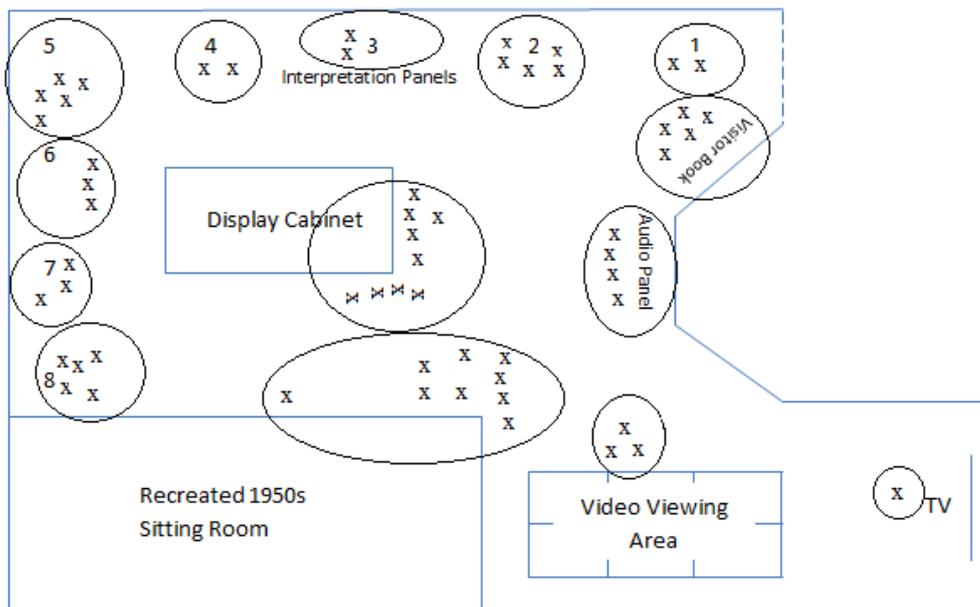
that encompass the cultural character of museum use,' (p.374). The following section necessitated a fairly quantitative approach to the museum environment, an approach which has, as Hooper-Greenhill notes, emerged during a time in which broadly qualitative approaches are increasingly embracing more quantitative methods in order to more fully explore 'the cultural character of museum use'.

For this study I observed 10 people visit the Potter Exhibition at the Dean Heritage Centre,¹⁶ timed the total length of their stay in the Exhibition, mapped their movements around the room, and monitored the amount of time spent at individual parts of the Exhibition. The findings suggest that the Potter Exhibition room is working to construct television as heritage in a very particular way, and the analysis yielded by applying the general value principle suggests certain parts of the Exhibition are valued more highly by visitors than others. It is worth noting at this stage that this study utilised face-to-face observations and hand-drawn mapping techniques carried out by myself on a relatively small scale, as this research did not have the resources to obtain high quality digital technologies, mapping equipment or to create bespoke mapping software (as with Bollo & Pozzolo, 2005; Kaynar, 2005).

7.5 The Attraction Power of the 1950s Sitting Room and the Display Cabinet

It seems commonsensical that the most visually striking feature of an exhibition should draw the most attention from the visitor though to make this behaviour meaningful in terms of other exhibition features this needs to be more carefully explored. Figure 7.6 illustrates a broad sweep of visitor stopping points observed in the Potter Exhibition, an 'x' indicating the point that visitors stood to look at or engage with the exhibit on display.

¹⁶ See Research Design Chapter for more detail about the fairly small number of visitors observed.



(Figure 7.6: Map of Potter Exhibition showing visitor stopping points)

The largest number of stopping instances were found located at the display cabinet which holds draft manuscripts of Potter’s plays, and an equally large number of stoppages were located at the corner of the recreated 1950s sitting room. Interestingly, most visitors tended to stop and look at the display cabinet and the sitting room from the side they originally approached it from. Entering from the door (represented on the diagram by a hashed line) the display cabinet and the 1950s sitting room are on linear paths, which require the least amount of effort (least number of steps) to reach. Bitgood (2006) reconfigures Melton’s (1935) concept of inertia to suggest that inertia occurs when the ‘design of the space makes continuing in a straight line the most economical option (saves steps)’ (p.5). This study found that because the Potter Exhibition is a very small space in itself, the most economical option which required the fewest number of steps was also, in fact, the route that lead directly to the most attractive parts of the Exhibition.

The reason for the high traffic at these two exhibits might also be explained by examining their ‘attraction power’ and ‘holding power’. Devised by Alessandro Bollo and Luca Dal Pozzolo (2005) these two indicators can help suggest how attractive an exhibit is to visitors and can also illuminate the degree to which the visitor is engaged by it. Figure 7.7 summarises the calculations made in order to determine the attraction and holding powers of the display cabinet and the 1950s room in the Potter Exhibition.

1950s Room	
$\frac{5 \text{ minutes (average time)}}{3 \text{ minutes (necessary time)}}$	= 1.7 Holding Power Index
$\frac{9 \text{ stoppages}}{10 \text{ total visitors}}$	= 0.9 Attraction Power Index
Display Cabinet	
$\frac{2 \text{ minutes (average time)}}{4 \text{ minutes (necessary time)}}$	= 0.5 Holding Power Index
$\frac{9 \text{ stoppages}}{10 \text{ total visitors}}$	= 0.9 Attraction Power Index

(Figure 7.7: Calculating Holding Power and Attraction Power Indexes)

Holding power is calculated by dividing the average time of stay by the average time necessary to read an element of the exhibition. The closer the index is to 1 (or above) the higher the holding power of the exhibition element. The ‘necessary’ time element is determined by the researcher (how long a visitor would need to adequately read or see everything in that one exhibit). The attraction power of an exhibit can be calculated by dividing the number of people who stop at a certain exhibit by the total number of visitors that entered the complete exhibition. The closer the index is to 1 ‘the greater is the power of the element to attract,’ (Bollo & Polozzo, 2005, p.4).

In the Potter Exhibition, the display cabinet and the sitting room had the highest attraction powers (0.9, calculated as 9 stoppages divided by total 10 visitors) of all the other elements in the exhibition. Though the same number of people stopped by each element, does this mean visitors enjoyed or engaged with the display cabinet and the 1950s room in equal ways? Working out the holding power of these two elements means that the visitor experience of both can be distinguished from one another. Though their attraction power index was the same, the 1950s room had a holding power index of 1.7, suggesting that people spent more time than was ‘necessary’ viewing and engaging with the exhibit. Conversely, visitors spent

only two minutes looking at the display cabinet despite the necessary time of four minutes needed to read and understand the documents presented inside it. This suggests that the 1950s room has a greater holding power than the display cabinet, and thus the 1950s room was more appealing and engaged visitors more effectively overall.

10 minutes actual time (spent reading a selection of other comments and composing own entry)	= 2 Holding Power Index
5 minutes necessary time (to read a selection of other comments and to compose own entry)	

(Figure 7.8: Calculating Holding Power Index of Visitor Book)

It is interesting that the visitor book had an attraction power index of 0.5, similar to the vast majority of the rest of the elements in the exhibition, and actually had a higher attraction power than the audio trail and the video installation (see figure 7.8). The audio trail is an interactive exhibit, it requires the visitor to pick up the telephone receiver and choose the audio track they want to hear. The video installation is an eye catching and loud exhibition element, though despite the assumption that these two exhibits would attract a large number of visitors, neither of these exhibits drew as much attention as the visitor book. The visitor book had a holding power index of 2, which suggests that the visitor book was a truly engaging and attractive element of the Potter Exhibition. This information lends early support to arguments made in more detail below, that the visitor book should be seen as an integral part of any exhibition, as a key space in which visitors perform memory.

Visitor movements around exhibitions are, however, marked as much by what the visitor does *not* engage with as by what they do. One of the most noticeable absences of visitor stoppages in the Potter Exhibition was the television viewing area. Only one person stopped to watch the video¹⁷ and only managed to watch two minutes of the thirteen minute long film. The video installation was ‘out of order’¹⁸ for a number of weeks during the period of study, but was working for two out of five periods of participant observations (which meant six out of the total ten visitors I observed were exposed to the video). Those who did stop near the video viewing area were actually positioned with their back to the working television, looking instead at the recreated sitting room. Interestingly, the recreated sitting room also has a 1950s television sitting in pride of place in the corner of the display, though the television

¹⁷ The DVD being screened (albeit intermittently) was the Rural Media Company’s *Walking Tour of Potter’s Berry Hill*, narrated by Potter enthusiast, inhabitant of Potter’s old family home, and Potter location-scout John Belcher.

¹⁸ A number of Audio Panels throughout the Dean Heritage Centre were also sent for repair, which meant the Potter Exhibition was incomplete for a number of weeks.

in the exhibition is an antique and was never intended to show Potter's plays or documentaries. This suggests that in constructing the Potter Exhibition, the staff at the Dean Heritage Centre placed low cultural value upon Potter's television work itself. The cultural value of the television set lay in its antiquity, its 'otherness' in the face of modern technology, rather than in its ability to engage audiences in Potter's medium the way it was originally broadcast. It is unsurprising that an exhibition dedicated to television history should hold two televisions, but therefore incredibly interesting that neither was the focus of visitor engagement. This speaks to the way the Dean Heritage Centre managed Potter as television heritage as explored above – Potter is marketed more as a Forest of Dean '50s family man' and television auteur through the interpretation panels, than his television products themselves are constructed and represented as heritage in and of themselves.

7.6 Exhibition Size and Backtracking in the Space

The general value principle suggests that visitors will avoid retracing their steps in an exhibition at all costs, even at the cost of missing out large sections of unseen exhibits if the cost involves backtracking through the exhibition (Bitgood, 2006, p.5). Many studies have revealed this phenomenon in visitors to museum exhibitions (see for example Klein, 1993; Taylor, 1986). This study, however, presents new data which works against this common understanding of visitor movements inside the exhibition space. Figure 7.9 shows a 'route map' of a female visitor, aged between 50 and 60, who spent 25 minutes in total in the exhibition. This visitor spent the longest time in the exhibition of all visitors observed in this study, and also displayed the highest level of backtracking behaviour.

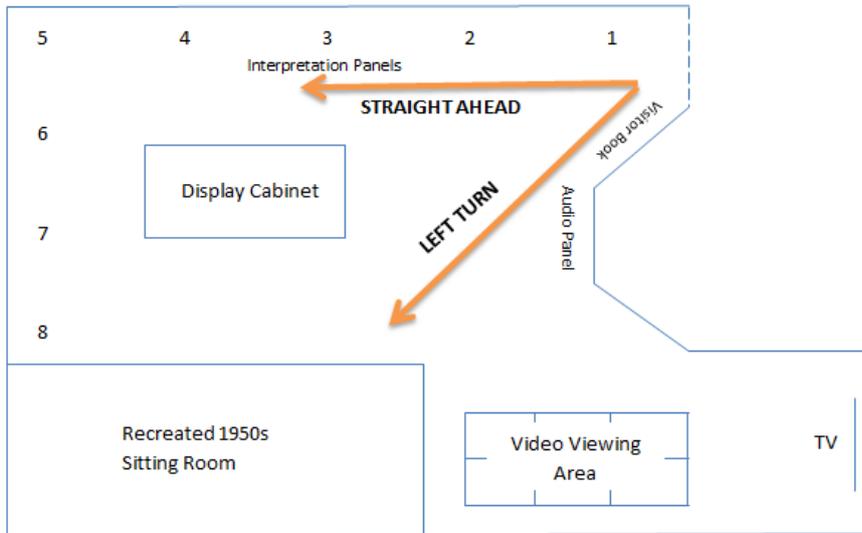
Bitgood (2006) argues that the strong tendency to avoid backtracking in exhibitions is related to the general value principle: the effort required (the extra steps) to reach other panels or elements of the exhibition is perceived as greater than the benefit of seeing all there is to see in the exhibition. Bitgood's (2006) study is based on larger museums, on larger exhibitions, where visitors are likely to have walked through several galleries already, or who are already planning where to move to next. The Potter Exhibition is housed in a small room in a comparatively small museum. The route taken around the Exhibition evidenced by visitor #7 might therefore suggest that the avoidance of backtracking behaviours are more commonly found in larger museums, and that the general value principle can be reconfigured in cases of smaller exhibitions: visitors perceive the benefit of viewing the exhibition elements in their own order (against the grain of the sequential layout) as being greater than the cost of a few extra steps through backtracking.

7.7 Going Against the Grain – The Left Turning Phenomenon

Bitgood (2005) indicates that a common behaviour observed in studies of visitors to museum spaces is that they often display a right-turn bias (Yoshioka, 1942; Weiss & Boutourline, 1963; Shettel, 1976). Working with the general value principle, Bitgood (2005) suggests that:

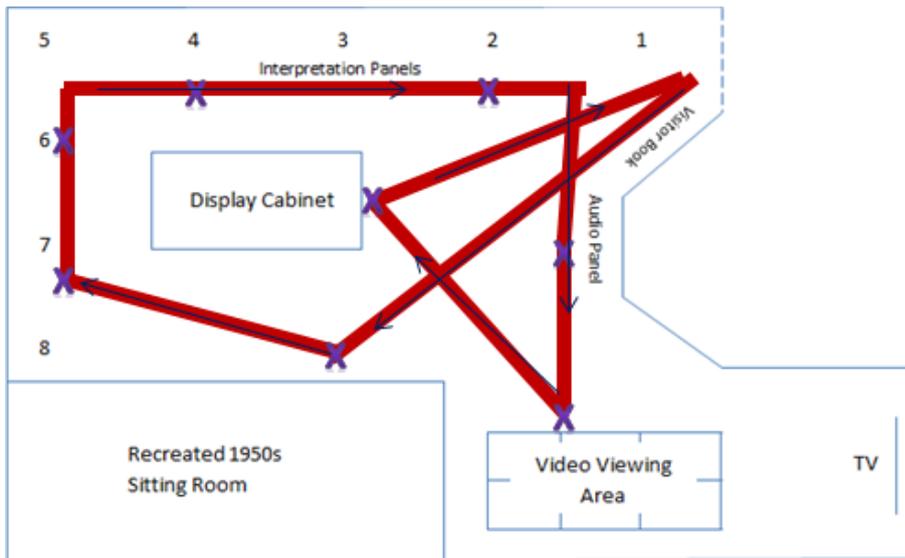
If visitors enter a gallery on the right side of the door, then turning right is the most economical response. However, if visitors enter a gallery along the left-hand wall, then continuing straight is the most economical response, (p.4).

In the Potter Exhibition, once the visitor enters the exhibition through the door on the back wall, they have two route choice options: to continue straight ahead or to turn left (see Figure 7.11).

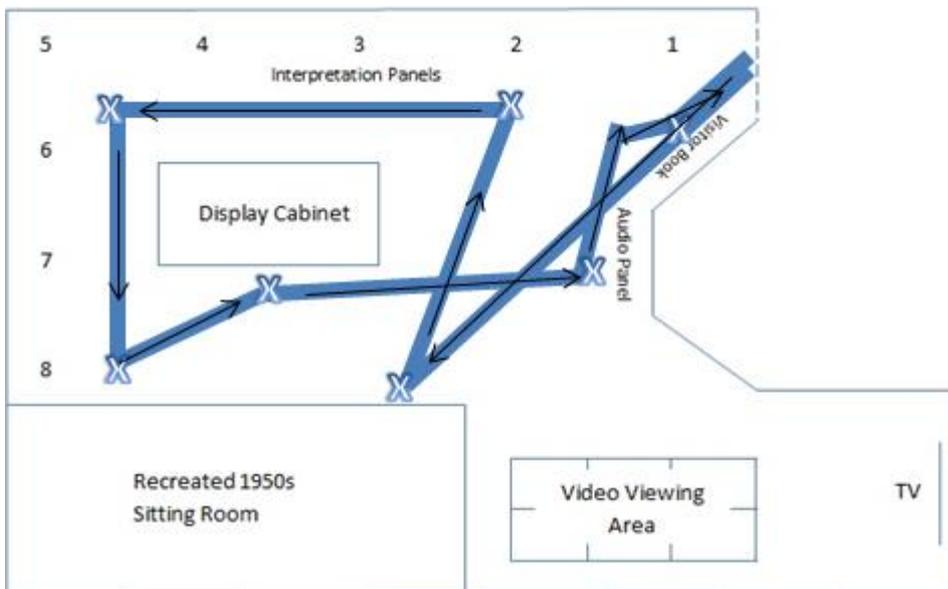


(Figure 7.11: Route choices in the Potter Exhibition)

The Potter Exhibition presents a case where there is an absence of a right-turn at the entrance, though the Exhibition design still promotes an anti-clockwise route around the exhibition (by first walking straight ahead and then turning left). As noted above, visitor #7 went against the grain of the exhibition design, opting to turn left rather than walk straight ahead, as would have been the most economical route (and thus meet the general value principle as proposed by Bitgood, 2005). Visitor #7 was by no means the only visitor who displayed this behaviour. Figures 7.12 and 7.13 depict the route maps of two male visitors who also took the left-turn option.



(Figure 7.12, Route Choice of visitor #1, Left turning phenomenon in the Potter Exhibition)



(Figure 7.13, Route Choice of visitor #5: Left turning phenomenon in the Potter Exhibition)

Visitors #1 and #5 both turned left when they entered the Potter Exhibition, and both headed straight to the recreated sitting room. Interestingly, both route maps highlight the fact that these visitors both engaged in backtracking behaviours, and stopped at a number of the same Exhibition elements (panel number 2, the display cabinet etc.). What these route maps show is that in the absence of a right-hand turn, and despite the fact that walking straight ahead would be the most economical route, a number of visitors turn-left toward the most attractive elements of the exhibition first. This evidence suggests that the attraction power of individual exhibits might in fact mean more than the general value principle in smaller exhibitions.

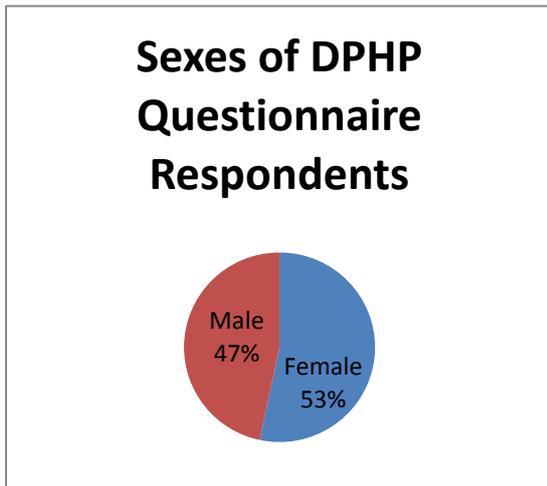
The Potter Exhibition is an example of an independent exhibition set up with limited funds, self-taught knowledge of Exhibition design, and with limited training in theories and processes of interpretation. This section has presented evidence that the layout of the Potter Exhibition provokes visitors to take their own route around the physical space, opting for route-choices that are not typically seen in the museum environment. When this is combined with the evidence wrought from socio-semiotic analysis of the museum space, through the Potter Exhibition the Dean Heritage Centre emerges as an institution distinct within its field. So far based on observational methods, the final section of this chapter engages with questionnaire data procured exclusively for this study, in order to examine how far visitors are affectively or emotionally engaged in the Potter Exhibition, and concludes with a discussion on the utility of combining research methods for the study of visitor affective engagement.

7.8 Affective Engagement in Dennis Potter's Legacy: Visitor Questionnaire Responses

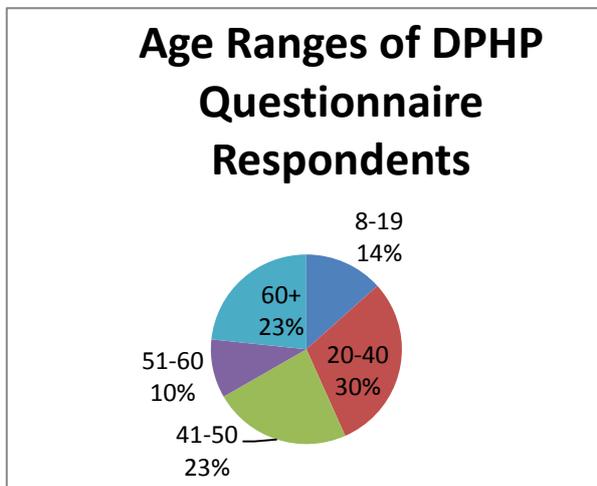
This section draws upon a number of questionnaires completed by visitors to the Dean Heritage Centre over the period of a year. Fifty questionnaires were left (at various times) in the Potter Exhibition room at the Dean Heritage Centre. Of this number, thirty were returned complete. The following section seeks to understand how far visitors were engaged in the work done by the DPHP to manage Potter's legacy, specifically how the Exhibition space was understood by visitors, and which parts were most enjoyed. The questionnaire was two pages long, and offered a number of questions which prompted both qualitative and quantitative responses. It was designed to gather feedback on three main areas:

- a) Prior knowledge about Potter and the DPHP (to assess inherent value systems and levels of cultural capital among visitors)
- b) The utility of the interpretive infrastructure in the Exhibition (to understand how well Potter's legacy is understood by visitors)
- c) Affective responses – to explore the way the Exhibition made visitors feel

First, a note on demographics is useful (see figures 7.14 & 7.15). Of 30 respondents, 14 were male and 16 were female which offers a fairly balanced set of questionnaire responses in terms of the sex of the respondent. The largest number of visitors who completed the questionnaire were aged between 20-40, with the next largest groups being aged 41-50, and over 60.



