

**A Sense of Place:**  
**A scenographic interpretation of place**  
**and community engagement**

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A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the  
requirements for the degree of Doctor of  
Philosophy

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# DECLARATION

I declare that the research contained in this thesis, unless otherwise formally within the text, is the original work of the author. The thesis has not been previously submitted to this or any other university for degree, and does not incorporate material already submitted for a degree.

Harriet Parry

November 2022

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## ABSTRACT

This PhD thesis, 'A Sense of Place: A scenographic interpretation of place and community engagement', sets out how I have developed and applied an interdisciplinary research methodology, which attends to the often-complex relationships between heritage sites and those for whom they have been preserved. In devising a methodology that prioritises a grass roots perspective, this work contributes to current concerns within the field of Critical Heritage Studies, where scholars are seeking to innovatively and critically engage with the powerful role that heritage has to 'implement social change (or harm)'.<sup>1</sup>

Writing in October 2022, the importance of the cultural and social value of UK heritage sites is repeatedly specified in contemporary UK governmental and heritage policy. Heritage as a concept is considered by official bodies as a tool to facilitate greater social cohesion and wellbeing by making the most of an area's historic sites, environments, and cultural traditions. However, as my research demonstrates, hegemonic and more traditional interpretations of heritage sites rarely represent the multifaceted and contradictory ways in which individuals might relate to the sites themselves.

To conduct this research, I have created the framework for my methodology through the multimodal theatre design praxis of Scenography. A scenographer conceives of a performance space through a networked understanding of its cultural context and affective qualities, to design an immersive experience that facilitates an embodied relationship between the audience, performers, and setting. I have built on this framework by employing research concepts drawn from material culture studies, and methods applied in sensory ethnography and critical heritage research, to move beyond the confines of the representational. This methodology therefore offers a *more-than representational* understanding of the networked, enmeshed, embodied

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<sup>1</sup> 'Welcome', *Association of Critical Heritage Studies*. [n.d.]. Web.



and co-constitutive relationships between people and official interpretations of heritage sites.<sup>2</sup>

This thesis tests the application and potential value of conceiving of heritage sites in this way through two example case-studies: the visitor experience of Newhaven Fort in East Sussex, a scheduled ancient monument and military museum, and the lived experience of Wyndham Court in Southampton, a Grade II listed, Brutalist block of social housing. For each, I have recruited a select group of participants who have a long-term connection with one or other of the sites.

Alongside contextual historical and cultural research at each of the sites, I have undertaken videoed walking tours and interviews with participants, as well as scenographic and ethnographic approaches to observation, filming, and drawing. Through written analysis, scenographic sketches, and videos, this thesis demonstrates my contribution to the broader concerns of the critical heritage field and professional heritage sectors, by evidencing the multifaceted, networked, and enriched understanding of the everyday cultural significance of heritage sites that this methodology can provide.

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<sup>2</sup> Hayden Lorimer. 'Cultural geography: the busyness of being "more-than-representational"'. *Progress in Human Geography* 29, no. 1 (February 2005): 83–94. <https://doi.org/10.1191/0309132505ph531pr>.

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'About Policy Lab' screen shot, July 2022. Image: Harriet Parry.

**Figure 8.4.**

Front page from *Critical Heritage Studies and Social Justice* workshop programme, Veysel Apaydin, May 2022. University College London.

# Introduction

## Key concepts and research questions

'Heritage', in its representation, meaning and value, is a concept that can touch the most intimate aspects of our daily social and cultural lives. It can be practiced through ritual, be visited on high days and holidays, or articulated through song, and can be as powerful in its presence as in its perceived absence. As heritage can be at once so public and so personal, so positive and so dissonant, who is it that should really decide what and whose heritage should be preserved for future generations?

Cultural theorist Ben Highmore, in his book *Ordinary Lives: Studies in the Everyday*, endeavours to bring to life the 'seemingly banal' sphere of the everyday and draw attention to the way in which the overlooked really matters.<sup>1</sup> He does this through giving value to subjective aesthetic experiences of familiar objects and practices, that, he argues, offer personal agency within a western political cultural system based on elitist hierarchies of significance.<sup>2</sup> He states: 'The sensual orchestrations and material ecologies that we can control matter precisely because of the limited agency we have in the aesthetic ecology of the larger world'.<sup>3</sup>

Following Highmore's conceptual position, my PhD research has sought to develop an interdisciplinary, creative and multi-modal methodology that pays attention to the 'everyday' embodied experience of two heritage sites on the south coast of the United Kingdom. One is Newhaven Fort in East Sussex, a scheduled ancient monument and military museum, the other is Wyndham Court in Southampton, Hampshire, a Grade II listed, Brutalist block of flats, fifty percent of which are social housing. As will be discussed in Chapters 6 and 7, both examples in their own way materially represent the elitist hierarchies of significance that have defined each site's preservation and care. Heritage academic Laurajane Smith first described the structural and performative hierarchies of heritage valuation and interpretation as the 'Authorised Heritage Discourse', and she argues that this discourse seeks to impose

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<sup>1</sup> Ben Highmore, *Ordinary Lives: Studies in the Everyday* (London: Routledge, 2011).

<sup>2</sup> Highmore, *Ordinary Lives: Studies in the Everyday*, 6.

<sup>3</sup> Highmore, *Ordinary Lives: Studies in the Everyday*, 12.

hegemonic and universal meanings and values to particular western heritage sites and practices.<sup>4</sup>

In this regard, the UK's professional heritage and governmental interpretations of the terms 'heritage' have a powerful role in shaping definitions of community, place and space through cultural heritage policy, a subject that I discuss in greater detail in Chapter 1. Officially designated heritage sites can serve to naturalise a politically and territorially singular, and therefore exclusionary, representation of national identity, that rejects the complexity of the communities that they should serve.<sup>5</sup> Importantly, this Authorised Heritage Discourse paradigm also valorises and prioritises the 'expert voice', which serves to diminish expertise and knowledge, accrued by individuals connected to a site and its locale, through lived experience.

To understand some of these relationships 'on the ground', I have recruited a select group of participants, who have a connection with each site, to explore what those places mean to them, and I consider how those official and unofficial narratives interrelate; I do this in Chapters 6 and 7, and reflect on its efficacy and limits in Chapter 8 and my conclusion (Chapter 9). Both case studies, I demonstrate, offer an opportunity to critically engage with the every day affect of these forms of material heritage on the people who regularly encounter them, and consider their relationships both as consumers and producers of the past.<sup>6</sup>

Although, as I will discuss, this PhD is informed by a range of disciplinary approaches and ideas that include design history, sensory ethnography and the theatre arts; the principal academic area in which I locate my research is the developing field of Critical Heritage Studies. Here heritage researchers and practitioners seek to rigorously 'question the received wisdom of what heritage is'.<sup>7</sup> Rodney Harrison, one of the field's key proponents, contends that there is a need to problematise the often damaging post-enlightenment forms of knowledge production that exclude and 'other' through hierarchical forms of scientific classifications of

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<sup>4</sup> Laurajane Smith, *Uses of Heritage* (London New York: Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group, 2006) 4.

<sup>5</sup> Emma Waterton and Steve Watson, *Heritage and Community Engagement: Collaboration or Contestation* (London: Routledge, 2011) 3.

<sup>6</sup> Hamzah Muzaini and Claudia Minca, *After Heritage: Critical Perspectives on Heritage from Below* (Edward Elgar: Cheltenham 2020) 1.

<sup>7</sup> 'History,' *Association of Critical Heritage Studies* [n.d.]. Web.

heritage.<sup>8</sup> This shift in how knowledge is considered and evidenced can be found in recent research projects, such as the four year Arts and Humanities Research Council (AHRC) funded piece, conducted by Professor of Urban Studies, Rebecca Madgin, on emotional attachment to the historic urban environment. She states in her ensuing 2021 report *Why Do Historic Places Matter?*, that traditional approaches to evaluating the conservation of heritage through an ‘expert view of physical fabric [is i]ncreasingly ... being considered alongside a people-centred approach which seeks a rebalance between *what is valued* and *who ascribes value?*’.<sup>9</sup>

In this context my work contributes to a broader research paradigm that focuses on the everyday, embodied and emplaced experiences of what geographer Divya Tolia-Kelly, and heritage academics Emma Waterton and Steve Watson, have described as ‘the affective materialities and atmospheres of heritage landscapes’.<sup>10</sup> This can be achieved through an attention to what has become known as the ‘more-than representational’, a description first coined by cultural geographer Hayden Lorimer in 2005.<sup>11</sup>

More-Than Representational Theory builds on a concept developed by Nigel Thrift within the field of cultural geography that he called ‘Non-Representational Theory’, the evolution of which I will discuss in Section 4.3.<sup>12</sup> In brief, proponents for a more-than representational perspective argue that Non-Representational Theory in its singular focus on embodied experience, communication and knowledge production, risks excluding the powerful representational affect of authorised heritage discourses on embodied and emotional experiences of being in the world.<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>8</sup> ‘History’, *Association of Critical Heritage Studies* [n.d.]. Web.

<sup>9</sup> Madgin, Rebecca, ‘Why do Historic Places Matter? Emotional Attachments to Urban Heritage’ Research Report 2021. University of Glasgow. *Enlighten*. Web.

<sup>10</sup> Divya Praful Tolia-Kelly, Emma Waterton, and Steve Watson, eds., *Heritage, Affect and Emotion: Politics, Practices and Infrastructures*. Critical Studies in Heritage, Emotion and Affect. (London; New York: Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group, 2017) 1.

<sup>11</sup> Hayden Lorimer, ‘Cultural Geography: The Busyness of Being ‘more-than-representational’’. *Progress in Human Geography* 29, no. 1 (February 2005): 83–94.

<sup>12</sup> Thrift, N. J, *Non-Representational Theory: Space, Politics, Affect*. International Library of Sociology. (Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge, 2008).

<sup>13</sup> Divya P. Tolia-Kelly, ‘Affect – an Ethnocentric Encounter? Exploring the “universalist” Imperative of Emotional/Affectual Geographies’. *Area* 38, no. 2 (June 2006): 213–17.

My design of a research methodology that draws out multi-dimensional layers of representational and non-representational aspects of the affective nature of heritage and its production, in all its complexity, has required multiple and often creative methods.<sup>14</sup> I will discuss and reflect on the ways in which I have applied these methods in Chapters 4 and 5. Methods that have become familiar to contemporary anthropologists and sensory ethnographers such as forms of walking tour, mapping and counter-mapping, artistic interventions and responses, drawing and photographing as recording and elicitation, all offer particular ways of understanding and communicating the co-productive relationships between heritage and people.<sup>15</sup> What I have found less evident is a framework that can holistically draw such approaches together, as cultural geographer David Crouch emphasises, 'heritage is not detached from the rest of our living, but bound up with it'.<sup>16</sup> I contend that my methodology can contribute in both theoretical and practical application, and responds to what Madgin and heritage scholar James Lesh describe as a growing emphasis placed by international heritage bodies on 'the need to holistically understand the cultural significance of historic places within heritage management.'<sup>17</sup>

As an academic trained in the history of material culture with a professional and pedagogical background in creative practice in theatre, television, and film, my PhD research has been designed to holistically attend to such multi-modal complexity. As I demonstrate in Chapters 6 and 7, the methodology that I have developed serves to contribute to the evolving field of Critical Heritage Studies by offering a framework that elucidates the complex affective nature of heritage sites and their relationships with those for whom they have meaning. The rationale for my work joins Tolia-Kelly,

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<sup>14</sup> Emma Waterton and Steve Watson, 'Methods in Motion: Affecting Heritage Research in Timm Knudsen, Britta, and Carsten Stage, eds. *Affective Methodologies: Developing Cultural Research Strategies for the Study of Affect* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015).

<sup>15</sup> For example, see the work presented by Tolia-Kelly et al. in Tolia-Kelly, Waterton and Watson, eds., *Heritage, Affect and Emotion: Politics, Practices and Infrastructures*. as well as Sarah De Nardi in Sarah De Nardi, *Visualising Place, Memory and the Imagined* (Routledge, 2021).

<sup>16</sup> David Crouch, 'Affect, Heritage, Feeling' in Emma Waterton ed. *The Palgrave Handbook of Contemporary Heritage Research*. (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015) 188.

<sup>17</sup> As noted by Madgin and Lesh through the Burra Charter, the Quebec Declaration on the Preservation of Landscapes and UNESCO Historic Urban Landscapes recommendation. Madgin and Lesh, *People-Centred Methodologies for Heritage Conservation: Exploring Emotional Attachments to Historic Urban Places*, 1.



Waterton and Watson, by recording the ‘value, power and politics of affect and emotion’ by which I can consider how this shapes ‘relationships with the past’, made material through co-productive heritage research.<sup>18</sup> This work not only continues to probe questions first asked by cultural theorist Stuart Hall about ‘whose heritage’ this really is, but joins a motivation articulated by critical heritage practitioners and cultural geographers alike to ask: ‘What counts as heritage? How is heritage encountered? How might it be engaged with? And why is it valued?’<sup>19</sup>

These questions are intrinsic to the rationale behind my PhD research, which I have explored through three key research questions. Those are:

1. How might utilising multimodal, creative approaches to understanding embodied and sensory perceptions of heritage spaces and places enrich conceptions of their cultural significance?
2. What can be learned by applying these approaches to two heritage sites in post-industrial historical port locations on the south coast of England: a) the visitor experience of Newhaven Fort, a scheduled ancient monument and military museum, and b) the lived experience of Wyndham Court in Southampton, a Grade II listed, Brutalist block of social housing?
3. How might more-than representational accounts of each site’s significance to those with enduring connections with them be meaningfully communicated? Firstly, to draw attention to the value of these perspectives for the professional heritage sector and, secondly, to demonstrate the significance of this methodological approach to the Critical Heritage field?

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<sup>18</sup> Tolia-Kelly, Waterton and Watson, eds., *Heritage, Affect and Emotion: Politics, Practices and Infrastructures*, 1.

<sup>19</sup> Tolia-Kelly, Waterton and Watson, eds., *Heritage, Affect and Emotion: Politics, Practices and Infrastructures*, 2.

Also see: Pollyanna Ruiz, Tim Snelson, Rebecca Madgin, and David Webb, “‘Look at What We Made’”: Communicating Subcultural Value on London’s Southbank’. *Cultural Studies* 34, no. 3 (3 May 2020): 392–417.

Rodney Harrison, ‘On Heritage Ontologies: Rethinking the Material Worlds of Heritage’. *Anthropological Quarterly, Special Collection World Heritage and the Ontological turn: New materialities and the enactment of collective pasts.*, 91, no. 4 (2018): 1365–84.

Muzaini and Minca, *After Heritage: Critical Perspectives on Heritage from Below*.

John Schofield ed., *Who Needs Experts? Counter-Mapping Cultural Heritage*. *Heritage, Culture and Identity* (Farnham, Surrey: Ashgate, 2014).

## Origins and motivations

My academic interests developed after taking a pause in my twenty-year career working in the entertainment industry. I had experienced various creative roles that have included prop-making, costume and creature effects fabrication, stage management, costume supervising and design assisting. My professional life was about making 'worlds', contributing to teams large and small, whose work interwove through the integral relationships between lighting, sound, costume, camera, scripts, make-up, special effects, set decoration and humans.

Knowing that a rock was made of painted plaster, or that a building was as thin as a piece of plywood, did not interfere with the experience of standing in a film set and feeling the tangible atmosphere generated by its textures and colours, smells and acoustics. Working with an actor to develop their costume, a key task was to make sure that they felt what they wore reflected their character, which includes an understanding that movement is as important as words to embody an identity.

Through experience it was possible to visually conceive the living place 'in camera' whilst still perceiving the peripheral and liminal boundaries that lay just out of shot. In a theatre, backstage in the dark, I experienced the daily thrill of waiting for the curtain to go up, absorbing the feeling of anticipation from the audience through the hum of their chatter and the smell of dusty velour seat covers, sweets, and crisps, warmed by the house lights. Hearing the stage manager calling the book through my headphones, feeling the audience open up to join us on stage like a blast of warm air as the music began and the curtain rose.

Subsequent teaching in prop making and contextual studies in Further Education courses, meant beginning to unpack and scrutinise practices that I had, up until that time, taken for granted through the development of practical skills and a tacit embodied knowledge. This included learning how to facilitate a 'safe space' for the students that I taught, in which they could better engage in the often anxious and vulnerable practice of collaborative creative exploration, supported through facilitated forms of shared enquiry. It was here, whilst teaching and learning on interdisciplinary projects alongside educators in theatre, that I was introduced to the theatre design practice of scenography.

Scenography is a phenomenologically-embedded design practice that has been developing in western Europe since the early twentieth century.<sup>20</sup> Designers draw on the networked affective attributes of a found space, or theatre setting, to facilitate a co-constitutive embodied connection between the performance, the materiality of the site and the audience.<sup>21</sup> I discovered that the constellations of affect that I had experienced in practice could not only be described, but also be held holistically in one conceptual space by this praxis. Not only that, scenography has more recently been applied in spaces outside of the theatre setting to shape experiences of museums, exhibitions and commerce.<sup>22</sup>

An MA in History of Design and Material Culture, completed in 2018, helped me to channel the curiosity piqued through these experiences, by learning to apply academic theory to the lived and the tangible. Here, design history intersects with heritage and the focus on the biography of objects, culture, and materiality. In retrospect I believe that my fascination with the sensory and the embodied aspects of such enquiry stems from my neurodivergent brain, my experience of the world shaped through my ADHD body. Film scholar Laura U. Marks' theory of 'haptic visuality', of touching through the eyes, fed my fascination with the way materiality might be therefore sensed through the experience of film. I developed a paper for the publication *Film, Fashion & Consumption* through the costume breakdown of costume designer Jane Petrie in the film *Moon*.<sup>23</sup> I then drew my interest in sensory attention into the heritage field through a museology and exhibitions module in my MA, where I took the opportunity to investigate Newhaven Fort, a site that I already found fascinating.

During previous visits in 2016, I had been introduced, by the curator at Newhaven Fort, to a series of murals created by members of the Air Sea Rescue Unit 29 (ASR 29), stationed there during the Second World War. The murals are located 50 feet below ground in the northwest counterscarp galleries, a network of rooms and

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<sup>20</sup> Rachel Hann, *Beyond Scenography* (New York: Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group, 2019) 2.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>23</sup> Harriet Parry, 'Moon: A Sensuous Scholarship of the Art of Costume Breakdown in Film'. *Film, Fashion & Consumption* 6, no. 2 (1 December 2017): 89–103. *Moon*, dir. Duncan Jones (Liberty Films, 2008).

corridors accessed, via long stairways and tunnels, by torchlight. The now heavily degraded paintings depict the relationship the ASR crew had with the South Downs above their heads, and the sea from which they were tasked with saving RAF pilots who had crashed. The galleries were not open to the public and the approach down countless steps and through tunnels by torchlight created a visceral experience of discovery. The affective power of the experience and the connection I felt with those who had created them, extended to the young people who had also discovered them, and left their mark down there when the fort lay derelict in the 1970s.



Fig. 1.1: ASR 29 Mural of Sussex landscape. Newhaven Fort. July 2017. Image: Harriet Parry.



Fig. 1.2: ASR 29 Mural detail of ASR Craft 180. Newhaven Fort. July 2017. Image: Harriet Parry.

My masters research led me to seek out some of those young people who are now in their sixties, and I realised the power of their connection to the site through their embodied memory and continued connection to the fort to this day. Official narratives within the fort's museum displays, the Authorised Heritage Discourse, were that these young people were vandals, even though the damage had already been inflicted through a failed leisure redevelopment in the 1960s. Their relationships with the site, however, endured, and those accusatory words, however much they rankled, did not interfere with their connection to the site.

## Methodological approach and contribution

The interdisciplinary methodology that I have developed in this PhD thesis, 'A Sense of Place: A scenographic interpretation of place and community engagement', is therefore founded in my training as a historian of material culture as well as an arts practitioner and lecturer in Theatre Arts and creative practice. This work draws together Critical Heritage Studies, an interdisciplinary field whose practitioners already apply a diverse range of theories and methods developed within the humanities and social sciences, with scenography. In so doing, scenography as an established and practically proven design praxis helps to create an overarching conceptual framework to maintain the boundaries needed to ground my research, as well as communicate my findings.

Drawing on scenography as an established and well-honed practice in the theatre arts, has meant that I can stabilise many of the abstract and 'elusive' questions that can arise when considering atmosphere, affect, materiality and human expression in heritage settings.<sup>24</sup> I will expand on the praxis of scenography, and the theories that describe its role in a more-than representational attention to the every day embodied experience of heritage sites, in Chapters 4 and 5. I will then demonstrate how my methodology can capture and articulate 'embodied and affective engagements with heritage', and how this relates the participants' social worlds and personal identities contexts through memory and projections into the future, in Chapters 6 and 7.<sup>25</sup>

In evidencing my rationale for developing this methodology, I have spent time in Chapter 4 exploring pertinent aspects of the significant academic theory that has supported the framing and development of my practice and analysis. Going forward beyond my PhD however, it is a methodology where I intend to give primacy to the knowledge expressed by the participants, rather than to continue to lean on the albeit fascinating philosophies that have supported its development. As I will go on to reflect in my concluding chapter (9), my continuing aim for any future research is to

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<sup>24</sup> Emma Waterton and Steve Watson, 'Methods in Motion: Affecting Heritage Research' in Britta Timm Knudsen and Carsten Stage, eds., *Affective Methodologies: Developing Cultural Research Strategies for the Study of Affect* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015) 98.

<sup>25</sup> Waterton and Watson, 'Methods in Motion: Affecting Heritage Research' in Knudsen and Stage, eds., *Affective Methodologies: Developing Cultural Research Strategies for the Study of Affect*, 102.

have a practical and real-world application, and to include participants at the earliest stage of project design and enquiry. This form of attention to the lived and the embodied is a move that Tolia-Kelly, Waterton, and Watson advocate if heritage practitioners are to draw in voices that have been traditionally excluded, through hierarchies of class or culture for example, or othered by neglect or design.<sup>26</sup> As I am an academic with ADHD, this approach also informs my ongoing research through a personal interest in articulating the multiple ways that neurodivergence shapes embodied experience and expression within heritage sites. In so doing, I argue that such work has the potential to facilitate connection and personal agency in acknowledging the value of social and cultural memory through the multiplicity of embodied experiences of heritage and historic places.<sup>27</sup>

My work follows a critical approach that considers heritage as a performative process, where everyday experiences occur within, and indeed can act as interventions between, Authorised Heritage Discourse and its reception.<sup>28</sup> This perspective is what heritage academic Iain J. M. Robertson coined as *Heritage from Below*, a phrase he has applied to problematise the notion that the expertise that shapes Authorised Heritage's top-down discourses and structures are all encompassing.<sup>29</sup> In this respect I contend that my approach pays attention to that 'everyday' and re-evaluates the overlooked and the unheard, to demonstrate the considerable value in attending to a 'non-expert' view (I will introduce my research participants and their backgrounds in Chapter 2). This, I argue, has the potential to increase personal agency in asking those, for whom heritage has been preserved, to contribute to future cultural and social interpretation of those heritage sites and practices.

However, there can be far more complexity than the simplistic binary of the expert and non-expert, or indeed culture and sub-culture, as evidenced in the AHRC funded

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<sup>26</sup> Tolia-Kelly, Waterton, and Watson, *Heritage, Affect and Emotion: Politics, Practices and Infrastructures*, 2.

<sup>27</sup> Tolia-Kelly, Waterton and Watson, eds., *Heritage, Affect and Emotion: Politics, Practices and Infrastructures*, 2.

<sup>28</sup> Gaynor Bagnall 'Performance and Performativity at Heritage Sites'. *Museum and Society* 1, no. 2 (6 March 2015): 87–103. Smith, *Uses of Heritage*, 66.

<sup>29</sup> Iain J. M. Robertson, *Heritage from Below*, Heritage, Culture and Identity. (Farnham, Surrey, England: Ashgate Pub. Company, 2012).

case study of the Long Live Southbank campaign, formed to save an important street skating environment that had been used for many years, in an undercroft area at London's South Bank.<sup>30</sup> In evidence were the multiple agencies, presentations, and modes of communication, between differing generations and genders of skaters, policy makers, the South Bank Centre's governing body itself, and a public that may or may not have been knowledgeable about skateboarding culture.<sup>31</sup> Indeed, as I will explore in my reflection in Chapter 9, what has unfolded through my work with participants at each heritage site, is that even on an individual level there is a networked, sometimes contradictory, and ever evolving relationship with each site's official heritage narrative. Throughout my thesis therefore, I have employed the term 'Lived Heritage' to represent the active interrelationship between Authorised Heritage Discourse and Heritage from Below, that centres the emplaced body in the networked and complex relationships that I have introduced.<sup>32</sup> 'Lived Heritage' also serves to, at least conceptually, intervene with the notion of value that compounds the hierarchical structure imposed when interpreted through western cultural evaluation of the 'high' and the 'low'. In this context, I contend that the approach that I have developed not only problematises assumptions of 'whose heritage' and 'whose community', but also demonstrates the positive enrichment that can come from embodied research and knowledge production that is emplaced culturally, socially, emotionally and conceptually.<sup>33</sup>

## Research process

As I began to develop this research, in 2018, supported by AHRC Design Star funding, my intention was to further explore how scenographic methods could elucidate the everyday human experience of place. In order to do this, I needed to locate case studies that were not only materially interesting, but also played an active role in the social and everyday lives of those who encountered them. I identified Wyndham Court because it is considered nationally important due to its role in British post-war urban redevelopment history, designed and built after the city

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<sup>30</sup> Ruiz, Snelson, Madgin, and Webb, "Look at What We Made."

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>32</sup> Tolia-Kelly, Waterton and Watson, eds., *Heritage, Affect and Emotion: Politics, Practices and Infrastructures*, 2.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*



of Southampton was irrevocably transformed because of aerial bombardment in the Second World War. It offered an opportunity to reflect on elements of transformational urban planning practices and to understand their longer-term impact on residents today. Newhaven Fort's official heritage status as nationally important gives status to a town that is now considered by the government as 'left behind', but its cultural value is as much to do with its role on the everyday lives of those who have encountered it over time, as it is on the motivation and deeds of the Victorians who designed and built it. Materially, both sites are highly affective in their location and materiality, which has also changed over time, and they therefore both offered an ideal opportunity to put the theory of my methodology into practice.

In order to access voices that usually remain unheard in Authorised Heritage Discourse, I wanted to work with participants who might not traditionally be considered valuable by official heritage bodies. As I discuss in Section 2.2, the participants represented within my thesis were not offered any financial incentive or promises that their views and needs be immediately responded to by the custodians of each site. It appeared that they either agreed because they had an interest in my work, or perceived a personal benefit in spending time reminiscing about experiences, or having their voices heard.

Due to the obstructions of the COVID-19 pandemic, which fell directly during the period in which I was recruiting and interviewing, the number and representative range of people that voluntarily agreed to help me with my research remained a relatively small sample, namely, four participants at Newhaven Fort, and six at Wyndham Court. What was common to them all was that they had a close relationship to the site in question, built up over at least ten years. Between them they also articulated various levels of agency, and even though Newhaven Fort is more explicitly presented as 'heritage', both the fort and Wyndham Court demonstrate the powerful role that the Authorised Heritage Discourse had in shaping that sense of agency. I will expand further on the recruitment process and introduce the participants themselves in Chapter 2, as their voices are integral to my discussion and analysis throughout this thesis.

In the participant agreement (see Appendix B), I stated that their real names would not be used and I have given each a pseudonym. For Wyndham Court, I interviewed

'John', 'Jash', 'Sue and David', 'Luke', and 'Mike'. At Newhaven Fort I interviewed 'Chris', 'Greg', 'Fiona', and 'Lauren'. The methods that I used to record the two sites have included sketching, voice recording, ambient sound recordings, reflexive writing and digitally videoed walking interviews. Whilst researching the affective qualities of each site, it was important that I also experienced and explored their affective materiality through my own body, in order to better relate to the embodied experiences of the participants themselves. These methods, and their benefits and limitations, are discussed in detail in Chapters 4 and 5. Two of the Wyndham Court interviews took place away from the site, one with 'Sue and David' in a nearby café in Southampton, because of health and mobility issues, and one with 'Mike' over Zoom, due to his location at the time. Although the key focus of my research was to attend to embodied expression *in place*, their connections to the site through memory offered invaluable insights into the building's cultural significance as a whole.

From the interviews and encounters, I produced scenographic sketches to conceptualise and visualise 'scenes' from particularly affective moments, as the participants shared their thoughts and feelings. Alongside the participant and emplaced research, I conducted more traditional enquiries, such as archival and desk-based research for historical and social context, in a range of locations including Newhaven Fort's on-site archive, the Royal Institute of British Architects archive and Southampton Local Studies archive; these elements populate Chapters 2 and 3. My research, from across all these methods and sources, was then drawn together to create a written narrative analysis and a 'Scenographic Video', to communicate my findings for each site. As I discuss in Section 5.3, it also transpired that my research and dissemination has produced further layers of placemaking (much like the work of sensory ethnographer Sarah Pink). In Chapter 9, I reflect on this and how I understand the ongoing co-productive process of a heritage site and its meanings.<sup>34</sup>

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<sup>34</sup> Sarah Pink, *Doing Sensory Ethnography* (Second edition. London: Sage Publications, 2015) 124.

## **Thesis structure**

Each of the disciplinary areas that have informed my methodology, the methods employed, and the ensuing analysis, will be explored further throughout my thesis, which I have structured as follows.

Chapter 1 addresses four commonly used terms that relate to my work, heritage and community, space and place, and offers an exploration of their discussion in academic literature, and an explanation of their application in the UK's professional heritage sector. Often taken for granted, I argue that each can be interpreted in multiple ways; this provides the groundwork for the later primary research.

In Chapter 2, after giving a brief overview of each the two case studies, Newhaven Fort and Wyndham Court, I introduce the participants, their recruitment, and my ethical positionality. As will be demonstrated, each participant shares a unique perspective on the sites that has helped to shape how I have contextualised my historical research and analysis for my thesis as a whole.

Chapter 3 offers a detailed overview of the historical and cultural contexts of Newhaven Fort and Wyndham Court. Drawing on archival and documentary sources, I explain why each site has been chosen and what they represent through Authorised Heritage Discourse, interwoven with the knowledge and memories shared by the participants that represents the Heritage from Below.

Chapter 4 is dedicated to a review of the literature that has theoretically informed the design of my methodology and my approaches to my fieldwork and analysis. I will then go on to describe the methods—including walking tours, sketching, video recording, and editing—that I have used to support my methodology in Chapter 5.

Chapters 6 (Wyndham Court) and 7 (Newhaven Fort) provide a more-than textual narrative analysis of the two case studies. Here I explore the cultural and the affective through the lens of scenography. I interweave accounts of my walking interviews with the participants with additional cultural contexts, guided by their interests, and attend to how they intersect with one another. Each chapter will close with a Scenographic Video that is there to engender an empathetic and embodied sense of place in the viewer, through the accounts and memories of the participants at each site.

As will be evidenced in Chapters 6 and 7, my analysis has also been shaped by the very different nature of the types of heritage that each site represents. Wyndham Court has been officially positioned as an exemplar of a period in post-war architectural design history. Its day-to-day role, however, is to enable Southampton City Council to provide social housing, at affordable rents, to those considered most in need through a points-based system based on health and welfare issues.<sup>35</sup> In this respect the lived impact of Wyndham Court's listing reflects broader issues of who heritage preservation is for. Newhaven Fort, on the other hand, is a more traditional heritage tourist site and military memorial that plays a very different role in the social well-being and identity of its locale. It is, I argue in Chapter 7, a fascinating example of the multiple and layered roles that a heritage site can play in the ongoing lives of those who have encountered it, demonstrating the many identities that can be held and reflected in one site, through memory.

Chapter 8 reflects further on how my methodology aligns with, and might contribute to, work currently being undertaken in the heritage sector. This I will do by relating the study to my recent experience on a research placement with English Heritage, as well as other select examples of recent heritage work occurring with and for communities in the UK. This includes the Long Live Southbank's (LLSB) 2013/14 campaign, and the AHRC funded *Place* programme (2021–2023), led by Rebecca Madgin, that is being conducted as I write my thesis.<sup>36</sup>

My conclusion (Chapter 9) returns to my research questions and reflects upon the original contributions of my thesis and the areas for further development. I reflect on how the amplified voices of the participants and their experiences demonstrate the rich potential of attending to a heritage site through this form of emplaced, holistic research. I close by responding to the critical heritage questions articulated by Tolia-Kelly, Waterton and Watson: 'What counts as heritage? How is heritage encountered? How might it be engaged with? ... Why is it valued?' and in thinking through heritage *for the future, why that matters?*<sup>37</sup>

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<sup>35</sup> 'Homebid', *Southampton Council* [n.d.]. Web.

<sup>36</sup> Rebecca Madgin, 'Place matters. The arts and humanities place agenda,' *UKRI*. Blogpost, November 2021. Web.

<sup>37</sup> Tolia-Kelly, Waterton and Watson, eds., *Heritage, Affect and Emotion: Politics, Practices and Infrastructures*, 2.

# 1 Heritage, Community, Space and Place

## Chapter introduction

My work fits with what Madgin and Lesh have defined as a ‘human-centred’ approach, in that it ‘explore[s] individual experiences’, which could be either responded to in their singularity, or ‘extrapolated for collectives.’<sup>36</sup> In both practical and theoretical contexts, this work finds its footing through four key terms, all of which have helped to frame my research approaches. These are ‘space’, ‘place’, ‘heritage’, and ‘community’. Each can have multiple meanings and epistemic approaches depending on from which field they are applied and, importantly, which part of the world scholars in those fields are working. This chapter provides an overview of the working definitions that have informed me, which includes my consideration of how these terms are used in the professional heritage sector, with reference to key scholarly and policy literature in the field. After providing an overview of current heritage policy contexts, the section that follows (1.2) will outline how I have understood the concepts of Heritage and Community, followed by Space and Place in Section 1.3. This then provides the conceptual basis and context for the work that follows. I return to explicit discussion of the heritage sector in Chapter 9, where I reflect on the alignments of my own research to its prevailing contemporary concerns.

## 1.1 UK Heritage Policy contexts

Laurajane Smith argues that ‘heritage is a discourse’ and that such discourse ‘works to naturalize a range of assumptions about the nature and meaning of heritage’.<sup>38</sup> In this respect, the terms ‘space’, ‘place’, ‘heritage’, and ‘community’ have become integral to the naturalised authorised discourse applied in the UK’s heritage sector.<sup>39</sup> Much of the information that I have used to understand the political and public conception of the above terms at heritage sites in the UK, has been sourced through official heritage policy and research documents made publicly available by the

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<sup>38</sup> Smith, *Uses of Heritage*, 4.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*

organisations that have commissioned them. This includes the government's Department for Digital, Culture, Media and Sport, Historic England, English Heritage, the Arts Council, the National Lottery Heritage Fund and the Heritage Alliance.<sup>40</sup> These bodies are all working to respond to, and develop their practice through, the official planning policies outlined by central government. To do so they often commission reports from outside organisations, such as academic institutions or the larger charities working directly with heritage and community concerns. Historic England, for example, commissioned a literature review entitled the *Historic Environment, Sense of Place and Social Capital* from the International Centre for Cultural and Heritage Studies at Newcastle University, completed in 2009 by Helen Graham, Rhiannon Mason and Andrew Newman.<sup>41</sup> The subject and structure of the literature review gives a valuable insight into how 'place' continues to be considered when heritage and public bodies evaluate the impact of the historic environment on social wellbeing.<sup>42</sup>

Graham, Mason and Newman identified three areas for investigation; the historic environment (a term they use to describe not only built heritage, but other forms of 'heritage', such as the intangible and daily life); a sense of place, which they point out is a widely-used term with a distinction between physical surroundings and how a place might be experienced; and social capital, where they apply political scientist Robert Putnam's ('policy friendly')<sup>43</sup> adaptation of Pierre Bourdieu's concept of the way social order maintains differentiation and equality in society.<sup>44</sup> In their overview of the literature they state that '[a] sense of personal history and community heritage is certainly understood in the literature as being linked to a strong 'sense of place'.'<sup>45</sup> This piece has gone on to inform Historic England's 2018 *Places Strategy* manifesto which defines an organisationally decentralised and locally focused approach to

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<sup>40</sup> 'Places Strategy 2019,' *Historic England*. Web.

<sup>41</sup> Helen Graham, Rhiannon Mason and Andrew Newman, 'Literature Review: Historic Environment, Sense of Place and Social Capital' 2009. Historic England. PDF. Web.

<sup>42</sup> Graham, Mason and Newman 'Literature Review: Historic Environment, Sense of Place and Social Capital', 44.

<sup>43</sup> Graham, Mason and Newman 'Literature Review: Historic Environment, Sense of Place and Social Capital', 13.

<sup>44</sup> Graham, Mason and Newman 'Literature Review: Historic Environment, Sense of Place and Social Capital', 3.

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*

helping communities capitalise on the merits of their historic environment.<sup>46</sup> Another notable publication of recent years, that still informs heritage policy, was the 2017 independent review of museums by the Commissioner for Cultural Recovery and Renewal, Neil Mendoza. Through an evaluation of current use of funding and resources, the review, in part, looked into the role that museums had in ‘placemaking’.<sup>47</sup>

The above attention to the heritage and culture industry places an onus on the cultural and financial value of engaging in locally and community-focused engagement. The Department for Culture, Media and Sport states that heritage has the power to enrich cultural life, help community resilience, and support individual and collective wellbeing, and these are the qualities that they use to help define a location as a ‘place’.<sup>48</sup> This is reflected in the work by funding bodies, such as the National Lottery Heritage Fund, which states that they are ‘inspiring, leading and resourcing the UK’s heritage to create positive and lasting change for people and communities, now and in the future.’<sup>49</sup> The Lottery Fund is a significant pot of funding created by the people, for the people, with independent decision-making and grant-giving powers, although it is ultimately controlled by the government at ‘arm’s length’.<sup>50</sup> The political shift of decentralising cultural responsibility has been most clearly illustrated by English Heritage being split into two distinct organisations in 2015. English Heritage has become a registered charity and was given an 80 million pound grant as it was cut loose from government responsibility, while the new body, Historic England, has remained within the government structure and is responsible for the listing of buildings and writing heritage policy.<sup>51</sup> What is significant in the respect of the future reception of work such as mine, is the involvement of Historic England as a ‘core partner’ in the AHRC *Place* programme, that I will discuss further

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<sup>46</sup> ‘Sense of Place’ 2009. *Historic England*. Web.

‘Places Strategy 2019’. *Historic England*. Web.

<sup>47</sup> ‘Sense of Place’ 2009. *Historic England*. Web.

‘Places Strategy 2019’. *Historic England*. Web.

‘Mendoza review of Museums – Action Plan 2018’. *UK Government Publications*. Web.

<sup>48</sup> ‘Heritage Statement 2017’. *Department for Digital, Culture Media and Sport*. Web.

<sup>49</sup> ‘Policy directions.’ *National Lottery Heritage Fund*. [n.d.]. Web.

<sup>50</sup> ‘DCMS’ review of arm’s length bodies.’ *National Lottery Heritage Fund*. 26. July. 2010. Web.

<sup>51</sup> ‘Looking for Historic England?’. *English Heritage*. [n.d.]. Web.

below, in working to develop ways of evidencing the emotional attachment to place, researched through qualitative and creative methods.<sup>52</sup>

English Heritage is now also functioning as an arm's length body, working hard towards its core remit to be 'financially independent' by 2022/23.<sup>53</sup> The COVID-19 pandemic caused a massive interruption to this, and this was where the National Lottery and newer funds such as the Culture Recovery Fund stepped in.<sup>54</sup> Newhaven Fort was one such beneficiary, and I have been told, anecdotally, by a site colleague, that the £800,000 awarded to them was a lifeline that meant the pandemic had in fact had positive repercussions on its survival.<sup>55</sup> Neighbourhood and city-wide development plans, in both Newhaven and Southampton, over the last decade make, clear that heritage and culture are considered to have a key role in the wealth and health of their populations.<sup>56</sup> This has particular implications for the relationship that heritage sites have with their local community as a potential income source, and also, in heritage terms, how and why community is considered and defined.

Writing in 2022, at a time when the UK policy-wide adoption of an attention to place is informed by concerns such as struggling high streets or post-industrial areas, means place as a concept has become integral to the current government's 'Levelling Up' white paper. Created by Boris Johnson's Conservative government to deal with UK-wide 'geographic inequality', the paper declares an aim to invest in local culture and infrastructure to 'restore a sense of community, local pride and belonging, especially in those places where they have been lost' and '... is intended to drive local economic growth and development, particularly in left-behind places.'<sup>57</sup>

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<sup>52</sup> 'Home.' *And Towns*. [n.d.]. Web.

<sup>53</sup> 'Culture Recovery Fund', October 2020. *English Heritage*. Web.

<sup>54</sup> Marble Hill, where I undertook my placement was given an extension to their community grant because they had been unable to engage in events that would normally have been a remit for the award.

<sup>55</sup> Allocated by NLHF in with Historic England- open to England only. 'Culture Recovery Fund.'

<sup>56</sup> 'Master Plan.' *Southampton City Council*. 2013. PDF. Web.

<sup>57</sup> David Marlow 'Will the Levelling Up White Paper (LUWP) Drive Reform of National Innovation Policy and Practice?' *Local Economy: The Journal of the Local Economy Policy Unit* 37, no. 1–2 (February 2022): 13–20.

Isobel Frodsham, "Arts and Culture Outside London to Receive Funding in Levelling Up White Paper." Press Association Jan 29 2022 ProQuest. 25 July 2022 .



Here, investment in 'arts' and 'culture' have been applied by the DCMS as a democratising narrative to drive funding allocation of millions of pounds in those areas identified as in need.<sup>58</sup>

In response to this, the UK Research and Innovation Council (UKRI) allocated funds in 2021, across its nine programmes, to support research that could inform the white paper, one of which is by the AHRC. The AHRC *Place* programme (2021-2023), is led by Professor Rebecca Madgin, the remit of which is to demonstrate the value that, particularly, qualitative methods applied in arts and humanities research can contribute to this work.<sup>59</sup> Following Madgin's ongoing academic research, the programme gives particular emphasis to how feeling and emotional attachment to places can be understood, which demonstrates the increasingly influential way that emotion, place attachment and government policy collide.<sup>60</sup> Importantly, the role of heritage and the historic environment is drawn out in several of the research projects, overseen by the programme, including the *City of caves: regenerating the heart of Nottingham through "hidden heritage"* project, led by Dr Christopher King at the University of Nottingham, and *Feeling Towns: The role of place identity in governance and local policy*, led by Professor Nicky Marsh at the University of Southampton.<sup>61</sup> The contemporaneity of these research and innovation policy programmes to my own work demonstrates its pertinence, and I will go on to discuss how I see my methodology's potential contribution to future projects, through the example of questions posed in the *Feeling Towns* project, concerning how to communicate the complexity of emotional attachment to place, in Chapter 8. Having given some background and context to demonstrate the timeliness of my research, I will return to a discussion of the terms that have theoretically and practically informed that work.

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<sup>58</sup> Frodsham, "Arts and Culture Outside London to Receive Funding in Levelling Up White Paper."

<sup>59</sup> Rebecca Madgin, 'Place matters. The arts and humanities place agenda', *UKRI*, Blogpost, November 2021. Web.

<sup>60</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>61</sup> Christopher Smith, 'UKRI Meet AHRC's New Directors', *UKRI*, November 2021. Web.

## 1.2 Heritage and Community

The heritage sector in the UK developed in its western form after the Second World War, and was first formalised within the 1972 World Heritage Convention.<sup>62</sup> What counts as ‘heritage’ is founded on an ideology developed by the dominant political system that attributes inherent cultural values to principally material representations of particular forms of nationhood.<sup>63</sup> Within UK society, ‘heritage’ might be encountered in spheres as diverse as football, industry and manufacture (particularly in post-industrial locations), food, dance, crafts, hospitals, and the countryside. The use of the term, and its movement into everyday speech since the 1980s, has been surveyed and debated in historiographic works produced during the same period, such as in Robert Hewison’s *The Heritage Industry*, Patrick Wright and Andrzej Krauze’s *On Living in an Old Country* and Raphael Samuel’s *Theatres of Memory*.<sup>64</sup> In the twenty-first century, heritage is a term that is broadly understood by the participants that I encountered in my research, but what they understand *by* it might vary. Its distinction depends on ethnicity, class, dis/ability, religion, gender identity, nationality, and the multiple ways these may intersect, as well as factors that influence personal circumstances and current priorities. To all concerned however, officially sanctioned heritage discourses make ‘statements’, through particular heritage sites, practices, and monumental structures, about the nature and structure of the society in which we live.<sup>65</sup>

When thinking through the work that, particularly, material and monumental forms of heritage do—such as statues and museums—it is their stabilising representation of public memory that declares itself to ‘speak for’ certain people for whom that

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<sup>62</sup> Harrison, *Heritage: Critical Approaches*, 10.

<sup>63</sup> Smith, *Uses of Heritage*, 9.

<sup>64</sup> Raphael Samuel, *Theatres of Memory: Past and Present in Contemporary Culture*. Revised paperback edition (London: Verso, 2012).

Robert Hewison, *The Heritage Industry: Britain in a Climate of Decline*. A Methuen Paperback (London: Methuen London, 1987).

Patrick Wright and Andrzej Krauze, *On Living in an Old Country: The National Past in Contemporary Britain*. Updated ed. (Oxford: University Press, 2009).

<sup>65</sup> Smith, *Uses of Heritage*, 4.

representation invokes a 'sense of belonging'.<sup>66</sup> Therefore, the Authorised Heritage Discourse serves to emplace a heritage visitor through a projection of stability and commonality, which in fact belies the constant negotiation with those for whom that representation might not speak.<sup>67</sup> As will become apparent throughout the participant interviews (see Chapters 3, 6 and 7), this representation moves in and out of focus as different aspects of each site trigger different elements of their memories and identities.

Attention to dissonant relationships with heritage speaks to Robertson's evaluation of Heritage from Below, and begins to bring the potential complexity of local or community relationships with a heritage site into focus. The official policy narrative of inherent cultural value of heritage to a community is problematised by lived experience. As I will demonstrate in Chapters 6 and 7, everyday encounters have the power to both consciously, and unconsciously, counter the hierarchical and often inaccessible sphere of professional academia and the Authorised Heritage Discourse that still dominates the sector.<sup>68</sup>

## Community

'Community' is a term used regularly by heritage organisations and funders hoping to engage and attract groups of people to interact with a site. However, its use often belies the heterogenous nature of the people that they are seeking to attract.<sup>69</sup>

Although I have chosen not to explicitly group the participants of my research under the banner of a community for either site, I feel it important to address its meaning. A community, in its broadest sense, can be defined by geography, culture, social, ethnic, economic, class or other collective experiences or shared territories, such as football fandom or allotment usage, for example.<sup>70</sup> Raymond Williams explained, in 1985, some of the confusion that can arise from its imprecise use because it has

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<sup>66</sup> Greg Dickinson, Carole Blair and Brian L. Ott, *Places of Public Memory: The Rhetoric of Museums and Memorials* (University of Alabama Press, 2010) 3.

<sup>67</sup> Smith, *Uses of Heritage*, 80.

<sup>68</sup> Robertson, *Heritage from Below*, 3.

<sup>69</sup> Emma Waterton and Laurajane Smith, 'The recognition and misrecognition of community heritage' in Waterton and Watson, *Heritage and Community Engagement: Collaboration or Contestation*, 13.

<sup>70</sup> Smith, *Uses of Heritage*, 5.

been applied to describe locality as well as commonality.<sup>71</sup> When explaining my research to a participant, I might use the word to describe someone who has a connection to a heritage site, but a participant might understand it to be a group of people to which they align, through values and interests, and these are two very different things, even if they often intersect.<sup>72</sup> For added complexity, a 'community' might be located in the tangible or virtual digital spheres, be scattered around the world, either by choice or necessity. In addition, each type of community has an inside and an outside to which others can place themselves physically and/or conceptually. The literature that I have chosen to consult below is therefore assessing what community means within, through, and because, of heritage, and again this includes the tangible and the intangible.

A participant's presence and day-to-day movement in and around Newhaven Fort or Wyndham Court, and their interactions with that place and those that they encounter there, involves the often-unconscious assessment of their own identity and the identity expressed by the site itself.<sup>73</sup> Each site's public identity will have a very different association with its 'community', as Wyndham Court's heritage status, or 'historical narrative', plays little or no role in its public consumption, that is, in the lives of those who make it their home.<sup>74</sup> The fort's custodians however, are having to actively create connections and promote associations with visitors, as a leisure facility for the local town and tourists, through its heritage status, and the meaning it has for people is primarily through choice and affiliation.<sup>75</sup> Wyndham Court is a place of more circumstantial connection because, alongside its provision of social housing, it is a relatively economical and convenient place for people to live.<sup>76</sup> As will be

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<sup>71</sup> Tony Bennett, Lawrence Grossberg, Meaghan Morris, and Raymond Williams, eds., *New Keywords: A Revised Vocabulary of Culture and Society* (Malden, MA: Blackwell Pub, 2005) 39.

<sup>72</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>73</sup> Graham, B. J, and Peter Howard, *The Ashgate Research Companion to Heritage and Identity* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate Pub. Co., 2008) 14.

<sup>74</sup> Peter Groote and Tialda Haartsen 'The Communication of Heritage: Creating Place Identities' in Graham and Howard, *The Ashgate Research Companion to Heritage and Identity*, 194.

<sup>75</sup> Smith *Uses of Heritage*.

<sup>76</sup> For example, a well presented two-bed maisonette in the building sold in 2019 for £138,000, where an equivalent flat in a nearby development was £100,000 more.

shown in Chapters 3 and 6, for many of my research participants, Wyndham Court's preservation as part of the nation's built heritage is, at best, puzzling.

Heritage scholars Stefan Berger, Bella Dicks, and Marion Fontaine, have made clear that there is a particular anglophone perspective of how the concept of community is used in the UK heritage sector.<sup>77</sup> They explain that in this country its application tends towards the 'emancipatory, democratising, revolutionary and [is] associated with human rights and social justice', which is not a perspective that they have found in countries like Germany or France, for example.<sup>78</sup> Berger et al. explain that 'at least until the 1970s, its positive connotations dominated sociological debates concerning modernisation and the decline of older, traditional ways of life.'<sup>79</sup> This fundamentally positive connotation communicates a sensibility that sides with those that a researcher or heritage organisation would wish to recruit for their cause. If it is apparent that a 'community' is not fully formed or robust, then use of the term can infer a utopian ideal of the positive impacts a particular piece of work might have, to help make the community more cohesive. But issues can quickly become apparent when we start to consider the fundamental role that identity plays in how communities are imagined, formed, and negotiated through heritage.

The constant negotiation and renegotiation that occurs through the social activity of 'belonging' necessitates, as Smith has argued, a state of 'in and out' or 'sameness and otherness.'<sup>80</sup> There are costs as well as gains within these negotiations. In promoting a particular interpretation of heritage, at a particular time, and then aligning that with the term 'community', there will always be those that feel included and those that feel excluded, however well-meaning the intent. Who defines and controls the community and the heritage that might represent them, and why, is of course political, as museums scholar Elizabeth Crooke explores.<sup>81</sup> Using examples of her experience within the museums sector in Northern Ireland, which remains a

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<sup>77</sup> Stefan Berger, Bella Dicks, and Marion Fontaine. "'Community': A Useful Concept in Heritage Studies?' *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, 17 June 2019, 1–27.

<sup>78</sup> Berger, Dicks, and Fontaine, "Community", 6.

<sup>79</sup> Berger, Dicks, and Fontaine, "Community", 13.

<sup>80</sup> Graham and Howard, *The Ashgate Research Companion to Heritage and Identity*, 5.

<sup>81</sup> Elizabeth Crooke, 'The Politics of Community Heritage: Motivations, Authority and Control'. *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 16, no. 1–2 (January 2010): 16–29.

'divided society',<sup>82</sup> Crooke clearly illustrates the problematic assumption of a 'natural affinity' between community engagement and heritage. This, Crooke found most apparent, when 'the desires of grass roots initiatives' met an official discourse that represents the political will of the government in Northern Ireland, as well as the museums sector.<sup>83</sup>

The participants for this PhD research could each be described as a community in their common associations with the case studies; but using the word community risks creating exclusions that I would not intend. Indeed, as will become apparent as I introduce the participants and explore their connections to the sites, their connections are important in that they can be deeply personal and familial, which might be excluded through a homogenous categorisation of 'community'.

## Critical Heritage Studies

The critical engagement with traditional academic approaches to heritage and its study, was formalised through the inception of the Association of Critical Heritage Studies (ACHS) in 2012. The ACHS is a global network devised in 2010, made formal at the association's inaugural conference *Re/theorising heritage*, hosted by the University of Gothenburg, Germany.<sup>84</sup> The importance of this validation is underlined by the motivation for those working within its boundaries to establish an ethos in high-profile publications, such as the *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, wherein heritage scholar Tim Winter, for example, has spent time '[c]larifying the critical in critical heritage studies'.<sup>85</sup> Kynan Gentry and Laurajane Smith have offered further grounding by giving an overview of how the overarching ethos of critical heritage studies relates to the traditional heritage canon developed over the late twentieth century.<sup>86</sup> As with any epistemological shift, both papers

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<sup>82</sup> Crooke, 'The Politics of Community Heritage: Motivations, Authority and Control.'

<sup>83</sup> Crooke, 'The Politics of Community Heritage: Motivations, Authority and Control,' 16.

<sup>84</sup> 'About Us', *University of Gothenburg Centre for Critical Heritage Studies*. [n.d.]. Web.

<sup>85</sup> Tim Winter and Emma Waterton, 'Critical Heritage Studies', *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, 19.6 (2013), 529–31.

Tim Winter, 'Clarifying the Critical in Critical Heritage Studies'. *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 19, no. 6 (September 2013): 532–45.

<sup>86</sup> Kynan Gentry and Laurajane Smith, 'Critical Heritage Studies and the Legacies of the Late-Twentieth Century Heritage Canon'. *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 25, no. 11 (2 November 2019): 1148–68.

Winter and Waterton, 'Critical Heritage Studies', *International Journal of Heritage Studies*.

demonstrate that there is no clear line between then and now, and the 'critical' is as important as a pragmatic evaluation of what has brought the heritage field to this point, and what should be taken forward, as it is in addressing its shortcomings.

## Critical heritage futures

Within this context, critical heritage scholars and professionals have been actively researching at heritage sites and with those for whom that heritage has meaning. Their common aim is to understand the role that heritage has on social cohesion and wellbeing, with some working to extend this to project the role of heritage and preservation as a form of 'futures' thinking.<sup>87</sup> Spearheaded in the UK by the AHRC Priority Leadership Fellow, Professor Rodney Harrison, between 2015 and 2019, the *Heritage Futures* programme worked in multiple ways to discover the active role that the 'process' of heritage has in planning for the future in the Anthropocene.<sup>88</sup> Considering how decisions made today, *for* the future, must involve rethinking dominant progress and exceptionalist narratives of the Authorised Heritage Discourse, so that every level of society has agency in the pragmatic decisions needed to make liveable worlds for the future.<sup>89</sup>

## 1.3 Space and Place

My research is concerned with the embodied and everyday experience of heritage sites, and here the use of the terms 'space' and 'place' are integral to my study. Many of the academics that I will refer to throughout this section have built their temporal, territorial, political and social understanding of space and place on foundations laid by western philosophers, such as Henri Lefebvre, and Michel Foucault, and political geographer Doreen Massey.<sup>90</sup> Lefebvre, Foucault and Massey have each dealt in their particular ways with how space and place are

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<sup>87</sup> 'Heritage Futures', *Heritage Futures*. Web.

<sup>88</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>89</sup> Rodney Harrison, *Heritage Futures: Comparative Approaches to Natural and Cultural Heritage Practices* (London: UCL Press, 2020).

<sup>90</sup> Jeremy W. Crampton and Stuart Eiden, eds., *Space, Knowledge and Power: Foucault and Geography* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007).

Henri Lefebvre and Kanishka Goonewardena, *Space, Difference, Everyday Life: Reading Henri Lefebvre* (New York: Routledge, 2008).

Doreen B. Massey, *For Space* (London: SAGE, 2005).

actively constructed and renegotiated over time, and in the ways in which political and hierarchical structures have naturalised that construction.<sup>91</sup> The fact that there is ongoing discussion in critical heritage studies on what these ‘often interchangeable’ terms mean, even after such substantial and ground-breaking work, demonstrates their social, subjective, and political nature.<sup>92</sup>

In this context, a core motivation for academics within Critical Heritage Studies is to disrupt the taken-for-granted ontological positions in western academia, that Massey highlighted in the preface to her seminal 2005 text, *For Space*.<sup>93</sup> It is a turn that seeks to reconfigure and reorient how heritage is experienced and understood, that includes the embodied and networked, and thus the lived, shared and productive experience of places and spaces.<sup>94</sup> Taking my PhD research as a focus, there are three key aspects of placemaking that I have addressed, two of which I will discuss in this section: the heritage site as place in space, and the body as place in space. I will discuss the third, that follows Sarah Pink’s exploration of placemaking through the act of video ethnography, in Section 5.3, and I will also discuss this aspect as a potential extension for my research in my conclusion (Chapter 9).<sup>95</sup> To conclude this section, I will explain how I have conceived of the production of place in space through the lens of scenography, which introduces an overview of the practical application of the methodology that I have developed.

There are two aspects of newer critical approaches to heritage study that are useful for my research because they disrupt the conceptual possibilities of what a space or place could be, and how it could be experienced or created. The first considers heritage, not as a stable or fixed entity, but as a co-productive process between actors and agents, people and sites—in this case—the participants, myself and the case studies of Wyndham Court and Newhaven Fort.<sup>96</sup> The second is in taking a

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<sup>91</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>92</sup> Very useful discussion by Madgin and Lesh, in Madgin and Lesh, *People-Centred Methodologies for Heritage Conservation: Exploring Emotional Attachments to Historic Urban Places*, 3.

<sup>93</sup> Massey, ‘Three Ruminations’ in Massey, *For Space*, 1.

<sup>94</sup> See for example Mike Crang and Divya P. Tolia-Kelly, ‘Nation, Race, and Affect: Senses and Sensibilities at National Heritage Sites’. *Environment and Planning A: Economy and Space* 42, no. 10 (October 2010): 2315–31.

<sup>95</sup> Pink, *Doing Sensory Ethnography*, 124.

<sup>96</sup> Emma Waterton, ‘A More-Than-Representational Understanding of Heritage? The “Past” and the Politics of Affect’. *Geography Compass* 8, no. 11 (November 2014): 823–33, 824.



more-than representational understanding of how that co-production manifests through what Tolia-Kelly describes as the ‘affective materialities and atmospheres of heritage landscapes.’<sup>97</sup> This therefore means that in searching to fix a definition of ‘space’ and ‘place’, my enquiry invokes the ‘when’, the ‘how’, and the ‘who’ of heritage, as much as the ‘where’.

## Theories of ‘space’ and ‘place’

Madgin and Lesh contend that the cultural construction, and multiple meanings of ‘place’ in particular, perhaps belies its important role as ‘the foundation stone of individual and collective life’, that can be as intangible as it is tangible.<sup>98</sup> Cultural geographer Charles Withers offered an overview of the western cultural shaping of definitions of the most influential concepts of both space and place, in his 2009 paper that tracks their development, up until that point, within the academic fields of cultural geography and history.<sup>99</sup> Withers foregrounds his discussion with an attention to contemporary anxieties that are perhaps even more acute over a decade later. Here he states that the perceived trajectory of globalisation and ‘modern forms of communication technologies have shifted some of the cultural meanings and locations of ‘place’.<sup>100</sup> This, he explains ‘has led to a perception that the ‘particularity of place’ in a local context is becoming a thing of the past.<sup>101</sup>

Withers’ belief that ‘questions of locality, sense of place and identity in place matter now more than ever’ resonates deeply, and supports at least the theoretical rationale behind my work.<sup>102</sup> He speaks particularly of the politically constructed nature of territoriality, and argues that it is by engaging with the emplaced social body that the naturalisation of a hegemonic global narrative can be contested.<sup>103</sup> This is an ethical

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<sup>97</sup> Tolia-Kelly, ‘Affect – an Ethnocentric Encounter? Exploring the “universalist” Imperative of Emotional/Affectual Geographies.’

<sup>98</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>99</sup> Charles W. J. Withers, ‘Place and the “Spatial Turn” in Geography and in History’. *Journal of the History of Ideas* 70, no. 4 (2009): 637–58.

<sup>100</sup> This narrative also resonates with a talk I attended at the University of Sussex in April 2018 where Loyd Grossman, the then Chairman of the Heritage Alliance, spoke of the importance of unique heritage and historic places in a globalising architectural vernacular. See Neil Vowles, ‘Loyd Grossman hails heritage as the antidote to the ‘placelessness’ of globalisation’. Web.

<sup>101</sup> Withers, ‘Place and the “Spatial Turn”, 639.

<sup>102</sup> Withers, ‘Place and the “Spatial Turn”, 638.

<sup>103</sup> *Ibid.*

and political stance that, although contextually broader, speaks to my direct concerns of validating social processes of placemaking and finding place, and rights to space in relation to the 'protected' territories and ideologies of heritage sites.<sup>104</sup>

## **Authorised heritage spaces and places**

Heritage sites in the UK are the physical or imaginative creation of territories and landscapes, where built structures and their official interpretation have come to control the space politically, socially and culturally in multiple ways.<sup>105</sup> The boundaries that I have set around the case studies that define their limits as places have been drawn by those outlined in their official listing by Historic England.<sup>106</sup> As Madgin and Lesh have argued however those physical boundaries are permeable and constantly being transgressed by the memories and imaginaries of those that have spent time there.<sup>107</sup> Both of the sites I have selected (discussed in further detail in Chapters 3, 6 and 7) have differing functions and have their own distinct discourse, Newhaven Fort as a tourist attraction, Wyndham Court as a private place of habitation. As with any heritage site, they are surrounded by urban and 'natural' landscapes that are also cultural constructions that will shape the way that they might be interpreted as places.

These landscapes are constantly produced and reproduced physically and discursively, officially and through individual and collective social memory, sometimes over the course of a day, sometimes years, decades, or centuries. Massey argues that this ongoing renegotiation is exactly what makes space and place political. She asks: Who's in? Who's out? Which story matters? How is the place controlled and by whom?<sup>108</sup> Laurajane Smith underlines the importance of such debates by considering what is at stake in their construction. She explains that heritage plays an important role in how individuals construct a sense of identity in relation to a nation, community or as an individual, to help 'find our place in our

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<sup>104</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>105</sup> Setha M. Low, and Denise Lawrence-Zúñiga, eds., *The Anthropology of Space and Place: Locating Culture* (Blackwell Readers in Anthropology 4. (Malden, MA: Blackwell Pub, 2003) 5.

<sup>106</sup> 'Wyndham Court including raised terrace and ramps', *Historic England*. [n.d.]. Web.  
'Newhaven military fort and lunette battery', *Historic England*. [n.d.]. Web.

<sup>107</sup> Madgin and Lesh, *People-Centred Methodologies for Heritage Conservation*, 2,3,4.

<sup>108</sup> Massey, *For Space*, 153.

cultural and physical world.<sup>109</sup> There is temporality and therefore rootedness linked to that attachment, as humanist geographer Yi Fu Tuan explores, where place acts as a ‘pause in the temporal current’.<sup>110</sup> It takes time to know a place, and heritage becomes a place in time, however brief, through physical encounters with its memorialisation of times past as a receptacle for future presents.<sup>111</sup>

In this context, the way in which people might articulate that experience of being in a heritage space or place is varied and multi-faceted but not simple to capture, as is reflected in my motivation to develop my methodology through my PhD research. Indeed, even through the most surface exploration of the networked and constitutive relationships between such often taken for granted terms as ‘space’ and ‘place’, it is possible to begin to imagine the affective impact that preserved heritage sites might have on the people for whom they have meaning.<sup>112</sup> These experiences are bounded to positions and perceptions that can be shaped and intersect through ethnicity, class, dis/ability, religion, gender identity, nationality and the multiple ways they may intersect, all of which are set within the power dynamics of the political and social sphere that they inhabit.

The picture becomes even more complex when including the richly neurodiverse and embodied ways in which experience of a heritage site might be processed. Being neurodivergent myself, this singular and narrow perspective on place, I argue, is yet another example of dominant, authorised and normative representations of the past, defining what and how heritage is interpreted and preserved for future generations.<sup>113</sup> The nature of my participant recruitment, which I will outline in Chapter 2, and reflect upon in my conclusion (Chapter 9), has meant that

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<sup>109</sup> Smith, *Uses of Heritage*, 75.

<sup>110</sup> Yi-Fu Tuan, *Space and Place: The Perspective of Experience* (E. Arnold, 1977) 179.

<sup>111</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>112</sup> Jeremy C. Wells, ‘Attachment to older or historic places’ in Madgin and Lesh, *People-Centred Methodologies for Heritage Conservation: Exploring Emotional Attachments to Historic Urban Places*, 16.

Also see Waterton and Watson, ‘Methods in Motion: Affecting Heritage Research’ in Timm Knudsen and Stage, *Affective Methodologies*.

<sup>113</sup> For an insight into the developing discussion in this context see John Schofield, Callum Scott, Penny Spikins, and Barry Wright, ‘Autism Spectrum Condition and the Built Environment: New Perspectives on Place Attachment and Cultural Heritage’. *The Historic Environment: Policy & Practice* 11, no. 2–3 (2 July 2020): 307–34.

Also see the work of Esther Appleyard-Fox in ‘History of Place’. *Accentuate*. [n.d.]. Web. and ‘Curating for Change Programme’, *Accentuate* [n.d.]. Web.

representation of cultural and neurodiverse perspectives is not a key achievement in my research. I am also mindful that neurodivergence as a term is as complex and multifaceted as culture. It covers a broad spectrum of often ‘hidden, disabilities’ that affect individuals in multiple and complex ways, the representation of which can be difficult to measure. In this respect, I have felt it important to keep the potential applications of more-than representational approaches in mind for future applications of my methodology, and I have been given a glimpse of that potential during a work placement with English Heritage, discussed in Chapter 8.

## Emplaced bodies

Following anthropologists Setha Low and Denise Lawrence-Zúñiga, I am working from the foundation that humans conceive place *through* space, and their interactions in and with space are inherently linked to an experience which is at once sensory and social.<sup>114</sup> Low and Lawrence-Zúñiga state that the space occupied by the body, and the perception and experience of that space, contracts and expands in relationship to a person’s emotions and state of mind, sense of self, social relations and cultural predispositions.<sup>115</sup>

Visual anthropologist Sarah Pink describes the study of embodied experience through attention to these relationships as ‘emplaced ethnography’. Pink’s definitions, and the description offered by Low and Lawrence-Zúñiga, maintain a central focus on the role of the body in placemaking. I expand on this further as I consider the role of body in and as place, and what that might mean in the consideration of ‘space’.

It is the immediacy of the embodied, sensory, and social experience of heritage that defines how an individual becomes emplaced ‘through material evidence and memories of persistence through time’.<sup>116</sup> This has been evident throughout the walking tours for my PhD research, where I have considered ‘place’ to be formed by the participant’s body, and my own, moving and living in ‘space’, which *becomes*

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<sup>114</sup> Low and Lawrence-Zúñiga, eds., *The Anthropology of Space and Place: Locating Culture*.

<sup>115</sup> Low, and Lawrence-Zúñiga, eds, *The Anthropology of Space and Place: Locating Culture*, 2.

<sup>116</sup> Low, and Lawrence-Zúñiga, eds., *The Anthropology of Space and Place: Locating Culture*, 5.

meaningful through our social and cultural interpretations .<sup>117</sup> Such a simple description belies the complexity of this process, and this is the vital role that scenographic praxis has taken in making sense of its complexity, of which I will outline in full in Chapters 4 and 5.

My practical attention to the phenomenological and embodied experience of heritage sites through a more-than representational lens, has been guided by research developed within the field of cultural geography. Academics such as the aforementioned Divya Tolia-Kelly, as well as Tim Ingold and David Crouch, offer inspiring exemplars of attention to the embodied, the aesthetic, and the everyday. Tolia-Kelly gives primacy to the body to demonstrate the real damage that misrepresentation and othering of race can have in western cultural institutions in museums.<sup>118</sup> Crouch plays with the exploratory and sometimes tentative nature of human experience in space—he calls this ‘flirting’—that he grounds in ‘everyday’ acts such as gardening and caravanning.<sup>119</sup> Ingold’s more philosophical position uses analogies, such as ‘weaving’ and ‘correspondence’ with space and place, in his exploration of what it means ‘to human’ as a verb.<sup>120</sup>

Through both research and practice in this PhD, it has become apparent that a more-than representational attention to each participant’s relationship with the case studies is unsurprisingly complex. Their responses have drawn me to consider the multiple ways that the shifting, often contradictory, relationships between people, spaces, places, memory, and identity can be expressed. Ingold maintains that the character of a place is relational to the way people engage with the sensory qualities of that place, and importantly that places have centres, but do not have boundaries.<sup>121</sup> Where that centre might be has much to do with the way in which the body relates to that place, as this also allows for the possibility, following Tuan, that

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<sup>117</sup> Low, and Lawrence-Zúñiga, eds., *The Anthropology of Space and Place: Locating Culture*, 5.

<sup>118</sup> Divya Tolia-Kelly, Race and affect at the museum, in Tolia-Kelly, Waterton, and Watson, eds., *Heritage, Affect and Emotion: Politics, Practices and Infrastructures*, 33.

<sup>119</sup> David Crouch, *Flirting with Space: Journeys and Creativity* (Farnham, Surrey: Ashgate, 2010).

<sup>120</sup> Tim Ingold, *The Life of Lines* (London; New York: Routledge, 2015).

<sup>121</sup> Tim Ingold, *The Perception of the Environment: Essays on Livelihood, Dwelling & Skill*. (London: Routledge, 2000) 192.

the body *is* the centre.<sup>122</sup> For my own assessment of place through embodied experience for this PhD, I have paid attention to how place becomes *through* connections to each heritage site. As affect draws out embodied experiences of the intangible through the tangible, coalescing the role of ‘body as place’, which can demonstrate alignment with, and dissonance from, official heritage narratives in equal measure.<sup>123</sup>

All of the participants who have contributed to my research have a long-term relationship with each site, and in all cases those sites have had an influence on each participant’s sense of identity, and the nature of their embodied sense of connection to that site. This relationship has been shaped by a multitude of factors, such as events that have happened there, the personal agency that they feel they have in that relationship, or because they feel it represents the local community to which they align, all of which has changed over time.<sup>124</sup> As my position has been informed by many in the field of cultural geography, it is useful to clarify that my concept of place identity considers ‘the differential access to power in given locales’.<sup>125</sup> This ‘access to power’, both through official and unofficial means, appears to have a direct correlation with the sense of agency expressed by each of the participants. As I will explore further throughout my analysis in Chapters 6 and 7, it is this sense of agency that shapes the way that each of the participants becomes emplaced in each site.<sup>126</sup>

Even with the three participants who could not take part in interviews on site at Wyndham Court (whom I will introduce in Chapter 2), their emplaced memories have still had a direct impact on my sense of the conceptual boundaries of physical place. Following philosopher Gaston Bachelard, they demonstrated that even away from ‘place’, both the ideas of ‘space’ and ‘place’ had the power to draw together

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<sup>122</sup> Tuan, *Space and Place*, 179.