(Figure 7.14: Sexes of Questionnaire Respondents)



(Figure 7.15: Ages of Questionnaire Respondents)

The demographic makeup of respondents to this questionnaire begs comparisons to larger scale surveys carried out in England, in order to establish how far the visitors to the Dean Heritage Centre can be seen as demographically representative of wider visiting trends in the UK. The most recent ‘Digest of Statistics’ produced by the Museums, Libraries and Archives Council (MLA) is useful, as it notes the breakdown between visiting numbers of men and women. The MLA report visitors can be broken down into 46% male and 54% split, which is incredibly close to the 47% male to 53% female ratio that emerged from this study of visitors to the Potter Exhibition. In terms of age ranges of visitors, the MLA Digest notes the highest number of visitors were in the 60+ group, closely followed by the 35-44 age bracket. Again, this is similar to the demographic data gathered for this study, which suggests that the visiting

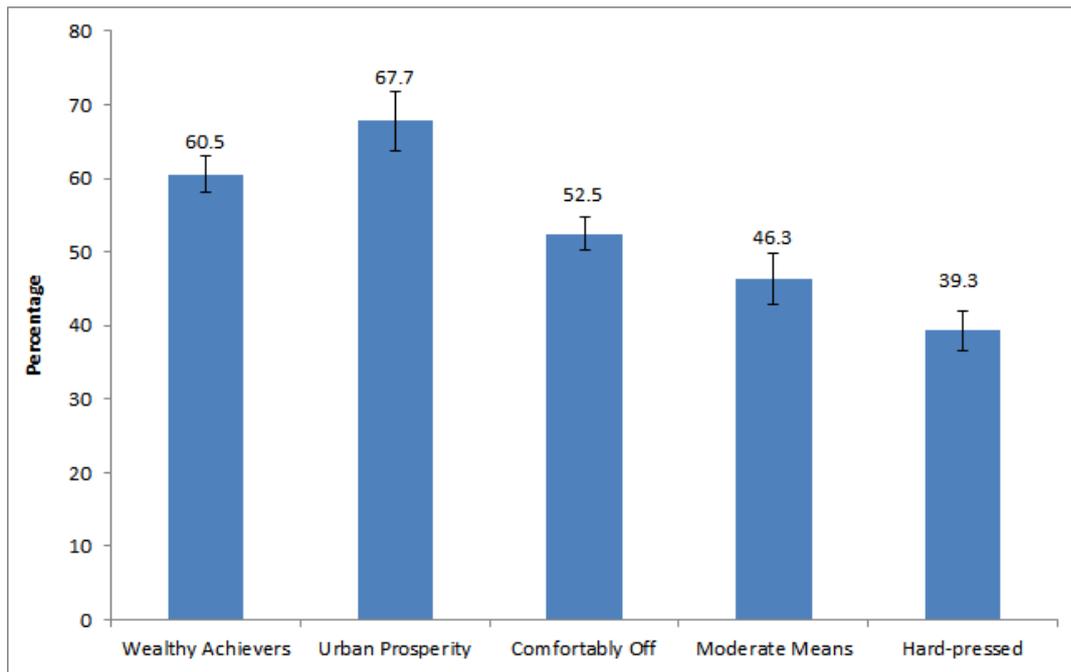
trend for the Potter Exhibition might be seen as demographically (in terms of age and sex) representative of the wider population¹⁹.

The Department for Culture, Media and Sport's (DCMS) 'Taking Part 2013/14' report offers a fuller picture of nationwide visitation figures. It suggests that 53% adults surveyed had visited a museum/gallery in the last year, a significant increase of 11% from 2006/7 (Taking Part, 2013, p.21). Such statistical information suggests that museums and galleries are becoming increasingly better attended perhaps due to the increasing range of histories represented within their walls, or as Laura Jane Smith (2006) notes, because the value of the visitor experience in the modern museum is derived from 'being in place, renewing memories and associations, [and] sharing experiences,' (p.1) rather than adopting a 'restrained,' 'distanced' or 'unaffected' approach to unfamiliar objects and subject matters as with earlier museums. In this, it seems that the Dean Heritage Centre is no exception to the rule. Footfall figures supplied by the Dean Heritage Centre suggest that the museum has seen a dramatic increase in visitor numbers since 2010 – there were a total of 35,825 visits in 2010 compared to 77,408 visits in 2013 (personal correspondence with Centre Manager) - an increase which coincides both with the acquisition of the Potter Archive and a change of management.

7.8.1 Accessing Cultural Capital through Questionnaire Data

The DCMS 'Taking Part' report (2013) also examines museum and gallery visiting trends by socio-economic status (or ACORN group, as they have it). The report suggests that 'those categorised as Wealthy Achievers (60.5%) had significantly higher attendance rates than those categorised as moderate means (46.3%) or hard pressed (39.3%). Likewise those in the Urban Prosperity category (67.7%) also had significantly higher attendance rates than those of moderate means and the hard pressed,' (p.22) (see figure 7.16).

¹⁹ It would be misguided, however, to insist that the insights gleaned about the affective nature of the Exhibition and levels of visitor engagement should be extrapolated and applied to tell a story about the whole museum-visiting population. The number of questionnaires this study was able to employ was fairly small, and as such this study can only theorise based on the sample available.



(Figure 7.16: Museum visiting trends by ACORN group. Taken from DCMS 'Taking Part' Report, 2013, p.23)

This type of data ties into Hooper-Greenhill's (2013) argument that higher-status socio-economic groups 'tend to be over-represented in proportion to their numbers in the population in general, while lower-status groups' tend to be underrepresented in terms of museum visitation (p.62). Hooper-Greenhill goes on to argue that 'social class and education background are important determinants' in understanding why people choose to visit museums and galleries (p.67). I would go further, and argue that while social class and education background are important to understand why people visit museums, these determinants are also critical to understanding the meaning visitors derive from their museum experiences. Nick Prior (2011) suggests that 'what visitors bring to the museum in terms of cultural capital [...] matters more than the perceived quality of the object of the policies of the institution itself,' (p.518). Bourdieu's concept of cultural capital is therefore pivotal to understanding the way visitors make sense of exhibitions and draw meaning from museum visits. Bourdieu (1986) argues that:

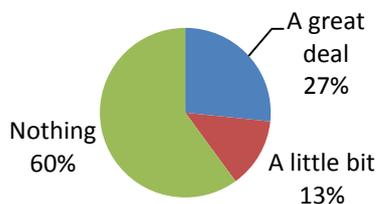
Cultural capital can be acquired, to a varying extent, depending on the period, the society, and the social class, in the absence of any deliberate inculcation, and therefore quite unconsciously. It always remains marked by its earliest conditions of acquisition which, through the more or less visible marks they leave (such as the

pronunciations characteristic of a class or region) help to determine its distinctive value (in Szeman & Kaposy, eds., 2011, p.245).

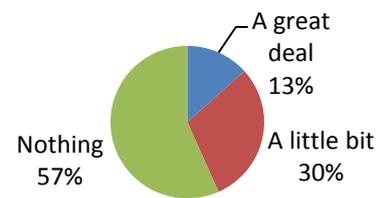
The modern museum has, however, changed dramatically since Bourdieu wrote on the art galleries of the 1950s and 60s, and museums can no longer be seen as ‘inert upholders of dominant ideology or agents of social control that unreflexively sustain the privileges of a cultural elite,’ (Prior, 2011, p.519). Where Bourdieu’s work focussed on art galleries, the Potter Exhibition presents an interpretation of the local importance of national television history, a representation of past television as a particular form of constructed heritage. Essentially by exhibiting television which is a mass-media product, readily consumable across social and economic boundaries, the Potter Exhibition through its focus on the everyday and through representing a history ‘from below,’ pulls apart the argument that only societal elites have the cultural capital (drawn from their education and social status) to truly appreciate and understand what is presented within the museum. The Potter Exhibition is democratic in this way: it is accessible to all, no matter their cultural capital.

This study sees visitors as active meaning makers within the museum environment, and has already argued that the meaning visitors make from the Exhibition varies according to prior experiences, interests and existing knowledge. The questionnaire asked how many visitors had prior knowledge of the DPHP or knew of Potter’s work (classified as a great deal, a little bit, or nothing - see figure 7.17) in order to assess levels of specifically Potter-based cultural capital amongst visitors. This was designed to help foster an understanding of the interpretive work the Dean Heritage Centre does through the Exhibition, and to help comprehend the complex emotional responses individual visitors had to their experiences of the Potter Exhibition.

How much did you know about Dennis Potter before you came to the Dean Heritage Centre?



How much do you know about the Dennis Potter Heritage Project?



(Figure 7.17: Prior knowledge of Potter and the DPHP)

When taken together, these pie charts present a fairly bleak view of Potter-based cultural capital: 60% of people knew nothing about Potter before their visit, and 57% knew nothing of the DPHP. The fact that 57% of visitors did not know about the DPHP before their visit is actually unsurprising, especially when taken alongside the argument posed in Chapter 6 that many of the volunteers on the DPHP did not know what the Project was all about, or how their work connected to it. If internal participants in the DPHP knew little to nothing, how could external participants, such as visitors, be expected to know much about the Project? In part due to the autoethnographic, embedded nature of this study, one of the most surprising responses to the questionnaire was the number of visitors who came from the local area that did not know anything about the DPHP before their visit. Of the thirty respondents, 17 were from the local area (defined as locations within Gloucestershire and Herefordshire), and of those 17, nine knew nothing about the DPHP before their visit (a massive 53%).

Pair with this, the fact that the vast majority of those who visited the Potter Exhibition and filled out questionnaires visited the Centre that day to see *The Gruffalo* carvings, rather than to visit the Potter Exhibition in particular, and the bleak picture of Potter-based cultural capital is extended. These factors seem to have had a particular impact on the way the Potter Exhibition is consumed, and how television as heritage is manufactured and displayed at the Centre. Does the Potter Exhibition rely on visitors' lack of knowledge about Potter? Does the Dean Heritage Centre have a clear sense of its target audience for the Potter Exhibition?

These realisations reinforce the argument presented in Chapter 6 that Potter is managed at the Dean Heritage Centre as a secondary attraction, secondary to *The Gruffalo* and seasonal trails which bring in the most revenue to the Centre. Taken alongside the statistic that only 17% of visitors (five out of thirty) visited the Dean Heritage Centre for the Potter Exhibition in

particular, it suggests that managing Potter as a secondary attraction has a direct impact on the reality of visiting numbers: to most, the Exhibition is a secondary attraction for visitors to the museum. It is not that visitors do not have the cultural capital to seek out the Potter Exhibition, make meaning from it, or to enjoy it (in fact, 76% of visitors rated the Exhibition as enjoyable or very enjoyable), it is that the disaffection of staff at the Dean Heritage Centre seems to have manifested in Potter being tucked away in the hardest to reach room of the Museum, advertised sporadically and (unfortunately) poorly, resulting in an invisibility that has filtered down to the visiting public.

As I explored above, however, when visitors do access it, the Exhibition does do great interpretive work through the interpretation panels and through the design of the exhibition space itself. But how successful is the interpretive infrastructure of the Potter Exhibition in provoking emotional or affective responses from visitors? The following section explores this question in light of questionnaire responses.

7.9. Exploring the Affective Interpretive Infrastructure of the Potter Exhibition

The questionnaire employed in this study was designed to gather qualitative responses from visitors as much as to present a statistical picture of trends. It offered space for visitors to write about their experience, relating in particular to the way the Exhibition made them feel, and which parts of the Exhibition were most meaningful to them. First, the range of answers to the question ‘How did the exhibition make you feel?’ are interesting, and furthers the understanding of the Potter Exhibition already proposed, as an affective space in which a range of interpretations, meanings and memories are performed.

The comments in response to this question ‘How did the exhibition make you feel?’ echoed the voices from the visitor book as will be explored in a later chapter. Figure 7.18 is taken from a questionnaire completed by a woman, aged 41-50, who visited the Dean Heritage Centre for *The Gruffalo* Day. Asked how the Potter Exhibition made her feel, this visitor simply wrote ‘Nostalgic!’

8) How did the exhibition make you feel?

Please write your answer below.

Nostalgic!

(Figure 7.18: 'Nostalgic!')

A one word response like this makes it difficult to interpret: is this woman nostalgic for the 1950s? Is she nostalgic for past television? Is she nostalgic for childhood? When taken in conjunction with the visitor book, however, where nostalgia takes all of these forms and more, the questionnaire confirms that a large number of visitors share this affective, emotional response to the Exhibition. Another shared emotional response to the Exhibition, evidenced by repetition in the questionnaire (and as I will demonstrate below, also in the visitor book) is declarations of visitors' intent to re-watch Potter's classic television work, prompted by their visit to the Potter Exhibition. A man, aged 51-60, from Lydney (a Forest town) wrote in response to the same question: 'Made me want to watch the Singing Detective again.' In this way, the Exhibition engenders the affective response of desire, through reminding visitors of once loved past television. By provoking emotional responses such as these from audiences, the Potter Exhibition constructs heritage which links with memories of engagement with past television.

Another response to the same question is interesting as it highlights the argument made above that visitors inherently 'know' how to 'do' a museum, and have the cultural capital or self-awareness of their ability to 'visit' which enables them to write critically about their experiences. The visitor, female, aged 41-50 from Sheffield, wrote, 'I'm not really interested, but had I seen any of his work and liked it, it would be quite exciting,' (figure 7.19). Such a position replicates the sentiment expressed by the Centre Manger, as explored above, which suggests that there are commonalities in levels of cultural capital and personal taste between visitor and museum staff. The visitor positions herself as a non-fan, a person with no knowledge of Potter's work, yet she remains able to appreciate the aesthetic and informative qualities of the Exhibition. This response further suggests that an affective result of the Exhibition is inquisition, or curiosity, which is echoed in a response by a 60+ year old

woman from Gloucester who wrote in the questionnaire that the Exhibition made her feel inquisitive and 'better informed'.

8) How did the exhibition make you feel?

Please write your answer below.

I'M NOT REALLY INTERESTED
BUT HAD I SEEN ANY
OF HIS WORK AND USED
IT IT WOULD BE
QUITE EXCITING

(Figure 7.19: 'I'm not really interested...')

One of the most detailed and complicated affective responses to the Exhibition came from a man aged 20-40 from Warwickshire. He wrote that the Exhibition made him feel 'Disappointed. Wouldn't make a valued pilgrim of Potter very pleased,' (see figure 7.20). In terms of self-positionality this response is particularly interesting as this respondent noted his motivation to visit the Dean Heritage Centre was for the 'Gruffalo Day,' rather than to visit the Potter Exhibition in particular. In answer to the questions 'How much did you know about Potter before you came to the Dean Heritage Centre?' and 'How much do you know about the DPHP?' the visitor responded to each 'A little bit'. This does not seem to indicate that he was a lifelong fan of Potter or had followed the progress of the Project in detail, so did the visitor see himself as a 'valued pilgrim of Potter'? Either way, the visitor is certainly justified in noting that his personal emotional response to the Exhibition was disappointment, yet the phrasing of his comment is troubling. In terms of 'value,' it might be that this visitor feels the Exhibition is not value for money, or it might be that he feels it does represent Potter in the most valuable way, to his taste. As explored in previous chapters, the management and representation of Dennis Potter at the DHC is a complex and complicated balancing act between financial income and cultural responsibility. It might be, therefore, that this visitor feels the cultural value of Potter is not sufficiently represented in the Exhibition, though he does not suggest any ways in which it might be improved.

8) How did the exhibition make you feel?

Please write your answer below.

DISSAPPOINTED
WOULDN'T MAKE A VALUED
PILGRIM OF POTTER
VERY PLEASED

(Figure 7.20: 'Disappointed')

This visitor wrote in every 'free writing space' on the questionnaire (a phenomenon unique to him alone, as other respondents filled in one or two at most). His other comments listed that 'the whole site is a bit of a disappointment,' the museum overall was 'quite dull, no staff around,' and decried the Exhibition as a 'waste of Lottery funding.' In response to how he felt about the Potter Archive returning to the Forest of Dean, he wrote that he felt the Archive 'seems to have got lost and forgotten.' Through these comments the visitor adopts a political, almost confrontational stance toward the Exhibition and the Dean Heritage Centre.

Emotionally charged in a more negative way than evidenced by visitor book comments, as I will demonstrate below, and the other questionnaire respondents, the responses of this visitor add diversity to the range of emotional responses provoked by the exhibition.

Having cross-checked the handwriting from the questionnaires with entries to the visitor book, it seems that of the thirty people who responded to the questionnaires, none also wrote in the visitor book. It could be that visitors simply wanted to save themselves the double-labour of writing both in the visitor book and completing a questionnaire, and thus opted for one or the other (which would also help to explain the large number of comments in the visitor book compared with the relatively low return-rate of the questionnaires). It might also be argued that the questionnaire itself was viewed by visitors as an authoritative space in which to document their visit, and to explore their relationship to Potter and past television. In the case of the man from Warwickshire who wrote aggrievedly of his experiences of the Exhibition, this visitor may have viewed the questionnaire as a tool to bring about change in the wider museum (as is common with the data gathered in museum questionnaires).

7.10. Conclusion

Gordon Fyfe (2011) suggests there is a tension between researchers who conduct observations on museum visitors and those who carry out large scale questionnaire surveys, a tension which arises from the data gathered. He notes that ‘there is the contrast between data that are derived from visitors’ retrospective responses to questionnaires [...] and data derived from field observations of what visitors do and say in the course of their visits,’ (p.37).

Triangulating (Hein, 1998) research methods allowed this study to explore whether or not visitors’ physical behaviour in the museum space was aligned with their self-reflection through questionnaire. This study combined research methods such as observation, and questionnaire analysis in order to present a full picture of the visitor experience of the Potter Exhibition at the Dean Heritage Centre. Moreover, the triangulation of methods, and the ‘lived’ nature of this study has meant that the realities of visitor experiences and exhibition design can be highlighted in a way that is often missed in funding evaluation reports or cultural policy assessments.

The multimodal approach adopted in this chapter was crafted to explore the semiotic construction of the Dean Heritage Centre as a museum through Potter, the nature of visitors’ physical engagement in the Exhibition space, and in order to deconstruct the multiplicity of meaning that visitors can draw from Dennis Potter Exhibition. The data yielded suggests that visitors to the Potter Exhibition are beginning to engage with a form of television as heritage, but it is a heritage that has been carefully constructed by the museum. The 1950s room was one of the most attractive elements of the Exhibition, though it is a ‘dead’ living room: you cannot sit on the sofas, you are not able to leaf through the magazines on the coffee table, and the television is broken. Thus, the Dean Heritage Centre constructs television heritage as static, non-interactive, unplugged and cordoned off behind a red railing, or hidden behind an ‘out of order’ sign.

Though the Potter Exhibition (ostensibly an exhibition about television history) appears to be where Potter’s television work as it was meant to be enjoyed ultimately comes to expire, this chapter has suggested that new and old media formats combine in the Exhibition space to engender affective responses from visitors. The Exhibition was found to be a democratic space which uses the shared cultural capital of exposure to television (though television is represented textually, rather than visually) which provokes nostalgia, desire and curiosity from visitors. Overall, this chapter has presented a complex and detailed picture of visitor engagement with Dennis Potter’s legacy at the Dean Heritage Centre.