<sup>123</sup> Tolia-Kelly, Waterton, and Watson eds., *Heritage, Affect and Emotion*, 35.

<sup>124</sup> Rodney Harrison explores how to consider these relationships in Harrison, *Heritage: Critical Approaches*, 33.

<sup>125</sup> Withers, ‘Place and the “Spatial Turn” in Geography and in History’. *Journal of the History of Ideas* 70, no. 4, 641.

<sup>126</sup> *Ibid.*

‘dispersed images and a body of images at the same time’, drawn from a collection of their memories and embodied experiences.<sup>127</sup>

## Making place in space

The fascinating process of the participant’s placemaking at each heritage site can be conceived through the theoretical approaches first proposed by French philosopher, Michel Foucault. Foucault made apparent the networked and historical political structures that shape space through their use of systems and language, which in heritage contexts has been articulated by Smith as the Authorised Heritage Discourse.<sup>128</sup> Foucault maintained that ‘[s]pace is a vital part of the battle for control and surveillance of individuals, [however] it is a battle and not a question of domination.’<sup>129</sup> It is, therefore, the participant’s identity and sense of personal agency that shapes their co-productive relationship with that authorised discourse of each site.

This idea of negotiation in the everyday production of place in space, is also found in the work of Marxist philosopher Henri Lefebvre, he maintained that this occurs through the dialectically interconnected triad of “spatial practice,” “representations of space” and “spaces of representation.”<sup>130</sup> Importantly however, where they differ, following Gilles Deleuze’s reading of Foucault, is that thought in space is not fixed by the boundaries created through the dialectical relationship that Lefebvre would maintain, but that ‘thinking *produces* difference’.<sup>131</sup> Allowing for the possibility of difference and change in the ongoing co-production of heritage sites is particularly important in considering the role of knowledge and ‘expertise’, whose knowledge

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<sup>127</sup> Gaston Bachelard and M. Jolas (translator), *The Poetics of Space* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1994) xv.

<sup>128</sup> Jeremy W. Crampton, and Stuart Elden, eds., *Space, Knowledge and Power: Foucault and Geography* (Aldershot, England: Ashgate, 2007).

<sup>129</sup> Crampton & Elden, eds., ‘Introduction’ in *Space, Knowledge and Power: Foucault and Geography*, 2.

<sup>130</sup> Christian Schmid, ‘Lefebvre’s Theory of the Production of Space’ in Henri Lefebvre and Kanishka Goonewardena, *Space, Difference, Everyday Life: Reading Henri Lefebvre* (New York: Routledge, 2008) 29.

<sup>131</sup> Sean Hand, ‘Translating Theory, or the Difference Between Deleuze and Foucault’ in *Gilles Deleuze Foucault*. Repr. (Continuum Impacts. London: Continuum, 2012) viii, (my emphasis).

matters, and the role that the material and ecological environment can have in the role of heritage production.

Massey articulates the complexity of what place might be when so much is productive, discursive, and temporally mediated, by asking, 'if everything is moving where is here?'<sup>132</sup> As I will go on to explain, the praxis of scenography helps to identify the 'here' as an 'encounter', a moment drawn together through the co-productive relationship between the participant and the heritage site in affective space.<sup>133</sup> Therefore place is not a singular event but a networked series of 'heres' and 'nows', that can still be conceptually held in the scenographic space.

Thinking with a more-than-representational awareness of sensory perception in space is to consider that affect constitutes the material, aesthetic qualities of its atmosphere.<sup>134</sup> This I will explore in greater depth in Chapter 4, but to foreground the section to follow, my scenographic approach considers affect to act as the precursor, conduit and co-respondent for embodied sensory connection that gives place its identity, its atmosphere.<sup>135</sup> The term 'atmosphere', part of cultural geographer Ben Anderson's critical vocabulary, is used in this thesis to describe the coming together of those multiple agents that form the space around us, and correspond with us, and this is what forms the basis of scenographic design thinking.<sup>136</sup>

## Seeing space though scenography

Scenographers see space and its potential in a way that professor of architecture, Joy Malnar, believes is missing when it come to the design of our lived environment. She asks:

What if we designed for all the senses? Suppose, for a moment, that sound, touch, and odour were treated as equals of sight, and that emotion was as important as cognition. What would our built environment be like if sensory

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<sup>132</sup> Massey, *For Space*, 138.

<sup>133</sup> Waterton and Watson, 'Methods in Motion: Affecting Heritage Research in Timm Knudsen and Stage, *Affective Methodologies*, 97.

<sup>134</sup> Ben Anderson, *Encountering Affect: Capacities, Apparatuses, Conditions* (Farnham, Surrey: Ashgate, 2014) 21.

<sup>135</sup> Hann, Rachel, *Beyond Scenography* (New York: Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group, 2019) 2.

<sup>136</sup> Anderson, *Encountering Affect: Capacities, Apparatuses, Conditions*.



response, sentiment, and memory were critical design factors, more vital even than structure and program?<sup>137</sup>

The scenographer spends time creating sensorially affective worlds out of a found space or theatre setting. They orient actors and audiences in a way that aims to facilitate an embodied and reciprocal connection between them and the performance environment. They do this by creating the conditions for a particular atmosphere that did not exist before all these affective elements were drawn together, a becoming that is singular to that moment, even if it appears to endure in memory.

Scenographers think through the architectonics of the performance area, the lighting, sound, set design, and what scenographer Pamela Howard calls, the 'lines of power' that create the embodied tensions of connection between, and through, these elements.<sup>138</sup> As I will go onto discuss in Chapters 4 and 5, reading heritage sites *through* scenography is to understand space as an affective agent, in the way the participants emplace themselves at a site, through a co-productive form of what Ingold has described as 'correspondence'.<sup>139</sup>

## **'Intangible' heritage in space and place**

The UK is yet to ratify the UNESCO Intangible Heritage Convention (2006), but intangible heritage is a term that is broadly accepted within the UK heritage sector, and fosters a sense of being open to more localised, individual and embodied forms of living cultural heritage.<sup>140</sup> Importantly, in reality the often binary analysis that occurs through dislocating the tangible from the intangible, as well as space from place, does not reflect the lived experience of emplacement.<sup>141</sup> In terms of how I have defined heritage for my research—although the sites for my case study are officially sanctioned examples of historic buildings—the phenomenological perspective offers the opportunity to demonstrate the enmeshment of intangible and tangible heritage, which has served to characterise relationships with certain places

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<sup>137</sup> Joy Monice Malnar and Frank Vodvarka, *Sensory Design* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2004) ix.

<sup>138</sup> Pamela Howard, *What Is Scenography?* Second edition (London: Routledge, 2009).

<sup>139</sup> Tim Ingold, *The Life of Lines* (London: Routledge, 2015) 154.

<sup>140</sup> 'Convention on the safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage'. *UK Parliament* Written questions and statements tabled on 11<sup>th</sup> May 2021. Web.

<sup>141</sup> Madgin and Lesh, *People-Centred Methodologies for Heritage Conservation: Exploring Emotional Attachments to Historic Urban Places*, 3.

and environments through lived experiences. Waterton and Watson follow David Crouch's contention that this theoretical and practical approach to heritage research 'disrupts its conventional positioning as a thing separate from experiences and stirs it back in with being human and living.'<sup>142</sup> In Chapters 6 and 7, I will demonstrate the interconnection between my research 'on the ground', my theoretical analysis, and the space that this has been created, in which the methodology that I have developed has been applied.

## Placing heritage

In sum, by considering the cultural significance of a heritage site to a participant, what matters is how I understand and interpret the affective qualities of place and space. The way that individuals imagine and attend to space and place has ramifications, and the way a society organises heritage sites, politically and socially, fundamentally dictates the relational value that we give to ourselves and others.<sup>143</sup> Place, space, heritage and community are not terms to be taken for granted; they are active and material agents through which I can critically engage with the potential co-production of a heritage site, based on my attention to an individual's embodied experience of that site.

By framing and shaping my research through the experiences expressed by participants, I not only contain the multiple ways that cultural representation could be theoretically analysed, but also work to represent their perspectives in the context of a powerful, official, cultural narrative, that leans heavily towards hegemonic definitions of heritage and community.<sup>144</sup> This approach acknowledges the value of the participants' relationships with the sites as Heritage from Below, without dislocating them from that wider aesthetic and cultural ecology that has shaped each place's existence through the Authorised Heritage Discourse.<sup>145</sup> For brevity I have chosen to describe this relationship within my thesis through the term 'Lived Heritage'.

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<sup>142</sup> Waterton and Watson, 'Framing Theory: Towards a Critical Imagination in Heritage Studies'. *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 19, no. 6 (September 2013): 546–61, 552.

<sup>143</sup> Massey, *For Space*, 4.

<sup>144</sup> Waterton and Watson, 'Framing Theory: Towards a Critical Imagination in Heritage Studies', 552.

<sup>145</sup> *Ibid.*

All of the above underlines that even if the intended use, by heritage bodies and funders, of the terms heritage, community, place, and space, appears relatively straightforward; the lived experience of an individual's emplacement at a heritage site is anything but. I have delineated how I conceive these terms, and how I will apply them in my thesis, but this can be very different from their application in the field as well as their understanding by participants. As will become clear through my thesis, it is ultimately the perspectives of the participants that anchor how I understand each site. Therefore, the following chapters (2 & 3) introduce those participants and case studies in full detail.

## 2 Introduction to the participants and case studies

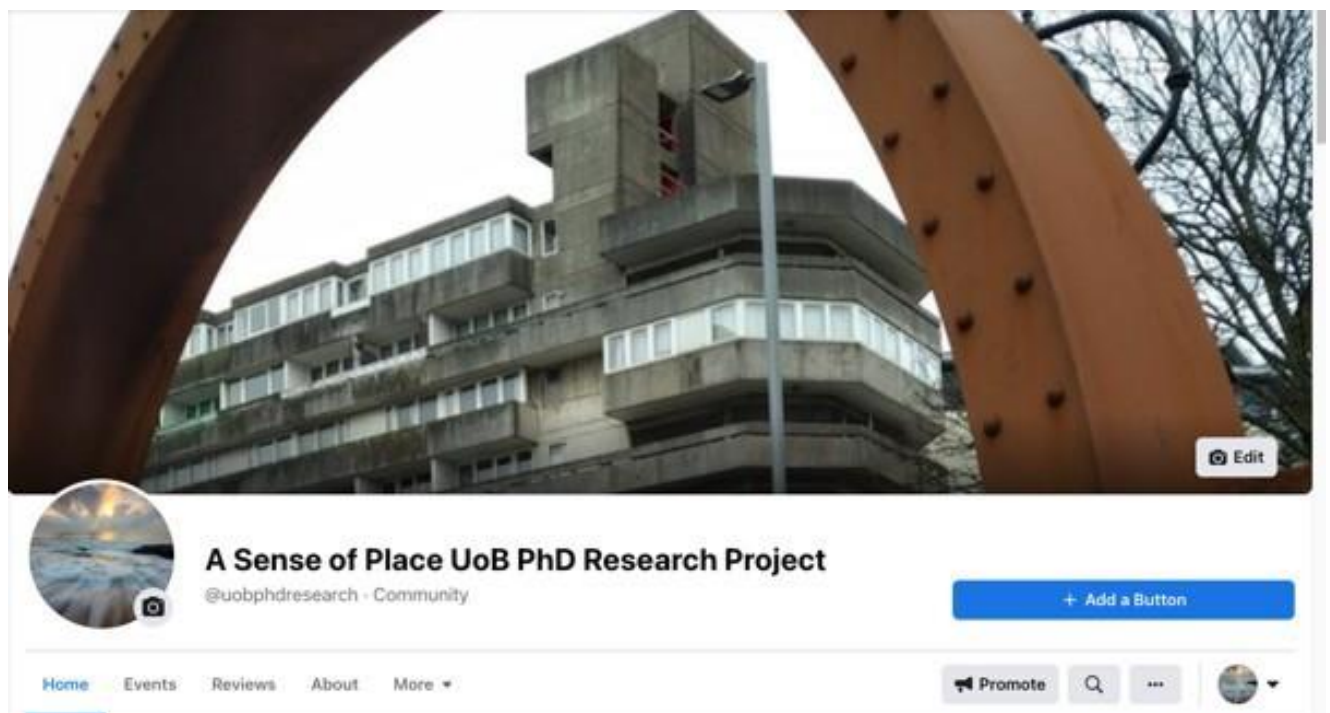


Fig. 2.1: Screenshot of 'A Sense of Place' social media home page, *Facebook* 2019-2022. Image: Harriet Parry.

## **Chapter introduction**

As it is with current critical approaches to human-centred and place-based approaches to heritage research, there would be no thesis without the people who have generously agreed to take part in my PhD project. It is through their memories, their experiences, their accounts and their knowledge, that this project contains any sense of character and life. My attention is to their co-productive role of heritage as process, which centres their lived and emplaced experience of each site. I have prefaced this chapter with a brief overview of each of the case studies and each participant. I then give a description of how each participant was recruited in the following section (2.2), before personally introducing them in Section 2.3.

## **Research contexts**

Taking a holistic view of the lived experience of a heritage site, means that context is integral to understanding how each participant relates to the Authorised Heritage Discourse which has shaped the preservation of both Newhaven Fort and Wyndham Court. The following chapter (3) will therefore go into greater depth concerning the historical contexts of both Wyndham Court and Newhaven Fort, and the aspects that explain their official recognition as important heritage sites. When considering the hierarchy of which aspects are most important to include in my thesis, however, my choices and emphases have been guided by the interests and subjects that have been expressed by the participants, as we discuss how they feel around each site. Taking their position to help shape how each site is contextualised has been integral to my understanding of the relationships between the Authorised Heritage Discourse and the Heritage from Below, this, I describe as their Lived Heritage.

Once the participants and the sites themselves have been introduced in this chapter and the next, I will go into much greater depth on the theoretical and practical applications of the scenographic, more-than representational, methodology that I have developed, to understand and convey participants' emplaced accounts and experiences, in Chapters 4 and 5.

## 2.1 The case studies

### Newhaven Fort: A first outline of the site as a research location



Fig. 2.2: 1907 Postcard of Newhaven Fort. Image: Newhaven Fort Archive.

Newhaven Fort is located on the southernmost edge of the port town of Newhaven in East Sussex, nine miles to the east of the city of Brighton. It was completed in 1869 and was permanently occupied at different times by the army, navy and air force, until its handover to the local council in 1962. As a relatively modern military structure, it is a contemporary version of the multitude of medieval castles and fortifications that attract heritage visitors worldwide. Indeed, as will be found through participant accounts, by virtue of its age and the multiple meanings it has accrued through its varied uses over the last 150 years, it gives off an aura of mystery and otherworldliness that attracts history buffs and ghost hunters alike.

The growing sense of romance that the fort displays, may be in part because of its material decline, accelerated when it became derelict following a botched housing

and leisure redevelopment in the 1960s. It was then scheduled as an Ancient Monument in 1979, the Ancient Monuments Act having been first implemented in 1882, to protect any human-created sites considered of national archaeological or historical importance.<sup>146</sup> The fort was partly reconstructed and repaired by commercial developers, looking to take advantage of the burgeoning heritage tourist boom of the 1980s, until bankruptcy put the site back into the hands of the local council in the late 1980s.<sup>147</sup>

The fort's 1979 heritage scheduling was originally decided because it represented the first mass use of concrete in a military structure in the UK, and was more recently the subject of a desk-based study by Historic England, in 2020, as part of a review of Victorian coastal fortifications.<sup>148</sup> Currently owned by Lewes District Council and managed by a charitable trust, Wave Leisure, it is considered a precious resource for the local cultural and social economy.<sup>149</sup> It is an imposing and patriarchal industrial building, but local residents' relationships with the fort are far from straightforward. In a town that has been declining economically since the early 1980s, it possesses almost talismanic properties for those in the community to whom it matters. These tensions and complexities, and surrounding complex conditions—in places, in disrepair and in need of financial investment—made it an ideal site to consider the multiple meanings of heritage. On a personal level, as an East Sussex resident since 2011, I have known the fort for many years and have taken my family there on multiple occasions, for days out to explore its rooms and tunnels, as well as to music festivals and community celebrations hosted at the site.

What I learned by spending time there led me to choose it as a case study for my dissertation research in an MA in History of Design and Material Culture. As mentioned previously, this research focused on a series of murals painted by Air Sea Rescue servicemen, towards the end of the Second World War, in the fort's

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<sup>146</sup> John Delafons, *Politics and Preservation: A Policy History of the Built Heritage, 1882-1996*. Studies in History, Planning, and the Environment 22 (London: E & FN Spon, 1997) 1.

<sup>147</sup> 'Newhaven Fort Story'. *Newhaven Fort*. [n.d.]. Web.

<sup>148</sup> Jane Phimester, 'A National Planning Overview for 19<sup>th</sup> Century Fortifications', *Historic England*, February 2020. Web.

<sup>149</sup> Wave leisure is a charitable trust that runs Lewes District Council's leisure centres and was awarded a ten-year management lease in 2018.

northwest counterscarp galleries.<sup>150</sup> The positive impact of that research on the fort's custodians, which included sharing my findings as a part of the 'Fort Talks' series, before the COVID-19 outbreak, meant that they were happy for me to conduct further research for my PhD.<sup>151</sup> Although my understanding of the site meant that I was well aware of its varied history and nature, I have not explicitly drawn on my previous research for this thesis, which establishes an original direction and focus. My masters' research at the site did mean that I was able to recruit one participant from my previous study, but again the focus of our interaction, and the methods used, were different.

### **Wyndham Court: A first outline of the site as a research location**



Fig. 2.3: Wyndham Court completion image. Photo by Rose and Dyle, 1969. Image: RIBA archive.

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<sup>150</sup> Harriet Parry, *Seeking Connection: Interpreting meaning in cultural heritage. A study of the WW2 Air Sea Rescue Murals at Newhaven Fort, East Sussex*. MA Thesis. Unpublished. Submitted September 2018.

<sup>151</sup> Harriet Parry, 'Newhaven Fort's Air Sea Rescue Murals'. Presentation, July 2019.



Wyndham Court is located in the port city of Southampton, Hampshire, just to the north of Southampton Central station. Wyndham Court is a very different site to Newhaven Fort; it is not a designated visitor attraction, but a Grade II listed municipal block of flats. It was designed and completed in 1969, at the request of Southampton City Corporation, by an innovative young firm of architects, Lyons Israel Ellis, in the Brutalist style, as part of the corporation's post-war redevelopment plans.<sup>152</sup>

Currently, just over half of the flats are social housing, and its convenient central location has been a draw for many of its residents over the decades. Its design, as with other Brutalist structures around the country, is divisive, and although valued by architectural advocates of the period, such as cultural critic Owen Hatherley, who was originally a Southampton resident, locally there is little aesthetic appreciation for the confident lines depicted in the architect's carefully orchestrated completion images (Fig. 2.3).<sup>153</sup>

Southampton suffered badly from bomb damage during the Second World War, targeted because it was a major commercial hub and military disembarkation point. It was also home to strategic targets such as the Supermarine Factory which manufactured early models of the Spitfire aeroplane.<sup>154</sup> In its bid to recover, Southampton City Corporation worked to a progressive ethos, that was, to be a 'socially and formally ambitious' representation of post-war civic public service, in its plans to rebuild the city.<sup>155</sup> Wyndham Court is therefore officially considered representative of a post-war period of hope and innovation, and its modernist architects are frequently cited as exemplars of that movement, in their design style and principles.<sup>156</sup> On a personal level, when I set out to locate case studies for this thesis, I had not come across Wyndham Court before, even though I have family in

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<sup>152</sup> Architect David Gray became a partner in the firm in 1970, and from then the firm was known as Lyons Israel Ellis Gray.

<sup>153</sup> Owen Hatherley, 'Brave New Southampton', *In-Common*. 12<sup>th</sup> August 2020. Web. 'Wyndham Court' 100 Buildings 100 Years *C20 Society*. Web.

<sup>154</sup> 'Supermarine Slipway Listing', *Historic England* [n.d.]. Web.

<sup>155</sup> N.E. Shashore, 'Southampton Civic Centre: Patronage and place in the interwar architecture of public service,' in Elaine Harwood and Alan Powers, eds. *The Architecture of Public Service*. Twentieth Century Architecture 13. (London: The Twentieth Century Society, 2018) 42.

<sup>156</sup> 'Flying High at Wyndham Court', *Southampton City Council*, 1 May 2021. Web.

Southampton, and I was interested in its post-war redevelopment. I found it through a search of the city's listed buildings. It was not difficult to find divided public opinion on the structure through various social media channels.<sup>157</sup>

As the founding social conditions and rationale behind Wyndham Court's original design becomes an increasingly distant memory, the lived experience makes its listing—mostly perceived as a set of restrictions—less relevant and negatively impactful on the people that live there today. In the words of participants John and Luke, Wyndham Court is dirty, tired and 'unloved' (these participants and their perspectives will be outlined in detail in Section 2.3 and Chapter 6). Its protection means paving surfaces cannot be updated, its grime-stained surfaces are not cleaned, and protective measures such as pigeon deterrents are not allowed, although, in 2021, Southampton City Council did employ the services of a bird of prey, to discourage the pigeons from settling.<sup>158</sup> This is an important aspect of the heritage listing of, particularly, social housing. A similar case to Wyndham Court is also evident in human geographer Sophie Yarker's research on the Grade II\* listed Brutalist Byker Wall estate, in Newcastle upon Tyne, in the northeast of England, which I will refer to throughout.<sup>159</sup> Therefore, using Wyndham Court as a case study offers an ideal opportunity to really consider who this building is preserved *for*, and whose voice matters.

There are connections in my interest in these two very different sites, in their concrete materiality, their port locations and their progressive design ethos, but it was not this that first attracted me to them. My attraction was principally that, although they have been declared nationally important through heritage listing, those who have real knowledge of them, remain local to them. As Hamzah Muzaini and Claudia Minca explain, there is considerable work being undertaken in heritage studies on cultural issues associated with the Authorised Heritage Discourse. However, they say, '[t]here is comparatively lesser attention on heritage as a process

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<sup>157</sup> Wyndham Court posting, 'Southampton Memories', *Facebook*. Web.

<sup>158</sup> See Appendix A - *Southampton City Council Wyndham Court Guidance for Tenants*.

<sup>159</sup> Sophie Yarker, 'Social housing as built heritage,' in Tolia-Kelly, Waterton, and Watson, *Heritage, Affect and Emotion*, 237.

For further reference see Byker Estate Listing, *Historic England*. [n.d.]. Web.

understood, practised *and experienced* on the ground by the people themselves'.<sup>160</sup> In this respect there is a far clearer contrast between Wyndham Court and Newhaven Fort in the correlation between the Authorised Heritage Discourse imposed from afar, and the Heritage From Below that is expressed today. Indeed, as the disconnect grows between Wyndham Court residents and those that value its design, there is a greater enmeshment between official and unofficial narratives at Newhaven Fort, kept pertinent through museum displays and memorial acts.

Although Lyons Israel Ellis documented Wyndham Court with its historic status in mind, in the completion images taken by the photographers Rose and Dyble, neither site (Wyndham Court or Newhaven Fort) is the photogenic Palladian villa, nor the romantic ruin that is most frequently used on promotional materials, by organisations such as English Heritage or the National Trust, to attract visitors. Despite this, they are both highly affective places that are full of potential variation in how people experience them. This is the context that explains both my attraction to the sites, and my rationale for developing methodological tools to better understand what 'experiences on the ground' might really mean.

## 2.2 Recruitment and ethics

My original plan for recruitment, devised and approved by the University of Brighton Arts and Humanities Research Ethics Committee in 2019, was to spend time at both sites, as well as at amenities local to them, such as community centres and libraries, places that tend to convey local characteristics and social stories of the wider locale. This would also have created the opportunity to become more of a familiar face around each site, as well as to get a general feel for the identity of each place. In the first phase of the study, in 2019-20, I visited each site at least three times in order to spend time observing, photographing, filming, with both my mobile phone and drawing—engaging in conversations with passers-by in Southampton, or museum visitors at the fort, when possible. To make the most of each trip, this work was often

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<sup>160</sup> Muzaini and Minca, *After Heritage: Critical Perspectives on Heritage from Below*, 1, (original emphasis).

undertaken in tandem with visits to gather information from Newhaven Fort's archive, and Hampshire Local Studies and Maritime Library and Southampton Archive.



Fig. 2.4: An example of source material from Southampton Archive. Photograph of Wyndham Court and Blechynden Terrace taken in 1997 by Tony Gallaher. Image: Southampton Archives.

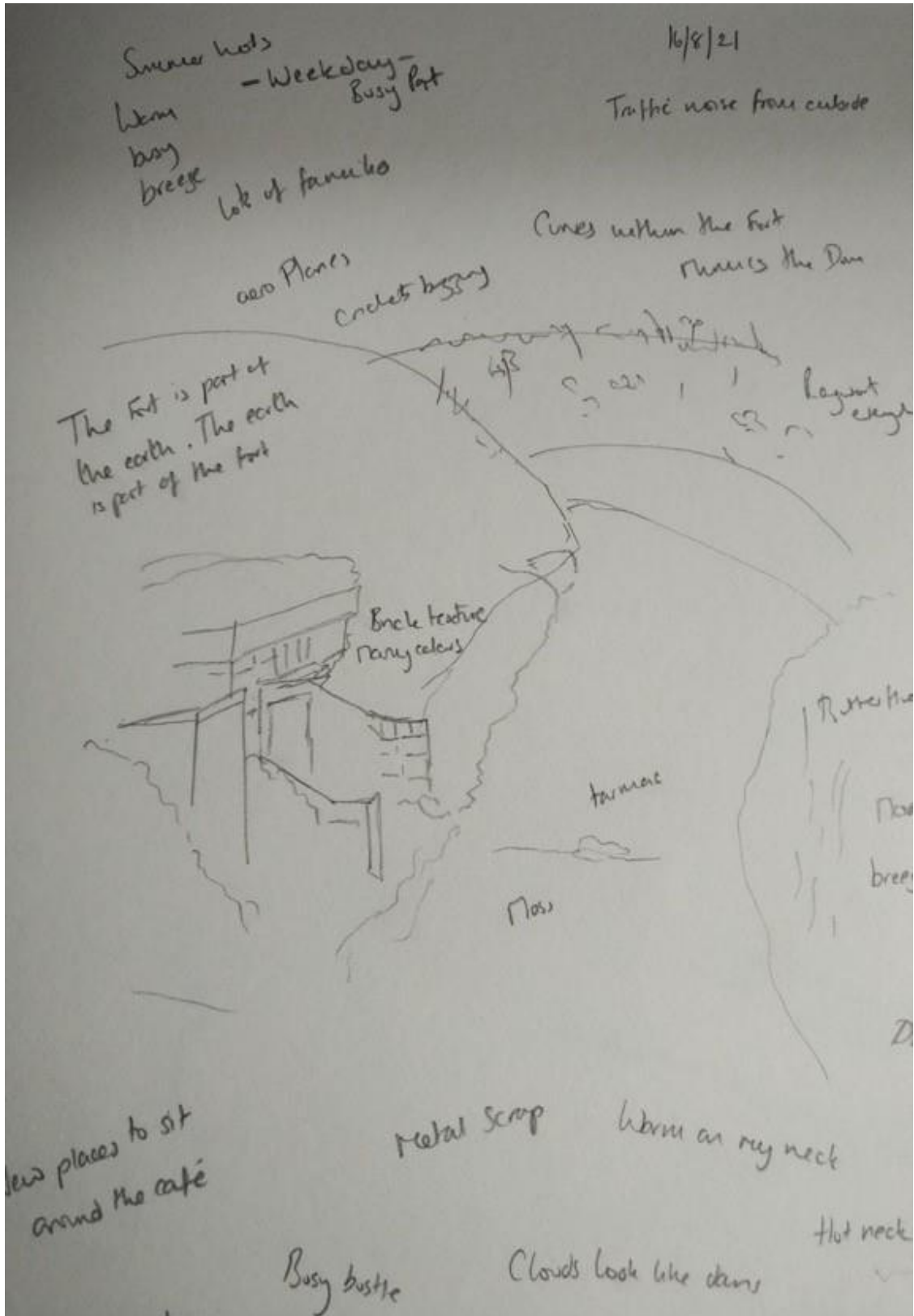


Fig. 2.5: Example observation sketch of Newhaven Fort interior, August 2021. Image: Harriet Parry.

My key aim was to recruit participants who had some form of established connection with either case study, by spending time and making personal connections at the sites themselves, which I will outline further below. Ethically, it was very important that I did not make any claims about possible direct benefits to potential participants, other than the hope that they might find this work intriguing and would, therefore, be interested in contributing as unpaid volunteers. This interest informed participants' self-selection and was an important element of their role in the co-production of each site's heritage, which also shaped our shared experience on our walking tours and during discussions of each site.

## **Establishing the territory**

The pace of life at each site is also very different. Newhaven Fort is a leisure destination where people go to spend time, whereas Wyndham Court feels very transient, and it was in the cafés and particularly in the chip shop, situated at the base of Wyndham Court, where people would linger. There were community hubs in Newhaven that were also helpful to visit, particularly the Newhaven Coffee House in Newhaven High Street, and the Hillcrest Community Centre which is very important to a wide range of people in the town.<sup>161</sup> Wyndham Court no longer has a live-in caretaker, although the council are encouraging tenants to volunteer as 'Block Reps', and each area has a pair of Neighbourhood Wardens who patrol in bright red jumpers. Tenancy meetings have become 'Engagement Meetings' where tenants from several estates can meet at the same time, either online, at a central location, or as a hybrid event.<sup>162</sup>

Initially the methods I used for recruitment were in person, finding places and opportunities to speak to people who had some connection to each of the sites. This meant that this stage of my research, especially at Wyndham Court, was fairly weather dependent, and I decided that I would not attempt to recruit in this way over the winter period in either location. Newhaven Fort is closed to visitors from early November, and Wyndham Court, in its coastal location, is even less likely to have people lingering on the streets than I had found during the more temperate months.

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<sup>161</sup> 'About the Hillcrest Centre', *Hillcrest Centre*. [n.d.]. Web.

<sup>162</sup> 'Your Tenancy News', *Southampton City Council*, [n.d.]. Web.

As outlined above, I did not make any promises to potential participants on what could be directly achieved through the outcomes of my research, and I did not offer any incentives other than refreshments during the interviews, where appropriate. It meant that meeting me, and getting to ask informal questions, was an important element of engaging people and gaining their initial trust. I particularly noticed from several people at this point, that they could not spare the time, or did not feel that they had anything of value to offer me.<sup>163</sup> It did however mean that if an individual was interested, their participation already had an element of intrinsic motivation, and with that some sense of personal agency in their engagement.

Alongside explaining my work in person, I also provided potential participants with an additional one-page information sheet if they then wanted to go away and think about it.<sup>164</sup> If they expressed interest in participating, I had prepared more detailed information documents and agreements for them to take with them and work through in their own time, these can be found in Appendix B. As well as in-person recruitment, I also created a Facebook page for my research project, and printed leaflets that I posted through the doors of Wyndham Court residents. Within my ethics application I had expressed an intention to keep the wording of any information in plain English to help widen participation and facilitate access. Although I believe the agreements themselves achieved that aim, I believe I was less successful with the leaflets, which I will further reflect on in my conclusion (9).<sup>165</sup>

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<sup>163</sup> Helen Kara discusses these issues and the ethics of embodied data gathering in Kara *Creative Research Methods: A Practical Guide*, 103.

<sup>164</sup> Appendix C Recruitment poster.

<sup>165</sup> Appendix B Recruitment documents.



**A Sense of Place**  
 University of Brighton PhD Research Project  
 Call: 07519 972017  
 E-mail: h.parry1@brighton.ac.uk  
 Facebook: @uobphdresearch  
 School of Humanities  
 University of Brighton  
 10-11 Pavilion Parade  
 Brighton  
 BN2 1RA

**WYNDHAM COURT**  
 Grade II Listed  
 CALL FOR INTERVIEW PARTICIPANTS

Our heritage is everywhere, from the castle that we visited as kids, the local pub or community centre that has always been the hub of local events, or the museums that we went to for school trips. Local community sites that represent our heritage are becoming increasingly important as we find our society becoming more fractured and difficult to live in. To help connection to these sites, I believe we need to understand why we engage more easily with some places than others.

More information overleaf.

IT'S EASY TO TAKE PART AND VERY INFORMAL  
 PLEASE GET IN TOUCH THROUGH THE DETAILS ABOVE  
 TO FIND OUT MORE.

Fig. 2.6: Front page of research information leaflet, Harriet Parry. Image: Harriet Parry.





**A Sense of Place UoB PhD Research Project**

4 May 2021 · 🌐



2021 Call for Wyndham Court participants for a University of Brighton Ph.D. research study. Wyndham Court in Southampton was listed as a nationally important heritage site in December 1998 because of its Brutalist architecture. Do you, or have you ever lived there? Can you help build a picture of what the building really means to the people that live there? I'd like to know:.... [See more](#)



Fig. 2.7: Screenshot of 'A Sense of Place' social media call for participation, *Facebook*, May 2021. Image: Harriet Parry.

The Southampton site proved a particularly difficult place to recruit participants, as people tended to be busily passing by on their way to work or home. I also found out over the course of my research that a local photographer, Rachel Adams, was running a project sanctioned by Southampton City Council, called *Life is Brutalist*, with Wyndham Court residents, to document their lives there in order to mark 50 years since Wyndham Court's completion.<sup>166</sup> I became aware of it through a poster on one of Wyndham Court's internal noticeboards, its purpose, official sanctioning and professional production clearly apparent, as can be seen in Fig. 2.8. The

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<sup>166</sup> Rachel Adams, *Life is Brutalist*, March 2019. Web.

COVID-19 restrictions unfortunately meant that her planned exhibition was cancelled, and although we spoke on the telephone, any hope of our connecting in person through the project whilst it was still live was impossible.

Although I cannot be certain of how this project might have impacted the recruitment of my own, particularly in having already engaged the types of people that had an energy or interest in taking part, it has helped me to reflect on the rationale behind any project that asks for people's time, and ultimately who sets to gain from their labour. This project underlined for me the value of having a tangible and ultimately beneficial outcome for those who are being asked to participate, the carefully crafted and sensitive results of which can be seen on Adams' personal website.<sup>167</sup>

After completing my first phase of interviews in 2019, I continued to attend some of the events held around the site, such as the Southampton Rocks music festival in 2021, and kept an eye out for others, such as a local farmers market. Social media provided a greater initial engagement through private messaging, but this often tailed off when it came to committing to a date. This was particularly apparent where mothers with young families had expressed an interest, and however flexible I made the arrangements, ultimately, they felt unable to commit. I was introduced to a lively and active Facebook page called *Southampton Memories: People and Places*, and its admin, Rod, remained supportive of my work throughout my recruitment process (Fig. 2.9).

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<sup>167</sup> Rachel Adams, *Life is Brutalist*.

**Wyndham Court  
is 50 in 2019!**

**50**  
ANNIVERSARY

**i** To celebrate we are putting together an exhibition about the block.

**NEXT WORKSHOPS:**

**November 25th**  
1pm – 4pm

.....

**December 2nd**  
1pm – 4pm

**Community Room,  
Entrance 1, Level 2**

**CITY OF SOUTHAMPTON  
C O M M E R C I A L R O A D**

You can see some of the pictures I've already made, and learn how to take your own.

There will also be some old pictures and plans of the building.

**REFRESHMENTS**  
will be available!

If you would like to have your portrait taken for the project give me, Rachel Adams, a call or a text on **07799 054 485** to arrange a time.

**WELCOME TO WYNDHAM COURT  
BLOCK INFORMATION**

Fig. 2.8: *Life Is Brutalist* recruitment poster on an internal Wyndham Court noticeboard, September 2019, Rachel Adams. Image: Harriet Parry.

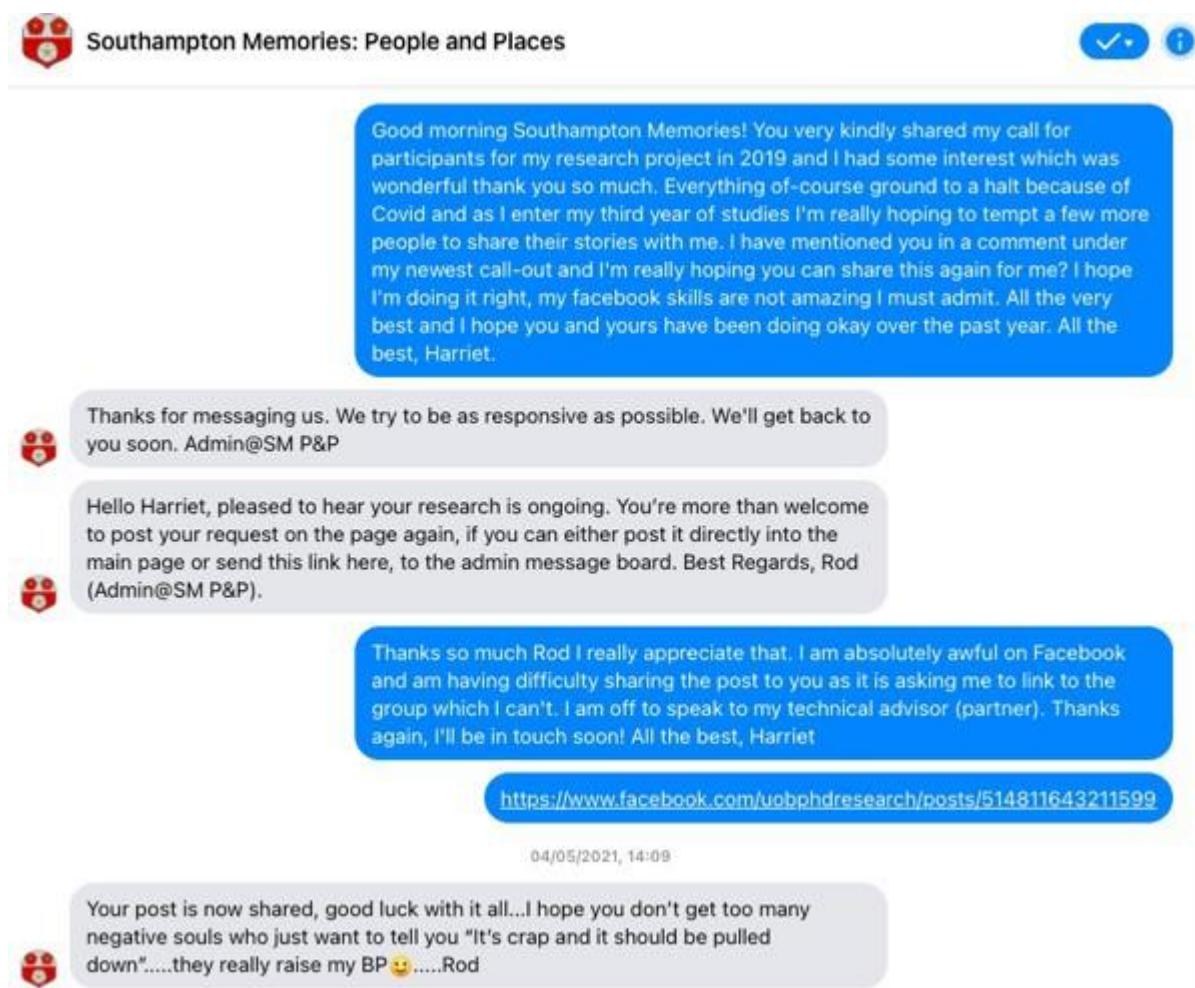


Fig. 2.9: Screenshot of messages with 'Southampton Memories' administrator Rod post-COVID-19. *Facebook*. October 2022. Image: Harriet Parry.

## Participant overview

Between approval for my participant research in April 2019, and November 2019, I recruited and interviewed ten research participants—six for Wyndham Court and four for Newhaven Fort—each interview took between 45 and 90 minutes. Two of the Wyndham Court interviews took place at cafés relatively local to the site, one over Zoom, and another was located on a bench adjacent to the building. One of the Newhaven Fort interviews took place on a memorial bench adjacent to the site which overlooks Newhaven Marina. The remaining interviews for both sites were conducted as videoed walking tours, which were recorded through a small sports camera worn by the participants, the use of which I will explain in further depth in

Chapters 4 and 5. The participants who conducted the walking tours were made aware in their consent forms that the data gathered would be for academic purposes only. I explained that their names would be changed, and their faces would not be visible in any images or footage used, but they may be recognisable by someone who knew them, from their voice recordings, or any personal details that they shared. All of the participants appeared very comfortable with the process of recording, and did not express concern, after taking part in the interviews, about changing anything that they had said, although the opportunity was offered to them.

For Wyndham Court, I recruited both John and Jash in person. John is a current resident who lives there with his wife and young family, and Jash is the owner and proprietor of the chip shop. With John, I conducted one static interview at a local café and a videoed walking interview at a later date. With Jash, I conducted a static interview adjacent to the chip shop. The remaining participants were recruited via social media through the aforementioned *Facebook* page Southampton Memories. Luke was able to take part in a videoed walking tour with me that tied in with his annual work on the safety systems at Wyndham Court. Due to health and mobility issues, Sue and David, a retired couple, took part in a static interview at the West Quay shopping centre branch of John Lewis, to the south of Southampton Central station. Chris, who lived at Wyndham Court in the 1990s, now lives in the Midlands, so our interview was conducted over Zoom.

For Newhaven Fort, I recruited and interviewed four participants before COVID-19 restrictions made in-person interviews impossible. The first was Chris, who had already participated in my MA research. Chris had been one of the teens who had spent time at the fort in the 1970s. Now in his sixties, he is a committed community member who has volunteered for several local groups, and has demonstrated the energy and agency to help me again on my PhD research. The second, Greg, is a local resident with long-term and varied connections to the fort, from the dereliction days to re-enactment weekends, to bonfire celebrations. Greg put me in contact with Lauren, the youngest participant, who is in her mid-twenties and has been coming to the fort since she was a child. Finally, I recruited Fiona, who I knew personally through events in Lewes, and who had expressed a great affection for the fort when I told her about my research.

All of the interviews were transcribed, both from my Sony hand-held voice recorder, and from the sound taken from the video camera worn by the participant. I then worked through the recordings and transcriptions several times, identifying themes and then homing in on how more-than representational forms of communication related to the words that they were using. In brief, this meant focussing on uses of metaphor and sensory language, and if I had an accompanying video recording, noting how the language related to embodied gesture, pause, movement and orientation. I will provide a deeper explanation of the theoretical underpinnings of this work and methods employed, in Chapters 4 and 5.

## **Embodied ethics**

In developing this methodology there is a high degree of 'learning through doing' and 'shared enquiry' that I have developed through previous collaborative creative practice, and the most pragmatic ethical approach to this kind of work would be an 'ethics as care'.<sup>168</sup> Kara explains that 'ethics of care is a consequentialist standpoint that focusses on the context of a situation as paramount to solving an ethical dilemma', which works in tandem with the reflexive and responsive approach to my research as it builds layer upon layer.<sup>169</sup>

An ethics of care approach to embodied research brings with it great opportunities, but also possible issues. As Pink explores, when considering ethics in sensory ethnography, collaboration is a key way of ensuring ethical practice.<sup>170</sup> Working together was an important element of how I tried to conduct my interviews, which encouraged participants to take the lead, as well as engendered a sense of shared enquiry, the development of which I will discuss further in Section 4.5. I must however remain mindful that where I planned to engage collaboratively with participants, the topic and method was my pre-determined focus; also, the analysis, theorisation and writing as a solo undertaking. I reflect on how collaboration with participants could have been integrated at an earlier point in my research process, and throughout, and why this important, in my concluding chapter (9).<sup>171</sup>

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<sup>168</sup> Kara, *Creative Research Methods: A Practical Guide*, 62.

<sup>169</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>170</sup> Pink, *Doing Sensory Ethnography*, 7.

<sup>171</sup> Pink, *Doing Sensory Ethnography*, 68, 69.

Allowing myself to be ‘affected by the research’, where results emerged through the context of the interviews, reflects the ‘methods in motion’ that Waterton and Watson began to explore in 2015.<sup>172</sup> In a bid to encourage participants to engage in a more sensory exploration of a site, I have needed to steer the conversation using certain prompts such as drawing on sensory language about the weather or food, and asking leading questions about how people ‘feel’, or encouraging touch by asking how a surface ‘feels’, such as the shutter board finishes of Wyndham Court. However, this has also led to surprising interactions driven by the participants, aspects that I had not been considering, such as playing with the echoes in Newhaven Fort with Chris, or being introduced to the lush green mossy roof of Wyndham Court by Luke.

Importantly, the body is a highly personal place inscribed with the experiences of social interaction over time, which can tap in to, or trigger, responses that might surprise or upset the participant.<sup>173</sup> It may not necessarily be the subject that could trigger a negative response, but also the sensory stimulus itself. Respecting and being mindful of these possibilities through an ‘ethic of care’, draws together cultural and social triggers, with sensory triggers that can be significantly more acute in individuals with sensory processing difficulties.<sup>174</sup> Sensory Processing ‘Disorders’ (SPD) can manifest as part of a spectrum of neurodivergent presentations, which can be certain smells, lighting states or noises, and can be made more acute in socially stressful situations.<sup>175</sup>

In this respect, guided by personal experience, there are clear benefits to embodied and sensory research practices, but by attuning to the participant in a reflexive and responsive position, through the ethics of care, makes it more possible to adapt quickly to shift away from that situation. This also makes it more likely that as a

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<sup>172</sup> Waterton and Watson, ‘Methods in Motion: Affecting Heritage Research’ in Timm Knudsen and Stage, *Affective Methodologies*, 97.

<sup>173</sup> Pink, *Doing Sensory Ethnography*, 68.

<sup>174</sup> Carol Stock Kranowitz, *The Out-of-Sync Child: Recognizing and Coping with Sensory Processing Disorder*. Rev. and updated ed. (New York: A Skylight Press Book/A Perigee Book, 2005).

<sup>175</sup> *Ibid.*

Note that the potentially damaging use of words such as ‘Disorder’ in the assessments of these presentations are being addressed in the Roche and The Clinical Trials in Autism Council *Clinical Trials in Autism Guidance*, June 2022. Web. 6.

researcher I can notice these sometimes subtle and sophisticated ways of being in, and experiencing, the world. An ethic of care is as open to fallibility through observation and miscommunication as any other research, however. In this respect, in future research, I wish to remain conscious that the benefits of the outcomes prioritise the participants, made more likely through a collaborative approach from the outset, and remain mindful of the potential cost of the emotional labour that they commit to the process.

## **Impacts of COVID-19**

The COVID-19 lockdown imposed a pause in my recruitment activities as well as my PhD, which amounted to at least six months in total. However, the period of isolation gave me space and time to work with the data that I had already gathered. Early analysis of the recordings and photographs proved that I already had a rich resource of varied responses from each participant that I could interweave with those from others, and with the sites themselves. With agreement from my supervisors, we considered this collected data sufficient to complete my project. That period also gave me the opportunity to start exploring how I might use the video footage, which I had not originally planned to share in an edited form as complete pieces, the production of which I will introduce in Chapters 4 and 5, and the final videos in Chapters 6 and 7.

The following section introduces each of the participants in turn, grouped by site. Each has been provided with a pseudonym and a pen portrait, which provides an overview of their background, their investment in the site, and the nature of their engagement as a participant in this PhD research. With each participant, instead of providing a portrait photograph, I have included an indicative image from the site relating to our conversations.



## 2.3 Introducing the participants



Fig. 2.10: Northwest counterscarp galleries. Murals and graffiti. March 2017.  
Image: Harriet Parry.

### Newhaven Fort

#### Chris

Chris lives locally to Newhaven Fort and is one of the individuals who has an intense connection with the site, through using it as a sanctuary and playground as a teenager, when it was derelict in the 1970s. Now in his early sixties, he has also enjoyed sharing his love of the fort with his children and grandchildren. His parents moved to the area from London, when, as a young teen, he brought his love of punk to Newhaven. He is white British and his professional work, in telecommunications, would be classed as white collar. To Chris, the fort walls seem saturated with

memories of him and his friends escaping the local police, who had the power to arrest them for loitering through the 'sus' laws (the 1824 Vagrancy Act that British police contentiously applied with renewed vigour in the 1970s).<sup>176</sup> This was a place for band practice with his fellow punks, scaring each other in the network of tunnels, and for exploring every inch of, creating maps and passing on mythologies of ghosts and fugitives.

He has remained an active member of the local community through football coaching and coastguard volunteering. It appears that, for Chris, the preservation of the fort is integral to the preservation of the town itself and has helped to shape his sense of identity. He retains aspects of his punk identity, with a particular emphasis that, for him, it was about doing things differently, being engaged and wanting to make a difference. This is an energy, he says, that he would bring to support the preservation of the fort in a 'heartbeat'. As he describes memories of his experiences at the fort, he often touches the walls or plays with the echoes; his memories are embodied by, and enmeshed with, the fort's materiality. He and his family have regularly returned for Halloween events where staff decorate the tunnels, and for other high days and holidays, or simply to spend time and reminisce, and he is keen to support the upkeep of his old 'stomping ground' in any way that he can.

Chris and I met once for a videoed walking interview in August 2019 at Newhaven Fort, for just over an hour. Our conversation was recorded both through the wearable sports camera and my hand-held voice recorder.

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<sup>176</sup> For a fuller account of the history and notoriety of the 'sus' laws see Lionel Rose, 'Lazy Lewd Loiterers': the Vagrancy Act to date and the inglorious history of "Sus"', in *Rogues and Vagabonds: Vagrant Underworld in Britain 1815-1985*. 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (London: New York: Routledge, 2016) 264.



Fig. 2.11: Newhaven Marina looking south, August 2018. Image: Harriet Parry.

## Greg

Greg is also white British and in his early sixties. Although his relations have lived in the area for several generations, his parents moved back to Denton, on the outskirts of Newhaven town, after living in London when he was young. His working life has involved skilled manual work, such as being a boatbuilder and fibreglass specialist, and he has had to adapt to the changing needs of local industry. He is also heavily involved in local community events such as Bonfire Night celebrations; in his leisure time, he teaches martial arts and is a history buff and historic weapons enthusiast. He takes part in historical events such as viking and medieval re-enactments, and the now annual commemoration of the thirteenth century Battle of Lewes.<sup>177</sup>

On our walk along Newhaven Marina, Greg points out the beautiful teak-decked yachts that he had helped to build many years ago and he talks about them with pride. Greg also spent time at the fort while it was derelict and his love of the site

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<sup>177</sup> 'Story of the Battle of Lewes', *Battle of Lewes*, [n.d.]. Web.

itself is deeply intertwined with his love of the local area. He expresses a connection to local folklore, and talks of the Stone Tape Theory to explain some of the ghostly noises and presences he has felt in the fort's rooms and tunnels.<sup>178</sup> Greg believes that part of the reason that the fort is such a powerful place is because of its immersive qualities, and it has been his playground, not only when he was a child, when it was derelict, but throughout his adult life. He remembers the time when the fort played host to a weekend lock-in for a viking re-enactment as well as Bonfire Society celebrations. He explains that, when he visits the fort, he 'sees it in three complete phases at the same time' and it is one of the places he looks to after coming home from his travels. Greg likens the experience to the words from Ed Sheeran's 2017 song 'Castle on the Hill', where Sheeran sings nostalgically of teenage memories of his exploits in and around Framingham, and Framingham Castle, in the Suffolk town where he grew up.<sup>179</sup>

Greg and I met in August and September 2019. Our first meeting was at the memorial bench to explain the research, check through and sign the agreements, and undertake a 45-minute audio recorded interview. For our second meeting we met at Newhaven Town train station and walked along the West Quay together. We started recording a videoed walking interview at the lookout point, over Newhaven Marina, and walked up along Fort Road, then turned up Fort Rise towards the fort. We then continued our interview around the fort itself. The second interview lasted just over 90 minutes.

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<sup>178</sup> The Stone Tape Theory is based on nineteenth-century scientist Charles Babbage's theories of 'Place Memory'. As Greg explained, energies of extreme emotions are recorded in ferrous elements of the stone in buildings and can be sensed long after they were recorded.

'Stone Tape Theory', *The Haunted Walk*, [n.d.]. Web.

<sup>179</sup> Benny Blanco and Ed Sheeran, 'Castle on the Hill', 2017. *Soundcloud*.



Fig. 2.12: Screenshot of the funnel art installation on Newhaven Fort ramparts entitled *Outwork – A device for neritic hearing*, [n.d.], by Julian Weaver (2018), for the ‘Fort Process’ music festival.<sup>180</sup> Footage taken from Fiona’s walking interview, November 2019. Image: Harriet Parry.

## Fiona

Fiona is white British, in her early fifties, from an upper-middle class background. Fiona has lived in the local area for many years, and she has family nearby. Most recently she lived in an affluent village to the east of Seaford, where she brought up her young family; she has since moved to central Lewes. She has worked for many years as a successful actress in theatre, television and voice work. She expressed a love for the fort and its age, especially its slight shabbiness, and what she perceived to be its traditional community-led approaches to many of its exhibits (the interview was conducted before some of the recent exhibit updates in 2021). The fort appears to make her nostalgic for a certain form of provincial English heritage experience. She has loved being able to take her children there, knowing that she didn’t have to worry about them running around and causing damage as they explored, due to the slightly ramshackle condition of the place.

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<sup>180</sup> Julian Weaver, *Outwork – A device for neritic hearing*, [n.d.]. Web.

As she walks around the site, Fiona takes care to read the heritage information panels. She has the tenacity and motivation to retain focus on even the very long panels, and does not move on before she has thoroughly read everything. Her links to the site are very much as a museum visitor, and she can easily be drawn to talk about fond memories of times here with her family when her children were young. She can be playful with certain aspects of the fort itself and she enjoys the land, seascapes and ramparts that remind her of a Henry Moore or Barbara Hepworth sculpture; she brings her knowledge of culture and the arts to her observations. She particularly engages with the large metal funnel created by installation sound artist Julian Weaver entitled *Outwork*.<sup>181</sup> The piece was commissioned for the sound festival, Fort Process, held in Newhaven in 2018, and is now a permanent installation on the Fort's southern ramparts. Fiona tells me that she hears children's voices from somewhere distant through its cone, and also reveals that the 'eerie' quality of the sounds makes her feel like she is listening into the past.

Fiona and I met in November 2019 at the memorial bench outside the fort and conducted a videoed walking interview around the site that took just over an hour.

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<sup>181</sup> Julian Weaver, *Outwork*.



Fig. 2.13: View northeast from Newhaven Fort ramparts. September 2018.  
Image: Harriet Parry.

## Lauren

Lauren is white British and was born and raised in the area. She has family that have lived locally for several generations, and the fort has been a part of her life since she was very small. She is in her mid-twenties and currently works in the local primary school's canteen. Her perspectives are as intertwined with the sea and her memories of fishing with her father, as they are with the landscape and the fort that is a part of it. She works voluntarily as a conservationist at the Castle Hill Nature Reserve that stretches off across the cliffs to the west, of which the fort is also a part. She has inherited a fascination with local folklore from her grandparents, and she aligns herself with Wicca, which is a form of modern Paganism. For her, the Downs are 'full of magic ... you just never know what you're going to see or experience up there.'

Lauren's knowledge and curiosity about the undulating landscape stretches back in time to its glacial formation and its early animal and human inhabitants. She seems

to understand the site simultaneously in terms of its habitats and meteorological atmospherics, her memories of school visits, her experiences with friends of, ghostly presences, and its value as a preserved monument. She enjoys aspects that give her a sense of nostalgia and community which are emotionally both positive and poignant. She understands that this is a place where she feels good and seems endlessly fascinated by all its affective attributes. She is very demonstrative with her gestures, and this adds to the sense of natural energy that she possesses. There is no single way that she can be categorised in her relationship with the fort and its surroundings, which mirrors the multiplicity of the fort itself.

Lauren and I met in October 2019, at the memorial bench next to the fort, for just over 90 minutes. We conducted a videoed walking tour around the fort for just over an hour, stopped for a cup of tea in the fort café, after which she took me back out of the fort's walls.





Fig. 2.14: View from the third floor pedestrian walkway of Wyndham Court looking west, September 2019. Image: Harriet Parry.

## Wyndham Court

### John

John is white British, in his mid-to-late forties, and he has lived at Wyndham Court for over ten years. John had moved away from the area as a teenager and has since returned with his wife and young family. He has worked several jobs over his time in Southampton, including labouring, working on the docks for several years. He and his wife selected their maisonette from two options of social housing, offered by Southampton Council, to support the needs of his young family. They felt that the

location was convenient for access to local shops and hospitals, which has been a regular need in their family's early life. John uses the word 'home' with a particular emphasis, which underlines its importance to him. The security and comfort that his home can offer seems intrinsically linked with his sense of well-being, and his verbal accounts imply that those in power have not empathised with this need. His inability to take sanctuary from the noises, pollution, and elements, that, to his mind, invade from the busy city and the coastal location of the flats, have a significant impact on his sense of well-being.

He likes the maisonette that he lives in and appreciates the space that Lyons Israel Ellis designed, but the sounds of modern living that can carry through its concrete structure are often hard for him to bear. In his perception, the heritage listing of the building has had a negative impact on many aspects of his home. He sees the dirty grey façade that, he says, is never cleaned, as a constant reminder of the polluting fumes. For John, Wyndham Court sits in contrast with the modern student apartment blocks, with their light and bright cladding, that have been developed around it.

John and I had chatted a couple of times in the chip shop, and agreed to meet for the first of two interviews, in March 2019 at a local café near Wyndham Court. There I spent time explaining my research and the participant agreement, I then audio recorded a 45-minute interview. From there, John felt happy to go ahead with a videoed walking interview around the building in May 2019, where again I also audio recorded my own version in case we ever moved out of each other's range.



Fig. 2.15: Wyndham Court shops along Commercial Road, September 2019.  
Image: Harriet Parry.

## Jash

Jash and his family are of South Asian origin and have owned businesses along Commercial Road, sits on the north side of Wyndham Court, for many years. Alongside the chip shop located in Wyndham Court, Jash currently runs a convenience store a little further west along Commercial Road. He also runs a newly opened chip shop nearby, in the Shirley area of Southampton. Through his own words, as well as public observation and reviews provided on his chip shop's Facebook page, he is a well-known and liked member of the local community. His fish and chip shop is in one of the thirteen units at the base of Wyndham Court—it

was originally a pottery shop—and it has become a local hub for regulars. It also became a key place for me to regularly return, to catch up on news and for in-person recruiting, since at the time there was no longer a live-in caretaker, or regular meetings of a community association solely linked to the building. Jash has regular customers of all ages, and his shop is where I was first introduced to John.

Jash only found out about Wyndham Court's heritage listing when he first moved into the shop unit. When he applied to make changes to the ceiling height and window, he was astonished that he was not allowed to because of its protected status. He sees these restrictions as stopping him from making a modern takeaway properly fit for purpose. He understands the local area through the rhythms of the university timetable, through events at the Mayflower Theatre a few doors away, and the seasons that shape the eating habits of his customers.

Jash keeps a close eye on local planning decisions and the development of Frobisher House, a 1970s office block built shortly after Wyndham Court, across the road to the west. His concern is not for the aesthetics of the building so much as the type of people that might move there, and whether this will positively impact his businesses. This is his place of work, and he seems happy there and cares about his customers. Lyons Israel Ellis might now appreciate how Jash's customers often congregate on the new benches outside his shop, which arrived with the Station Quarter redevelopment, and Jash loves to see people happily sharing the space as they eat their fish and chips.

Our interview was in July 2019 and was purely an audio recording. It took place on one of the new Station Quarter development benches, adjacent to the chip shop, so he could run in and out between customers. He had staff serving, but he was responsible for cooking the fish to order. He seemed more than happy to do this, but after thirty minutes, business seemed to pick up and we decided between us that it would be best to call it a day.



Fig. 2.16: View from the roof of Wyndham Court looking northeast, November 2019. Image: with Luke's kind permission.

## Luke

I first came into contact with Luke through an advert for my research page on the Southampton Memories *Facebook* group.<sup>182</sup> He is white British and is in his late thirties/early forties. Luke's relationship with Wyndham Court is a professional one but Southampton itself holds many formative and ongoing memories for him. Although he no longer lives in the area, he grew up in a village close to Southampton and spent leisure time in the city as a young man. He has been coming to Wyndham Court for the past seven years as his firm has an ongoing contract to inspect the safety systems of some of the buildings owned by the council, one of them being Wyndham Court. He knows the area well and likes visiting the city. Although he now lives in the countryside and appreciates its beauty, and the green space that his

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<sup>182</sup> 'Southampton Memories: People and Places,' *Facebook* [n.d.]. Web.

children are able to enjoy, he also enjoys what city life has to offer; its convenience and culture such as concerts and the museum, as well as revisiting the pubs that he used to frequent in his twenties.

For Luke, Wyndham Court feels like a place where people are 'put', rather than a place that they would live by choice, but he is keen to not come across as a 'snob' by saying this. Other than access via the lifts and stairwells, Luke's experience of the building has always been from its roof, and the view from there is one he feels privileged to have access to. He understands the building in terms of his work to maintain it. His knowledge of how the systems are looked after, works as a counterpoint to his perception that the aesthetic of the building is uncared for, and by extension the people that live there.

Luke and I met in November 2019 outside Southampton Central station, timed to coincide with the end of his work on Wyndham Court's roof. We conducted a videoed walking tour around the base of the building, which lasted for just under an hour.



Fig. 2.17: Wyndham Court's garden court, May 2019. Image: Harriet Parry.

## Mike

I first came into contact with Mike through one of my recruitment adverts that his mum had seen on the Southampton Memories *Facebook* group.<sup>183</sup> Our interview was held on a video Zoom call, as he now lives too far away to meet me in person at the site. He is white British and, in his forties, and he owns and runs a successful building renovation firm from his hometown in the Midlands. He lived in a maisonette on the fifth floor as a teenager in the mid-1990s, and he speaks fondly of his time there. He describes his parents as 'typical working class', his mum having worked as a dinner lady, and his dad as a postman, and then on the buses. Their 'cramped' flat, in his description, housed five family members, a number that often swelled into

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<sup>183</sup> 'Southampton Memories: People and Places.'

double digits, as it became a key meeting point for his friends before going out on the town. He liked the community feel of Wyndham Court, which he perceives to be more akin to the northern town that he lives in now, than the feel he would get around the rest of Southampton at the time. He is the only participant who recounts his fondest memories as spending time in the central garden courtyard, using it for football practice sessions to help his younger brother, who aspired to becoming a professional footballer.

He recalls the flat being small and not having room for many things, but he, his friends, and his family still all crowded into their living room of an evening. I was able to share original interior images, staged to show the aspirational life of the young professional couples, of the architects' completion photographs of the building. He recounted later that when he showed these images to his children, they couldn't believe that he and his family had lived in such a small flat.

Mike and I met in November 2019 over Zoom. This was a technology that I was not familiar at the time because it was before COVID-19 restrictions were brought in, but it had been Mike's choice to use. I recorded our interview using the Zoom recording function, the interview lasted for forty minutes.



Fig. 2.18: 'Maisonette Interior'. Photo by Rose and Dyble, circa 1969. RIBA Archive.



## Sue and David

I first contacted Sue through my research advert posted in the *Southampton Memories* Facebook group. Sue and David are a retired professional couple, and on Sue's suggestion, due to both her and David's health and mobility problems, I agreed to meet them in the café at the branch of John Lewis in the West Quay shopping centre. This, for me, was five minutes' walk to the south of Southampton Central station.

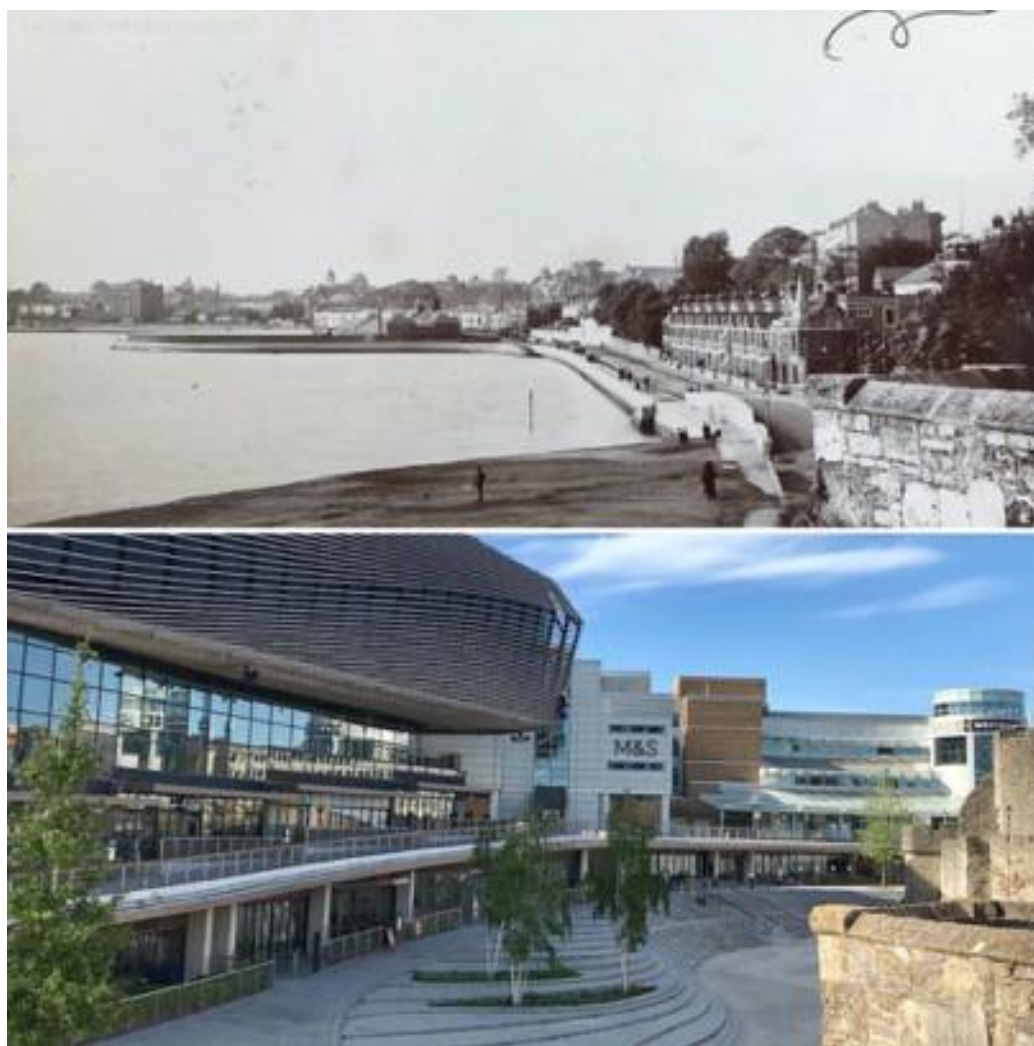


Fig. 2.19: West Quay circa 1880 and 2020 (Comparing medieval wall line right of frame) 'Historic Southampton'. *Facebook*, 9 April 2021. Web. Image: Historic Southampton.

Sue and David lived at Wyndham Court in the 1970s, as a couple, and then with their young family. Sue had also lived there when she was in a previous relationship, and her mother moved there once she had lived there for a while with David. Sue's mother stayed there after Sue and David had moved out, until she died. The relative complexity of Sue's life at Wyndham Court over the years is not something that she was keen to communicate through her interview. It quickly becomes clear that part of the exercise was to try to trigger memories in her husband, who, she explains, is sadly suffering from a form of dementia.

The couple, in the 1970s, represented the kinds of young, aspirational, and upwardly mobile residents that Lyons Israel Ellis, working to Southampton Corporation's remit, was hoping to attract. David was an aeronautical engineer and in later life he and Sue spent several years living and working in Florida, which became a regular long getaway for them and their grown-up family. Sue worked as an administrator for many years at the University of Southampton as well as bringing up her two children. She studied dance and drama and has a great fondness for the theatre, which made living next to the Mayflower Theatre a real bonus.

She liked that her maisonette was high up on the second and third floor, away from the busy bustle of city life, and it appears that at some point the flats did offer the haven that John wishes for today. Sue's stories are particularly nostalgic; she liked to speak of the strong and happy community that they shared with their neighbours, the Christmas parties, and funny stories. The shops below were also a place where she enjoyed window shopping.

Sue, David, and I met in September 2019 at the John Lewis café for an hour. The interview was audio recorded only.

Having now provided a brief overview of how and why I selected the case studies and a profile of the people who kindly agreed to participate in my research, the following chapter provides richer accounts of Newhaven Fort and Wyndham Court.

### 3 The case studies

#### Chapter introduction

The following chapter gives a more in-depth account of the histories that have informed each site's status and preservation at which I have conducted my PhD research, opening with Newhaven Fort (3.1) followed by Wyndham Court (3.2). Each section particularly attends to the site's Authorised Heritage Discourse, but both will conclude with a piece that foregrounds that discourse's relationship with the Heritage from Below—the Lived Heritage expressed by the participants, which will take further prominence as their voices build within the thesis.

Wyndham Court and Newhaven Fort are each representative of the powerful nature of Authorised Heritage Discourse, in that they were preserved explicitly *because* of what and who they represent through their design and construction. As I have discovered through encounters and interviews with participants in the present day, both sites are also clear illustrations of the contrast with, as well as the enmeshment between, the Authorised Heritage Discourse and the Heritage from Below, which defines their meaning to the people that encounter them through lived experience.

The naturalisation of a hegemonic heritage discourse that celebrates and re-inscribes a patriarchal national identity through the theatre of war, renders the preservation of Newhaven Fort as common sense. As a place of public memory, the site fits Greg Dickinson et al.'s definition, in that it 'embraces events, people, objects, and places that deem it worthy of preservation, based on some kind of emotional attachment.'<sup>184</sup> In its representation of military history, museum interpretations at the site speak of triumph over adversity, lessons of the past that will inform the future, and pride in the spirit of a great and righteous nation.

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<sup>184</sup> Dickinson, Blair, and Ott, *Places of Public Memory*, 7.



Fig. 3.1: Newhaven Fort as a site of remembrance and memorial. Pictured here is the 40th Anniversary of the Dieppe Raid in August 1982. Image: *Sussex Express*, courtesy of Newhaven Fort Archive.

Wyndham Court, however, has been preserved through the values of a smaller section of society, and reactions to its listing draws parallels to the aforementioned research that Yarker conducted at the Byker Wall estate in Newcastle in 2014.<sup>185</sup> Yarker explains that the Byker estate's listing has been perceived by residents as a decision that came from 'outside', even if there was the 'aura of community consultation' beforehand.<sup>186</sup> The general consensus was that 'the impetus came from a need to preserve rather than any wider motives towards inclusion and renewal.'<sup>187</sup> I have been informed anecdotally that Wyndham Court was listed through the motivations of an outgoing councillor at Southampton who wanted its preservation as

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<sup>185</sup> Yarker, 'Social housing as built heritage' in Tolia-Kelly, Waterton, and Watson, *Heritage, Affect and Emotion*, 237.

<sup>186</sup> *Ibid.*

Note - I have not found evidence of any community consultation before Wyndham Court's listing in 1998 which may be a reflection on the changing nature of community consultation in general.

<sup>187</sup> Yarker, 'Social housing as built heritage' in Tolia-Kelly, Waterton, and Watson, *Heritage, Affect and Emotion*, 241.

a legacy of his time in office.<sup>188</sup> While this may or may not be the case, there are multiple parallels between the Byker, and the less renowned Wyndham Court cases, not least that the complexity and dissonance that occurs through the arm's length preservation of people's homes, and the role of personal agency to the quality of life of those who still live there.<sup>189</sup>

Cultural geographers Hamzah Muzaini and Claudio Minca make it clear that their attention to Heritage from Below is not set in a 'good versus evil' battle with Authorised Heritage Discourse.<sup>190</sup> Indeed, they are as interested in understanding how the two intersect, and even complement one another, as they are in problematising hegemonic heritage narratives.<sup>191</sup> My methodology is to contribute to both the critical study and practice of heritage by highlighting the opportunities that become apparent through drawing attention to these intersections, through the 'everyday' production of heritage; essentially, the Lived Heritage that is ongoing in officially recognised heritage places.

My contextual research for both sites has involved desk-based enquiries, working with primary resources such as official records, newspaper articles and ephemera within archives, alongside the use of secondary materials, such as academic texts and cultural publications. The histories of the buildings each offer the potential for their own thesis, but this is not the principal purpose of my research. Although having a sufficient grasp of historical and cultural context is important for my understanding of how participants understand and experience both sites, these official histories and elements have been archived and recorded through primarily authorised elements of historical discourse. A key aim of my methodology is to give greater weighting to how heritage manifests and is experienced 'on the ground', as it were, as the participants share their thoughts and feelings with me throughout the walking interviews. As such, attention to official narratives have principally been guided by their relevance to the participants themselves.

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<sup>188</sup> Conversation with an anonymous source who was familiar with members of the Labour-controlled council in the late 1990s.

<sup>189</sup> Yarker, 'Social housing as built heritage' in Tolia-Kelly, Waterton, and Watson, *Heritage, Affect and Emotion*, 237.

<sup>190</sup> Hamzah and Muzaini, *After Heritage: Critical Perspectives on Heritage from Below*.

<sup>191</sup> Hamzah and Muzaini, *After Heritage: Critical Perspectives on Heritage from Below*, 3.

## 3.1 Newhaven Fort: Design, history, and military heritage

### Location

Newhaven Fort was constructed in the 1860s on the southernmost cliff edge of East Sussex and overlooks the English Channel to the south, and Newhaven Marina to the east. Newhaven, a medium-sized port town with a current population of around fourteen thousand, built up around the open river mouth where the Ouse river now meets the sea, and where the Saxon village of Meeching once stood. Founded after the end of Roman rule in Britain, its name is thought to come from the Saxon word ‘meces’, meaning ‘the camp of the sword’.<sup>192</sup>

As identified in my interview with Lauren, a particular aspect that she finds fascinating is the evidence of human activity in the area from as early as the Ice Age. Archaeologists have found traces of Neolithic, Bronze Age, Iron Age, Roman, medieval and post-medieval activity.<sup>193</sup> Since the late 1970s, this once bustling town, which still serves the Newhaven–Dieppe ferry route, has sadly experienced a steady economic decline.<sup>194</sup> It was once it was an offload point for sea freight, such as Fyffes bananas (this offloading was a source of gig work for Chris and Greg as teens), and the fishing industry, in which Lauren’s father worked, is struggling, and multiple manufacturers have either moved or shut down.<sup>195</sup> This is the fate of many small industrial port communities in Britain that were built up around the sea for fishing, commerce, and transport; each of these industries has downsized or are no longer competitive globally.<sup>196</sup> In 2021, in recognition of the town’s need for new investment, Newhaven Council was awarded a substantial multi-million pound grant from the government as a part of its ‘Levelling Up’ scheme. Both the fort and the

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<sup>192</sup> ‘About Newhaven/ Historic Newhaven’, *Newhaven Town Council*. [n.d.]. Web.

<sup>193</sup> ‘Submission neighbourhood plan 2016- 2030’. *Newhaven Town Council*. [n.d.]. Web, 18.

<sup>194</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>195</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>196</sup> Select Committee on Regenerating Seaside Towns and Communities, ‘The future of seaside towns,’ 2017-2019, *House of Lords*. PDF. Web.

dockside will be allocated funds from the £19.3 million pot as a part of that regeneration.<sup>197</sup>



Fig. 3.2: Screenshot taken from *The Argus* web article 'Though Shalt have a little Rishi' [sic] 'Rishi Sunak visits Newhaven amid Levelling Up funding', 6th January 2022, also featuring Conservative MP for Lewes, Maria Caulfield with local fishermen.<sup>198</sup>

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<sup>197</sup> 'Newhaven Enterprise Zone welcomes 19.3 Million in Government Funding,' *Newhaven Enterprise Zone*, July 2021. Web.

<sup>198</sup> Connor Stringer, 'Rishi Sunak Visits Newhaven Amid Levelling up Funding,' January 2022 *The Argus* 6 January 2022. Web.

The fort sits directly adjacent to the Castle Hill nature reserve, for whom Lauren volunteers, and from its ramparts visitors can look beyond the town to the long-admired rolling chalk hills of the South Downs.



Fig. 3.3: Map of South Downs National Park sourced from Ordnance Survey Data. Image: South Downs National Park, Creative Commons.

The contrast and complement between the industrial utility of the town, and the stunning rural beauty that frames it, resonates with the fort's concealed design that has made it part of the undulations of the cliff. In some way, this seemingly contradictory relationship between nature and industry exemplifies the fort's meaning to the people that care for it, and who feel represented by it.

Although both Wyndham Court and Newhaven Fort are in south coast seaside locations, and are situated in, and affected by, post-industrial economies, they each have distinct differences. Where Wyndham Court's location and design is utterly urban, the concrete mass of the fort's utilitarian structure is embedded in a rural environment still connected visually and, to an extent culturally, with its roots in agriculture, chalk quarrying, seafaring, and fishing.

As a way of keeping focus and being led by the perspectives of its users, I have taken guidance on which aspects to follow from Chris, Greg, Fiona, and Lauren. The



military and traditional forms of heritage interpretation within the fort represent nationalistic elements of Authorised Heritage Discourse, that connects with all the participants in differing ways.<sup>199</sup> In this respect it is the lived and more socially-shaped everyday aspects that enmeshes the fort with the area's deeper, tangible, intangible and vernacular heritages, that contributes to many of the participants' personal senses of identity.<sup>200</sup>



Fig. 3.4: Aerial view of Newhaven Fort, (n.d). Image: Newhaven Fort.

## The fort

As previously discussed, Newhaven Fort was first developed for heritage tourists in the 1980s after it became derelict, due to a botched leisure redevelopment in the 1960s. For nearly two decades it was left in a state of semi-ruin, with part demolished walls and broken windows, that left it open to become an unofficial playground for the local teenagers, such as Greg, Chris, and Lauren's mum. Although I have not found formal evidence to explain the timing of its heritage

<sup>199</sup> Smith, *Uses of Heritage*, 191.

<sup>200</sup> Robertson, *Heritage from Below*, 7.

scheduling in 1979, it reflects a shift towards an appreciation of heritage conservation that had been growing over the course of the 1970s.<sup>201</sup> According to a 1981 report in *The Times* newspaper, a local building firm took on a management lease and invested £125,000 of private capital, with an additional £10,000 invested by Lewes District Council and £25,000 by the Department of the Environment.<sup>202</sup> This investment reflects a general move, in the early 1980s, to develop sites such as this, in the hope of capitalising on the burgeoning heritage tourist market.<sup>203</sup>

The fort's archive and museum exhibits (pictured in figs. 3.5 and 3.6) were first created by enthusiastic military historians and volunteers. The resulting displays share a style and mood that anyone who has visited a provincial English museum in the 1980s and early 1990s would recognise, with features such as mannequins dressed in military uniform and large panels of detailed written information. Indeed, this is the aspect that appears to resonate most with Fiona's sense of affection for the place.



Fig. 3.5: Fort displays Easter 1980. Image: Newhaven Fort Archive.

<sup>201</sup> John Delafons, *Politics and Preservation: A Policy History of the Built Heritage, 1882-1996* (London New York: Spon Press, 1997).

<sup>202</sup> *The Times* 'Newhaven Fort to be Museum' 14<sup>th</sup> May 1981. Newhaven Fort Archive.

<sup>203</sup> Hewison, *The Heritage Industry: Britain in a Climate of Decline*, 102.

Alongside the museum, the fort was, and continues to be, used as an events space: the Romney hut on the parade ground once housed an amusement arcade, and both Greg and Chris recounted memories of the General Ardagh pub (Fig. 3.7) which was located where the Second World War museum exhibitions are now housed.



Fig. 3.6: Military display and mannequin Newhaven Fort circa 1981. Image: Newhaven Fort Archive.



Fig. 3.7: General Ardagh pub early 1980s, Sydney Newbery. Image: Newhaven Fort Archive.

Still owned by the local council, the fort costs a significant amount of money a year just to remain standing, which led to Lewes District Council granting a ten-year management lease to Wave Leisure in 2014, a charity that runs the district's leisure centres. It was projected to lose around £197,000 in 2013/14, which was expected to worsen as the fort's walls degraded over time.<sup>204</sup>

As a museum attraction, the fort's custodians have been awarded several funding grants over the decades to create more professionally designed military displays; Laurajane Smith would immediately recognise this action as the Authorised Heritage Discourse associated with triumphalism and nationalistic military pride.<sup>205</sup> Many of its

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<sup>204</sup> 'Newhaven Fort Feasibility Study Report,' *Lewes District Council*, May 2012. Web.

<sup>205</sup> For example, funding received to repair the caponier in 2009 was a heritage grant from the local council, and in 2017 from the Heritage Lottery Fund.

visitors tend to live locally to the site (thirty-two percent are repeat visitors/season ticket holders) and they tend to be retired, or families with young children, unless there is a particular event such as the annual Halloween experience, when a wider demographic may attend.<sup>206</sup> The fort also attracts visitors who have come to East Sussex on holiday, and many that do discover it express surprise that they had not heard of it before. Those who visit, as noted by positive comments on the ratings site, TripAdvisor, love the fort for its unpretentious ‘authenticity’ and ‘honesty’, the friendly staff, the incredible views, and the displays which directly tap into the comfort and pride that can come from a nostalgic, and perhaps expected, experience of local heritage.<sup>207</sup>

## Design and construction of the fort

The fort was built into a cliff that has served as a strategic defence post for centuries, and it is this aspect of the site’s ongoing military history that defines its particular historical importance for Greg. The construction was designed and overseen in the 1860s, by the then twenty-four-year-old Royal Engineer, Lieutenant Ardagh, as a part of a series of seventy-two fortifications built along the English south coast, under the orders of the Prime Minister, Lord Palmerston.<sup>208</sup> This was in response to a perceived threat of invasion from Napoleon III, and his superior naval fleet with iron hulls and powerful guns, and it was the largest maritime defence programme since the initiative of Henry VIII in 1539-40.<sup>209</sup> The fortifications became known as ‘Palmerston’s Follies’, as the project had cost around £12 million (in today’s terms nearly £1.7 billion), but were never to see the military service that they were constructed for.<sup>210</sup>

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<sup>206</sup> ‘Newhaven Fort Feasibility Study Report,’ *Lewes District Council*, May 2012, 4. Web.

<sup>207</sup> For a series of reviews visit ‘Newhaven Fort,’ *Trip Advisor*, [n.d.]. Web.

<sup>208</sup> Jane Phimester, ‘A National Planning Overview for 19th Century Forts and Associated Fortifications Volume 1 Introduction and Historic Development. National, Regional and Local Summaries’. *Oxford Archaeology and Historic England*, Research Report Series 87-2018, 1 (2018): 203.

<sup>209</sup> Quentin Hughes, *Military Architecture*. Excursions into Architecture (London: Evelyn, 1974).

Phimester, ‘A National Planning Overview for 19th Century Forts and Associated Fortifications Volume 1 Introduction and Historic Development. National, Regional and Local Summaries’, 203.

<sup>210</sup> Inflation Calculator, *Official Data*, [n.d.]. Web.

The legacy of this fort, however, reaches beyond its lack of use for its original purpose. As Jane Phimester explains, in her 2018 Heritage England report on nineteenth-century fortifications, these constructions ‘embody the changing nature of 19<sup>th</sup> century conflict as the technology of the industrial age was applied to warfare’.<sup>211</sup> Phimester goes on to explain that the technological developments, which sprang from Britain needing to keep pace with conflicting nations, directly influenced the technological advances during the Second Industrial Revolution (also known as the Technological Revolution).<sup>212</sup> Ardagh, according to his biography written by his wife, Susan, was a multitalented artist, mathematician and engineer, and was an ideal candidate to contribute to the latest developments.<sup>213</sup> First in his class whilst training with the Royal Engineers, Ardagh was given significant scope and resources to become a part of this innovative turn, following the ‘move from grander fortifications towards the less visually imposing strongholds, where the design priority was concealment.’<sup>214</sup> This move manifested in a design for Newhaven Fort which was cut into the cliff to disguise its presence; other innovations included the design of an ‘equilibrium bridge’ that spans the moat to access the fort’s only (official) entrance, which makes it possible to span a wider gap, for which Ardagh secured a patent.<sup>215</sup> Newhaven Fort is now considered an exemplar of fort construction during this period. It is considered to be of ‘exceptional significance’ by Historic England, who have also placed the site on the Heritage at Risk register, which is made up of sites considered to be at risk from being ‘lost as a result of neglect, decay or inappropriate development.’<sup>216</sup> The heritage body states that it has a ‘quality of craftsmanship and detailing which sets it apart’ from similar structures, an accolade that, it can be

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<sup>211</sup> Phimester, ‘A National Planning Overview for 19th Century Forts and Associated Fortifications Volume 1 Introduction and Historic Development. National, Regional and Local Summaries,’ 203.

<sup>212</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>213</sup> Susan, (Countess of) Malmesbury, *The Life of Major-General Sir John Ardagh*. First Edition (Albermarle Street, London: John Murray, 1909).

<sup>214</sup> Phimester, ‘A National Planning Overview for 19th Century Forts and Associated Fortifications Volume 1 Introduction and Historic Development. National, Regional and Local Summaries,’ 203.

Malmesbury, *The Life of Major-General Sir John Ardagh*.

<sup>215</sup> Malmesbury, *The Life of Major-General Sir John Ardagh*.

<sup>216</sup> Phimester, ‘A National Planning Overview for 19th Century Forts and Associated Fortifications Volume 1 Introduction and Historic Development. National, Regional and Local Summaries,’ 99.

assumed, Ardagh would have greatly appreciated. His artistic and design prowess can be clearly seen in his original 1876 plans (Figs. 3.8 and 3.9) which have a striking modernist and futuristic sensibility.

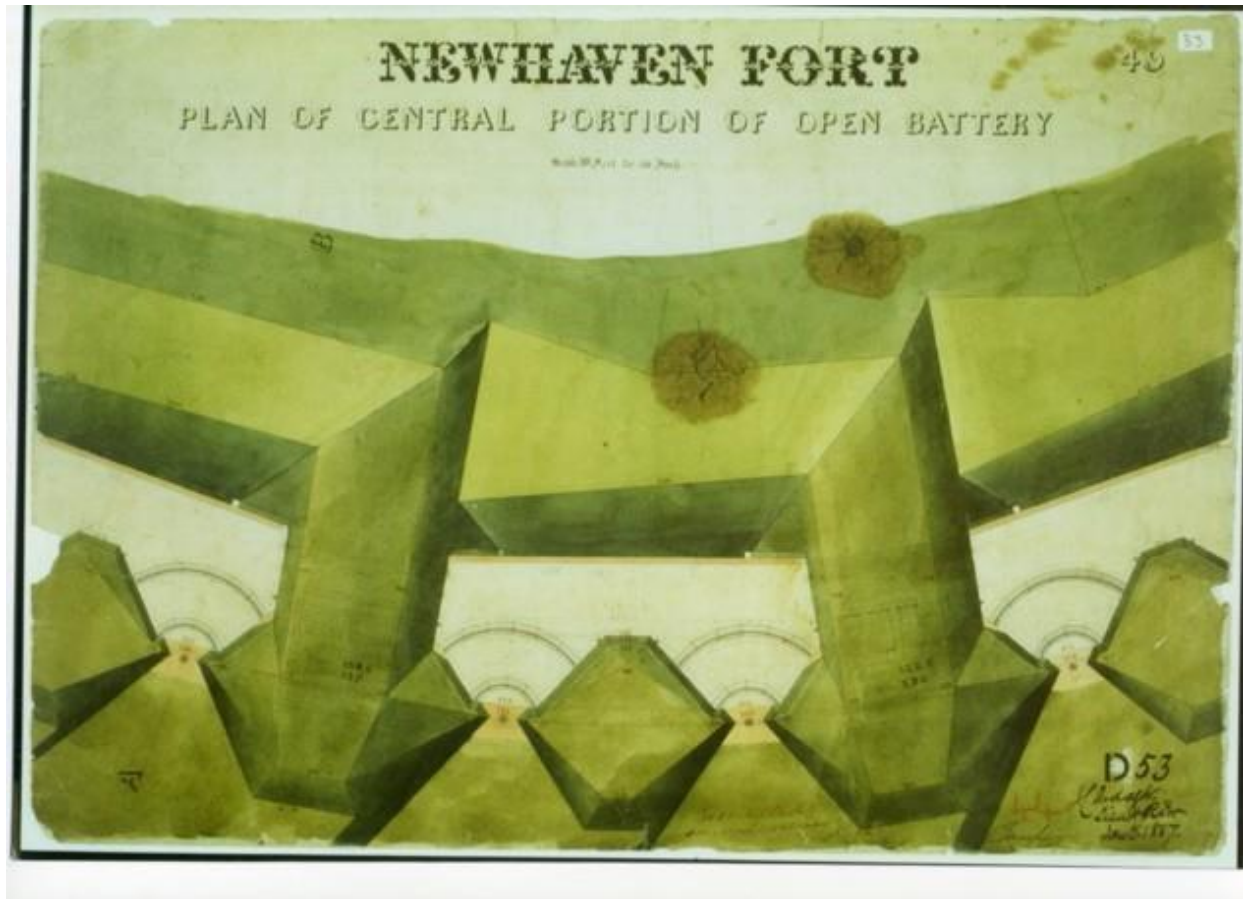


Fig. 3.8: Photograph of 'Plan of Central Portion of Open Battery' one of the original Newhaven Fort plans created by Lieutenant Ardagh 1876. Described in the archive as 'large' drawings mainly on silk or linen. Image: Newhaven Fort Archive.

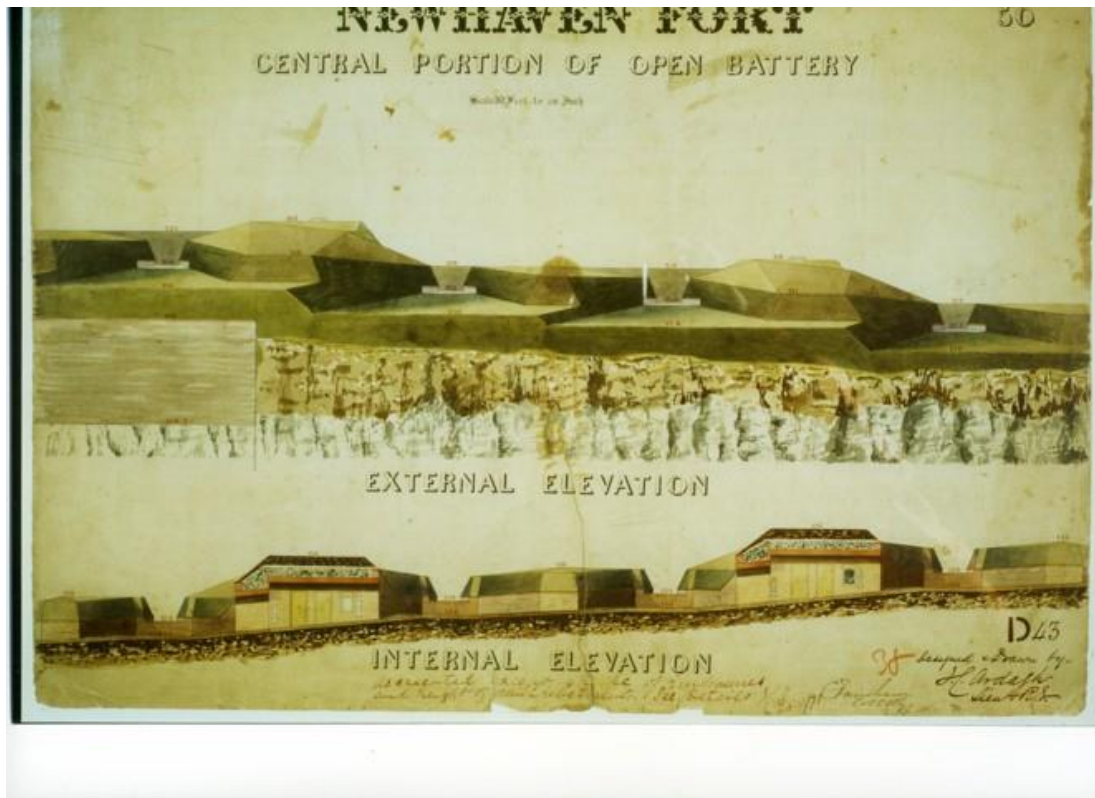


Fig. 3.9: Photograph of 'Central Portion of Open Battery – External and Internal elevations', one of the original Newhaven Fort plans, created by Lieutenant Ardagh 1876. Described in the archive as 'large' drawings mainly on silk or linen. Image: Newhaven Fort Archive.

Ardagh's approach also led to the primary reason for the fort's listing in 1979 for the scale of concrete used in its construction. As civil engineer John Wesler explained, the 'revetments contain[ed] 20,000m<sup>3</sup> of concrete, where elsewhere concrete had been used more conventionally for floors and foundations.'<sup>217</sup>

Most of the cement was from Balcombe Pit near Glynde, and was 'obtained from Richard Peter Rickman and William Jenner of Lewes', limeburners who leased the pit from estate owner Henry Brand.<sup>218</sup> The Brand family inherited the estate in 1824, and had been instrumental in shaping the commercial and transportation infrastructure of their extensive East Sussex property, which included dairy farms

<sup>217</sup> John Wesler, 'Military' in R. J. M. Sutherland, Dawn Humm, and Mike Chrimes, eds. *Historic Concrete: Background to Appraisal*. (London: Thomas Telford, 2001) 373.

<sup>218</sup> Sue Farrant, 'H.B.W. Brand and Glynde Place and the Development of Industry and Communications in the Ouse Valley, 1846-1890' in Haselfoot et al. '*Sussex Industrial Archaeology Society Newsletter No 12.*', October 1976, 8. Web.



and flour mills, and even had influence on the development of Newhaven harbour.<sup>219</sup> The chalk was easily transported by rail from Glynde station (approximately 7 miles north of Newhaven) to the port. With convenient access to a plentiful supply of shingle, for aggregate, from the beach at the foot of the cliff, Ardagh had all the resources he needed to fulfil the mammoth construction task.<sup>220</sup>

The particular topography and geology of the Downs has, therefore, played an integral role in industrial and agricultural developments in this country.<sup>221</sup> It is only relatively recently, however, that this unique and precious habitat for rare plants and insects, has been scientifically valued and understood, even if it has long been cherished by the generations who have lived here. According to the South Downs National Park Authority, established in 2010, the Downs were described by the late naturalist David Bellamy as 'Europe's rainforests'.<sup>222</sup> The local maritime history is no less interlinked. It was a major port for imports from, and exports to, the continent and beyond, fishing, and the still operational passenger ferry to Dieppe, France. As with the Downs above sea level, the marine ecology of the Sussex coast is now considered nationally important, particularly to protect it from destructive fishing techniques, such as trawling.<sup>223</sup>

Newhaven port was one of the main points of departure for France in the late nineteenth century, and was commandeered by the military during both the First and Second World Wars.<sup>224</sup> Its railway brought supplies and personnel, and the fort was a defence and radio communication site, that sat in compliment to the military seaplane unit which was based in the marina.<sup>225</sup> Units stationed there included the Royal Artillery, the Royal Observer Corps, the Royal Navy, the RAF Air Sea Rescue and *Les Fusiliers Mont-Royal* (Canadian infantry regiment). The port was a

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<sup>219</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>220</sup> Ardagh, Lieutenant R.E. Paper XI Report upon Concrete Revetments Built at Newhaven Fort. Corps of Royal Engineers. *Papers on the Subjects Connected with the Duties of the Corps of Royal Engineers Vol XV*. Jackson and Sons, Woolwich, 1872. Newhaven Fort Library, 161.

<sup>221</sup> Farrant, 'H.B.W. Brand and Glynde Place and the Development of Industry and Communications in the Ouse Valley, 1846-1890', 8.

<sup>222</sup> 'Our Chalk Grassland', *South Downs National Park* [n.d.]. Web.

<sup>223</sup> Uwe Dornbusch, 'Sussex Marine Sits of Nature Conservation Importance', *University of Sussex* [n.d.] PDF, 3. Web.

<sup>224</sup> 'About Newhaven/ Historic Newhaven,' *Newhaven Town Council* [n.d.]. Web.

<sup>225</sup> *Ibid.*

disembarkation point for both the Dieppe Raid on the 19<sup>th</sup> August 1942, and the Normandy landings. It remained an integral part of the network of coastal defence points along the south coast over the course of the Second World War, and as a result it shaped much of the identity of Newhaven as a town, where the fate of soldiers on land, at sea, and in the air, were played out in front of Newhaven residents' eyes. The fort itself was only able to house a small number of troops in terms of sleeping accommodation; the rest was made up of more temporary billets on the surrounding land.

For Fiona, it is the displays from the 1990s, and the 'Blitz Experience' depicted through the fort's exhibitions, that hold a stronger connection to the broader history and national identity throughout the Second World War, rather than the histories of those who served there. However, Chris, Greg, and Lauren, perhaps due to having spent more time within the fort's rooms and tunnels, expressed a deeper association to those who lived and worked there, through their connection to the fort's affective atmosphere. The Home Front displays, created in the 1990s, have their own heritage, as local children were asked to help make elements of the displays; this included having their silhouettes drawn to create the wooden cut-outs of wartime children. One of these children was Chris' now-adult daughter.

It is clear, then, that even a relatively small number of participants can articulate the key aspects which make up the fort's official and Lived Heritage. Each participant, in their own way, has enmeshed their knowledge of its history with their lived experience. This account serves to answer the 'what' of the fort's status and role in minds of the participants, and traditional representations of their accounts could serve well to inform the custodians of the fort when thinking about which aspects are valued by its community. Having a greater number of participants for my study would, of course, have enriched this representation of the people who have connections to the site, or made it possible to start to identify patterns within that representation. Of particular importance would be the inclusion of participants who have very little connection, or even negative associations, to the site. In this respect my account is far from exhaustive, however, even with this select group, a critical heritage approach adds depth through attention to the hows and the whys of heritage evaluation through lived experience, to which I turn to below.

## 3.2 Lived experiences of Newhaven Fort

The section that follows introduces a selection of the ‘everyday’ aspects of the participant’s associations with the fort that would be considered as Heritage from Below. As already outlined in Chapter 1, such perspectives are intrinsically interwoven with the powerful Authorised Heritage Discourse, exemplified through the fort’s presentation and interpretation. There are particular moments I will expand on later, throughout my scenographic analysis in Chapter 7, but, in essence, Chris, Greg, Fiona, and Lauren, have variously communicated a connection with nature, personal memories, ghosts of the past—both in lived memory and in the mythologies of the site—and folklore interwoven with knowledge of the land and its flora and fauna, that is still passed down through some Sussex families. They also express a certain sense of community as they all live relatively locally to the site, and many feel the connection that the fort has to the trials and tribulations of the town itself. To begin to draw out these personal and experiential perspectives that are integral to my thesis, I have written the following in a more informal and descriptive style.



Fig. 3.10: Newhaven Fort being repaired, 1981, a view that Greg and Chris would recognise from living memory. Image: Newhaven Fort Archive.

## Walls speak

Although Newhaven Fort is much repaired, the experience of walking around it is in many respects akin to walking through an industrial ruin, and it possesses many associated affective qualities. Indeed, Greg cannot shake the feeling that parts of the structure may still ‘fall on my head’, a somatic and visceral memory of his times exploring as a teen whilst it was derelict. Despite all the work that has been done to preserve its fabric, there continues to be a strong sense of material decay, and that it is being re-absorbed into the cliff from which it is cut. Metal bars across windows are bowing and orange with rust, and on the banks that surround the parade ground it is often hard to tell the point that crumbling bricks stop, and the undergrowth starts, as they enmesh together. The tunnels built into the cliff are damp with moisture seeping through their walls, and musty smells pervade any rooms containing natural materials like fabric and paper. These impressions, as the participants and I walk around the site, work in concert with an understanding of the clear and deliberate purpose for which the fort was created. In its decay, it exudes an aura of time and space and lives gone by, and particular forms of the everyday that combine principally male military service and domesticity with duty. This in particular is an aspect that Lauren feels very strongly in the Grand Magazine, which she articulates with difficulty as a mix of poignancy, nostalgia and the common purpose of community working against adversity.

Cultural geographer Tim Edensor might describe this type of environment as a ‘terrain vague’ where it becomes open to alternative readings, as the Authorised Heritage Discourse and Heritage from Below perspectives interweave through the site’s atmosphere.<sup>226</sup> As a feeling, it best matches Elizabeth Grosz’s description of the ‘thingness’ that the site’s materiality might trigger, as participants explain their feelings and relationships with the site. As Grosz explains, ‘[t]he thing is what we make of the world rather than simply what we find in the world, the way we are able to manage and regulate it according to our needs and purposes.’<sup>227</sup>

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<sup>226</sup> Tim Edensor, ‘Walking through Ruins’ in Ingold and Vergunst, eds., *Ways of Walking: Ethnography and Practice on Foot*. Anthropological Studies of Creativity and Perception. (Aldershot, England: Ashgate, 2008) 126.

<sup>227</sup> Elizabeth Grosz, ‘The Thing’ in Fiona Candlin and Raiford Guins, eds., *The Object Reader*. In-Sight (London; New York: Routledge, 2009) 126.

## Haunting

There have long been mysterious stories of haunting associated with the fort, from the times that Chris and his friends explored its tunnels in the 1960s and 1970s, and more recently, since the 1990s' regular ticketed ghost hunts have been held there.<sup>228</sup> For decades, at Halloween, the fort has hosted a popular and sometimes truly scary experience within the tunnels, where site staff decorate spaces and hide in corners dressed as sinister characters.<sup>229</sup> Bodies sense the materiality of the fort's construction, the textures of its surfaces, how intact they seem or ready to crumble, the way they seem to absorb or repel light. Air movements that carry sounds and musty smells all make up those excessive qualities that create an atmospheric environment that is pure theatre, and there are enough of these qualities to trigger numinous feelings in any visit even outside the Halloween spectacle. Greg explains this numinous feeling of a ghostly presence with the Stone Tape Theory; this theory was popularised in the 1970s but has its roots in Victorian interest and explorations of spirits and the macabre. Created to describe a belief that the iron in stone can record and emit traces and even voices from the past. Once Greg has explained it to me, the energy of his description as we walk and talk, hooks me into the pleasure of its plausibility, and gives particular spaces an additional numinous quality as I interact with them.

## Dereliction

An important part of the fort's history is its period of 'dereliction', where many of the ghost stories were, unsurprisingly, shared and embroidered. After taking ownership of the site in the early 1960s, the developers tried to wrestle walls, designed to withstand heavy mortar fire, into the shape of a holiday camp, but found the endeavour too difficult and expensive, so left the fort significantly damaged.<sup>230</sup> The site was fenced off, but this did not stop the local youth, and some from much further afield, using the site as an unofficial adventure playground. It became a place for adventures, a band practice space, somewhere to hang out and drink cider with

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<sup>228</sup> 'Newhaven Fort Ghost Hunt Events,' *Newhaven Fort* [n.d.]. Web.

<sup>229</sup> 'Top ten things to do at half-term,' *Newhaven Fort* [n.d.]. Web.

<sup>230</sup> John F Wells, 'Council to blame', *Sussex Express*, January 17 1997, Newhaven Fort Archive.

friends, and for Chris' band of punks, a place to escape the scrutinising eye of the local constabulary.

Greg also recounted that as kids he and his friends would engage in Second World War role-playing games. These were not always for everyone's enjoyment, and he expressed some regret at the way those allocated the role of 'Nazi' were treated. There were also instances of turf war, and interlopers from further afield being made unwelcome by those who had taken ownership of the territory. The site again became a location for the performance of conflict, albeit in miniature.

From my previous research on the Air Sea Rescue murals, created at the end of the Second World War, deep in the eastern counterscarp galleries, many teenagers in the 1970s made personal discoveries of these surprising rooms, and these explorers, in turn, often left their own mark with graffiti alongside the paintings. The legacy of this period is that many of those young people, typically born in the 1960s, are now parents and grandparents with deep connections to the fort and have passed this affection on to their children and grandchildren.

## Folklore

Another aspect that connects the more mysterious elements of the fort with the wider Sussex countryside are the stories and superstitions that built up over the centuries, as a part of rural working class life.<sup>231</sup> Having only been officially documented over the past hundred and fifty years, these tales had previously passed on in oral tradition for centuries.<sup>232</sup> They served to explain natural formations that have shaped the landscape, the prehistoric or medieval earthworks dotted across the Downs, the customs to bring in the seasons, and the magical practices designed to avoid ill fortune through illness and disease in crops and livestock.<sup>233</sup> These tales became less prevalent by the end of the First World War, and with the revolution in agriculture and transport, but they still hold a place in the popular imagination; they are still being referred to by Lauren, the youngest of the participants.<sup>234</sup> Many ritual and seasonal folk traditions endure in East Sussex, including bonfire societies,

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<sup>231</sup> Jacqueline Simpson, *Folklore of Sussex* (New York: The History Press, 2013).

<sup>232</sup> Simpson, *Folklore of Sussex*, 1.

<sup>233</sup> Simpson, *Folklore of Sussex*, 2.

<sup>234</sup> Simpson, *Folklore of Sussex*, 1.

wassailing and the blessing of new boats by local priestess Melissa Corkhill.<sup>235</sup> It appears that however much the local environment is scientifically studied for its ecological value, it still has power to hold an air of mystery and wonder for those who have grown up there. The landscape and its myths have in turn been extended by the participants, to the fort, despite its military and human history, demonstrating the importance that an attention to Lived Heritage has in evaluating the site's cultural significance to those for whom it has been preserved.

### 3.3 Wyndham Court: Design, history, and urban planning

#### Location

Wyndham Court sits to the northeast of Southampton Central train station in Hampshire, with Commercial Road on its north side and Blechynden Terrace to the south. Directly adjacent east of the building is the stage door of the Grade II listed Mayflower Theatre. Originally built and named The Empire Theatre in 1928, it was called the Gaumont Theatre between 1950 and 1986.<sup>236</sup> The area, known as Blechynden, was a 'secluded suburban terrace with ornamental gardens and a marine parade' until the railway came to the area in 1847.<sup>237</sup>

As the railway became busier in the later nineteenth century, one A.G.K. Leonard, writing a retrospective piece in 1982 for the *Southern Daily Echo*, stated that the nature of the area began to change. The large houses started to be converted into boarding houses 'both temperance and licensed.'<sup>238</sup> The area's church, St Peter's (1846), which is located opposite the north side of Wyndham Court, is the only building that has survived from this period, alongside parts of the street pattern that includes Commercial Road, Blechynden Road, Southbrook Road and Wyndham

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<sup>235</sup> 'Blessing the Billy Pritchard,' *Lewes Pilot Gig Club*, April 2019. Web.

<sup>236</sup> 'Mayflower Theatre – In depth history,' *Mayflower Theatre* [n.d.]. PDF. 6. Web.

<sup>237</sup> Southampton City Council, Blechynden Terrace Gardens information panel. Southampton, May 2019.

<sup>238</sup> A.G.K Leonard, 'The London Connection' *Southern Daily Echo*, 6th August 1982, Hampshire Local Studies and Maritime Library.

Place.<sup>239</sup> It was from this vantage point at St Peter's church (Fig. 3.12), where Sue attended Sunday School in the 1960s, that she remembered watching the old buildings coming down and Wyndham Court going up. Today, in terms of urban planning assessment, the area itself is described in Southampton City Council's *City Characterisation* project as well connected to the rest of the city.<sup>240</sup> The majority of commercial and leisure facilities offered by Southampton are easily accessible either by foot or public transport, and the station is directly connected to Winchester, London Waterloo, Manchester, Cardiff, and Brighton.



Fig. 3.11: The Church of St Peter, Commercial Road Southampton. Taken from the third floor of Wyndham Court, May 2018. Image: Harriet Parry.

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<sup>239</sup> 'City Characterisation Appraisal 01 Station Heights,' *Southampton City Council*, 25 January 2009. Web.

<sup>240</sup> *Ibid.*





Fig. 3.12: Wyndham Court (circled). Image taken from 'Wyndham Court including raised terrace and ramps'. *Historic England* [n.d.]. Web.



Fig. 3.13: '1910 People and horses enjoying the water's edge just outside the station with views across the West Bay to the city walls and Town Quay'. (Southampton County Council Local Studies and Maritime Library collection) Blechynden Gardens information panel, May 2019. Image: Harriet Parry.

The area on which Wyndham Court sits is now known by Southampton City Council as Station Heights. Roughly half of the land is reclaimed from the sea, where right up until the early-nineteenth century the shoreline lay just south of Blechynden Terrace (Fig. 3.13).<sup>241</sup> The land rises to the east from Central station and this eastern edge of Station Heights, from the Mayflower Theatre and on past the Civic Buildings. The area was newly defined as the 'Cultural Quarter' by Southampton County Council in 2013, and is one of the thirteen Quarters into which Southampton has been divided for planning purposes, in the council's *Southampton City Centre Master Plan: A Master Plan for Renaissance*.<sup>242</sup> Although it is no longer possible to see the shore, and sea beyond, from the ground level of Wyndham Court, flats on the upper floors of the south-eastern side offer far-reaching views out to the docks, and to the cruise ships dotted along the horizon. This view supports contemporary interpretations of Wyndham Court's architecture that suggest it mimics the prow of a cruise ship, as Hatherley states, its lines have 'more than a hint of ocean liner about them'.<sup>243</sup> Although I have yet to find any evidence from original documents that this was the architects' intention, Sue and Jash did mention this when struggling to find a reason for why the building might have been listed in the first place, although they seemed slightly baffled even as they were saying it.

Residents looking out from Wyndham Court's south-facing, upper-level, flats can also see a hotchpotch of partially occupied, semi-industrial, low-density buildings, and the commercial development beyond. This includes the higher end retail experience of the West Quay shopping centre which houses a large branch of the department store John Lewis, where I met Sue and David for our interview.

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<sup>241</sup> 'City Centre Action Plan - Archaeology Background Paper,' *Southampton City Council*, December 2013. Web.

<sup>242</sup> 'City Centre Master Plan,' *Southampton City Council*, September 2013, PDF. Web.

<sup>243</sup> Hatherley, 'Wyndham Court,' 100 Buildings 100 Years, *C20 Society*.

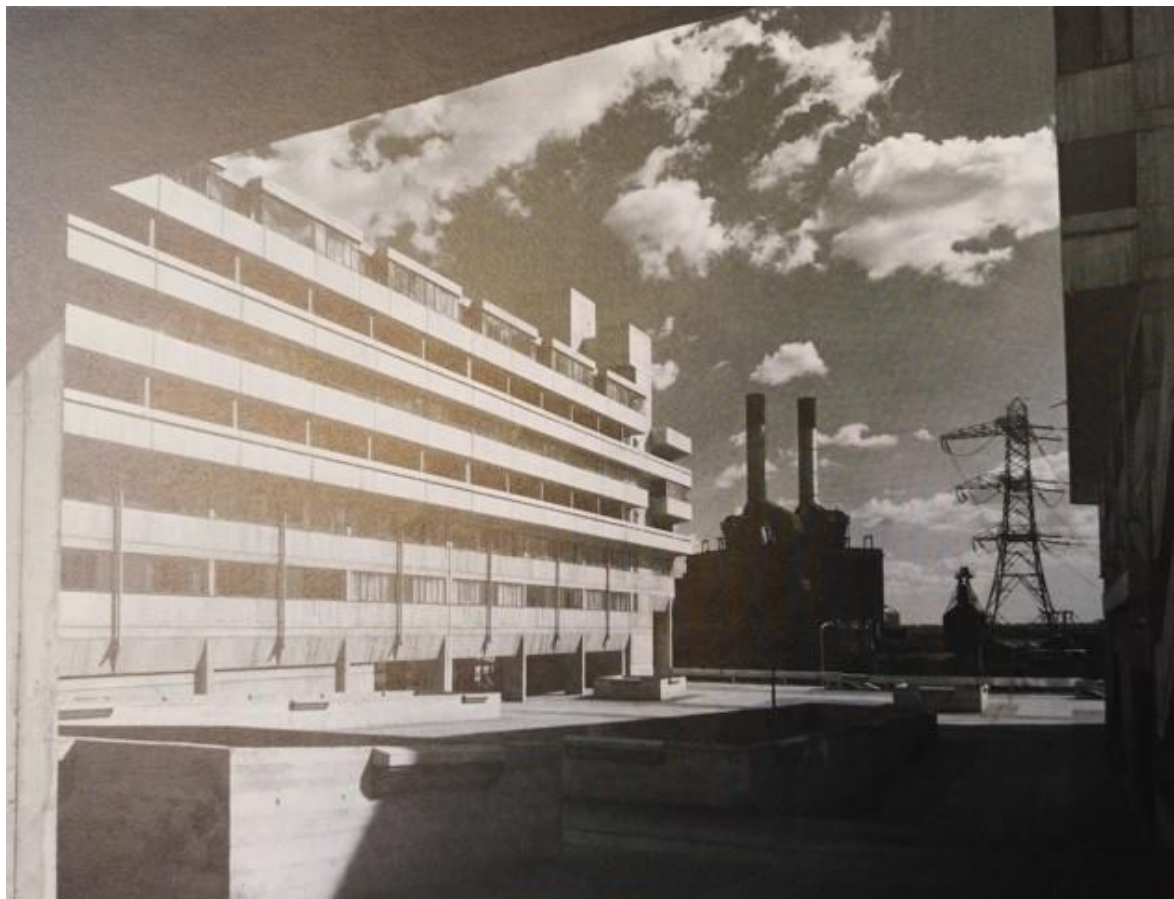


Fig. 3.14: 'View south from public court southwest corner entry', *Lyons Israel Ellis Gray Building and Projects 1932-1983*. Photo by Rose and Dyble, circa 1969. RIBA Archive Library.

The image pictured (Fig. 3.14) gives some sense of what the view south from Wyndham Court in 1969 might have looked like, illustrating the post-war transition from dockland/industrial to urban/commercial development. This carefully orchestrated shot, however, was taken as a completion image for Lyons Israel Ellis, and purposefully juxtaposes the modern sleek lines of Wyndham Court with the old-fashioned Victorian coal power station which was to be decommissioned in 1977, about seven years after this photograph was taken.<sup>244</sup> The old and the new are used as visual devices to promote a dynamic sense of architectural modernity and progress.

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<sup>244</sup> Ian Drummond, *Southern Rails on Southampton Docks: Including the Industrial Lines of Southampton* (Leeds: Holne Publ, 2013).

'Inside Southampton's Power Station,' *Southern Daily Echo* [n.d.]. Web.



Fig. 3.15: Commercial Road after the bombing. 'The Refuge Association Compound Building'. situated two buildings east of The Empire Theatre. The power station can be seen in the background, circa 1941, Print. Southampton Archive.

## Post-war redevelopment

During the Second World War, Southampton experienced heavy German bombing on the nights of 30 November and 1 December, 1940. A significant number of properties were destroyed and damaged from the impact of hundreds of tonnes of bombs, targeting the dockyard and sites such as the Supermarine Factory, which produced early Spitfire aeroplanes.<sup>245</sup> By the end of the war over fifteen hundred civilians in Southampton were killed or seriously injured, and nearly forty-five thousand buildings were damaged or destroyed.<sup>246</sup>

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<sup>245</sup> 'Mapping Out the Blitz 70 Years on,' *Ordnance Survey*, November 2015. Web.

<sup>246</sup> Southampton City Council, Blechynden Terrace Gardens information panel. Southampton, May 2019.

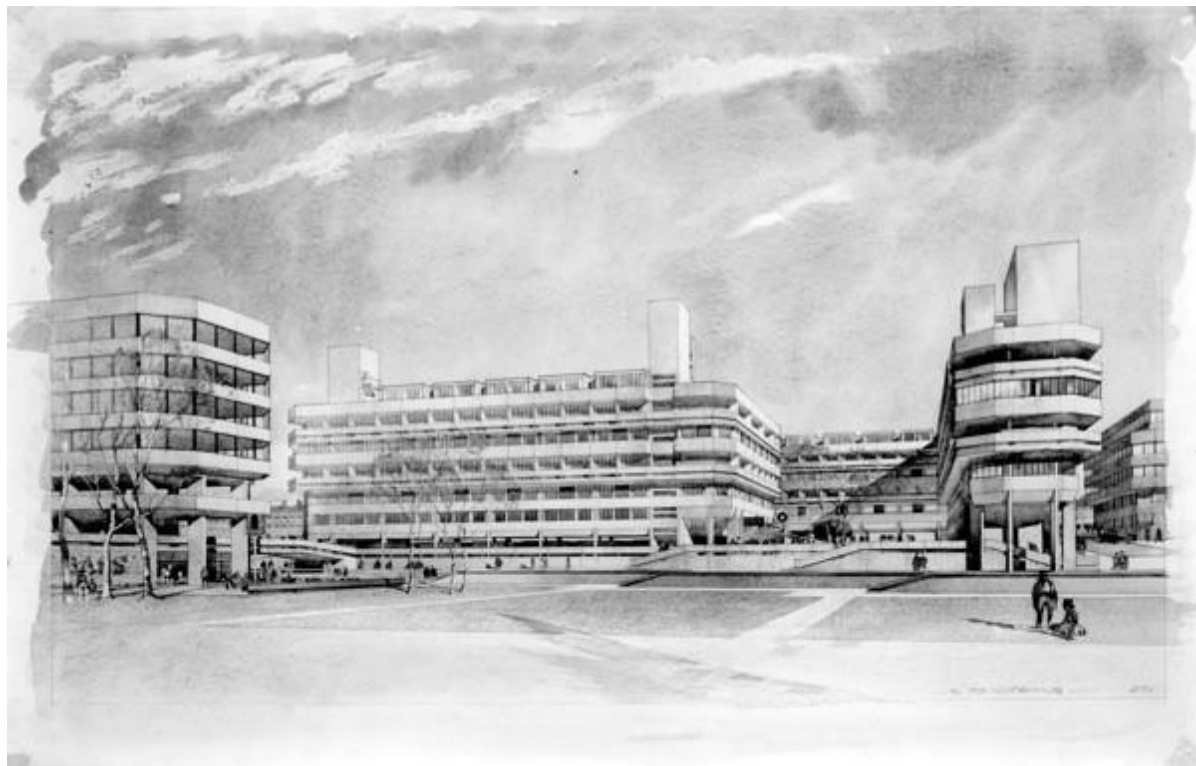


Fig. 3.16: Wyndham Court perspective drawing by Edward Lyons, circa 1965. View from the south. Image: RIBA Archive.

## Design and construction of Wyndham Court

As an ongoing plan of post-war redevelopment, Southampton City Corporation commissioned the design and build of Wyndham Court in July 1964, at an agreed cost of £1,006,450, in today's terms £18,412,833.<sup>247</sup> The corporation was described in 2005 by English Heritage as 'one of the most enlightened commissioners of public housing in the post-war period'.<sup>248</sup> With money being tight, they needed to get as much from the building as possible.<sup>249</sup> Wyndham Court also needed to represent the

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<sup>247</sup> Southampton City Council Housing Committee 10th July 1964 Decisions under delegated powers. 2589. Central Station Area redevelopment Scheme, *City of Southampton, Minutes of proceedings of council and committees, 1964*, 58. Hampshire Local Studies and Maritime Archive.

Inflation Calculator, *Official Data* [n.d.]. Web.

<sup>248</sup> 'Wyndham Court including raised terrace and ramps,' *Historic England* [n.d.].

<sup>249</sup> Southampton City Council Historic Environment Record Monument Records 17/10/2018 'Derived from English Heritage LBS download dated 19/08/2005' Supplied by SCC Historic Environment Record Office. Web.

enlightened and forward thinking identity of the corporation's urban plans, and for this they enlisted the help of the young and dynamic architectural firm, Lyons Israel Ellis. The architects designed the building to contain 184 homes, a large proportion of which are two- and three-bedroom maisonettes, thirteen shops, three restaurants, with private and public outdoor spaces and underground parking.<sup>250</sup>

English Heritage have stated that Wyndham Court is the finest of three estates developed by Lyons Israel Ellis, who, according to architects Alan Forsyth and David Gray, played a 'significant part in the development of modern architecture in the post-war period.'<sup>251</sup> The firm were well regarded and considered innovative in their field, indeed 'they felt themselves to be pioneers of a new age, confident of the correctness of Modernism and what it could do for the community'.<sup>252</sup> As can be seen from Edward Lyons' beautifully finished perspective drawing of Wyndham Court (Fig. 3.16) , the architects intended for Wyndham Court's low rise 'uncluttered' lines and functional angles to shape not only the urban landscape, but the lifestyles of those who would live and work around it.<sup>253</sup> In Lyons' drawing the railway line has gone, and there is not a road or a car to be seen, the building rising from an area whose 'urban fabric' had been destroyed by wartime bombing.<sup>254</sup> Lyons Israel Ellis' design of Wyndham Court received an Architectural Design Project Award in 1966 from *Architectural Design Magazine*, three years before the building's eventual completion.<sup>255</sup>

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<sup>249</sup> cont. Lyons, Israel, Ellis, Gray, Forsyth, and Brown, eds., 'Southampton Central Area Development', *Lyons Israel Ellis Gray: Buildings and Projects 1932 – 1983*, 166. RIBA Archive Library.

<sup>250</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>251</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>252</sup> Lyons et al., 'Southampton Central Area Development' *Lyons Israel Ellis Gray: Buildings and Projects 1932 – 1983*, 173.

<sup>253</sup> This intention and language was repeated across contemporary newspaper reports for example from Geoff Drake 'Wind of Change at Wyndham Court' *Southampton Evening Echo*, 27 July 1969, Hampshire Local Studies and Maritime Library.

<sup>254</sup> Lyons, Israel, Ellis, Gray, Forsyth, and Brown, eds., 'Southampton Central Area Development' in *Lyons Israel Ellis Gray: Buildings and Projects 1932 – 1983*, 14.

<sup>255</sup> Southampton City Council Historic Environment Record Monument Records 17/10/2018 'Derived from English Heritage LBS download dated 19/08/2005' Supplied by SCC Historic Environment Record Office.

Note: I have only found reference to this from a magazine being sold on Abe Books for £95 - *Architectural Design Magazine*, April 1966, Volume XXXVI, No: 04 Monica Pidgeon, Kenneth Frampton, Theo Crosby et al. Published by The Standard Catalogue Company Ltd, 1966 Web.

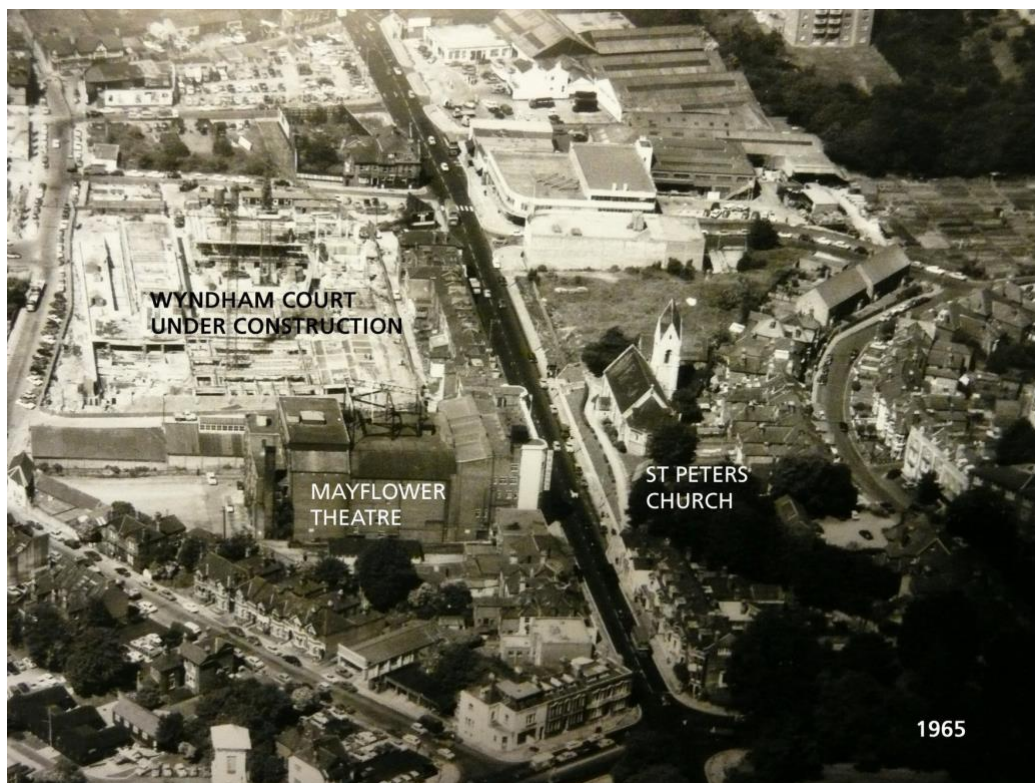


Fig. 3.17: Wyndham Court under construction, 1965. Image: Southampton City Council. Web (original annotation).

Having been subject to the heavy bombing during the war, the site that would house Wyndham Court was identified as having an 'important position in the city'. In a 1969 article on Wyndham Court by the *Southampton Evening Echo*, the paper includes a quote by Lyons that fundamentally defines how the architectural firm believed the building would influence the ongoing visual landscape of the area, he stated:

As Wyndham Court is one of the first projects to form part of that development, it is likely to have some influence on the buildings later erected and this special relationship it has with future development of the area, endows the building itself with some importance. Having this in mind the City Corporation requested a building of urban character, which had a good standard of elevational design and displayed imaginative planning.<sup>256</sup>

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<sup>256</sup> Drake, 'Wind of Change at Wyndham Court', *Southampton Evening Echo*, 27 July 1969.



Fig. 3.18: Wyndham Court architectural completion image. Exterior from southwest with civic buildings to the east. Photo by Rose and Dyble, circa 1969. Image: RIBA Archive.

The majority of the block was designed to serve families with two to four children, but there were also one-bedroom flats provided for the elderly, which were located on the first floor. Alongside convenient shops and underground parking, flats with underfloor heating, and a choice of gas or electricity to cook with, the occupants were also provided with a hobbies room, a residents' club room and a large garden recreation area.<sup>257</sup> It was stipulated that the design should allow for 'the natural flow of pedestrians across the site [through the public court], between the north-east part of the city and its surrounding suburbs, and Southampton Central station.'<sup>258</sup>

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<sup>257</sup> E. D. Lyons, 'A Report in Wyndham Court by E D Lyons FRIBA Messrs Lyons Israel Ellis and Partners Architects Central Station Redevelopment Area Southampton.' *The F G Minter House Journal* Volume 3 Winter 1969, 27. RIBA Archive Library.

<sup>258</sup> *Ibid.*



The private garden and recreation area was surrounded by the one-bedroom flats created for the elderly, and the designers made the integration of old and young an explicit intention.<sup>259</sup> There were also plans for cafés to be situated in such a way that residents could access them directly from the 'garden court' to create a 'neighbourhood atmosphere.'<sup>260</sup> Local reports on the development at the time stated that Wyndham Court offered housing that was connected to urban living, with the convenience of being close to work and entertainment, in contrast with the suburbs, which were a hinterland between the countryside and the city.<sup>261</sup> This proved true of Sue and David's experience at least, a young professional couple who worked in the area and enjoyed socialising; for Sue, working at Southampton University and having a particular passion for the theatre, its location was ideal.

Following a Brutalist ethos of design through function, Lyons Israel Ellis wanted the anatomy of the building to be part of the design, the horizontal lines clearly drawing the eye around the full mass of the building, as well as be drawn to the vertical by the lift towers and water tanks positioned on the roof.<sup>262</sup> The texture of the building was created by what they called a 'sawn-timber' type of concrete finish and much care was taken with the shuttering design to ensure that this facework would have a continuity of texture', details that can be seen in fig. 3.20.<sup>263</sup> This served to 'provide an inexpensive and interesting texturing to the surface' that could easily be repeated using a small variety of moulded panels.<sup>264</sup>

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<sup>259</sup> Lyons et al., 'Southampton Central Area Development' in *Lyons Israel Ellis Gray: Buildings and Projects 1932-1983*.

<sup>260</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>261</sup> Drake, 'Wind of change at Wyndham Court', *Southampton Evening Echo*, 22 July 1969.

<sup>262</sup> Lyons et al., 'Southampton Central Area Development' in *Lyons Israel Ellis Gray: Buildings and Projects 1932-1983*, 166.

<sup>263</sup> Lyons et al., *Lyons Israel Ellis Gray: Buildings and Projects 1932-1983*, 49.

<sup>264</sup> Lyons et al., 'Southampton Central Area Development' in *Lyons Israel Ellis Gray: Buildings and Projects 1932-1983*, 166.



Fig. 3.19: 'Ramp along south elevation' architectural completion image. Photo by Rose and Dyble, circa 1969. Image: RIBA Archive.

Architect John Ellis explained that one of the firm's 'major intentions' was the 'clear expression of structure and materials'.<sup>265</sup> This can be seen in the construction of Wyndham Court, and completion images taken for the architects by the photographers Rose and Dyble illustrate a remit to document particular finishes. These photographs were carefully staged and framed to allow the viewers to imagine themselves in a utopian fantasy made real. The process of developing these particular photographs shows intentional and careful exposure, undertaken to draw out the textural details and show the contrast of a bright white finish. The form and clean lines which would characterise the building for posterity.

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<sup>265</sup> Lyons et al., 'Southampton Central Area Development' in *Lyons Israel Ellis Gray: Buildings and Projects 1932–1983*, 166.

Today this timber finish and its textures, picked out through its grimy complexion, has proved another source of confusion for at least three of the participants, and its unique appearance has been made even more so by the sleekly clad offices and student flats that flank it. Luke, for example, concluded that it makes the building seem unfinished (but not in the way the architects might have intended), Jash had not even noticed the texture until our interview, but once drawn to his attention, became another baffling dimension to its design (and listing). For John, the texture acts as a magnet for the grime and fumes that come from the steady traffic that passes his front door. The responses of John, Luke, and Jash, do well to illustrate the divisive nature of a Brutalist design style and material that has not always lived up to the utopian hopes of its early advocates, even as it is cherished by later architectural enthusiasts



Fig. 3.20: Detail of 'sawn finish' style concrete. Taken from 'Ramp along south elevation'. Photo by Rose and Dyble, circa 1969. Image: RIBA Archive.

## Styling concrete

Reyner Banham coined the term 'Brutalism' in the 1950's, to describe, to an extent, the public reception to the architectural adoption of Le Corbusier's use of constructed blocks of *béton brut* (raw concrete).<sup>266</sup> Its style—as I have introduced with the help of the statements from participants, above—can stimulate sometimes strong, and often ambivalent reactions, triggered by its unapologetic presence. Even those fighting to preserve such buildings, such as the movement SOS Brutalism, which campaigns to preserve Brutalist buildings at risk, describe the structures as 'concrete monsters'.<sup>267</sup>

Coming back to the present day, it is important to remember that reactions to that material and that design, as architectural historian, Adrian Forty outlines, are deeply culturally driven. Rough and unpainted concrete, as a material, has become a metaphor across European cultures for being stubborn and boring. When perceived through buildings with an imposing sense of permanence, and where the concrete is weathering badly, the material performs in direct opposition to the 'beautiful' and the 'natural' that has been revered in more historic and vernacular architectural styles and materials.<sup>268</sup>

Contextual research has demonstrated that the heritage preservation of Wyndham Court as an exemplar of British architectural heritage appears justified. It serves to represent 'the evolving [post-war] language of modern architecture' that sought to create a new vision of a socially integrated society', in the words of its originators.<sup>269</sup> Lyons Israel Ellis, however, in their promotional writings, were documenting its importance to Britain's architectural and national history before they had even started building. Through the composition and framing of their completion images, they represented the building as a vanguard for a new and utopian post-war era in its gritty, industrial urban context (Fig. 3.14 & Fig. 3.21). However, a vital aspect that has *not* been preserved is the context in which the building was designed and

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<sup>266</sup> Adrian Forty, *Concrete and Culture: A Material History* (London: Reaktion Books, 2012) 11.

<sup>267</sup> Brutalismus. Architekturen zwischen Alltag, Poesie und Theorie. 'Brutalism: Contributions to the International Symposium in Berlin 2012' in Dorothea Deschermeier ed., *SOS Brutalism*, 2017.

<sup>268</sup> Forty, *Concrete and Culture: A Material History*, 8,9,10.

<sup>269</sup> Lyons et al., 'Southampton Central Area Development' in *Lyons Israel Ellis Gray: Buildings and Projects 1932–1983*, 173.

created; its white concrete visually relates to the Portland stone of the city's Civic Centre buildings, framed to the right of the 1969 architectural completion image (Fig. 3.18). This has since been obscured by blocks of student flats, and it is these sleekly clad mid-rise buildings to which John now compares Wyndham Court's 'dull' appearance. In 2015, Southampton City Council consulted with English Heritage on how the new urban planning design schemes on Station Quarter North might impact on Wyndham Court, reversing the architect's original intention that *their* building design should shape the aesthetic characteristic of the city's urban plan.<sup>270</sup>



Fig. 3.21: Aerial view from the west of the development area. Photo by Rose and Dyble, circa 1969. Image: RIBA Archive.

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<sup>270</sup> Lyons et al., 'Southampton Central Area Development' in *Lyons Israel Ellis Gray: Buildings and Projects 1932–1983*, 171.  
'Station Quarter Business Case', *Southampton City Council*. May. 2014. PDF. Web.

## Public reception

A 1969 newspaper article on the new development in the *Southampton Evening Echo*, written by local journalist Geoff Drake, introduced a more 'everyday' perspective of Wyndham Court to local readers. Here he raised concerns that worked in direct opposition to official claims, and these are the opinions most amplified over the ensuing years. He reported a 'certain drabness' about the development. 50 years later, John used the exact same word, as well as the words 'dull' and 'ugly', to describe its appearance. Drake, writing in 1969 outlined tenancy regulations revealing that soundproofing appeared to be an issue, as tenants were asked to put rubber feet on anything that might create noise such as 'pianos, gramophone[s], wireless or television cabinets', and even sewing machines.<sup>271</sup> Although Mike did not remember soundproofing being an issue in the 1990s, John most certainly finds this a daily struggle, with noise travelling from both internal and external sources. The family-unfriendly regulations went further, banning children from playing on the landings, even though the outside space, which was not really a suitable children's playground anyway, was so far away from many of the flats.<sup>272</sup>

Writing in 1960, Drake believed that in the end 'success' was certain, as long as the flats were not taken up by young families.<sup>273</sup> 'Success' for the corporation here was to fill the building with more affluent renters, rather than to meet their initial aim to provide social housing, because they needed to help recoup the cost of the building.<sup>274</sup> Today it appears that Drake managed to pinpoint the key issues that John has to contend with today, and this does not dispel Luke's assumption that Wyndham Court is not somewhere people would choose to live long term.

## Listing

The 1998 Grade II Heritage listing of Wyndham Court was met locally with incredulity, if the reports in the *Southampton Daily Echo* are to be believed. The large headline of a report from 23 December 1998 exclaims 'Ugliest Flats are Heritage'. Journalist Arti Lukha wrote that the listing of Wyndham Court now puts it

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<sup>271</sup> 'Station Quarter Business Case', *Southampton City Council*. May. 2014. PDF. Web.

<sup>272</sup> Drake, 'Wind of change at Wyndham Court' *Southampton Evening Echo*. 22nd July 1969.

<sup>273</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>274</sup> *Ibid.*

'on a par with Southampton's mother church St Mary's', the largest and most important church in Southampton, and Winchester Cathedral.<sup>275</sup> Bemoaning the fact that now it can never be pulled down, residents had apparently been left 'gob-smacked' by the decision, with one resident saying that although the flats were nice, living there with children was 'horrendous'.<sup>276</sup> Local resident of eleven years, James Barford was, however, not alone in thinking that it was worth keeping as an example of 1960s life, and that people's homes were 'worth preserving'.<sup>277</sup>

Although the concrete now appears stained and tired, the site was assessed by Southampton's architectural surveyors in 2009 and reported as being in good condition. This was a decade before I made my first research visits, when there were signs of deterioration including cracked paving and substantial water staining.<sup>278</sup> Heritage controls are strict and there is very little that can be done to improve or modernise without interfering with the aesthetic of the building, which is forbidden under the regulations. According to the 1999 *Architectural Appraisal*, even measures that would protect the building, such as roof felting, must be positioned in a way so that it cannot be seen over the edge, even though they recognise the flaws in the current scheme: 'the present arrangement will lead to water run off the face of the concrete and will cause staining and possible premature deterioration of the concrete beneath'.<sup>279</sup>

Externally, the 1999 appraisal states:

[t]he design philosophy of the main buildings has been consistently applied to the landscaping around the building and within the internal courtyard. The design is formed with simple bold forms with mainly hard surfaces between.

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<sup>275</sup> 'Flats move into history books', *Southampton Daily Echo*. 22nd December 1998. Hampshire Local Studies and Maritime Library.

<sup>276</sup> Arti Lukha, 'Ugliest Flats are heritage'. *The Daily Echo*. December 23rd 1998. Hampshire Local Studies and Maritime Library.

<sup>277</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>278</sup> Southampton City Council, ©, *Wyndham Court Architectural Appraisal Handbook for Tenants Following Listing October 1999*, sheet no. 11, 20. Used with permission. Appendix A.

<sup>279</sup> *Ibid.*

The style is harsh and may be described as 'brutalist'. The landscape is an important contribution to the style of this complex.<sup>280</sup>

The internal garden courtyard was in such a poor state that it was refurbished in 2008, but the 'harsh' design style was retained because this was a particular property of the protected aesthetic of the original building.<sup>281</sup> In 2019, when I visited with John, the garden court seemed rather unkempt and austere, with no place to relax—certainly not a place where I would want to linger, especially as John wanted to leave almost as soon as we entered its central area.

Here then the Authorised Heritage Discourse is making a clear statement that the building's visual design, even in its current state, has more value than the needs of the residents themselves.



Fig. 3.22: Wyndham Court's 'garden court', September 2019. Note the car park that is part of the view below. John informed me that behind the white doors and windows at top of the picture was the city's traffic warden office. Image: Harriet Parry.

<sup>280</sup> Southampton City Council, ©, *Wyndham Court Architectural Appraisal Handbook for Tenants Following Listing October 1999*, 38. Used with permission. Appendix A.

<sup>281</sup> Southampton City Council, ©, *Wyndham Court Architectural Appraisal Handbook for Tenants Following Listing October 1999*, 346. Used with permission. Appendix A.



### 3.4 Lived experiences of Wyndham Court

As with the previous section on Newhaven Fort, the final part of this chapter draws further focus on a selection of 'everyday' aspects of experiences expressed by participants relating to Wyndham Court's official status. Perhaps unsurprisingly, there are fundamental differences between the nature of the relationships between the participants at Wyndham Court and those at Newhaven Fort. Not least that the Wyndham Court participants' accounts are enmeshed with their sense of home, and lives lived. With Mike, and Sue and David, their memories are recounted through a selective remembering of the past, that through the framework of my research, are related to the knowledge that their once home is now deemed important enough to be listed. John, Jash and Luke, however, relate their experiences to current tensions felt through the control imposed by heritage listing in their day-to-day lives, all of which is framed through living and working in a multi-occupancy building in a busy area of Southampton city centre. I will go onto expand much further on particular moments expressed by the participants throughout my scenographic analysis of Wyndham Court, in Chapter 6. This section serves to foreground that analysis by considering what might be understood as Heritage from Below in relation to Authorised Heritage Discourse in a building that is essentially people's homes. I have done this through a focus on the themes 'Home and Agency, 'Outside and Inside'.

#### Home and Agency

The disparity between the official evaluation and individual experience of everyday encounters with Wyndham Court draws the political and hierarchical nature of heritage listing into sharp relief. Consider the quote from Ben Highmore, that 'the sensual orchestrations and material ecologies that we can control matter precisely because of the limited agency that we have in the aesthetic ecology of the larger world'.<sup>282</sup> In this respect, the preservation of Wyndham Court's original aesthetic brings the authorised discourse into people's personal and most intimate lives. Through the accounts of participants, there is a building correlation between how

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<sup>282</sup> Highmore, *Ordinary Lives*, 12.

agency impacts the experiences and memories of living and working in such a building.

To give better context of the lived experience of Wyndham Court, I will here, briefly, give an overview of the different levels of agency felt by participants, through the responses of John and Mike. Mike speaks through the perspective of his teenage memories of living there in the 1990s. Without responsibilities, he could experience the building in a very different way to John, whose care for himself and his family shapes every element of his daily life. Being carefree, Mike found the always-empty garden court offered a permanent and safe football practice area (as his teenage self, he remained indifferent to the impact the noise might have on the other residents). He could forget the fear of anonymous eyes overlooking the area, which dissuades John from allowing his children to play in a space so far from his front door.

Mike could enjoy the experience of living somewhere that was fun, different and interesting, that had, at that point become part of Southampton's cultural mythologies (of which I will expand further in Section 6.2). The 'drab', 'dull' surfaces of Wyndham Court today are simply a constant reminder to John of the polluting particles that he and his family must breathe, compounded by the noise of the traffic that interferes with sleep and relaxation. In contrast, Mike can laugh at memories of the rumour that Wyndham Court was made of 'self-cleaning concrete', which added to his amusement about its aesthetic, and perhaps also the suitability of white concrete in such an urban setting.

As the above demonstrates, family responsibility clearly draws out the different needs of Wyndham Court residents; this was evident even with Sue and David who enjoyed living at Wyndham Court as a childless couple. They felt they needed to move when they considered the building no longer suitable for their small children. Luke, from his vantage point on the roof, projects how difficult he thinks it would be to live at Wyndham Court, through his perspective as a father of two children who get to enjoy the open fields adjacent to his home in Kent.