In keeping with the review of heritage and museum studies based literature presented in a previous chapter, in an effort for depth and to continue to explore the affective, memory-based experiences of visitors to the Dennis Potter Heritage Project (DPHP) this chapter asked how visitors to the Potter Exhibition engage with Potter's legacy at the Dean Heritage Centre. The following chapter uses the visitor book, placed in the Potter Exhibition, as a research resource with which to further illuminate processes of memory and remembering in the museum.

8. Remembering Potter through the Visitor Book

8.1 Introduction

Of the multiple research methods used to access the museum's audience, Sharon MacDonald (2005) suggests that one research resource that has remained underused is the museum visitor book. MacDonald suggests that 'an exhibition's visitor book should, perhaps, be seen as an integral part of that exhibition— an interactive exhibit in which many visitors participate (either by writing or reading) – and, therefore, included in any exhibition analysis,' (p.119). The following section explores the comments made in the visitor book by those visitors to the Potter Exhibition, in order to understand the relationship between the museum and its audience in more detail, and to explore the different types of memory work evidenced within the pages of these rich research resources. As the use of visitor books is relatively under-theorised, I will utilise MacDonald's (2005) pioneering work as a framework for analysis, alongside the insightful and critical questions posed by Joanne Hamilton (2013) in her analysis of an Irish case study, and the work done on visitor books by Chaim Noy (2008) in Israeli museums and heritage sites. In addition to the stated aim of the approach in this chapter, this section has an underlying motivation in that it seeks to valorise the use of the museum visitor book as a creative, inventive method (Lury & Wakeford, 2012) which can add qualitative depth to studies which are currently marked by quantitative breadth.

As I argue below, a case can be made to see the visitor book as a sort of placed, non-virtual forum for sharing fan and local memory, and as such it follows that those who write in visitor books do so knowingly, voluntarily, and with the understanding that their words will be read. Though I felt affectively connected to those people whose words I examined and explored in great detail for this study and wanted to use their names (for authenticity) I followed the ground broken by MacDonald (2005) who argued that publications based on visitor book research 'should not reproduce details such as visitor names and addresses that could identify those people directly,' (p.124).

The visitor book is one of two that sit 'inconspicuously' (Hamilton, 2013, p.2) inside the Dean Heritage Centre. The first main visitor book is placed at the entrance to the museum, near the shop counter, and seeks to gather comments about the whole Dean Heritage Centre

experience. Visitors are invited to leave their name, address and contact details, as well as any comments they might like to share. The second visitor book, and the subject of this analysis, is dedicated to comments about the Potter Exhibition and wider DPHP only, and is located by the door to the Potter Exhibition (figure 8.1). Above the visitor book hangs two plaques which acknowledge the Heritage Lottery Funding (HLF) and the input of the Local Action Group (LAG) bodies which were pivotal in helping to secure the Archive for the Dean Heritage Centre. The exhibition room is generally quiet, sparsely populated by other visitors (if there are any at all) and thus invites ‘a sense of calm reflection,’ [male visitor to author, Potter Exhibition, summer 2013, field notes].



(Figure 8.1: Potter Exhibition Visitor Book in situ. Photographs taken by author with permission of the Dean Heritage Centre)

Noy (2008) suggests that the very presence of the visitor book within the museum is itself ‘meaningful and significant. Like other communicative devices that inhabit institutional environments and spaces (domestic, public, national, transnational), the medium itself does not only *convey* meaning(s) but also *projects* meaning(s) onto its surroundings (Blair, 1999; McCarthy, 2000; Silverstone & Hirsch, 1992),’ (p.179). As a communicative medium, the visitor book presupposes that the visitor has a certain level of literacy, and a certain ability to write in the book. The layout of the pages of the book is therefore an important consideration,

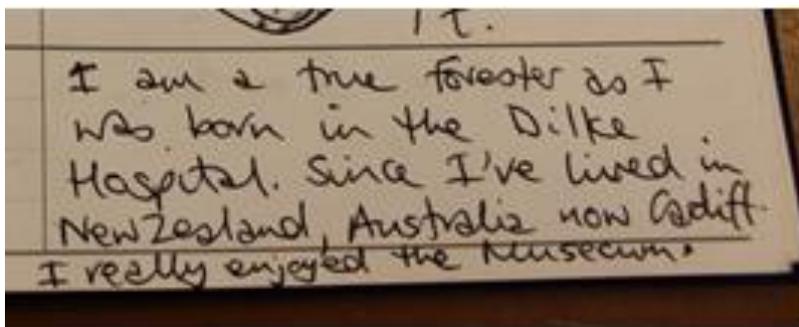
as it structures the orthographic and graphic styles adopted by the writer. Unlike the book in Noy's (2008) study which featured no lines or dividers, the Potter Exhibition visitor book is a hardback volume, containing over 100 pages, each page divided by lines to create space for 6 comments per page. Writers are invited to note their name and address on the left hand side of the page, and offered space to write their comment in a separate box opposite their name. In this way, the Potter Exhibition visitor book is fairly structured – it lends itself to linear, regulated comments, of a consistent shape and length. I have reproduced images of many comments found in the book as illustrations to the analysis presented below, but it is worth noting even here, that the form and shape of each entry is fairly consistent. In this way, the Potter Exhibition book projects a meaning onto its surroundings, a meaning which corresponds to the wider museum environment: the book is structured, consistent and regulated, with borders, divisions and dedicated spaces for creative activity, much like the wider Dean Heritage Centre itself.

The Potter Exhibition visitor book contains many different comments and reflections, composed by a number of diverse authors from a variety of backgrounds. Overall, this study gathered over 250 comments from the book, though for brevity's sake this section explores only a select few comments which can be seen as representative of a number of remarks in the book. But what of those visitors who did not write in the visitor book? As active consumers engaged in the cultural experience of visiting a museum (Hooper-Greenhill, 1992) visitors write in the book for a number of reasons, which will be explored in more detail below. This study also found, however, that other 'active' visitors engaged with the visitor book too, but in a decidedly more passive way: leafing through, reading other people's comments, but ultimately declining not to write anything themselves. I observed several visitors engaging in this behaviour, many of which laughed, chuckled, or nodded in agreement with the words they read on the page. This suggests that the comments within visitor book resonated with the reader and prompted an affective or emotional response. By opting not to write a comment in the book themselves, these visitors carried out a different kind of museum-based performance than that carried out by those who did write. This furthers the idea that the visitor book should be seen as an active exhibit in itself, which creatively provokes a number of different responses, engagements, and performances from visitors.

For those that did write in the book, their comments and reflections are surprisingly consistent with each other, and cover a range of similar themes. Hamilton (2013) observed four major categories under which many entries in visitor books can be classified: reminiscence, emotional response, ownership, and identity. This study explores the entries found in the Potter visitor book along similar lines.

8.2. Claiming a Stake through the Visitor Book: Ownership, Credibility and 'Being from the Forest'

Many comments in the visitor book noted the authors' connections with the Forest of Dean: growing up in the Forest, spending time during holidays in the Forest, visiting family there and so on. MacDonald (2005) calls this phenomena 'self-positioning'. One visitor, for example, wrote: 'I am a true Forester as I was born in the Dilke Hospital. Since I've lived in New Zealand, Australia, now Cardiff. I really enjoyed the Museum,' (see figure 8.2).



(Figure 8.2: 'I am a true Forester')

This comment has little to do with the Potter Exhibition directly, though what this comment does do is connect the author to the social and cultural environment of which the Dean Heritage Centre is a part. This comment is the visitor's way of claiming a stake in the heritage of the Forest of Dean and in the complex milieu of the area, sketching out her credentials as a 'true' Forester, a place where issues of 'belonging and not belonging' are crucial, as explored in previous chapters. This comment therefore reveals a lot about identity formation stimulated by a museum visit: this visitor performs a kind of homecoming in the visitor book in the Potter Exhibition – despite living in New Zealand, Australia and 'now Cardiff,' the visitor asserts her right to the heritage of the Forest of Dean (in this instance, to Potter) as someone born at the Dilke Hospital - as a Forester. Comments such as these suggest that many of those who sign visitor books do so to root their connections to the area,

space or place, which is suggestive that ‘exhibitions enhance understanding of where they have come from, even if it was in the distant past,’ (Hamilton, 2013, p.8).

Other comments link the writers’ identity to Potter’s, either through their connection to the Forest of Dean, or through their connection Potter. A visitor from Ellwood, Coleford, wrote: ‘Went to school with Dennis, his wife lived 5 doors away on Sunnybank when we were kids.’ This kind of comment links the visitor’s memories of Potter and his wife as children to the wider exhibition, adding memories of the domestic sphere (or below the line memories) to the overall picture of Potter presented through the exhibition. Recording this detail in the visitor book might also signify a sort of ‘claim to fame’ on the author’s part – an attempt to stitch his memories into the wider fabric of the ‘Potter story’ as represented in the Exhibition. Similarly, another visitor (who also noted her maiden name) wrote:

I was in the class below Dennis Potter at Bells Grammar School. I remember him as a quiet boy. The photo of him as a boy, his school blazer is in black and white. The blazer is green and the braid is yellow. A very good exhibition.

By including her maiden name in her comment, it seems this visitor hopes to be recognised (by her former name) by other members of her school cohort. Moreover, the act of including her maiden name seems to suggest that should any one wish to verify that she was indeed in the class below Potter, they would be able to do so with ease. This entry is similar to that of the visitor who had lived all over the world, as explored above, in that they both attempt to qualify their credibility to write in the book: one as a ‘true Forester’ and the other as an ex-class mate.

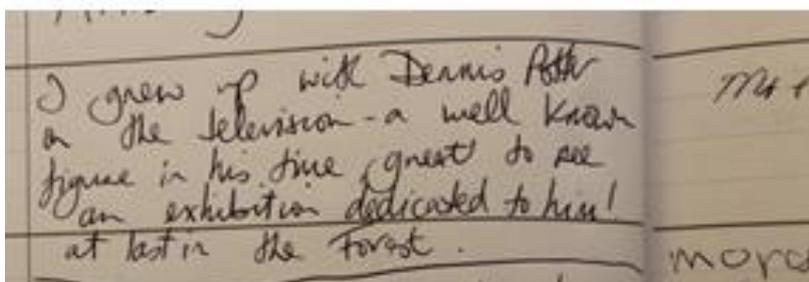
This visitor’s comment ties her to Potter through a shared childhood, a theme readily emergent in the visitor book through other comments. A female visitor from Drybrook, for example wrote, ‘Enjoyed the visit, brought back memories of my happy childhood.’ Similarly, a couple from Yorkshire wrote, ‘Brings back memories of our own childhood homes. Dennis is an inspiration.’ Connecting their own memories of childhood to Potter’s (actual) childhood or the childhood he represented on screen, such comments in the visitor book thus add another emotional or affective layer to the representation of Potter created through and by the Exhibition, an affective layer that is not bound by the (real or imagined) geographies of childhood.

The comment about Potter at Grammar School explored above references in particular the physical content of the Exhibition (the photo of a young Potter) but critically adds memory based contextual detail to further develop what is already in situ in the room, by describing the colours of the blazer and the braid. This memory is particularly vivid, another below the line memory which adds colour and texture to the Exhibition. In some senses, this visitor's entry in the visitor book represents a mediated memory (van Djick, 2007). Her comment is underpinned by a concern about the mediated tools we use to remember - photography, cameras – in particular the 'black and white' camera used to capture Potter's image (see van Djick, 2007, pp.98-12). What this visitor remembers is not the black and white picture of a boy who grew up to be a famous television author; what she remembers is the quiet boy in a green and yellow blazer.

8.3 Remembering Potter on Television

A number of entries in the visitor book reference particular Potter plays, or remark on the 'incredible talent' of the man working in his medium. This, in itself, is not surprising, as the Exhibition explores a number of Potter's most famous works through the interpretation panels (which will be explored in more detail below) and replicas of the script of his (arguably) most famous play *The Singing Detective* (1986) sit inside the glass display cabinet. What is surprising is the way in which memories of past television are articulated in the visitor book, comments which might suggest that many visitors already view past television as heritage.

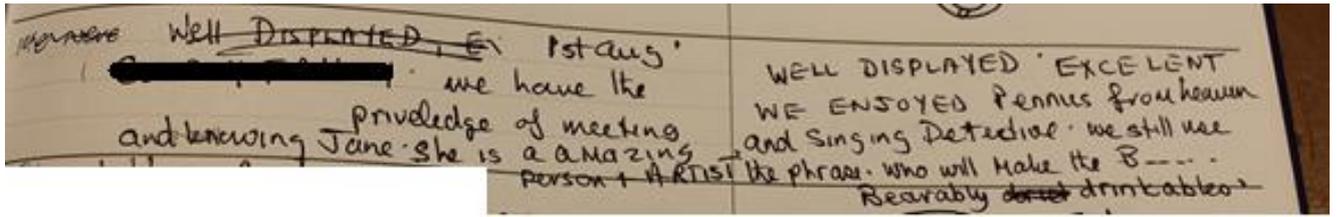
To this end, one notable entry in the visitor book is particularly useful. The visitor wrote, 'I grew up with Dennis Potter on the television – a well-known figure in his time. Great to see an exhibition dedicated to him at last in the Forest!' (See figure 8.3).



(Figure 8.3: 'I grew up with Dennis Potter on the television')

Structuring her entry around the memory of ‘growing up with Potter’ on television, this visitor’s comment is interesting – did she actually watch Potter’s work from a young age (given the age inappropriacy of many of Potter’s themes, it seems unlikely), and even if she did, did she recognise that what she was watching was written by Potter? As this comment is an isolated remark (i.e. it cannot be followed up through interview, for example) the issue cannot be probed further, though it seems more likely that this is a prosthetic memory (Landsberg, 2004): the visitor surely did watch Potter’s plays, but it is only with the benefit of hindsight (and potentially the work done through the Exhibition and by the DPHP to raise Potter’s profile in the Forest) that she now re-remembers the programmes as *Potter on television*. This comment also suggests a view of television *as* heritage as it connects the importance of past television to the production space of the Forest of Dean – ‘Great to see an exhibition [...] at last in the Forest.’

Many comments in the visitor book also focus on the impact of Potter’s television in the visitors’ personal life. One group of visitors, for example, wrote: ‘We have the privilege of meeting and knowing Jane. She is an amazing person and artist. Well displayed. Excellent. We enjoyed *Pennies from Heaven* and *Singing Detective*. We still use the phrase “Who will make the B.... bearably drinkable! [sic]”’ (See figure 8.4). This is one of the longest entries in the Potter Exhibition book (conceptualised as a ‘long reminiscence’ by MacDonald, 2005) and is an entry which illuminates a great deal about fan culture, self-positioning, and attempts to carve out a sense of credibility on the writers’ part. First, by pointing to a personal connection to Jane, Potter’s daughter, these visitors seem to be carving out their own grounds to be taken as credible writers with privileged connections to the Potter family. Were you not a Potter fan with knowledge about his family, you would be forgiven for not knowing that the artist Jane Chowns was Potter’s daughter. For those other Potter fans reading the visitor book, such detail highlights the cultural capital of the visitors, a group of fans with knowledge to speak about Potter, and the credibility to write in the visitor book. As Matt Hills (2002) notes, such evidence suggests that fan cultures do not exist simply as a community but ‘also as a social hierarchy where fans share a common interest while also competing over fan knowledge, access to the object of fandom, and status,’ (p.46). The process of articulating one’s place in this social hierarchy of fandom within the visitor book links to MacDonald’s (2005) suggestion that many of those writing in the book write to an ‘imagined receiver,’ often the museum management, other visitors, or, in this instance, other fans.



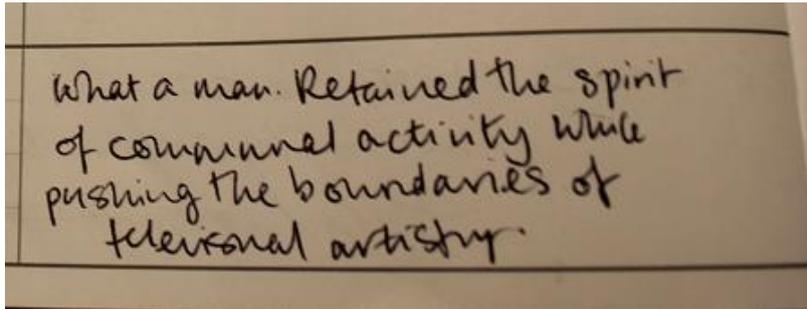
(Figure 8.4: 'Bearably drinkable')

Their comment in the visitor book further suggests that these visitors were clearly avid and dedicated Potter fans. The phrase the visitors quote in their entry in the visitor book is from *Lipstick on Your Collar* (1993) though the actual quote is 'the coffee is barely bloody drinkable,' as noted by Private Hopper (Ewan McGregor) about the poor refreshments found in the War Office. As a textually poached (Jenkins, 1992) artefact appropriated by the viewer from personally meaningful, resonant or memorable television, this 'phrase' is found remediated and reproduced in the space of the visitor book. This further suggests the act of self-positioning by the visitors as Potter fans: by including the Potter quote, these visitors emerge as dedicated Potter fans at the same time as they highlight their cultural capital to other readers. Again, like many others who wrote in the visitor book, these visitors seem to be carving out their own grounds to be taken as credible writers, with the right to write in the visitor book. In terms of fan cultures, Hills (2002) suggests that 'all too often fan "justifications" are accepted as cultural facts by ethnographers, rather than being subjected to further analysis,' (p.65). Hills suggests that fan communities are typically found justifying their love or passion for a particular programme or film series, but these particular justifications can usually be reduced to a simple attempt to defend against external criticism (p.66). Issues of self-positioning found in entries in the visitor book crafted to highlight the credibility of the writer as a Potter fan, a Forest resident, or someone with a connection to Potter, links to this argument. Critically, however, this study adds something to Hills' (2002) formulation of fan culture justifications, when these validations are made through the visitor book. The argument that fans often exist on the margins, in a liminal space, often in opposition to mainstream culture (Jenkins, 1992; Hills, 2002; Gorton, 2009) is turned on its head in the context of the Potter Exhibition. The Exhibition celebrates a form of popular culture – film and television - and commemorates the role of the local community and fandom in the process of televisual creation. The visitor book therefore becomes a space for fannish reflection within and endorsed by the museum. The museum as a space of "proper" cultural capital and "proper" aesthetic distance or appreciation," (Hills, 2002, p.49) is

therefore reconfigured from below the line through fan engagement in writing in the visitor book.

The comment in the visitor book also suggests that for their family, Potter's television has become something of a media relic or touchstone within the domestic sphere of the family home. Roger Silverstone (1994) argues 'television is a domestic medium [...] Television has become embedded in the complex cultures of our own domesticity,' (p.24). As John Cook (1995) suggests of the reception of *The Singing Detective* (1986) in particular, 'On the most basic of empirical evidence, audiences seemed to remain gripped by the work,' (p.243). The comment by these visitors, and others like it, found in the Potter visitor book suggest that the reach of Potter's television was prolific and long lasting, and audiences remain as 'gripped' by Potter's work as they were when it was first shown on television, now nearly thirty years later.

Other comments indicate that the Exhibition has (re)stimulated an interest in (re)watching Potter's work and thus that the museum's reach, especially when exhibiting popular cultural artefacts such as film and television extends far beyond its walls. A male visitor from Lydney, for example, wrote, 'Reminded me of how brilliant D.P [sic] was and now I want to go home and watch *The Singing Detective*'. An anonymous visitor, who visited the Dean Heritage Centre in the winter of 2013, wrote: 'It has made my first 2014 resolution to revisit Potter's great T.V. dramas. The world of 2013 is not the world of 1963 – when w/class [sic] people like him first broke through – we need a new Dennis for today!!!' This comment is particularly insightful: it not only suggests that the Exhibition has prompted the writer to go home and engage with temporarily forgotten past television, but that it has sparked critical reflection on the social and cultural conditions of the modern moment. Cook (1995) wrote of Potter's political motivations that his 'striving to communicate with a working-class audience, to create a "common culture", can be related to the striving for community and integration with working-class childhood roots which was felt to have been lost at an early age,' (p.290). The comment that 'we need a new Dennis for today!!!' suggests that Potter's television work has not only continued emotional resonance with audiences, but the memory of his work has continued political resonance in the contemporary environment (which will be explored in more detail in the following chapter). Similarly, comments found in the visitor book suggest Potter's works has continued cultural importance as well as political resonance. Another visitor, for example, wrote 'What a man. Retained the spirit of communal activity while pushing the boundaries of televisual artistry,' (see figure 8.5).