## Outside and Inside

Interlinked with a sense of agency and home, are the two distinct perceptions of Wyndham Court from the outside and inside. Advocacy for its listing principally focusses on the building's distinctive Brutalist appearance, a much-maligned design style now championed by the very active Twentieth Century Society which campaigns for the preservation of modern buildings. As referenced earlier, Owen Hatherley has contributed to their web page with a piece on Wyndham Court, as well as penning an essay on its role in Southampton City Corporation's 1960s post-war housing ethos, for Adams' *Life Is Brutalist* photography project.<sup>283</sup>

Adams took intimate and enlightening portraits of residents old and new, and voice recorded how they felt living there, in a bid to 'turn Wyndham Court inside out, adding colour and humanity to the stark concrete exterior'.<sup>284</sup> Hatherley's accompanying essay acknowledges its dirty façade but considers this 'improbable Brutalist ocean liner of council housing' as Southampton's Barbican.<sup>285</sup> The subject and nature of the project brings to the fore an examination of how the building's outside dominates at least a local sense of who lives there and why. Adams' photographs and recordings indeed brought the diversity and individuality of those who live there to life, as the listing itself forbids any visible expression of personal taste and individuality on balconies which must remain uniform.

However, the intrinsic relationship between the building's exterior materiality with resident John's interior life (and sense of agency), demonstrates that for him at least, the inside and outside cannot so easily be differentiated. John feels its 'rough' surface ingrained with pollution and sees the pigeon droppings that coat the exterior of his balcony. He feels that the building is considered more important than his family's ability to use their only immediate outside balcony space because he fears for the health of his young children.

Luke, in his work to annually check the building's roof and safety systems, offered a surprising perspective that brought additional understanding to the form and function of Wyndham Court and the building's interior existence. His accounts begin to offer a

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<sup>283</sup> Adams, *Life is Brutalist*.

<sup>284</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>285</sup> Hatherley, 'Brave New Southampton.'

sense, even though he was careful not to anthropomorphise the building, that Wyndham Court had an existence of its own, an aspect I will expand on further in Chapter 6.

All of the above demonstrates that although Wyndham Court plays a very different role to Newhaven Fort in its listed status, attention to everyday interactions with the site draws forth the powerful role that heritage listing can have on people's lives. In this respect it asks some important questions about hierarchies of value and cultural significance, and supports the rationale for developing my methodology.<sup>286</sup> Having offered some insights into the role of my work and the positions that the case studies take in my research, I will now return to explain the theory that underpins my methodology in Chapter 4, and the methods that I have employed to conduct my research in Chapter 5.

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<sup>286</sup> See Waterton and Watson, 'Methods in Motion: Affecting Heritage Research' in Knudsen and Stage, *Affective Methodologies*, 116. Therein, they discuss the potential for less conventional methodologies into the affective nature of heritage, to which I relate my own, which they argue have the potential to ask new questions of heritage.

## 4 Theoretical positions for critical and creative embodied heritage enquiry

### Chapter introduction

This chapter will outline the theoretical positions that have informed and located the scenographic methodology, which I have developed as a form of critical heritage enquiry, this will be followed in Chapter 5 by a description of the methods that I have used to apply this methodology. I have divided this chapter into sections which individually address the concepts of scenography (4.1), phenomenology (4.2), More-Than Representational Theory (4.3) atmosphere and affect (4.4), and ‘affective walking’ (4.5). In practice however, these concepts are enmeshed with one another through the activation and production of memory, officially and unofficially represented by the heritage sites and embodied by the participants.

The theoretical concepts supporting my approach and analysis, although rooted in different fields, are all founded on the everyday, embodied, affective and sensorial relationships between people, in relation to the non-human or ‘material’ environment. The material, in this instance, comprises tangible built heritage and its locale, working in concert with the less tangible, but equally affective, atmospheres that surround myself and the participants during our interviews.<sup>287</sup> Attempting to draw all these aspects together holistically, whilst respecting each of their discrete values and epistemological foundations, could become overwhelming and difficult to contain. In Section 4.1, I explain how a scenographic framework maintains a conceptual boundary that allows for a creative exploration of the complex interaction between bodies emplaced through heritage sites. This makes the ‘ontology of connectivity’, that Rodney Harrison considers vital to the role of heritage practice working *for* the future, into a viable proposition.<sup>288</sup>

Alongside Sarah Pink, the authors that I have most referred to for this chapter include scenographers Pamela Howard and Rachel Hann, geographer Divya Tolia-Kelly, heritage scholars Emma Waterton and Steve Watson, and cultural geographer

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<sup>287</sup> Smith, *Uses of Heritage*, 56.

<sup>288</sup> Harrison, *Heritage: Critical Approaches*, 229.

Tim Ingold. I will make more explicit reference to their work—and to others less cited but no less important—and how it affects my understanding, throughout Chapter 4.

## Conceiving heritage scenography

Methods generally used in contemporary heritage research to capture what is commonly called ‘data’, tend to follow those developed within the field of ethnography, cultural geography and the social sciences, but continue to be adapted when different research questions are posed, and answers are sought.<sup>289</sup> Jason Dittmer and Emma Waterton describe this turn as a form of ‘ethnographic visibility’, moving away from social science’s ‘traditional interviews and surveys towards ethnographic approaches that might capture the texture of places’.<sup>290</sup> In 2015 Waterton and Watson began to consider how an attention to affect, in the heritage field, might capture the relationships between the ‘affective dynamics’ of a heritage site with those who encounter them.<sup>291</sup> A turn to affect demands novel and creative approaches, and it is their power to ‘resist the familiar ... and open space for new understanding’ in the heritage field to which I apply my scenographic methodology.<sup>292</sup>

Creative research is a methodological approach that includes principally qualitative, and often multimodal, methods of data gathering, through arts practice, embodied research, and technology, which is often participatory and/or community centred.<sup>293</sup> Creative research methods resonate with, and in many cases are informed by, practice-based arts research methodologies developed in the late seventies and early eighties, framed by phenomenological feminist, and post-structuralist theories of touch and movement, as a way of perceiving and knowing.<sup>294</sup> These are concepts that are also embedded in scenographic praxis, where scenographers design performance spaces that work, to tap into somatic memories of ‘everyday’ experiences, in order to trigger an embodied experience through affect and atmosphere.

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<sup>289</sup> Jason Dittmer and Emma Waterton, ‘Affecting the body’ in Tolia-Kelly, Waterton and Watson, eds. *Heritage, Affect and Emotion: Politics, Practices and Infrastructures*, 56.

<sup>290</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>291</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>292</sup> Kara, *Creative Research Methods*, 19.

<sup>293</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>294</sup> Patricia Leavy, *Method Meets Art: Arts-Based Research Practice* (New York: Guilford Press, 2009) 7–9.

To do this a scenographer will need to apply multiple creative methods for their research and design, methods that I will describe further in the following chapter (5). These methods will be familiar to many working within the critical heritage field today.<sup>295</sup> As the term multimodal suggests, the various approaches can be applied at any stage of the research process, from data gathering to analysis.<sup>296</sup>

With respect to my own work, alongside desk-based and archival enquiry, the methods that I have applied in my PhD research have included embodied approaches, such as videoed walking and static audio recorded interviews with participants, photographing sites and videoing walks with my phone camera, sketching sites, autoethnographic writing, scenographic sketches as ‘thinking drawings’, and the Scenographic Videos which conclude Chapters 6 and 7. Importantly, in the development of my own methodology, such work has meant that an attention to the sensory and the felt, is key. It is in this respect that Sarah Pink has been an invaluable guide with her practical and interdisciplinary application of sensory methodologies.<sup>297</sup>

As heritage researcher Sarah De Nardi states through her own research experiences,

[critical heritage scholars] no longer discount the significance of a Proustian moment of recall triggered by the senses before the conscious mind has the chance to catch up, cherishing instead the vibrancy of the encounter with [participants].<sup>298</sup>

As I walk and talk with participants around the heritage sites, forgotten and immediate memories can animate the uncanny feeling in the air which occurs as affect overflows and becomes felt in that space as atmosphere.<sup>299</sup> It is to this research paradigm that I now turn, through an exploration of the theory behind my methodological practice.

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<sup>295</sup> Kara, *Creative Research Methods: A Practical Guide*, 5.

<sup>296</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>297</sup> Pink, *Doing Sensory Ethnography*.

<sup>298</sup> De Nardi, *Visualising Place, Memory and The Imagined*, 9.

<sup>299</sup> Anderson, *Encountering Affect: Capacities, Apparatuses, Conditions*, 142.

## 4.1 Scenography as a methodology — a multimodal framework

Scenography is a theatre design methodology that performs as a concept, a system of interpretation, a body of knowledge and a practical method. Cultural scenographer Rachel Hann explains that scenography is a system for conceiving and encountering environments, 'from light to sound, architecture to bodies, these discrete stimuli are connected through the act of scenography.'<sup>300</sup> Each of these stimuli work together with their human agents to create an affective orientation of place as a form of 'worlding', and this act of orientation is fundamental to my understanding of how research participants relate to the heritage sites that I have chosen as case studies.<sup>301</sup>

The art of scenography has its roots in European theatre practices that go back decades, perhaps centuries.<sup>302</sup> Scenographers working in what Hann describes as 'Anglophone' theatres tend to interfere with the more established hierarchies that exist, particularly between the director and the design team, where roles normally split between the specifics of set, costume, lighting and sound, and are amalgamated into the vision of one scenographer.<sup>303</sup> Even within European practices there are competing definitions; Hann offers an in-depth exploration of the development of the term and the practice in European theatre in her book *Beyond Scenography*.<sup>304</sup> For the purpose of developing my methodology, I have worked to the framework first articulated by the English doyenne of scenography, Pamela Howard, who has acknowledged the legacy of those who have gone before her, but at the same time laid the foundations for practice and research which has followed her foundational 2001 text, *What is Scenography?*<sup>305</sup>

Howard states that a scenographer is principally an artist who seeks to understand the potential and power of an empty but dynamic performance space.<sup>306</sup> They will

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<sup>300</sup> Hann, *Beyond Scenography*, 7.

<sup>301</sup> Hann, *Beyond Scenography*, 2.

<sup>302</sup> Hann, *Beyond Scenography*, 39.

<sup>303</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>304</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>305</sup> Howard, *What Is Scenography*.

<sup>306</sup> Howard, *What Is Scenography*, 5.



draw on the script for the context of design, objects, colours, and forms, which brings that text to life. As a form of 'intervention', the designed space is inhabited and altered by performers working to the vision of the director, all for the purpose of creating an atmospheric and affective world in which spectators, as the final piece of the puzzle, can be immersed, and where each piece has value.<sup>307</sup> Sumartojo and Pink argue that in the 'design and intervention' of atmospheres, it is important to remember that lived interaction with that design continually alters and shapes its affect.<sup>308</sup> Here, scenographic design practice not only acknowledges the constituting presence of the human audience, but considers them integral to the experience of the piece.<sup>309</sup>

My use of scenography to interrogate both of my case study sites, and their relationships to the people that spend time with them, is not to suggest that life is a theatre performance, even if, at times, those lines are blurred.<sup>310</sup> Sociologist Erving Goffman explored that fine line often trodden between the two as identity, which is consciously or unconsciously performed, depending on the setting and company, but this is not the subject of my analysis.<sup>311</sup> My understanding of the participant's experience of a heritage site, following Ingold, is that it is performative, in the sense that it is a gesture that brings action into being. He states that *to human* is a verb, an ongoing and productive achievement, shaped by the affective nature of the material, social and cultural elements of that site.<sup>312</sup> Interrogating heritage sites through scenography, working to the definitions of place and space outlined in Chapter 1, is to understand placemaking in space as 'an ongoing experiential process ... that

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<sup>307</sup> Howard, *What Is Scenography?* 8.

<sup>308</sup> Sumartojo and Pink, 'Design and Intervention' in Sumartojo and Pink *Atmospheres and the Experiential World: Theory and Methods*, 97.

<sup>309</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>310</sup> For her ground-breaking study on performance at heritage sites see Gaynor Bagnall 'Performance and Performativity at Heritage Sites,' *Museum and Society* 1, no. 2 (6 March 2015): 87–103.

<sup>311</sup> Erving Goffman, *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life* (Repr. London: Penguin, 1990).

<sup>312</sup> Ingold, *The Life of Lines*, 115.

Judith Butler and her foundational text on gender being a social construction that is performed. Judith Butler, 'Performative Acts and Gender Constitution: An Essay in Phenomenology and Feminist Theory,' *Theatre Journal* 40, no. 4 (December 1988) 519.

recognises how our bodies acclimatise to, and literally make sense of, an environment'.<sup>313</sup>

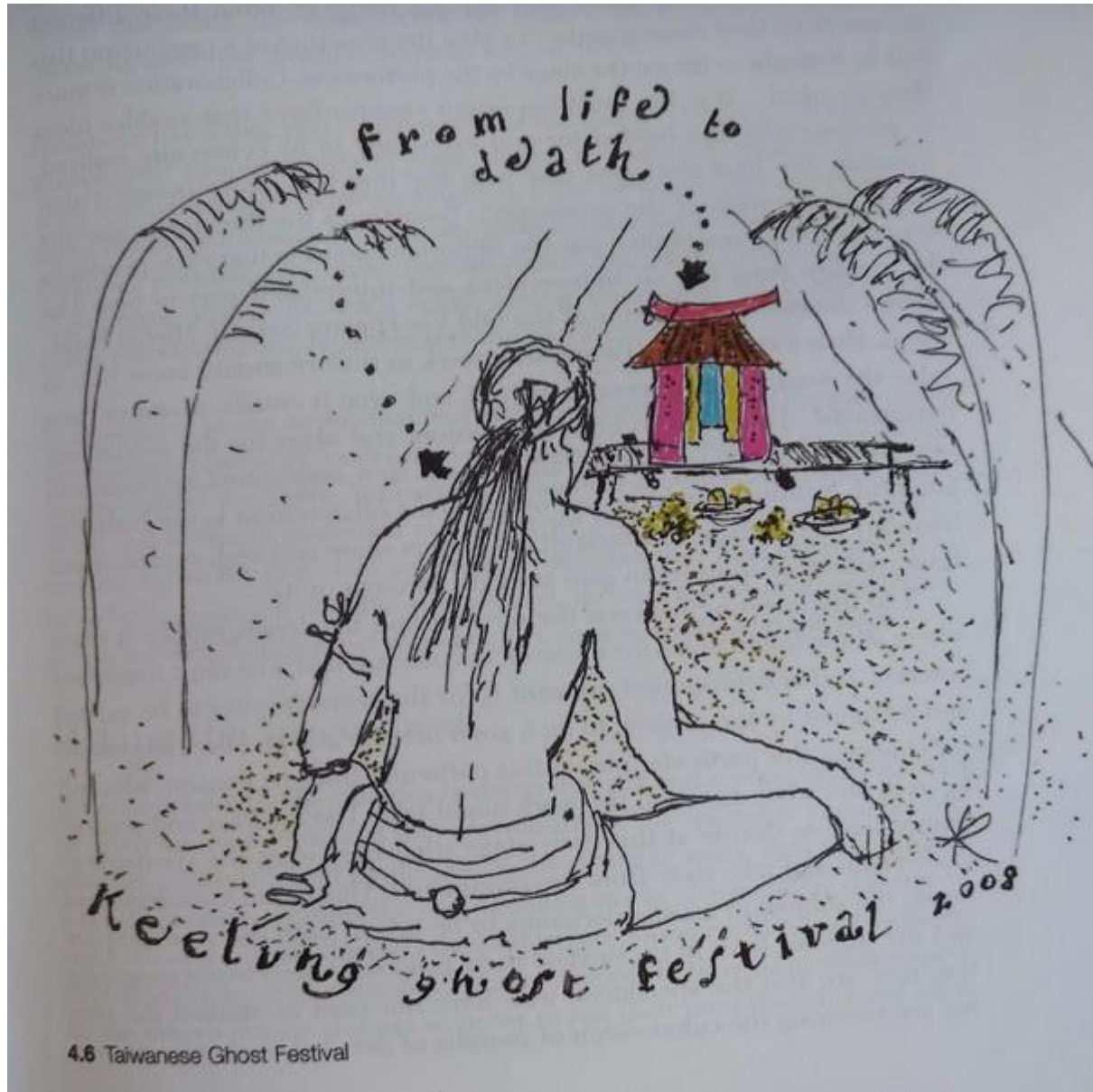


Fig. 4.1: Scenographic drawing of the Taiwanese Ghost Festival 2008, Pamela Howard.<sup>314</sup>

<sup>314</sup> Howard, *What Is Scenography?* 123.

In Howard's terms, a scenographer will read a found space or theatre setting to understand how its particular geometry, identity, and material qualities, its atmosphere, might be harnessed or concealed to facilitate an audience's productive relationship with the performance.<sup>315</sup> As she explains, '[u]nderstanding the dynamic of the space means recognizing, through observing its geometry, where its power lies.'<sup>316</sup> As illustrated in fig. 4.1, here, Howard has very simply visualised an emotive 'scene' from the annual Taiwanese Ghost Festival. Those taking part build miniature paper houses for the ghosts of loved ones to return to on earth, for one day every year; at the end of the day these houses are set on fire and floated out to sea.<sup>317</sup> What Howard portrays in the sketch is not a theatre but a beach, but she contains the moment through simply articulating how the individual and the paper house connect through lines of power, defined by culture memory and emotion. She describes the scene:

The sight of thousands of people sitting quietly by the sea watching these exquisite miniatures moving and burning from the shore to the horizon, saying farewell to the ghosts for another year, was deeply moving and completely beautiful.<sup>318</sup>

My aim is to read the places that are my case studies in the same way, and use that reading to find moments or 'scenes' that draw attention to aspects that have a particular effect on the participants.<sup>319</sup> This could be the moment, for example, when Chris was walking up a lighting tunnel in Newhaven Fort and was taken aback by a long forgotten memory coming to the surface, or when Luke found connection with the Stanley Kubrick film, *A Clockwork Orange*, to describe his projected anxiety at being around certain areas of Wyndham Court at night.<sup>320</sup>

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<sup>315</sup> Howard, *What Is Scenography?* 1.

<sup>316</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>317</sup> Howard, *What Is Scenography?* 122.

<sup>318</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>319</sup> Hann draws on anthropologist Kathleen Stewart's use of the term 'scene' to identify moments from multiple acts of 'worlding' as a form of 'place orientation'. Hann, *Beyond Scenography*, 2.

<sup>320</sup> *A Clockwork Orange*, dir. Stanley Kubrick (Warner Bros 1971).

As with a performance, where the staged production is nothing without the performers—be they human or non-human—and the audience, so it is that a heritage site would not exist without human encounter and cognition. I consider space as a rich conduit of affect that emplaces its human occupant; as such, I use scenography to help think my way around, seeing, feeling, touching, tasting, moving through, and experiencing that space. Howard researches and conceives of a particular theatre design with the explicit aim of activating memories through the viewer's senses.<sup>321</sup> She describes how the viewer's memory and recognition can be triggered by carefully chosen design elements of the production, such as clothing, objects, and colours. In essence, Howard describes the excess of affect that can 'provoke the joy of recognition' through design elements that 'express[es] more than [their] physical reality'.<sup>322</sup>

At the heritage site, then, I notice how participants are affected by the aesthetic qualities of that site in its environment, as they become emplaced through recognition and memory. I seek to unpack how its particular atmosphere influences how they behave as we explore the site together, and how our behaviour shifts and changes feelings and memories, as we become enmeshed with its character and influence. These are the particular moments that become the 'scenes' that I have recreated through the scenographic sketches and videos, that serve to guide and communicate my analysis of the participant's Lived Heritage.

## 4.2 Phenomenology and the senses

This section provides an explanation of the way that I have applied phenomenology, and the senses in my development of my methodology. In this context, phenomenology considers embodied experiences of the world as a precursor to all sense-making, both in representational and non-representational terms. This in turn underpins the rationale behind my application of scenography; to conceive of the co-

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<sup>321</sup> Howard, *What Is Scenography?* 63.

<sup>322</sup> *Ibid.*

productive embodied relationships between the participants and Wyndham Court or Newhaven Fort.

The act of heritage as process is an integral part of how I understand the productive relationships between the participants and the heritage sites. This relationship, following Ingold, performs as an emplaced ‘correspondence’, which supports a more networked ontological research position.<sup>323</sup> To help think through and articulate the often complex, and sometimes numinous, relationship between bodies and the environment, Ingold draws on the phenomenology of western philosopher, Maurice Merleau-Ponty.<sup>324</sup> Merleau-Ponty made central the role that the body plays ‘[in] how our world opens up to us’ in his philosophical explorations.<sup>325</sup> Phenomenology offers a philosophy of how humans create *meaning* through the complexity of what is sensed or perceived, when they are seeking to comprehend that experience of ‘being in the world.’<sup>326</sup> Pink highlights that Merleau-Ponty’s work stresses multisensoriality, rather than considering experience on a sense-by-sense basis.<sup>327</sup> Importantly, as Ingold explores, Merleau-Ponty considered that multisensory experience to be co-productive, that it is *through* sensory exploration, and interactive meaning-making, that humans make sense of the affective qualities of the world around them.<sup>328</sup>

In western society, we commonly speak of the five senses that, although named separately, work together in various degrees to help us *perceive* the world around us. Debates on how many senses there actually are, how they should be philosophically considered, their cultural framing and naming, and if they should even be thought of separately when it is their interrelationship that supports human perception, are ongoing, and go beyond the scope of my PhD research.<sup>329</sup> For

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<sup>323</sup> Ingold, *The Life of Lines*, 83.

Harrison, ‘On Heritage Ontologies: Rethinking the Material Worlds of Heritage’.

<sup>324</sup> Ingold, *The Life of Lines*, 83.

<sup>325</sup> Mark Johnson, *Embodied Mind, Meaning, and Reason: How Our Bodies Give Rise to Understanding* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2017) 10.

<sup>326</sup> Johnson, *Embodied Mind, Meaning, and Reason: How Our Bodies Give Rise to Understanding*, 24.

<sup>327</sup> Pink, *Doing Sensory Ethnography*, 29.

<sup>328</sup> Ingold, *The Life of Lines*, 84.

<sup>329</sup> David Howes’ introduction to *Empire of the Senses* is useful here.

David Howes ed., *Empire of the Senses: The Sensual Culture Reader*. Sensory Formations Series (Oxford: Berg, 2005).

simplicity, I accept that our bodies, to various degrees, depending on physical and cognitive make-up, simultaneously rely on the senses of vision, smell, touch, taste, hearing, and proprioception: how the body senses movement and position, vestibular: our sense of balance, how fast we are moving and how fast objects are moving in relation to us, and thermoception: perception of heat and cold.<sup>330</sup> These senses provide sufficient information to the brain for us to remain in a co-constitutive relationship with our environment.<sup>331</sup> This purely functional explanation, however, belies the complexity of integration between the senses, memory, and identity, which is the foundation of the co-production of a heritage site; this I have sought to capture through scenographic practice.

## Sensing heritage

A heritage site has an atmosphere that envelops the visitor as it is encountered, felt on the skin, pushed up through the feet, tasted as much as smelt. A heritage site can be contradictory, at one moment difficult to navigate, before it perhaps offers a pocket of shelter or a spectacular view after climbing a steep hill. It may be a beautiful space for some, yet for others, it may be a space that represents their oppression. Senses never work alone—for example, we may ‘feel’ with our bodies through what is seen through our eyes.<sup>332</sup> Merleau-Ponty envisaged a world that *emerges* through our sensing of it, and, as Ingold expands, it is reversibility that is fundamental to all perception.<sup>333</sup> Merleau-Ponty’s theory of reversibility is constituted through the ‘flesh’ of the body and the ‘flesh’ of what might be more often considered as the materiality of the environment around us.<sup>334</sup>

To touch is to be touched *with*, to see is to be seen *with*, activating senses that, as Pink explains, are rooted in somatic memory (memories ‘stored’ in the body).<sup>335</sup> Pink surmises that ‘[phenomenological] experiences of place—and its social, physical and

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Also, for a snapshot on scientific thinking see 2005 article by Genealogist Bruce Dearle. Bruce Dearle, ‘Senses special doors of perception,’ *New Scientist*, 26 January 2005. Web.

<sup>330</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>331</sup> Anil Seth, *Being You: A New Science of Consciousness* (London: Faber & Faber, 2021).

<sup>332</sup> Laura U. Marks, *The Skin of the Film: Intercultural Cinema, Embodiment, and the Senses* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2000) xi-xii.

<sup>333</sup> Ingold, *The Life of Lines*, 84.

<sup>334</sup> Maurice Merleau-Ponty and Donald A. Landes, *Phenomenology of Perception* (Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge, 2012) 95.

<sup>335</sup> Pink, *Doing Sensory Ethnography*, 44.

intangible components—are inextricable from the invocation, creation and re-investment of memories.<sup>336</sup> This is a complex explanation of what are often everyday and taken-for-granted experiences. Feelings that can evoke a sense of the otherworldly and the numinous in a traditional heritage site, such as Newhaven Fort, but can be as equally affective in and around a building such as Wyndham Court.

At Newhaven Fort, Greg turns to the Stone Tape Theory in order to explain those eerie feelings, activated through his phenomenological attention to the affective qualities of the site, and feelings of ghostly presences of the past.<sup>337</sup> At Wyndham Court, Luke's somatic memories are of his experiences on its roof, and the fire safety, air, and water systems, that he is employed to inspect on a yearly basis. They differ from Greg's, in that he might not expect to feel that 'this place' is particularly special, as a working environment, but his privileged view from the roof and his relationship with the building, has become emplaced by making sense through his body and identity. As I will expand on later, even though our walking interview took place on the ground, Luke still often conceived of the building and its inhabitants from his roof-top perspective.

Laurajane Smith proposes that social memory materialised through the tangibility of a heritage site 'has a particular emotive power.'<sup>338</sup> Although the memories that have shaped the connection that the participants have with Wyndham Court have not necessarily been explicitly shaped through heritage discourse, its design still holds a particular power in defining their emplacement. Even Sue and David, and Mike, who could not take part in interviews on site, demonstrated throughout that they hold memories of the material experience of Wyndham Court in their bodies. Although I am certain that walking tours, or an interview within the site, would have drawn out a far richer and enlightening experience for those participants, an embodied attention to their accounts has enriched my overall understanding. Indeed, as I will later expand on, Mike, Sue, and David's memories have helped to shape my

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<sup>336</sup> Pink, *Doing Sensory Ethnography*, 44.

<sup>337</sup> Ingold, *The Life of Lines*, 84.

<sup>338</sup> Smith, *Uses of Heritage*, 60.

scenographic visualisations of Wyndham Court, working in concert with those memories articulated by the other participants ‘on the ground’.<sup>339</sup>

## Phenomenology through scenography

In scenography, Rachel Hann describes embodied emplacement as, through the work of German philosopher Martin Heidegger, ‘worlding’.<sup>340</sup> As an ongoing and iterative form of ‘place orientation,’ Hann explains how scenography reveals ‘orders of the world’, through moments or ‘scenes’ that mirror everyday phenomenological experience. These ‘scenes’ act as temporal pauses in an ongoing experience, which can range from awe-inspiring to irritating, but all are moments for reflection and knowledge production.<sup>341</sup>

For the participants, these moments define the difference between the ‘performance’ of a theatre show and the ‘performative’ production of heritage, which we shared through making sense of the sites together. This underlines the power and importance of encouraging the participants to lead, so that I can follow the ways that they feel *with* the sites, expressed through bodily cadence, rhythm, and orientation as they guided me around. Although often harder to identify within the ‘remote’ interviews, somatic memory can still be identified more readily through metaphor, moments of reflection and pause, or their attempts to activate my own senses through expressions of their own. I will therefore be applying the scenographic use of the term ‘scene’ throughout my analysis of both forms of interview in Chapters 6 and 7, to help isolate and consider affective and significant moments expressed by participants during our time together.<sup>342</sup>

## Phenomenology and neuro-normativity

Before moving forward, I feel it important to address a key issue of how different sensory ways of experiencing the world might be being considered, or not, in the critical attention to affect and heritage. I do not have the space to discuss this

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<sup>339</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>339</sup> Muzaini and Minca, *After Heritage: Critical Perspectives on Heritage from Below*, 15.

<sup>340</sup> Hann, *Beyond Scenography*, 2, 59.

<sup>341</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>342</sup> Hann, *Beyond Scenography*, 2.



development in full here, but there is a key aspect concerning neuro-normativity that I would like to address.<sup>343</sup>

Anthropologist David Howes, and cultural historian Constance Classen, are two of the key proponents of the ‘sensory turn’ in critical cultural enquiry.<sup>344</sup> This, importantly, includes a critique of western-centric, patriarchal ideals and hierarchies that have defined how sensing and feeling has been considered in post-enlightenment epistemology.<sup>345</sup> However, what appears to remain dominant within the western ‘sensory turn’ which deals with sensory, phenomenological and more-than representational embodied approaches, is an assumption of neurotypicality in the subjects that are explored.<sup>346</sup>

As I have outlined above, David Howes has done much to interfere with the western cultural codings that have historically assigned the less ‘rational’ bodily senses to the base and the other.<sup>347</sup> In 2005 he published an edited collection of groundbreaking studies entitled *Empire of the Senses*. In representing ‘difference’, the text offers some representation of disability in a chapter on blind experience, by Oliver Sacks, as well as representation of non-western ontologies across many of the chapters. However, the poetic concept of the book’s title betrays a western imperialist and ableist perspective that endures throughout. The key section which might have addressed neurodivergence in the edition is dedicated to those that might sense ‘differently’ and is problematically entitled ‘The Derangement of the Senses’.<sup>348</sup> This

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<sup>343</sup> It is important to note that definitions and labels concerning normative evaluations of cognitive function, and the terms applied to contend with this, are emergent and contingent on the life experiences of the users. See below for further reading.

Hanna Bertilsdotter Rosqvist, Nick Chown and Anna Stenning, eds., *Neurodiversity Studies: A New Critical Paradigm* (Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge, 2020).

<sup>344</sup> For an interesting discussion on its development see Sarah Pink, ‘Response to David Howes: The Future of Sensory Anthropology,’ *Social Anthropology* 18, no. 3 (16 August 2010): 336–38.

David Howes and Constance Classen, *Ways of Sensing: Understanding the Senses in Society* (New York: Routledge, 2014).

<sup>345</sup> Howes ed., *Empire of the Senses: The Sensual Culture Reader*. Sensory Formations Series (Oxford: Berg, 2005).

<sup>346</sup> Particularly interesting is the development of ‘Divergent Ethnography’ undertaken by the autistic or neurodivergent researcher. Also see, Aimee Grant and Helen Kara, ‘Considering the Autistic Advantage in Qualitative Research: The Strengths of Autistic Researchers’ *Contemporary Social Science*, vol. 16, no. 5, Dec. 2021, pp. 589–603.

<sup>347</sup> Howes ed., *Empire of the Senses: The Sensual Culture Reader*.

<sup>348</sup> Howes ed., *Empire of the Senses: The Sensual Culture Reader*, 357.

section of the book is described as attending to the ‘everyday and the abnormal’, with research subjects across the chapters medicalised and problematised through their ‘discordant’ sensory perceptions of the world.<sup>349</sup>

Researching in the field of communication studies, ten years after the publication of *Empire of the Senses*, Meryl Alper explored the continued lack of consideration of neurodiversity in approaches to the body and the senses in sensory ethnography.<sup>350</sup> In the examples she gives, of papers addressing the sensory processing presentations in children diagnosed with autism, she finds the label of ‘neurodivergent’ is often applied as a ‘rhetorical trope’ to suggest a life inhibiting and socially awkward disability. Alper argues, and I agree, that researchers are missing the opportunity to foreground a lived experience that genuinely challenges western conceptions of normativity, and intervenes with those taken for granted sensory hierarchies.<sup>351</sup> In the same way that there are multiple colour spectra in which the environment can be experienced in the creaturely world, so too can there be multiple sensory spectrums that could push boundaries on how our mutual worlds might be considered. This may begin to change as established neurodivergent academics, particularly evident within anthropology and the social sciences, begin to consider how the way they understand the world impacts their research in a particularly positive way.<sup>352</sup>

In my own research, I have endeavoured to avoid assumptions about how someone may or may not experience the world through the way they present, and there continues to be much to reflect on as I take my work forward. Indeed, in re-attuning to where and how I look, as participant responses guide me, I can begin to learn something of their own sensory hierarchies. Modes of being, which an individual might take for granted, could give rich and rewarding insights as to how a heritage

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<sup>349</sup> Howes ed., *Empire of the Senses: The Sensual Culture Reader*, 7, 357.

<sup>350</sup> Meryl Alper cites Harrison K, Couture A, Wenhold H, et al (2016) Sensory curation: building a theory of child media selection based on multichannel sensory affordances. Paper presented at the society for research on Child Development Special Topic Meeting on Technology and Media and children’s Development, Irvine CA, 27-30 October. In ‘Inclusive Sensory Ethnography: Studying New Media and Neurodiversity in Everyday Life’. *New Media & Society* 20, no. 10 (October 2018): 3560–79.

<sup>351</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>352</sup> Grant and Kara, ‘Considering the Autistic Advantage in Qualitative Research: The Strengths of Autistic Researchers,’ *Contemporary Social Science*.

site might be considered inclusively, beyond the functional, but still often missing categories of access and inclusion.

I will discuss this aspect a little further within the following section on More-Than Representational Theory. Although I have not made the attention to research with neurodivergent participants the core remit of my PhD or analysed how my own neurodivergence might have shaped my work, in developing my research I have begun to understand the rich potential of applying my methodology for this purpose, beyond my PhD (for more on the potential applications of my research findings, see Chapter 8).

### 4.3 Thinking through More-Than Representational Theory

This section gives further background to how and why More-Than Representational Theory has found its place within Critical Heritage Studies, and what this means for its application within my PhD research. It is a theoretical position that draws together Critical Heritage Studies and the scenographic methodology that I have developed, in that it describes an approach that scenographers have been practically applying for decades. As Emma Waterton explains,

... [it] is a style of thinking that foregrounds explorations of feeling, emotion and affect and places emphasis on how these are negotiated and experienced through a re-centred imagining of the body.<sup>353</sup>

Waterton's description captures the active and ongoing nature of heritage as an embodied process. She goes on to highlight the distinctly temporal and subjective quality of more-than representational thinking in that it attends to 'the now' of experiencing heritage.<sup>354</sup> This is a particularly useful perspective for the field of Critical Heritage Studies, that is, if heritage is an ongoing form of co-production between a site and its visitors, it is the immediacy of everyday embodied experience,

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<sup>353</sup> Waterton, 'A More-Than-Representational Understanding of Heritage?', 824.

<sup>354</sup> Waterton, 'A More-Than-Representational Understanding of Heritage?', 828.

and the multiple ways that might be expressed *in the moment* that, becomes important.<sup>355</sup>

Anthropologist and geographer Nigel Thrift is widely accepted to have developed the precursor to More-Than Representational Theory, this being Non-Representational Theory. Thrift's intention was to 'ask difficult and provocative questions of cultural geographers' about the purpose of their research, if that research excludes the more excessive and transient aspects of human experience.<sup>356</sup> This approach is made by a process of attending to human sensory, kinaesthetic, and gestural responses to the excesses of affect and atmosphere, through that act of daily living.<sup>357</sup> In 2008, geographer Hayden Lorimer described this then-emergent area as a 'lightning rod for disciplinary self-critique', as cultural and epistemic norms within his field were challenged, in order to think differently about the '... once comfortable understanding of the social'.<sup>358</sup> Thrift's theoretical realm of the 'Non-Representational' has at times been taken at face value, which Waterton maintains is a misunderstanding.<sup>359</sup> She explains; Thrift's argument is that it is not possible to step outside the often-inarticulable process of embodied 'meaning-making', and adequately *represent* it as it occurs. Thrift advocates, in fact, for an exploration of non-representational modes of meaning and making in the context knowledge production as a whole.<sup>360</sup>

As the debate on the conceptual framing of the non-representational continued, scholars such as Lorimer and Tolia-Kelly regard 'More-Than Representational' to be a more productive term to apply. In 2006, Tolia-Kelly argued that researchers must guard against any mistaken form of universalism of human experience that can emerge by a mistaken rejection of all forms of representation.<sup>361</sup> She explained that by not accounting for the significant role that culture plays in these emplaced relationships, a researcher could miss 'the multiplicities and complexities of affectual

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<sup>355</sup> Waterton, 'A More-Than-Representational Understanding of Heritage?', 828.

<sup>356</sup> Thrift, *Non-Representational Theory*, 5.

<sup>357</sup> Thrift, *Non-Representational Theory*, 37.

<sup>358</sup> Lorimer, 'Cultural Geography.'

<sup>359</sup> Waterton, 'A More-Than-Representational Understanding of Heritage?', 826.

<sup>360</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>361</sup> Divya Tolia-Kelly, 'Affect – an Ethnocentric Encounter? Exploring the "universalist" Imperative of Emotional/Affectual Geographies'. *Area* 38, no. 2 (June 2006): 213–17.

registers and flows'.<sup>362</sup> Returning to Pink's attention to embodied memory, both individual and collective embodied experiences of a heritage site are generative and iterative in the co-production and atmosphere of place.<sup>363</sup>

Acknowledging Robertson's position, that Heritage from Below is enmeshed with the Authorised Heritage Discourse, a more-than representational approach embraces the non-representational, whilst still acting as an inclusive conceptual framework, which considers the complexity of embodied interaction with cultural heritage in its material and immaterial forms.<sup>364</sup> In heritage research contexts that have come to inform critical heritage enquiry, more-than representational theories may not always be explicitly named. However, any work that attends to the senses through affect, atmosphere, emotion, and their interrelationship with the political and the cultural, memory of past, present and future heritages, has a place under this banner.<sup>365</sup>

Tolia-Kelly, Waterton and Watson have further oriented the field by drawing attention to practical outcomes that better reflect this form of research, by naming them 'more-than-textual'.<sup>366</sup>

The authors guiding my practice through such work are exploring heritage, through human relationships with the material, by paying attention to the particular networked 'operations' and 'effects' of heritage conservation.<sup>367</sup> Many academics have served to help position my practice and guide my analysis: the aforementioned Divya Tolia-Kelly, working with arts practitioners encountering museum exhibits; Rebecca Madgin, in her attention to emotional attachment to historic places; David Byrne, seeking to draw focus on the everyday uses of religious heritage in Asia; Caitlin DeSilvey's work of 'curating the decay' of heritage; and Sarah De Nardi's community mapping.<sup>368</sup> These practitioners are variously working to decolonise their practice,

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<sup>362</sup> Tolia-Kelly, 'Affect – an Ethnocentric Encounter? Exploring the "universalist" Imperative of Emotional/Affectual Geographies,' 215.

<sup>363</sup> Pink, *Doing Sensory Ethnography*, 44.

<sup>364</sup> Lorimer, 'Cultural Geography: Non-Representational Conditions and Concerns,' 551.

<sup>365</sup> Waterton, 'A More-Than-Representational Understanding of Heritage? The "Past" and the Politics of Affect,' 831.

<sup>366</sup> Tolia-Kelly, Waterton, and Watson, eds., *Heritage, Affect and Emotion: Politics, Practices and Infrastructures*, 1.

<sup>367</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>368</sup> Harrison, *Heritage: Critical Approaches*, 229.

For example. Tolia-Kelly, Waterton, and Watson, eds. *Heritage, Affect and Emotion: Politics, Practices and Infrastructures*.

explore the powerful role of emotion in place attachment—and how the value of that knowledge- can be affectively communicated, interfere with the hierarchical relationships that humans can have with their environment, and find ways to imagine alternative futures in a bid to help shape more equitable and sustainable societies.<sup>369</sup> Emma Waterton describes a more-than representational conception of heritage, not as a singular theory, but as plural ‘theories’, which demonstrates the diversity that can be found within this area of enquiry.<sup>369</sup> These theories rely on, and have evolved alongside, attempts over the past few decades to formalise and typologise ‘affect’ and ‘atmosphere’, a move which has been identified as the ‘affective turn’ within the social sciences and the humanities.<sup>370</sup> I will go on to discuss this further in the following section, but in brief here, Lorimer states that, perhaps unsurprisingly, attempts to name and categorise the impacts to particular sensory states or emotions in this context remains difficult.<sup>371</sup> There are political and ethical impacts that stem from naming what is often inarticulable, and the western epistemological urge to identify them through a narrow verbal language can be problematic, which adds further weighting to the argument against universalising human experience.<sup>372</sup> Through reading around this area of heritage enquiry, more-than representational theories can take researchers in conceptual circles, but, as is its nature, it is through ‘practice’, and through emplacement, that its value can be fully explored.<sup>373</sup> As

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<sup>368</sup> cont. Rebecca Madgin, David Webb, Pollyanna Ruiz, and Tim Snelson. ‘Resisting Relocation and Reconceptualising Authenticity: The Experiential and Emotional Values of the Southbank Undercroft, London, UK’. *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 24, no. 6 (3 July 2018): 585–98.

<sup>369</sup> Rebecca Madgin, *Why do Historic Places Matter? Emotional Attachments to Urban Heritage* (2021) Project Report, University of Glasgow.

Denis Byrne, *Counterheritage: Critical Perspectives on Heritage Conservation in Asia*. (Routledge Studies in Heritage 5. New York: Routledge, 2014)

De Nardi, *Visualising Place, Memory and the Imagined*.

<sup>369</sup> Waterton, ‘A More-Than-Representational Understanding of Heritage? The “Past” and the Politics of Affect,’ 823.

<sup>370</sup> Anderson, *Encountering Affect*, 5.

<sup>371</sup> Lorimer, ‘Cultural Geography: Non-Representational Conditions and Concerns,’ 552.

<sup>372</sup> Tolia-Kelly, ‘Affect – an Ethnocentric Encounter? Exploring the “universalist” Imperative of Emotional/Affectual Geographies,’ 214.

<sup>373</sup> Waterton, ‘A More-Than-Representational Understanding of Heritage? The “Past” and the Politics of Affect.’

David Crouch, *Flirting with Space: Journeys and Creativity* (Farnham, Surrey: Ashgate, 2010).

Derek P. McCormack, *Refrains for Moving Bodies: Experience and Experiment in Affective Spaces* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2013).

Waterton found in her 2014 exploration of more-than representational concepts of heritage, she needed to open her discussion with a personal narrative of experiencing the Hiroshima Peace Memorial Museum in 1999, to draw the reader into the appropriate conceptual space.<sup>374</sup> It appears clear that the political discourses which shape the role of heritage are easier to identify than the embodied relationships with those discourses. In a valid bid to not restrict meanings through problematic typologising, attempts to clearly define what might not even be nameable, might restrict, rather than enlighten, and here Waterton offers a physical and temporal analogy rather than a form of categorisation. She suggests locating the role of more-than representational approaches on a 'reinvigorated axis' in order to understand the co-productive role of 'heritage' and its potential to affect.<sup>375</sup>

Although this area of inquiry has continued to develop since Waterton's 2014 paper, there is still a significant space for developing a methodology of how to do this in practice.<sup>376</sup> Teaching creative practice has shown me that it might be more useful to conceive of the more-than representational as a place in which to explore, alone and in company, rather than as an axis on which to rotate. I argue that scenography is a well-seasoned research methodology, which creates a conceptual but still permeable boundary in time and space. I have applied this to demonstrate how a heritage site might affect a visitor, whilst remaining open to the subjective nature of its networked affect. As a result, I have employed multiple methods to capture, from a researcher's perspective, how participants express their responses to the sites; I have also, through the use of video, worked to develop a more-than textual representation of those expressions, through the scenographic worlding concept of 'scenes'. I will explain these methods in more detail throughout Chapter 5. To conclude this current chapter there is a further exploration of what might actually be meant when using the terms *atmosphere* and *affect*, and how this informs the more-than representational approach that is scenography.

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<sup>374</sup> Waterton, 'A More-Than-Representational Understanding of Heritage? The "Past" and the Politics of Affect.'

<sup>375</sup> Waterton, 'A More-Than-Representational Understanding of Heritage? The "Past" and the Politics of Affect,' 830.

<sup>376</sup> Tolia-Kelly, Waterton, and Watson, 'Introduction' in *Heritage, Affect and Emotion*.

## 4.4 Atmosphere and Affect

Anthropologist Kathleen Stewart is consistently cited across the academic disciplines interested in the more-than representational, due to her work on the role of atmosphere in human experience.<sup>377</sup> Her description of atmosphere informs my discussion of the powerful embodied affect of heritage sites that correspond with the memories and identities of visitors.<sup>378</sup> She states:

An atmosphere is not an inert context but a force field in which people find themselves. It is not an effect of other forces but a lived affect—a capacity to affect and to be affected that pushes a present into composition, an expressivity, the sense of potentiality and event. It is an attunement of the senses, of labors and imaginaries to potential ways of living in or living through things.<sup>379</sup>

In her 2011 paper, *Atmospheric Attunements*, Stewart 'proposes an analytic attention to the charged atmospheres of everyday life', to which I contend that scenography is ideally placed to attune.<sup>380</sup> For my study of the everyday affective experience of heritage sites, an attention to sensed experience requires an understanding of the affects and atmosphere that those senses are attending to. This realm, for want of a better description, is alive and saturated with material and aesthetic qualities that are felt but, as philosopher Gernot Böhme suggests, contain something 'inexpressible'.<sup>381</sup>

Scenography is described in theatrical terms, by Rachel Hann, as an ecology of 'scent, light, sound and texture, as well as tempo, aura, familiarity and motion', and the phenomenological experience of place includes that of the atmospheric, affective qualities that ensue as a result of the relationships within that ecology.<sup>382</sup> A

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<sup>377</sup> For example, Ben Anderson, Derek McCormack, Sarah Pink, Tim Ingold and David Crouch.

<sup>378</sup> Waterton, 'A More-Than-Representational Understanding of Heritage? The "Past" and the Politics of Affect,' 828.

<sup>379</sup> Kathleen Stewart 'Atmospheric Attunements'. *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 29, no. 3 (June 2011): 445–53, 445.

<sup>380</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>381</sup> Gernot Böhme, 'The Art of the Stage Set as a Paradigm for an Aesthetics of Atmospheres' in Gernot Böhme *Aesthetics of Atmospheres* (Routledge, 2018).

<sup>382</sup> Hann, *Beyond Scenography*, 3.



scenographer might not be able to name in all surety what each audience member might be feeling as they relate to the atmospheric experience that has been designed, but a skilled practitioner is still able to create a certain mood that accents the performance. This approach exemplifies but also problematises Sumartojo and Pink's contention that atmospheres cannot be designed, even if they believe interventions that facilitate their emergence can.<sup>383</sup> I agree that no design can completely control the received outcome simply because of what the person experiencing that design brings to it. It might be more apt to say that the reciprocal reception and co-creation of an atmosphere cannot entirely be controlled, but this is a part of the knowledge on which a scenographer can capitalise to design the nature or cadence of that atmosphere.

The scenographer's design forms a permeable boundary that holds the co-creation between the designed material qualities of a site, the performers, their performance, and the audience. In the context of my research for this PhD, the scenographer's design is my research into, and conception of, the site, and the 'scene' is the affective moment expressed by the participant that I have isolated for analysis and knowledge exchange. This knowledge of 'how' these atmospheres are brought into being is a powerful tool in trying to understand a heritage site's affective qualities and can help inform how it might then be interpreted and managed by its stakeholders. In foregrounding a heritage site's affective potentiality, the body as place, centred in networks of meaning, 'our visual narrative about heritage sites are troubled, enriched and made more inclusive'.<sup>384</sup>

## Affect

In most respects, the causal relationship between *affect* and *atmosphere*, understood through more-than representational approaches, is so intertwined it is difficult to discuss one without the other. I will briefly separate the two, to explain here what the two terms have come to mean to the practitioners that have informed by own perspectives. Ben Anderson describes affects as

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<sup>383</sup> Sumartojo and Pink, *Atmospheres and the Experiential World: Theory and Methods*, 96.

<sup>384</sup> Tolia-Kelly, Waterton, and Watson, eds., *Heritage, Affect and Emotion: Politics, Practices and Infrastructures*, 7.

... a heterogenous range of phenomena that are taken to be part of life: background moods such as depression, moments of intense and focused involvement such as euphoria, immediate visceral responses of shame and hate, shared atmospheres of hope or panic, eruptions of passion, lifelong dedication of love, fleeting feelings of boredom, societal moods such as anxiety or fear, neurological bodily transitions such as a feeling of aliveness, waves of feeling ... amongst much else.<sup>385</sup>

Writing in 2008, Thrift declares that affect and sensation, which are concepts-percepts that he notes are as important as signs and signification, 'have only recently begun to receive their due'.<sup>386</sup> Feminist theorist Sarah Ahmed clarifies that this relatively recent acknowledgment belies the longer history of feminist scholars attending to 'the conceptual links between woman, body and emotion'.<sup>387</sup>

Ahmed, in her discussion of the affective turn, seeks to raise awareness of a move in academia to separate affect from emotion, that Tolia-Kelly was similarly guarding against in her response to exclusionary non-representational frameworks.<sup>388</sup> Ahmed makes explicit that she believes that this so-called affective turn, to draw a 'contrast between mobile impersonal affect and contained personal emotion, suggests that the affect/emotion distinction can operate as a gendered distinction'.<sup>389</sup> In this respect again then, it is important to note that my use of the term 'affect' is within the theoretical framework of the *more-than* representational. It not only includes, but is wholly reliant on, the fully embodied, messy, and often imbalanced interaction between affect and emotion, and their symbiotic relationships with neurodiverse forms of sensory regulation and social existence.

The affectivity of a site such as Newhaven Fort, with its uncompromising presence, as a military defence post and memorial that sits at the very edge of the English coast, allows visitors to stand on its ramparts and lean into the sometimes-tangible sea air, and the waters it guards against. This could be felt through imagining the

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<sup>385</sup> Anderson, *Encountering Affect: Capacities, Apparatuses, Conditions*, 5.

<sup>386</sup> Thrift, *Non-Representational Theory: Space, Politics, Affect*, 13.

<sup>387</sup> Sara Ahmed, *Cultural Politics of Emotion* (Edinburgh University Press, 2014) 205.

<sup>388</sup> Tolia-Kelly, 'Affect – an Ethnocentric Encounter? Exploring the “universalist” Imperative of Emotional/Affectual Geographies.'

<sup>389</sup> Ahmed, *Cultural Politics of Emotion*, 207.

experience of the soldiers who were posted there, or a personal need for escape, projected onto the horizon. Its concrete passages bore and burrow through the soft chalk cliff, their internal acoustics resonating with eerie qualities of sound that are often impossible to identify.

Wyndham Court is also an unapologetic concrete presence, which stands as a resolute representation of the Modernist ideals of a bygone age. With no obvious reference to its listing visible on the surface of the building, it appears dirty and 'unloved', with strong lines and shapes that create dark corners. There is little vegetation to break up its hard surfaces. The details that stand out to a passer-by, depending on perspective, might be the netting that covers balconies to stop the pigeons, or bright and cheery pots full of flowers. There is often a sense of being watched within the public court, which can prompt self-conscious and speculative glances up to the window. Such interactions are the correspondences that, Ingold posits, iteratively emplace the human in its environment.<sup>390</sup>

Affect, therefore, is not considered, in the context of more-than representational thinking, as a phenomenon that starts and ends in an individual's corporeality; it is not reduced to an 'in here' and 'out there' but it does speak of the 'now'.<sup>391</sup> Anderson states that affect is not only about how the body is affected but how it in turn affects the space around it, and in that affective relationship there occurs an excess that is greater than that interaction.<sup>392</sup> This concept follows a Deleuzian model that has had a significant impact on how academics, such as Anderson, consider where affect comes from. Naming the influence of affect as an 'assemblage', he proposes that the body acts in relation to an imminent plane of affective qualities, drawn on and added to as the human responds to what is happening around them.<sup>393</sup>

There is a significant quantity of literature that now seeks to explore and elucidate on what affect actually is and how it might be generated, which is again, beyond the scope of this thesis. In scenographic terms however, and in a bid to formulate a methodology for understanding human experience in heritage spaces and places, I

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<sup>390</sup> Ingold, *The Life of Lines*, 154.

<sup>391</sup> Ben Anderson, 'Becoming and Being Hopeful: Towards a Theory of Affect'. *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 24, no. 5 (October 2006): 733–52.

<sup>392</sup> Anderson, *Encountering Affect: Capacities, Apparatuses, Conditions*, 9.

<sup>393</sup> Anderson, *Encountering Affect: Capacities, Apparatuses, Conditions*, 10.

concur with other more-than representational practitioners that there is an energy, a *something* that comes through human correspondence within the places that they spend time. In my research, I acknowledge that this affective relationship can be formed in a positive or negative way, which in turn imbues the fabric of the heritage site with qualities that work in relation to the body. When considering my relationship with participants, something is transmitted between us and resonates around us, to charge the atmosphere as we walk around the sites together

## Atmosphere

The word *atmosphere* was initially only used as a meteorological description of the air that ‘carries the weather’ around our heads.<sup>394</sup> The use of the term in the philosophical field of aesthetics is relatively recent, and was originally used to explain how the environment can affect how we feel.<sup>395</sup> This has since developed into a study of how humans can, in turn, affect and interact as agents in the atmosphere themselves, and here we are returned to Hann’s scenographic idea that we are part of an affective ecology.<sup>396</sup> As I have previously outlined, study of the affective qualities of the atmospheres experienced in heritage sites has become a key focus in the field of critical heritage studies. It is a turn that Tolia-Kelly et al. are instrumental in developing:

[... it will serve to] propel heritage studies away from simpler ‘two dimensional’ textual heritage readings and narrative accounts towards engaging with experience, the sensory realm and affective materialities and atmospheres of heritage landscapes.<sup>397</sup>

In the context of bodies in place, I concur with cultural geographer Derek McCormack’s statement that ‘moving bodies participate in the generation of affective spaces.’<sup>398</sup> I would extend this position to include the stationary body that can still interactively engage with the material qualities of the setting itself. Here

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<sup>394</sup> Böhme, ‘The Art of the Stage Set as a Paradigm for an Aesthetics of Atmospheres’ in Böhme, *Aesthetics of Atmospheres*, 9.

<sup>395</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>396</sup> Hann, *Beyond Scenography*, 83.

<sup>397</sup> Tolia-Kelly, Waterton, and Watson, eds. *Heritage, Affect and Emotion: Politics, Practices and Infrastructures*, 1.

<sup>398</sup> McCormack, *Refrains for Moving Bodies: Experience and Experiment in Affective Spaces*, 4.

scenographic design and the setting of the performance space offers a useful parallel to think about these relationships. Böhme advocates such an approach in his writing on the aesthetics of atmosphere.

Böhme contends that atmosphere is ‘a primary “object” of human perception’ that needs to be conceived as an aesthetic of the ‘everyday’, rather than purely a realm of aesthetic evaluation of western art and artistic appreciation.<sup>399</sup> Understanding that aesthetic experience is rooted first in day-to-day life was explored by pragmatist John Dewey in the 1930s in his thesis *Art as Experience*, and has been instrumental in the work of others, such as Tim Ingold and Ben Highmore.<sup>400</sup> The experience of everyday aesthetics, as Highmore has explored, can make the numinous tangible, by drawing focus to the particular affective object or feeling, to then consider its role in the more general experience of atmosphere.<sup>401</sup> If the particular is pleasing, then it can perform to contribute to a generally positive atmosphere, or ameliorate a negative one. If a particular is negative, it can, in the same way, either disrupt a sense of happiness or ease, or add to a growing sense of disquiet.<sup>402</sup> In the experience of a heritage site that disquiet could be something the visitor actively seeks, such as the ghost hunter, or lover of the gothic or macabre. A visitor could be seeking peace and tranquillity away from the sensorially overwhelming city, or difficult personal life, or be looking to reconfirm a certain sense of identity and belonging.

Importantly, as Highmore, Anderson and Tolia-Kelly maintain, attention to the affective qualities of everyday aesthetic experiences is far from mundane. Indeed, affect can be innately political, through bodies that are defined and controlled by the authorised discourses of their environments. With respect to my research, it underlines the powerful societal roles that heritage sites can have through their very *presence*, and the roles that affect has in shaping its production and consumption of atmospheres through embodied interaction. As Anderson explains:

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<sup>399</sup> Böhme, *Aesthetics of Atmospheres*, 23.

<sup>400</sup> John Dewey, *Art as Experience*. Perigee trade pbk. ed. A Perigee Book (New York, NY: Perigee, 2005).

<sup>401</sup> Highmore, *Ordinary Lives: Studies in the Everyday*, 1.

<sup>402</sup> *Ibid.*

Affects are constantly infusing embodied practices, resonating with discourses, coalescing around images, becoming part of institutions, animating political violences, catalysing political communities and being known and intervened in, amongst much else.<sup>403</sup>

These factors underline the importance of attending to the everyday experience of a heritage site, and its affective aesthetic peculiarities, when seeking to facilitate connections with those that spend time there. Walking, talking, and experiencing with each participant offers a unique experience in which my motivations as a researcher create the conditions for that social interaction. Highmore highlights this central idea in the study of embodied attention to aesthetic and atmosphere. He states: 'our feelings, emotions and passions that seem so "private" and "internal" are, in actuality, socio-material forces that circulate externally.'<sup>404</sup> Rather than consider this a detriment to the research, I have embraced it and explored its role through the process of walking together.

## 4.5 Affective walking

The majority of the interviews undertaken with the participants for my research were conducted as videoed walking tours. As a dynamic, and, it has been argued, a more egalitarian ethnographic research method, walking interviews have served to open space for 'difference', within my research.<sup>405</sup> Ingold and Vergunst state that, '[l]ife is as much a long walk as it is a long conversation, and the ways along which we walk are those along which we live.'<sup>406</sup> In our 'going along' together, walking has added further dynamism to the shared enquiry between myself and the participant, as we

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<sup>403</sup> Anderson, *Encountering Affect: Capacities, Apparatuses, Conditions*, 6.

<sup>404</sup> Highmore, *Ordinary Lives: Studies in the Everyday*, 1.

<sup>405</sup> Kara, *Creative Research Methods: A Practical Guide*, 114.

<sup>406</sup> Ingold and Vergunst, eds., *Ways of Walking: Ethnography and Practice on Foot*, 1.

<sup>407</sup> Stephanie Springgay and Sarah E. Truman, *Walking Methodologies in a More-than-Human World: WalkingLab*. Routledge Advances in Research Methods 24 (London: Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group, 2018).

<sup>406</sup> Ingold and Vergunst, eds., *Ways of Walking: Ethnography and Practice on Foot*, 1.

generate the affective space around us.<sup>407</sup> Through videoing those walks, I have also opened up the opportunity for attending to more-than representational forms of communication, such as gesture, an important mode of communication that I will speak about further in Section 5.2.

Academics currently focusing on art and walking in research, Springgay and Truman, describe this form of research as 'walking-with', and have found that there are four major concepts that are common within the method.<sup>408</sup> Mirroring the attention of a scenographer, these concepts are '*place, sensory inquiry, embodiment and rhythm*.'<sup>409</sup> In the context of my research, walking and learning together has created the opportunity to unpack how heritage might be understood. Scenographic praxis facilitates this, by providing a practical and conceptual framework for the broad spectrum of possible embodied experiences and articulations, working in correspondence with a site's affective materiality and atmosphere, through walking around it together.

Walking, or indeed negotiating a heritage site by other means, is a correspondence between the body and the environment that emplaces it. This negotiation can perform to orient, distract, and facilitate a sense of safety and contemplation, as much as insecurity and fear. It can be with purpose or aimless and can define what it means to be 'home'. Places have rhythms and atmospheres to which bodies can attune, and such interaction can also be, as Smith and Hetherington suggest, 'a generative and creative force'.<sup>410</sup> Ours is an embodied 'correspondence' that weaves experience, learning and growing as a form of 'meshwork'.<sup>411</sup> In considering walking and conversing, the modes of communication to which I have attending during the walks, and in subsequently watching the recorded interviews, include, alongside gesture, those of pause, speed, orientation, metaphor and rhythm.

As a constitutive process, when walking, humans are connected to the ground through their feet, or negotiated through mobility aids. In all instances it is our

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<sup>407</sup> Ingold and Vergunst, eds., *Ways of Walking: Ethnography and Practice on Foot*, 1.

<sup>408</sup> Springgay and Truman, *Walking Methodologies in a More-than-Human World: WalkingLab*, 2.

<sup>409</sup> *Ibid*, (Original emphasis).

<sup>410</sup> Kevin Hetherington, 'Rhythm and Noise: The City, Memory and the Archive'. *The Sociological Review* 61, no. 1 suppl (June 2013): 17–33, 6.

<sup>411</sup> Ingold, *The Life of Lines*, 154.

proprioceptive and vestibular systems that are working hard to keep us balanced, upright and safe. This can be made harder or easier depending on our age, health and disability factors, or conditions that might impede coordination development, such as dyspraxia. Both Wyndham Court and Newhaven Fort caused issues for access. Sue and David were unable to come to Wyndham Court itself because David's dementia meant his needs would be unpredictable, and Sue, with some mobility issues herself, felt unable to support him in that environment. Newhaven Fort is a site that has significant barriers to access because of its steep slopes and uneven surfaces. The fort's management are adapting the site as funds become available, but I have witnessed the difficulties posed to a wheelchair user, not least that person's significant anxiety when going down the steep slopes. This demonstrates the limitations of this particular research method, and a need to investigate how emplaced sense-making can be explored in alternative ways.

In this respect it is important to clarify here that my approach does not assume a positive experience for the participant, or that a moment with meaning for me, will feel the same for the participant. As I will reflect further in my conclusion (Chapter 9), the opportunity to share and gather feedback from participants about their experience has not been feasible within this research period, but it will be an important step to take over the coming months. This also facilitates a more ethical reflexive process, to help me consider how I am conducting the interviews, how I have oriented myself and how I have managed the hierarchies innate to this type of research.

Having now introduced the theoretical concepts that have informed my research, I will now explain, in Chapter 5, how this has worked in practice through the methods that I have employed.



## 5 Embodied enquiry methods

### Chapter introduction

This chapter builds on the previous overview of pertinent theory by offering practical examples of how those theories manifest and intersect throughout my research.

Scenography is considered here both as a conceptual framework, and a rationale for the methods, that can be applied through a scenographer's research practice. In Chapter 4, I acknowledged Pink and Sumartojo's contention that the atmosphere of an environment cannot be completely controlled by design, but I do argue that a scenographer can design the 'nature' or 'cadence' of an atmosphere through their attention to affect.<sup>412</sup> Attention to affect in a heritage setting is a core element of my methodological praxis, and scenography, I argue, offers the attitude and the tools to understand the impact of a site's affective atmosphere on the participants who have taken part in my research.

In Section 5.1, I explain the research process of a scenographic theatre designer, through the approaches outlined by Pamela Howard, and how those approaches combine as a form of emplaced research. I then demonstrate how those approaches have manifested in my own embodied research, in Section 5.2, 'Walking, drawing, filming'. Walking, drawing, and filming describe the mobile and productive nature of the methods that I have employed. Within Section 5.3, I will explore my research through the collection of 'data', and the sharing of visual and narrative descriptions of the 'scenes' identified from the interviews. Following a theoretical position proposed by Pink, I have explored how each stage is, in and of itself, a particular form of placemaking.<sup>413</sup> This offers the opportunity for a deeper critical attention to my research and dissemination, and through this, a broader attention to how my methodology contributes to an understanding of heritage sites, and how they are experienced.

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<sup>412</sup> Sumartojo and Pink, *Atmospheres and the Experiential World: Theory and Methods*, 96.

<sup>413</sup> Pink, *Doing Sensory Ethnography*, 125.

## 5.1 A scenographic framework

### Methods

Howard outlines two ‘pathways’ integral to her scenographic research practice. She states that ‘[s]cenography demands a research methodology that objectively belongs to the project and subjectively reflects the personal eye of the researcher’.<sup>414</sup> The first ‘pathway’ taken by Howard, mirrors the contextual research that I have undertaken to get an overview of the sites, and their historical and broad cultural contexts. This involved consulting historical texts, archives and local museum displays, and other first person community resources, such as local Facebook groups, TripAdvisor and other social media, the results of which I drew together to introduce each case study, in Chapter 2.<sup>415</sup>

The second ‘pathway’ Howard describes as an ‘entirely different process of ‘looking further’.<sup>416</sup> This is where she delves further into the cultural factors that might resonate with an audience, and facilitate a deeper connection to a performance piece, or in respect of this PhD research, the heritage site. In my research, this pathway helped me to foreground information shared by the participants within the interviews, to better understand the social and cultural factors that might have influenced their experiences and encounters. This has proved useful for drawing a sense of both the connections, and some of the diversity, within the ‘community’ that is associated with each site.

### Primary research

Howard explains that her primary research is a search ‘for something that is not yet known or defined.’ Her work aims to allow ‘the unexpected and accidental into the adventure.’<sup>417</sup> It is clear from her writing that being immersed in the stories, and spaces in which those stories are to be told, is integral to that research. Depending on the theatre production, this method might involve conducting interviews with, or historical research on, a community that is being depicted, to get a sense of the

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<sup>414</sup> Howard, *What Is Scenography?* 78.

<sup>415</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>416</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>417</sup> *Ibid.*

intangible ways in which a place takes meaning.<sup>418</sup> When working on site-specific productions, experiencing the materiality of the site is also vital because '[e]very place has a history and story that speaks through its stones and walls.'<sup>419</sup> In my own work I have discovered that it is not just the act of immersing myself in that place, but also the reflection on how I approach that place, that helps me get a sense of its personality.

For example, by taking the train on my two-hour journey from Lewes to Southampton, and by observing how the people getting on and off the train subtly change, I can see the changes in landscape and urban development, I can hear the conversations, and I can feel the attitudes that I carry with me as I leave the station. My twenty-minute train trip to Newhaven Fort is shorter but no less influential, as I pass through the chalk landscape carved out of the gently rolling South Downs that are a backdrop to the industrial seaside town. With my eyes and ears attuned, I start to smell the sea, to see the quality of light, and how with it, colours change. As a result, my body becomes connected to the train in motion, my mind can wander, and I can become open to the multiple ways of being and knowing through all of my senses. By situating myself in each place through its contextual geography, making contact through the landscape that defines the trajectory of the train, I can begin to attune to the affective influences on each site's atmosphere.<sup>420</sup>

Primary research also involves a more iterative approach that shapes contextual research, which has been guided by the stories and memories of the participants themselves. For example, at Newhaven Fort. Lauren's connection to local folklore led me to seek out local historical sources, to better understand the roots of her beliefs. Social historian Jaqueline Simpson's 2013 text, *Folklore of Sussex*, not only gave context to the folklore Lauren referred to directly, but gave me a richer understanding of an area still characterised by its agricultural roots, and the shifts in practices and beliefs as industrialisation irrevocably changed those ways of life at the

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<sup>418</sup> Howard gives the example of a production in Belgrade that was a cultural hub for the Jewish community up until the 1940s. Artists were tasked with researching the life story of one of the people who had lived there, and their research was presented as a first-person monologue with accompanying visual images.

<sup>419</sup> Howard, *What Is Scenography?* 81.

<sup>420</sup> Sumartojo and Pink, *Atmospheres and the Experiential World: Theory and Methods*.

turn of the twentieth century.<sup>421</sup> Walking and talking with Lauren created connections in my own mind, as I sought to understand the roots and networks for those whose personal and family identities had been shaped by those beliefs. Lauren's stories and passion made me want to search for ways of identifying with her, and perhaps feel a little of what she felt as she looked across the landscape. My body began to feel more emplaced as she triggered my own memories of a boat blessing in Lewes, by local priestess Melissa Corkhill, and the important *meaning* of the intangible heritage of the local area started to come to life. Although these practices attract delighted audiences, they are not a performance, but performative acts of collective memory that reinscribe emplaced connections to those for whom they have meaning.



Fig. 5.1: Blessing of the Pilot Gig, the 'Billy Pritchard', at the Harvey's Brewery Depot in Lewes, by local Pagan Priestess, Melissa Corkhill, April 2019. Image: Carlotta Luke.<sup>422</sup>

<sup>421</sup> Simpson, *Folklore of Sussex*.

<sup>422</sup> Carlotta Luke, 'Blessing the boat', *Carlotta Luke* [n.d.]. Web.

The procession was led by Skulldrumery, the drumming band that features in the Newhaven Fort Scenographic Video (Chapter 7).

This is one of the multiple examples that give a tangible presence to the affective nature of memory and experience, triggered through the materiality and atmosphere of each site, as I walk and talk with the participants.

## Observation

Howard spends time researching a site using methods that I too have adopted and developed further to become connected to the materiality of each place, and to the experiences shared with the participants. The methods that I used to capture 'data', in this context, follow those developed within the field of ethnography. Indeed, Howard even calls the primary element of research that she uses in her design process, 'field research.'<sup>423</sup> An early embodied understanding of a site principally involves spending time *being* at that site, and there are multiple ways of recording that experience.

As I have previously outlined in Chapter 4.1, drawing and sketching (see fig. 5.2 in Section 5.2) is an important medium that I have employed, as well as recording my own body in place through video and stills using my camera phone. Audio-recordings, digital photographs, and film footage produced with a GoPro-style sports camera worn by participants, also offered a multifaced body of visual and material opportunities, to capture the rich textures of communication that could be analysed in conjunction with the participants' words and gestures. It was through combining these multiple methods that I could then identify the scenes I felt most useful to understand, and to communicate the emplaced expressions of the participants.

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<sup>423</sup> Howard, *What Is Scenography?* 80, 81.

## 5.2 Drawing, walking, filming

This section offers a practical explanation of the methods that I have employed throughout my research to gain the insights for which I advocate. It is divided into four key themes, the first three of which are:

- drawing (both in recording and synthesising, as a researcher tool for understanding)
- walking (both alone and with participants)
- digital recording (video and audio, alone and as part of the interviews)

The final section (5.3) is where I attend to the performative role that both my research practice, and analysis of that research, perform as a form of ‘place-making’. This follows a theoretical framework, developed by Pink, which argues that video ethnography through recording, editing, and sharing, creates three novel levels of placemaking.<sup>424</sup>

### Drawing

On arrival at a site, either for recruitment, or before I spend time with participants, I would often try to find an unobtrusive spot and start to draw what I see (Fig 5.2). This is a useful tool for starting to enmesh with the site. As a form of attention, it draws on all my senses, so I become attuned to the atmosphere. Drawing can give purpose and agency where merely sitting and staring at people and the surroundings might arouse suspicion and discomfort in those being observed.

Drawing is an embodied form of data gathering, increasingly used as a social research method, that includes mapping or expressing emotions which might be difficult to verbally articulate.<sup>425</sup> Amongst multiple applications it can enable a designer/drawer the opportunity for synthesis and reflection as a form of ‘ideational or thinking drawing’.<sup>426</sup> Urban geographer Aparna Parikh has used drawing as a

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<sup>424</sup> Pink, *Doing Sensory Ethnography*, 125. Note: throughout my thesis I have chosen to write the term ‘placemaking’ without the hyphen that Pink has added in her own work.

<sup>425</sup> Kara, *Creative Research Methods: A Practical Guide*, 111.