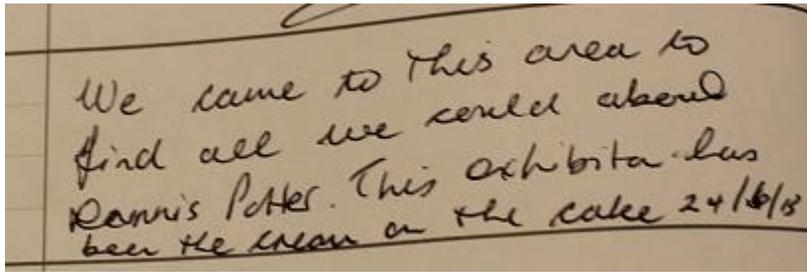
(Figure 8.5: 'What a man')

Taken together, this visitor's comment and the suggestion that we 'need a new Dennis for today!!!' indicates that Potter is still remembered as one of British television's most creative writers. The visitor book thus becomes a politicised space, a space in which visitors can explore their understanding of the cultural, social and political milieu in which they live, and a space in which these issues can be critiqued, prompted by the experience of the museum visit itself.

Another particularly interesting comment in the Potter exhibition visitor book is structured by the memory of being an extra on the production of one of Potter's plays on location in the Forest of Dean. This comment can be taken as critical to the effort of seeing television as heritage, and a comment that further valorises the visitor book analysis method as one which uncovers and reveals below the line memories. A female visitor from Woolason wrote, 'Very interesting. Brought back memories of the filming of *Cold Lazarus* in Cinderford when I was an extra. Great fun.' As I have argued elsewhere, there lies a great deal of cultural value in exploring the impact of Potter from the perspectives of audience members who hold memories of being involved in the creation of Potter's work, audience members who often remain embedded in production locations. Moreover, 'how that interaction becomes for them a sustainable memory within their cultural milieu and everyday lives that they re-use, is an important aspect for researching television as heritage in placed and virtual ways,' (Garde-Hansen & Grist, 2014, p.10). The act of re-using this memory, of reproducing it in the placed environment of the Potter Exhibition, in the interactive space of the visitor book, testifies to the longevity and sustainability of such below the line memories. It also highlights the creativity and inclusivity offered by the space of the visitor book itself, and marks the book out as a useful method of data collection for those seeking to explore everyday audience responses in more qualitative, detailed, and nuanced ways.

A number of comments in the visitor book reference specific Potter plays with a degree of emotional attachment (especially *Pennies from Heaven* and *The Singing Detective*, as arguably two of his most famous.) A female visitor from Gloucester, for example, wrote ‘Dennis Potter Exhibition and trail very interesting and nostalgic. *Pennies from Heaven* and *Blue Remembered Hills* two of his finest as far as I’m concerned.’ By listing much-loved Potter plays, the visitor book becomes a forum for sharing ‘favourites,’ a kind of non-virtual, placed, museum based review site, where fans share information about personal preferences and insist on the merits of their particular favourite. By seeing the visitor book as a forum for the sharing of fannish opinion, similar to review sites found online, Hills’ (2002) exploration of online fan communities can be reconfigured and made useful to theorise the work done by the visitor book. Hills (2002) argues that an exploration of online fan audiences ‘cannot offer a window on the programmes offline, socially atomised fandom; it must, instead, perform its fan audiencehood, knowing that other fans will act as a readership for speculations, observations and commentaries,’ (p.177). This study has already highlighted issues of self-positioning and imagined receivers, and as such I would argue that the visitor book might be seen as an interactive, inclusive space where fans converge, similar in a number of ways to the online fan forum. Like the fan forum, the visitor book has become a space where stories are shared, where favourites are listed, and where the writer composes his or her entry critically aware that their words will be read. In other words, through the visitor book situated in this film and television exhibition and in a series of layered, nuanced exchanges between writers, Potter’s fan culture flourishes.

Comments in the visitor book tell us even more about fan cultures: some remarks in the book suggest that the Potter Exhibition might represent the culmination or final destination of geographic Potter fan pilgrimages (Brooker, 2007). A male visitor from Yorkshire, for example wrote, ‘We came to this area to find all we could about Dennis Potter. This exhibition has been the cream on the cake,’ (see figure 8.6). The term ‘cream on the cake’ might be seen as conflation of the expressions ‘the icing on the cake’ and ‘cream of the crop,’ though for a Potter fan or scholar it is hard to miss the implicit reference to Potter’s 1980 TV serial ‘Cream in my Coffee’.



(Figure 8.6: 'The cream on the cake')

Whether an interesting coincidence or a carefully crafted response, this comment suggests that the writer had been all over the Forest of Dean in search of Potter, finally finding his way to the Exhibition at the end of the journey. The visitor talks emotionally about the exhibition and it can be inferred that his trip to the Forest of Dean in search of Potter was successful even before he reached the Exhibition, yet he still felt the need to document this journey. The act of writing in the visitor book might then be seen as a ritual, perhaps even as the fan equivalent of lighting a candle at the end of a religious pilgrimage. Victor Turner (1968) states, 'Rituals are storehouses of meaningful symbols by which information is revealed and regarded as authoritative, as dealing with the crucial values of the community,' (p.2). If this understanding of ritualised behaviour is transposed onto the vision of the museum as storehouse of cultural artefacts and as an authoritative transmitter of community values, the link between the importance of ritual and the museum visit is made clear. The analysis of visitor books might therefore be further valorised as a research method with which to uncover a host of meaningful processes engaged in by members of fan cultures and audience members, within the sanctioned cultural environment of the museum.

Such detailed comments found in the visitor book highlight a complicated relationship to television (both past and present) and to television as it is represented in the exhibition, and as it is remembered by other visitors. Deconstructing the visitor book evidences different ways of remembering past television and different ways of recording/structuring such memories on paper. This method therefore offers a window into a complex network of identity formation and negotiation, offered by exposure to and engagement with the Potter Exhibition. But memories of television are not the only reminiscences evidenced in the pages of the visitor book. Many comments reference the physical environment of the Exhibition itself in a more direct way, many of which stem from an affective engagement with the

replicated 1950s sitting room in particular. The following section therefore locates instances of the performance of nostalgia within the Potter Exhibition visitor book.

8.4 Remembering Forgotten Places: Nostalgia in the Visitor Book

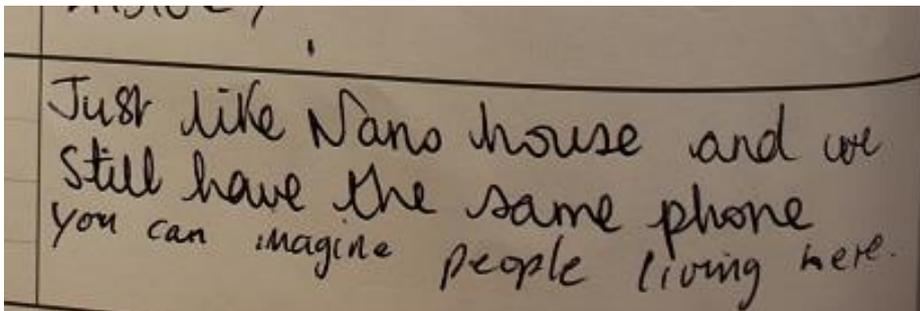
Svetlana Boym (2001) suggests that ‘nostalgia is about the relationship between individual biography and the biography of groups or nations, between personal and collective memory,’ (2001, p.xvi). As explored in the literature review chapter of this study, nostalgia has been identified as a driving commercial force within the heritage sector, as well as a tool that can be manipulated to stimulate affective visitor engagement. Further, and with critical relevance to the heritage environment in general and to this study in particular, Boym suggests that nostalgia can be seen as the force which binds memory, place and emotion together (Boym, 2007, p.11). A slippery concept that demands ‘an innovative approach’ (Outka, 2013, p.252) this section explores comments in the visitor book which were inspired by the binding of memory and place together through the Exhibition, as a way to locate instances of the performance of nostalgia. Thus through this innovative approach to exploring the concept, nostalgia is understood as being manifest (or made less slippery) through its articulation in writing in the visitor book.

The Potter Exhibition houses a replica 1950s sitting room which includes a sofa, an armchair, a radio, a television, and wall hangings and decorations that befit a 1950s style room (see figure 8.7). A number of comments in the visitor book suggest that the Exhibition stimulated feelings of nostalgia within the viewers, many of whom felt compelled to document this experience.



(Figure 8.7: 1950s Room)

A comment in the visitor book reads: ‘Just like Nan’s house and we still have the same phone. You can imagine people living here,’ (see figure 8.8). This comment is particularly interesting, as even the most basic graphologic analysis²⁰ indicates the comment was composed by two different writers. This has important implications when trying to understand the performance of nostalgia within the visitor book.



(Figure 8.8: ‘Just like Nans house’)

First, it seems the initial writer (presumably female, due to the rounded nature of the writing) has an emotional or nostalgic connection to the Exhibition through her memories of her Grandmother’s house. This suggests the writer is moved by nostalgia to write in the visitor

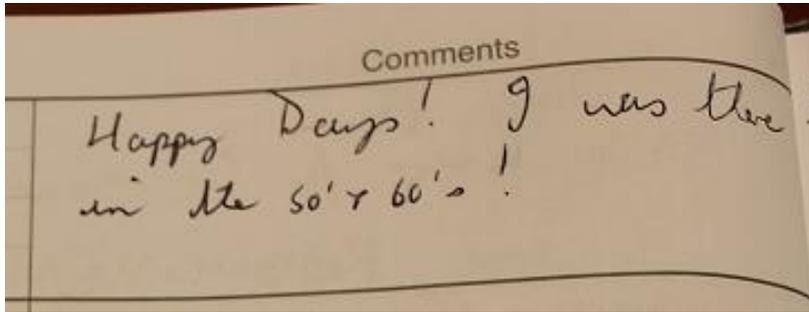
²⁰ Though it might still be considered a ‘pseudo-science’ by many, Graphology has made steps toward a more scientific approach, especially in providing data for personality assessment (see Yalon & Danor, 1992). The application of Graphologic methods to examine comments made in visitor books has yet to be conducted. As Graphology presents a way into understanding meaning making processes and personality types, this method may form an avenue for future research.

book and record that her Grandmother had a similar home to that represented in the Exhibition. In this way, the visitor book is again used to carve out a piece of history for the writer – the visitor book is the space in which the visitor stakes a personal claim in what the museum has represented, at the same time as they verify the Exhibition as being truly representative of something they have experienced in their own lives. Noting that the visitor's still have the 'same phone,' this comment connects the replicated historical space of the 1950s with the modern day through the mass produced commercial artefacts of the telephone. Noting that the visitors themselves had a museum 'artefact' at home, still in use, suggests that exhibiting history 'still within living memory' extends the reach of the museum, and connects it to the domestic space of the visitor's home. More than this, even, such a comment highlights the fact that the Potter Exhibition at the Dean Heritage Centre has already become living memory.

The second part of the comment (presumably) written by a man, states simply: 'You can imagine people living here.' Adding these words to the comment already written by his wife (or sister?) as opposed to writing his own comment, suggests that what this visitor valued most about the exhibition (or what was most worth recording) was that the space was intensely realistic, as he could imagine the space physically inhabited by a family. What he does not say, is that he could imagine 'his Nan' living there, or his fellow visitor's Nan living there, simply 'someone'. In this way, this visitor might not be as nostalgic about the 1950s room as his companion was, though his comment is similarly framed by concerns about the domestic sphere. The fact that this comment was co-crafted is also interesting, as by creating a shared entry and by physically dividing the labour of writing their comment in the visitor book these visitors evidence 'the social ties that exist between them and re-establish [sic] their relations in and through the very act of inscribing (Laurier & Whyte, 2001),' (Noy, 2008, p.183).

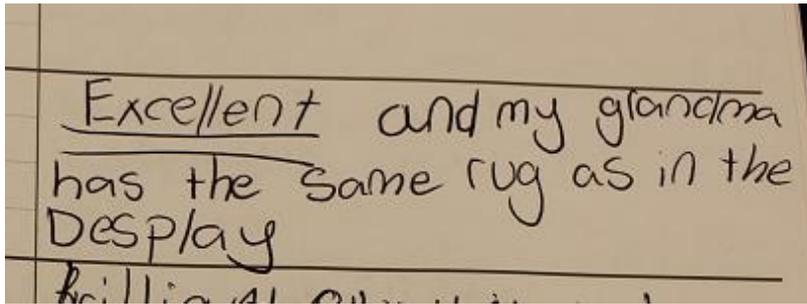
Many other comments in the visitor book evidence nostalgia. A married couple from Gloucester, for example, simply wrote, 'Happy days! I was there in the 50's and 60's!' (see figure 8.9.) Such a comment indicates an emotional connection to the Exhibition, or to the temporal period represented in the space, as explored in more detail above. The words 'Happy Days!' might refer to emotional condition engendered by the visit to the Potter Exhibition itself, a colloquial term for enjoyment, or they might refer to the 'happy days' of the 1950s and 1960s, in which many positive memories are located for the visitors. Either way, this comment again marks out the visitor book as a place in which visitors affectively

explore their own place in the history or heritage exhibited by the museum; the act of writing in the visitor book adding below the line detail to the authorised version of the period represented by the institution.



(Figure 8.9: 'Happy Days!')

Though children's comments are usually disregarded from analysis (MacDonald, 2005) several comments in the Potter Exhibition visitor book are pertinent to this examination, as they dislocate nostalgia as an age-based phenomena. The literature review chapter of this study noted that preferences for aesthetic objects peak at critical periods in early adulthood (Holbrook & Schindler, 1991) which leads to a nostalgia [in later life] for 'aesthetic objects of consumption associated with that earlier period,' (Goulding, 2001, p.568). Through analysis of the Potter Exhibition visitor book, this study unpacks this age-based construction of nostalgia. While the visitor book is certainly dominated by comments composed by older visitors, it appears younger heritage consumers are similarly affected by the nostalgia manufactured in the exhibition space. A comment composed by a young visitor, for example, reads: 'Excellent and my Grandma has the same rug as in the display [sic],' (see figure 8.10). Similarly, another young visitor from Cheltenham wrote 'Looks like my Great Grandma's house.'



(Figure 8.10: 'My Grandma has the same rug')

The comments composed by these children suggest that the nostalgia that runs through the Potter Exhibition has had just as much of an impact on them as on their adult counterparts, though the concept of nostalgia must be reconfigured to explain this phenomenon. When nostalgia is broadly understood as a longing for home (*nostos* – the return home and *algia* – longing) or as a longing for times gone past, it does not fit that these comments by children be understood as nostalgia in this sense. These children did not live through the 1950s and 1960s as many of their parents and grandparents did, nor do they have the memories of watching Potter's plays on television and relating his depiction of childhood to their own. What these children do have, however, is a memory of their grandparents' houses, memories of the commercial artefacts that adorn those domestic spaces: old fashioned telephones, old rugs, china ducks on the wall and black and white photographs hanging in frames. This young visitor is affectively engaged in the Exhibition as it reminds her of her Grandmother's house (she 'has the same rug as in the display [sic]'). This seems to point to a kind of prosthetic nostalgia: when children perform nostalgia in the visitor book, they relate what they have seen in the Exhibition space to their own experiences, to their own inherent value systems and create meaning based on the conflation of all of these factors. By recording such comments in the visitor books, the children's remarks evidence a displaced kind of nostalgia that works against the intended meaning or message crafted by the museum: theirs is a longing not for the era or topic the museum intended, but nostalgia for something they actually experienced – their grandparents' homes.

Taken together to produce a view of nostalgia as something created by the complex interaction between inherent systems of meaning, the previous life experiences of visitors and the careful construction of a temporally located Exhibition, the comments in the visitor book suggest that the Exhibition successfully employed a strategic nostalgia for the 1950s to engender affective or emotional responses from visitors in the museum space. Though

already cited in a previous chapter, the vision for the Exhibition room as understood by the Centre Manager noted in interview is important to reproduce here. She argued:

I mean that's a '50s room. The fact that it's part of the Potter exhibition is the only reason that there's Potter memorabilia in there. If you took out all the photos then it's just still a '50s room. It was more about creating a typical '50s scenario rather than it being Potter's. [...] If you look at that room you would say, "Yes, it's an average 1950s room of an average '50s man or family," [Interview with author, August 2013].

The production of nostalgia in the museum therefore works at the critical interface between authentically representing a historical period (or event) and anticipating the prior experiences of the museum's visitors. By creating a room that could be easily identified as being 'about the 1950s' and by (serendipitously) placing Potter within that context, the Dean Heritage Centre created a space in which multiple forms of nostalgia could be experienced and a space in which multiple meanings and multiple memories could emerge.

8.5 Conclusion

Noy (2008) suggests that 'the acts of inscribed communication in a visitor book do not serve as a purely functional means of conveying information as much as they constitute a dynamic, embodied, and aesthetic cultural site in and of themselves,' (p.176). The visitor book comments explored in this chapter have suggested that the act of writing a comment in a visitor book is not a simple, mindless or careless activity: it requires a conscious choice, careful thought, and requires processes of reminiscence to be engaged in and different types of memory work to be undertaken. The comments answer and echo one another, they are a chorus of below the line memories, which add colour (literally, as the one comment about the Bells Grammar School blazer demonstrated) and texture to the version of Potter represented by the museum in the Exhibition. Through the visitor book, visitors perform memory and identity, homecomings, memories of childhood and different types of nostalgia wrought from their contact with television as heritage. The visitor book entries show that audiences are not simply passive observers in the museum space, rather, they interact with what they see, create meanings from exhibitions using their own 'inherent systems' of meaning (Hamilton, 2013) and visitors document their experiences in detailed, complex and insightful ways.

Having noted that the visitor book may form a kind of placed, non-virtual forum for the sharing of 'favourites,' the positioning of cultural capital and the privileging of certain

habitus, the following (and final) analytic chapter of this study moves into the digital, and asks how Potter and the DPHP are found, mediated, remediated, consumed and prosumed (Garde-Hansen, 2011) online.

9. Pottering Online: the Social Media and Web Presence of Dennis Potter and the DPHP

9.1 Introduction

This chapter explores the digital and online presence of the Dennis Potter Heritage Project and Potter fan sites through a netnographic approach (Kozinets, 2010) in order to examine how Potter is consumed within the online heritage environment. This chapter will utilise frame analysis (Kidd, 2011) to explore the social media and web presence of Dennis Potter and DPHP, and will locate and conceptualise those resources *produced by the Project for* digital consumption, and those which can already be *found* online which are then are *consumed or 'remediated'* (Erll & Rigney, 2009; Bolter & Grusin, 1999) by the Project. Finally, this chapter will address the significance of the media on community engagement in the mediation of Potter's heritage, through an exploration of the Digital Storytelling Project. Overall then, this chapter asks how far, through its engagement with new and social media, has the Dean Heritage Centre (DHC) and wider DPHP embraced media and the many-to-many model to enhance 'audience interaction and experience, and museum authority'? (Russo et al. 2006, p.2).

In the latter part of the twentieth century and now the twenty-first, new digital media has emerged as part of a material and narrative cultural transformation (Clari, 2012, p.9). Michela Clari suggests that this transformation 'has also stimulated a narrative shift in the scholarly focus on the digital increasingly acknowledged as culturally significant,' (p.9). Moreover, she suggests that to date, research has been characterised by what Martin Hand (2008) terms, 'narratives of promise and threat,' (p.15) in the various ways the Internet may be seen to benefit or harm culture. The 'threat' posed by the Internet to the museum stems from lack of strategies which manage the online presence of an institution. Scholarship is slowly moving away from seeing the Internet and social media along the binary of 'threat' or 'benefit,' and 'as a focus on cyberspace as a different cultural place gradually fades, questions around the web's uniquely granular, connective qualities take centre stage,' (Clari, 2012, p.10).

Questions of 'access' to digital culture, questions about 'authenticity' and 'truth,' and what is meant by 'interactivity' when heritage is mediated online have become central narratives in the exploration of museums and digitality (Clari, 2012, p.13).

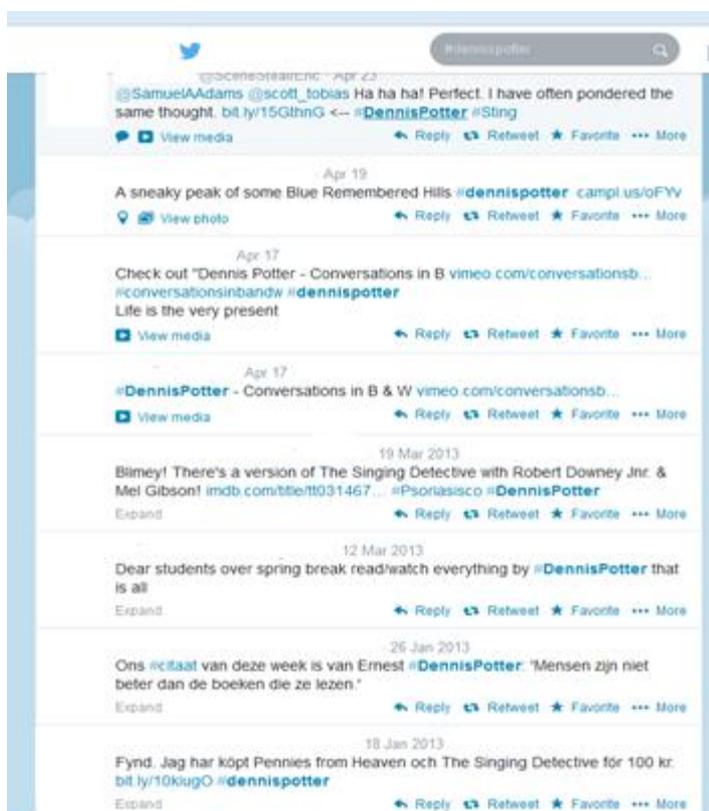
Angelina Russo et al. (2006) suggest that ‘social media are a growing issue in the museum environment as they challenge existing communication models, and few museums have clear strategies for engaging communities in content creation,’ (p.1). The Dean Heritage Centre have an online presence, both through the institution’s website and through social media sites Twitter and Facebook.²¹ Bearing in mind the importance and complexity of the relationship between the community of the Forest of Dean, the DPHP, and the wider world, and if the Internet is conceptualised as a liminal space (Cuthell & Preston, 2012) how is the DPHP found represented and mediated online, and how far does the museum’s online presence reflect a strategy for engaging communities in Dennis Potter’s legacy?

In order to examine the way Potter is found mediated and remediated online, and to identify questions about authenticity, interactivity and access to heritage online, this chapter draws upon an analysis of social media sites Facebook and Twitter, and Potter related websites. The ‘use’ of these sites is configured around institutional use (i.e. content uploaded by the DHC or DPHP partners) and the content uploaded independently of the museum and Project (i.e. that which is uploaded by individual users). Kidd (2011) provides a useful theoretical framework for examining the use of social media in the museum environment. She suggests that social media activity in museums might be best understood by frame analysis (Goffman, 1974; Snow, 1986). Kidd (2011) identifies three organising frames for social media activity in museums: the Marketing Frame, the Inclusivity Frame, and the Collaborative Frame (p.5). Below, the analysis of the use of social media in the DPHP utilises the concept of ‘the Marketing Frame’ to explore the strategic institutional use of Facebook and Twitter by the Dean Heritage Centre. Kidd argues that ‘frame alignment’ can only be achieved when the ‘organising frames’ of an institution and the ‘interpretive frames’ of its users are aligned (p.5). In other words, for the social media activity of a museum to be meaningful, the content it produces must broadly align with the interpretive practices of its audience.

A brief netnographic exploration (Kozinets, 2010) of the number of pages dedicated to Dennis Potter on Facebook, the number of ‘likes’, and the variety of Tweets which hashtag Potter (see figure 9.1) reveals that the appetite for this cultural icon is still voracious in these

²¹ There is not space here to credit the many scholars who have written convincingly on this topic and whose thinking has informed the content of this chapter. See Garde-Hansen (2011; 2009); van Djick (2007; 2013); Giaccardi (ed.) (2012); Mandiberg (ed.) (2012); and Bignell (2000) for interesting and incisive work on the relationship between the media and memory, media and culture, and media and society.

online social communities. With this in mind, how is Potter's legacy found managed by the DPHP in an online context?



(Figure 9.1: Online Appetite for Potter)

9.2 Social Media as a Marketing Device

Even a very brief 'skim' of the Dean Heritage Centre's Twitter feed and Facebook page at the time of writing is disheartening for those who are looking for the DPHP. On the DHC's Facebook page, one has to 'scroll down' to July 2013 for the most recent mention of the DPHP or Potter in any capacity, which coincided with the promotion of the 'Celebration Event/1950s Fete'. The DHC's Twitter feed is similar, as the most recent mention of the DPHP is also dated July 2013. The vast majority of Tweets and posts on Twitter and

Facebook are promotional or advisory in nature (site closures etc.). Through these social media sites, the Dean Heritage Centre promotes a variety of activities, exhibitions and projects (see figure 9.2), though Potter is not a regular feature.

The image shows a collage of social media content from the Dean Heritage Centre. At the top, three tweets from @The_DHC are displayed. The first tweet, dated Mar 6, announces the launch of 'Room on the Broom' and the Gruffalo's child trail. The second, dated Sep 15, promotes a 'River Rogues' event with live firing. The third, dated Sep 12, advertises 'Pirate Weekend'. Below the tweets are two Facebook posts. The first, from March 14, features a collage of bear images and text about a 'Celebration of Bears through Art' exhibition. The second, from March 12, is a promotional poster for a 'Special Launch Event' for 'Room on the Broom' from April 18th to 21st, 2014. The poster lists activities like a woodland trail, a character talk by Daryl Shute, film screenings, and a themed cafe menu.

(Figure 9.2: Promotional Tweets and Posts)

The Dean Heritage Centre’s self-managed web presence is connected: the DHC’s website is listed and linked, posts made on Facebook are tweeted on Twitter, and pictures posted on Facebook are made available through Twitter and so on. Occasionally the Dean Heritage Centre ‘re-tweets’ posts from other users, organisations or institutions, such as the ‘Things to Do in Gloucestershire’ tweet by ‘ThisIsGloucestershire’ which referenced the Dean Heritage Centre (Twitter, 2014). By linking the two social networks together, referring users to the institutional website, and by occasionally reaching out to other groups, the DHC have a fairly

cohesive online presence, which reinforces the marketing and promotional aims of the business.

Museums and heritage attractions increasingly embrace social media in an attempt to extend its reach ‘amongst, between and around individuals and communities,’ (Kidd 2011, p.6) and thus extend access to cultural heritage to multiple audiences. The posts and Tweets uploaded by the Dean Heritage Centre to these social media sites do not seem to have any clear sense of audience, either demographic or geographic, and thus the opportunity to ‘increase access’ to the heritage of the Forest of Dean through digital media seems to have been largely missed by the Dean Heritage Centre. There is an extensive range of activities and exhibitions available at the DHC which are appealing to diverse audiences: children (*The Gruffalo*, *Room on the Broom*, etc.), art lovers, family history enthusiasts, Potter fans, nature lovers, and so on. The social media presence of the Dean Heritage Centre does not seem to represent this diversity of audience in its totality: posts and Tweets are primarily targeted at parents and the casual tourist, and repeat Tweets and posts do not utilise the creative potential of these digital tools.²²

This analysis therefore suggests that a key organising frame for the Dean Heritage Centre’s social media presence is the Marketing Frame. Most effort is put into digitally promoting seasonal activities and trails with a limited lifespan, rather than promoting the Dean Heritage Centre’s permanent collections and exhibitions. From the perspective of a member of the DPHP and as an academic passionate about the many possibilities offered by the Potter Archive in terms of memory, heritage and media history, the absence of ‘Potter at the Dean Heritage Centre’ on social networks is disappointing. But does the DHC’s promotion of other events and activities at the museum through social media result in an alignment between the marketing frame of the institution and the interpretative frame of the audience?

²² At the time of writing, Twitter hosted the #MuseumsWeek event. Users could follow museums, ask curators questions, see ‘behind the scenes,’ and explore memories of museum visits and exhibitions with other users through a number of related hashtags. The event encouraged interaction between museum staff and visitors, invited memory-work, and saw Twitter become a more visual media (as it is currently characterised by posts of 140 characters of text and few pictures). The Dean Heritage Centre was not an official participant in this event, though a simple #MuseumsWeek hashtagged to their existing posts would have highlighted their work to a global audience. See <http://www.theguardian.com/culture-professionals-network/2014/mar/24/museum-week-uk-2014-live-blog> for more information about the event.

TripAdvisor has become an increasingly useful tool for the study of tourist or visitor response to and enjoyment of particular tourist destinations (see Buhalis & Law 2008; Miguéns et al. 2008; Owens 2012). TripAdvisor can help to establish how far the interpretive frame of the audience is aligned with the marketing frame of the museum in the online social environment. With *The Gruffalo* trail promoted and advertised extensively through the local press and on social media sites, the expectation is a well-designed, value for money, and exciting day out for the whole family. In reality, many of those who reviewed the Dean Heritage Centre on TripAdvisor argued it was ‘poorly laid out’ ‘expensive’ and ‘short-lived’. In this way the empirical credibility (D’Anjou, 1996, p.56) of the marketing frame of the Dean Heritage Centre is questioned in another online social forum, which leads to frame misalignment between audience and institution.

Russo et al. (2008) suggest that ‘most museums remain slow to recognize their users as active cultural participants in many-to-many cultural exchanges and therefore social media have yet to make a significant impact on museum communication models, which remain fundamentally one-to-many,’ (p.23). It must be noted that many well-funded museums have recruited media specialists to evaluate the social media and online presence of the institution and to plan participatory events and programming (Langa, 2014, p.485). The Dean Heritage Centre does not have such a specialist (rather they employ a hardworking PR/Events Manager with many duties within her remit) but neither do the Dean Heritage Centre seem to have a clear strategy for engaging in a participatory model of social media with which the Manager might work. The management of Potter online through the Dean Heritage Centre as lead partner on the DPHP therefore parallels the management of Potter’s legacy in non-digital form ‘on site’. Potter is not found mediated by the DHC online with any real purpose, just as ‘Potter as heritage’ is not marketed proactively in the museum. As in the museum, despite the potential to engage communities (both geographic and digital) in the creative mediation of Potter’s heritage through social media, Potter is left to languish behind promotional activities for *The Gruffalo* and *Room on the Broom*.

The potential of Potter to unite (often disparate) communities was evidenced by the sudden upsurge in Potter related posts and Tweets in the wake of the News of the World phone hacking scandal in 2005/6. Social media (Twitter in particular) was awash with users uploading YouTube clips of Potter’s famous final interview with Melvyn Bragg. Found cut up, remastered and thus remediated through social media, Potter’s comments about naming

his cancer Rupert (Murdoch) and his ‘parting shots’ at the British broadcasting industry were prophetically well timed. As Potter said in his last interview:

There is no one person more responsible for the pollution of what was already a fairly polluted press, and the pollution of the British press is an important part of the pollution of British political life, and it's an important part of the cynicism and misperception of our own realities that is destroying so much of our political discourse, (in Lewis, 2011).

Individuals and communities began to gather around the Potter hashtag in a stance against the influence of mass media on social life and culture. In this way the perception held by the Dean Heritage Centre management of Potter as the ‘polarising’ writer (as explored above) might be seen as ill-conceived, especially when viewed through the prism of cultural politics. Found online, Potter’s heritage and legacy is one that transcends the regional and the local, his is a legacy that is found passionately, fervently and politically remediated online, and in line with contemporary concerns.

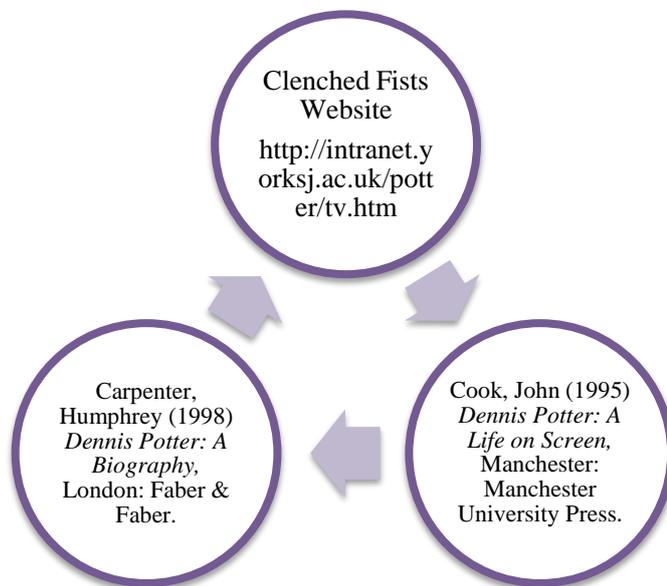
Analysis of the Facebook and Twitter accounts for the Dean Heritage Centre, taken alongside e-tourism review sites, demonstrates that the heritage of the Forest of Dean (and the Potter Archive in particular) is not mediated by the Museum through social media in a proactive, successful way. Finding it near impossible to ‘sell Potter’ on site, as explored in a previous chapter, seems to have translated into a difficulty to market Potter online, despite the social and political ‘lure’ of Potter, and despite the fact that overall Dean Heritage Centre’s online presence is framed by marketing concerns. Failing to market the permanent cultural heritage held by the Dean Heritage Centre, thus fails to situate the Forest of Dean as the non-virtual location to seek Potter-based knowledge. Russo et al. (2006) suggest that ‘social media can be used to enable cultural and scholarly dialogue while strengthening the veracity of museum knowledge,’ (p.2). While the Dean Heritage Centre’s social media presence remains framed by marketing concerns, the ability to situate the museum as a cultural storehouse and physical location for historical authenticity and truth remains elusive.

9.3 Managing and Mediating Potter's Heritage through 'Clenched Fists' and Aca-fan Sites

If the Museum's social media presence is not the place to find Potter, the 'Clenched Fists' website is (Clenched Fists, 2005). As an 'authoritative web-based cultural source,' (Trant, 1998, p.123), the 'Clenched Fists' website (1994-2005) set up by late Potter-fan and academic Dave Evans remains the 'go to' site for information about Potter. The site holds lists of Potter's TV plays, novels, films, journalism and interviews; information that structures the Wikipedia entry on Potter as much as it structured the daily activities of DPHP volunteers and archivists (see below). The site contains images and reviews of Potter-related festivals and meetings, and the Forest of Dean is found mediated in this online space.

Through BBC Radio Gloucestershire, Forest of Dean Radio, and Symposium .mp3 files of interviews with experts, fans and locals about the impact of Potter's work, and through video and still images, the site identifies the Forest of Dean locations important to Potter's history and work. In 2005 the site was adopted by the Potter family as the 'Official Dennis Potter' site, though Dave Evans sadly passed away later that year. As argued elsewhere, the site remains online as an Internet 'ruin' of sorts, remaining '*in memoriam* to the fan as much as Potter. Thus, this fan site not only remembers its creator, it also captures a pre-corporate, textualized fan interface of the 1990s and early 2000s that has since disappeared,' (Garde-Hansen & Grist, 2014, p.73).

Despite being a fan site, the 'Clenched Fists' website became a digital touchstone in the Project through its use by Project Archivist and volunteers to 'date' manuscripts found in the Potter Archive. The Collections Officer noted in interview that in order to identify unknown work in the Archive, she would often instruct volunteers to search the Clenched Fists website first. If Clenched Fists did not return any information, volunteers were then instructed to check the bibliography of John Cook's *Dennis Potter: a Life on Screen* (1995). Should the manuscript still remain undated or unidentified, volunteers were then directed to Humphrey Carpenter's biography (see figure 9.3). As a volunteer, I went through this process myself, and often found myself 're-Googleing' the content of the manuscript I was trying to identify and 're-checking' Clenched Fists if the manuscript could still not be recognised.



(Figure 9.3: Mediating the Archive – Dating and Identifying Potter’s work)

By ‘suring up’ the work of the Collections Officer and volunteers by cross-referencing with the site, Clenched Fists became validated as an authoritative and authentic online source of knowledge. Referring to academic publications as second and third points of call suggests that this online source was in fact more accessible and useful for the task at hand. The ease and speed with to search for the information, despite the relatively ‘dated’ interface of Clenched Fists, coupled with its less ‘dense’ academic wording, made the site the most expedient tool during the cataloguing process. In this way Potter’s heritage became increasingly mediated by existing digital and non-digital fan and academic sources. The relationship between academic work on Potter, such as Cook’s seminal work (1995) and the controversial biography by Carpenter (1998), and online manifestations of fannish (Jenkins, 1996) interest suggests that ‘aca-fan expertise has become as fundamental to remembering [and archiving] past television as critical scholarship and critics’ review,’ (Garde-Hansen & Grist, 2014, p.73).

There was potential for the Clenched Fists site to undergo a transformation as a result of renewed interest in Potter arising from the DPHP, in the desire of Project partners to transfer the content of Evans’ site over to the University of Gloucestershire’s web domain. Potter’s (and Evans’) (online) legacy might now be refigured and remediated, after lying dormant online for nearly ten years. How might the move from fan-led hosting to institutional/educational/academic hosting affect the cultural value of this web resource as heritage in its own right? Matt Hills (2002) suggests that:

Since neither fan nor academic identities are wholly constructed against one another, but are also built up through the relay of other identities such as the ‘consumer’, and

sense of singular cultural system of value is deferred yet further. Fans may secure a form of cultural power by opposing themselves to the bad subject of ‘the consumer’. Academics may well construct their identities along this same axis of othering, meaning that in this case both fans and academics may, regardless of other cultural differences, be linked through their *shared* marginalisation of ‘the consumer’ as Other, (p.18).

The potential transferal of the Clenched Fists website to the UoG domain highlights the ways in which different cultural systems of value (fan, academic, lay) overlap. The Internet and especially fan sites are therefore an area in which consumers and producers increasingly merge into the ‘prosumer’ (Garde-Hansen, 2011, p.28). As fans and consumers themselves, academics increasingly ‘mediate their public and private worlds in ever more rich and nuanced ways,’ (p.28) including, here with the potential move to Gloucestershire, the production and consumption (or ‘prosumption’) of mediated heritage.

KineArtefacts is another example of the mediation of Potter’s legacy outside the DPHP, and another instance in which we find the ‘aca-fan’ actively engaged in the promotion and remediation of the Potter Archive. The site is hosted by WordPress, a ‘state-of-the-art semantic personal publishing platform with a focus on aesthetics, web standards, and usability,’ (WordPress, 2010). This blog by a Nottingham based PhD candidate seeks to give ‘a historical perspective on film and TV commentary, and occasionally takes a philosophical turn when discussing film archiving in general,’ (KineArtefacts, 2013). The blog’s author attended the Dennis Potter Celebration Event/1950s Fete in the summer of 2013 and blogged about her experience of the day. Photographs taken on site embellish the blog, and hyperlinks to the Dean Heritage Centre’s homepage and volunteer application form punctuate the entry. The author questions issues of regionality and rurality in housing a film and television archive in the Forest of Dean; she explores questions of legality and the logistics of cataloguing and providing access to the Archive; and touches upon the layers of nostalgia that permeated the 1950s fete. By giving an overview of the academic presentations made that day, alongside her own thoughts about the Project in general, the post on kineartefacts.com links the DPHP to wider discourses and wider scholarly practice, outside of the academic network already fostered by the DPHP.

In another move to create a 'space for Potter' online and to enhance the network of academic and non-academic interests in Potter, the website Potter Matters was set up by a Project stakeholder, Potter enthusiast and academic. His aims for the site were to:

- Make a case that Potter still matters and merits further study and analysis
- Provide links to past and current publications by ourselves and others on Potter, news of events etc.
- Publicise the existence, work and access to the Potter Archive at Dean Heritage Centre and the exhibition
- Offer a space for wider (non-academic) fans to find out about and discuss his work [email to author, 17th July 2013].

The Potter Matters site was therefore conceived, in part, as a marketing exercise to facilitate the promotion of the Potter Archive and exhibition at the Dean Heritage Centre and to publicise existing Potter scholarship, though critically it was also established to function as a bridge between academia and non-academic fandom. In this way the Potter Matters site can be seen to echo calls for inclusivity and access to heritage through new media (see Gibson & Turner, 2012), and works using a participatory model of media communication. This site, though in many ways connected to the DPHP, was not provided for through Heritage Lottery Funding, nor was the site accounted for during the Bid and planning stages of the Project. The Potter Matters site was created independently of the Project, arguably because there was an instinctive recognition of the need for such a participatory, inclusive online space in which Potter's legacy and heritage could be mediated, and a space in which relationships between fans and academics (both as prosumers) could be fostered.