<sup>426</sup> Kara, *Creative Research Methods: A Practical Guide*, 111, 112. Field, *Scenographic Design Drawing*, 33.

reflexive feminist methodology, to help her engage with her fieldwork beyond in-person interviews with the women who work at night-time call centres in Mumbai, India.<sup>427</sup> For Parikh, as with my own work, this plays with the sense of 'insider-outsider' that allows for a simultaneously observant and reflexive stance. By giving herself the purpose of recording at a distance with paper and pencil, Parikh was able to avoid the scrutiny and disapproval of any men questioning her presence out late on the streets. In a similar way, sitting on the new concrete benches in Southampton's Station Quarter, I became less self-conscious as I drew (Fig. 5.2), perhaps others supposing that I might be one of the many students that swell the town's population in term time, if indeed they considered me at all.

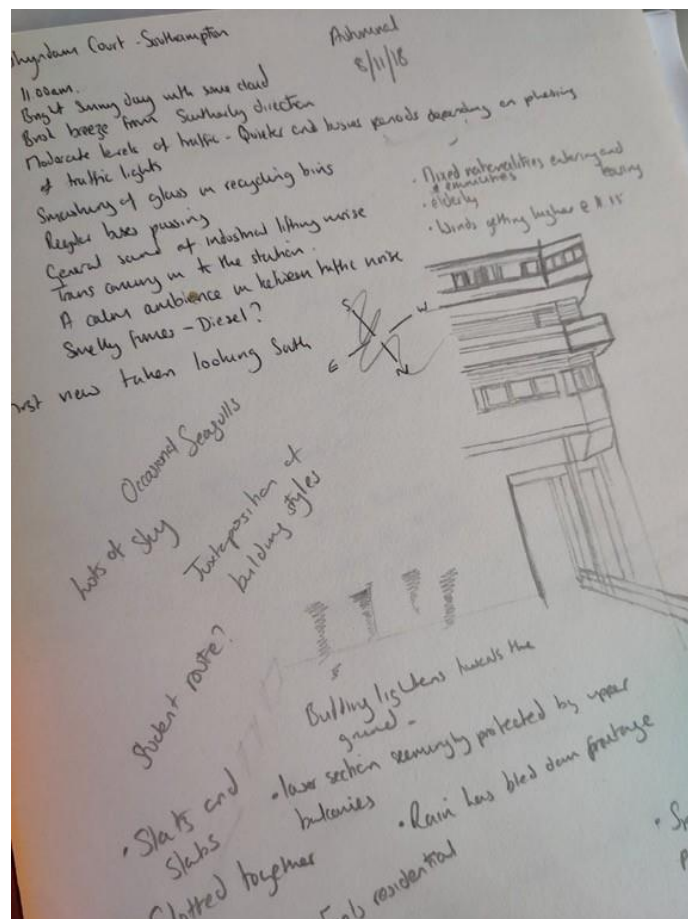


Fig. 5.2: Observational sketch of Wyndham Court looking west to east, November 2018, Harriet Parry.

<sup>427</sup> Aparna Parikh, 'Insider-Outsider as Process: Drawing as Reflexive Feminist Methodology during Fieldwork,' *Cultural Geographies* 27, no. 3 (July 2020): 437–52.

Sitting and absorbing the atmosphere allowed me to notice the rhythms and repetitions of sounds, such as bottles smashing into the recycling bin, and the buses stopping and passing. I had time to notice that Wyndham Court's dirty façade was not uniform but had an ombré effect, due to the way the rain and dirt had tracked down its surface.

For scenographic design however, drawing goes beyond the act of merely recording what is there and can also be used for later analysis. Sue Field explains that scenographic drawings are 'renderings', created as a synthesis of the designer's research.<sup>428</sup> The drawings perform as palimpsests of a sense of time, describing duration and rhythm, the movement and motivation of the actors in place, and the space in which they inhabit.<sup>429</sup> Following performance designer Arnold Aronson, Field states that these drawings are primary 'sites of revelation'; as epistemic tools, they draw out and illustrate the complexity of identity and narrative in action.<sup>430</sup>

The scenographic sketch that I created after my interview with John, 'Looming' (Fig. 5.3), was a means to try and recreate the overbearing sense of the building as we both stood at its base discussing the way the dirt was ingrained in its surface. I used watercolour to recreate the physical sense of the rain and muck travelling down its surface, then made the angle even more acute through taking a digital photograph. Returning to this sketch helped me to trigger my somatic memory of that event, as well as keep the intensity of John's feelings fresher in my mind as time passed.

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<sup>428</sup> Field, *Scenographic Design Drawing: Performative Drawing in an Expanded Field*, 3.

<sup>429</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>430</sup> *Ibid.*



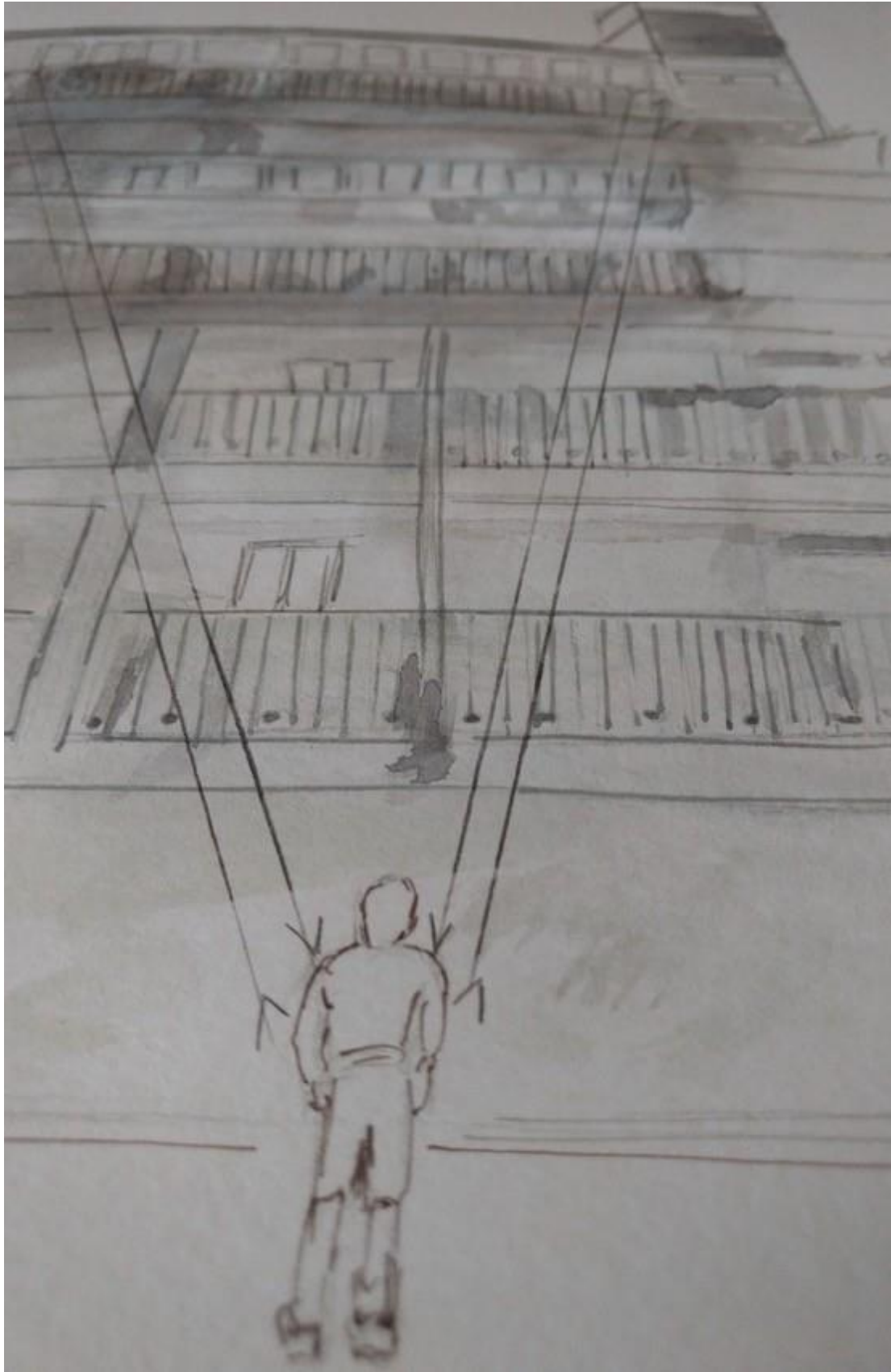


Fig.5.3: Scenographic sketch 'Looming', September 2019, Harriet Parry.

Howard takes guidance on the style of her drawing from directly connecting with the materiality of the building she is researching, and this is a technique that I also adopted in my research. She says:

Climbing up the ramparts deep inside the thick walls, I pass through dark unventilated cells. When my eyes get accustomed to the gloom, I see drawings, ancient graffiti or scraffiti, scratching piercing deep into the surface of the wall. This is the quality that I am seeking, the key to the feel of the images I want to create that will not be drawings but scratchings. I tore a page from my sketchbook and with a soft pencil rubbed over the scratched surface of stone. First-hand reference.<sup>431</sup>

My attention was similarly drawn when sketching both Wyndham Court and Newhaven Fort, not so much through defining a 'style' for a design, but my attention to each site's material qualities. I wanted to 'see' through sketching, the way that Wyndham Court occupied space and the sky, or areas of Newhaven Fort where the built and the ecological appeared to have fused. I also attempted to make texture rubbings at each site, Wyndham Court's sawn-timber effect surface providing more aesthetically pleasing and recognisable results than the fort (Fig. 5.5), which appeared bobbly and scratchy and could have come from any pavement or aggregate wall (Fig. 5.4).

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<sup>431</sup> Howard, *What Is Scenography?* 82.



Fig. 5.4: Newhaven Fort aggregate texture rubbing, April 2019, Harriet Parry.



Fig. 5.5: Wyndham Court 'sawn-timber' concrete texture rubbing, May 2019, Harriet Parry.

As a creative method and form, the act of sketching and the creation of ‘thinking drawings’, often an amalgamation of photographs, sketches, sound recordings and narrative accounts, are powerful tools for the scenographer. Anthropologists and ethnographers have long used drawing for the ‘objective’ study of human experience in space and place.<sup>432</sup> However, it is in the creation of ‘thinking drawings’ away from place, as a form of knowledge production, that an often sub-conscious enmeshment of the representational with the more-than representational can be synthesised and visually articulated.<sup>433</sup> This was often the point at which I first identified the ‘scenes’ that I wanted to draw out from the interviews and my field research. Those scenes and the memories triggered by creating the drawings, became layered with the sound and video recordings from the interviews as well as images and historical detail that I had gathered from the various archives.



Fig. 5.6: Scenographic sketch, ‘Three Layers of History’ Newhaven Fort Parade Ground, November 2021, Harriet Parry.

<sup>432</sup> Field, *Scenographic Design Drawing: Performative Drawing in an Expanded Field*, 3. Howard, *What Is Scenography?* 3.

<sup>433</sup> Field, *Scenographic Design Drawing: Performative Drawing in an Expanded Field*, 3.

## Walking

Springgay and Truman's four concepts of walking research, *place*, *sensory inquiry*, *embodiment*, and *rhythm*, are as useful on solo walks as they are in company.<sup>434</sup> Indeed, attention to each of these concepts can allow an engagement with the environment in much the same way as sketching can. I can remain open to my experiences but channel my reflection through my attention to the senses that are most enlivened. This would include how this impacts the orientation of my body, where I look next and the speed and rhythm, or indeed pause, as I negotiate each site, my phone camera often at the ready to take snapshots that will later be used for personal elicitation.

As a form of 'reflexive research', walking alone, with or without my phone camera, has served to supplement sketches, field notes and reflections, to create the autoethnographic narrative analysis articulated through images and text.<sup>435</sup> As a form of embodied ethnographic fieldwork that helps to 'emplace' me in the site, this approach has been guided by academics working in slightly different ways, which helped to inform not only how I experienced walking through each site, but importantly, how this might relate to the experience of the participants. Tim Edensor, for example, explores different modes of walking through ruins that, he states, destabilise the body and preconceptions about space, authority, and how this relates to the numinous and memories of childhood and adventure.<sup>436</sup> Cultural geographer John Wylie's article on narrating the self through walking in landscape, creates space, and offers an example of a more immediate and temporal account of his experiences of walking alone on the South West Coast Path.<sup>437</sup> It is the nature of affect to which he attends, and how his emotional and sensory reactions to various

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<sup>434</sup> Springgay and Truman, *Walking Methodologies in a More-than-Human World: WalkingLab*, 2.

<sup>435</sup> Kara, *Creative Research Methods: A Practical Guide*, 2020, 104.

<sup>436</sup> See Tim Edensor, 'Walking Through Ruins' in Ingold and Vergunst, *Ways of Walking*. 123 Also Tim Edensor, *Industrial Ruins: Space, Aesthetics and Materiality*, 2014.

<sup>437</sup> John Wylie, 'A Single Day's Walking: Narrating Self and Landscape on the South West Coast Path'. *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 30, no. 2 (June 2005): 234–47.

encounters, both human and non-human, affect his embodied spatial relationship to the changing coastal landscape.<sup>438</sup>

Interdisciplinary artist Peng Liu has tested the way his own body performs to co-constitute heritage at the Forbidden City in Beijing, China, and its affect, over several visits, on how he negotiates and interacts with the site and his own sense of identity.<sup>439</sup> This method has helped him to navigate the deep cultural influences that interplay between pre-communist culture, and its intangible and tangible interplay with his 'New China-era' body.<sup>440</sup> This approach draws very similar parallels with my own, through his attention to orientation, rhythm, and materiality, in relation to his own body. Although he is working in a different geographical and political context, he demonstrates that such attention draws out deep complexity through the process of walking-as-knowing.<sup>441</sup>

Although walking alone has been fundamental to my understanding of the site, it is the experiences of walking and learning with participants that have shaped the purpose of my research. Here, the work of Springgay and Truman, who have described the productive experience of walking interviews, offer a further dimension to support my own work, as they place themselves in a 'more-than-human world.'<sup>442</sup> For more practical guidance in the use of video in the walking interviews, Pink's writing on walking with video and walking with others, and Kara's creative methods framing mobile methods, have each proved invaluable.<sup>443</sup> These texts have not only supported my walking video method as a form of creative exploration and shared

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<sup>438</sup> Wylie, 'A Single Day's Walking: Narrating Self and Landscape on the South West Coast Path.'

<sup>439</sup> Peng Liu, 'Body in the Forbidden City' in Jacque Micieli-Voutsinas and Angela Person-Harm, eds. *Affective Architectures: More-than-Representational Geographies of Heritage. Critical Studies in Heritage, Emotion and Affect* (London: Routledge, 2021) 120.

<sup>440</sup> Liu, 'Body in the Forbidden City' in Jacque Micieli-Voutsinas and Angela Person-Harm, eds. *Affective Architectures: More-than-Representational Geographies of Heritage. Critical Studies in Heritage, Emotion and Affect*, 121.

<sup>441</sup> Liu, 'Body in the Forbidden City', 136.

<sup>442</sup> Springgay and Truman, *Walking Methodologies in a More-than-Human World: WalkingLab*.

<sup>443</sup> Ingold and Vergunst, eds., *Ways of Walking: Ethnography and Practice on Foot*. Springgay and Truman, 'Walking Methodologies in a More-than-Human World: WalkingLab'. Pink, *Doing Sensory Ethnography*. Kara, *Creative Research Methods: A Practical Guide*.

enquiry, but have also supported the multi-modal nature and narrative structure of my analysis, which will be expanded on in the following chapters (6 & 7).

## **Walking together**

My interactions with participants started with either virtual or in-person recruitment, where I would describe the purpose of my research, and learn a little more about the potential participant and the nature of their connection to each site. My intention was to be as open and approachable as possible, in the hope that they would feel comfortable airing any questions or concerns. Being open and responsive in this way sometimes meant that a participant might choose not to continue, but this was also an important ethical way of trying to minimise the unbalanced power dynamics that could interfere with our ongoing relationship. As Kara maintains, '[r]esearchers need to be respectful, open and honest, as this is most likely to lead to the building of trust in a relationship.'<sup>444</sup> Trust, of course, can also be greatly affected by an individual's previous experience of research, education, and hierarchies of knowledge, as well as my age and gender, class and race, in relation to theirs. John from Wyndham Court, for example, had been discussing my safety as a lone woman with his wife before our meeting, and Greg told me that, through his various interests in historical re-enactment and weaponry, he had taken part in PhD research before, and had enjoyed it.

From a practical level, how the participant felt about the nature of the power balance, innate in my pre-designed research enquiry, shaped the nature of our relationship, which includes that of a sensory embodied level. It was important to reiterate throughout our interactions that this was to be a shared enquiry, encouraging participants to lead on subjects, and to repeatedly emphasise the importance of *their* voice. This, at times, could prove difficult if the participant felt that they did not have anything of value to say, and here some guided questioning, followed by reassurance through positive affirmation, appeared to settle many anxieties in this respect at least. From there, it was the embodied activity of exploring the site together, guided by their thoughts and memories, which ignited their imaginations and encouraged a sense of agency. This does not negate the fact that participants

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<sup>444</sup> Kara, *Creative Research Methods: A Practical Guide*, 74.

were taking part in a research project designed by me, for me; but how we explored together is an important aspect of understanding how the participants made sense in and through their bodies as we walked around together.

## Shared enquiry

To begin each interview, I offered a simple ground plan of each site to help orient us, asking participants to describe or sketch out the direction of the route that they would find most interesting, or have particular meaning to them. Some were keen to plot this in advance, others to find their way as we walked around, and this choice was important in giving participants agency in the direction of the route, as well as giving me an early sense of how they might relate to that site.



Fig. 5.7: Annotated Newhaven Fort visitor map. Greg's walking tour, 3 August 2019. Image: Harriet Parry.



In all of the interviews, once we had set off and were walking along together, to facilitate our orientation, I would start to use the sensory language and ideas that established a common frame of reference for the walk. We might talk about the weather, smells of cooking or damp, sounds of machinery or gulls. As we became accustomed to the sites, we could perhaps touch the walls to engage further with the participant's embodied memories, and these affects would start to permeate our bodies as we attuned our senses to the surroundings. Greg and I, for example, had started our walking interview down at the Newhaven Marina, where we had plotted the route that he wanted to take around the fort itself. Here we started talking about the industrial sounds, which continued into our exploration of the echoes in the fort's entrance tunnel. Lauren, as another example, was quick to draw out the difference between the 'outside' of the fort, which overlooked Newhaven's semi-industrial soundscape, and the inside of the fort, which she described as 'a different world'. Articulated with a sense of wonder that this was the case, I became open to listening out for the ways she expressed the fort's intangible qualities from an early stage. I noticed that once a sensory dialogue had been established, I would relax into the interview, secure in the knowledge that she was innately attuned to her body and her senses, and was very comfortable to express her experiences in this way.

In orienting ourselves to one another we could therefore come to hear the language, see the gestures, and read the body language that the other was using. The nature of our correspondence performed to attune me to the participant, and in so doing, hopefully help them to be more comfortable to lead the way and engage in a sense of shared enquiry. I could notice at the time, or afterwards, how they used metaphor or a cultural reference to help me understand what they were explaining. There were instances, such as with John, where I must have changed the subject away from an aspect that was important to him, and he quickly shifted back to his original point, or a moment where he could take the opportunity to offer a concrete example to illustrate aspects that he had raised earlier, such as the noise or traffic fumes.

When walking, I looked to the ways that we might begin to adopt each other's rhythm, speed, and orientation. In so doing, I tried to avoid any discordance in movement that might have interfered with our correspondence within the context of

the affective and material atmospheres around the site.<sup>445</sup> This could mean walking in harmony, or perhaps sometimes making a quick shift when it was important that I followed; for example, with John, when we stopped and walked back to the public court that we had already passed, to demonstrate his concerns about Wyndham Court's fire safety. These experiences were very different from those at Newhaven Fort, where participants were enjoying recalling fond memories or creating new ones; they communicated a sense of discovery that was already innate in their emplacement at the fort.

The discussion on *where* participants would like to go as they marked a route on the map (Fig. 5.7), was always accompanied with them explaining *why* they would like to go there. This early opportunity for orientation with a participant, functioned to acknowledge their needs and to give agency, also gave me an insight into how they liked to communicate, as well as offering an opportunity for me to begin to imagine how it might feel through *their* bodies.

At its most fundamental level, 'walking-with' allows for differing communication needs, such as neurodivergence, that might not have been explicitly expressed by any participant. A side-by-side interaction removes the pressure that can be felt through a more demanding social norm of eye contact and begins to allow for an attunement between bodies and actions. This also helps me, being neurodivergent, and less able to cope with eye contact, to begin noticing the interests of the participants, following the way they might explore what has meaning to them. Cognitive scientists Ezequiel Di Paolo, Elena Clare Cuffari, and Hanne De Jaegher explain that those who find normative modes of communication stressful and difficult, are more likely to find alignment through side-to-side modes of embodied communication.<sup>446</sup> Importantly, through following the participant's lead and engaging in the way they made sense, I contend that I am less likely to impose my own norms, and I can remain open to the way they make sense through their bodies. I was therefore able to explore their critical engagement with the site more affectively, because we were not expending energy trying to fit to any codes of conduct that I had imposed. Walking-with can help create the conditions for shared enquiry, and,

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<sup>445</sup> Ingold, *The Life of Lines*, 154.

<sup>446</sup> Di Paolo et al., *Linguistic Bodies: The Continuity between Life and Language*, 268.

as I will outline below, video recording those interactions can offer even greater insights.



Fig. 5.8: Screenshot of a gesture from John's walking tour at Wyndham Court, September 2019. Image: Harriet Parry.

## Filming

My research is principally about how these sites make people *feel*, and I have used a filmed walking interview technique as a kinaesthetic form of 'embodied data gathering', often employed in ethnography and the social sciences.<sup>447</sup> The method I have used, of asking participants to carry a wearable camera, is becoming of increasing interest to critical heritage scholars. This can be seen in the work pedagogical research academic Dianne Mulcahy and leading scholar in museum and heritage studies Andrea Witcomb, for example, in their 2018 study of embodied experience of museums, which I will expand on further below.<sup>448</sup> Although interviews with relevant participants are often

<sup>447</sup> Pink cites David and Judith MacDougall's film *Lorang's Way* (1977). Pink, *Doing Sensory Ethnography*, 128.

<sup>448</sup> Dianne Mulcahy and Andrea Witcomb, 'Affective practices of learning at the museum' in Smith, Wetherell, and Campbell, *Emotion, Affective Practices, and the Past in the Present*, 218.

used by scenographers to help include the perspectives of lived experience in their design process, here I have turned principally to Sarah Pink to help guide me.<sup>449</sup>

Pink explains that '[d]igital technologies have become integral to much sensory ethnographic practice.'<sup>450</sup> There are an increasingly diverse range of tools that ethnographers can use for their research, and this in itself has become a particular area of inquiry.<sup>451</sup> How they might be perceived by the participants asked to engage with those media could depend on their experiences and confidence in how the data that is captured might be used. This could be affected by their age, class, gender, race, and other identity/demographic characteristics, as well as positive or negative previous encounters through learning engagement, entertainment or even surveillance, such as police wearing body cameras.

Video is a valuable tool for capturing, as Pink has put it, 'how sensory embodied practices are engaged in the constitution of place.'<sup>452</sup> Pink considers viewing video environments through a 'theory of place', in that they are already 'multisensory environments', even if they are being experienced through the eyes and the ears.<sup>453</sup> She states that what is being viewed is 'evocative of sensory memories and imaginations which combine different tastes, smells [and] proximities to others ...'.<sup>454</sup>

Also, Helen Kara explains that video can capture real time thought and action, and video can be particularly 'useful for studying the lives of people who communicate on a different level from the researcher such as those with dementia, or children.'<sup>455</sup> In this instance, digital video as a 'mobile method' offered the opportunity, in the context of more-than representational approaches, to consider communication in an entirely different way. It draws into focus modes that, as observers, we could take for granted or tacitly understand, which might be otherwise overlooked through their

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<sup>449</sup> Pink, *Doing Sensory Ethnography*.

Sarah Pink, *Doing Visual Ethnography* (Sage, 2013).

Sarah Pink, 'An Urban Tour: The Sensory Sociality of Ethnographic Place-Making'. *Ethnography* 9, no. 2 (June 2008): 175–96.

<sup>450</sup> Pink, *Doing Sensory Ethnography*, 123.

Pink, *Doing Visual Ethnography*, 115.

<sup>451</sup> Kara, *Creative Research Methods: A Practical Guide*.

<sup>452</sup> Pink, *Doing Sensory Ethnography*, 128.

<sup>453</sup> Pink, *Doing Sensory Ethnography*, 171.

<sup>454</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>455</sup> Pink, *Doing Sensory Ethnography*, 123

‘ordinariness’, or missed because our attention is caught elsewhere.<sup>456</sup> As a neuro-inclusive method, it also draws attention to other embodied modes of sense-making that are apparent but often dismissed as ‘quirks’ or deficits in those who are not considered neurotypical.<sup>457</sup>

When considering more-than representational forms of knowledge production, it was important that my method moved beyond that of the researcher-as-observer holding the camera, to being able to record footage from the perspective of the participant as unobtrusively as possible. I therefore mounted the camera to a light utility bag strap that was worn across the participant’s body. All of the participants who agreed to take part in a walking interview with me appeared very comfortable wearing the bag and camera, although I am aware that this might not always be the case. Asking the participants to wear a camera meant that their faces were easily concealed, and, alongside sound, I could capture any gestures they made, their orientation, where they paused, and their walking rhythm. It also meant that as I was also holding a recording device, we had the freedom to move away from each other as we walked, as well as, importantly, being free to explore with our hands through touch.

The above leads me to briefly highlight the role of ‘touch’ within the walking interviews, and also where this could lead to further enrich the inclusive nature of this kind of research. Touch played a more explicit role at Newhaven Fort than at Wyndham Court, with Greg, Lauren, and most notably Chris, using touch as a way to connect with their memories, the detail of which I will share later. Somatic memory of touch and proximity did, however, play a part in Mike’s Zoom interview, where he recalled the feeling of Wyndham Court’s exterior walls being like pumice stone, which gave the impression that it might not hold up against Southampton’s strong coastal winds. As sociologist Kevin Hetherington explains, ‘[t]ouch produces a form of confirmation of the subject-world at the interface between materiality of that world and the hand.’<sup>458</sup> Being able to touch the walls of Wyndham Court and Newhaven Fort not only served to break down barriers between the participants and the sites, but also, through our shared enquiry, allowed for a degree of intimacy between us,

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<sup>456</sup> Kara, *Creative Research Methods: A Practical Guide*, 114.

<sup>457</sup> Di Paolo et al., *Linguistic Bodies: The Continuity between Life and Language*, 263.

<sup>458</sup> Kevin Hetherington, ‘Spatial Textures: Place, Touch, and Praesentia.’ *Environment and Planning A: Economy and Space* 35, no. 11 (November 2003): 1933–44.

which was socially mediated by the buildings that we were exploring together. Attending to touch also allows for ways of *using* touch, which goes beyond an attempt to get an idea of what a surface feels *like*.

Hetherington spent time working with a visually impaired artist, 'Sarah', to understand how she might experience an art exhibit through touch. He discovered the sophistication of understanding, which could be gained through a performative act that was not merely serving to replicate what is seen by the sighted. Instead of touch creating a 'distal knowledge' that created a visual proxy, Sarah described an experience that was embodied and relational. She told him, "[t]he way I touch is an identification with something somewhere inside of you, you have got a relationship with it".<sup>459</sup> Hetherington applies the term *praesentia* to describe the 'constitutive' proximate experience of a particular material affect, this indeed became apparent within my own research, particularly with Greg and Chris searching for memories at Newhaven Fort, of which I will return to in Section 7.3.

## Mobile methods in practice

The value of digital visual recording from an embodied perspective, as a form of field research, is increasingly being noticed within heritage studies.<sup>460</sup> The method has been recently applied in the aforementioned article on how affect influences learning in museums, by Mulcahy and Witcomb.<sup>461</sup> In their study, school students wore GoPro style cameras that recorded at chest height (similar to those that I used), and small groups of children were left to independently explore certain exhibits. Afterwards they were asked questions, such as '[c]an you tell me about what you *best liked doing* during the activity filmed', as a way to cross reference the recorded material.<sup>462</sup> This they undertook to discover the role of affect in how 'museum-based learning occurs', particularly through the relationships between 'emoting bodies', and the 'material objects' presented through museum interpretation techniques.<sup>463</sup>

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<sup>459</sup> Hetherington, 'Spatial Textures: Place, Touch, and Praesentia', 1934.

<sup>460</sup> Laurajane Smith Margaret Wetherell, and Gary Campbell, *Emotion, Affective Practices, and the Past in the Present* (Routledge, London. 2018).

<sup>461</sup> Mulcahy and Witcomb, 'Affective practices of learning at the museum' in Smith, Wetherell, and Campbell, *Emotion, Affective Practices, and the Past in the Present*.

<sup>462</sup> Mulcahy and Witcomb, 'Affective practices of learning at the museum', 218.

<sup>463</sup> Mulcahy and Witcomb, 'Affective practices of learning at the museum', 226.

Cultural heritage scholars Steven Cooke and Kristal Buckley also used digital recording, to allow participants to independently record themselves walking around neighbourhoods in the regional city of Ballarat, in Australia, to document articulation of the social value of 'everyday' heritage.<sup>464</sup> Cooke and Buckley, writing in 2021, found the wearable technologies invaluable in recording embodied experiences of place, but felt that it would be better for participants to wear 'audio-visual (AV) recording glasses', to better track where participants look.<sup>465</sup> Both these methods draw parallels with my own, however the interviews in my research worked to record the ways that the material and mnemonic qualities of the sites triggered feelings and memories, as a form of in-camera emplaced elicitation rather than through later interviews, with an attempt to draw in multiple forms of sense-making beyond speech and gaze. Going forward, another layer of research would be to play the footage back to the participants themselves to consider how they relate to what they expressed, if they agreed with my subsequent analysis, and if the playback would trigger further memories.

The bag that I chose to mount the camera on for my walking interviews was a discreet moss-green utility type that, to my mind, appeared relatively unisex. I felt that the wearability and appearance were more important criteria for the camera mounting method than the stability of the shot, which would have required multiple chest straps to steady the camera. This was because the footage was principally to be used for my own analysis, and for sharing small clips within my thesis and academic publishing, rather than to be of broadcast quality. (I will further discuss how this developed in Chapter 7). In wearing the camera, the participant could also be confident that I was adhering to our participant agreement, in that there was no way that their faces might inadvertently creep into shot. On reflection, I would have liked to spend more time getting feedback from the participant's on their experience

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<sup>464</sup> Steven Cooke and Kristal Buckley, 'Visual research methodologies and the heritage of 'everyday' places' in Madgin and Lesh, *People-Centred Methodologies for Heritage Conservation: Exploring Emotional Attachments to Historic Urban Places*, 143.

<sup>465</sup> Cooke and Buckley, 'Visual research methodologies and the heritage of 'everyday' places', 146.

of wearing the camera, and if indeed fixing the camera further would have made them uncomfortable, as I had assumed.



Fig. 5.9: Bag and camera mounting on 'SS', an academic colleague and test participant, March 2019. Image: Harriet Parry.

## Testing mobile methods

Before taking it out into the 'field', I conducted tests for this method with a fellow PhD colleague from the School of Architecture and Design, at the University of Brighton, 'SS'. I asked her to take me on a tour of the department in which she studies and teaches, in March 2019. She was keen to introduce me to the final year show, produced by the MA Architecture and Design students who she had been teaching.

The pilot participant had already made certain choices of work that she wanted to show me, which gave me an early sense of her interest in the subject. She knew the students' work well and was as familiar with the outward aesthetic of these pieces, as she was with the thinking and process that had gone into their creation. This gave



me a chance to test out how an engaged participant, speaking enthusiastically about a subject with which she was familiar, might direct her body and her gestures towards her subject. She demonstrated this through the way she moved her hands to accompany her speech, and how she directed my attention to different elements of the display.

She showed me one of the exhibits that performed as an exemplar for this:



: [Press here to start video](https://harriet.parry.is/mithras-house-test/)

Or use the link: <https://harriet.parry.is/mithras-house-test/>

The following is some transcription from her interview, interspersed with descriptions of the gestures that she makes:

SS: Things like this ...

Makes identifying gesture with a closed hand, palm up, to indicate outward appearance.

SS: Which are very architectural in a way. They're to do with place.

Palm up and fingers start to open as she explains further.

SS: These are all representations of the way that space is surveyed and measured.

Reads the explanatory panel to fact check.

SS: Historical ways of measuring distance.

Makes 'container' gesture along the row of objects, as she communicates their integral meaning.

SS: They're all different ways that people do that.

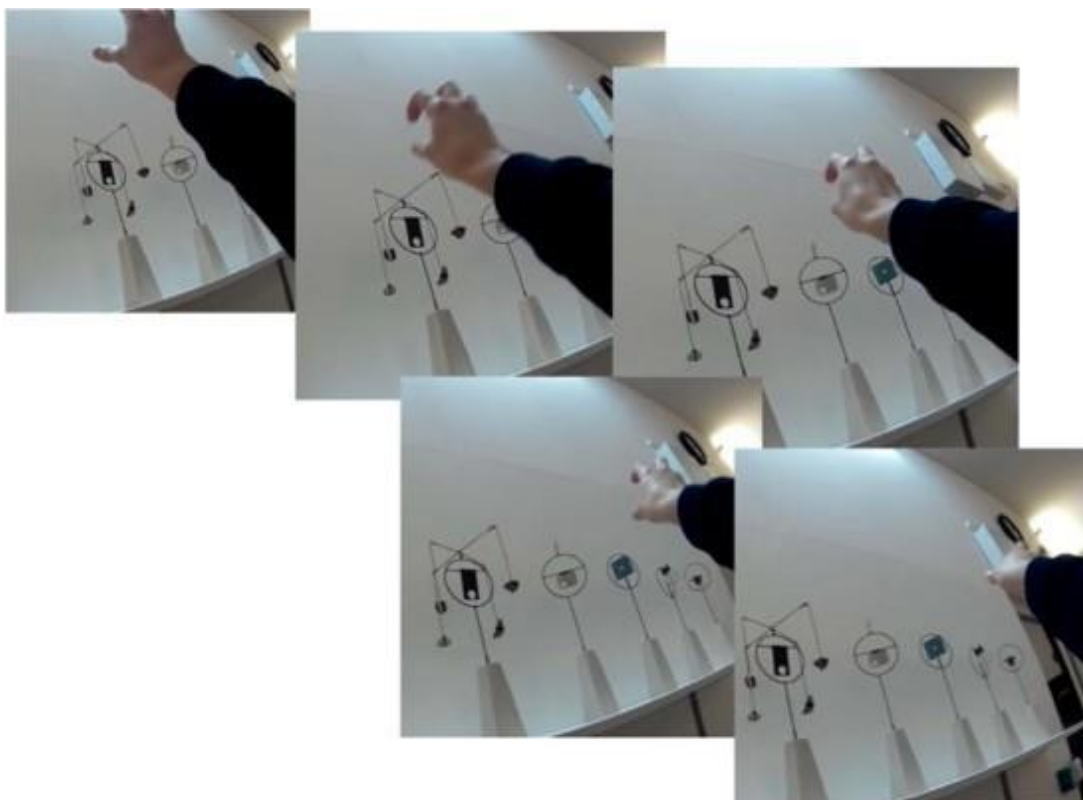


Fig. 5.10: 'SS' 'makes 'container' gesture along the row of objects as she communicates their integral meaning'. Images screenshots from video footage, March 2019. Image: Harriet Parry.

This footage (link and URL above) clearly demonstrates the value that filmed attention to embodied communication through reflection of a participant's gesture can offer, it also brought my attention to the ways in which I might consider the gestural expressions of the participants at the heritage sites. Verbally, my pilot participant was very simply describing the work that the student has done. The effect of her gestures in this atmospheric and cultural context, however, demonstrates elements of how, why, and what, she values in these objects. I read this significance not only through her words, but also through her movements and gestures, her proximity to the matters that are significant, and so on. Her gestures indicated that she believes that the works contain the properties the student has imbued through making, and that she wants me to consider this beyond their surface representation. This single example simply demonstrates that the weight, tempo, and cadence of an attitude could be communicated through gesture as the participant shared her

feelings and knowledge of the exhibition with me. These are insights that Mulcahy and Witcomb found through cross-referencing through the video footage captured by the school students with verbal questioning.<sup>466</sup> Similarly, Pink explains the interactive process that can occur through the research method of walking with video, and later elicitation or analysis as ‘seeing as a form of touching ... [which] extends beyond the idea of physical sensation of touch, to the idea of touching the consciousness of others.’<sup>467</sup>

On completion of the interviews, I transcribed both the audio from my recording device, as well as the digital video footage using a computer software application called Descript, which translates the speech into text.<sup>468</sup> It is an app with high accuracy, but I would also go through each interview to manually check if anything was missing, and to get closer to the detail of the experience. I would then work through the text and the footage making note of particular moments for deeper analysis. I did this through paying attention to language used, including metaphors; spatial context, including affective agents and lines of power; context within the general narrative of the interview, the use of gesture, pause and orientation; and how all these elements coalesced as a network or hierarchy to emplace the participant and me in that moment. This early analysis then fed into identifying certain moments for ‘scenes’ that I could analyse through the creation of scenographic sketches and narrative analysis. Another layer of analysis was to consider how these scenes related to those identified in other interviews at the same site, which then went on to form the editing of the scenographic videos, which I have created to share these experiences with the readers of this thesis, and to test their efficacy for wider use, as I take my research forward.

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<sup>466</sup> Mulcahy and Witcomb, ‘Affective practices of learning at the museum’ in Smith et al., *Emotion, Affective Practices, and the Past in the Present*, 218.

<sup>467</sup> Pink cites anthropologist David MacDougall in MacDougall, D. (1998) *Transcultural Cinema* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press) 51-52, in Pink, *Doing Sensory Ethnography*. Second edition (London: Sage Publications, 2015) 128.

<sup>468</sup> Descript audio and video editing software homepage. Web.

### 5.3 Research practice as ‘place-making’

The final section of this chapter applies a hypothesis proposed by Pink; that video and sensory ethnography research practice and dissemination perform as particular mediated forms of ‘place-making’.<sup>469</sup> Pink contends that it is research and analysis through the technical methods employed in particular, that create these conditions.<sup>470</sup> This aspect extends my critical attention to heritage practice to include the role that the research process itself has in identifying, articulating, and therefore co-producing the Lived Heritage of the research participants. Scenography again offers the tools to identify particular ‘scenes’ from within that process, that Hann states ‘reveals certain orders of the world’, which can be analysed in order to understand where placemaking has occurred, and why.<sup>471</sup> My intention at this juncture was to identify where this had happened in this project, which can then inform any further related research and analysis that I might undertake.

Pink explains that alongside digital video recording and sharing, there are other recording methods that can create the conditions for placemaking.<sup>472</sup> In my research I have identified those as my audio recordings, observational sketches, digital images and ‘thinking drawings’, as well as the video edit plan.<sup>473</sup> Pink applies Ingold’s theories of entanglement to consider how each of these methods have been agents in facilitating the researcher’s and the participant’s ‘[embodied] entanglement of place’.<sup>474</sup> Pink proposes that there are three levels of placemaking in this context.<sup>475</sup> The first level is through a researcher’s identification and engagement with their research subject, the second through the methods used to capture data, and the third at the point where that data is viewed, heard, read and interpreted.<sup>476</sup>

I have therefore broken down my research approach as follows: the first level of placemaking occurred through the design and undertaking of participant recruitment,

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<sup>469</sup> Pink, *Doing Sensory Ethnography*, 124.

<sup>470</sup> Pink, *Doing Sensory Ethnography*, 125.

<sup>471</sup> Hann, *Beyond Scenography*, 2.

<sup>472</sup> Pink, *Doing Sensory Ethnography*, 125.

<sup>473</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>474</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>475</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>476</sup> *Ibid.*

which included my research proposal, my ethics application and my time engaging with potential participants, in person or via social media. The second level was demonstrated by the recording of an event where ‘place is simultaneously remade’, in the camera worn by the participants, as we walked around and make sense of the sites. These video recordings worked alongside the audio recordings made on site, as well as the ‘remote’ interviews with Mike, and Sue and David. It also includes the photographs that I have taken, or sketches I have made, as well as the archival and desk-based research that I have conducted. Finally, the third level occurs through the creation and reception of, for example, the scenographic sketches and videos that I have produced, or through the creation and interpretation of my narrative analysis. These techniques are shown to encourage an embodied form of attention from the reader or viewer. As Pink explains, the researcher would be included in the category of ‘viewers’, as they ‘use their imaginations to create personal/cultural understanding of th[at] representation’.<sup>477</sup>

The following selected examples from my Wyndham Court research demonstrate where I contend the three levels of placemaking that Pink proposes, occurs within my PhD research. I extend the scenographic term ‘scene’ to frame each level of placemaking, and that level can be understood in isolation, or in its natural place as an ongoing and iterative part of the research process. For the purpose of this section, I have named the three levels as: ‘Setting the scene’, ‘Animating the scene’ and ‘Transmitting the scene’. As I will continue to discuss in Chapter 8, this breakdown will serve to practically demonstrate the inherent value of attending to each aspect separately, when engaging with the ongoing work of planning for and representing ‘community’ connection to heritage sites, which includes making ethical considerations of engagement, collaboration, and representation at each level.

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<sup>477</sup> Pink, *Doing Sensory Ethnography*, 125.

## **Setting the scene — identification and engagement**

The structure and approaches included in this stage of my research were necessarily guided by the expertise and ethical positionality of the University of Brighton, and the panel who assessed my ethics application. I have already discussed my ethical approach to this research in Chapter 3, but in the context of ‘place-making’, I will add that those ethics have defined physical and conceptual boundaries that have emplaced me in a particular way. This is through approval of the sites themselves as suitable case studies, the types of people I have decided to approach, and the way in which I hope to approach them, as well as how I plan to record and store the data. How I move within those boundaries is shaped by the scenographic framework and research methods I am following, and my appropriate use of the data in that context. Structural hierarchies also help to define how this first level of placemaking occurs, and how the participants see themselves in relation to my position.

At the recruitment stage for my project, the potential participants would have assessed who I was and what that means to them, to try and imagine the process and its purpose—and indeed draw on their memories of the case study in these contexts. Through my experience with recruitment, for both Wyndham Court and Newhaven Fort, the recruitment documents or social media call-outs could only do so much. It was only through building a social and more personal relationship that the participants and I could begin to sense us orienting ourselves to one another. As I discussed in Chapter 3, this was a vital step in hopefully helping potential participants to feel comfortable and interested enough to take the next step of committing to take part in my research. Common to most participants at the beginning of each interview was a sense-check with me to make sure they understood the terms of engagement. Participants might ask if what they were saying was okay, the types of questions that I might ask, describe what the research was for in their own words, or express their preference for using the site maps or not—all as a means to locate themselves in the interviews. In every case this proved a key moment that defined that first level of placemaking, as the participants sought to define the boundaries of their experience.

## Animating the scene — capturing data

The second level of placemaking, through capturing and recording data, has happened over the course of this research via multiple platforms. When interviews have needed to take place away from the case study site, be that virtually (online), or at another location, I have suggested that this does not mean that the interview and the contributor's accounts have become disembodied. Indeed, I argue, the interviews with Sue and Mike, as well as my first interview with John, all drew on what Howes calls the 'knotty intersensoriality' of somatic memories, to express what Wyndham Court means to them.<sup>478</sup> Here, a variety of methods, including using sensorial metaphors (on the participants' parts) and participants' picturing of scenes, as well as image elicitation, on my part, as well as using historic photographs and drawings, proved important in helping participants to internally materialise and communicate their complex embodied memories of place.

My interview with Mike, over Zoom, demonstrated a very concrete moment of novel placemaking when he was working to communicate the location of his flat. He used hand gestures and words to activate my 'sensory memory' and imagination by emplacing me through his description, which was contingent on him knowing that I had a physically-experienced knowledge of the building.<sup>479</sup> He oriented me by asking me to see what he could see, giving time for me to respond if I had understood and had 'placed' myself there, and added the mode of using his fingers to 'show' me where he meant when he started describing the more complex internal geography of the building.

Mike: So if you're looking at it from the front, from Commercial Road.... Well, we're in number [\*\*\*] in case, you know, just where that is?

HP: [no verbal response] (thinking)

Mike: but basically it's right at the top, in the middle

HP: So you were looking at, you're facing away from the Docks?

Mike: Yes. Yes. But on our balcony at the back, I think every apartment had its own balcony?

HP: Yes, yes.

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<sup>478</sup> Howes ed., *Empire of the Senses: The Sensual Culture Reader*, 9.

<sup>479</sup> Pink, *Doing Sensory Ethnography*, 44, 45.

Mike: So as (pauses struggling to explain), so at the back as we're (pauses and laughs, holds up his fingers) can you see my fingers?

HP: Yes, yes (laughs)

Mike: So if we're at the front on Commercial Road and then it went back towards you across and back in?

HP: Yes

Mike: We were facing, our apartment was facing the end of that block coming back in.

HP: Okay

Mike: So we could see down to the outside as it were, that people could walk through [the public square] where there used to be a Chinese restaurant, might still be, but there used to be, we could also see down into the quad bit that we'd go and play in a lot as well [the garden court]. So we could see quite a lot of the building actually, from where we were.

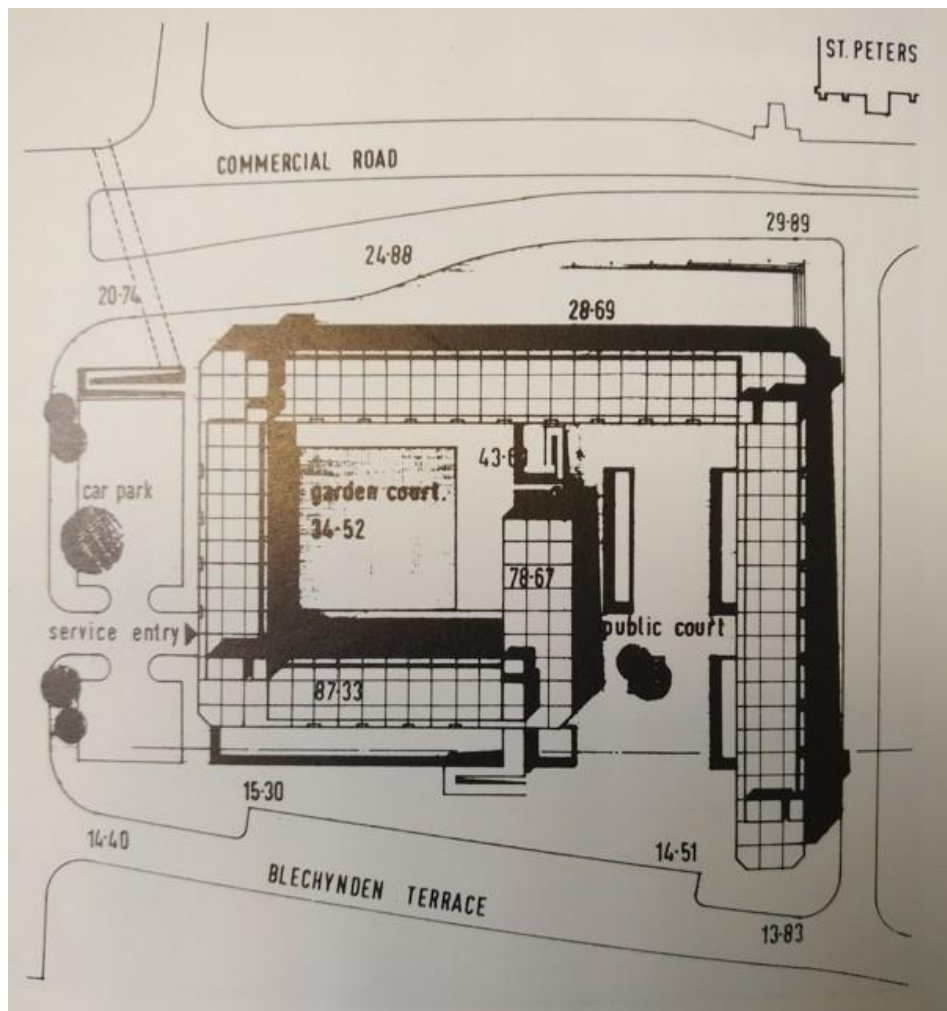


Fig. 5.11: Ground plan of Wyndham Court, circa 1969, taken from Lyons et al., *Lyons Israel Ellis Gray: Buildings and Projects*.<sup>480</sup>

<sup>480</sup> Lyons et al., *Lyons Israel Ellis Gray*, 166.



During my interview with Sue and David at the John Lewis café, I employed image elicitation through photocopies of the original architectural plans, and Ellis' artistic impression of how the building would look in 1969 (Fig. 3.17).<sup>481</sup> However, I only planned to show these if I felt that Sue might benefit from a prompt. They proved very useful when she started to find it difficult to remember the location of some of the shops on the parade. The images helped her remember looking through the windows of retailers such as a pottery shop, which then triggered strong somatic sensory memories, for example, about colour and tone:

Sue: (Pointing to the plan) ... and that was a pottery shop, I don't think it was Poole pottery, but it was some pottery, cause Poole pottery's colours. And this was more muted tones. It was a well-known make, but I don't remember what it was.

In my first interview with John, metaphor proved particularly important when he was describing the way he felt about Wyndham Court away from the site itself. The role of metaphor in communicating embodied memories can be explained through Walter Benjamin's conception of language and 'poetic thinking'.<sup>482</sup> Hannah Arendt explored Benjamin's theory that 'metaphor' connects its hearer most directly to the sensuous qualities of its subject. Indeed, she states that considering metaphor in its 'simplest but most direct terms' serves as a '[l]inguistic 'transference' [which] enables us to give material form to the invisible ... and thus to render it capable of being *experienced*'.<sup>483</sup> I argue that in this respect, the use of metaphor can create the conditions for placemaking, as John demonstrated:

John: So it looks ... it just looks old, if you know what I mean? It looks like (thinks) tatty. Do you know when ...? Do you know when, if you see someone who's bought brand new clothes ...?

HP: Yeah

John: ... and then you see someone who hasn't got brand new clothes, that are a bit ripped, or a bit, not so good, well, that's kind of what our building's like.

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<sup>482</sup> Walter Benjamin and Hannah Arendt, 'Introduction' *Illuminations*, 2015, 19.

<sup>483</sup> Benjamin and Arendt, 'Introduction' *Illuminations*, 20 (my emphasis).

John went on to say that what he likes about the new Southampton University student flats, built adjacent to Wyndham Court; 'I just think they *look smart*', again making reference to clothing and appearance. The metaphor of ripped and tatty clothing that lies so close to the body, and the importance John held in appearance, demonstrated how closely the appearance of his home and identity was frustrated by the lack of agency that he felt living there. During our second interview, this time on site, his use of metaphor was replaced by being able to physically refer directly to aspects of the building, so here I was able build a sense of his emplacement through my body.

### **Animating the scene — making sense**

In the walking interviews, as I have already introduced, the participants and I were sharing an experience that had a particular focus on making sense of how it feels to live, or spend time, around a heritage site. Participants would first interact with the space and then often turn to me as a sense-check, to ascertain if I understood what they were describing, or the feelings that the experience had engendered. Making sense together does not imply that we were experiencing the same thing or emplacing ourselves in the same way. It is, however, enough to be able to share with those reading or viewing the research in order for them to imagine what the participant's experience of emplacement 'might be like'.<sup>484</sup>

An important aspect to consider in this type of walking interview on both sites, is the act of 'claiming space', which Yarker observed during the walking tours that she participated in, with current residents, at the Byker estate.<sup>485</sup> She noted that the walking tours provided ways for participants to 'locate themselves within the landscape either as a source of authority and knowledge or by the remembering and marking of personal life events.'<sup>486</sup> As I have outlined in Chapter 4, this is a form of emplacement, that the walking interviews for my own research included the video camera moving with the participants as an additional 'mode of participation', which physically recorded them claiming that space.<sup>487</sup>

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<sup>484</sup> Pink, *Doing Sensory Ethnography*, 112.

<sup>485</sup> Yarker, 'Social Housing as Built Heritage' in Tolia-Kelly, Waterton, and Watson, *Heritage, Affect and Emotion*, 245.

<sup>486</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>487</sup> Pink, *Doing Sensory Ethnography*, 125.

As a second stage placemaking—,animating the scene, from my point of view, would also extend to the journal notes I made on my way home on the train, returning to the recordings, and creating transcriptions of both the voice recording I took, as well as the audio from the camera worn by the participant. An additional layer would also have been added when I watched the videos, where I noted gesture, movement, and orientation in relation to the typed transcriptions. Alongside some written analysis, this tended to be the point where I would create a scenographic thinking drawing, to pull together the accounts and memories of the participants.

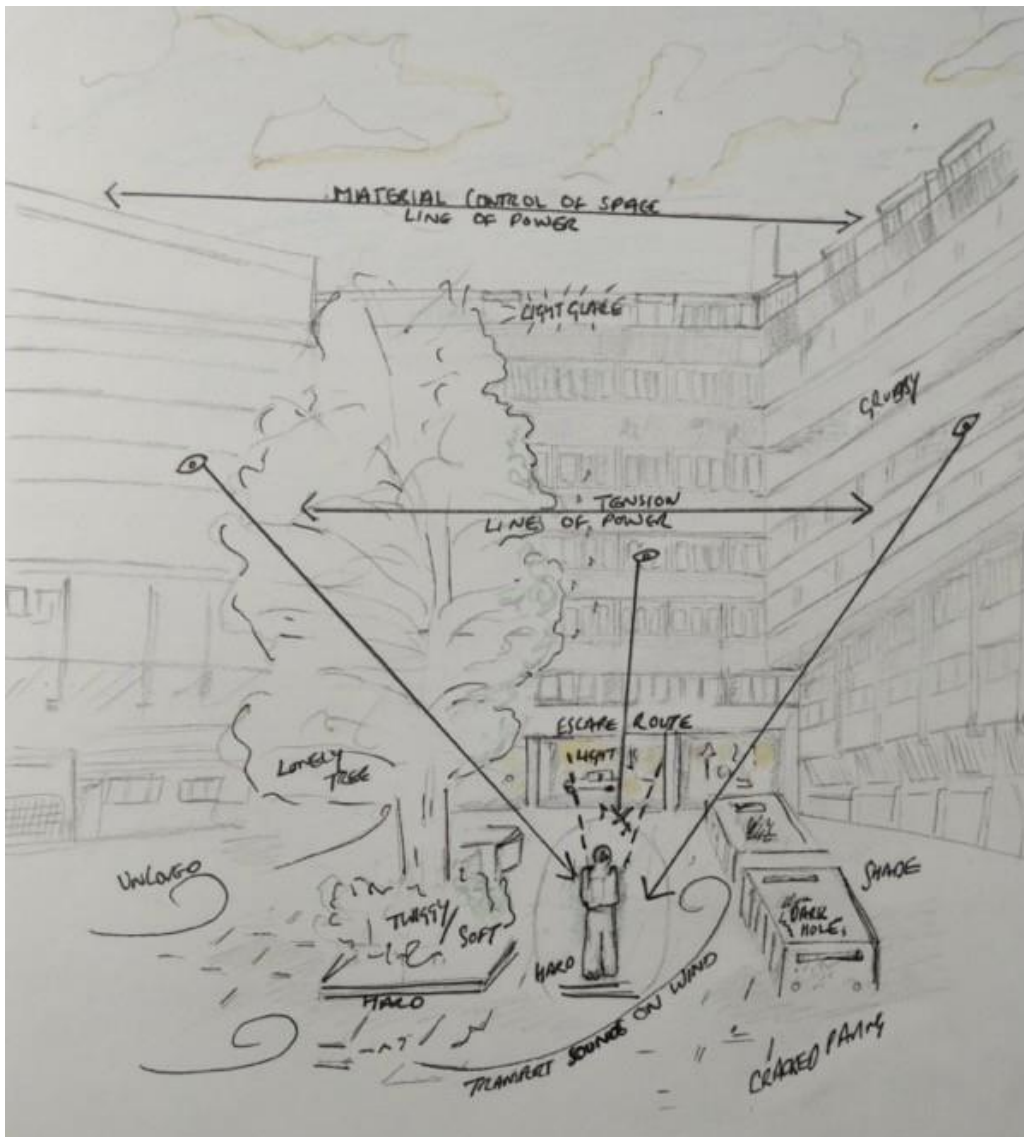


Fig. 5.12: Scenographic thinking drawing of emplacement in Wyndham Court's public court showing elements such as the trajectory of the wind, the sense of being observed, as well as the lines of power that the architectonics of the building hold through perspective, tension, and social control, May 2018, Harriet Parry.

## Transmitting the scene — sharing the data

Although the scenographic thinking drawings can ‘transmit the scene’ and are a key mode of placemaking at both the second and third levels of my research, I believe that it is the scenographic videos that I have created, which have proved most productive. The scenes depicted within the videos serve to reveal the participants’ experiences of emplacement by giving the viewer a sense of how it might *feel* to be at each of the case study sites, through their movements, gestures, and words. Applying Sue Field’s terminology, the videos perform as scenographic ‘renderings’ of my research as a whole, combining sound and vision, scenographic thinking drawings, and archival material.<sup>488</sup>

The videos build on the positive reception to a presentation I created for the Association of Critical Heritage Studies 2020 *Futures* conference, discussed in my introduction. I then conducted further testing during the following year, by sharing later video drafts with my supervisors and peers in the University of Brighton Radical Methodologies Research and Enterprise Group (RaMReg), and members of the university’s Architecture and Design ECRs and faculty. Through this feedback I have designed the final videos to work in concert with a piece of written narrative analysis (Chapters 6 & 7), and each chapter will end with the pertinent scenographic video. Together, the written narrative and video pieces perform as the research output presented both in my thesis, and in the future development of my methodology, as a form of knowledge exchange with the participants and appropriate stakeholders of the heritage sites.

The videos themselves are forms of representation, however my aim is to trigger the senses of the viewer, through their somatic memory of affect, as a form of ‘worlding’ through a series of ‘scenes’. Following Kathleen Stewart, I have adopted Hann’s explanation that ‘scenes’ have a performative affect on the body, ‘where scenes becoming worlds are singularities of rhythm and attachment’.<sup>489</sup> Although only the senses of vision and hearing are engaged when viewing the videos, the participants’ sensory accounts offer an opportunity to activate what film scholar Laura Marks calls, the viewer’s ‘embodied imagination’, through the knowledge and feelings

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<sup>488</sup> Field, *Scenographic Design Drawing: Performative Drawing in an Expanded Field*, 3.

<sup>489</sup> Hann, *Beyond Scenography*, 2.

expressed by the participants.<sup>490</sup> Marks posits that '[f]ilm is grasped not solely by an intellectual act but by the complex perception of the body as a whole.'<sup>491</sup> In much the same way, I have created my videos to draw the viewer out of the sensory assumptions of their own bodies, and to activate their imaginations, to encourage empathy with the experiences and perspectives of the participants; this is, at least, the ambition; the viewers can draw their own judgements. The videos offer the opportunity for what Pink describes as a form of novel knowledge production, activated through the viewer's 'imaginations, to create personal/cultural understandings' of what each video represents.<sup>492</sup>

I also planned to give primacy in the videos to the Lived Heritage expressed by the participants, providing the more official cultural contexts through elements of material culture as a secondary, but orienting, and sometimes disorienting, aspect of each piece. I applied a framework of three, six or nine seconds per shot, as a basic editing rhythm.<sup>493</sup> I could then shorten that shot to draw the viewer to a more attentive view through the uncomfortable pace, lengthen it to allow space for thought and reflection, create sound levels that layered and encouraged a different form of attention, and juxtapose these techniques against one another to again shift modes of attention. Decisions were also driven through the nature of the original footage; my initial plan had never been to share such large sections at a time, as the constant rocking of transit footage could become too difficult to watch.

On completion of my thesis, I plan to conduct a deeper, theoretical, and practical exploration of how the editing technique that I have developed, might encourage novel thinking and emplacement through the viewer's imagination. I have begun to explore this by comparing the rationale behind my videos with the dramaturgical techniques of the essay film, guided by film scholar Laura Rascaroli, and an attention to 'haptic visuality', explored by Laura Marks, of which I will offer a brief overview below.<sup>494</sup>

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<sup>490</sup> Marks, *The Skin of the Film: Intercultural Cinema, Embodiment, and the Senses*, 153.

<sup>491</sup> Marks, *The Skin of the Film*, 145.

<sup>492</sup> Pink, *Doing Sensory Ethnography*, 125.

<sup>493</sup> Zach Ramelan, 'Following the three second rule,' *The Beat*, 13 September 2018. Blog. Web.

<sup>494</sup> Laura Rascaroli, *How the Essay Film Thinks* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2017). Marks, *The Skin of the Film*, xi-xii.

## Scenographic Video and the ‘Essay Film’

The videos that I have created to represent each of my case studies have a documentary element, that is, they are not fictional. However, they are heavily mediated creative impressions presented to generate ideas, feelings, and empathetic attunement between the viewer and the participants. The cameras worn by the participants serve to capture the networked relationship between what they are discussing, and how this has been stimulated by each site’s affective qualities.

Rascaroli, in her 2017 book, *How the Essay Film Thinks*, explains that the term ‘essay film’ did not come into common use by filmmakers and scholars until the early 2000s, and is continually pushing the boundaries of definition.<sup>495</sup> As a medium, Rascaroli concludes that the filmmakers she has investigated tend to be working to problematise and recontextualise history and public memory, through techniques that re-calibrate sound and image to create space for new ideas.<sup>496</sup> Examples can be found in the early 1930s, but the genre finds more of its foundation in the work of 1950s experimental film makers, such as Jean-Isidore Isou and George Franju.<sup>497</sup> In their relationship with the spectator, the films that Rascaroli analyses seek to ‘address a real, embodied spectator, who is invited to enter a dialogue with the enunciator, to follow his or her reasoning, and to respond by actively participating in the construction of meaning’.<sup>498</sup>

Rascaroli explains, through the work of philosopher Gilles Deleuze, who has written of Italian Neorealism of the late 1940s, and the French New Wave of the 1950s, that it is the ‘interstitial space’ between frames that generates ‘its thinking, and in particular nonverbal thinking’.<sup>499</sup> My videos contain still images, sound and archival ephemera as would be expected from an academic presentation, but the rhythm of the edit does not always allow sufficient time to explore, which asks the viewer to pay closer attention through sound and vision as they pass. This follows essay film

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<sup>495</sup> Rascaroli, *How the Essay Film Thinks*.

<sup>496</sup> Rascaroli, *How the Essay Film Thinks*, 187.

<sup>497</sup> For example, see *Hôtel des Invalides* George Franju (Dir) 1952 *YouTube*. Web. Accessed July 2022.

<sup>498</sup> Rascaroli, *How the Essay Film Thinks*, 16.

<sup>499</sup> *Ibid.*

techniques, which use hybrid and alternative media, 'as well as non-hierarchical and nonconsequential [editing], in a bid to produce ... nonlinearity of thought.'<sup>500</sup> In so doing, my aim is to draw the viewer further in, and intervene in assumptions of cultural hierarchy, giving place and agency to the forms of meaning-making that often characterises *Heritage from Below*.<sup>501</sup> Juxtaposition between sound clips and images, overlaying dialogue and providing atmospheric sounds that, although at times are almost imperceptible, all perform as a form of scenographic 'worlding', by engaging the viewer's sensory and sensory memories.<sup>502</sup> The experience is not so much to provide an exhaustive account of the site's meaning, but to create an 'impression'; a 'sense of place' that works to shift the viewer's cultural expectations of what each site might represent through associative embodied memory.<sup>503</sup>

This section concludes the theoretical, historical, and methodological context to my research. The following two chapters (6 & 7) consist of the final written narrative analysis and videos that communicates my findings. Each chapter seeks to breathe further life into the case studies, by building a more-than representational, descriptive, narrative, and more-than textual accounts of the material and embodied experiences of the participants, their Lived Heritage, at Wyndham Court and Newhaven Fort.

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<sup>500</sup> Rascaroli, *How the Essay Film Thinks*, 15.

<sup>501</sup> Robertson, *Heritage from Below*, 2.

<sup>502</sup> Pink, *Doing Sensory Ethnography*, 44.

<sup>503</sup> Ahmed, *Cultural Politics of Emotion*, 6, 7.

## 6 A more-than textual account of Wyndham Court

### Chapter introduction

This chapter contains the narrative and visual account of the outcomes captured through my research at Wyndham Court, which builds a holistic and emplaced representation of each site, through the reflections and experiences of participants in relation to its officially designated listing.<sup>504</sup> To do this I will, in turn, describe the topography (6.1), materiality (6.2), and embodied encounters with the building (6.3), after which, I present the Scenographic Video to conclude my analysis of this case study.

The following section includes a narrative account of my embodied, autoethnographic reflections on experiences travelling to, and recording, Wyndham Court, informed by my experiences both alone and with the research participants. It draws on the affective role that the material, atmospheric environment has taken, in shaping my understanding of, and assimilation with, the site. The experiential knowledge I have gained has iteratively interwoven with my experiences with the participants on site, or through their memories of place expressed away from the site, supported by my archival and desk-based research. Pamela Howard describes this interweaving in scenographic terms as the ‘patchwork quilt of memories’, that she maintains ‘work powerfully on the spectator’s sense of memory and recognition.’<sup>505</sup> In this respect I consider the ‘spectator’ to be the reader of this thesis. As with any scenographic design, although I have no way of predicting how powerful the effect of my interpretations really are on those spectators, I can still create the conditions by which this might happen, using Howard’s practical experience and guidance.

My narrative account of Wyndham Court’s topography in the following section, works in one sense as a journey, beginning at my home and ending with a conclusion of feelings and impressions of the site itself, but the writing does not work to any pre-

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<sup>504</sup> ‘Wyndham Court including raised terrace and ramps.’ *Historic England* [n.d.]. Web. And fig 3.12.

<sup>505</sup> Howard, *What Is Scenography?* 79.



defined temporal hierarchy. Indeed, it may feel disorientating to the reader as it unfolds as an amalgamation of impressions, and memories of experiences and accounts, rather than as an objective and temporally sequential report. In the same way that I have encouraged participants to articulate embodied experience, through my own example of using gesture and sensory language, the following aims to stimulate embodied alignment of the reader with the *experiences* that I describe and analyse. In terms of the methodology I have developed, this element would perform to 'set the scene', for the stakeholders, on what the sites could mean to communities beyond the cultural assumptions that have shaped their listing and preservation.

## 6.1 A trip to Wyndham Court

HP: So what was it that brought you to, to Wyndham Court?

Sue: I think the main thing is. Because it was so central. It was central to everything. I didn't drive at that point, and, uh, it was easy to get the bus to work. I worked at Southampton University actually.

HP: Okay

Sue: Um, so it was easy to get to work, easy to get home. Everything was on your doorstep. If you wanted to go into town. You know, you just walked up the hill and you were there. Plus the fact that I personally enjoy going to the Mayflower [theatre].



Fig. 6.1: Network South East train at Lewes Station, 14 November 2008. Image: Muchclag at English Wikipedia, Public domain, via Wikimedia Commons.

## Travelling to Wyndham Court

Wyndham Court is in relatively easy to reach by rail from my hometown of Lewes, in East Sussex, located 70 miles to the east of Southampton. My view from the carriage windows is of the undulating chalk grassland and furrowed fields of the South Downs, which merge in and out of focus as the morning sun hits the grubby, scratched train windows. Commuter trains have a distinct rhythm of destination and interchange that produces an affective atmosphere of a shared sense of purpose, or sometimes resistance to purpose, that I sense in my fellow passengers. I have to change at Brighton, where I can briefly enjoy the grand Victorian architecture of iron and glass as I circumnavigate busy commuters and leisure seekers.

From Brighton my view from the train window replaces the South Downs with glimpses of the English Channel and maritime industry which flash between the shifting urban environment. Depending on the weather the sea is sometimes steely blue, sometimes dark grey, and sometimes imperceivable as it merges with the colour of the sky. The south coastal towns and villages, that the train passes regularly, shift from a sense of affluence to industrial utility, to neglect, and from commuter enclaves to ports piled with aggregate, to more provincial and smaller urban communities.

Coming closer to Southampton, the train passes Deacons Marina (Fig. 5.2), full of yachts that rarely seem to have moved. They trigger visions of privilege, freedom and leisure, which show another side of coastal life. I think of Sue and David who lived at Wyndham Court with their young family in the 1970s. Sue loves the water, and they often go to a café at their local marina so she can get her fix of the sea.

Sue: Always water, and even if it's water, in the winter. Well, that's brilliant. You know? (smiles) the roughness and the ...

HP: Right

Sue: Love it! (chuckles)

HP: So it's seeing the seasons change?

Sue: Mmm

HP: So even if you can't see the water, is it, does that still count? Even if you can't quite see ... Does knowing it's there?

Sue: We know it's there. No, that's fine, because we can't see it from my house now. But if it's foggy and the fog horns go off, they're just like over there, it seems, you know, they're so loud and you think, Oh yeah, the water's just there. And we live near Swanwick Marina. So there's a café down there, which we go to breakfast down there quite a lot ...

The large and relatively modern houses that come into view from the train window demonstrate who is allowed to permanently occupy the premium waterside space that Sue often craves.



Fig. 6.2: Deacons Boatyard and Marina, Southampton [n.d.]. Image: Marinas.com. Web.

As the train approaches Southampton Central the carriage is often much emptier, and there is a sense of quiet contemplation and anticipation amongst the passengers. My mind is full of the reason for my journey, the participants, an event, my interviews or perhaps a visit to the local archive. My crowded brain mirrors the aesthetic of the buildings that back on to the railway line. Stained brickwork and natural growth burst through crumbling masonry and graffiti in places that appear impossible to reach. This acts as a prelude to the urban context for Lyons Israel Ellis' award-winning design, which soon appears in the window.



Fig. 6.3: Wyndham Court from the south side of Southampton Central station, November 2018. Image: Harriet Parry.

## Arrival

The busy station has quite a chaotic rhythm as it serves as an interchange for cruise passengers, shoppers, students and theatre goers, and the trains running to and from Bristol, London, Bournemouth, Newcastle, Cardiff, and Manchester. None of the research participants are regular users of the railway, and John was initially astonished that I would take the two-hour journey by rail, to learn about the building in which he lives.

John: I mean why would you ...? (smiles) It takes ages!

A sense of transience remains as I leave the station, and I often stop to pause by the curved, peach coloured stone benches just outside the exit, installed as a part of the

recent Station Quarter redevelopment, to check the time.<sup>506</sup> There, travellers are greeted by the full scale of Wyndham Court.

Luke: So when I used to come down, when I lived in Winchester, obviously we'd come to the train station and that's almost the first thing you see when you come out.