As Jason Scott (2013) notes of *Star Wars* fan culture, fan websites stress 'fan selection, interaction and editorial control, but have diminished access to authorised material, cultivating the fans sense of community and ownership,' (p.15). The BBC and the Dean Heritage Centre have access to authorised material about Potter (the Dean Heritage Centre have his written archive, connections to the Potter family; the BBC have copyrights to his films and television work etc.) but they have been reluctant to make this material accessible to fans online. In response, sites like Potter Matters (and earlier still, Clenched Fists), were

created by fans, for fans: online communities which select content, interact with other fans, and exercise editorial control²³.

Potter's legacy is thus found mediated in various ways online through aca-fandom and social media. The mediation of Dennis Potter's legacy online is therefore a complex subject, littered with marketing 'what ifs?' and the negotiation of a complex relationship between fans, academics and the casual user. Critically, outside of the odd Tweet or superfluous Facebook post, most of the online representation of Potter is created and uploaded independently of the DPHP, by fans and interested media scholars. If Potter is not found mediated online by the DPHP itself with any real success, how are processes of mediation in the museum enacted and understood by audiences and what does this tell us about access, authenticity and truth, and interactivity (Clari, 2012) in the mediated museum environment?

9.4 Mediating Potter in the Museum: Digital Storytelling

Engaging communities in the memorialisation and mediation of Potter's heritage was a pivotal task in the DPHP. This section explores the Digital Storytelling a sub-project of the DPHP which sought to engage local people, especially those with memories of Potter the man, or of watching his productions on television. This part of the wider DPHP sought to offer local people the chance to practice media skills and learn new ones, through engaging with media professionals from the University of Gloucestershire. As Knut Lundby (2008) suggests, what "ordinary" people do with the multimodal variety of semiotic resources becomes interesting.

With digitalisation the different modes have technically become the same at some level of representation, and they can be operated by one multi-skilled person, using one interface, one mode of physical manipulation, so that he or she can ask, at every point: "Shall I express this with sound or music?", "Shall I say it visually or verbally?" and so on, (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2001, p.2.)

²³ The *Pararchive: Open Access Community Storytelling and the Digital Archive* Project, funded by the Arts & Humanities Research Council, based at the School of Media and Communication (SMC), University of Leeds, is part of the AHRC's *Connected Communities* theme. The project might prove a step in right direction with regard to interactivity and community engagement in digital archives, with its focus on extending the reach and accessibility of archives online. See www.pararchive.com for more details.

The ways in which memories of Potter and his television work are mediated through Digital Storytelling speak to processes at work in the mediation of memory. How does the act of Digital Storytelling (or carrying out memory work) with community members in the heritage space connect to wider discourses constructed about or around Potter? How are notions of above and below the line connected to attempts to manage and memorialise the legacy of a locally and nationally renowned playwright?

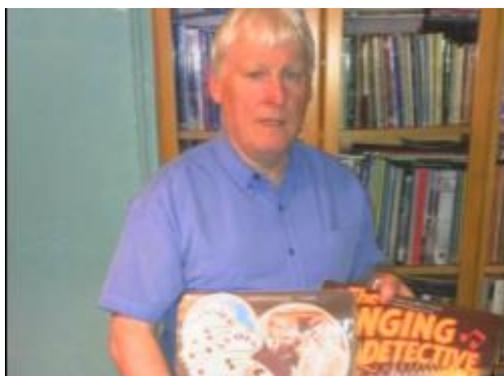
9.4.1 The Digital Storytelling Project

The Digital Storytelling Project²⁴ run by the University of Gloucestershire (UoG) captured the memories of nine people who had known (of) Potter in various capacities. The Digital Storytelling Project saw participants write, edit and audio record (or in other words, perform) a short Potter-related memory in a group setting, at two Storytelling events held at the Dean Heritage Centre. The digital stories were then cut, edited and finished by UoG Media Students, who sent the stories back to the museum once finished. The stories were then made available to visitors to the Dean Heritage Centre through a number of audio panels situated at various points on the ‘Potter Trail’ throughout the museum, alongside a number of audio clips recorded especially for the trail (which I explore in more detail in Chapter Seven). The digital stories were also made available online at the Potter Matters site. As Lundby (2008) notes of digital storytelling, ‘It was the Internet that expanded the space of Digital Storytelling – it offered new options to share the ‘classic’ small-scale stories created in story circles at various corners of the globe,’ (p.3).

It is worth giving a brief synopsis of each of the digital stories created through the DPHP in order to offer some sense of the range of themes that emerge from these diverse stories. First, Roger Wood, a local man, explored his memory of being an extra on the documentary *Between Two Rivers* (1960) and recalled how he was desperate to hide the cigarette caught between his finger and thumb from the camera. The digital story is accompanied by the picture that ended up in the Dean Forest Guardian, a picture that shows Wood (complete with ‘fag’ in shot!) and a group of friends sat round a café table, and a character with his back to the lens. Wood suggests, ‘I don’t really know, and I can’t really remember, but I’d like to think that the chap on the left was Dennis Potter.’

²⁴ The Digital Storytelling movement started in 1998 at the Centre for Digital Storytelling, California, and was made popular in England and Wales through the BBC’s Capture Wales project (2001-8). See <http://storycenter.org/history/> and <http://www.bbc.co.uk/wales/arts/yourvideo/queries/capturewales.shtml> for more information.

Second, local man and devout Potter fan Paul Mason explored his favourite Potter works and the times he followed Potter's television dramas being filmed in the local area. Mason's digital story is framed against the background of photographs of him stood by his vast collection of Potter's VCRs, DVDs, books and paraphernalia (see figure 9.4). Mason explored his emotional connection to Potter: his pride in Potter's work and the resulting international recognition his work brought to the Forest, and also recalled with emotion the familial connections shared between himself and Potter. Like the playwright, Mason's son also attended Oxford University, and as such a graduation picture of his son accompanies the final words of his digital story.



(Image 9.4: Local Fan, Paul Mason)

Third, local bookshop owner Doug McLean recalled writing to the local press in 1978 after *Pennies from Heaven* received a damning review. McLean remembers how impressed he was by Potter's artistry and originality, and recalled with disgust the 'tirade of blinkered criticism' published by the Dean Forest Guardian. Pictures of the Forest Bookshop and the original reviews published in the newspaper accompany this story. He suggested, 'I remain proud to this day that I wrote what I did. [...] I was proved to be right about Dennis Potter as an important British Playwright.'

Local woman Glenda Griffiths' digital story explored the way *Blue Remembered Hills* (1979) was just like her own childhood experience. She remembers the freedom, the lack of danger, the fun of living in the Forest – just the way it was depicted in *Blue Remembered Hills*. Griffiths recalls socialising with Potter at Lydney dances in 1954, Saturday nights spent at the Feathers Hotel, playing tricks on guests, and drinking with Potter. Pictures of Griffiths as a beautiful young woman propped up against a 1950s car furnish this digital story (see figure

9.5). She ends by recalling the time she saw *Between Two Rivers* (1960) being filmed, and notes that was the last time she ever saw Potter.



(Figure 9.5: Glenda Griffiths)

Julia Sykes was the stage manager at Hampstead Theatre in 1983 for the production of Potter's *Sufficient Carbohydrate* (1983). She notes that hers is a professional memory, memories of Potter sitting at the bar, smoking, wearing white gloves, sipping a glass of whiskey, and engaging everyone around in conversation. She remembers feeling that his openness was because of his being from the Forest, something she experienced in later life. She remembers on the final night, Potter insisted on paying for everything and including everyone from actors and directors to makeup artists and stagehands. Her digital story is accompanied by pictures of Hampstead Theatre and the bar area.

Set against pictures of the man in his garden, Maurice Thomas' story recalls that he had a similar childhood to Potter, and went to the same primary and secondary school. He recalls socialising with Potter, in particular one night when he and Potter and a group of friends were approached by a 'yokel' who told them all 'Ha! You lot be 'h'Oxford types!' a comment which amused them all. He recalls introducing Potter to his future wife, Margaret, and as he and Potter walked back to Berry Hill together, asking Potter what he wanted to do after University. 'I want to scribble,' Potter declared. Thomas' final words: 'He obviously achieved his aims.'

Andrew Gardiner, a local man with a history of conservation activities in the Forest, recalls his understanding of *The Beast with Two Backs* (1968), the story of the Ruardean bears. He remembers feeling that this play really gave Potter the chance to explore 'our inner selves'.

Gardiner explores his memories of the production of *Pennies from Heaven* (1978), and the location in which many scenes were filmed. Gardiner relates Potter's insistence on having the scenes shot in the Forest to his own desire to save Minnie Wynn's cottage, a true Foresters cottage in the depths of the Forest near Meadow Cliff Ponds. His digital story is accompanied by an image of this old colliery site. Gardiner concludes his digital story with the remembrance that another of his preservation dreams disappeared the day that famous cottage went under the bulldozer, years after *Pennies from Heaven* was filmed.

Local man, ex- Dean Heritage Centre trustee, local historian and artist, and advisor to the DPHP John Belcher used his digital story to recall his work as location scout for *The Singing Detective* (1986). His story is accompanied by images of a 1986 edition of *Radio Times* in which *The Singing Detective* adorns the cover, alongside pictures of Belcher's house (and ex-Potter residence) Spion Kop, of letters Belcher received from the BBC during his time as location scout, and an image of the cast of *The Singing Detective* outside the 'hut' in Berry Hill. Belcher recalls the actress Alison Steadman playing pool against the locals in her dressing gown, and remembers with fondness the kindness of Michel Gambon.

Lyndon Davies, the child actor who played the young Philip Marlow in *The Singing Detective* (1986), recalls his memories of sitting up in the tree in which the famous 'When I grow up' speech took place. The digital story is set against the backdrop of a set of extensive family photos taken by his mother on location, as Davies recalls being winched into the tree and abseiling down (see figure 9.6), of spending hours in the branches, and requesting black current juice to drink, which resulted in the whole shoot being delayed as the drink turned his tongue red.



(Figure 9.6: Lyndon Davies on location for The Singing Detective)

9.4.2 Digital Storytelling: Memories from Below and Above

I was involved in the creation of these digital stories in a number of ways. First, as a Forest of Dean resident with close connections to the DPHP and the community, I was tasked with locating and encouraging select members of the community to attend the session in the first place. An aim of the DPHP was to encourage community participation, though in terms of its memory of Potter, this community was often marginalised in favour of top-down, above the production line memories and narratives. Persuading some of the (older) Forest residents that their stories were worthwhile and interesting was an initial difficulty which was overcome by persistence and the promise of a safe space, inhabited by likeminded individuals with similar stories to tell.

As a ‘user-generated practice,’ (Lundby, 2008, p.4) which often necessitates some form of specialist guidance, Digital Storytelling projects foster a dialogue between community and professionals. These sessions provide a creative space in which the community participants can feel involved in the processes of heritage management and deeply connected to acts of remembrance: ‘memory work is the underlying principle of the digital storytelling movement,’ (Garde-Hansen, 2011, p.36). Thus, through memory work and a focus on including the marginalised voices of community members, the Digital Storytelling Project fit the aims of the inclusive, bottom-up, below the line, or ‘heritage from below’ (Robertson, 2012) approach to remembering Dennis Potter’s legacy fostered by the DPHP. As one participant at the Digital Storytelling event noted, ‘Yeah, it’s really good. Really makes you feel you’re part of something, this,’ [field notes].

The digital stories produced during this event were not, however, *all* ‘below the line’ accounts of school friends, location scouts, extras, and fans, but also included ‘above the line’

memories gifted by actors and stage managers. The blending of these narratives both in the space of the Audio Trail and in the more liminal space of the Potter Matters website, offers an opportunity for both types of memories to become a cohesive narrative, in which neither ‘camp’ is preferred over the other. When taken together, the digital stories offer an insight into the nature of Forest identity (warmth, openness, humour, conscientiousness, intelligence, dedication) and an understanding of what Potter’s television work meant to various people at various times. Each digital story was modelled around memories of Potter, though these memories were borne from a variety of interactions, in a number of different formats (personal, fannish, professional), and at a number of different times. Despite these differences, Digital Storytelling facilitated the meeting of these narratives in one creative discursive space. As Lundby (2008) suggests:

Digital media facilitate [...] the possibilities of narrative co-production and participation. Classic Digital Storytelling may appear as an individual exercise – telling “my” story – but is actually deeply rooted in the collaborative processes of the story circle of the production workshop, and maybe in template narratives in the overall culture, (p.6).

9.4.3 Digital Storytelling: Democratising the Archive?

The pictures participants brought with them to the Digital Storytelling sessions illustrated the semiotic power of multimodality in Digital Storytelling, which is located ‘in the blending of new and old textual forms,’ (Lundby, 2008, p.8). ‘A Guide to Digital Storytelling,’ (2008) produced by the BBC Capture Wales team suggests that ‘digital stories in the main are created from our own personal archives: from those cherished photos kept carefully in albums, biscuit tins and drawers. This is the “invisible nation” which is made visible by the Digital Storytelling process and which forms the conceptual heart of Digital Storytelling,’ (2008, p.20). Participants at the Digital Storytelling event at the Dean Heritage Centre were asked to bring photographs or artefacts which were connected to their memories of Potter, images of which became the background to their digital stories displayed on the Potter Matters website. The act of delving into these ‘personal archives’ to produce personal texts with which to stimulate memories of Potter offered the opportunity to extend reach of the Dennis Potter Archive itself. The scripts, notes, correspondence and unfinished works in the Potter Archive are memory stimuli in themselves, remembrances of the production culture and creative climate in which Potter worked. These documents stimulate academic research, and stimulate remembering past television, but in a different way than the personal artefacts

brought out of the ‘biscuit tins’ and photograph albums of the local community stimulate remembering television as heritage. When these artefacts are read alongside the Dennis Potter Archive, through the Dennis Potter Heritage Project, the reach of the Archive itself can be reconfigured and becomes inclusive of the realm of personal and domestic spaces like the home archive, and can be shared through the global, connected space of the Internet.

Nick Couldry (2008) suggests, however, that Digital Storytelling ‘is, and will remain, a largely isolated phenomenon, cut off from the wider distribution of social and cultural authority and respect,’ (pp.388-389). This study has found that the memory work done by Digital Storytelling can help socialise the archive, and make the archive and museum more inclusive of a range of intertextual artefacts which have a number of above and below the line memories sutured to them. In essence, Digital Storytelling on the DPHP had the potential to democratise the archive and museum. When Digital Storytelling is appropriated by social and cultural institutions²⁵ such as the Dean Heritage Centre, as part of a wider programme of community engagement, there is an inherent effort to understand ‘the contexts and conditions under which the stories are exchanged, referred to [and] treated as a resource,’ (Couldry, 2008, p.388). Turning Couldry’s argument on its head, the work done with Digital Storytelling in the museum means memories *are* ‘given recognition and authority’ (2008, p.388) which marks out Digital Storytelling as a method for on-site education, research, and community engagement, with exciting reach and potential.

9.5 Conclusion

This chapter has argued that though new and social media pose infinite possibilities for the marketing of cultural heritage, the Dean Heritage Centre have held back on any real, active institutional marketing of the Potter Archive. Instead, this chapter has shown that the Dean Heritage Centre deferred to academics and fans to market Potter, to make Potter intelligible and consumable for the public; a tactic already well-established throughout the DPHP, as explored in previous chapters.

If the Dean Heritage Centre is not usefully embracing the many-to-many model of museum communication to highlight and valorise television as heritage, then the work of academics and fans has stepped into the void. This chapter has presented evidence that aca-fandom in the DPHP became absolutely critical to meaningful memory work: it was aca-fans who

²⁵ See work on Digital Storytelling in schools by Teehan, 2006 & Ohler, 2008.

created social media platforms for remembering past television and ‘Why Potter Matters,’ and it was aca-fans who devised and delivered the Digital Storytelling Events. As Nina Simon (2010) suggests:

Visitors expect access to a broad spectrum of information sources and cultural perspectives [...] They expect the ability to discuss, share, and remix what they consume. When people can actively participate with cultural institutions, those places become central to cultural and community life, (p.ii).

The Dennis Potter Archive presented a large number of exciting, creative possibilities for community participation and for the remediation of cultural artefacts, so critical to the way visitors ‘prosume’ cultural heritage. The Dean Heritage Centre has been slow to embrace the many-to-many model of museum communication to galvanise popular interest in Potter - which, from the number of non-institutional fan sites and groups, remains high. What will happen once the aca-fans ‘on site’ are no longer on call to exult Potter’s cultural value to the press and to the public? How far will the Potter Archive remain open to memories from above and below, and how will audiences engage with television as heritage in the Forest of Dean once the DPHP is officially finished?

10. Thesis Conclusion

10.1 Introduction

This thesis has explored the ways in which Dennis Potter's legacy is mediated, how television heritage is consumed and made meaningful, or struggles for meaning, in the museum space, how a writer's legacy is interpreted by heritage professionals, volunteers, past television audiences and museum visitors, and how television as heritage is consumed online. This conclusion works to tie together the arguments made throughout the body of this study in order to assemble an answer to the overarching question of this thesis: how is Dennis Potter's legacy managed in the Forest of Dean heritage environment?

10.2 Key Findings

Victor Fernández-Blanco et al (2013) suggest that evaluating heritage is a complicated task, in part because heritage is a non-market activity which makes assessing 'allocative efficiency' difficult, and because 'performance evaluation in the cultural heritage field is still in its infancy,' (p.485). Moreover Fernández-Blanco et al (2013) argue that empirical applications of heritage evaluation remain scarce (p.485). Official heritage reports often centre on evaluating the statistical impact of heritage (through Heritage Impact Assessments²⁶) and on the measurable outcomes of projects for people and communities. The HLF instruct their funding recipients to focus their evaluation reports on proving the worth of their project, noting the ways in which their projects might be improved, and by evaluating the impact of their projects quantitatively, supporting these statistical insights with links to recognised external standards (Heritage Lottery Fund, 2013).

Through proximate and intimate connections to this multifaceted heritage project this work represents one of the first interventions to explore turning television into heritage at a local level drawing together the macro level of cultural policy with the micro level of enacting that policy. Critically, I have sought to make transparent my methods, both in the field and in this written study. This is crucial because many projects that are focused upon that which evaluation reports of heritage leave out do not make their methods as clear as I have strived to throughout this period of research.

Wrought through close contact with the people who 'make' heritage, and through lived experiences of the processes which go into creating, presenting and maintaining heritage, this study explored the day to day running of a dense and emotive project, highlighting the

²⁶ See Ana Pereira Roders & Ron van Oers (2012) 'Guidance on heritage impact assessments: Learning from its application on World Heritage site management,' *Journal of Cultural Heritage Management and Sustainable Development*, 2:2, pp.104-114.

discourses and complexities which are often missed by large scale heritage evaluation methods. The lived, the personal and the affective dimensions of heritage are thus found here valorised over institutional evaluation methods which commonly measure impact in terms of footfall, volunteer numbers and financial turnover. From the discursive construction of the bid for HLF funding, to exploring the impact of staff personal opinion and levels of cultural capital and differences in taste, this work explored the DPHP through a critical empirical lens but with an affective sense of what makes projects successful and unsuccessful on the ground.

The Potter Archive was secured ‘for’ the Forest of Dean and the Dean Heritage Centre (DHC) through skilful bid writing. Through employing Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) it was found that the strategic employment of nostalgia and the simultaneous ‘orphaning’ of the Archive in the discourse, enabled the Dennis Potter Heritage Project (DPHP) partners to offer a return to home from the urban setting of London, where the Archive was stored unlovingly in boxes. As such, then, it was now safe – potentially more accessible, potentially less commercially exploitable – but ‘saved for’ the Forest of Dean. The DPHP partners displayed a critical awareness of audience, adopted intertextuality and referenced modality, which together provided the Bid Writers with the legitimacy and authority to secure funding from the Heritage Lottery Fund (HLF). Evaluation reports rarely explore the way funding was secured in the first instance, though this exercise was invaluable as it indicated enduring themes and problems that proliferated throughout the DPHP.

In asking what ‘legacy’ meant in the context of the Forest of Dean heritage environment specifically, it was found that Potter’s legacy is intrinsically bound to notions of space and place which transcend simply the local. In the Bid to the HLF and in the permanent Potter Exhibition at the Dean Heritage Centre, Potter’s legacy is constructed by the DPHP as something that rightly belongs to/in the Forest of Dean, but a wider angle on the issue highlighted the fact that Potter is important locally, nationally and internationally, issues that are flagged up as a site of internal conflict within the DPHP itself. Thus, this approach to the heritage environment highlighted the real, lived sense of territorialism that pervaded the DPHP, territorialism that focussed both on establishing difference between the rural (the Forest of Dean) and the urban (London), and on marking out ‘insiders’ from ‘outsiders’ within the Project collaborators themselves. Again, the methods adopted for this study revealed issues that reports to funders and policy makers fail to account for. These findings importantly highlight the personal dimensions of managing a complicated heritage project,

issues which impact on the way heritage is managed which are routinely overlooked in other studies.