My pattern changes each visit, I might be meeting John in a café, or Jash near the chip shop, or Luke near the peach stone benches. Some days I will find a useful spot to start sketching, allowing myself to daydream as I search for detail, angles, and scale. As I get to know the building better, my relationship with Wyndham Court's materiality becomes more granular, perhaps thinking about where lichen grows, or the aesthetic and staining of the shutter board texture of its concrete surface.



Fig. 6.4: Music in the City performance opposite Wyndham Court, November 2019. Image: Harriet Parry.

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<sup>506</sup> 'Station Quarter North,' *Solent Local Enterprise partnership* [n.d.]. Web.

Local events also give opportunities for further recruitment, such as Southampton's annual outdoor music festival 'Music in the City', located at various pop-up outdoor and indoor venues, around Southampton (Fig. 6.4).<sup>507</sup> The noise from the performance located opposite Wyndham Court the year before, was a particular bugbear for John, and I emailed him to warn him that it is happening again in November 2019.

John: They're [Southampton Council] allowing these people to have this band, directly facing my home? Right? Doom doom doom dom dom dom dom, Outside my house? Really loud, and I'm in there going, fuming, like steam (makes a whistling kettle noise and gestures to ears)

HP: (smiles) Yeah

John: (laughs) Going like a kettle

HP: Yeah

John: right? Because of these people outside. It really annoys me. Even if it's only once in the summer

HP: Yeah

John: Just that once and it really gets on my ne... Why did you have to put it there? There's a park just up the road!

The blustery nature of Wyndham Court's location however, meant that on my visit in 2019, the audience was tiny, and wind cut proceedings short because the marquee on the area in front of Frobisher House was being dragged away down the plaza (Fig. 6.4).

The weather changes each experience dramatically, heat heightening the smell of traffic fumes, cold making the environment hostile and difficult to linger. Both conditions making it difficult to find potential people to talk to. The aforementioned wind also has a particular impact on experiences in and around Wyndham Court itself. On my first meeting with John at a local café in March 2019, there was a weather warning for 60mph winds, and we were looking at a 1960s architectural plan of the site as we chatted (Fig. 5.11).

John: [gesturing to the public court] There's an underneath bit that goes underneath the building there and the wind *howls* through there ... right?

HP: Right. Is it a windy place?

John: Yeah, we can hear, the *wind* is terrible outside our own window, let alone *there* ...

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<sup>507</sup> 'Music in the City,' *Music in the City*, Southampton [n.d.]. Web.



Fig. 6.5: North exit of Southampton Central station, November 2019. Image: Harriet Parry.

## Memory of a meeting with Luke

The relationship between myself and Luke began tentatively but optimistically, with a virtual introduction on the Southampton Memories *Facebook* group. Through direct messages on Facebook, we started to find out a little of why each of us is there, as a means of orienting ourselves to one another.

*Facebook* messages August 2019.

Luke: Hi I no longer live in Southampton and I'm not sure if this is the kind of thing you're after but every November I inspect the rooftop safety line systems on Wyndham Court so I get to see it from a very different perspective from most people.

HP: Hi [Luke] Thank you so much for getting in touch with me. It would be absolutely brilliant to get your perspective on the building. Are you in Southampton for more than a day when you come over? Can I ask where you are based now? I could well come and meet you there if it works better for you?

*Facebook messages November 2019.*

Luke: Hi Harriet, Tuesday is good for me. Wyndham Court is just over from the train station so I can meet you there. Obviously as I'm working I would prefer to keep shorter but 45 minutes to an hour is fine. I have lots of photos from the rooftop of Wyndham Court if you would like to see them?

...

Luke: Hi Harriet, yes that sounds good, although you may not be able to get up to the rooftop! I'll send over some good photos later this afternoon. Kind regards ...

HP: No, I don't want to get you in trouble! But a walk and talk always brings out interesting things. Thanks again.

Throughout our interactions, our embodied memories of Wyndham Court were already activated, projecting imaginings of what is to come. As with David Crouch's caravanning and gardening subjects, there 'is a commingling of the site of doing, memory, emotion, materiality and belonging.'<sup>508</sup> Our relationship has begun then, following Ingold, by putting out lines to one another that have an imaginative and embodied origin that shape our sense of place.<sup>509</sup>

Our agreed meeting point at the pink benches outside the station (Fig. 6.5), had an energy of waiting and anticipation, which created a sense of anchoring, movement, and flow. I was first to arrive, and after a few minutes, I recognised Luke walking towards me from across the road from the safety harnesses that he was wearing for his job, and the bright red fleece that he told me he would be wearing. From our virtual conversations I already had the impression that he is warm and open, which seemed well-founded as we shook hands. I hoped that I was projecting the same to him, and in that moment, I became less connected to the ground and more

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<sup>508</sup> Crouch, *Flirting with Space: Journeys and Creativity*, 72.

<sup>509</sup> Ingold, *The Life of Lines*, 4.



connected to our embodied consideration of one another. Luke was easy going about how we walked around the building, although he had hoped to go inside the private garden court, to which I sadly didn't have access that day. Therefore, rather than map out a route, he was happy to 'wander around', and we made our way along Blechynden Terrace towards the block of flats.

HP: Okay, sure. [Refers to plan of Wyndham Court] So would you like to kind of start, if we go up ...

Luke: Yeah we can go up the ramp and have a wander round

HP: Have a wander round? Shall we just take it as we find it then?

Luke: Yeah

HP: Okay, I'll just pop this away, then [puts plan away].

## Experiencing Wyndham Court

Wyndham Court is an island in a sea of infrastructure and traffic. It seems to sit with a sense of immovable density, a still and quiet energy, surrounded by networks of movement and interchange that decentre and incise lines of sight. Although at first glance from the train station, the building appears as a large solid mass of concrete, it was, in fact, designed in the shape reminiscent of a number '9' for openness and airiness (see Figs. 3.19 & 5.11).



Fig. 6.6: Wyndham Court's pedestrian ramp looking east, November 2018. Image: Harriet Parry.

The southern pedestrian access slope that both John and Luke take to start our tour, sits to the right of the building and extends like a hand, the architects inviting people to walk up into the public court as a pedestrian cut-through.<sup>510</sup> I have rarely walked up this way without having been blasted by a gust of wind coming in from the sea to the south, the wind that John had said ‘howled through’, and a factor that instantly triggered Luke to talk about the building’s relationship with the sea.

Luke: Obviously when you’re up there it’s a lot windier than at ground level.

HP: Is it always windy up there?

Luke: Yeah! You’re so close to the water.

As I walk, the slight incline pushes my feet into the slabs below, and I start to physically connect with the building’s materiality. Walking past a recycling bin that seems in perpetual use, the odd tinkle and crash pierces through the noise of passing buses, en-route from the Civic Centre. I have visited Southampton Civic Centre for its library and local studies archive, and the shopping precincts up the road where I first met John for a coffee. This helps me to feel the connection and location of Wyndham Court, being part of something more than an island in a transport interchange. I have got into the habit of looking up and to my left as I walk up, as there is a red patterned rug that appears to have been hanging from the balcony for months (it can still be seen in fig. 6.6). It provides a flash of colour against the dirty grey backdrop of the building, and I empathise with the tyrannical presence of a job that just can’t be faced.

It’s surprising how quickly the soundscape changes as I walk alone, or in company, around and into the public court. It’s very suddenly peaceful, even though it can’t be more than one hundred metres from the walkway next to the road. It is a natural point to pause for participants to talk about their impressions of the building itself.

John: It’s a good place to come if you wanna bit of peace and quiet, other than the traffic and the trains and stuff, I mean you can come and sit here and generally it’s quite quiet.

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<sup>510</sup> Lyons et al eds., ‘Southampton Central Area’ in *Lyons Israel Ellis Gray: Buildings and Projects 1932–1983*, 167.

The wind is still there, scooting around bodies, the courtyard's solitary tree, and bouncing off the building's walls, until it finds its way out by following the pedestrian route.<sup>511</sup> It keeps me company as I join its trajectory, but it is also joined by another affective presence in the numinous sense of being watched. This is a feeling I recognise in the participants as their eyes dart from balcony to balcony. It's impossible to tell from which direction we might be being observed, any number of pairs of eyes could be curiously investigating what we're up to. Looking up at the balconies on one side, I have glimpses of flowerpots and outdoor decorations, which provide splashes of colour against the grey. Some balconies have netting to deter the pigeons settling or nesting. Some have curtains at the windows, some blinds, some nets. None of them appear to move as I surreptitiously glance up to check for observers.

The thick acoustic atmosphere of the square is made up of distant traffic noise, weather, and light, that fills the space with an airy metallic quality. The lone tree in the centre makes an odd contrast to the concrete materiality of its habitat, interspersed with weeds and wallflowers growing through paving cracks, and wall edges that have more movement and vigour than anything else in the court. Their presence speaks of the threat to the building's clean lines that are integral to the building's listing, if allowed to thrive.<sup>512</sup> When the sky is blue it is framed by the roof of the flats, clouds scudding through, as a reminder of the vortices of air that stretch to the far reaches of the earth's atmosphere. When streams of sunlight stroke across the upper balconies, yellow lichen radiate in the glow, and I am able to pick out other places where it has established itself. I first assumed that the lichen was a sign of pollution, but I have since learned that it thrives in nutrient rich places.<sup>513</sup> Sustained on a ready supply of bird droppings, it is also fed by the nutrients that Luke explains have come in on the sea breeze.

Luke: Yeah. I think because you've got a lot of wind coming off of the sea. It's going to blow up things from the sea of nutrients and things from the, the seawater.

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<sup>511</sup> See my scenographic sketch of that position in fig. 5.12.

<sup>512</sup> 'Wyndham Court including raised terrace and ramps.' *Historic England* [n.d.].

<sup>513</sup> The bright orange yellow wall lichen *Xanthoria parietina* is a common, easily recognised lichen especially in nutrient-enriched sites. Look for it on trees and on many of the boulders in the Rock of Ages, where it benefits from the nutrient-rich droppings of perching birds, 'Xanthoria Parietina Lichen,' *National Botanic Garden of Wales* [n.d.]. Web.

The lichen, on the edge of the high concrete walls of the rectangular holes that serve as lighting and vents for the car park below, draws me to peer over the edge into the dark where there is little to see other than car bonnets and boots. The smell is reminiscent of the exhausts from the train and serves as a counterpoint to the airy, light open sky above.



Fig. 6.7: Raised pilotis looking south onto public square, November 2018.  
Image: Harriet Parry.

Walking through the public court, raised pilotis under the northeast edge of the building allows pedestrians to cut through ‘without traffic hazard’, as the corporation had originally stipulated to the architects.<sup>514</sup> This leads onto Commercial Road, one

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<sup>514</sup> Lyons et al eds., ‘Southampton Central Area’ in *Lyons Israel Ellis Gray: Buildings and Projects 1932–1983*, 166.

of Southampton's main thoroughfares running from the docks, the traffic noise and smells amplify, and I am immediately in a chillier shade, cast by the flats behind me.

The north side of the building feels more a part of the city than the south, which is quieter, and where the role of Wyndham Court as a residence is more apparent. On this side there are no balconies to personalise, here are the walkways and front doors that are trying to shut out the seemingly endless cacophony of traffic noise. I have to crane my neck to look to the top of the building, which now seems to loom over me from the narrow vantage point of the pavement. At street level, there are several shops, an Italian restaurant, the chip shop, a newsagent, a recently closed bridal wear shop, which was to host Rachel Adams' *Life is Brutalist* photography exhibition, a music shop, and a gaming and vape store that spans the corner of the building. This is not so different from the original shops that Sue remembered from the 1970s, these included the Hobby Lobby, and Coleman's newsagent, that she said she found so useful, and has retained its name to this day.

Footfall today is sparse, and residents often seem to appear from nowhere, keen to get into the building as quickly as possible, the entrance doors are heavy, and fight to swing close, while people struggle through with bags and children. Jash's chip shop is located next to the newsagents. He relies on regular customers who often phone in their orders, as well as customers from the theatre shows, and the students, who almost always order through Deliveroo.

Jash: Um, but yeah, the summer, the summer and winter are very different, but I don't know whether the summer's quiet as well 'cause we get a lot of students, um, not necessarily coming to our shop, but on Deliveroo and stuff.

HP: Oh okay.

Jash: Um, so we do really, really well with, with the students being here, being like two universities and stuff as well. We do really well. But I think. Just in general, the way people are shopping, eating is changing, a *lot*.

Turn the corner again, and the east side of the building and Southampton Central station come into view, accompanied by sunshine, light and a blast of sea wind. Several more shops line front of the building, including an electric guitar shop, a café, and a sauna/tanning/beauty salon. Wyndham Court is faced by a concrete office block, Frobisher House, which was built shortly after the flats were completed

in 1969. This is the view that John has from his flat, and he's no more impressed by its design, than that of his home.

John: I don't see much, all I see is that and that building. I only see that road and the trees and that building. That's all I see.

The design of Frobisher House was beginning to fulfil the Lyons Israel Ellis vision of a modern Southampton, inspired by Wyndham Court's Brutalist design. The newer building was surely named after Martin Frobisher, a celebrated sixteenth century English seaman and privateer, who had sought to exploit the natural resources of the Nunavut lands, in what is now Canada. Frobisher's was the first documented interaction with the Inuit people in Euro-American literature, and named the inlet he sailed into, Frobisher Straits, in the belief that it was a route to Asia.<sup>515</sup> Frobisher gained his sea legs in 1553 on the first English expedition to West Africa, under the captaincy of Vice Admiral Thomas Wyndham.<sup>516</sup> Their namesakes now sit in opposition to one another, the listed Wyndham House to remain resolutely Brutalist, its unprotected counterpart however, will soon be converted into flats and a hotel, to be clad in sleek materials to disguise its concrete core.<sup>517</sup>

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<sup>515</sup> 'Sir Martin Frobisher,' *The Canadian Encyclopaedia* [n.d.]. Web.

'Founding of Iqaluit,' *Arctic Kingdom* [n.d.]. Web.

<sup>516</sup> Peter Fryer, *Staying Power: The History of Black People in Britain* (London: Pluto Press, 1984), 6.

Taliesin Trow, 'Timeline of Frobisher and New World Exploration' *Sir Martin Frobisher: Seaman, Soldier, Explorer* (Barnsley: Pen & Sword Maritime, 2010).

<sup>517</sup> 'Nelson Gate,' *Invest in Southampton*. Web.



Fig. 6.8: Panoramic view of Frobisher House from Wyndham Court fifth floor. John points out the cruise liners that can be seen in the distance, May 2019  
Image: Harriet Parry.

## 6.2 Materiality of Wyndham Court — Concrete, time, and memory

This section draws on experiences shared with Luke, Sue and David, John, Jash, and Mike, as well as times spent alone, these experiences perform to take the reader deeper into the phenomenological folds of Wyndham Court itself. From a more-than representational perspective, to investigate the materiality of a building and its environment is also to include the material and performative role of the body, and the memories it brings into that investigation. Kathleen Stewart's description of the affective body attuning to its environment, serves as a foreground to further activate the reader's own sensory system, as they read the following descriptions.<sup>518</sup> Stewart states:

The self is no match for all of this.

It's a dreamy, hovering, not-quite-there thing.

A fabulation that enfolds the intensities it finds itself in. It fashions itself out of movements and situations that are surprising, compelled by something new, or buried in layers of habit.

It can become hyperresponsive- touchy, volatile, and tunes in- or it can grow dull with anxiety. It gets caught in the quick, repetitive cycles of ups and downs - the flights of fancy followed by disappointments, satisfactions, rages, or dreams of rest.<sup>519</sup>

The performative role of the body is intrinsic to the scenographic perspective and a more-than representational reading. The scenographer relies on the complex, but often unconscious, ways that bodies 'tune-in' to the constellation of sensory stimuli that they are receiving, and in turn generating within the atmosphere of a performance.<sup>520</sup> As previously outlined, this can be made up of the tangible and the intangible, the numinous and atmospheric, textures, forms and qualities, the social

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<sup>518</sup> Stewart, 'Atmospheric Attunements'.

<sup>519</sup> Stewart, 'The Self' in Stewart, Kathleen Stewart *Ordinary Affects* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2007) 58 (original formatting).

<sup>520</sup> Böhme, *Aesthetics of Atmospheres*, 2.



and the cultural, all of which are ‘materialities’ with which the body knots and interweaves.<sup>521</sup>

Mike demonstrated this in our Zoom interview when I asked him to describe the look of Wyndham Court’s surface. This he remembered through multiple senses, the immediacy of touch remembered through his fingers, the meaning of those qualities enmeshed with the social and the temporal. In comparing the building’s surface to pumice stone, a volcanic rock with a solid rough exterior, which is deceptively light and floats on water, Mike invokes a sense of the building’s possible fragility. This comparison resonated with a humorous account, earlier in our interview, of his friends holding onto the exterior third floor walkway for fear of being blown away by the sea winds. Even though we chuckled at his friend’s reactions, he has retained a sense of its truth, in that it he considers this fragility could only have got worse in the time since he lived there.

HP: ... some of the [heritage listing] documents talk about the texture and the patination of the concrete. And I don't know if you remember, that? How it looked in that way?

Mike: Um, well, it didn't, it, it almost looked porous ...

HP: Right.

Mike: ... is one way I would describe it. So, it did. It wasn't like a, just a firm solid bit of concrete, which, erm, (laughs) never worried me time, but, uh, but might be if you lived there now, I suppose. So yeah, definitely felt, it always felt different as well. So it almost felt like, um, like a pumice stone almost.

HP: Right

Mike: Um, you know, when you, and I've still got that, I can feel that now. Now I've said that in my hands, so. Yeah, it definitely. I mean, it was, it was just so unique in lots of ways.

What Mike described was his lived experience of Wyndham Court’s materiality through somatic memory, which was repeated across multiple shared and personal experiences expressed by the participants at both sites. For example, Greg’s suggestion that the walls of Newhaven Fort might ‘record’ strong emotions, or the way the traffic fumes ingrain with the textures of Wyndham Court, to visually represent John’s anxieties around its impact on his and his family’s health.

In order to theoretically contextualise our experiences of each site’s materiality and how we might have made sense of them, I have consulted sociologist Penny Harvey,

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<sup>521</sup> Ingold, *The Life of Lines*, 69.

and anthropologist Hannah Knox's, edited collection, *Objects and Materials*.<sup>522</sup> The scope of their book includes contributors who have considered the active and relational ways materials 'are both made by and make social relations'.<sup>523</sup> They explore:

[t]he moment of contact between objects; ... the action potential that materials contain and their capacity to constrain and condition social relations to; ...the ways in which materials participate in processes of political transformation in a process we refer to as 'transforming states, ... and the fragility of the material world'.<sup>524</sup>

The case studies in my own research have revealed these multiple, relational materialities, experienced through shared and solo experiences of walking around the site, and playing back the recordings of those experiences. As with Mike's account, participants have enriched my understanding, intensifying my embodied connection to it through their physical expression, and the social and cultural knowledge that they share. The materiality of the sites within their environment is never conceived as static by the participants, even in memory, which serves to contextualise the ways in which values assigned to heritage are never static, its ongoing use and care seeming intrinsically linked to the identities of the participants, and their projections into the future.<sup>525</sup>

## **Material encounters with Wyndham Court**

Attention and reflection on how I have travelled to each site has brought to the foreground how, where, and why bodies might attune to the materiality of the sites. In all of my encounters with the participants I can at least assume a sense of anticipation through the novelty of taking part in the research, knowing that they agreed to help because they were interested rather than feeling obligated. This form of attention, a sense of curiosity or interest, as Ingold explains, 'open[s] up readiness

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<sup>522</sup> Penelope Harvey, ed., *Objects and Materials: A Routledge Companion*. Culture, Economy and the Social (London: Routledge, 2014).

<sup>523</sup> Harvey, ed., *Objects and Materials: A Routledge Companion*, 10.

<sup>524</sup> Harvey, ed., *Objects and Materials: A Routledge Companion*, 14.

<sup>525</sup> Smith, *Uses of Heritage*, 68.

for the 'not yet' of what is to come.'<sup>526</sup> Applying Ingold's analogy of the 'maze' and the 'labyrinth', he states that the 'logic of the maze shuts down open and curious inquiry, but the wayfarer negotiating the labyrinth 'pushes out into the flux of things.'<sup>527</sup>



Figs. 6.9 & 6.10: Approaching Wyndham Court from the north exit of Southampton Central station, September 2019. Images: Harriet Parry.

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<sup>526</sup> Ingold, *The Life of Lines*, 136.

<sup>527</sup> Ingold, *The Life of Lines*, 137.



Fig. 6.11: View of the west side of Wyndham Court, November 2019. Image: Harriet Parry.

Jash articulated that for him, Wyndham Court's overwhelming impression is of a 'concrete jungle' or 'concrete block', that infers a sense of volume, mass and domination. The perception of its dirty grey ombré façade is exacerbated by its contrasting surroundings of sleek shiny clad student buildings around it. John finds this contrast useful in underlining the 'dull' and 'ugly' look of Wyndham Court.

John: See again, look at the building there.

HP: Yeah

John: White, nice cladding. What's this?

HP: Yeah in contrast

John: It's out of place.

...

John: I mean the only building that probably looks like this in the sense of colour is probably the church itself [pictured earlier in fig. 3.11]

...

John: But it's a church, you expect that don't you? But it doesn't look out of place does it?



Fig. 6.12: Contrast of newer developments to the east of Wyndham Court from the third-floor balcony, September 2019. Image: Harriet Parry.

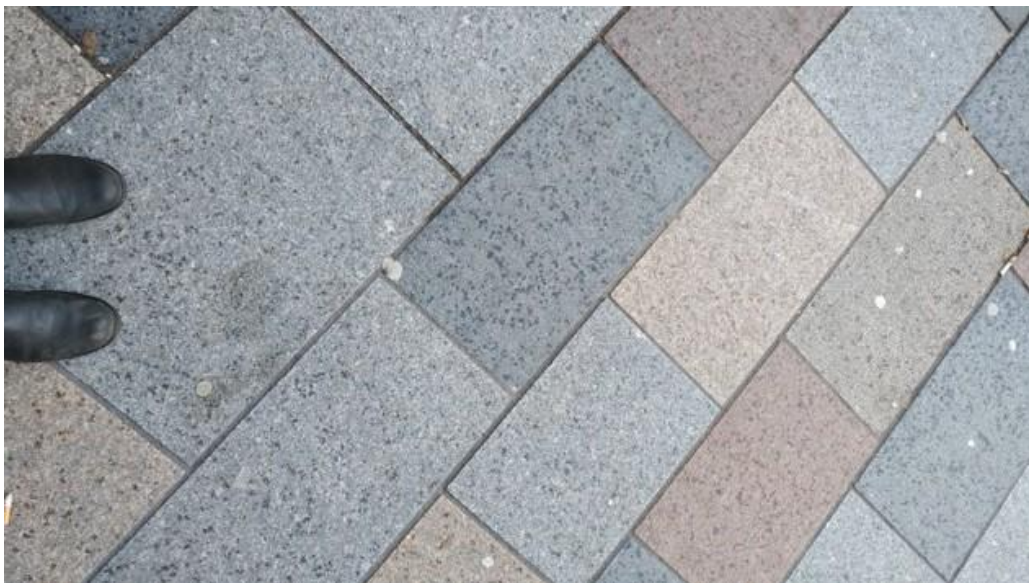


Fig. 6.13: Station Quarter paving slabs, March 2019. Image: Harriet Parry.

Wyndham Court sits in the context of newly renovated, but already dirty, peach, sandstone, and granite coloured pavement slabs and curb stones, stepped seating areas, stone benches and planting. A key aim of the Station Quarter design was to draw pedestrians along the underused route to the city centre, shopping areas, and Civic Centre, which compounds the feeling of transience rather than habitation.

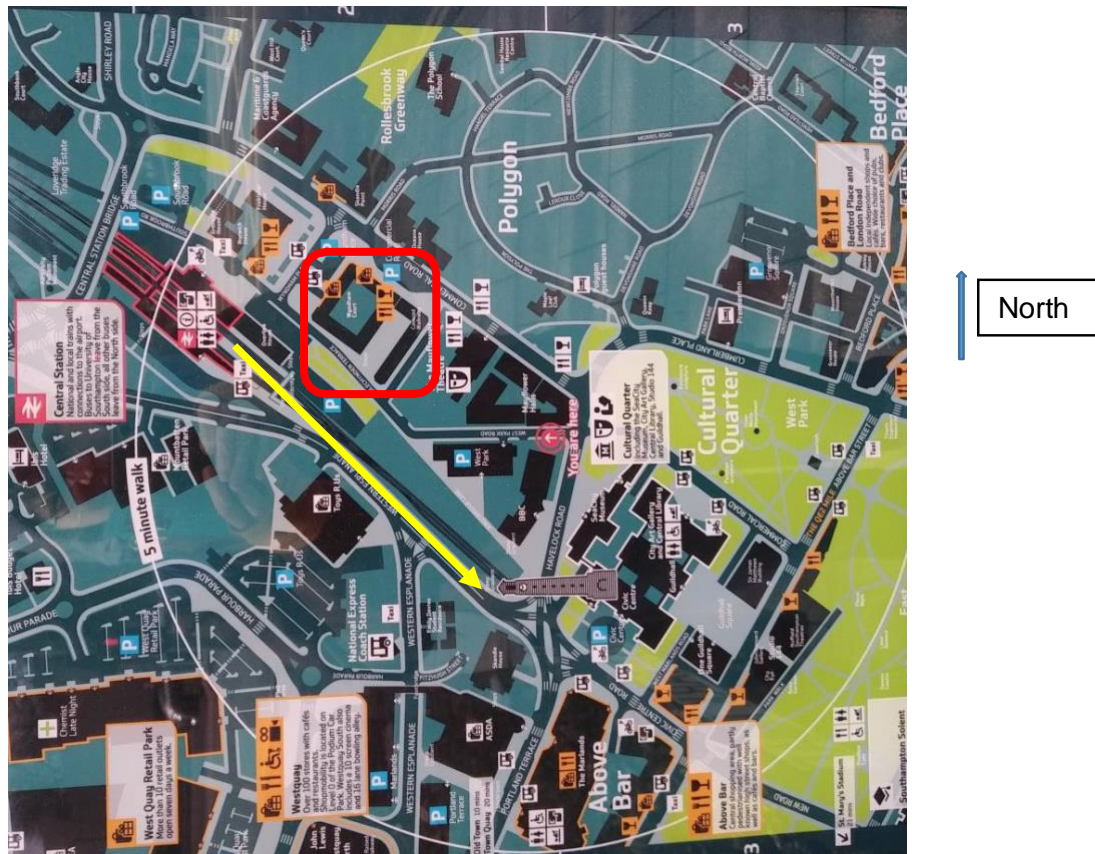


Fig. 6.14: Map of Southampton's Cultural Quarter, designated by the white circle. Adapted from street signage by Harriet Parry to show Wyndham Court, marked in red, and the favoured pedestrian route marked in yellow.

The route takes pedestrians and cyclists east, past the south side of Wyndham Court, past the new 'Blechynden Park' area created in a Second World War bomb site, with its curious target design bouncy rubber flooring, to what has relatively recently been designated by the council as Southampton's Cultural Quarter.<sup>528</sup>

<sup>528</sup> 'City Centre Master Plan,' *Southampton City Council*, September 2013. PDF. Web.



Fig. 6.15: Blechynden Gardens' rubber target matting, November 2019. Image: Harriet Parry.

On the roads that skirt the building, the high volume of vehicle traffic and smell of fumes is pervasive, and this can overwhelm any other aromas that might emerge from the various cafés, green areas of planting, or cooking smells from the restaurants or flats. Recalling walking into Wyndham Court with John through Entrance 2, the moment the heavy door slammed, the smells and sounds were banished, replaced by the sound of the door echoing up the plaster-lined stairwell.<sup>529</sup>

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<sup>529</sup> Southampton Council, *Architectural Handbook - Guidance for Tenants*, 64. Appendix A.

Any doors slamming, such as the drying room door adjacent to his flat, have an intrusive impact on John's sense of wellbeing at home.

John: [door slammed by another resident] so it goes like that, yeah? And they open it, and they just let it go 'Boom!' and it makes a massive ... and as you can hear it's very (clicks fingers) echoey

The atmospheric shift between the streets outside and the interior of Wyndham Court served in some way to stabilize my body. However, something is also severed as the material environment becomes less textured, and the building's easy clean sterility can be felt through our echoing footsteps and voices. It is in attending to what can no longer be sensed, that I can better attune to the generative potential of the building's concrete exterior qualities, in relation to its urban environment.<sup>530</sup>



Fig. 6.16: Wyndham Court interior plaster wall, September 2019. Image: Harriet Parry.

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<sup>530</sup> Gillian Evans, 'Material qualities - Introduction' in Harvey, ed. *Objects and Materials: A Routledge Companion*, 19.






Fig. 6.17: Wyndham Court interior stairwell, September 2019. Image: Harriet Parry.



Fig. 6.18: South side of Wyndham Court, adjacent to Blechynden Terrace, May 2019. Image: Harriet Parry.

## Concrete

A term that I hear from both Sue and Jash, when I ask them to describe the building and its environment to someone who has never seen it, is 'concrete jungle'. This concept appears to have originated in the United States of America, and an early instance of its use is in an advert, found in a 1925 edition of the *Baltimore Sunday Sun*, to encourage city dwellers to buy property in the suburbs.



*Ask Dad*  
--*He Knows*

Poor old soul, he knows that all these years his city-bred heart has bottled up a love for green grass, trees and flowers. That's why he's so crazy about golf; taking pleasure in little sips when he might live in Ten Hills and enjoy hour upon hour out of doors...It's positively foolish to live in the "concrete jungles." Buy in Ten Hills and start LIVING.

**TEN HILLS**  
"The Country Suburb"  
CAUGHY & COMPANY, INC.  
Agents  
220 E. Lexington St.  
Plaza 1132      Galmer 5462

Fig. 6.19: Advertisement for Ten Hills "The Country Suburb" stating it is '... positively foolish to live in the "concrete jungles"', 1925. *The Baltimore Sunday Sun*. Web.

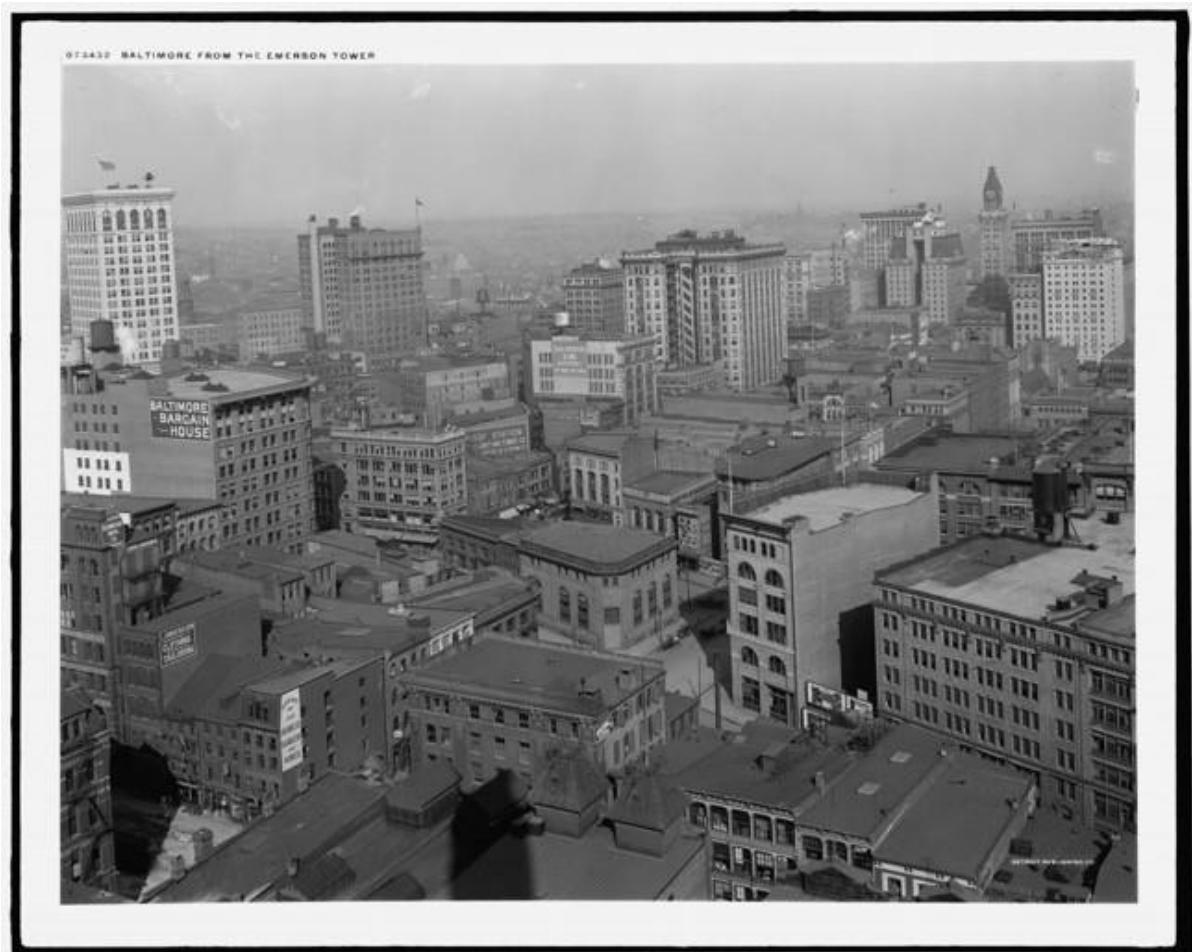


Fig. 6.20: "Baltimore from the Emerson tower," 8x10 inch dry plate glass negative, Detroit Publishing Company, circa 1912. Image: Shorpy. *Ghosts of Baltimore*. Web.

The popular meaning and use of the term 'concrete jungle' has endured. Bob Marley used it in his plaintiff song *Concrete Jungle*, written about his experience of living in Kingston, Jamaica.<sup>531</sup> *Concrete Jungle* was also used as the title of a song written in 1979, by guitarist and singer Roddy Radiation, of UK ska band The Specials, 'about his experiences growing up in a council house' in Keresley End, near Coventry.<sup>532</sup> In summary, it has come to serve as shorthand for a busy, hard, urban environment that is socially and physically oppressive and devoid of nature. Its use as a

<sup>531</sup> Kwame Dawes, *Bob Marley: Lyrical Genius* (Music Sales Ltd. 2012).

<sup>532</sup> "Concrete Jungle" by The Specials," *Song Facts*, [n.d.]. Web.

descriptor for Wyndham Court makes clear the feelings that those participants have in its material presence, and I have sympathy for their perspective.

Concrete is a composite of quicklime cement, mixed with a suitable combination of fine and coarse aggregate, and has been put to use in construction in various forms since the Roman times.<sup>533</sup> However, as architectural historian Adrian Forty explains, concrete has now come to represent 'what it means to be modern.'<sup>534</sup> In Southampton, as with other cities rebuilding after the ravages of the bombing during the Second World War, there was a need for a hopeful and progressive vision of the future of urban living, and concrete has been the material of choice for artists working in the modernist idiom since the 1920s.<sup>535</sup> The sensibilities and visions of the Wyndham Court's designers, Lyons Israel Ellis, has already been explained, but it is important to be reminded of this when considering how divisive Wyndham Court has become for those it has been preserved for .

Jash: ... a lot of people come in [to the chip shop] and they can't actually *believe* it's *listed* and I've told them it's a listed building, they can't actually believe it!

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<sup>533</sup> Forty, *Concrete and Culture: A Material History*.

<sup>534</sup> Forty, *Concrete and Culture: A Material History*, 14.

<sup>535</sup> Forty, *Concrete and Culture: A Material History*, 21.



Fig. 6.21: *Southampton Daily Echo* article on Wyndham Court's listing, 4 September 1996. Hampshire Local Studies and Maritime Archive.

It appears, anecdotally at least, that there are much the same attitudes towards its listing today as there were in 1996, when the idea was proposed by English Heritage, as can be seen in the above report, one of several published in the *Southampton Daily Echo* (Fig. 6.21).

Culturally, the modern western relationship with the materiality of concrete, and the buildings that it has been used to create, influences the affective impact it has on bodies. For John, although he mainly enjoys living there, its materiality is a regular reminder of some of the difficulties of daily life; for Owen Hatherley it is an architectural marvel (even if he is very aware that it needs a good clean); for Jash, it

is barely considered.<sup>536</sup> For Mike, who has not been back since the 1990s, its materiality lives as a fond memory. He and his family and friends had made sense of the uniqueness of the building and embraced its materiality through their social worlds and cultural affiliations. Mike explained that the original ground for Southampton Football Club, The Dell, was nicknamed the Ugly Inside. This nickname became the title for the club's fanzine.

Mike: So that's what [The Dell] was called, and everyone in Wyndham Court, not everyone, but people including my dad, would call it 'The Ugly Outside' because it just, you know, it's not a pretty building for most people, but I think people who lived there and I genuinely think my friends, had a bit of a soft spot for it. 'Cause it just, it was so different to anything, not just around it, but in the whole city even, you know?

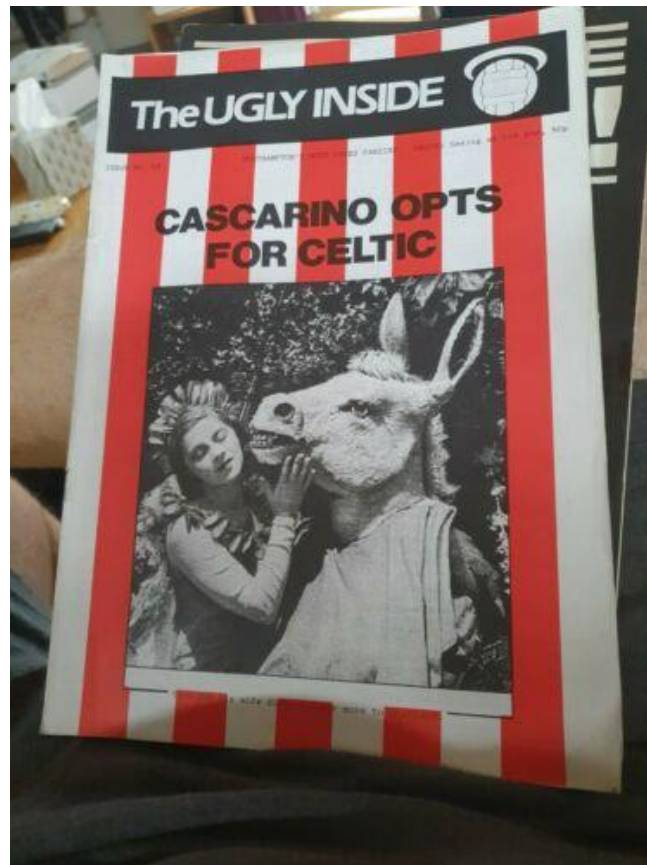


Fig. 6.22: *The Ugly Inside* Issue 19. Southampton FC fanzine circa 1990s. eBay, October 2021.

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<sup>536</sup> Hatherley, 'Brave New Southampton,' *In-Common*, 12 August 2020. Web.

## Material affects

Wyndham Court's substantial material presence will have an affective influence on our bodies, by relating to its sheer scale if nothing else, but it is what else we bring to it, and how we name those feelings, that will impact the embodied engagement.<sup>537</sup> Sara Ahmed would describe the way this becomes an embodied memory as the 'impression' that has been left by our material relationship with the building. She explains that the '*press*' in the word 'impression' '... allows us to associate the experience of having an emotion with the very affect of one surface upon another, an affect that leaves its mark or trace.'<sup>538</sup> Both disgust and pleasure will draw the body into the phenomenological folds of its material qualities, scanning its surface for detail and texture, sensing its weight or bulk, imagining its interior.<sup>539</sup> Feelings are named and defined by an embedded sense of identity, which drives appreciation or rejection of not only its Brutalist design, but its patina and weathering through 50 years of existing in this space.

## Shutterboard

Moving closer to the building gives the opportunity for a more investigative gaze. When engaging directly with its surface, either together when encouraging participants to look and touch, or alone sketching, tracing my fingers along its walls and taking texture rubbings of different sections, a more nuanced and multi-faceted surface comes into focus.

Jash: I never noticed that before ... (laughs) it looks like wood, doesn't it?

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<sup>537</sup> Anderson, *Encountering Affect: Capacities, Apparatuses, Conditions*, 73.

<sup>538</sup> Ahmed, *Cultural Politics of Emotion*, 6.

<sup>539</sup> Harvey, ed., *Objects and Materials: A Routledge Companion*, 7.





Fig. 6.23: Screenshot from John's walking interview video footage, September 2019. Image: Harriet Parry.

HP: What do you think of the ...?

John: What is it? I hate it (laughs) ... it looks like wood, doesn't it? I mean even if they just put something over it, they don't have to change it, just put something over it ...

The experience appeared to trigger curiosity rather than wonder, and an air of puzzlement in the participants as to its purpose, and indeed its resulting preservation. The architects chose to leave the finish of the building as 'exposed white concrete' to visually relate to the white Portland stone of E. Berry Webber's Civic Centre, which was still visually relatable to Wyndham Court at the time of its construction (Figs. 3.19 & 3.2). With that, they also followed the 1950s and '60s fashion of a raw surface, 'to signify an engagement with the 'as-found'.<sup>540</sup> Adrian Forty explains that the finishing such as the shutter board detail that makes up the visual surface of Wyndham Court, would have involved unusually high standards of

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<sup>540</sup> Forty, *Concrete and Culture: A Material History*, 234.

workmanship.<sup>541</sup> It was used by architects at the time to counter opinions that these buildings were only constructed with low skilled labour, the structural language speaking to the architect's peers, and as a potential legacy for future consideration.<sup>542</sup>



Fig. 6.24: Wyndham Court walls, photo taken from the public square, September 2019. Image: Harriet Parry.

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<sup>541</sup> Forty, *Concrete and Culture: A Material History*, 234.

<sup>542</sup> *Ibid.*



Fig. 6.25: Enlarged detail from 'Ramp along south elevation'. Photo by Rose and Dyble, circa 1969. Image: RIBA Archive.

In scenographic terms this building holds the lines of power through its design, its official heritage listing, and its material presence. The light, the sound, the wind, the traffic fumes, the people, must all negotiate their way around a building that remains a dirtying shadow of its 1969 utopian completion photographs, taken by Rose and Dyble (Fig. 6.26). The designers set the terms of engagement and heritage values, and bureaucracy has maintained those terms, which makes a strong political and social statement about the value of the building's material legacy over the lives of those that live there. The participants' everyday encounters and memories of the building's materiality has been shaped by their personal wants and needs. The final section of this chapter draws closer to the participants' expressions of those embodied affects, through some of the material incursions that have shaped some of their embodied relationships to the site.



Fig. 6.26: Wyndham Court completion image from the southeast. Photo by Rose and Dyble, circa 1969. Image: RIBA Archive.

## **Incursions**

Wyndham Court will never be so perfect as it was at the moment that photographers Rose and Dyble, contracted by Lyons Israel Ellis, developed the images of bright white and uninhabited perfection. The material incursions that I have previously introduced have had a particular impact on John's lived experience, and on Luke's working experience, both of which serve to emplace them in the wider environment. For John it is the traffic fumes and the pigeons, for Luke it is the nutrients carried on the sea wind to the building's roof.



Fig. 6.27: Composite image of John's gestures describing the traffic fumes grinding into Wyndham Court's surface, September 2019. Image: Harriet Parry.

John: It can get really, really bad. Especially when the traffic is backed up, you've got cars with their engines on and it's just constant fumes, fumes ...



Fig. 6.28: Netting across the front of people's balconies to deter pigeons, facing Wyndham Court's interior Garden Court, September 2019. Image: Harriet Parry.

John: The pigeons crap *everywhere*, and they go on your balconies, they lay eggs and they put sticks and crap all over your balcony ... technically you have to have planning permission to put netting up.

Since our interview, Southampton County Council have engaged the services of three harrier hawks to deter pigeons from nesting at Wyndham Court. The council have predicted a fifty percent drop in pigeons nesting on the building, the long-term impact of which remains to be seen.<sup>543</sup>

## Flying high at Wyndham Court

TENANTS' LINK

01.05.21



**Flying high at Wyndham Court**

Fig. 6.29: Southampton Council online article for council tenants on their new pigeon deterrent measures, May 2021. Web.

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<sup>543</sup> 'Flying High at Wyndham Court,' *Southampton City Council*, 1 May 2021. Web.

Luke connects to Wyndham Court's relationship with the sea through evidence of the nutrients that blow up onto the roof. This creates a mossy and slippery surface, which acts as a stark contrast to the rest of the building. An aspect that only a privileged few are party to, other than the local avian population of course.



Fig. 6.30: Moss on the roof of Wyndham Court looking northeast, November 2019. Image: With kind permission by Luke.

At this point we were talking about the building from ground level on Commercial Road.

Luke: You see what I mean from, from looking up there [looking up to the roof] You can see it's just looks very samey, and so this [image of the roof] is what we're looking at.

HP: (exclaims) That's so green!

The impressions left, on both John and Luke's bodies, through the material incursions of pollution, pigeon droppings and nutrients coming in on the sea wind,



are felt in different ways, as they relate to the building itself in differing ways. Luke enjoys the way nature has interrupted the ‘samey-ness’ of the building’s design that represents many of the things he would not like for his own family, and John, again demonstrating the material impact on his home as deeply personal. The following section builds on these insights, with a broader focus on selected affective ‘scenes’ that have been expressed with a distinct intensity by participants, throughout the interviews.

### 6.3 Embodied encounters with Wyndham Court

This Wyndham Court section differs slightly from the Newhaven Fort section that follows, because it will include memories shared by Sue, David, and Mike, all of whom were unable to take part in an on-site interview. Collectively, these ‘scenes’ have acted as the foundation for the scenographic sketches, as well as for the videos that complete Chapters 6 and 7. I have marked the Affect Map below (Fig. 6.31), adapted from one of Lyons Israel Ellis’ original architectural plans, with colour-coded dots to show their distribution.

My descriptions and analysis serve to demonstrate the potential uses for the methodology that I have developed, through the rich and networked accounts represented. In this respect, there are opportunities to not only understand the Lived Heritage that might not currently be represented by a site, but also to revisit and revise what that heritage really means to the contemporary society for whom it has been preserved.

From the Affect Map, I have chosen three key positions, numbered 1, 2 and 3 on the plan (Fig. 6.31), from which I will share some ‘thick’ descriptions of themes drawn from participant experiences, expressed throughout our interviews.<sup>544</sup> The numbering of the positions reflects the order in which I have written about them, rather than when we came to them during the interviews. I have written the accounts in the present tense in a bid to engender a greater sense of immediacy in their reading.

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<sup>544</sup> Clifford Geertz and Robert Darnton, *The Interpretation of Cultures: Selected Essays*. 3rd edition. (New York: Basic Books, 2017) 11.

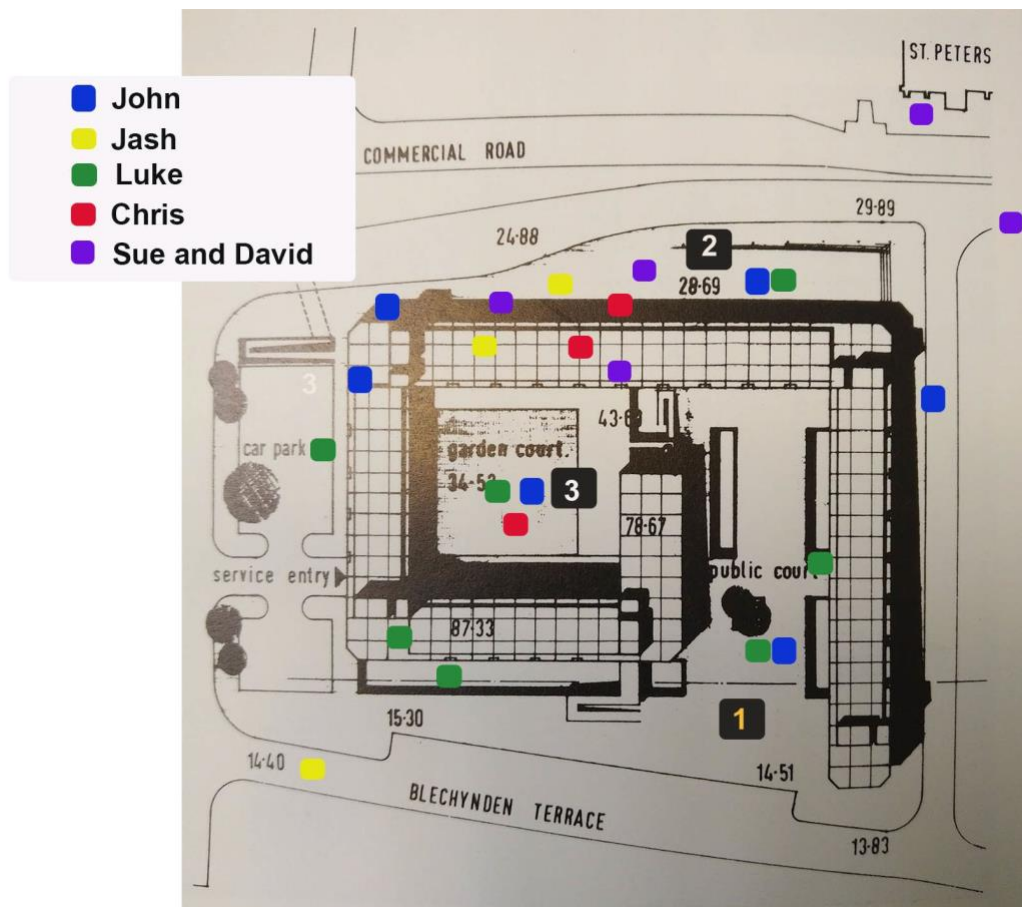


Fig. 6.31: Participant Affect Map Position 1. Adapted by Harriet Parry from Plan of Wyndham Court circa 1965 *Lyons Israel Ellis Gray: Buildings and Projects 1932-1983*, 166.

## Position 1: Wyndham Court Public Court

### Water

The interview with Luke starts to take shape as we walk from the station and up the pedestrian ramp that leads to the public court. This is where we begin to find our shared language, and attunement to the environment, through our bodies and our words. Any observations Luke shares at ground level, appear shaped by his distinct perspective from the roof, and from there the connections he has made over time between the building and the sea. As depicted in the scenographic sketch below, it appears that this relationship generates the site's most potent lines of power for him, defining the way his body feels in time and space, in that place (Fig. 6.32).

Luke: It's nice to come up here [Wyndham Court]. The view from the roof is absolutely amazing.

H: I bet.

Luke: You can see across over the water, and uh, you can see for miles. It's just fascinating to see a part of it that other people don't get to see.

... And you can see for absolutely miles. And it's just a different perspective. You know? It's something that other people don't get to experience.

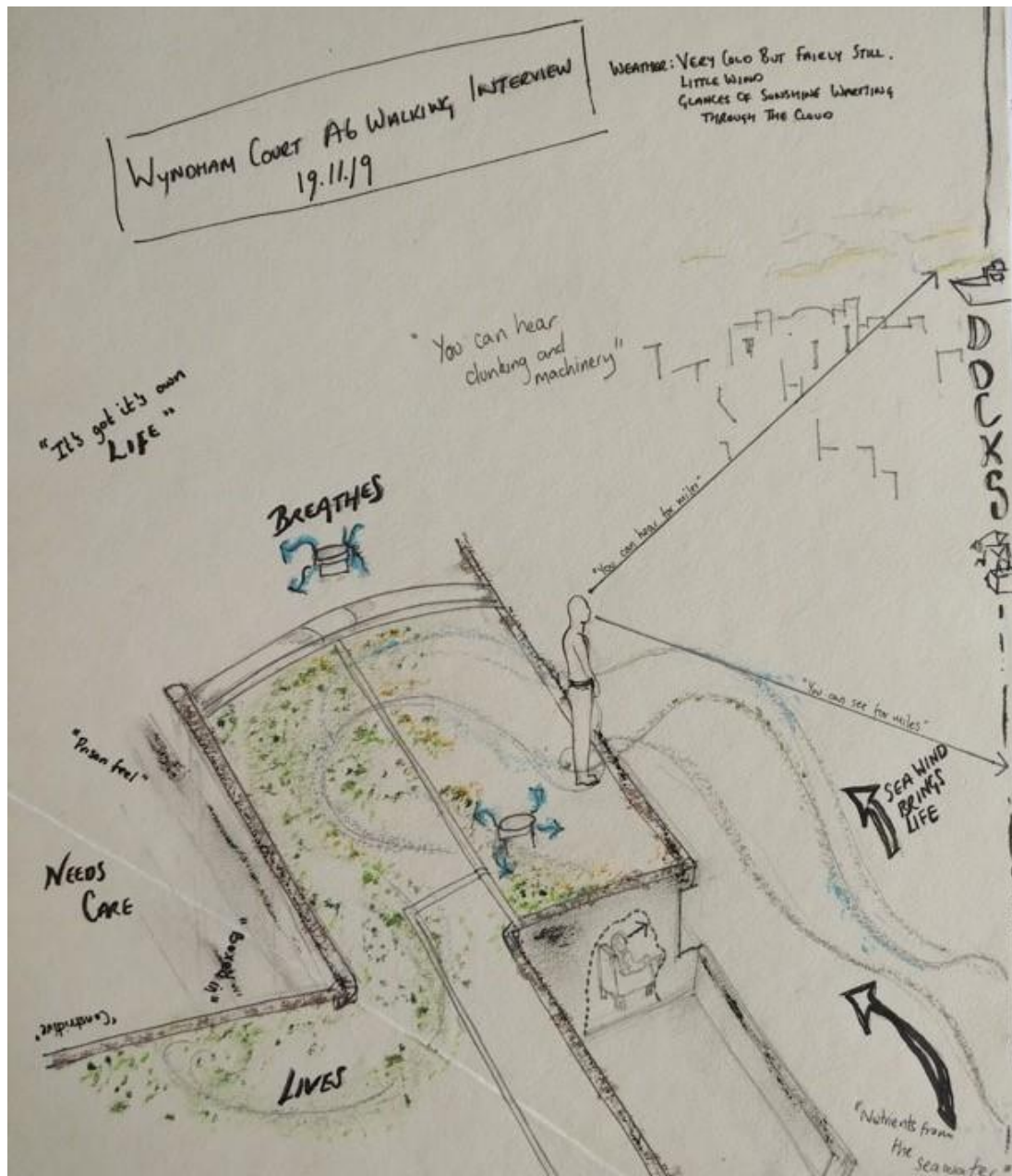


Fig. 6.32: 'Luke' Scenographic sketch of his perspective, from the roof of Wyndham Court, November 2019. Image: Harriet Parry.

As we talk, the wind begins to whip around our bodies, and Luke physically and mentally enmeshes with it as he follows its onward trajectory with his arms. He makes a circular swooshing motion that takes him up with the wind to the roof, carrying with it the nutrients that feed the lichen and mosses above. As he describes the trajectory of the wind from the sea, my own senses begin to search for the taste of salt, and the sound of herring gulls. I imagine the traffic to be coming to and from the docks, for work or for a cruise, if I hear a clanking sound on the breeze I wonder if it is a distant crane. The activity around me becomes more purposeful, more meaningful, as the busy networks of people, weather, sound, and light move around me. My sense of place is being shaped by his attention.

The strength of connection between the water and Wyndham Court comes in and out of focus throughout the interviews, sometimes more abstractly than others. Thinking about water reminds me that John used to work at the docks and was able to tell me the numbers of each quay from the vantage point that he took me to on the fifth floor. The view shown in fig. 6.34 is exactly two floors above the view from his own balcony on the west side of Wyndham Court, which from his floor, is interrupted by buildings.



Fig. 6.33: John pointing out the docks from the fifth floor of Wyndham Court, September 2019. Image: Harriet Parry.

In my interview with Sue and David in the John Lewis café, Sue's articulation that 'Southampton *is* water', offers an insight into the environment that has helped to shape her sense of self. Her statement that a place *is* water describes the material embodied connection that emplaces her, and by extension, her identity becomes expressed through her statement.

Sue explains that water, and being close to water, is where she is happiest, and she expresses her relationship to the water synaesthetically, an unusual condition where sensations appear to join and a person might, for example, perceive letters as colours or names as tastes.<sup>545</sup> For her, 'Southampton *is* water', Whitstable, where she and David used to live, '*is* water', and Florida where they lived and then holidayed, '*is* water'.

'Southampton *is* water', is a statement that further animates the embodied nature of the 'linguistic transference' that Benjamin described through his theory of metaphor discussed in Section 5.3. Although Sue has not described herself as synaesthetic, she verbalises the complexity, which can be experienced through the body, as the senses interconnect through metaphor as an embodiment of personal identity.<sup>546</sup> Neurologist Richard Cytowic, and neuroscientist David Eagleman, explain that although the condition is rare, synesthetes and nonsynesthetes make matches in ways that are similar', and that synaesthesia might help us 'better understand the neurological basis for metaphor.'<sup>547</sup> Within the context of Sue's account of her life in and around Wyndham Court, David Howes' discussion on synaesthetic thinking, being shaped by 'cultural significance', has proved useful by informing how cross-sensory processing can offer vital information on how a culture and, in turn, an individual in that culture, conceives 'place'.<sup>548</sup> Being close to water, be that directly or through her imagination, is an important part of how Sue expresses her identity and, drawing in her relationship with David her individuality, as she tells me David has always preferred the countryside.

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<sup>545</sup> Richard E. Cytowic and David Eagleman, *Wednesday Is Indigo Blue: Discovering the Brain of Synesthesia* (Cambridge, Mass: MIT Press, 2009) 1.

<sup>546</sup> Benjamin and Arendt, 'Introduction,' *Illuminations*, 2.

<sup>547</sup> Cytowic and Eagleman, *Wednesday Is Indigo Blue: Discovering the Brain of Synesthesia*, 164.

<sup>548</sup> Howes and Classen, *Ways of Sensing: Understanding the Senses in Society*, 9.

## The aesthetic identity of home

Luke's initial open and upward demeanour begins to close down as we walk further into the public court and pause to discuss the building. I sense the lines of power begin to shift, and draw tension between each side of the square, as our gaze and conversation brushes over the visual appearance of the flats. He communicates a personal need for expression of individuality through his dislike of the design. As he puts it, 'you can't tell one flat from the other', and even if the flats were allowed to be painted a different colour, he feels it might be better.

Luke: It's ... actually you see people who have tried to make their own individual touches, who've got window boxes and hanging baskets and things, which kind of brightens it up a little bit, but

HP: yeah.

Luke: Yeah. I think see, you could, even do, even if you do each one of balconies different colour. Have a nice stripey building (laughs, clearly joking) ... brighten it up a bit!

John expresses a similar view from his perspective as a resident, and as we stand in the public court, he explains that the paving upgrade around the new Station Quarter made the paved area confined within Wyndham Court's listing boundary look even worse. He admires the shiny light-coloured cladding of student flats built next door, which gives him the feeling that they would be nice places to live.<sup>549</sup> The contrast between the buildings and paving, 'old' and 'new' demonstrates, to his mind, that the skills of architects and builders has improved since the 1960s. These constant visual reminders only serve to compound the unsightly, 'old fashioned' and outdated appearance of his own home.

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<sup>549</sup> The 2017 Grenfell Tower disaster in West London, where upwards of 72 people lost their lives, because their building had been updated by the use of substandard and flammable cladding, was mentioned by both John and Luke throughout. John from a resident's perspective, Luke from his knowledge as a fire safety testing professional. Neither of them was averse to the idea of cladding in itself, but that any cladding should not be of the same type as that used on Grenfell. The interviews took place before the full conclusion of the enquiry had come about. As Luke pointed out, concrete is actually fantastic for safety because 'nothing burns through it'.



Fig. 6.34: Wyndham Court's public court, November 2019. Image: Harriet Parry.

## Panopticon 1

Luke's developing description of the utilitarian and 'prison like' qualities of the site builds layer upon affective layer, which compounds the numinous feeling that we might be being observed by the occupants of the surrounding flats. Foucauldian interpretations of the panopticon are growing in my own mind, in a similar vein to when John described how he feels in the private garden area, which I will explore below.<sup>550</sup> Luke also seems to sense potential observers, shaping a mental leap between the feeling of gazes from above our heads, to a concomitant image of what

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<sup>550</sup> Foucault, Michel, 'Docile Bodies' in *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison* (2nd Vintage Books ed. New York: Vintage Books, 1995).

he experiences from his privileged perspective of the flats from the roof above. From the roof, *he* is the observer and can see the occupant's belongings stored on the balconies below him. This, for him, provides evidence that the flats cannot comfortably hold the material needs of a family home.

Thinking of families appears to turn his attention to the need for safety, and this is the trigger that brings to mind a dystopian vision of cultural memories of Kubrick's *A Clockwork Orange*.<sup>551</sup>

Luke: It reminds me of like *A Clockwork Orange*,

HP: yes.

Luke: Things like that ... Dystopian kind of, things ...

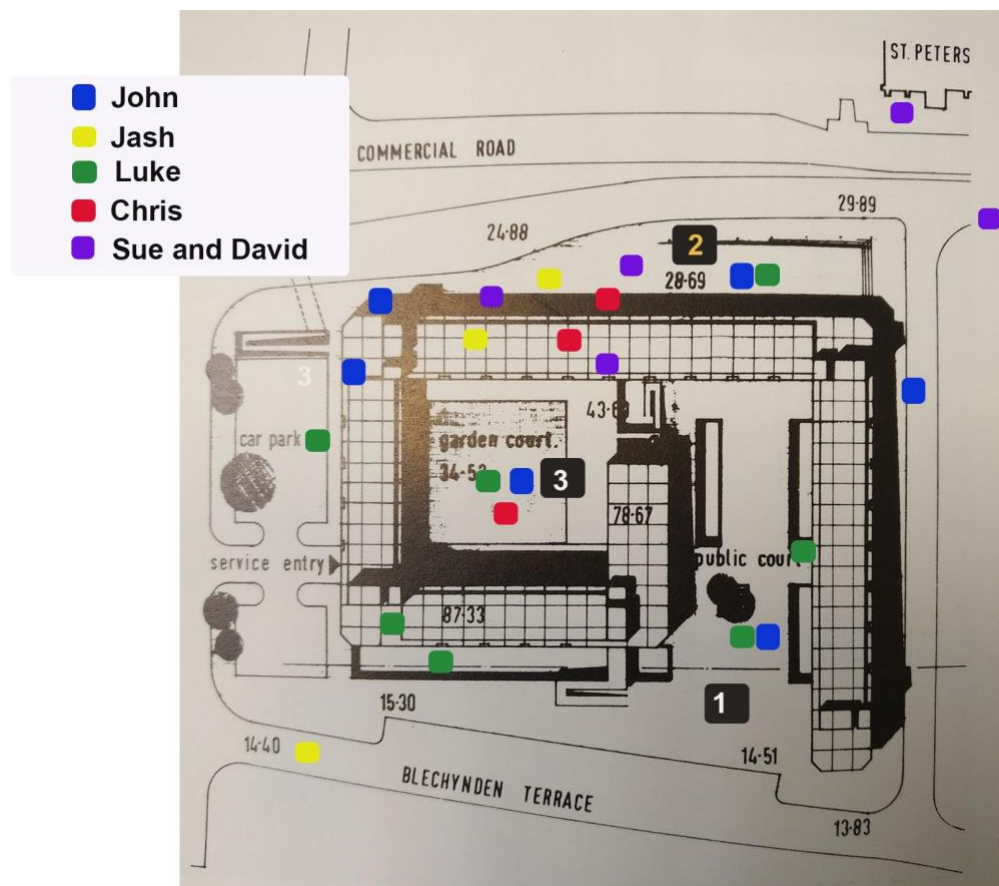


Fig. 6.35: Participant Affect Map Position 2. Adapted by Harriet Parry from Plan of Wyndham Court circa 1965 *Lyons Israel Ellis Gray: Buildings and Projects 1932-1983*, 166.

<sup>551</sup> *A Clockwork Orange* (Dir. Stanley Kubrick) 1971, Polaris Productions.



## Position 2: Commercial Road and the Mayflower Theatre



Fig. 6.36: Raised pilotis from north side on Commercial Road, November 2019. Image: Harriet Parry.

### Making homes

The north of the building lies along Commercial Road, one of Southampton's busier thoroughfares, which leads from the station to the city centre. It is also the route to and from the docks, and more residential areas of the city such as Shirley, once a village to the northwest of Southampton. Opposite is the aforementioned Grade II listed Church of St Peter, that John finds a much more appropriate building to have been preserved, and which, at the time of interview, had been converted into a restaurant.

When Wyndham Court was first built in the 1960s, Sue was a teenager and remembered watching the area being cleared of rows of shops, 'I remember them all coming down', including Swards' car showroom.<sup>552</sup> She described the 'mammoth construction' going up, from her vantage point of St Peter's church where she

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<sup>552</sup> R. F. Swards was a car dealership that dealt with high end brands such as Jensen, 'R. F. Swards,' *History Website* [n.d.]. Web.

attended Sunday school. It represented a new cultural era that had started with the blocks of sixteen storey 'skyscraper' flats built in Northam that she remembers were really 'something else'.<sup>553</sup> At the time the area was very quiet and she recalls that it was always peaceful when she lived in the flats. In 2019 however, John's experience is very different and the heavy traffic has its most negative impact on that side of the building.



Fig. 6.37: Wyndham Court completion image of the northwest corner on Commercial Road, showing the arcade of shops. Photo by Rose and Dyble, circa 1969. Image: RIBA Archive.

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<sup>553</sup> 'Tower Block – Northam,' *University of Edinburgh* [n.d.]. Web.



Fig. 6.38: Enlargement and crop of the above completion image (Fig. 6.37) showing Purbeck Pottery shop, and Coleman's two doors to its left. Adjusted image: Harriet Parry.

The parade of shops that flank the northwest corner of the building where Sue remembers Coleman's newsagent, and as well as enjoying window shopping, triggered strong somatic memories during our interview. In particular it was the pottery shop and a shop selling sheepskins rugs. Pointing to the ground plan, she observes:

Sue: ... and that was a pottery shop [outlined in blue on fig. 6.38] I don't think it was Poole pottery, but it was some pottery, cause Poole pottery's colours. And this was more muted tones. It was a well-known make, but I don't remember what it was.<sup>554</sup>

The other was a shop, which she explained, had a 'very expensive' sheepskin teddy bear in the window which she admired for some time before finally buying it.

Sue: For ages and ages they had this, it was about this tall (gestures size), sheepskin teddy in the window and because you had to go past to every time you went into the garage and ... . Oh, I liked that teddy. It's one of those things and he had the price ticket in his toe. And I

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<sup>554</sup> Purbeck Pottery was a family-owned firm that produced homewares in Dorset until the late 1990s.

used to think that was so cruel cause there was this thing they'd stuck in his toe. And eventually I got him.

The teddy now lives on a chair at her daughter's house.



Fig. 6.39: Southampton FA Cup winners victory parade, Shirley High Street, 1976, 'Southampton Memories,' Facebook page. Image: John E. Moxon.

For Sue and David, living at Wyndham Court in the 1970s was aspirational and complimented their professions. Alongside fitting their lifestyle, one of Sue's strongest memories was due to the privileged position Wyndham Court afforded its residents at one of the biggest moments in Southampton's cultural history. Commercial Road was the route that Southampton FC took on their way to the formal celebrations of their 1976 FA cup win at Southampton's Civic Centre. For her, being able to observe from the privileged position of Wyndham Court's third floor walkway meant that she could be a part of the joyous energy in the street, but also have a sanctuary from the crush of people that had gathered below.

Sue: We didn't need to go anywhere.

HP: Wow.

Sue: We were involved because we were so close. We could see everything that was going on and the people down below and the atmosphere was incredible.

HP: How fantastic

Sue: Really was. It was really good, then you felt really safe because we were up on the third floor (laughs)

HP: Yes, yeah

Sue: that we could see everything that was going on and the bus, coming with the guys on it,

HP: What a fantastic memory.

Sue: but it was, that really was, that's the thing that sticks out the most.

Sue, David, and their neighbours and friends had the best seats in the house, which having trained at a drama School would have had resonated with her love of visiting what was then the Gaumont Theatre (now Mayflower) next door.<sup>555</sup>



Fig. 6.40: Image of the Gaumont Theatre, circa 1950 (now Mayflower) sourced from the Mayflower website, *Mayflower Heritage* [n.d.]. PDF. Web.<sup>556</sup>

## Irrelevant heritage?

The interview with Jash takes place outside his chip shop, on one of the new benches installed during the Station Quarter redevelopment. This appears to be a rare

<sup>555</sup> The theatre was named the Gaumont Theatre between 1950 until its 1985 closure. It then reopened as the Mayflower Theatre. 'Mayflower Theatre – Heritage'. *Mayflower Theatre*. PDF. Web.

<sup>556</sup> *Ibid.*

moment of pause for him in his busy life running his businesses, but he reassures me that he is happy to record an interview. We have to stay close to the shop in case he needs to fry anything to order.

Of all the participants, Jash seems the least connected to the materiality of the building, exemplified by having never noticed its shutterboard finish before, even though he has worked in and around the building for several years. His response exemplifies Ben Highmore's proposal that the 'field of affects and intensities ... is peppered with non-affect, flatness, dissipation and non-self-ness'.<sup>557</sup> There is also the potential however, as Highmore goes on to explain, that a sense of there being 'nothing to write home about' might, in part, be a response to an atmosphere so saturated with affects and energies that it is too difficult or even unnecessary to expend additional effort in attending to it.<sup>558</sup>

Jash: I can see it now ... now that you've pointed it out ... I never noticed that before ... it looks like wood doesn't it?

This expression is important, as it demonstrates that he is not simply being dismissive because he is not engaged in our interview. Phenomenologically, through our shared enquiry, my prompting encourages him to join me in engaging with this aesthetic aspect of the building. He had not previously been curious or interested in it, but this does not mean that he is not a curious or interested person. Following Kathleen Stewart, he was simply not 'attuned' to it, and in his busy day-to-day working life had no reason to be.<sup>559</sup>

Having broached the subject, we continued to discuss its appearance and why he thinks Wyndham Court might be listed:

Jash: ... wasn't it supposed to be designed in the shape of a boat or something?

HP: I think around the other side ...

Jash: The shape of it looks a bit like it. When I drive I can *kind* of see it a little bit ... [Both Luke and Sue mention this possible design feature, with an equal sense of uncertainty].

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<sup>557</sup> Highmore, *Ordinary Lives*, 37.

<sup>558</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>559</sup> Stewart, 'Atmospheric Attunements', 445.



Fig. 6.41: Wyndham Court from the southeast looking west along Blechynden Terrace, April 2019. Image: Harriet Parry. Also see Rose and Dyble's completion image, fig. 6.26.

Jash knows that official bodies have designated this building as important, but for him its cultural significance is connected to the community members that it houses, rather than its materiality and historic value. This begins to draw into focus the very particular paradigm through which cultural 'significance' tends to be framed and measured in the assessment of community connection to heritage sites. Importantly this also underlines the intrinsic connection between heritage and identity, and how heritage can not only trigger a sense of dissonance or ambivalence, but also irrelevance.<sup>560</sup>

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<sup>560</sup> Rodney Harrison's discussion on how different people might value heritage gives valuable context here. Harrison, *Heritage - Critical Approaches*, 197.

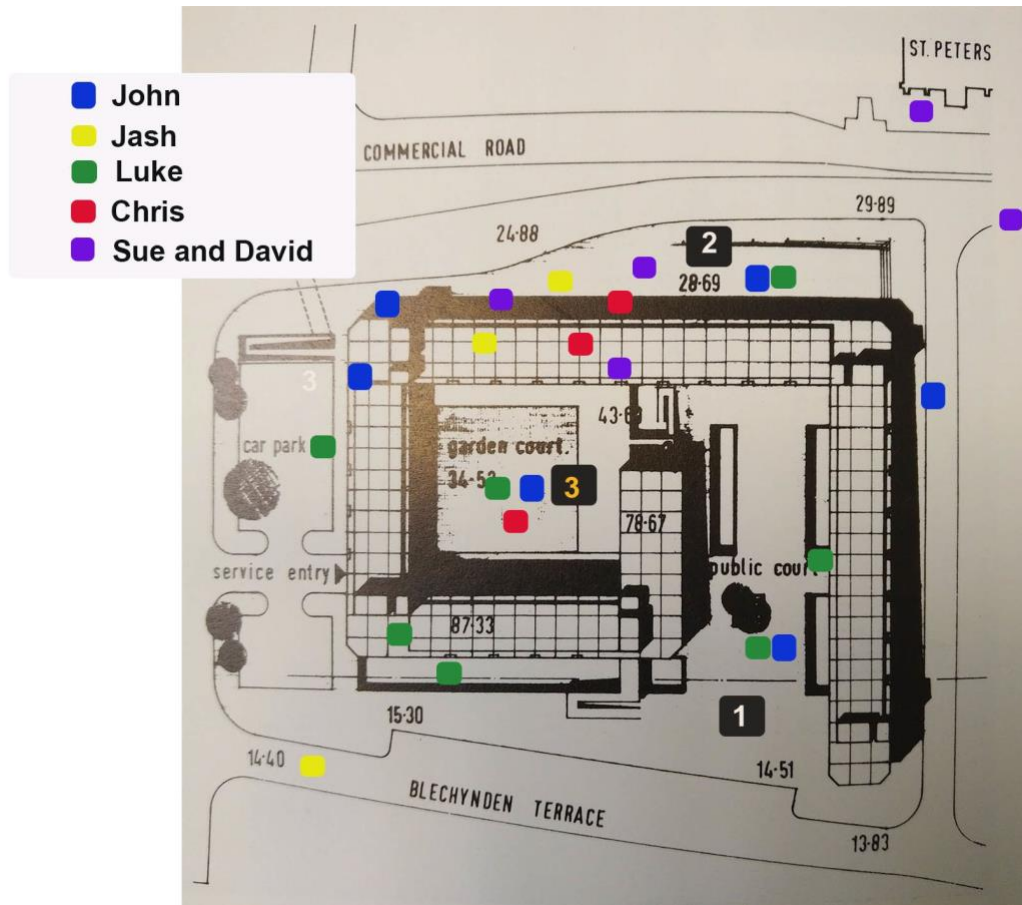


Fig. 6.42: Participant Affect Map Position 3. Adapted by Harriet Parry from Plan of Wyndham Court circa 1965 *Lyons Israel Ellis Gray: Buildings and Projects 1932–1983*, 166.

## Position 3: Garden court (and roof)

### Carefree days

Where Sue barely remembers the garden court, and John, as I will expand on later finds it hostile and unwelcoming, Chris is the only participant with positive memories of that area. Indeed, they are his ‘fondest memories’ of living in Wyndham Court, and this was a place where he used to help his brother practice his football skills after he had been picked to play for England, at the age of seven or eight. He recounts that he and his friends would spend hours down there ‘probably annoying the hell out of the neighbours,’ putting his lack of any consciousness of how they might be feeling at the time down to the fact that he was a teenager. These moments were important to him:



Chris: I was more just enjoying the moment with my brother ... that's one of my fondest abiding memories.

He, his brother, and sometimes his friends, were therefore able to take ownership of that place, not concerned about safety or scrutiny, and not having to share with anyone else unless they specifically came down to join in.

## Panopticon 2

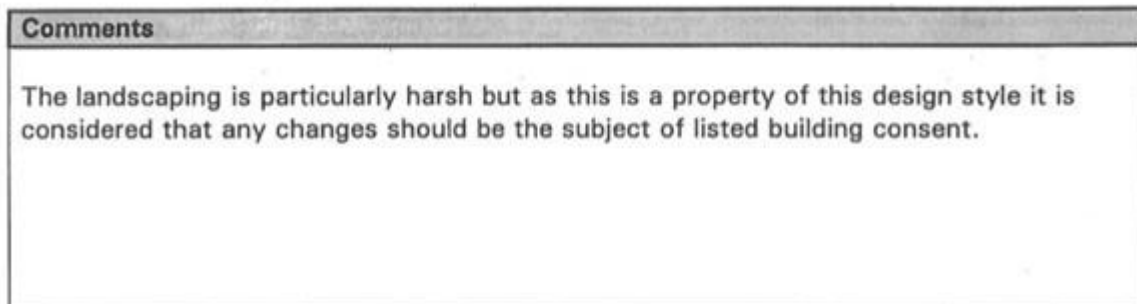


Fig. 6.43: Comments section from 'Landscaping' Sheet No 27 of *Wyndham Court - Architectural Appraisal Guidance for Tenants* Southampton City Council Planning Department, Appendix A.

Luke expressed a curiosity to go inside the private courtyard that he has only been able to see from his roof-top vantage point and demonstrates the power of exclusivity or restricted access in whatever form it might take. He can, however, turn his body to survey the exclusive view he has to the south from his rooftop vantage point.

Returning to the interior of the '9' shaped building shape, John, although a lover of the outdoors, is surprised that I want to go in down into the garden court that we observe together from the third-floor interior walkway. I sympathise with Luke's desire to go in, as I had only seen the garden court in aerial photographs and estate agent descriptions of flats, for sale or to rent, in the block. Up until the day of our interview John had not set foot in the area in the eleven years that he has lived there. As we chat, he can only draw on the perspective that we are taking as we survey it from above. There, he states that he would not find such scrutiny relaxing for himself, or safe for his children. We take a trip down to the garden area and take a seat on one of the benches, several of which appear to have been upturned.

John: ... this is, the communal area (lowers voice). It's okay, but it's not been massively changed, it's not been made, it doesn't look pretty if you know what I mean? I wouldn't class it as pretty anyway. And it's that feeling of being watched all the time, you know?

John seems keen to leave the space, the relaxed demeanour that he has retained throughout our interview becomes a little quicker and his body keeps orienting towards the gate of the garden. He relaxes as we start to leave

HP: (laughing) I'm glad I've given you a new experience.

John: It won't be one to remember ... I won't be coming back saying "yeah I really enjoyed that" (laughs)

Taking the perspective of the scenographer gives primacy to the embodied and the emplaced when considering the experience of a heritage site. Every account included tensions and perspectives that connects the participant's bodies, and through them, my own, in a material, sensory and co-constitutive way with the architectonics of Wyndham Court in its locale. My intention is that interpretation of these accounts in this way will also ask the reader to do the same, which will be further supported by the ten-minute Scenographic Video that follows

## 6.4 Video link to Wyndham Court Scenographic Video

<https://harriet.parry.is/wyndham-court/>

**Note:** It is best to watch the videos full-screen and listen using headphones on a medium sound setting.

The Lived Heritage that has been co-produced between Wyndham Court and the participants is unsurprisingly linked to their everyday experiences of home and work. It bears little relevance to the rationale behind its preservation, which they would only experience through its modernist design, and the impact of its location and listing on their lives. Newhaven Fort, however, offers an opportunity to understand how my methodology brings to light the Lived Heritage of a place that is roundly accepted as an important piece of British military history by the people for whom it has been preserved, even if their experiences do not always reflect official narratives on its importance.

## 7 A more-than textual account of Newhaven Fort

### Chapter introduction

This chapter on Newhaven Fort will follow the structure of Chapter 6 on Wyndham Court, by building a holistic and emplaced representation of each site through the reflections and experiences of participants in relation to its officially designated listing. I open with a narrative account of my autoethnographic reflections of travelling to Newhaven Fort, and again these reflections are enmeshed with the experiences I have had with the participants. I will, in turn, describe the topography (7.1), materiality (7.2), and embodied encounters with the building (7.3), after which, I present the Scenographic Video to conclude my analysis of this case study.

These experiences build on a longer-term connection that I have with the site through the masters' research that I outlined in the introduction to this thesis. There are, unsurprisingly, marked differences between the participants' responses at Wyndham Court and Newhaven Fort. Here the 'everyday' of the fort consists of days out for local visitors, school visits, childhood memories and holiday rituals. The participants' engagement with the site being more often as leisure time, rather than through the necessities of daily life as it is for those from Wyndham Court.

Fiona: Often I might come because I know it was a spy day or a build your rocket day ... and then I've always expected to go to the Blitz Experience.

Lauren: We have all of our [conservation] meetings in these rooms here, so we'll always have a bit of a walk round and we're always doing surveys of bats and moths where we can.

Chris: ... it's funny, when you walk in the fort through the main entrance, you come in where we sort of started off, so we used to climb over the moat.

Greg: [seeing event posters outside the fort's entrance] I like to see that! The open air movie, this is another thing. "Hey, we're using the fort for something else" ... and that's going to bring more people in and attract more people to it.

In taking a scenographic perspective to attend to how I felt as I approached the site, either by train or in some instances by car, I realised that I had begun to notice less

through my familiarity with the journey. The way in which the participants' embodied accounts began to give an additional sensual vibrancy to the site by engaging my body in different ways, brought into focus the value of the methodology that I have developed.

Waterton and Watson's experiences of working with participants at a historical battlefield at Towton Cross in North Yorkshire were similar in taking a more-than-representational perspective, they found that contemporary embodied visitor experiences at this emotive site had intertwined with that place's history and identity to make it 'sticky' with affect.<sup>561</sup> Taking the same view of the fort, it became clear that its affective qualities were indeed becoming more apparent and engaging through my encounters with the participants. Even if, as Waterton and Watson maintain, a heritage tourist site such as this might work to manipulate its visitors through its affective qualities, the histories presented at the fort appeared to sit well with their respective national alignments and personal histories. Indeed, it appears that each participant has taken ownership of, and aligned themselves with, particular histories and ideas that have been presented to them to enrich their personal sense of identity.<sup>562</sup>

Greg: I think it's great! I really think they've done, obviously they've done a lot of work here... You can see now the appeal of why people would want to come and visit. I mean for a little boy, this is like. "Oh good look at these bug guns! Oh good look there's a big hut! All these ruins to play on!"

Fiona: I mean for me, I just think it's great 'cause you've got some stuff of, um, I suppose national interest, we really didn't think about it that way, but it is national interest, but information, not education but information. And then you've got this whole space to run around and it's very evocative. You know?

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<sup>561</sup> Emma Waterton and Steve Watson, 'A War Long Forgotten' in Gerda Roelvink and Magdalena Zolkos eds., *Sentient Subjects*, 1st ed. (Routledge, 2020) 89.

<sup>562</sup> *Ibid.*

## 7.1 Contemporary topography of Newhaven Fort



Fig. 7.1: Newhaven Fort hosting a vintage car show on the Parade Ground with the Marina and South Downs in the background, October 2017. Image: Harriet Parry.

Newhaven lies approximately nine miles to the south of the Sussex county town of Lewes, where I have lived since 2014. The valley in which Lewes sits was first cut by the tidal river Ouse and continues to run through its centre and on through Newhaven town to the English Channel. My relationship with the fort began around 2016 and was enriched through my masters' research, which has endured over time, as I became increasingly fascinated by its affective qualities. This in turn has engendered long-term relationships with the people who work there and for whom it has meaning, as well as my relationship as a customer for its many events.

When travelling for fieldwork, the archives, or to meet participants, I would tend to drive, due to its proximity to my home. However, if time would allow, I would take the three-carriage commuter train that follows the South Downs east to Newhaven Town station. I had learned the embodied sensory value of taking the train through my trips to Southampton and was keen to replicate that experience with Newhaven and the fort. The following will again be written in the present tense to engender a greater sense of immediacy in my accounts for the reader.



Figs. 7.2 and 7.3: Features of Lewes railway station, March 2022. Images: Harriet Parry.

## Travelling to Newhaven Fort

Taking the train from the rather quaint Victorian station at Lewes, dotted with large planters kept neat and tidy by local gardening volunteers, it is not long before the Kingston flood plains fill the frame of the train window to the west. Beyond this, flanking the left and right of the river Ouse's course, are the Downs. If the weather is clear and the windows are clean (they are often covered in salty residue) there is a fabulous view of an expansive beauty in green and blue. My eyes and ears begin to explore, I see the quality of light and with it colours change, my body becomes attuned to the train in motion, my mind can wander, and I become open to the multiple ways of being and knowing through my senses. As an act of orientation, this form of attention activates my scenographic approach, and helps to emplace my body through experiences shared with the participants as we make sense of the fort and its environment together.

The working history of the landscape is marked by field boundaries, scars of the chalk pits, roads, and railways. Where Lewes is in a somewhat left-leaning political bubble, as soon as we reach the countryside it is not unusual to see the Union Jack on a flagpole that has come to represent the right wing, in this area at least, banners for the local Conservative MPs, and at one time, for UKIP and Vote Leave. Every time I pass the chalk pits to the north of Denton, I am reminded of my first interview with Greg, on the memorial bench overlooking Newhaven Marina, from where these pits are a bright visible scar in the landscape.

Greg: There's lots of fascinating detail up here ... which aren't necessarily part of the military stuff like this ...

He tells me about the fort's construction in concrete:

Greg: Which is why we have the concrete and chalk pits over there. 'Cause that's where the chalk was dug from ... little bits like that, which tie this whole area together.

On the approach to Newhaven town past the village of Denton to my left, the large domed metallic form of Newhaven Energy Recovery Facility comes into view through the right-hand window. It's presence clearly declares the role and status of this industrial seaside town, a perception that has not been lost on the local residents and which has eroded trust between local government and the community. Greg states that many of local residents believe 'that we are being used as the dumping

ground for East Sussex'. Little of the ongoing industrial development, such as the cement works that now occupies part of the beach front, and the Rampion Offshore Windfarm that Greg told me did not provide the jobs that had been promised, has done much to dispel this idea.



Fig. 7.4: Newhaven Energy Recovery Facility with Newhaven houses in the background, Martin Bond. Image: With permission, Science Photo Library.

The train starts to slow as soon as industrial units, and piles of aggregate and other component ingredients needed for human industry, flank the tracks. There are never many people on the train, no matter what time of day, and perhaps one other person will alight on the small Newhaven Town platform with me.





Fig. 7.5: Newhaven Town train station looking north, September 2019. Image: Harriet Parry.

The ambient sounds of the town speak of a general industrial activity that has the quality of white noise, muted repetitive grinding, clanking, and chugging in the background, interspersed with the high pitched ‘kark’ of a gull.

Greg: Always that rumble in the background, there’s always industrial clatter and clanging going on ...

Newhaven has the aura that suggests it is lying in wait for something. Perhaps the hope that, finally, the current and most significant round of government funding, will be the one that makes the difference and brings back the life and soul of the town.<sup>563</sup> Freight trucks heading for the ferry terminal, and commercial vans and cars bound

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<sup>563</sup> ‘Profile of Newhaven Part 1’. *Newhaven Town Council* 2014. PDF. Web.

for the retail parks and small anonymous industrial units, create a visual narrative of the town's functional essence. The 'severance impact' of the internal ring road, which cut off the high street, is fed from the east by traffic over the swing bridge, dominating the town to an extent that it is impossible to perceive its centre.<sup>564</sup> It is always a relief to get over the swing bridge across the Ouse, and turn left, away from the noise and fumes to the West Quay, which was pedestrianised in the early 1990s.<sup>565</sup>

The quayside was, however, a pedestrian route long before its redevelopment, as Chris and his friends would walk to the fort that way when they bunked off school in the 1970s.

Chris: There used to be a café on the quayside there called *Reggie's* ... So we'd meet at *Reggie's* for a bit of breakfast ... get ourselves organised and then walk along the quayside and come up, and then venture over the side there (gestures towards the eastern ramparts of the fort).



Fig. 7.6: View from Newhaven town Swing Bridge looking north, the Newhaven Energy Recovery Plant can be seen in the top right of the picture, August 2018. Image: Harriet Parry.

<sup>564</sup>'Newhaven neighbourhood plan sustainability appraisal'. *Newhaven Town Council*. January 2019. Web. 43.

<sup>565</sup>'Local Information'. *Newhaven Port Authority*. [n.d.]. Web.



Fig. 7.7: Wayfinding sign to the Marina, Fort, and Dieppe, Newhaven West Quay, August 2018. Image: Harriet Parry.

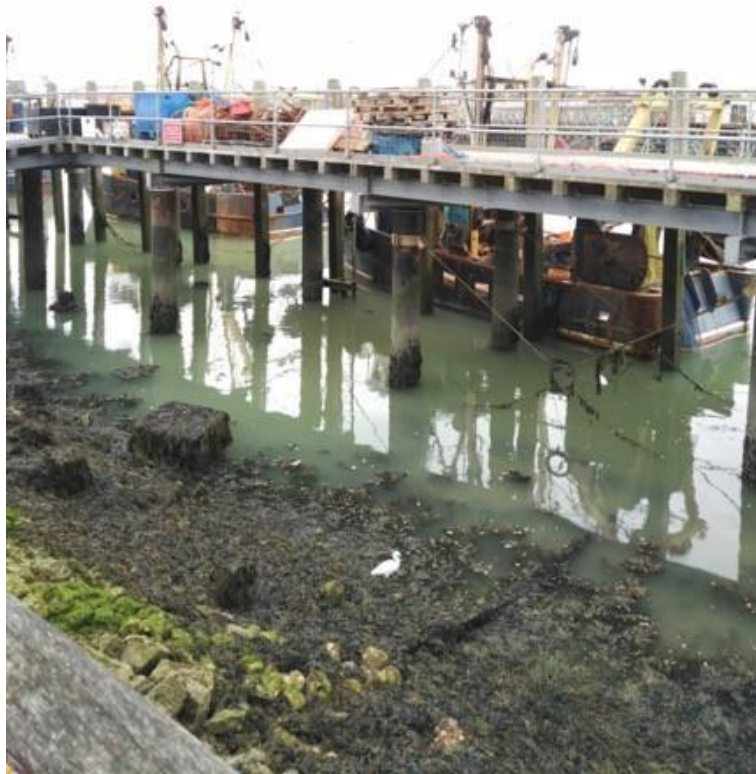


Fig. 7.8: Newhaven town, West Quay and fishing boats, August 2019. Image: Harriet Parry.

Strong smells fill my nostrils as I walk along the banks of the Ouse. If the tide is low then the smell of silt and seaweed has an umami quality; it is so round, full and salty and, much like Marmite, can be overwhelming in its concentrated form. When the tide is higher, the diesel fumes from the fishing boats being cleaned and maintained becomes dominant. The smells guide my ears, salty seaweed and living silt takes me to the gulls, diesel, to the fishermen at work and the clanking of the metal scrap being moved around on the opposite quay.



Fig. 7.9: Newhaven Marina. Newhaven Fort is located above the white buildings to the right of picture, scrap metal yard to the left, August 2019. Image: Harriet Parry.

Newhaven Fort remains hidden on the horizon; I look to the south to see if I can spot it and I always marvel at how much is hidden through its design. Now though, this feeling is layered with the soundtrack of the nostalgic Ed Sheeran song that Greg introduced me to, *Castle on the Hill*.<sup>566</sup> It is here on the pedestrianised jetty where an RAF rescue station was located in the Second World War, that Greg showed me the solid teak 'Vancouver' leisure yachts he helped to build twenty years ago.<sup>567</sup> Also here is a 'friendship statue' dedicated to Ho Chi Minh, donated by the Vietnamese government in 2013. The Vietnamese government wanted to celebrate their former

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<sup>566</sup> Ed Sheeran, *Castle on the Hill*, Official Music Video. 2017. YouTube. Web.

<sup>567</sup> Duncan Kent, 'Me & My Boat: Vancouver 34 Classic,' 2020, *Yachting Monthly*. Web.

leader's links to Newhaven, and his time working as a pastry chef on the Newhaven Dieppe ferry, just after the First World War.<sup>568</sup>



Fig. 7.10: Ho Chi Min commemoration, Peter Cripps, [n.d.]. Image: Alamy stock photo - rights approved.

The pedestrian route to the fort goes beyond the marina and back onto Fort Road, and past the yacht club that clink, clink, clinks with rigging. A sharp turn right up Fort Rise, a small access road, once a muddy footpath, and the view to both sides is obscured by high brambles and densely populated undergrowth. On a summer day, Fort Rise performs as a green tangly tunnel, with high walls that focus the view of grey tarmac below, the blue sky above and the activity in the briars. It is alive with bird song and rustling sounds. The rise is a steep one and demands a physical push which means conversation becomes slightly breathless if I am in company.

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<sup>568</sup> This history has not gone uncontested as can be read in 'Ho Chi Minh 'Friendship' statue unveiled in Newhaven,' *BBC News*, 19 May 2013. Web.

## Newhaven Fort

In Greg's words, where Newhaven itself might be considered East Sussex's 'dumping ground', Newhaven Fort is the place that encourages people to come to the town for the 'right reasons'. It is a beacon of positivity for everyone that I know who has spent time there. Even though it has been designed to be patriarchal and imposing, my experience of the fort is always as a peaceful and calm place, unless it has a special event on, and then it just feels jolly and glad. This may have something to do with the contrasting industrial noise that serves as a soundtrack to the town itself.

Lauren: So there's just so much noise surrounding the thing. But once you get in there, it's like a completely different world. It's weird!

The area that surrounds the fort buzzes with the nature of a cliff top haven. There is so much to see from the vantage point of the upper car park and memorial bench, which has become a key meeting point for my interviews. Here conversation is often arrested by the sheer quantity of visual information. As Fiona describes the busy world that fills our gaze, of dredgers and piles of scrap metal that she compares to an illustration from a children's book, when she mentions the Downs, she pauses and sighs affectionately.<sup>569</sup>

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<sup>569</sup> She makes the comparison to highly detailed illustrated children's books such as Benedict Blathwayt's *Little Red Train* stories, or the illustrated books full of detail such as construction sites, for young children. Benedict Blathwayt, *Little Red Train* (London: Red Fox, Penguin, 1999).



Fig. 7.11: Newhaven Marina and the Downs from the memorial bench located to the east of Newhaven Fort, March 2018. Image: Harriet Parry.

The landscape holds the balance of power, multiple lines being drawn between the viewpoint and sounds and sights of the town, sea, river, boats, the Sussex Downs, cars, trains; all painted by the wind and light. Smells are harder to grasp as they are whisked away from under your nose. It is almost a relief, as much in satisfaction as an escape, to head back down to the fort's entrance after such sensory profusion. The topography of the fort itself forces angles through bodies as proprioceptive systems are set to work, balancing with and against the various gradients that are encountered. This is when I become most conscious of how hard it must be to negotiate the site if you have difficulty with mobility, here there are many steps that lead to the tunnels, which have been bored through the ground below.

After crossing the moat's bridge, recently reinforced and made more accessible to wheelchair users, there is another push upwards, past the huge iron doors to the slope of the fort's entrance tunnel.

Fiona: [referring to the fort's huge iron doors] So, I love it already! It's very imposing.



The tunnel is paved with large cobblestones and tarmac and here, after an absence of smell, the sudden mustiness of an underground cave fills my nostrils. When open to visitors, military parade music plays, and drives my energy up and I can tackle the tunnel's slope in rhythm with the rousing brass instruments. This is a visitor's first introduction to the fort's echoey acoustics. Greg chuckles as he recounts that the Lewes bonfire societies used to let off fireworks as they processed towards the parade ground when they were allowed to use it for their celebrations, 'which was QUITE LOUD in that little tunnel (laughs)'. I can only imagine the cacophony, having experienced something similar with a community parade led by Skulldrummery, a local drumming band.<sup>570</sup>



Fig 7.12: Skulldrummery leading a parade for the 'Festival of Belonging' event in August 2018. Image: Harriet Parry.

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<sup>570</sup> Lewes is famed for its bonfire celebrations, and many surrounding towns and villages have their own societies, which often include a drumming, jazz, or marching band that leads their processions.

The contrast between the outside and the cocoon-like quality inside the walls of the fort is complete on entering the parade ground. For all of the participants, both through current experience and memories of childhood, this is a place that allows for total immersion. Not only as a place of escape from the outside world, but through this, the ability to be somewhere else completely, there is nothing to break the spell unless you choose to climb to the ramparts and look out to the world beyond.

In the parade ground the sounds disappear, the wind often drops, and the visitor is enveloped by the building embedded in the cliff's walls. Lauren explains that sometimes when the wind does find its way up the tunnel, it gets trapped and whirls around the parade ground in a vortex. There is perhaps unsurprisingly an element of animism in the way that she describes the wind's trajectory.

Lauren: It picks up here, cause obviously you've got ... it's usually here you've got all the wind coming up from the tunnel and then it struggles to get out ... so it becomes a bit of a vortex in here. Which is, sort of fun, when it's 30 miles an hour and you're trying to do something!

## **The Parade Ground**

The sloped surface of the parade ground is open and barren which makes it an ideal space for events (and marching), and here the visitor is surrounded by opportunity. Perhaps to take one of the doors to the exhibits? Fiona led us into the newest display at that time on the previous Iron Age and occupants of Castle Hill.

Fiona: You see, 'Theatre' you see 'Lost Fort', I'm immediately interested to know what those rooms provide ... (we enter the room) Ooh Wow! This is so good. (reads panels half-aloud on prehistoric Britain) ... Stone Age ...

Or head straight for the views from the ramparts and gun emplacements?



Fig. 7.13: Newhaven Fort southern ramparts, September 2016. Image: Harriet Parry.

Or down into the Eastern Magazine, where a glance to the left shows the open door and the steps disappearing into the dark, where Chris told me housed a ghostly 'Drummer Boy'.

Chris: So this would have been really dark ... the mud was down there (down the steps) there wasn't any, occasionally you hit the tip of the step but it wasn't, you mostly had to dig your heels in.

## The museum

The small doors that dot along the northern edge were once the entrance to billets and officer's quarters, but now lead to most of the museum exhibits. Although originally created in the 1980s for the new tourist attraction, the exhibits have changed bit by bit over time, and offer a fascinating insight into the various funding phases and museological approaches to which the changes were responding to.

One of those most popular exhibits, and the most visited by schools, incorporates histories from the Second World War and was part-funded in the 1990s through European Commission funding, INTERREG II.<sup>571</sup> It covers the Home Front, stories of rationing and evacuations, air raids and Land Girls, oral histories, themed cabinets full of objects, and images engendering nostalgia and British wartime spirit. It also contains the popular air raid shelter experience, which is announced over the fort's tannoy at set times, siren blaring followed by a pre-recorded call to action in a clipped RP female voice that resonates around the parade ground.



Fig. 7.14: Newhaven Fort object handling table and exhibit entrances, September 2016. Image: Harriet Parry.

After school children have spent time studiously filling in their worksheets, and maybe having been a little frightened by the air raid experience, they emerge whooping and chattering, to fill the open space of the parade ground. Hushed discussions about the possibility of ghosts in the Eastern Magazine and Caponier

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<sup>571</sup> 'INTERREG II Europe,' *INTERREG II Europe* [n.d.]. Web.

create a frisson of excitement, the teachers having quite understandably dangled the carrot of a visit to the tunnels after they've completed their task in the exhibits. The bones of the fort offer rather more adventure and in its semi-ruinous and relatively untouched state, which I will discuss in Section 7.2, allows for the imaginations of young and old alike to run wild.

## **7.2 Materiality of the fort – Concrete, time, and memory**

Where Wyndham Court offers no overt sign that it is a listed, and therefore, culturally important building, Newhaven Fort's status is first declared by the brown tourist road signs on the A27, near Lewes, to inform potential visitors that something interesting is nearby. The fort also differs somewhat to Wyndham Court, because where Wyndham Court has retained its original use over time, the fort has had several incarnations, therefore, identities, to which its visitors can align. It has shifted from a nationally important military utilitarian structure for defence, to an abandoned development that became an unofficial playground, to a visitor attraction and event space, which has social as well as cultural value. In exploring the materiality of the site, I will again be working to actively attune the reader to the affective qualities expressed through walking interviews with participants and alone, all of which have been influenced the fort's different manifestations.

Currently there is anxiety about its crumbling state, from official heritage and local government bodies, as well as the people for whom it has personal meaning. From this perspective, much of my analysis will draw on the areas of critical heritage studies that attend to the relationship between conservation and decay, described by Caitlin DeSilvey. The fort is in an ever-increasing state of entropy, and from a scenographic and more-than representational perspective, its decaying materiality appears to have the most affective impact on the bodies of those who spend time there. The Lived Heritage shared by Lauren, Chris, Fiona, and Greg is expressed in both intangible and very material ways, through memory and their embodied correspondence with the fort.

The perceived culprits for the fort's dereliction in the 1960s and '70s is the most contentious subject between official narratives, presented as the fort's history, and those that spent time there when it was abandoned.

Chris: [describing a memory of looking out of the fort's café window in 2018] ... it was quite interesting looking out the window and I was talking to (his daughter) about, you know, in my mind's eye, I could see the rubble and how broken it was ... and it just, it just makes you remember how different it is now to how it was then ... and the damage was done by ... the real vandal was the developer ... trying to do the holiday village. I mean they destroyed the place. So a few people spraying a little bit of something on the wall, isn't really vandalism compared to what they did.



Fig. 7.15: Newhaven Fort during dereliction, 1976, John Lander.  
Image: Newhaven Fort Archive.

From a cultural perspective, Newhaven Fort is repeatedly cited as a vital element of the town's third sector offering.<sup>572</sup> I have already given an overview of the role that military technology played in what became the 'second industrial revolution' of the

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<sup>572</sup> 'Submission neighbourhood plan 2016 – 2030.' *Newhaven Town Council* [n.d.]. Web. 50, 54.

Connor Stringer, 'Newhaven Fort Reopens after £1.2 million improvement,' *The Argus*, 21 June 2021. Web.

Victorian era, in Section 3.1. The preservation of that material legacy still holds within it the powerful political narratives to which Ardagh's design served. The Victorian's activities in the post 'enlightenment' era, draw parallels with activities of empire around the Northern Hemisphere, where countries aestheticised new developments with design narratives that principally referenced the dawn of rational thinking through architectural structures and motifs of Ancient Greece and Rome, including the Byzantine Empire.<sup>573</sup>



Fig. 7.16: Souq Wakif, Doha Qatar, 2013 by Diego Delso. Image: Wikimedia Commons. Web.



Fig. 7.17: Newhaven Fort casemates, [n.d.]. Image: Newhaven Fort.

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<sup>573</sup> Mark Crinson, *Empire Building: Orientalism and Victorian Architecture* (London: Routledge, 1996) 3,15.

see also Chandra Mukerji, 'The material construction of State Power' in Harvey, Penelope, ed. *Objects and Materials: A Routledge Companion*, 56.

It is clear from the drawings of Lieutenant Ardagh (Figs. 3.8 & 3.9), that the fort's style was indeed as important as substance. The similarities between the design of the fort's casemates (Fig. 7.17), with the vernacular middle-eastern architecture of Souq Wakif in Qatar, is clear to see (Fig. 7.16), its fashionable aesthetic performing to validate the development of materials and techniques of which the Royal Engineers were making a science.<sup>574</sup> This legacy, saturated with the patriarchal statements that continue to shape western society to this day, remain significant and dominant. However, ecology and decay, and subversion and community ownership, work alongside these narratives to powerful effect, as I will continue to unpack below.

## At risk

The general consensus within the local community as well as official heritage bodies, is that the fort should not be allowed to fail and crumble away. Its 1960s fate of dereliction is in living memory, and many of the locals who had not used it as a playground will probably still have seen images of the state it was left in by the failed leisure redevelopment, through websites such as *Our Newhaven*.



Fig. 7.18: Screenshot of 'Our Newhaven- Your memories, your photos, your comments, your town' front page, June 2022. Web.

<sup>574</sup> As evidenced in Corps of Royal Engineers, 'Papers on the Subjects Connected with the Duties of the Corps of Royal Engineers Vol XV,' (Jackson and Sons, Woolwich, 1872). Newhaven Fort Library.



The cost implications of maintaining and preserving the fort are considerable, and millions of pounds could be absorbed into projects that make no demonstrable difference to its surface appearance.<sup>575</sup> The walls and structures of the fort might appear strong and robust, if a little dilapidated, to the untrained eye. However, many areas have recently been deemed to be too dangerous and made inaccessible, as money had been allocated to survey its state for lottery bids and further funding approval. Even now, the fort exudes a sense of robustness and strength that still means some people have been slightly disbelieving of the danger signs.<sup>576</sup>



Fig. 7.19: Fort site plan with cordoned off areas marked, 2019. Newhaven Fort.

<sup>576</sup> Learned through informal discussion with visitors and volunteers at the fort.

In 2019, money had been made available for structural surveys of the fort for a Heritage Lottery Fund bid, and areas where, days before, children had been clambering over, and tunnels sixty feet underground, that I had been visiting alone with no means of communication, were suddenly cordoned off. This caused some consternation, as part of the fort's appeal is the now rare opportunity that it provides for some risky play, something that can be important to children and adults alike.<sup>577</sup> Both Greg and Chris wryly recount how, as kids in the 1960s and '70s, knowing that the fort's 'pitch black' tunnels and rooms could be dangerous especially in its derelict state, added a frisson of fear and excitement to their adventures.

Chris: So it was all a bit exciting because we were quite young. I remember the first time we ever went along there [to the new counterscarp galleries that were decorated with the Air Sea Rescue murals] and it was like, oh wow a bit spooky, a bit scared. So it was quite a mixture of feelings and ... emotions as well.

Sometimes when Greg was accompanied and encouraged by his dad to go in certain areas, 'I mostly bottled out' he chuckles, demonstrating there was at least some element of self-preservation that kicked in when it became too risky for him.

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<sup>577</sup> Edensor, 'Walking Through Ruins,' in Ingold and Vergunst, *Ways of Walking*, 128.



Fig. 7.20: Northwest counterscarp galleries (now closed for safety), March 2018. Image: Harriet Parry.

Part of its charm, as Fiona articulated, is a slightly dishevelled, unkempt, yet robust nature that offered something different for her children.

Fiona: I loved that the children did have access to buildings that felt, um, purposeful and adult ... and they were allowed to move in and out and wander around and jump up and down ...

Current conversations in critical heritage circles acknowledge that these are significant issues that must be addressed by the caretakers of any ‘at risk’ heritage site.<sup>578</sup> In many cases a key question asked is whether ‘arrested decay’ is an appropriate, and perhaps a most pragmatic policy, when funds are finite.<sup>579</sup> I will not engage further with this questions, even though they are current and pressing for the fort’s caretaker managers, Wave Leisure, whose priorities are driven by economic viability. As I continue to discuss the materiality of the site in this space and time, I

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<sup>578</sup> See for example Caitlin DeSilvey, Harald Fredheim et al., ‘When Loss Is More: From Managed Decline to Adaptive Release,’ *The Historic Environment: Policy & Practice* 12, no. 3–4 (2 October 2021): 418–33.

<sup>579</sup> Caitlin DeSilvey, *Curated Decay: Heritage Beyond Saving* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2017) 32.

will only speak of what is; the Lived Heritage expressed through the voices of the participants who have guided my understanding of the fort.



Fig. 7.21: Balcombe Chalk Pit near Glynde Bridge, from which chalk was quarried for the fort, June 2006, Bob Embleton. Wikimedia Commons.

### **Material qualities – Patriarchal presence**

Newhaven Fort bears the scars of its history in its walls and on its surfaces. It has been subject to equal levels of care and neglect and remains resolute in its presence. The surrounding countryside, dotted with the exposed chalk faces of the quarries, serves as a constant reminder, for Greg, of the fort's construction. Materials have moved from one place to another, but they are all present in alternative states and forms. The chalk from Glynde and the shingle from the beach, part mollusc, part mountain, have been aggregated to hold the walls of the fort and allow tunnelling into the cliff face. This performs as a shield against the elements that pound the soft chalk from the sea, on a coastline that loses on average half a meter a year in

exposed positions.<sup>580</sup> It transpires that the reinforcement has served to hold fast against the ‘forces’ of nature rather than the cannons of the affected French invasion of Napoleon III.<sup>581</sup>

The silt dredged from the marina in the 1960s now fills the moat, which means moisture and moulds are held within the stagnant air of the northeast counterscarp galleries. Even in the upper rooms, such as the Grand Magazine, the air can feel cold and damp.

Lauren: (looking into one of the rooms in the Grand Magazine) It’s always cold in here ... seeing into these little rooms, you’re like, people would have lived here and worked in here day in, day out. If you can imagine working in a place with no windows or heating now ... obviously this would have been so, so much condensation as well. So a lot of people would have got cold and so much illness just from coming in and out.

The walls hold the memories of those that have gone before, those that live now, and that are projected through a heritage status which makes promises for its future. Its topographical form has created its own ecosystem that creates shielded pockets of habitat, drives water through its walls, the wind around the parade ground, and offers places for plants and mosses to root, which are habitats for insects and food for birds.

Lauren: I’m gonna say it’s a Clouded Yellow [butterfly], they’re all coming out when they shouldn’t be [it is October] but ’cause you see these short grass slope facing the sun and then the longer ones facing out of the sun. It’s sort of a bit perfect. Just walking a couple of meters can completely change a habitat.

The roots also bind the soil, which at times creates the impression that it is the grass that is holding the brick walls to the cliff, alongside creating structure underground so rabbits can burrow, and sheep can graze on the ramparts above.

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<sup>580</sup> Uwe Dornbush, ‘Sussex Marine Sites of Nature Conservation Importance,’ *University of Sussex*. [n.d.], 3. PDF. Web.

<sup>581</sup> DeSilvey, *Curated Decay: Heritage Beyond Saving*, 164.



Fig. 7.22: Brick and grass at Newhaven Fort, 2021. Image: Harriet Parry.

The sheep, alongside the flags if they are flying, are often the first aspects of the fort to attract the eye on its approach. Its situation means that coming from any direction the visitor's body, if walking, is grounded into tarmac and cobbles, and the first sense of its materiality is through the feet. When walking with the participants there is a sense of anticipation as we approach the tunnel. The tunnel is the first feel of the fort proper, and its acoustic qualities, patches of tarmac, uneven cobbled flooring, the iron runners embedded into the ground to support the massive doors, its cool feel and general affect force attention to its material forms.



Fig. 7.23: Newhaven Fort entrance tunnel, November 2019. Image: Harriet Parry.

All is ‘in keeping’ as Fiona says when discussing its dominant presence. The hard surfaces, functional spaces, damp, cold, sometimes dark, and always mysterious tunnels, sometimes glimpses of the world outside through the loopholes in the counterscarp galleries control the body and the gaze. Also, in keeping are the designs and contents of the older exhibition spaces, any paper left exposed curling in the damp, cases chock full of content and mannequins.

Echoes from everywhere and nowhere channel around the arches and myriad of empty rooms of varying sizes, which perform like the pipes of an organ. These echoes bring never-ending pleasure to Chris as he recalls and revisits the sound qualities of the space that resonate through his body. Industrial sounds also vibrate through the walls, finding their way through, even if they cannot be carried on the air over the fort's ramparts.

Lauren: ... And that's where they're drilling in the ground and obviously it's coming up through, its vibrating in, and obviously it just echoes in here ... I always think "am I hearing things? Did I hear that? What am I hearing?"

Rusting and twisted metal rods still bar the way to armour stores and lighting passages, crumbling but holding fast against the elements, the ferrous smell filling my nostrils as I try to peer through into the space beyond. The smell and sense of mineral, metal, and material decay, tempered with the soft round smell of earth and brighter sharpness of grass and green, all sit in the context of an immovable and immutable structure.



Fig. 7.24: Newhaven Fort, rusted support pole from southern lookout post to the English Channel, March 2018. Image: Harriet Parry.



## Experiencing ruins

It has become clear through talking with Lauren, Chris and Greg in particular, that the time when the fort had been abandoned and derelict is as important to them as its 'official' history.

Lauren: ... a couple of years ago we [Lauren and her mum] were looking through some old photos ... and there's a picture of them in here, when it was deserted, there was nothing here. It was just a sort of waste site and there were rubble piles like fifteen feet high and things. And there was a really nice picture taken just from that ledge over there (overlooking the parade ground) and there were bits of cars torn off and she was like "that's where we used to play" and they'd go down inside the tunnels and climb up through the window, and yeah, seeing it now, it's so incredible that this used to be her, with all her friends and family, used to come up and play ...

Although the fort would not now be considered as the complete ruin that it was between the 1960s and '80s, it would be fair to say that it is in a state of transformation through deterioration and decay. Its cultural role fits well with the literal description of 'imperial nostalgia' presented by Edensor and DeSilvey in their paper on encountering ruins, but as is demonstrated by the varying responses of the participants, leaves its full meaning open to interpretation.<sup>582</sup>

The word 'decay' is often applied in heritage circles in the context of loss, but here DeSilvey's novel turn to ecology and entropy, in the critical study of heritage and preservation, is useful. The fort represents what she describes as 'the no-man's-land at the border between our categories of "natural" and "cultural."' <sup>583</sup> The fort's decay over time intermitted by violent destruction, repair and maintenance, reveals strata of time and space 'that offer opportunities for constructing alternate versions of the past, and for recouping untold and marginalised stories'.<sup>584</sup> It's 'thing-ness' is shaped by the nature of its physical appearance and the affective atmospheres that allow for a divergence from its patriarchal representational bindings. As the fort's autocratic concrete shell is eroded over time by the elements and human intervention, it reveals layers that allow for decay and re-composition where nature and culture entangle.<sup>585</sup>

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<sup>582</sup> Caitlin DeSilvey and Tim Edensor, 'Reckoning with Ruins,' *Progress in Human Geography* 37, no. 4 (August 2013): 465–85, 471.

<sup>583</sup> DeSilvey, *Curated Decay: Heritage Beyond Saving*.

<sup>584</sup> DeSilvey and Edensor, 'Reckoning with Ruins,' 471.

<sup>585</sup> DeSilvey and Edensor, 'Reckoning with Ruins,' 474.

It visually invites the human body to enfold with it and apply its own patina of nostalgia and palimpsests of meaning and memory. Its decaying state also stands as a constant visual representation of the fate of the town itself, its successful regeneration considered by the local and district councils as a possible 'catalyst' for the regeneration of the town as a whole.<sup>586</sup>

### 7.3 Embodied encounters with Newhaven Fort

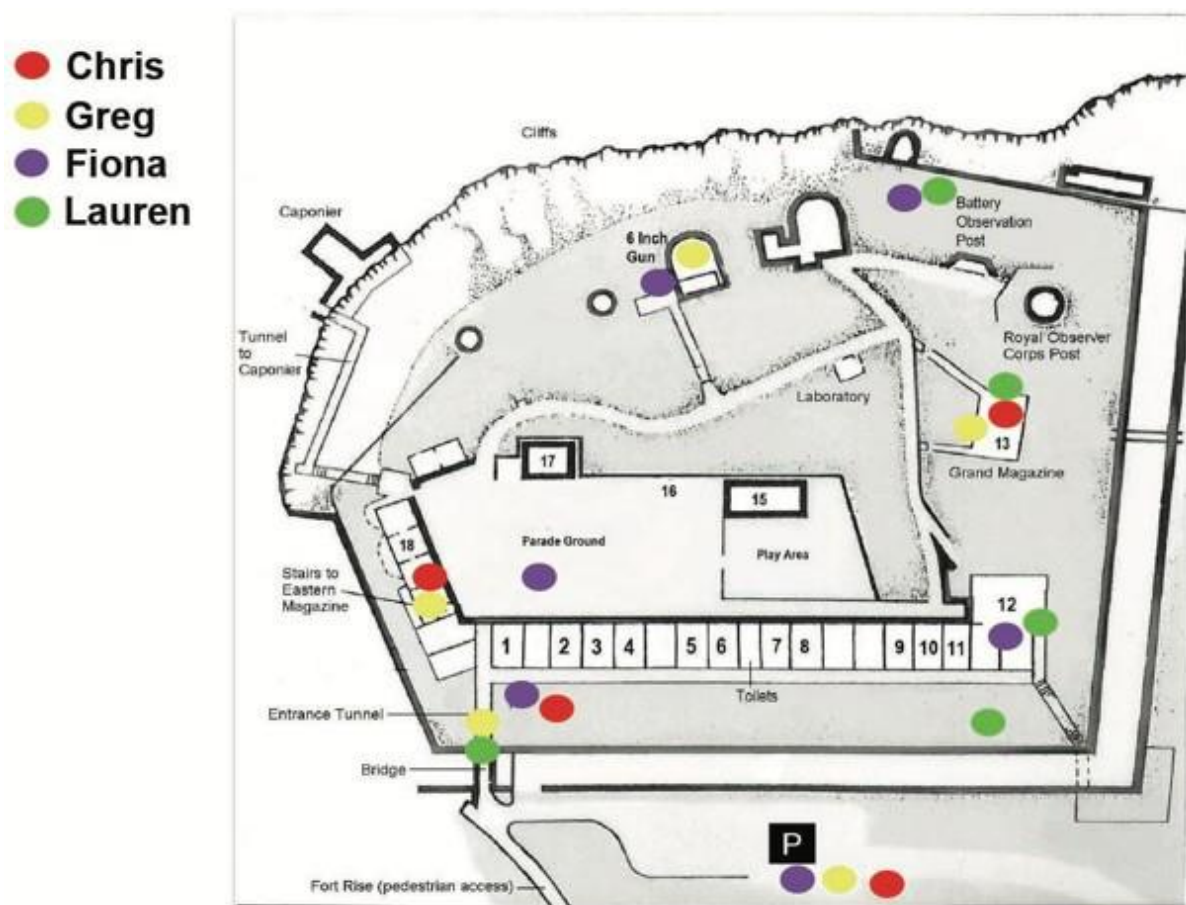


Fig. 7.25: Affect Map of Newhaven Fort. Adapted by Harriet Parry from fort visitor map. Newhaven Fort.

<sup>586</sup> 'Newhaven Fort Feasibility Study Report,' *Lewes District Council*, May 2012. Web.

As with Section 6.3 'Embodied Encounters with Wyndham Court', this section will attend to selected affective 'scenes' that have been expressed with greater intensity by the participants, during the Newhaven Fort walking tours. Here the participants offer some of the more predictable responses to a site, which is maintained as a heritage tourist attraction and community asset. However, through the voices of Lauren, Greg, Fiona and Chris, herein also lies the enmeshment of the fort's history during dereliction, its architectonic influences, its relationship to the history and culture of the local area and its place within a nature reserve. With so many possible influences, again only a thick description gives space for this rich complexity of encounter.

I have marked out the locations, on the fort's visitor plan, each moment that is to be a focus for my analysis. In reality however, they are all interlinked and maintain an ecological relationship with the fort and its visitors as a whole, to create its characteristic atmosphere. As an alternative to my analysis of Wyndham Court, I will take the opportunity to group selected more-than representational moments thematically, rather than by location, an approach that could also prove useful when communicating the outcomes of this type of research at other heritage sites. These are the themes of 'touch', 'sound' and 'Lived Heritage'.

By separating these sensory elements, I am not negating the role of the whole body in its cognition of these moments, but I am drawing focus on the principal sensory gesture made by the participant, demonstrates the power of looking beyond representation as they are communicated. In physically negotiating, looking, and smelling, gesturing meaning, and interacting through physical touch, participants were able to explore intimate and familiar modes of embodied recollection between themselves and the fort. This included sensing sound through vibrations in the body, which enmeshed the participants and me even further with the materiality of the site in its locale.

## **Touch**

Chris' walking interviews underlined that his connection to the fort was deeply rooted in the ways in which encounters in his teenage life had helped to inscribe his ongoing sense of identity. Touch, through his fingers, as well as through the experience of the fort's acoustics, had a powerful impact on the somatic memories

that he had held within his body in the decades between then and now. Touch was a sense that was also applied by Greg, again as he tried to remember what the fort has been like, as he spent time there when it was derelict. It also helped him to recall fond memories of events such as the bonfire celebrations, and historical re-enactment weekends, in which he had taken part when the fort was considered less fragile when it first reopened in the 1980s.

For Chris, it was especially in the Eastern Magazine that he appeared to be trying to create a deeper embodied connection. This did not, however, seem like an overtly conscious decision from the outset, rather, as memories were triggered, he would try to drill down further into them by enmeshing himself with the fort's walls through touch. These moments transpired to be important and foundational memories of his past self and experiences with his friends, the power of which seemed to take him by surprise even though they had remained dormant in his body.



Fig. 7.26: Still from walking interview with Chris, August 2019. Image: Harriet Parry.

The image above depicts a moment where Chris recalls running through the lighting tunnels of the Eastern Magazine, where ammunition and gunpowder were originally stored. It was an area where he and his friends claimed as 'our room' to return to and seek private space. Chris' touching of the walls as he remembers accounts for the depth of his feeling, the temporal connection to an almost forgotten memory, and the power he attributes to the fort in his recollection of those moments.<sup>587</sup>

As Chris drills deeper through touch to recall a fuller, somatic memory, I can sense from his voice that this is quite an emotional experience for him. He presses his palm repeatedly against the cold and peeling walls. Press ... he thinks, he searches, he tells me. Press ... he seems to be taken back in time; it surprises him ... press.

Chris: We used to spend so much time up here playing war games ... hide and seek. Funny I haven't been up here for so long ...

HP: How does it feel now?

Chris: (a little emotional) Quite strange (laughs)

HP: In what way?

(He pauses and places his hand on the wall)

Chris: Well, 'cos you know, I can remember running up here being really quite young, chasing people and them chasing me. Remembering how much fun, it was ... to do that.

HP: Is that something you thought about before ... until you?

Chris: No not really ...

(Presses his hand against the wall again)

Chris: How long ago was it? ... Forty odd years ago ... That's a long time.

(We both move on and turn a corner, he thinks about his friends)

Chris: The thing is (again sounding slightly emotional) I can actually picture my friends, in my mind (chuckles in slight disbelief) about, you know, the age they were when they were here ...'

(makes gesture at half adult height with slightly cupped hand facing down).

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<sup>587</sup> Sue L. Cataldi, *Emotion, Depth, and Flesh: A Study of Sensitive Space: Reflections on Merleau-Ponty's Philosophy of Embodiment* (Albany, N.Y: State University of New York Press, 1993), 168.



Fig. 7.27: Still from walking interview with Chris, half hand gesture - 'Picturing friends', August 2019. Image: Harriet Parry.

Touching 'heritage', being allowed to touch, and be touched, can serve to shape encounter and co-produce embodied knowledge, as Hetherington explored, as a form of interfering with the primacy of sight in an art exhibition.<sup>588</sup> Returning to touch a place that has touched him, to re-connect, has the power to re-inscribe embodied and emotional connections and perceptions of identity, in Chris' instance, positively and poignantly.

## Sound

Embodied connections to the fort and its environment are dramatically influenced by the variety of sounds that reverberate around and through its walls, carried by currents of air and vibrations between and through visitor's bodies. Their source is not always discernible and emanate from every angle, through air, walls and soil, from above and below. The source of the legendary Drummer Boy's ghostly banging remained a mystery for some time during the dereliction. It was only to be discovered

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<sup>588</sup> Hetherington, 'Spatial Textures.'

when Chris and his friend finally dug through the mud and debris to discover an old oil barrel sitting under a leak of water that was dripping through the walls of the Eastern Magazine. It does not take much for sounds to take on an eerie quality, the fort's tunnels, passages and alcoves distort noises to create its own acoustic realm and are a particularly powerful element of the site's atmosphere, which in turn performs to shape its otherworldliness. On separate occasions both Lauren and Chris try to describe the numinous qualities of these experiences, Lauren as we are experiencing it ...

Lauren: I think you're, but I think, yeah, cause it's so confusing, isn't it? When sometimes when sounds come in from different directions and you can't ...

Chris in trying to recall a sensory memory through the acoustic of the present day ...

Chris: And I think that's why we found it quite spooky, cause it was like, you know, one minute it'd be still and then it wasn't, and then you'd have a noise ... so all you would have had were, the echoes of voices (goes quiet and still, listening)

HP: Yeah

Chris: And the tapping of the drum [Drummer Boy] and it would have been pitch black.

The action of Chris and Lauren each working to attune to sounds both through their presence and their absence, experienced in the present or through memories of the past, perform to retain the maze-like attention that Ingold describes.<sup>589</sup> Böhme explains that the powerful impact of sound has in creating an atmosphere, can be retrospectively understood through the possibilities now afforded scenographers through modern digital technologies, which can also control the light.<sup>590</sup> He calls these designed theatre settings 'tuned spaces' that immerse the audience. As a found space, this element of the fort's attributes has been capitalised on by artists and performers alike, at one day events there, such as *Fort Process*, created by arts collective Lost Property, in 2014 and 2016, and *Refrain* by sound artist Verity Standen.<sup>591</sup>

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<sup>589</sup> Ingold, *The Life of Lines*, 132.

<sup>590</sup> Böhme, *Aesthetics of Atmospheres*, 32.

<sup>591</sup> Lost Property, *Fort Process* 2014 and 2016. Web.  
Verity Standen, *Refrain*, 2017. Web.



Fig. 7.28: Acoustic experiments at 'Fort Process' music festival, September 2016. Image: Harriet Parry.



Both Chris and Lauren attune to the fort by making an embodied connection with its materiality through the qualities of sound, in a similar way that bodies might understand mass and materiality through light and shadow. Translators, Margaret Sankey and Peter Cowley, convey Michel Serres' eloquently articulated description of the body's powerful relationship to sound:

The body stands and walks through the space of messages, orients itself within noise and meaning, amidst rhythms and rumblings. As it hears through the soles of its feet, through the sites where muscles, tendons and bones are attached and articulated, and finally in the space where the inner ear connects with the canals which control our balance, it can be said that our whole posture is linked to our sense of hearing. Our most intimate gestures move to sounds, we dance. Or rather, this is where dancing begins. We twist and turn, fascinated by different cries and melodies, like snakes charmed by a flute or Argus facing Hermes.<sup>592</sup>

Therefore, it is important to recognise that a gesture towards the sounds of the site is as fully embodied, if not more so, than the tactile act of pressing a hand against a wall. To engage with the sound is to become another acoustic chamber in the fort's architecture. Its echoes are the quality most often heard throughout, and I have yet to visit on an open day where I have not heard children whooping and calling through its walls. The entrance tunnel has an acoustic that Greg is sure he would recognise blindfolded ...

Greg: It's very um, like the echoes in here are really ... I think they're really specific ... this really is just reminiscent of, this particular tunnel. Is that strange? ... I think there is an, it might just be me, but I certainly feel like "I'm going into the fort now" even with my eyes shut (smiles) I'd know ...

... and Chris and his friends played with the sounds as ghosts, as musicians, and now serve to thrill his children and grandchildren. For Lauren, as the sounds move around, it paints an aural picture of the direction of the wind currents, protected in the

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<sup>592</sup> Michel Serres, Margaret Sankey and Peter Cowley (Trans.), *The Five Senses: A Philosophy of Mingled Bodies (I)* (London: Continuum, 2009) 142.

parade ground and underground, or where words are snatched out of mouths as the sea wind rushes in over the ramparts above.

Sound is also often the only reminder of the fort's location, industrial building and drilling vibrating through its walls, clanking and chugging performing as a soundtrack to the view over the marina. In a place that still disorientates those that have known it for decades, its numinous and constantly changing affect can still thrill and disquiet even the most seasoned visitor. Sound is also the key way in which Lauren first identifies the species of birds that perch and nest in the deep undergrowth. Her mental mapping of the wind's direction can also help her to understand the way the habitats, flora and fauna will be responding. Lauren often seems so attuned through her reflections and descriptions, her world where history, culture, folklore, and ecology are intrinsically linked, that the fort seems like an extension of her own body.

### **Lived Heritage in action**

The fort's various qualities, interpreted and re-inscribed through Heritage from Below, can create an atmosphere that powerfully entwines itself with the Authorised Heritage Discourse of the military museum and monument. This process seems to be visually represented through the entropy of the cliff's ecology reinhabiting its crumbling but resistant structure. Indeed, in both instances in concept and materiality, it has at times become hard to tell which is holding which together, they have become so enmeshed. Physically, as DeSilvey explores in the 'curated decay' of sites that have been left to their own devices long enough, the ecological starts changing the material nature of the built structure. Intangibly, the same could be said for the fort's authorised narrative becoming enmeshed with the multiplicity of ways that it has come to culturally represent by those that know it well.<sup>593</sup>

Fiona is highly attuned to the authorised discourses of the site and loves the comforting familiar nature of the older exhibits created in the 1980s and 1990s, some haphazard but full of texture, populated by mannequins, social stories and first-person accounts. She pays close attention to the information panels, values the history and is respectful of the stories told. But she is also relaxed here because this

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<sup>593</sup> DeSilvey, *Curated Decay: Heritage Beyond Saving*, 130.

was an ideal playground for bringing her, now older, children. It was also a place for safe 'scares' alongside the very popular 'Blitz experience' located in the Home Front exhibition space, which is also an area that Lauren finds most disquieting, explaining that she and her siblings had always been sensitive to ghostly presences. She is slightly tense and nervous as I ask her to take me to the spot where her neighbour, who was staying the night in a Halloween lock-in event, felt a ribbon running through her fingers, which is supposed to represent a lost child looking for a parent. The neighbour recounted her experience to Lauren a couple of weeks later:

Lauren: And they were like, Oh, did you feel anything? And she said, Oh, someone threw some coins at me. She had like little coins and they found them all when they were sort of in here. Which I was like "ooh ooh" (nervous sound)

HP: Really?!

Lauren: Oh yeah, she had coins thrown at her and she had little bruises where they hit her thighs and ...

HP: Noo ...

Lauren: Yeah. They told her that the ribbon through the fingers is a child looking for its mum trying ...

HP: Ohh

Lauren: You know when kids run up to you and they grab your hand

HP: Yeah yeah yeah

Lauren: And I just thought that was just so sad.

Greg's accounts jump back and forth, from past to present, as the fort holds so much of his identity within its walls. He finds it strange that even though he knows the fort has been renovated, certain rooms still trigger a visceral feeling of nervousness.

Greg: Yeah. And so even though I've been there a dozen times since it's been like this, um, it's still a bit of a mystery to me and it's still a little bit ...

What's the word I'm looking for ... It still draws me in because I'm not 100 percent certain I quite believe it I think, that this has changed that much. I mean, it's 50 years, so obviously everything changes in that time, but it still does bite me a little bit that this is a, Oh, this is right. Ooh You know? It's just that funny feeling (laughs).

In Greg's embodied memory, this site is still a ruin and performs as the 'space otherwise' that Edensor and DeSilvey apply to heritage thinking, through the work of cultural theorist and artist Svetlana Boym.<sup>594</sup> The participants express their positive embodied relationships to such a space, and the quote from DeSilvey and Edensor,

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<sup>594</sup> DeSilvey and Edensor, 'Reckoning with Ruins,' 479.

below, eloquently explains how such qualities could influence the Lived Heritage that they express.<sup>595</sup>

... [T]he contemporary hunger for ruins transcends a simple romantic/dystopic dichotomy, and speaks also to urgent desires to experience and conceive of space otherwise. These desires may come into conflict (or co-exist) with other forces that attempt to label and control these spaces, whether in the numerous attempts to name urban disorder, in heritage strategies to arrest decay, or in the regeneration and reuse of industrial structures. However, because most ruined forms are inherently unstable and indeterminate, such inscriptions tend to be temporary and contingent.<sup>596</sup>

This tendency for ‘such inscriptions’ to be ‘temporary and contingent’ is, however, not apparent in the accounts of the participants.<sup>597</sup> Indeed it is often their embodied memories of negotiating the derelict fort that remains within their senses and sinews, stabilising a moment’s affective qualities across space and time. For Greg it could be the fear of a wall collapsing on his head, for Chris it could be the memory of having to build up techniques to access the tunnels such as ‘digging heels in’ to get down the mud-covered steps of the Eastern Magazine.

Moving above ground to the ramparts, where bodies are less vulnerable and open, views out to sea and the Downs stimulate more reflexive conversations of what is going on beyond the fort’s protective walls. On the northeast ramparts, Fiona draws on memories from outside her experiences at the fort to relate to its materiality, comparing the shapes and layout to the adobe houses that she has seen in Mexico. When exploring the gun emplacements, the fort’s most overt military connection, the weight and the power of the guns and what they were built to do becomes prominent. Their viewpoint and their aim reaching out into the sea. This is where the technical prowess of Victorian military technology is most apparent. Fiona relates the power and range of the guns to their ability to ‘take out’ the contentious refuse incinerator that dominates the flood plain north of Newhaven town (Fig. 7.4).

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<sup>595</sup> DeSilvey and Edensor, ‘Reckoning with Ruins,’ 479.

<sup>596</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>597</sup> *Ibid.*

When negotiating meaning with the fort, its powerful co-created affective materiality and atmosphere forcefully intervenes with the authorised discourse that is presented to the paying visitors and school children. These experiences appear to offer a welcome release to some of the difficult histories and attentions required by the teaching sheets and interpretation panels. These official histories demand respect and the fort provides release, perfectly illustrated by the groups of children that emerge from the Home Front displays, to run and whoop across the downward gradient of the parade ground, to the promised visit of the echoey and ghostly tunnels of the Eastern Magazine.

This narrative account of Newhaven Fort can go some way to communicate the sensory, embodied experiences of the site. Certain empathies can be triggered in the imaginations and memories of the reader, but it is here that I have found that video creates the opportunity for a more direct and connected empathy between the viewer and the participants themselves.

## 7.4 Video link to Newhaven Fort Scenographic Video

<https://harriet.parry.is/newhaven-fort/>

**Note:** It is best to watch the videos in full-screen mode and listen using headphones on a medium sound setting.

**WARNING:** If you have sensitive hearing, please be careful to lower the sound at approximately 7 minutes 5 seconds into the Newhaven Fort video.

This concludes my more-than textual analysis of the participant's relationships with both Wyndham Court and Newhaven Fort. Before reflecting on, and drawing a conclusion to, my thesis in Chapter 9, my next chapter (8) will introduce a sample of some of the most current approaches to inclusive heritage practice in the UK, to offer a clearer understanding of how I believe the methodology that I have developed relates.

## 8 Incorporating place-based methodologies in the evaluation of heritage significance

Having now set out my methodology, and illustrated its application through my research and analysis, this penultimate chapter offers a more detailed account of the purposes to which my research might serve. This includes work that relates to both critical heritage studies within academia, and current UK heritage practice and its contemporary relationship with urban and cultural 'regeneration', in which the two more often than not intersect.<sup>598</sup> Although not exhaustive, this overview covers particular projects that have similar or complementary aims to my own, and are creative and interdisciplinary. They align through the methods they have used and a remit to include 'non-expert' voices that might not be traditionally considered pertinent to official heritage narratives or policy approaches. Here I argue that these approaches could be further enriched by the holistic and networked articulation that I have brought together through scenography. As Tolia-Kelly, Waterton, and Watson maintain,

... theories of emotion and affect need to engage with the historical and be situated within the matrices of power so that affective logics of history and heritage are sensitive to differently positioned narratives, memories and ... material cultures.<sup>599</sup>

The discussion throughout this chapter will therefore serve to foreground my conclusion, wherein I will explain how I have answered my key research questions, as well as the future relevance of my methodology to the critical attention to heritage research and professional practice.

Throughout this thesis, I have applied the multimodal design praxis of scenography to holistically research and describe the Lived Heritage of a group of individuals, through heritage sites that they have a long-term connection to. I believe however, that any ongoing work must pay a particular ethical attention to the potential role that approaches such as mine have in affecting change in how community members see

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<sup>598</sup> DeSilvey et al., "When Loss is More: From Managed Decline to Adaptive Release."

<sup>599</sup> Tolia-Kelly et al., *Heritage, Affect and Emotion*, 4.

themselves, and the heritage that has meaning to them. As a form of ongoing reflective practice (of which I will expand further in my concluding chapter) I can therefore build on my attention to research as placemaking, to develop more collaborative and participant-led projects, which seek to facilitate real and lasting benefits to those of whom the research speaks. As a place-based, more-than-representational research methodology, I argue that this work has the potential, for example, to actively contribute to the current policy-driven AHRC research priority of demonstrating the value that arts and humanities-based research can have in 'local regeneration and development'.<sup>600</sup>

In many areas around the UK, heritage in all its forms, and the historic built environment, are considered as cornerstones to this regeneration, as evidenced in Historic England's 2018 *Places Strategy*. The organisation declares that 'heritage-led development and place making can contribute to sustainable growth', and they offer a further overview of what they think makes historic places so special, in their 2020 annual survey and review *Heritage Counts*.<sup>601</sup> They state:

Historic places convey a sense of uniqueness and awe and are strong emotional pillars for common values, connecting communities across England. Cultural heritage as a physical resource can play a critical role for community cohesion, collective action and in shaping human health and societal wellbeing. Heritage can also improve personal wellbeing, by helping us understand our past, our individual and communal identity and help us connect with the places where we live.<sup>602</sup>

The UKRI launched the AHRC funded *Place* programme in November 2021, led by Rebecca Madgin.<sup>603</sup> In a recent podcast about the programme, Madgin explained that policy and administrative bodies have traditionally needed to focus on the economic and geographical as a pragmatic means of allocating funds and

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<sup>600</sup> 'Funding boost and expertise to level up places around the UK,' *UKRI*, 10 February 2022. Web.

<sup>601</sup> 'Places Strategy 2019,' *Historic England*. Web.

<sup>602</sup> 'Heritage Counts 2020,' *Historic Environment Forum, Historic England*. Web.

<sup>603</sup> Madgin, 'Place matters. The arts and humanities place agenda,' *UKRI*, 22 November 2021. Blog. Web.

resources.<sup>604</sup> The nine knowledge exchange projects that constitute the eighteen-month *Place* programme are now working to extend policy-based conceptions of place, and explore how the emotional and the felt can be practically brought into public sector planning and development decisions.<sup>605</sup> Their focus is to 'build an evidence base that demonstrates the many ways in which approaches from the arts and humanities can contribute to how we understand place and shape future places', including practical methods for 'knowledge exchange' with professional sectors.<sup>606</sup> The programme was announced in the same week as the UK government's Levelling Up white paper, where restoring 'a sense of community, local pride and belonging' is listed as a core aim.<sup>607</sup> This demonstrates, as Madgin explains, that 'there is ... an increasing awareness of the importance of social fabric, our lived experiences, and crucially, how we feel in, and about places'.<sup>608</sup> I will project how my own work might contribute to such work in the future later on in this chapter, using the example of the research undertaken by one of the nine AHRC *Place* projects, the *Feeling Towns*.<sup>609</sup>

## Heritage policy and 'Levelling Up'

Locally managed heritage, culture and urban regeneration have become interwoven in current government policy initiatives to award funding to areas that are considered struggling and 'left behind', such as high streets, post-industrial and coastal communities.<sup>610</sup> Both Southampton, and more recently Newhaven, have been in receipt of funding to help improve their infrastructure and local commerce to these ends.<sup>611</sup> In Southampton this has meant a particular focus on areas such as the Station Quarter redevelopment, and links to the city's Cultural Quarter, in the last

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<sup>604</sup> Rebecca Madgin and Jaideep Gupte, University of Glasgow College of Social Sciences *Spotlight* podcast series, timestamp 23.25 posted 23 June 2022. Web.

<sup>605</sup> 'Funding boost and expertise to level up places around the UK,' *UKRI*, 10 February 2022. Web.

<sup>606</sup> Smith, 'UKRI Meet AHRC's New Directors,' *UKRI*.

<sup>607</sup> 'Levelling Up White Paper'. *UK Government*, xiv. Web.

<sup>608</sup> Rebecca Madgin, 'Place Based Policies, Association of Research Managers and Administrators (ARMA),' *The Protagonist*, July 2022, 10-11.

<sup>609</sup> 'And Towns- Feeling Towns Project,' *University of Southampton* [n.d.]. Web.

<sup>610</sup> '£830 million pound funding boost for high streets,' *UK Government*. Press Release, December 2020. Web.

'Levelling Up White Paper,' *UK Government*. Web.

<sup>611</sup> 'Coastal Communities,' *UK Government Coastal Communities Fund*, February 2018. Last updated June 2022. Web.



decade, as I outlined in Chapter 3. More recently, Newhaven as a whole, and particularly its fishing industry and transport connections, have been identified as an important part of the government's 'Levelling Up' plan.<sup>612</sup> Alongside Newhaven's maritime heritage, the fort is considered central to attracting visitors under the banner of 'Destination Newhaven', with the 'renaissance of Newhaven Fort' proposed to support the development of the local visitor economy.<sup>613</sup>

As can be seen in the above statement by Historic England from their *Heritage Counts* report, historic sites and cultural heritage are considered by heritage organisations and public bodies to have a critical role in community cohesion, identity and wellbeing. In championing the importance of the arts, humanities and creative practice as a means of researching and communicating the value and complexity of the places that matter to communities, the *Place* programme brings human experience, feelings, and creative expression to the core of public policy narrative and agendas.<sup>614</sup> Having developed a practical methodology that offers a framework to holistically attend to, and communicate embodied experiences and expressions of identity through relationships to place and heritage, my hope is to contribute to this vibrant and expanding area.

## Language and expertise

As I turn to reflect on where my methodology fits within this context, Watson and Waterton would perhaps define the intention of my PhD research, to demonstrate the cultural significance of the everyday and the non-expert, as 'well-meaning' but flawed.<sup>615</sup> For example, as yet, I have not had the opportunity to apply my methodology to a 'live' project, although I was able to start making some personal evaluations during my six month internship at English Heritage, on which I will expand further below. As such, my claims remain untested. Nonetheless, my third research question is dedicated to considering how, or if, my propositions could be applied in the professional heritage sector. I would argue that a heritage project that

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<sup>612</sup> 'Council secures 12.8 million for "fantastic" Newhaven maritime scheme,' *Lewes and Eastbourne Councils* [n.d.]. Web.

<sup>613</sup> 'This is Newhaven - Our Investment Plan 2021,' *Lewes and Eastbourne Councils*, January 2021. PDF. 5. Web.

<sup>614</sup> Madgin, 'Place Matters,' *UKRI*.