With its focus on the affective or emotional dimension of heritage, it was asked how far the personal ‘positions on Potter’ held by DPHP partners affected the way Potter’s legacy was managed through the Project. Sherene Suchy (2004) argued that ‘passion is what sells the museum’ (p.29), though through close observations of management processes enacted by the team at the Dean Heritage Centre, it was found that these were people who were not passionate about Potter and this impacted on the way Potter was sold in the Museum. The Centre Manager at the DHC, though aware of a collective memory of Potter, in fact claimed a different kind of social capital by admitting to not having watched any of his television work. This was a similar kind of social capital and habitus shared by the PR/Events Manager at the Dean Heritage Centre, who equated her lack of interest in Potter and her negligible desire to learn more about the writer whose Archive now lies in the museum, with not knowing much about Potter before the Archive arrived. This was one of the main findings of this study: those who worked at the DHC relied upon those partners from the University of Gloucestershire (UoG) and Glasgow Caledonian University to communicate the cultural value of the Potter Archive to the media, to audiences, and (to some extent) to visitors. Highlighting the complicated relationships between project partners and through extrapolating the reasons behind the often fraught encounters were a focus of this research, though it is unlikely that any of these emotionally charged issues would feature in the final evaluation report to the HLF.

Space and place featured in the DPHP in a number of ways, the most important of which was the focus on ‘being’ and ‘not being’ from the Forest of Dean, issues which structured both management perceptions of Potter and his work, and the ways in which Potter’s heritage was managed in practice on the ground. Heritage projects so closely linked to cultural identities (especially rural identities) are complicated social terrain, and for such projects to be successful in the future, the polarising focus on determining ‘insiders’ from ‘outsiders’ needs to be lost.

Another key finding was that selling Potter to local audiences and to international audiences was conceived as two separate management endeavours in the DPHP, an implication which complicated the way Potter was managed at the Dean Heritage Centre. To local audiences, Potter is sold at the DHC as a typical Forest ‘family’ man, through the discursive focus on

framing Potter in the domestic space and time of the 1950s Forest parlour. Successfully selling Potter (back) to the Forest in the Potter Exhibition became a chance to geographically situate Potter as a product of the Forest of Dean, a chance to reclaim him from London, and offered the ability to neutralise the more contested versions of his history (such as his sexually explicit material and the rumours of his personal infidelity). It was argued that selling Potter to (inter)national audiences was, however, a far more difficult management task for the Dean Heritage Centre, as 'selling Potter' became bound up with questions of ownership, control and became connected to an internal conflict over which project partner was 'best suited' (or had the most cultural capital) to 'sell' Potter anyway.

'Selling Potter' became complicated further by working out what exactly was being sold, when the rights to repurpose the Potter Archive were not held by the Dean Heritage Centre in any real sense. It was concluded that a compromise was eventually reached at the DHC, a compromise which indicated that the economies of heritage have actually begun to dictate what gets to 'be' heritage: the DPHP ended up focussing on preservation rather than access. The questionnaire responses gathered suggested that 53% of local visitors knew nothing of the DPHP before their visit, which also confirmed that Potter was managed as a secondary attraction as their visit to the Exhibition room was often a secondary or chance encounter.

Where Potter was once consumed as popular culture through television as the domestic medium, redrawn as 'high culture,' the Dean Heritage Centre staff positioned Potter as a 'hard to reach' literary figure, whose connection to the Forest of Dean could be easily extrapolated, but whose impact on television, politics and culture was far more difficult to communicate. Moreover, in removing actual television viewing from the equation, the Dean Heritage Centre held the Potter Archive as something to be preserved, with few rights and no resources to re-screen Potter's work. It was therefore argued that the management processes engaged saw the Dean Heritage Centre redraw the boundaries of popular culture and popular taste, a boundary that Potter sat some way outside, which contributed to his being sold as a 'secondary attraction' (behind *The Gruffalo*) at the museum: staff felt that they did not have the cultural capital to articulate the cultural value of Potter in a real, meaningful way.

In exploring the experiences of volunteers who worked on the DPHP, this approach to the heritage environment was unique as heritage volunteers who work across the domains of gallery, archive and museum, are usually separated by sector. It was argued that the DPHP struggled to recruit and maintain volunteers for the Project for several reasons, the most

important of which were a lack of interest in Potter (volunteers expressed a difference in cultural capital) and serious volunteer frustrations with the process of archiving itself. Another key finding was that for volunteers to feel affectively engaged in their volunteer work, they need to know how their work contributes to the wider aims of the institution or project for which they are volunteering their time. On the DPHP, volunteers simply did not know how their efforts fitted into the 'bigger picture,' and therefore felt disaffected by the process. It was also found that this disaffection was compounded by a high turnover of other volunteers, by difficulties using the technology provided, and also because the Dean Heritage Centre were found redirecting volunteers from other tasks to help catalogue the Potter Archive. Potential issues such as these were not identified at the start of the Project and were therefore left unmanaged throughout the course of the DPHP, resulting in difficulties retaining volunteers and in ensuring affective engagement in the volunteer task itself. It was also found that the typologies of the volunteers who gift time to DHC were misaligned with the objectives of the Potter Archive volunteer role. Without a number of dedicated volunteer 'conservers,' and with a number of 'discoverers' and 'activists' instead, the Dean Heritage Centre struggled to catalogue the Archive within the timeframe, which further impacted on the day to day management of the DPHP.

It was argued that despite the community of the Forest of Dean being conceptualised as stakeholders in the DPHP in the initial stages of the Project, as it went on, more emphasis was placed on the stakes held by partners such as the Dean Heritage Centre, UoG and Voices. The local community was not conceptualised as having a real stake in the Potter Project, which resulted in the DHC conflating low local museum visitation numbers with a lack of interest in Potter. It was suggested that local people do not have a disinterest in Potter, or no investment in the preservation of the Potter Archive, but that the Dean Heritage Centre are simply seeing a continuation of existing low local visitation trends, which was coupled to the Dean Heritage Centre's mismatched understanding of the community's stake in the DPHP. The concept of 'stake' was explored in detail, and it was argued that the Potter Archive was secured for the Forest to engender a sense of notability for the area. With the Project a risk and a gamble from the outset, it was argued that one of the safest ways Potter's heritage could be managed was as a tool to strengthen a sense of Forest identity based on the cultural capital of the Potter Archive, which allowed for social, cultural, financial and professional stakes to be met.

By intertextually referencing other elements of the Exhibition, by couching the more unsavoury elements of Potter's history between more positive biographical information, and by seeing the visitor as a participant in the meaning making process, the Potter Exhibition prompted a range of affective responses from visitors. By approaching the concept of the 'blended mental space' (Oakley, 2002) through an innovative autoethnographic 'walk through' of the museum, it was posited that my experience of the Potter Exhibition visit was informed by the distinct semiotic elements of the Exhibition itself which build up the 'blended mental space', but also by my own cultural capital and habitus. Through understanding the way visitors make sense of their experience through accessing mental spaces, the existence of other mental spaces emerged. These spaces allow visitors to link their experience in the museum to their own memories, and allow visitors to process what they have seen or heard in order to create the blended mental space network which makes the entire visit intelligible and meaningful. In this way, this work has added to Oakley's (2002) concept of the blended mental space network by grounding it within a specific case study.

The material semiotic network of which the Dean Heritage Centre Potter Exhibition is a part is distinct, and made up of several semiotic frames which allow audiences to make sense of the museum as a 'place.' The DHC is discursively constructed as a 'treasure house,' as a 'place of learning,' as an 'entertainment destination,' which are common semiotic descriptions for museums. What marks the Dean Heritage Centre out as different from other museums and heritage centres is that with the acquisition of the Potter Archive, the museum is also semiotically constructed as a 'home for Dennis Potter' and thus by viewing the DHC through 'pilgrimage frame' (Roppola, 2013), the Centre is also semiotically constructed as a 'mecca' for screen tourists.

Quantitative methods yielded further insights into the interpretative work of the Potter Exhibition. By calculating the holding and attraction powers (Bollo & Pozzolo, 2005) of elements of the Exhibition, it emerged that visitors experienced separate exhibition components in distinct ways. Despite holding the same attraction power as the display cabinet, visitors spent the most time gazing (Urry, 1990) at the 1950s Sitting Room which suggested that this element of the Exhibition was the most engaging and effective element of the Exhibition overall. Using this method of analysis, it was argued that the visitor book held a high attraction and holding power which suggests that the visitor book ought to be seen as an interactive and integral element of all exhibitions.

The size of the exhibition will also have an impact on expected route choices around the space. Other studies (Klein, 1993; Taylor, 1986) argue that visitors to exhibitions will actively avoid retracing their steps (backtracking) in an exhibition, at the cost of missing out on certain elements. Due to the composition of the Potter Exhibition space and the size of the Exhibition itself, visitors felt comfortable backtracking, often engaging in the space in a fairly chaotic way. These ‘chaotic’ movements included turning left (where these other studies argue visitors instinctively turn right) and a clockwise movement around the space (as opposed to anti-clockwise). Thus, further studies might investigate these findings by applying these theories to other small museums and small exhibition spaces, to extrapolate how far the Potter Exhibition is an institution distinct within its field. The questionnaire responses gathered exclusively for this study found that the visitor demographic to the Dean Heritage Centre is representative of wider visiting trends in the UK (even if their movements within the Exhibition space are not).

The cultural capital, taste and habitus held by visitors is pivotal to understanding how they make meaning from their experiences in museums. All visitors make meaning from their visit, though those meanings will vary depending on the subject matter being exhibited and the prior knowledge or previous exposure to it. Through exhibiting television as heritage (a method of mass media communication which is consumable across social and economic boundaries) it was found that the Potter Exhibition is democratic and allows horizontal access to all no matter their cultural capital.

Similarly, the examination of the Potter Exhibition visitor book suggested that the Exhibition is a space in which visitors feel compelled to document their affective responses to what they have experienced, but it is also a space through which different levels of cultural capital are marked out against each other. Many comments in the visitor book were structured by acts of self-positioning, attempts by the author to connect their own personal memories and histories with Potter’s, and attempts to qualify themselves as people with credibility to write in the visitor book. Moreover, the visitor book might be seen as a placed, non-virtual forum for sharing fan and local memory. As fans of television often exist in a liminal space, often on the margins of mainstream culture, the provision of the Potter Exhibition as a place to remember past television reconfigures the museum as a space of ‘proper’ cultural capital and ‘proper’ aesthetic appreciation in line with fan identities.

A commonality between questionnaire responses and comments made in the visitor book was found, which suggested that the Exhibition engendered shared affective responses between visitors. These responses included nostalgia for past television, for the geographies of childhood, the desire to re-watch Potter's TV work or to reengage with temporarily forgotten past television, and curiosity prompting visitors to question their relationship to the Forest, and to past television. A key finding that emerged from the visitor book research was that nostalgia is performed in the visitor book by children as well as adults. The Potter Exhibition prompted a form of prosthetic nostalgia amongst some younger visitors. The nostalgia felt by these children was not a yearning for the (1950s) past presented in the Exhibition as with some of the comments made by adults, but theirs was a nostalgia created by the invocation of memories of their grandparent's houses. The meaning these young visitors drew from the Exhibition was also tied intimately to their own cultural capital and habitus.

Through a focus on the contents of the Potter Exhibition visitor book and comments which centred on the political resonance of Potter's work and Potter as an author, it was argued that the visitor book is also politicised space through which visitors are able to explore their understandings of the political, social, and cultural climate under which they live. The comments suggest a real engagement with contemporary events stimulated by a contact with the heritage presented within the museum space. Perhaps more can be understood about visitors' engagement with the number of difficult themes represented in museums and heritage centres by examining the contents of the rather innocuous seeming visitor book, often interred in a corner of the room. Though museum studies might be neglecting the book as a research resource, visitors certainly are not ignoring one of the most interactive elements of the exhibition visit, and this study goes some way to valorising the visitor book as a research method.

Using a netnographic (Kozinets, 2010) approach to explore the online presence (and absence) of Potter and the DPHP, it was found that Potter and the DPHP were not managed successfully online by the Dean Heritage Centre. Despite the continued popularity of Potter online, the DHC have been slow to capitalise on the easy connections to be made between the museum and these online communities. The Dean Heritage Centre have a limited sense of online target audience and as such the opportunities to increase access to heritage (not just Potter's) are largely missed. The most successful representations of Potter online are actually found in aca-fan (Jenkins, 1992) sites such as 'Clenched Fists,' 'Potter Matters' and 'KineArtefacts'. Such sites were found as an answer to calls for inclusive access to heritage

through new media (Gibson and Turner, 2012) as well as functioning as bridges between academia and fandom. Moreover, it was found that the Project itself relied on these aca-fan sites and Potter scholarship for the cataloguing of the Potter Archive, and thus heritage became mediated by existing digital and non-digital fan and academic sources.

Conducting Digital Storytelling in a heritage environment can help to socialise the archive and make the museum more inclusive of a range of intertextual artefacts which have a number of above and below the line memories attached to them. It was found that the Digital Storytelling Project helped to democratise the Potter Archive by including the multidirectional (Rothberg, 2009) memories of those community members often marginalised in favour of above the production line memories and narratives. Thus, by encouraging participants to delve into their private archives to produce personal texts based on memories of Potter, the Digital Storytelling Project fit the ‘heritage from below’ (Robertson, 2012) approach to remembering Dennis Potter fostered by the DPHP from the outset.

This thesis has argued that the various heritage management processes engaged in on the Dennis Potter Heritage Project (DPHP) were a mixture of home-grown interpretative practices coupled with more sanctioned heritage discourses, which resulted in a completely unique approach to the management of Dennis Potter’s legacy. It is worth pointing out that should the Potter Archive have been won for another institution (an established film and television archive, for example) the results of this study would have been far different. The rurality of the Dean Heritage Centre coupled with the way in which personality types and personal taste and preference (*habitus*, cultural capital) dictated (to some extent) the way Potter’s heritage is managed at the Dean Heritage Centre.

10.3 Implications

With its focus on the macro level of cultural policy and the micro level of enacting that policy on the ground, this research carries with it a range of implications, not just for the Dean Heritage Centre or for the heritage environment of the Forest of Dean, but for the wider UK heritage sector. These are generally practical implications, many of which may simply be ‘something to consider,’ though others constitute a call for more direct action – albeit actions that might be implemented fairly easily and with little or no financial expense (a key consideration for many heritage centres and museums). Museum and heritage providers working on lengthy projects like the Dennis Potter Heritage Project (DPHP) need to know how far project partners are in harmony and understand their individual responsibilities; how

well engaged and how suited volunteers are to the tasks they have been set; how well attended an exhibition or certain elements of an exhibition are, and so on. From the insights gleaned from the detailed exploration of the DPHP, these recommendations focus on the need for real, manageable, day-to-day evaluation methods for tracing how well a project is working.

There exists a vast wealth of museum audience studies and visitor studies, as evidenced by the Literature Review sections of this study. Though as Pruulmann-Vengerfeldt et al (2014) note there remains a need to ‘understand audiences beyond the classical site-visit situation and acknowledge that museum experience starts well before the visitor steps through the museum door,’ (p.89). This study argued that one failing of the DPHP was to misunderstand their audience, to divide the audience into ‘local’ and ‘national,’ ‘online’ and ‘offline’, ‘Potter Fan’ and ‘Potter Illiterate.’ Future projects would benefit from carefully considering their audiences, by understanding their differences but refraining from dividing them by their disparities. A level of sophistication is required of heritage providers to address multiple audiences in all their diversity, and in understanding the point at which an individual becomes (and remains) an audience member (well before they enter the museum, and long after they have left it, in many cases).

A practical implication of this study is the suggestion that a basic semiotic reading of a museum or heritage centre conducted periodically by the institution’s management might help to highlight frame misalignment and ensure the exhibition or institution is semiotically constructed in line with their current thematic or advertising priorities. With relatively little training, and incurring very little cost, a manager or curator might explore their exhibitions, both individually and across the entire institution, and make changes to the interpretation style, lay-out, content, and so on. Such an activity is incredibly important both for small, temporary exhibitions and perhaps more so for large, permanent exhibitions, in order for museums to keep their exhibitions current, affective and to help their audiences make more meaning from their visit.

Similarly, museum/heritage centre managers might employ other cost effective and relatively easy methods to obtain real knowledge about how an exhibition or the core elements of an exhibition are working. Calculating the ‘Holding Power’ and ‘Attraction Power’ indices of exhibition elements, although time consuming, is a cost effective method for exploring which elements of an exhibition are most engaging and attractive. Such methods also remove the

need for expensive geographical mapping software or specialist IT support, and thus scarce resources might be usefully redistributed.

This study revealed the visitor book to be a low-cost but high impact exhibit. Visitor books are incredibly useful interactive exhibits which offer audiences a space for personal recollection, fanish positioning (and posturing), and an exhibit that can give museum owners real insight into how their exhibitions are working. They are also a window on the social, cultural and political milieu in which visitors exist and thus the glorious, colourful details captured in visitor books might help populate later exhibitions.

With processes of fandom so connected to exhibiting past television as heritage, this research conceptualised the visitor book as a sort of ‘offline’ fan forum, a space for the sharing of memories and favourites. The work the museum ‘does’ through individual visits is often continued by the visitor at home, online. The exploration of the DPHP suggested that digital resources function also as a bridge between academia and fandom, and thus museums and heritage centres need meaningful online presences to sustain or capitalise on such relations. An implication of this study, therefore, is the suggestion that heritage projects should be accompanied by meaningful social media and internet policies which embolden and strengthen the communication process between provider and consumer.

This study found that volunteers were not affectively engaged in the DPHP for a number of reasons, including the fact that the DHC employed volunteers who were not adequately suited to the tasks being asked of them. On a practical level, then, managers of heritage centres and museums who engage in projects like the DPHP, might thus be better served by recruiting volunteers by typology (Graham, 2004): conservers for archival based tasks, discoverers for developing knowledge and so on. This might help ensure the long-term retention of volunteers and the timely delivery of volunteer-based tasks, essential for extended, high stakes heritage projects.

Importantly, this study highlighted a sense of territorialism over places and rights to artefacts. Based on this finding, similar small heritage projects ought to be aware that this sense of ownership of places or histories will likely structure their endeavour. This need not be a negative influence. On the DPHP in the first instance, this territorialism helped to win the Potter Archive for the Forest of Dean, but as the project went on this parochial stance served to create divisions between project partners and audience members. Simply being aware of the potential for this kind of place-based territorialism to divide might mean that similar

projects keep this sense of division and difference in check for the duration of their activities which will be beneficial to the project as a whole.

Significantly, this research found that the taste, habitus and cultural capital of individuals structures the way heritage projects are run on the ground. Personalities and individual emotions are not usually counted in official reports to funding providers nor do they appear to be considered by managers of heritage attractions on a daily basis. For other similar projects, this is one of the most important implications offered by this study. Managers ought to be aware that differences in personalities and tastes will affect the way a project runs on a daily basis, and thus implementing periodic reviews of staff engagement and project activities might help curb any issues that may arise. Though it is impractical to suggest that all staff members be highly passionate about each and every exhibition (many exhibitions are, after all, transitory), it is wise to insist that staff members engage in research activities around the topic they are exhibiting. If such a policy was implemented it would augment the argument that a lack of passion is reducible to a lack of knowledge. Thus, even if staff members cannot get personally excited about a topic, with a little (prescribed) research they might at least understand why their project partners, and importantly, their *visitors* might be so enthusiastic.

10.4 Further Study

This study has highlighted several gaps in existing scholarship that would benefit from future study. First, this research has noted that visitor books remain an undervalued research resource for those who study processes of memory and remembrance. More than simply valorising this research method, however, the close analysis of handwritten comments prompted the questioning of authorship, especially those entries which appeared to have been composed by multiple authors. Graphological analysis of visitor books might therefore pose an interesting angle for future research, and might help shed light on the affective, emotional responses that are captured by visitor books.

Second, this study argued that the lack of face-to-face communication and the over reliance on email as a primary mode of correspondence resulted in a breakdown in partner relationships on the DPHP. This study also argued that successful partnership working is imperative in multi-partner projects to ensure that the heritage does not get 'lost' during the process. An implication of this finding might therefore feed into business centred models of heritage management, and an area for future research might be to examine the impact of various styles of inter-partner communication on the product (the heritage) that is produced

as a result of the partnership. Such research might help smaller collaborative efforts make the most out of their time together, and might ensure a more positive day to day working relationship than that encountered, at times, on the DPHP.

Finally, this study proposed that the Forest of Dean might be seen as a mecca for screen tourists interested in visiting the real and imagined locations made famous by Potter in his television and film work. With rumours that *Star Wars Episode VII* (Abrams, 2015) is to be filmed at Puzzlewood in the Forest of Dean (The Independent, 2014), coupled with the BBC's continued use of the Forest as locations for the filming of *Dr Who* (BBC, 1963-) and *Merlin* (BBC, 2008-) amongst others, an avenue of further study might explore the cinematic geography of the Forest in particular. The urban geographies of film and television locations such as Cardiff and London have already been the subject of serious academic attention. It would therefore be useful to add an exploration of the rural locations used in film and television productions to add to current urban-centric formulations. The Forest of Dean, as highlighted in this research, would provide an ideal case study.

10.5 Conclusion

Overall, this research has highlighted processes of remembering (and forgetting) within the Forest of Dean Heritage environment, and has examined the ways in which television gets to 'be', is made into and 'becomes' heritage through various complex and interrelated management processes. These processes involve the redistribution of knowledge and resources as much as the recognition of agents and the public, and are processes which rely on a degree of personal investment and affective engagement. To approach television as heritage in this way offers a unique and sustained analysis of Potter's legacy as mediated, remediated and consumed offline and online. Contemporary culture and heritage connects to Potter through new and acquired habitus and through varying degrees of cultural capital and connections to popular culture. Processes of difference shaped the Project from the very beginning: what it means to be from the Forest or from outside it; to be Potter literate or Potter illiterate; to remember from 'above' and remember from 'below' were all binaries explored in some detail throughout this thesis. Evidence of these tensions highlights the way in which rural heritage projects such as the DPHP are dictated by economies of difference, economies which structure the way that heritage is managed on the ground.

The Dean Heritage Centre is undergoing yet another shift in management which prompts questions about the future of the Dennis Potter Archive. In August 2014 a new manager was

appointed to assist with the expansion of the Centre ‘from that of purely a museum to that of a viable, sustainable, successful business,’ (Dean Heritage Centre, 2014). Will the Potter Archive continue to languish behind *The Gruffalo* and seasonal trails, or will the television heritage of the Forest of Dean be exulted as part of the drive to turn the Dean Heritage Centre into a ‘viable, sustainable, successful business’? How far do the epistemologies and economies of museum management and business acumen align in the new model envisaged for the Dean Heritage Centre, and what implications will footfall figures, policy issues, and other contentions have on exhibiting TV heritage in the Forest of Dean? Personal economies and investment in heritage have proved pivotal to successes and shortcomings of the DPHP, but how far will these personal issues continue to drive the way heritage is manufactured, sold and consumed in the Forest of Dean? Will the cultural capital of staff and volunteers at the Dean Heritage Centre continue to dictate what gets to ‘be’ heritage in the Forest, and what gets forgotten?

The autoethnographic element of this research has allowed for a deep ‘insider’ perspective on processes of heritage management in a distinctly rural environment, a perspective that would be impossible to replicate. More than simply providing a sense of inimitability, however, the autoethnographic approach to this study helped to map Ruth Behar’s (1996) concept of a ‘borderland, between passion and intellect, analysis and subjectivity, ethnography and autobiography, art and life,’ (1996, p.174). This interdisciplinary research sits within the fields of media, heritage and Memory studies and as such Behar’s concept of a ‘borderland’ is therefore quite fitting in terms of where this study is now positioned upon its completion. It is hoped that this work has contributed to mapping this liminal academic space, and perhaps even occupies the ‘intermediate space’ of which Behar speaks.

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FILM AND TELEVISION

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- de Lotbiniere, A. (Director) (1960) *Between Two Rivers* [Television] UK: BBC.
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- Jones, J. (Creator) (2008 -) *Merlin* [Television Series] UK: BBC.

Lambert, R. (Director) (2013) *Buried Heart* [Community Film] UK: Rural Media Company.

Millar, G., (Director) (1980) *Cream in My Coffee* [Television Series] UK: ITV.

Newman, S. (Creator) (1963 -) *Dr. Who* [Television Series] UK: BBC.

Rye, R. (Director) (1993) *Lipstick on Your Collar* [Television Mini-Series] UK: BBC.

Rye, R. (Director) (1996) *Cold Lazarus* [Television Mini-Series] UK: BBC.

Various Directors (2001- 2011) *Harry Potter* [Series of Motion Pictures] Various Producers.

Appendices

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01594 822170
nathalie@deanheritagecentre.com
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Wednesday 30th May 2012

Dear Hannah,

I am writing to confirm I am happy for you to carry out part of your PhD research at the Dean Heritage Centre.

I understand you would like to carry out research at the Centre by observing members of staff and volunteers as they work on the Dennis Potter Heritage Project, especially the archive.

These observations will be conducted during the time you spend at the Centre as you carry out your volunteer duties on the Potter Archive and when you help out on other Potter projects we are undertaking.

I understand you will allow members of staff the opportunity to review the information you collect about them; that it can be made anonymous in your work if requested and/or they can refuse to be observed at any time. I confirm this is acceptable.

Thank you for the additional information which explains your research and please find enclosed a signed consent form as requested.

I will ensure all staff and volunteers read the information/form, sign if they consent and get back to you if there are any problems.

At this stage, I confirm that I give my consent for you to do this participant observation at the Dean Heritage Centre and look forward to working with you in the future.

Yours sincerely,

Nathalie Hall
Centre Manager
On behalf of the Dean Heritage Centre Trustees

Dean Heritage Museum Trust trading as Dean Heritage Centre
Incorporated with limited liability in England and Wales, Registered No: 1931454 Registered Charity No: 298647
Registered Office: Wilkin and Co., King's Buildings, Lydney, Gloucestershire, GL15 3HE
Trustees: Neil Pankhouse (Chairman); John Belcher, Edward Beard; Mary Dutton; Mike Amey; Graeme Schrouder



Hannah Grist - PhD Research
The Dennis Potter Heritage Project
Dean Heritage Centre - Information Sheet

❖ **RESEARCH AIM**

The purpose of this research is to study the way in which the Dennis Potter Archive, exhibition and related media projects is communicated to the local public. It seeks to understand the ways people relate to and remember their local history, their heritage, and to explore the way Potter is represented. It seeks to explore the role of local media in creating local memory, and looks to understand the intersections between local or community memories and the content of the archive itself.

❖ **DURATION AND LOCATION**

This research will take place over 3 years, effectively starting in June 2012. During that time Hannah Grist will be present at the Dean Heritage Centre and will be conducting participant observations of staff, volunteers and visitors on site.

❖ **METHODOLOGY**

Hannah Grist will make use of short interviews both individually and as part of a group. She will ask questions regarding the Dennis Potter projects individuals have been involved at the Heritage Centre. She will also use surveys and questionnaires to gather responses about the projects, and will observe staff and volunteers as part of her role as Volunteer. The data collected will be made available to staff and volunteers to review before the project is written up, and will be destroyed after the research is complete. Hannah Grist will, at all times, respect the rules, regulations and codes of conduct present at the Dean Heritage Centre, and represent the business professionally to outside agencies.

❖ **POTENTIAL RISKS AND DISCOMFORTS**

Hannah Grist will be asking questions about staff and volunteers experiences of working on the DPHP, about memories of the Forest and questions about their sense of a Forest identity, in relation to the Dennis Potter exhibition. There may be a risk that staff and volunteers share some personal information by accident, or give away confidential information that they did not intend to. This information will not be used. Anything they tell Hannah Grist that is of an overtly personal nature will not be included in the research.

❖ **CONFIDENTIALITY**

This research may attract a great deal of attention, as Dennis Potter is a celebrated local hero and the Dean Heritage Centre is at the centre of the DPHP. The Potter Collection being housed at the DHC has received a great deal of attention in both the local and national press. Hannah Grist will not share any information about you with anyone outside of her research team, and the information she collects from staff or volunteers during the course of the project will be anonymised. All information that is shared with the Hannah will be stored and used in accordance with the Data Protection Act (1998).

❖ **PARTICIPATION AND WITHDRAWAL**

Participation in this research is voluntary. Individual members of staff and volunteers are able to withdraw consent and discontinue participation at any time without prejudice. Any data gathered about them will be removed from the study.



**UNIVERSITY OF
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at Cheltenham and Gloucester

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DEAN HERITAGE CENTRE CONSENT FORM

I have read the information sheet provided. I have been given an opportunity to ask questions and all of my questions have been answered to my satisfaction. I have been given a copy of this form.

I am happy for Hannah Grist to carry out PhD research at the Dean Heritage Centre, and give my consent for Dean Heritage Centre staff and volunteers under my supervision, to participate in this study.

SIGNATURE

Nathalie Hall
Name

Centre Manager
Job Title

01/02/12

Signature

Date

SIGNATURE OF RESEARCHER

1/2/12

Signature of Researcher

Date

Enhanced Disclosure
Page 1 of 2

disclosure

Disclosure Number 001384960749

Date of Issue: 08 NOVEMBER 2012

Applicant Personal Details

Surname: CRIST
Forename(s): HANNAH ARLIA
Other Names: CAMPBELL, HANNAH
Date of Birth: 04 DECEMBER 1987
Place of Birth: INVERNESS
Gender: FEMALE

Employment Details

Position applied for:
PHD STUDENT
Name of Employer:
UNIVERSITY OF GLOUCESTERSHIRE

Countersignatory Details

Registered Person/Body:
UNIVERSITY OF GLOUCESTERSHIRE EDUCATION
Countersignatory:
KAY DOUGAL

Police Records of Convictions, Cautions, Reprimands and Warnings

NONE RECORDED

Information from the list held under Section 142 of the Education Act 2002

NONE RECORDED

ISA Children's Barred List information

NONE RECORDED

ISA Vulnerable Adults' Barred List information

NONE RECORDED

Other relevant information disclosed at the Chief Police Officer(s) discretion

NONE RECORDED

Enhanced Disclosure

This document is an Enhanced Criminal Record Certificate within the meaning of sections 113B and 116 of the Police Act 1997.

THIS DISCLOSURE IS NOT EVIDENCE OF IDENTITY

CRB PO Box 165, Liverpool, L69 3JD Helpline: 0870 90 90 844

Continued on page 2

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14th May 2012

Dear Hannah,

As requested, this letter confirms that the Rural Media Company are happy to be involved in your research. We are happy for you to carry out a part of your PhD research whilst accompanying us at various times as we work on the Dennis Potter Heritage Project. You explained you would like to carry out research by observing Rural Media Company members of staff and community actors as we work on the Dennis Potter Heritage Project film.

We can confirm that we are happy for you to join us on set, and that you have our full consent and the consent of the community actors to observe the filming process. If you want to carry out further interviews or conduct further research with the actors outside of our work with them, then you will need to obtain consent from them individually.

We appreciate that you will be giving us a chance to review the information you collect when you join us on location, and that we can be made anonymous in your work if we wish. We also appreciate that we can refuse to be observed at any time. This all sounds fine.

At this stage I can confirm that we give our written consent for you to work with us.

With thanks,

Adrian Lambert (Producer) & Rachel Lambert (Director)

On behalf of The Rural Media Company



**UNIVERSITY OF
GLOUCESTERSHIRE**

at Cheltenham and Gloucester

University of Gloucestershire, The Park, Cheltenham, GL50 2RF
The University of Gloucestershire is a company limited by guarantee registered in England and Wales (Registered number: 06033245. Registered office: The Park, Cheltenham, GL50 2RF.

RURAL MEDIA COMPANY CONSENT FORM

I have read the information sheet provided. I have been given an opportunity to ask questions and all of my questions have been answered to my satisfaction. I have been given a copy of this form.

I am happy for Hannah Grist to carry out PhD research with the Rural Media Company, and give my consent for Rural Media Company staff, volunteers and community actors/actresses under my supervision, to participate in this study if they so wish.

SIGNATURE

Name **ADRIAN LAMBERT**

Job Title **ARTISTIC DIRECTOR**

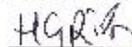


Signature

4/12/12

Date

SIGNATURE OF RESEARCHER



Signature of Researcher

4/12/12

Date

Pre-Launch Questionnaire

This questionnaire is designed to get some insight into the way key members of staff at the Dean Heritage Centre look back on the Project before the official launch. Please answer in as much detail as you can, as your answers will help add detail to the body of my research. As planned, I would still like to carry out a short interview with you in the coming months, and I might revisit some of these questions as they relate to my work. Thank-you in advance for your help with this!

Name: _____

Position/Job Role: _____

- 1) What is the Forest of Dean to you?
- 2) What is the main purpose/aim/ambition of the Dean Heritage Centre?
- 3) What do you understand 'heritage' to mean?
 - a. Has this meaning changed for you at all as a result of working on the DPHP?
- 4) How do you think 'memory' been used in the DPHP?
 - a. What is the importance of memory to the Heritage Sector?
- 5) How has the local community responded to the DPHP so far? (In your answer, please define what 'local community' means to you in the context of the DPHP?)
 - a. Was this response expected? Why/not?
- 6) What do you understand by 'cultural value'?
 - a. What do you think is the cultural value of the Potter Collection, and the Potter Project (if any)?
- 7) What has been the biggest challenge you have faced, either individually or as a team?
- 8) What do you feel has been your biggest triumph/something that has worked well?
- 9) Overall, how have you found the experience of working on the Dennis Potter Heritage Project?

Dennis Potter Exhibition – Visitor Questionnaire

Thanks for filling in this short questionnaire. Please circle or tick the answer that closest matches your thoughts, and fill in any extra details where possible. Thanks again!

Age Range:

- 8-19 20-40 41-50 51-60 60+

Sex:

- Male Female

Where do you live?

Why did you come to the Dean Heritage Centre today?

- Mainly for the Dennis Potter exhibition or Archive
 Mainly for the other exhibitions and museum
 Mainly for the Gage Library
 Mainly for the cafe/refreshments
 Mainly for the shop
 Other: _____

How did you hear about the Dean Heritage Centre?

- Been here before
 From a family member or friend
 Advert/article in local newspaper
 Online
 Other: _____

How much did you know about Dennis Potter before you came to the Dean Heritage Centre?

- A great deal
 A little bit
 Nothing at all

How much do you know about the Dennis Potter Heritage Project?

- A great deal
 A little bit
 Nothing at all

How interesting did you find the Dennis Potter Exhibition?

- Very interesting
 Interesting
 Vaguely interesting
 Not interesting at all
 Please give your reasons:

Were the information panels on the walls: (Tick all that apply)

- Easy to read
 Easy to understand
 Interesting
 Hard to read
 Hard to understand
 Boring

~ PLEASE TURN OVER ~

Overall, how enjoyable did you find the Dennis Potter Exhibition?

- Very enjoyable
- Enjoyable
- Not enjoyable
- Please give your reasons: _____

How did the exhibition make you feel?

Please write your answer below.

How do you feel about the Dennis Potter Archive coming back to the Forest of Dean?

- Happy
- No opinion/didn't know it was happening
- Unhappy
- Please give reason: _____

Which part of the exhibition stands out most in your memory?

- The recreated sitting room
- The information panels
- The audio panel
- The scripts on display
- The video screening

Would you come back to this exhibition?

- Yes
- No
- Not sure
- Please give your reasons: _____

Dean Heritage Centre

Camp Mill, Soudley, Forest of Dean, Gloucestershire, GL14 2UB
01594 822170
phillippa@deanheritagecentre.com
www.deanheritagecentre.com



Volunteer Application Form

Confidential

Volunteer role applied for:

Dennis Potter Project Volunteer Archivist

Personal Details (please print clearly)

Are you age 18 or over?

Yes No

If 'No', unfortunately you are not old enough to volunteer with us at the moment.

Surname	GRIST
Forenames (in full)	HANNAH
Email address	S1112899@connect.glos.ac.uk hannaharia@hotmail.com
Home address	97 Belle Vue Road, Cinderford, Gloucestershire, GL14 3BH
Contact telephone numbers	01594 824917 or 07775217504

If you are from a country outside of the European Economic Area, have you obtained the correct paperwork to allow you to volunteer in the UK?

Yes No

If Yes, please provide further details

N/A

Availability

When are you able to volunteer? (please tick)

	Mon	Tues	Wed	Thurs	Friday	Sat	Sun
AM					✓		
PM				✓	✓		

Available period for volunteering:

From..... To..... Or Ongoing (please circle)

Supporting Information

Dean Heritage Museum Trust trading as Dean Heritage Centre

Incorporated with limited liability in England and Wales, Registered No: 1931454 Registered Charity No: 298647

Registered Office: Wilkin and Co., King's Buildings, Lydney, Gloucestershire, GL15 5HE

Trustees: Neil Parkhouse (Chairman); John Belche; Edward Beard; Mary Dutton; Mike Amey; Graeme Schrouder



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Supporting Information

Please tell us why you are interested in volunteering in this role and what you hope to gain from it.

I am interested in volunteering on the Dennis Potter project as I am the PhD student for the Project on the University of Gloucestershire side. I feel that to be engaged with the project on as many levels as possible at the earliest stage of my research, and onwards, will help me to solidify viable research questions, and scope wider possibilities for the PhD project.

On a more practical note, I would love the opportunity to work in an archive and see exactly how documents or materials are stored and maintained. This stems from my previous academic background in history, and more recently my involvement with the University of Gloucestershire as a PhD researcher. The documents in the archive, and the archive itself, will be a fundamental part of my project and as such I hope to gain some insight as to the contents of the archive, and see the way in which the DHC plans to grant public access to the documents on a first-hand basis./

Please let us know about any experience, skills or knowledge relevant to the role - this could include previous volunteering, education, training, jobs, hobbies and interests.

I have volunteered at the DHC since late November 2010, primarily working in the shop. I have also spent some time working in the Gage Archive with Alex organising the boxes of materials as they came back from restoration after the fire suffered at the DHC.

I have academic training in History to BA and MA level, which has included some activity within archives, and as such I have a basic understanding of the way in which an archive is set up and the utility of such sites.

As the PhD student working on the Potter Project for the University of Gloucestershire, the Project itself will be the subject of my research and so these interests mean working on a volunteer basis will be hugely beneficial to me.

Are there any medical conditions that you think we should know about?

None

Where did you see/hear about volunteering with us?

E-mail from Phillippa Turner sent to Dr. Jo Garde-Hansen and Jason Griffiths at the University of Gloucestershire was forwarded to me

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References

References are taken as standard for all volunteering roles. Please give the contact details of 2 people (ideally who have known you for longer than a year) who can be contacted for a reference and who are able to comment on your suitability for the role. These should be non family members and, if you can, please provide one who has a professional relationship to you e.g. present/most recent employer or college tutor.

Name: Dr. Jo Garde-Hansen	Name: Dr. Kenneth Austin
Address: Media, Communications and Culture Faculty of Media, Art and Communications University of Gloucestershire Pittville Studios Cheltenham	Address: School of Historical Studies University of Bristol Office 2.45 13 Woodland Road Bristol
Email: jgardehansen@glos.ac.uk	Email: kenneth.austin@bristol.ac.uk
Telephone no: 01242 714975	Telephone no: 0117 928 7620
Relationship to you: 1 st Supervisor on Dennis Potter Project	Relationship to you: Head of Historical Studies at University of Bristol, (Masters Study)

Due to the high demand for volunteering opportunities, we cannot guarantee your placement, however we do ensure that all applications are treated equally and will be submitted for consideration.

If your application is successful, you will be invited for an informal interview, and if both parties are happy to continue, a training and trial period will be arranged.

The Dean Heritage Centre is unable to offer individual feedback to candidates who are not shortlisted. If you have not heard back within four weeks then please assume you have been unsuccessful.

Please sign here to indicate that all the information you have given us in this form is true and correct to the best of your knowledge

Signature: H.Grist (e-signature)
Name (print): Hannah Grist
Date: 9 th February 2012

Many thanks for your interest and we look forward to hearing from you

Please return this form to: Philippa Turner, Dennis Potter Archivist, Dean Heritage Centre, Camp Mill, Soudley, Gloucestershire, GL14 2UB or via email to phillippa@deanheritagecentre.com

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