<sup>615</sup> Waterton and Watson, *Heritage and Community Engagement: Collaboration or Contestation*, 3.

seeks to privilege Heritage from Below must be led by the needs and interests of its participants and stakeholders, I acknowledge that there is an innate risk in applying academic authority, in that the academic will end up ‘speaking for’, rather than ‘speaking from’ the perspective of, the participants that I claim to keep at the centre of my study.<sup>616</sup>

## Whose culture?

It is also important not to underestimate the potential of communities and groups to mobilise in order to advocate for heritage that matters to them, of their own volition, and understand that these groups might not be seeking approval from the cultural elite. Indeed, as is evident through the example of the Long Live Southbank 2013/14 campaign, the organisational aim was to maintain their position as a subculture in order to retain their internal power and identity through retaining access to a place that has meaning to them. The campaign was organised by a network of street skaters to preserve the undercroft area of London’s concrete, Brutalist, South Bank Centre in central London from commercial redevelopment, a territory that they had claimed and re-claimed for decades.<sup>617</sup> It appears in this respect at least, that there was no danger of any particular authority defining what was culturally important to them.<sup>618</sup> The threat to a place that had helped to inscribe so many of their identities, with networked affiliations across generations and even locations, galvanised a movement. From within their ranks, they had the skills they needed to represent themselves as ‘authentically’ as they wanted, to multiple different audiences in both official and unofficial circles.<sup>619</sup> Madgin et al., recognised the power that came from their emotional attachment to that place, which resonates with the feelings of those who have inscribed their identities through their bodies and minds at Newhaven Fort, when it was derelict. Mark’s is perhaps most obvious parallel through his punk sensibilities maintained to this day, but, as with the Southbank Undercroft, for all

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<sup>616</sup> Muzaini, *After Heritage: Critical Perspectives on Heritage from Below*, 5.

<sup>617</sup> Ruiz et al., “Look at What We Made.”

<sup>618</sup> Rebecca Madgin et al., ‘Resisting Relocation and Reconceptualising Authenticity: The Experiential and Emotional Values of the Southbank Undercroft, London, UK,’ *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 24, no. 6 (3 July 2018): 585–98.

<sup>619</sup> Madgin et al., ‘Resisting Relocation and Reconceptualising Authenticity.’

concerned, the fort offered the 'crucial components of both found space and citizen expertise' through which those young people could emplace themselves.<sup>620</sup>

Not all groups or individuals would necessarily demonstrate the level of agency that the skaters were able to coalesce through their shared protest movement, although, as I will briefly explain later, no heritage custodian should rule out the possibility.

Therefore, the positionality of what is deemed 'expertise', and the value of the outcomes for whom a heritage site has meaning, will be an ethical and pragmatic position that I will continue to reflect and act upon through any further research. My intention is to follow Sarah Pink in dividing the research process into the three levels of placemaking from the outset, so I can better scrutinise those considerations and rationale for moving forward at each phase. In effect this position foregrounds the research process as a mediated construction of knowledge, in and of itself, and should be ethically considered through hierarchy, agency, subjectivity, temporality, and purpose, rather than as a form of objective and enduring truth.

What I *have* been able to demonstrate in this PhD, nonetheless, is that by representing certain individuals for whom Newhaven Fort and Wyndham Court have meaning, the catch-all statements that tend to homogenise the complexity of 'community' and 'identity' in UK heritage sites is problematised. In being led by the participants' 'non-expert' views and motivations, feelings, observations, and expressions, I have shifted my perspective on each site's cultural significance, and my understanding of who their 'community' might be. They have given me a sense of the collective lives of the people for whom the sites have meaning, drawing them together through the sites but giving space for their individual insights.<sup>621</sup> This participant-led approach could be applied to other projects, and could even be developed further, by including participants in all aspects of the project's design (which this project did not). This I will discuss further in my concluding chapter, but a recent webinar on one of the AHRC *Place* initiatives, *Feeling Towns*, demonstrated the conceptual dissonance that can occur through an attention to place, which leads

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<sup>620</sup> Madgin et al., 'Resisting Relocation and Reconceptualising Authenticity,' 594.

<sup>621</sup> Madgin and Lesh, *People-Centred Methodologies for Heritage Conservation: Exploring Emotional Attachments to Historic Urban Places*, 3.

with particular predetermined language or narratives, in this instance being the word 'pride'.

The webinar *Whose Pride is it Anyway* was hosted by Southampton University's *Feeling Towns* project lead, Nicky Marsh. The team had invited researchers to discuss how to evaluate and understand what local or civic pride means, as the concept has become central to one of the UK Government's twelve missions in their 'Levelling Up' policy agenda.<sup>622</sup> This valuable moment of pause, early on in the initiative, drew out discussion with contributors on the impact of using the word 'pride' in research questions about their experiences of other place-based research projects.<sup>623</sup> In some instances researchers noted that the use of the word has been understood by community members as a 'deficit model', where previous use of the term has predefined a place as diminished, or internally lacking in some way.<sup>624</sup> If an outside researcher is perceived to have come to a locale with such a preconception, it is easy to see how questioning local people's 'pride' could quickly alienate those they are hoping to engage. In another instance, a research focus on pride meant that the participant felt less able to articulate the more negative or nuanced issues that they might had been facing within their community, for fear of diminishing its positive aspects.<sup>625</sup>

The *Feeling Towns* team's reflexive position is characterised in their webpages, through their intent to develop creative ways of 'monitoring, evaluating and reporting' the relationship between place attachment, and a healthy cultural ecology.<sup>626</sup> An example of which was three workshops, which ran during the summer of 2022, by researcher and poet, Joanna Nissel. Within the workshops Nissel encouraged participants to create collaborative poems to allow for a more 'fluid and creative' expression of 'pride in place'.<sup>627</sup> Here poetry was used to help participants express emotions and feelings that may be 'complex and contradictory', and through

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<sup>622</sup> 'AndTowns - Feeling Towns project,' *University of Southampton* [n.d.]. Web.

<sup>623</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>624</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>625</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>626</sup> 'Whose Pride is it Anyway' 'And Towns - Feeling Towns project,' *University of Southampton*. Webinar video recording, June 2022. Web.

<sup>627</sup> Joanna Nissel, 'Can writing poetry help us to understand pride in place and the experience of volunteering,' *AndTowns*. Blog. Web.

creation, offered opportunities for discussion that revealed, among other things, the 'nuances of civic pride'.<sup>628</sup>

The above example offers a glimpse of the value of creative approaches to place-based research, and the enriched understanding of, particularly, the complexity of emotional attachment to place, and the way individual expertise might manifest that can be gleaned when avoiding leading terms or 'pre-approved questions'.<sup>629</sup> With the innate complexity of historic places and heritage sites, I contend that the methodology that I have developed also offers a means for drawing out such contradictions. In this respect I have followed the work of the *Feeling Towns* project to reflect on how 'pride' might have been articulated by the participants over the course of my PhD research.

Through walking, talking, sketching and video recording, where attention is paid to verbal and non-verbal communication, the language and expressions that have meaning to participants are foregrounded, which could include apparent contradictions. Tolia-Kelly describes the multiple ways that a heritage site can affect an individual as 'the grammars of heritage spaces', which concurrently affect the visitor through 'differences and pluralities to which we are attuned and contribute.'<sup>630</sup> The affect that a site could have on an individual, depending on their background and association, can be positive or negative, welcoming or repelling. Therefore, it is unlikely in any instance that a single word, or even the 'right' word will be used to describe the complexity of that association. In the case of participants in my own research, pride and attachment might be in evidence, but the expression of that has been defined by the participant and contextualised through a scenographic lens.

Lauren, for example, appeared *proud* of the habitats that the fort was able to provide for both local and seasonal wildlife, as well as the knowledge that she was able to share information about those habitats. Her identity has been shaped by the South Downs and her family's connection to its history, and she seems concurrently emplaced in its past, present and future. Her body and her gestures layer and roll

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<sup>628</sup> Joanna Nissel, 'Can writing poetry help us to understand pride in place and the experience of volunteering,' *AndTowns*. Blog. Web.

<sup>629</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>630</sup> Tolia-Kelly, 'Race, affect and the museum' in Tolia-Kelly et al., eds., *Heritage, Affect and Emotion*, 36.

with the subjects that she shares, physically demonstrating her internal and networked connection to Newhaven Fort and its locale. She also shares an associative sense of pride in the fact that her mum and friends used to play in the fort when it was derelict, meaning she is further grounded in the site's past and future.

Pride also has its equally powerful opposite in shame, and following Sarah Ahmed, its physical impression is an emotion that is personally and viscerally felt.<sup>631</sup> John used the metaphor of old and new clothing to describe the dirty and neglected appearance of Wyndham Court. He clearly took care in his own appearance, which is a highly personal expression of identity, and it is significant that in describing his home through the analogy of old, tatty, and worn clothing, it made his perceived neglect of Wyndham Court's exterior very personal too. I would not want to make such a leap as to suggest he was ashamed of where he lived, but what was clear was that he did take the building's lack of care personally.

Throughout the walking interviews that I conducted during my research there were several instances of contradiction communicated by participants, although this was not always expressed as a contradiction at the time. Importantly, as is the nature and complexity of relationships and personal identity, it appeared that these contradictions had not shifted, and indeed were perhaps integral to the participant's general relationship with the site. Although Chris was upset by the fort's official depiction of their teenage exploits in the 1970s as 'vandalism', it did not mean that he did not maintain a deep affection for the fort itself. Sue's teenage experiences of watching the 'massive construction' of Wyndham Court that looked 'a bit like a prison', did not stop her from eventually building a positive relationship with the building and the lifestyle that it afforded her. Luke was somewhat different in that the negative perspective on Wyndham Court's 'Ugly Outside' became a source of fondness and affection. In these instances, the participants all appeared confident and self-assured, and vitally these relationships were built on *their terms*, which I maintain explains their ownership of that contradiction.

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<sup>631</sup> Ahmed, *Cultural Politics of Emotion*, 101.

Not all projects would have participants as self-confident in expressing conflicted feelings, especially projects linked to ‘Levelling Up’, conducted on behalf of the highest level of authority in this country, which may not have been as carefully managed as the *Feeling Towns* project. It can be a very vulnerable and disempowering position to place someone emotionally, and would need to be supported accordingly, dependent on the project aims and promised outcomes. What the outcomes of my research can demonstrate is that a participant-led inquiry in the right circumstances can offer the opportunity, at least for those contradictions, to be expressed and better contextualised. Following DeSilvey’s ecological stance, my methodology creates opportunities for novel thinking about the networked nature of being emplaced through a heritage site. By holding apparent contradictions that have been culturally defined in a single conceptual space, it is possible to conceive and appreciate the enmeshed and interconnected nature of an individual’s ‘place-attachment’. The ethical requirements of this type of work, however, should not be underestimated, and I will broaden my discussion on this important aspect in my conclusion, as I consider the reality of acceding space for the knowledge of Lived Heritage in the professional and academic heritage sectors.

## **Knowledge and expertise**

Historic England’s *Places Strategy* positions the organisation and its expertise front and centre, to assess and define what should be valued, its role being to support ‘understanding and respecting’ of ‘diverse’ heritage, to create a more cohesive community.<sup>632</sup> The organisation understands that it is in the position to be a ‘key influencer’ in ‘good placemaking’ by ‘championing local heritage’, ‘distinctiveness and character’.<sup>633</sup> The statements made by Historic England, throughout their strategy document, highlights not only *how* research into the lived experience of heritage is conducted, but *who* decides which opinion and experience is most valid. The above demonstrates that much of the of the research, and then analysis, by a heritage body, even in consultation with the community, results in certain choices being made through the evaluation of a particular sanctioned authority and hierarchy of cultural values. As with my earlier reflection, there is the risk, and perhaps

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<sup>632</sup> ‘Places Strategy 2019,’ *Historic England*. Web.

<sup>633</sup> ‘Places Strategy 2019,’ *Historic England*. 6. Web.

inevitability, that however well-meaning the intention, the individual or organisation responsible for the research ends up ‘speaking for’, rather than ‘speaking from’, the perspective, of the community they are representing. Indeed, as Waterton and Smith explored in 2011, ‘professionals within the heritage sector seem reluctant to give up their power and allow other groups the status to participate on a par’.<sup>634</sup>

Local expertise and knowledge can come in many guises, from organised opposition to oral history projects and creative workshops, to input from those already engaged in heritage and historical research wishing to donate their time to particular sites.

With time and money often in short supply, those with a greater amount of both are the ones most likely to have their voices included, unless there is a particular project costed to encourage more ‘diverse’ input. I was able to get some more personal insights on precisely these points, which have helped to guide my thinking going forward, through a six-month placement in 2020/21 with English Heritage, supporting the audience and community engagement work for the Marble Hill *Revived* project.<sup>635</sup>

I draw on these reflections here to show how I was able to apply and test some of my findings and methods.

## **Marble Hill – English Heritage**

Marble Hill is Georgian Palladian villa on the banks of the Thames in Twickenham. The house was commissioned in the eighteenth century by Henrietta Howard, and was of great interest to me because its recent multi-million pound *Revived* project was part-funded by the National Lottery Heritage Fund.<sup>636</sup> Throughout the project there had been an ongoing contention with many of the affluent and influential residents who lived nearby.<sup>637</sup> This extensive renovation, conservation and interpretation programme included 60 acres of grounds, situated to the north of the river Thames, which is a well-used public park, popular with dog walkers, cricketers, footballers, rugby players and anyone wishing to escape the hustle and bustle of London city life.

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<sup>634</sup> Waterton and Smith, ‘The recognition and misrecognition of community heritage’ in Waterton and Watson, *Heritage and Community Engagement*, 19.

<sup>635</sup> ‘Marble Hill Revived,’ *English Heritage* [n.d.]. Web.

<sup>636</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>637</sup> ‘Marble Hill – Histories and Stories’. *English Heritage* [n.d.]. Web.



As I have already outlined, it is clear from any current cultural policy document or mission statement of established heritage organisations, that consultation with the community, or in English Heritage's current statement, 'supporters', has become a core strategy for engagement.<sup>638</sup> A mandatory outcome required by the Heritage Lottery Fund, is that a 'wider range' of people will be involved in the heritage that the fund has supported, than at the outset of the project.<sup>639</sup> However, as I have already outlined, what is less clear is the level of agency to which some institutions are able or willing to offer to those voices that have been asked to be heard.

Concerns about tokenistic and short-lived gestures of 'diversifying' audiences at heritage sites (and museums) are valid and, alongside powerful political constraints, are in no small part to do with the lack of appropriate representation of voices and expertise within the organisations themselves.<sup>640</sup> From first-hand experience working with English Heritage, I know that trying to attract groups of people that have been ignored or rejected for some time is difficult, and often time-consuming and costly, which can result in short-lived activities with a negligible impact.<sup>641</sup> It depends on who is asking those communities, and the will and resources available to the Audience Development Manager and/or interpretation teams, as to how far they push the concept of who is represented in community-facing work. I also noted that how the outcomes of this work are shared, and the voices and feelings represented, is further defined by the overarching strategic overview from senior management.<sup>642</sup>

It is important to clarify at this juncture that the team working on the development of Marble Hill were all extremely engaged in providing a positive and meaningful resource for the wider community. It was also clear that this had been a very difficult project for many of the team, where mistakes had been made at all levels of the organisation. Some early public consultations ended in acrimony and there were

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<sup>638</sup> 'Our vision and values,' *English Heritage* [n.d.]. Web.

<sup>639</sup> 'Outcome – A wider range of people will be involved in heritage,' *National Lottery Heritage Fund* [n.d.]. Web.

<sup>640</sup> Graham and Howard, *The Ashgate Research Companion to Heritage and Identity*, 95.

<sup>641</sup> Keith Emerick, 'Please Mr President ...' in Tolia-Kelly et al., eds., *Heritage, Affect and Emotion*, 273.

<sup>642</sup> Also, for an interesting examples of differing case studies, and how an 'institutionalised heritage system responds (or does not respond)' to the non-expert views and feelings on how heritage sites should be considered, again see Keith Emerick 'Please Mr President ...' in Tolia-Kelly et al., eds., *Heritage, Affect and Emotion*, 257.

sustained attempts to halt planning applications, where some local amateur and professional historians conducted their own research to refute English Heritage's decisions, alongside individual protests through social media channels, and even several incidents of direct action within the park itself.

As my time at Marble Hill was spent before the house was re-opened to the public, I cannot comment on the outcomes of most of the official interpretation. I was involved in some interesting, and I believe meaningful, work on the role Howard and the eighteenth-century villa's central mahogany staircase played in the transatlantic slave trade, and research around this and the house is ongoing.<sup>643</sup> Projects that I personally witnessed to have had the most positive and direct impact, were those that had been created to tangibly address the needs of the community members who were taking part. In this instance these were projects supporting the social care sector, such as women's refuges, people with dementia, young people at risk of offending and those with mental health issues who all could benefit from the positive aspects of a heritage site's setting. Marble Hill's parkland continues to serve as a venue for events, such as recently hosted Diwali celebrations, football tournaments, cinema screenings, yoga, and forest bathing.<sup>644</sup>

More traditional activities, such as the production of an outdoor panel exhibition on Marble Hill's role in both the First and Second World Wars, that I supported volunteers in creating, and involved those who had the time and agency to take part. This meant they were predominantly retired, affluent middle-class enthusiasts and local historians, several of whom were associated with the Marble Hill Friends, a group important for the Marble Hill *Revived* project's longer term legacy, through their local support and advocacy.<sup>645</sup> This dynamic is one well represented across the UK heritage sector, as Watson and Waterton describe, a 'significant lack of parity for many community groups as the relations of power settle around expertise in the first instance, and the cultural symbols of the white middle classes thereafter'.<sup>646</sup>

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<sup>643</sup> Megan Leyland and Harriet Parry, 'Unheard Voices of the English Country House: Some recent work from English Heritage,' *Institute of Historical Research SOAS*, Video podcast. November 2021. Web.

<sup>644</sup> 'Marble Hill Events,' *English Heritage* [n.d.]. Web.

<sup>645</sup> 'Friends of Marble Hill'. *Reach Volunteering*. [n.d.]. Web.

<sup>646</sup> Waterton and Watson, *Heritage and Community Engagement*, 6.



Fig. 8.1: *Marble Hill Remembers* visitors, October 2020. Image: Rachel Morrison.

## Human resources

Although I have not had the opportunity to apply my PhD methodology on a live project, through my placement I was able to begin to get an insight into the potential benefits of my approach. Through a series of walking tours conducted at Marble Hill for the Heritage Lottery evaluations, I did find that the act of enabling and articulating agency in those participating appeared to be a very positive factor.<sup>647</sup> In particular, the embodied and sensory perspective that I have developed, offered an opportunity to engage with and learn from volunteers who had been working on the *Revived* project. I was asked to conduct several evaluative walking tours, designed by the external team ERS, who had been employed to report outcomes of the *Revived* project to the National Lottery Heritage Fund.<sup>648</sup>

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<sup>648</sup> ERS, *ERS* [n.d.]. Web.



Fig. 8.2: Map of one of the plotted routes of the walking tours, November 2022. Map produced by ERS for English Heritage's National Lottery Fund evaluations.

Of particular note was my experience with a volunteer who had been donating his time to support the parkland clearing and planting for ten months. It transpired that he found it difficult to orient himself through the site map, engage with the visual prompts created by ERS, or imagine the full route that he would want to take in order to show me parts of the park that were most important to him.<sup>649</sup> I suggested that we plan our tour one stop at a time, through particular memories that he wanted to share. Through my attention to the embodied and sensory forms of communication that I had been developing in my own research, I began to notice that he was also orienting himself via particular smells in the landscaping, which had made an area distinct for him. Once I had understood this, my attention shifted to notice the embodied methods by which he made sense of his environment.

This experience served as further impetus to consider how thinking through participant expertise extends beyond historical or social knowledge, to the expertise he has developed, through his own sophisticated form of sense-making. Although it understandably appeared totally natural to him, this experience stimulated a

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<sup>649</sup> ERS, *ERS* [n.d.]. Web.

structural shift in my thinking about how this knowledge could be supported and shared in participant led place-based research across multiple settings, such as visiting museums.

## **Inclusion and innovation for engagement and knowledge exchange**

Although my key focus has been on heritage sites, much of the work on inclusion in a heritage or museum setting unsurprisingly intersect. Inclusion can mean both through staffing and visitor profiles, physical access where places are adapted to be accessible, negotiable, and legible, and representative of the diversity of cultures to which, and of which, that site is speaking. Published in 2016, the Museums Association gives their definition of inclusion as: 'A state of being and feeling valued, respected and supported', and state that: 'Practising inclusion is necessary for diversity initiative to work affectively.'<sup>650</sup> As with any move to diversify what and who is represented in the museum and heritage sector, it is the lack of presence of those diverse voices in management and decision making roles, that continue to be cited as being the key issue. To make inroads in this area, *Curating 4 Change* is an innovative Heritage Lottery Funding funded project, spearheaded by Esther Appleyard Fox and Jane Sparkes, which is partnering with several prominent UK museums, to offer internships and placements for future D/deaf and disabled curators.<sup>651</sup>

Their aim is multiple, offering opportunities for participants and museums to recalibrate their understanding of what it means to represent not only disability in exhibits, but also add to the spectrum of ways that culture can be displayed and experienced. Being neurodivergent and partially deaf myself, it is not always possible to know how I might be adapting to these kinds of environments. It was because of my experience with the walking tours at Marble Hill, that I suggest that a more-than representational and sensory attention, to collaboratively understand how museum and heritage spaces are negotiated through creative methods and shared enquiry,

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<sup>650</sup> 'Valuing Diversity: The case for Inclusive Museums,' *Museums Association* 2016. PDF. Web.

<sup>651</sup> 'Curating for Change,' *Accentuate* [n.d.]. Web.

could enrich understanding even further by a collaborative evaluation of that experience with participants.

A turn to the arts and creative practice in heritage research is being advocated across the full gamut of the sources which I have consulted, all of which maintain people as either centred, or from an ecological and networked critical heritage perspective, emplaced, in their case studies. This reflects broader social policy research, which is being undertaken by the cross-party organisation Policy Lab, set up in 2014 as a part of the Civil Service Reform Plan. I have found it useful therefore, to reflect on the policy tolerance of innovative qualitative research approaches already being applied.

Policy Lab's remit resonates with that of the AHRC *Place* programme, to explore how creative methods and outputs can be included in traditionally quantitatively and two-dimensional official policy approaches to research.<sup>652</sup> Their work seeks to inform some of the most difficult social issues that people have to contend with in this country today, through a diverse range of research techniques that resonate with my own. This includes, for example, video ethnography to promote empathy for people who are homeless or applying the theories of Legislative Theatre (first developed by the Brazilian theatre director Augusto Boal, in the late 1970s) to develop tools for homelessness prevention.<sup>653</sup>

### About Policy Lab



Policy Lab brings people-centred design approaches to policy-making. We provide policy teams with practical support to better understand the people they are trying to reach, and work with them to co-design new solutions.

Fig. 8.3: 'About Policy Lab' screen shot, July 2022. Image: Harriet Parry.

<sup>652</sup> 'About Policy Lab,' *Policy Lab*. [n.d.]. Web.

<sup>653</sup> *Ibid.*

As I have found through the development of my own research, digital recording technology and dissemination are valuable and relatively accessible modes of supporting community responses, and the interpretation of heritage sites and practices that impact their lives. Alongside filming on camera phones and digital video recorders, the use of Virtual and Augmented Realities has also become a key area of development.

Colonial commemorative statues and memorials have become highly contentious sites of disagreement, due to the very real tension caused by the dissonance and disparity between authorised discourses and lived experience. In response to these ongoing issues, Colin Stirling has initiated collaborative VR project *Ghosts of Solid Air*.<sup>654</sup> Stirling seeks to co-create visual responses to these memorials with a group of young people in London whose voices ‘are not typically engaged with heritage practice or discourse’.<sup>655</sup> Here VR and digital dissemination offers the opportunity to capture the immediacy of individual relationships to such memorials, and serves as a pragmatic response to current political determination to retain the structural integrity of the heritage that has been preserved.<sup>656</sup>

The Long Live Southbank campaigners brought their previous expertise of filming and photographing, which has long been the medium of skaters and BMXers, to record and distribute their culture across multiple platforms.<sup>657</sup> Throughout, this meant that they were able to communicate their cultural authenticity, the value of their heritage, and provide a spatio-temporal experience of the sights and sounds of the Undercroft itself through sound and vision.<sup>658</sup> Importantly these skills offered a way of sharing their cause with people who may not have heard their voices

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<sup>654</sup> ‘AHRC Award for *Ghosts of Solid Air* project,’ *University College London (UCL)*. February 2022. Web.

<sup>655</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>656</sup> At the time of writing, the current Culture Secretary Nadine Dorries had reversed an assessment by Historic England that a plaque of Cecil Rhodes in Oxford need not be listed. ‘Nadine Dorries grants listed status to Cecil Rhodes plaque at Oxford college,’ *The Guardian*, 29 July 2022. Web.

<sup>657</sup> I myself used to spent time with fellow skaters and BMXers at Radlands indoor skate and BMX park in Northamptonshire in the early 1990s, honing my manual photography skills. Opened in 1992, it was the first, and largest indoor skatepark in Britain. Photography was a way of accessing the space and the sport as a female, and although I was a BMXer, I did not have the confidence to cross the gender divide at that time.

<sup>658</sup> Ruiz et al., “Look at What We Made.”

before.<sup>659</sup> The medium of film also offered a place for collaboration between the AHRC research team Madgin, Webb, Ruiz and Snelson, funded to investigate the Long Live Southbank case study, to collaborate with an arts activist producer and ex-pro-skating director, which resulted in the award-winning film about the campaign, *You Can't Move History*.<sup>660</sup>

As London's unrelenting urban redevelopment and infrastructure improvement continues to impact communities across the city, the Museum of London Archaeology (MOLA) team are recording the archaeology uncovered during current works, as a form of local engagement. These efforts seek to involve and include the community members most affected by the changes.<sup>661</sup> Here, more-than textual methods of recording and interpreting experiences of place, are being employed by participants collectively known as the Liberty of Southwark Community Producers. Between September and December 2021, the group created digital interpretations to respond to MOLA's excavation of an area in Southwark, which was being developed to become its new cultural quarter.<sup>662</sup> Examples of this enterprise can be found on their YouTube channel, and created opportunities for both long-term, and more recent residents of the area, to creatively respond to the work MOLA were undertaking.<sup>663</sup>

For my own part, interest has already been shown in my work through an invitation to present my research and take part in the *Critical Heritage and Social Justice* workshop, at University College London (UCL), in May 2022. The outcomes are ongoing, but it was here that Stirling presented some of the early information on the *Ghosts of Solid Air* project, alongside representatives from Hackney Archives; MOLA and several academics all seem to be innovating in their research approaches. Led by heritage and digital museums scholar Veysel Apaydin, from UCL, the two-day

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<sup>659</sup> Ruiz et al., "Look at What We Made," 404, 405.

<sup>660</sup> Madgin et al., 'Resisting Relocation and Reconceptualising Authenticity.' Winston Whitter, *You Can't Move History* Producer Paul Richards (2015) in collaboration with Madgin, Webb, Ruiz and Snelson.

<sup>661</sup> Shantol Campbell, 'Introducing the Liberty of Southwark Community Producers,' November 2021. Blog. Web.

<sup>662</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>663</sup> Liberty of Southwark Community Producers, 'A digital archive,' *MOLA*, April 2022. YouTube. Web.

Liberty of Southwark Community Producers, 'Museums, what is their objective?' *MOLA*, April 2022. YouTube. Web.



event aimed to draw together practitioners from across disciplines, to workshop how critical heritage tools can be developed to affect genuine impact in key areas, such as social, economic, and cultural inequalities and the climate crisis.

Even from the very small sample of a much bigger picture outlined in this chapter, it is clear that there is knowledge and a will towards including voices, feelings and creative forms of expression that have traditionally been excluded from representation and interpretation of heritage sites in the UK. The multiple and creative methods available to research projects offer the potential for engaging, inclusive, meaningful, difficult and perhaps even enjoyable experiences, for participants throughout the research process. Fundamentally however, what remains is a need to not simply create new place identities that only serve to legitimise the research and interpretation processes employed. Ethically and sustainably, the research needs to be designed to integrate with the participant's, and wider community's, ongoing co-production, and therefore, meaningful, complicated, and often contradictory relationships with the places that have the potential to enrich their lives. As Waterton and Smith state, in rejecting a homogenised and idealised notion of 'community' it is possible to critically engage 'with social relationships in all their messiness, taking account of action, process, power and change.'<sup>664</sup> With this in mind, I will now move to conclude with an evaluation of how my thesis and methodology serves to answer my research questions in this context. I will also explain the relevance for now and the future of the methodology that I have developed, and its potential to facilitate a richer, more ethical and more networked understanding of the cultural significance of heritage spaces and places.

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<sup>664</sup> Emma Waterton and Laurajane Smith, 'The recognition and misrecognition of community heritage' in Waterton and Watson, *Heritage and Community Engagement*, 13.



**Organisers:**

Veysel Apaydin, UCL Institute of Education  
 Kalliopi Fouseki, UCL Institute for Sustainable Heritage  
 David Francis, UCL Institute of Archaeology  
 Jonathan Gardner, University of Edinburgh  
 Rachel King, UCL Institute of Archaeology  
 Sara Perry, Museum of London Archaeology  
 Colin Sterling, University of Amsterdam

**Funded by the UCL Centre for Critical Heritage Studies**

<https://www.ucl.ac.uk/critical-heritage-studies/small-grants/successful-awards-2021-22>

Fig. 8.4: Front page from the *Critical Heritage Studies and Social Justice* workshop programme, Veysel Apaydin, May 2022. University College London.

## 9 Conclusion: Living heritage – feeling worlds

The foundation of my PhD's design is based on an idea that coalesced as I was standing in the parade ground at Newhaven Fort in the spring of 2018. It was an idea that had been subconsciously gestating as my academic, professional and pedagogical interests interwove. Emplaced in that moment, my mind wandering into the tunnels and over the ramparts, I reflected on the multiple memories and experiences that I had already been party to through the Air Sea Rescue murals research for my MA, as well as events and family visits. Over time I had become deeply aware that this place was so much more than the museum display boards and its military history, however important these remain. It was the way people *felt* about the fort that inspired me to want to know more. Importantly it made me want to know more about *them* and *how* they had built the connections apparent in anyone who had spent time there. In trying to imagine how I could articulate their feelings and the fort's many, often numinous, affective qualities, the light, sounds, smells, feelings and memories, Scenography found its natural place.

This chapter concludes my thesis, but also serves as a springboard to show how I plan to continue to develop and advocate for my conception of heritage scenography, shaped by the evaluation that follows. I have demonstrated that by drawing together the approaches of two seemingly disparate disciplines, those of scenography and the 'emerging interdisciplinary field' of Critical Heritage Studies, the quotidian embodied, co-productive experience and expression of heritage could not only be noticed, but also comprehended and meaningfully communicated.<sup>665</sup> This work attends to the call set out by Rodney Harrison for an 'ontology of connectivity';<sup>666</sup> and from Divya Tolia-Kelly, Emma Waterton and Steve Watson, to engage with 'the sensory realm and the affective materialities and atmospheres of heritage landscapes';<sup>667</sup> and also to inform an 'evolving heritage sector', which Rebecca Madgin and James Lesh explain, 'ha[s] emphasised the need to holistically understand the cultural significance of historic places within heritage

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<sup>665</sup> Harrison, 'On Heritage Ontologies: Rethinking the Material Worlds of Heritage,' 1365.

<sup>666</sup> Harrison, 'On Heritage Ontologies: Rethinking the Material Worlds of Heritage.'

<sup>667</sup> Tolia-Kelly et al., eds., *Heritage, Affect and Emotion: Politics, Practices and Infrastructures*, 1.

management'.<sup>668</sup> Significantly, at the time of writing, the subject of my research speaks to the remit of AHRC *Place* programme (2021–2023), which seeks to 'develop the cultural landscape for the benefit of local people and places.'<sup>669</sup>

In aspiring to contribute to innovation within one field, that of Critical Heritage Studies, through attention to the more-than representational, I have demonstrated that it is not necessary to reinvent the wheel. As Helen Kara, Sarah Pink and many more advocate, interdisciplinarity and a turn to established creative practices are key. In my case this meant looking to a theatrical design discipline whose very foundation is in the conception and staging of the experience of being human, in and as place. The practical methods that I have employed throughout my research such as walking tours, sketching, and video recording are all well practiced within anthropology and sensory ethnography. What is different is the way that I have brought these together, and more significantly, the holistic and creative mode of attention that I have applied as a scenographer, which has shaped how I see, analyse and communicate my findings as, perhaps, a *heritage scenographer*.

My thesis therefore demonstrates the rationale behind the interdisciplinary scenographic methodology that I have developed, the theoretical and philosophical thinking that underpins that rationale, and offers insights into the rich potential of its application in practice. In this respect, my thesis and methodology joins Tolia-Kelly, Waterton and Watson's positive provocation to move past Stuart Halls' question of 'whose heritage' to: 'What counts as heritage? How is heritage encountered? How might it be engaged with? And why is it valued?'<sup>670</sup> Integral to this work is a problematising of hierarchies of value that reorients the nature of 'expertise' in the interpretation of heritage sites, which I will discuss further in the section on knowledge exchange, below.

As a form of iterative and ongoing co-production of research and analysis, my research methods and outcomes reject the static and the stable, not only to give a sense in the reader and viewer of another's feelings, values, and expertise, but also

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<sup>668</sup> Madgin and Lesh, *People-Centred Methodologies for Heritage Conservation*, 1.

<sup>669</sup> 'Funding boost and expertise to level up places around the UK,' *UKRI*. 10 February 2022. Web.

<sup>670</sup> Tolia-Kell et al., eds., *Heritage, Affect and Emotion: Politics, Practices and Infrastructures*, 2.

to allow them to experience the energy of heritage as a productive process. I contend that the more-than textual approaches, such as scenographic sketches and videos that I have utilised, retain a holistic and lively understanding of the human experience of emplacement.<sup>671</sup> My work has been made possible by those who have long advocated for the sensory, the embodied, and the emplaced in anthropology and heritage research, such as Sarah Pink, Christopher Tilley and Edward Casey, and seeks to join the ranks currently inspiring change in the critical heritage field, such as Rebecca Madgin, Divya Tolia-Kelly, Emma Waterton and Rodney Harrison.

The following reflection and evaluation will be divided into three key themes through the authors cited above: Ontology of connectivity, Affective heritage, and Cultural significance. In each instance I will explain how my research fits (or otherwise) in these contexts, how the methodology that I have developed might or might not contribute to critical approaches to UK heritage in both theory and practice and, alongside the benefits, the limits of its application. As with most aspects of my thesis, and my practice as a whole, all of these themes overlap and intersect in multiple ways even if I have divided them up for the purpose of my conclusion. From there I will evaluate the important ethical aspects that have come to my attention through my PhD research, which has helped to inform my methodology's key purpose, that of 'knowledge exchange', in communicating the Lived Heritage and expertise of the participants that are integral to my work.

## **Ontology of connectivity**

The multimodal, creative, and embodied methodology that I have developed aligns with what Rodney Harrison has described as, the 'new material and ontological approaches that shine a light on the ways in which "things" and their affective dimensions can become a new area of focus for critical heritage studies.' Newhaven Fort's official status as a memorial of wartime endeavour and military prowess serves in reality as a backdrop to the lived experiences of Lauren, Fiona, Greg, and Chris. In their individual but networked co-production of the fort's living heritage,

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<sup>671</sup> Tolia-Kelly et al., eds., *Heritage, Affect and Emotion: Politics, Practices and Infrastructures*, 1.

significance is enmeshed with the complexity of their identities, scenography serving to draw out their personal acts of 'worlding', as we walked together around the fort.

Wyndham Court provides a very different backdrop to the lives of John, Sue and David, Jash, Luke, and Mike, and unsurprisingly their relationships with the building vary greatly. The commissioning of the design and construction of this block of flats held the hopes and ideals of what has been described as, a progressive civic corporation and innovative architectural firm, whose intentions appear to have been eroded as society has changed. As with Newhaven Fort, it serves as a backdrop that is unique and affective, but there is evidence of far more complexity and contradiction at Wyndham Court. Through drawing out certain experiences of the participants in the cultural and social contexts of Newhaven Fort and Wyndham Court, my work demonstrates the connections between heritage and much broader 'contemporary issues of political, social or ecological concern'.<sup>672</sup>

In my attention to the 'everyday', the 'mundane' and the 'non-expert' view in this broader heritage context, my interviews with past and present residents of Wyndham Court clearly demonstrate Highmore's contention that the overlooked really matters.<sup>673</sup> Each of the participants have represented an important aspect of the issues that shape our society today, not through my choosing them, but in those people being a constitutive part of a society's identity. Their individual characteristics do not divide them, but connect each group through their heterogenous experiences with one heritage site over time. Taking a temporal perspective, my research outcomes demonstrate that lives are messy. As times have changed the participant's needs have changed, which has therefore brought to light the importance of embracing contradiction in their relationships with the sites. These key differences between each participant help to shape their particular affective engagement and the memories triggered, thus defining the character of their 'worlding' or emplacement at that moment in time and space.

At Wyndham Court for example, John represents the social consequences of the dislocation between remote, top-down interventions through heritage preservation, and the human need for self-governing agency, which prevents him from adapting to

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<sup>672</sup> Harrison, 'On Heritage Ontologies: Rethinking the Material Worlds of Heritage,' 20.

<sup>673</sup> Highmore, *Ordinary Lives: Studies in the Everyday*, 12.

provide a safe and secure home that he can be proud of.<sup>674</sup> Lauren, in her innate ability to conceive of the ecological and built heritage, folklore and science as one co-constitutive whole, and as the youngest participant, offers an optimistic representative for future society. Each are important because, as Harrison contends, what can be learned in being able to pay attention to their socially and culturally networked experiences and identities, shaped through their interaction with each site, 'offers new templates for imagining and designing alternative heritage futures and the common worlds that might be articulated amongst them.'<sup>675</sup> In answer to my first two research questions these insights, I contend, clearly demonstrate how my methodology 'enriches conceptions of [each site's] cultural significance'.

In applying the phrase 'A sense of place' in my thesis title, I am proposing that it is possible to holistically research and communicate some of the complexity and feelings triggered by the co-productive relationships between heritage sites (as a representation of a nation's values), and their visitors, or in the instance of Wyndham Court, inhabitants. I maintain that the methodology that I have developed, offers that 'robust conceptual framework' in heritage practice that Madgin and Lesh have felt lacking in the past three decades, within this form of embodied attention to place.<sup>676</sup>

In taking guidance from scenographic design praxis, I have identified the sources of affect that create lines of power in a space, through aspects such as materiality, sound qualities and architectonics, all interpreted through cultural context and memory. With scenographic sketches and thinking drawings I have been able to isolate 'scenes' within this complexity, visually articulating the 'worlding' that occurs in that moment in time and space. This more-than representational framework means that the networked thinking required to consider the complex relationships between affect and embodied experience can remain integral to my critical attention and communication of the cultural significances of Newhaven Fort and Wyndham Court.

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<sup>674</sup> Mirrored in the experiences and responses to the listing of the Byker estate in Newcastle upon Tyne. Yarker, 'Social housing as built heritage' in Tolia-Kelly et al., eds., *Heritage, Affect and Emotion: Politics, Practices and Infrastructures*, 251.

<sup>675</sup> Harrison, 'On Heritage Ontologies: Rethinking the Material Worlds of Heritage,' 1378.

<sup>676</sup> Madgin and Lesh, *People-Centred Methodologies for Heritage Conservation: Exploring Emotional Attachments to Historic Urban Places*, 8.

The subjectivity of place-based, embodied research remains problematic to a western ontology of a singular 'truth'. To draw on the metaphor of weaving that connects Howard's scenographic design approaches, and Ingold's philosophy, the participants help to weave together a 'patchwork quilt of memories' through the threads of their 'undergoing' embodied experience of each site.<sup>677</sup> This enriched and networked perspective, I argue, offers a meaningful understanding of the role that such sites have in shaping personal and collective identities for the past, present and imagined futures, and their roles in broader society.<sup>678</sup>

In representing my findings through written narrative and Scenographic Video, I have not needed to separate the senses or homogenise the 'communities' that have connections to them. Indeed, as I have described above, the participants make the whole richer, through a more-than textual account of their diversity, expertise, individual values, and future hopes. This, I argue, makes sense of the often powerful, unnameable, and numinous atmospheres of each site, through that diversity. The 'Lived Heritage', as an expression of the Authorised Heritage Discourse and its interrelationship with Heritage from Below, draws out what makes that site culturally significant to those people, which has the potential to be responded to by the official bodies that might seek to improve connection to, engagement with, and respect for the people for whom that site has been preserved.

## **Affective heritage**

As I have outlined throughout my thesis, the application of scenographic praxis has been key to holistically understanding the affective qualities of each heritage site. Those are the qualities that most directly connect and emplace the participant's bodies through their co-production of each site's affective atmosphere. The site's affective qualities are then interpreted through memory and identity to give them a distinct significance, or as was demonstrated by Jash with Wyndham Court's shutter board finish, lack of significance. At Newhaven Fort, Greg was immediately emplaced as he experienced the characteristic sonic resonance of its entrance tunnel, transporting his body back and forth through haptic registers and somatic

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<sup>677</sup> Ingold, *The Life of Lines*, 71.

Howard, *What Is Scenography?* 79.

<sup>678</sup> Howard, *What Is Scenography?* 79.



memory. At that moment he experienced layer upon layer of past events, existing happily together through the continuity of the tunnel's acoustics. The acoustic qualities of the fort have proven to be an important aspect of the site's heritage for many visitors that, I argue, should be a priority for ongoing care and preservation. They are never mentioned in the official interpretations of the building, but appear fundamental to the way so many people connect to the site through their bodies.

Embracing multiplicity and heterogeneity in the participants' responses reflects the contradictions that are innate in any human relationship, and it is through more-than-representational methodological approaches that such contradictions can be given space. Chris, as an older and proactive member of the local community, connects to his past self through the punk sensibilities that he still holds close. He rejects the label of 'vandal' for his teenage identity, and it is particularly his love of the affective nature of the fort, that he has passed on his children and grandchildren. It is his embodied and emplaced connection with the architectonics and acoustics of the abandoned tunnels and rooms that he and his friends claimed for their own, which empowers and overrules those official narratives. He does, however, demonstrate his respect for those who served there, through embodied empathy for the nature of their roles as soldiers. Lauren also demonstrated this as we stood in the Grand Magazine feeling the damp chill in the air, imagining what it would have been like to live and work there, where she expressed nostalgia for communities working together to overcome hardship.

The methodology that I have developed demonstrates that it is possible to communicate mixed feelings about a place, and perhaps an open acknowledgement of this holds some of the keys to understanding a heritage site's everyday cultural significance. Indeed, I argue that by declaring contradiction openly, such work offers the opportunity for a more authentic (accepting the subjectivity that is retained within the word 'authentic'), and reciprocal relationship between a heritage site and the people for whom it has been preserved.<sup>679</sup> As Graham and Howard maintain, these

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<sup>679</sup> See also Madgin et al., 'Resisting Relocation and Reconceptualising Authenticity,' for an attention to authenticity being applied in the context of the nature of embodied and social place-attachment and 'citizen expertise', through the case study of the skaters' campaign to maintain use of the South Bank Centre's Undercroft.

sometimes dissonant relationships are 'intrinsic to the very nature of heritage and should not be regarded as an unforeseen or unfortunate by-product'.<sup>680</sup>

## **Cultural significance**

In demarcating boundaries, recording, analysing and re-presenting participant's experiences for an academic audience, I must remain aware that I have been the one who has evaluated what is important to represent as culturally significant through my research, and what is not. Those decisions have been shaped by the Authorised Heritage Discourse that defines Newhaven Fort as an important example of the development of Victorian military architecture, and Wyndham Court as an important example of civic, post-war Modernist urban development ideals. These statements have served to foreground the temporal, ongoing and iterative nature of both the participants' and my own relationship to the sites, through the act of emplaced research. In effect, the stage has been set through a pre-defined place that is not only problematised by the experiences and histories of the participants, but also the process of the research itself.

The non-expert views of the participants bring life and vivacity to two sites, officially described through the prowess of their designers, and the political structures that dominated the eras in which they were built. Although my methodology prioritises the use of walking tours on site, my research at Wyndham Court also demonstrated the significant contribution that participants, who cannot undertake such a physical venture, can have on the outcomes. Sue, David, and Mike proved instrumental to my understanding of Wyndham Court's social history and affective material qualities. Sue felt safe and secure on Wyndham Court's walkways as the FA cup procession passed. Its location also facilitated her burgeoning sense of identity as she moved from her family home and began to build her life in a modernist building, with shops and the theatre close by to help establish her sense of culture and aesthetic. Mike's memory of Wyndham Court being nicknamed the 'Ugly Outside', demonstrated again that it is in local knowledge and identity that a heritage site that might have enduring value, rather than remote assignments of significance.

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<sup>680</sup> Graham and Howard, *The Ashgate Research Companion to Heritage and Identity*, 6.

On reflection, the success of their input relied on them having confidence in me; that is, that I had sufficient knowledge of Wyndham Court to be able to picture what they were saying.

This aspect would need to be considered in any future work applying my methodology, which would also include careful consideration of the balance of on-site and 'remote' interviews, when physical emplacement and embodiment is a key focus. Indeed, in developing my methodology over the course of my PhD, putting theory into practice has prompted some valuable moments for pause and reflection, especially in considering how I might take this aspect of my work forward on completion.

## Evaluations and ethics

Although I argue for the significant potential of the methodology that I have developed, there are ongoing reflections and design iterations needed to make its application more ethically sustainable and robust. Sarah Pink's act of identifying the recording techniques applied in sensory and digital video ethnography, as a discrete form of placemaking, has helped me isolate useful reflexive stages in my research process. Where scenographic praxis helps to theoretically visualise the 'worlding', or 'entanglement' of place, the three layers of research engagement outlined in Section 5.3 delineates how, where, and why participants might be consulted.<sup>681</sup>

Future attention to how I communicate, collaborate, and make sense with participants, would keep the process of shared enquiry and knowledge production a central concern, which in turn supports a reflexive 'ethics of care' throughout the research process and dissemination.<sup>682</sup> As museums curator Corinne Perkin points out, in her experience as a project manager genuinely collaborative and community-driven projects are more complex in the short-term. However, she argues for a longer-term perspective. If the complexity of the project and the often-conflicting relationships within a 'local community group' are properly managed, she believes

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<sup>681</sup> Pink, *Doing Sensory Ethnography*, 125.

<sup>682</sup> Kara, *Creative Research Methods*, 61, 62.

the outcomes are more successful, relevant and better sustained beyond a project's funding period.<sup>683</sup>

In the instance of my PhD, my core aim was to put a methodological theory to practice, rather than a project for which the outcomes would contribute to practical change. This meant that the participants' motivations to contribute were shaped by the role of the heritage site in their lives, how I communicated the rationale behind my research, and how they related to it, and also to me as a researcher. In effect, they contributed to a pre-existing research design rather than shaping the design in their own interests. The participants also represented people who in general felt happy and comfortable in sharing their thoughts and reflections, and as was the case with both Greg and Chris at least, had contributed to academic research at least once before.

I have learned through my experience of participant recruitment that the value of research is very hard to convey if there are no obvious incentives available for those taking part. Rachel Adams' photography project made visible the voices that were missing from my work at Wyndham Court, where their stories and portraits had been sensitively considered and shared, and a tangible legacy of their lives through photographic portraiture provided.<sup>684</sup> Where her recruitment poster reflected the practical purpose and outcomes with ease, I was trying to explain the value of the theory behind my work, which proved difficult to convey.<sup>685</sup> If, as I intend, any future research would be linked to a project with a tangible and hopefully meaningful process and outcome, then I will certainly be taking the lessons learned through recruitment for my PhD into that process.

Up until this point, the videos I have prepared have been developed from my own judgement—and informed by peer feedback—as a means to capture participant experience.<sup>686</sup> In terms of possible impacts, I have not yet instituted a formal round of developmental screenings and feedback sessions. From the participants'

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<sup>683</sup> Corinne Perkin, 'Beyond the rhetoric: negotiating the politics and realising the potential of community-driven heritage engagement' in Waterton and Watson, *Heritage and Community Engagement*, 115-130.

<sup>684</sup> Adams, *Life is Brutalist*.

<sup>685</sup> See a scan of my recruitment poster in Appendix C.

<sup>686</sup> Kara, *Creative Research Methods: A Practical Guide*, 231.

perspectives, this would be to gain a better understanding of their experiences of taking part in the interviews, as well as inviting their responses to the Scenographic Videos, and if they felt this was the best medium for conveying their feelings and experiences.<sup>687</sup> In addition, if this methodology is to support and represent everyday evaluations of cultural significance, it is to those who might have the power to affect change in response to those outcomes that I must relate, before making any promises of any benefits to participants in future projects. Subject to the participants giving their permission, I am therefore keen to ascertain if their conceptions of these sites had indeed been enriched, and if any actions might result from their new understanding.

I decided to informally share a near final video draft with Chris from Newhaven Fort when I emailed him to send my condolences on the recent death of punk icon Jordan, who was a good friend of his, and a Seaford resident who he frequently referred to in our conversations.<sup>688</sup> The research and time we spent together seemed to have been a positive experience and I felt that the video would be welcomed at this time.

He told me:

Chris: I love the video. It really captures the diverse thoughts and feelings from the contributors.

John, Sue, David, Jash, Luke, Mike, Fiona, Lauren, Greg and Chris all demonstrated the rich and enlightening detail that can come from a human-centred approach to such research, however, from my perspective, there were key voices that I felt were missing from each site. In concluding this iteration of my research, I am excited by the potential of exploring and adapting my methodology as a genuine and collaborative form of shared enquiry with people who are neurodivergent, D/deaf and disabled. Having created an audio/visual scenographic video that relies on hearing and sight to experience them, I am excited to explore with participants who don't experience the environment in this way, and how we might communicate their embodied experiences of heritage settings, which importantly includes accessing

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<sup>687</sup> Kara, *Creative Research Methods: A Practical Guide*, 232.

<sup>688</sup> 'Punk legend Jordan - aka Pamela Rooke - has died', *NME*, 4 April 2022. Web.

them in the first place.<sup>689</sup> My interest at this time is to explore how their personal experiences of emplacement intersect with their cultural heritage, religion, gender identity, ethnicity, class and nationality. My aim, to join what many consider as a departure point for ongoing critical heritage research into affect and emotion; my focus, on developing a methodology that can attend to and articulate some of the diversity of everyday embodied aesthetic experiences of heritage sites.<sup>690</sup>

Some of the current work at Policy Lab, as well as the AHRC *Place* research programme, demonstrates that there is at least an appetite to explore how such research can contribute to pervasive social and cultural issues. A key concern for both the *Place* programme and Policy Lab is how the type of qualitative and subjective knowledge that comes from creative human-centred research effectively, and with reference to my third question, meaningfully communicate those outcomes to facilitate change.

## Knowledge exchange

Knowledge exchange is central to the AHRC *Place* research programme, and although I have not articulated through this policy and evaluation-based language, knowledge exchange serves as the foundation for my research rationale. It is integral to my third research question in asking how more-than representational accounts of a site's significance to the people for whom it has meaning can be effectively communicated. This then qualifies the act of communication to be ethical, productive and representative of those for whom it speaks. As I continue to develop my research, and consider its next steps and applications, the ethical balance of how that research is conducted and communicated must ensure that its significance to the participants themselves remains paramount.

As a piece of subjective qualitative research, the relationships with Wyndham Court and Newhaven Fort formed by myself, the participants, or those reading this thesis or experiencing the videos, will never be precisely replicable, and nor should they be. This is a quality that is fundamentally problematic when seeking to evidence

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<sup>689</sup> For a recent and very interesting evaluation on autism and the experience of material culture see Barry Wright et al., 'Autism and Engagement with Material Culture'. *Interdisciplinary Science Reviews* 47, no. 1 (2 January 2022): 18–39.

<sup>690</sup> Tolia-Kelly et al., eds., *Heritage, Affect and Emotion: Politics, Practices and Infrastructures*, 10.

research outcomes in the policy areas being explored by the *Place* programme. Human relationships with the sites are impacted at every point in the research process, all of which is filtered through my personal evaluation and reconfigured, in this instance, as written narrative or video. Each time a viewer experiences the Scenographic Videos a slightly different place is produced as it is received and conceived. The ‘scenes’ that I have identified depict particularly affective experiences between the participants and the sites, be they positive or negative, and those will be interpreted through the memories and haptic registers of the viewer. It is an important aspect in communicating what the research is really doing and why, and again underlines that the outcomes are there to offer a ‘sense of place’ rather than a historically ‘accurate’ account of place. My research questions have not asked for a certain truth, but for an enrichment of how each site could be conceived of and valued. The results, I argue, give a more fulsome account of each site’s cultural significance, and indeed purpose, outside of, and enmeshed with, official statements of heritage expressed as Lived Heritage.<sup>691</sup>

As Madgin explained in a recent podcast about the place-based research programme, meaning can be stripped back to what is, in essence, a ‘marketing slogan’, where evaluative and policy requirements seek to pin down the ‘Unique Selling Point’ (USP) of a locale.<sup>692</sup> The need for speed and singularity makes no space for the more-than representational, considered too time-consuming to research and difficult to communicate in traditional ways. However, as I demonstrated in Chapter 8, media technologies, such as the digital video being used by the Liberty of Southwark Community Producers, are becoming far more common as hardware and software become more readily accessible, and offers the opportunity for more personal agency for research participants throughout the process.<sup>693</sup> Making information legible, representative, and accessible does more than open up opportunities for embodied communication to be made more pertinent.

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<sup>691</sup> Although the methodological approach is very different to my own, see comparable arguments in Ursula de Jong et al., ‘Histories of urban heritage. Emotional and experiential attachments across time and space’ in Madgin and Lesh. *People-Centred Methodologies for Heritage Conservation: Exploring Emotional Attachments to Historic Urban Places*, 63.

<sup>692</sup> Madgin and Gupte, University of Glasgow College of Social Sciences. *Spotlight* podcast series. Timestamp 23.25 posted 23 June 2022. Web.

<sup>693</sup> Liberty of Southwark Community Producers. ‘A digital archive’, *MOLA*.

That information offers the potential for personal agency, in that it can then be internalised and reinterpreted through the subjective responses of the people taking part in that project. The significance of those outcomes are currently measured in the professional heritage sector against stipulations set by funders, such as the National Lottery Heritage Fund and the Arts Council, which maintain the hierarchies of knowledge and expertise of this society.

My key research aims were to demonstrate the significance of the methodology that I have developed, and the significance of the Lived Heritage expressed by the participants at each site. Ongoing work by innovative heritage facilitators, participants, and producers, as discussed, has the potential to draw on the expertise of the people for whom heritage and culturally valuable places have been preserved as a central concern, rather than on a side-line to the work of the heritage profession. The development of heritage sites and historic locales are continually lauded as one of the keys to a thriving society. My continued hope is that by developing a methodology that facilitates an understanding of the importance of 'everyday' networked and emplaced experiences of heritage sites, the significance of that understanding can become more integral to what is deemed culturally important to preserve *for* the future, and why.



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## **APPENDIX A**

*Wyndham Court - Architectural Appraisal/ Handbook for tenants*

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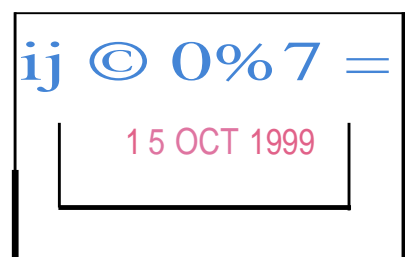
# WYNDHAM COURT

Grade 2 Listed building

## Architectural appraisal / Handbook for tenants

# WYNDHAM COURT

## ARCHITECTURAL APPRAISAL / HANDBOOK FOR TENANTS FOLLOWING LISTING



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5. Alterations section from Leases post 1986, First Schedule, Clause 1.6.

# WYNDHAM COURT - ARCHITECTURAL APPRAISAL

## 1.0 INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this report is to provide a working document which can be consulted when deciding whether repairs or alterations require a formal application for Listed Building consent. The opportunity has also been taken to advise of other consents which may be required in addition to the Listed Building consent. It must however be stressed that if in doubt the relative authority should be consulted.

Listed Building consent is required for all works to listed buildings other than for repair works where defective items are replaced with a matching item. Replacement must be with a matching product in the same colour and material.

However the principles set out in this document have been agreed with English Heritage, and therefore where specified some works normally requiring consent will not require a formal application but simple notification as described below.



## WYNDHAM COURT - ARCHITECTURAL APPRAISAL

### 2.0 DESCRIPTION (from Schedule of Listed Buildings)

Wyndham Court, including terraces and ramps. Block of 184 flats, three cafes or restaurants and thirteen shops. 1966-9 by Lyons Israel Ellis, E D Lyons partner in charge, Frank Linden and Aubrey Hume job architects. Hajnal-Konyi and Myers, consultant structural engineers; G Minter, builders. Reinforced concrete, with carefully detailed white board-marked concrete finish with narrow horizontal painted bands between windows and partition walls of balconies. Six storeys to Commercial Road, seven to south (Blechynden Terrace) on pilosis, reflecting changes in level, over underground car park developed from earlier basements and which forms terrace to south. Shops and restaurants mostly to north and west (Wyndham Place) where service road to basement also situated, in main block set round private garden over car park. To east an L-shaped spur flanks a public terrace, the frontage to Commercial Road on pilosis with dramatic wing breaking forward to Blechynden Terrace with tall piers to the corners. 61 one-bedroom flats and bedsits on first (facing Blechynden • Terrace) and second floors (over whole of site), with 122 two and three-bedroom maisonettes reached by access decks and one flat over, reached by high-speed lifts, whose motor rooms are expressed as prominent vertical features in the composition. The irregular facades are sculptural and expressive, particularly of the changes in function of the ascending floors with the access decks on the third and fifth floors, with distinctive parapets to their balcony fronts, and more solidly detailed private balconies on the fourth and sixth. The lift towers recessed and denoted by small windows, a contrast to the casement windows set in horizontal bands as part of the composition. Originally these had regular vertical glazing bars, but when the windows were mostly renewed in UPVC during Spring 1996 a more square form of window was adopted. Access ramps and public terraces finished to the same exemplary standard as the building, with similar balustrade details. Shopfronts to Commercial Road largely renewed, save that to the 'Hobby Lobby', which retains its 1960s frontage and signage little altered. Interiors of the shops not of special interest; those of the flats not of special

## WYNDHAM COURT - ARCHITECTURAL APPRAISAL

interest. The prestressed floors contain underfloor heating. The internal courtyard landscaped in 1970 to a revised design by Lyons. HISTORY: Southampton City Corporation was one of the most enlightened commissioners of public housing in the post-war period. This is the finest of three estates developed by Lyons Israel Ellis, and was carefully designed to fit a sensitive site close to E Berry Webber's civic buildings (also listed), which dominate the city centre. For this reason a relatively low building was suggested, though the brief was for something urban in scale. The use of white concrete was the architects' response to the wish for something sympathetic to the older building but which had a strong urban character, and is one of the most successful uses of the material anywhere. The design won an Architectural Design Project Award in 1966. When completed in 1969 the flats and maisonettes were leased at 'economic' or above average rents, a reflection of the prestige nature of the development; Lyons Israel Ellis specialised in the design of educational buildings, for which they established an enviable reputation confirmed by the listing of key examples of their work. This is their most successful housing scheme. Source: (Architectural Design: April 1966: 178-179; Southern Evening Echo: 16 December 1968; Alan Forsyth and David Grey, editors: Lyons Israel Ellis Grey, Buildings and Projects 1932-1983: London: 1988-38, 166-71; Southampton City Corporation Council Minutes: 1963-1970).

## WYNDHAM COURT - ARCH.ITECTORAL APPRAISAL

### 3.0 MANAGEMENT PROCEDURES

#### Management Plan

The following describes procedures which should be followed when proposing alterations to the building. These procedures have been agreed with the following:

- Southampton City Council - Cultural Services
- Southampton City Council - Development Control Services
- Southampton City Council - Housing Department
- English Heritage

#### Repairs

Repairs and general maintenance do not require Listed Building consent, however Southampton City Council should be notified of repairs in writing. If repairs which are not a like for like replacement, Listed Building consent is required.

#### Approved Alterations

A number of alterations to the building have been considered in advance by Southampton City Council and English Heritage. These are described as approved alterations in the following schedule.

These alterations can be undertaken without having to apply formally for Listed Building consent but some may require planning permission. The work undertaken must match that described in the schedule. The person proposing to undertake such work must give Southampton City Council written notice of the proposed work 4 weeks in advance of that work being commenced. It is important for tenants to comply with this so they have a record that procedures were followed when they come to assign the Lease, and to avoid breaching tenancy agreement.

## WYNDHAM COURT - ARCHITECTURAL APPRAISAL

### Other Alterations

All other alterations may require Listed Building and/or a planning application to Southampton City Council Development Control Services on the appropriate Listed Building consent and planning application forms.

# WYNDHAM COURT - ARCHITECTURAL APPRAISAL

## NOTICE OF PROPOSED APPROVED WORKS

### WYNDHAM COURT

To: Conservation Unit  
Cultural Services  
Southampton City Centre  
Civic Centre  
Southampton

Date:

Property No:


I hereby give notice that 4 weeks from today's date, I intend to undertake the following work which I understand are approved works.

**DESCRIPTION OF WORK** (give a brief description of the work you propose to undertake enclosing a copy of any available drawings or specification)

**ADDRESS FOR CORRESPONDENCE**

**ADDRESS OF PROPERTY TO BE ALTERED**

## ROOFS

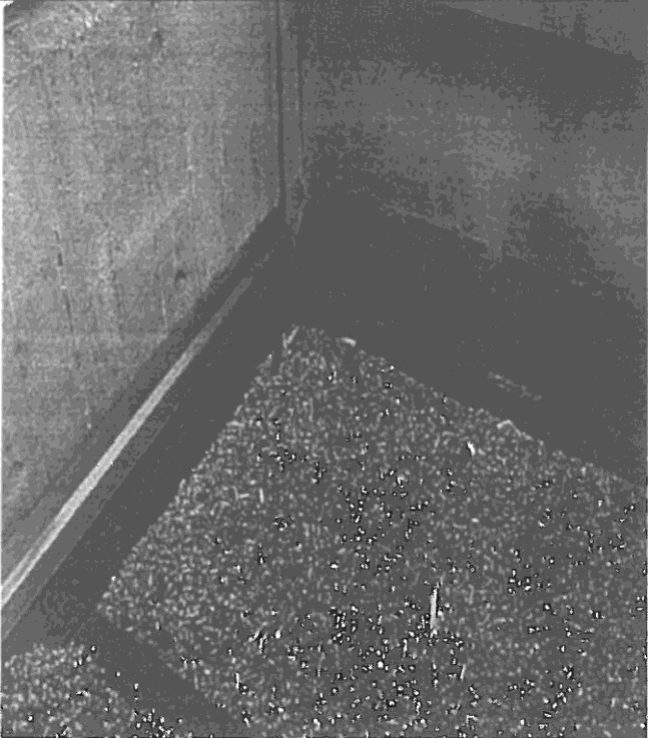
Photograph	Description
	<p>CONCRETE BALUSTRADE</p> <p>Concrete balustrade to low level roofs.</p> <p>Formed in concrete with smooth finish internally, and shuttered effect sawn timber boarding finish externally.</p> <p>Projecting structural ribs and integral concrete handrail.</p>

Comments
<p>It is unlikely that alterations would be acceptable to these balustrades.</p> <p>Alterations would require:-</p>

Formal consents required	
Planning	Yes
Listed Building	Yes
Building control	Yes
Landlord	Yes

# WYNDHAM COURT - ARCHITECTURAL APPRAISAL

Sheet No 2

Photograph	Description
	<p><b>ROOF COVERINGS</b></p> <p>All roof coverings are formed in asphalt mineral coated felt with stone chipping finish.</p> <p>Edge trim and upstands are formed in mineral felt with reflective surface.</p>

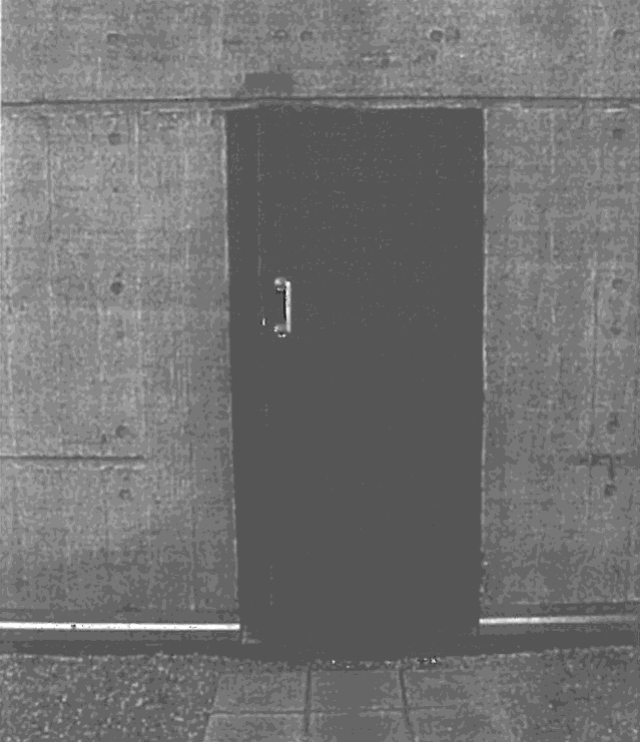
Comments
<p>The material used for waterproofing is <u>not critical to the character of the building</u> and replacement with different materials is acceptable. <u>Detailing should be carefully considered to maintaining weatherproof properties, and covering should remain invisible.</u></p> <p><i>Done for a reason.</i></p>

<b>Formal consents required</b>	
Planning	No
Listed Building	!!! '1
Building control	No
Landlord	Yes



# WYNDHAM COURT - ARCHITECTURAL APPRAISAL

Sheet No 3

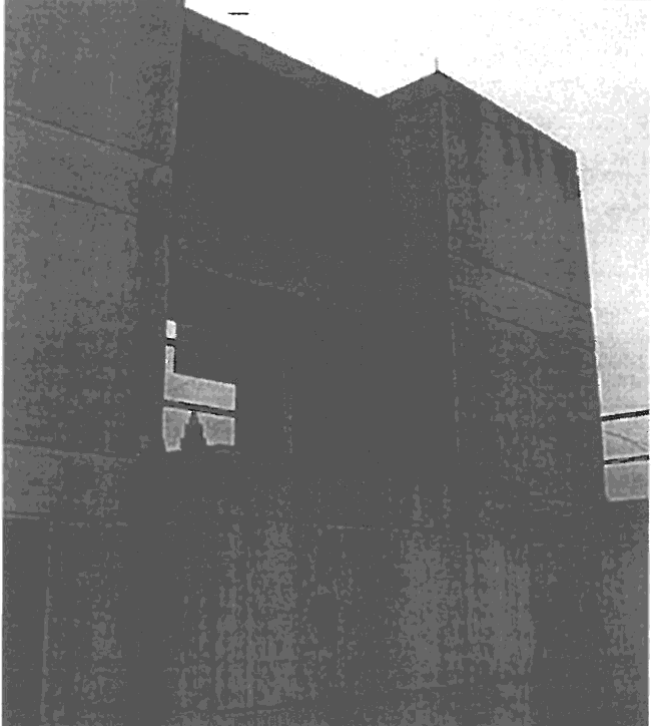
Photograph	Description
	<p>SERVICE DOORS (Photo: Stair 2 Lower Roof Access)</p> <p>Timber ledged braced and framed door in SW frame - painted finish.</p> <p>Note there is a mixture of this type of service door and flush doors in SW frames and painted finish.</p>

Comments
<p>Replacement may be undertaken with either a flush door or a framed ledged, braced and battened door.</p>

Formal consents required	
Planning	No
Listed Building	Letter only required for alternative replacement.
Building control	No
Landlord	Yes

# WYNDHAM COURT - ARCHITECTURAL APPRAISAL

Sheet No 4

Photograph	Description
	<p>SERVICE TOWERS</p> <p>Formed in insitu concrete with sawn timber boarding surface effect.</p> <p>Steel handrails with painted finish.</p>

Comments
<p>These are a very important visual feature to the building as a whole and their simplicity and bold style should not be altered.</p> <p>Alterations would require:</p>

Formal consents required	
Planning	Yes
Listed Building	Yes
Building control	Yes
Landlord	Yes

Photograph	Description
------------	-------------

SERVICE TOWERS




See previous page.

Comments

Formal consents required	
Planning	Yes
Listed Building	Yes
Building control	Yes
Landlord	Yes

# WYNDHAM COURT - ARCHITECTURAL APPRAISAL

Sheet No 6


Photograph	Description
	<p><b>INFIL ROOFS SOUTH WEST SIDE</b></p> <p>Roof infill panels have been provided over the corridor at the entrance to the stair wells. These are formed in corrugated plastic on a simple steel frame.</p>

Comments
<p>Replacement with an alternative design would require consent:-</p>

Formal consents required	
<b>Planning</b>	Yes
<b>Listed Building</b>	Yes
<b>Building control</b>	Yes
<b>Landlord</b>	

WYNDHAM COURT - ARCHITECTURAL APPRAISAL

Sheet No 7

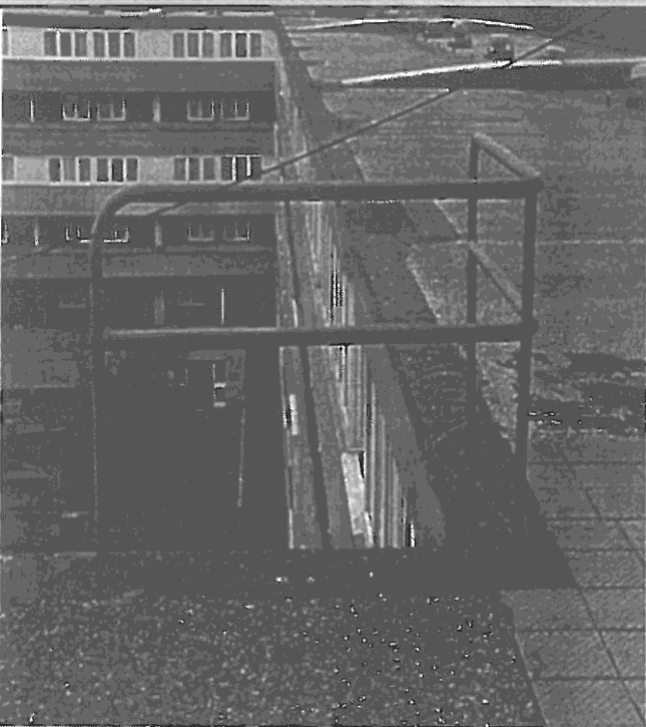
Photograph	Description
	<p>INFIL ROOFS SOUTH WEST SIDE</p> <p>See previous sheet.</p>

Comments
Empty space for comments

Formal consents required	
Planning	Yes
Listed Building	Yes
Building control	Yes
Landlord	Yes


# WYNDHAM COURT - ARCHITECTURAL APPRAISAL

Sheet No 8

Photograph	Description
	<p><b>GUARD RAILS</b></p> <p>50mm diameter steel with painted finish.</p>

Comments
<p>These are of simple design and are not obtrusive. Replacement with similar simple designs would be acceptable. Any increase in perimeter handrails would require the following permissions.</p>

Formal consents required	
<b>Planning</b>	Yes
<b>Listed Building</b>	Yes for additional perimeter railing
<b>Building control</b>	Yes
<b>Landlord</b>	Yes

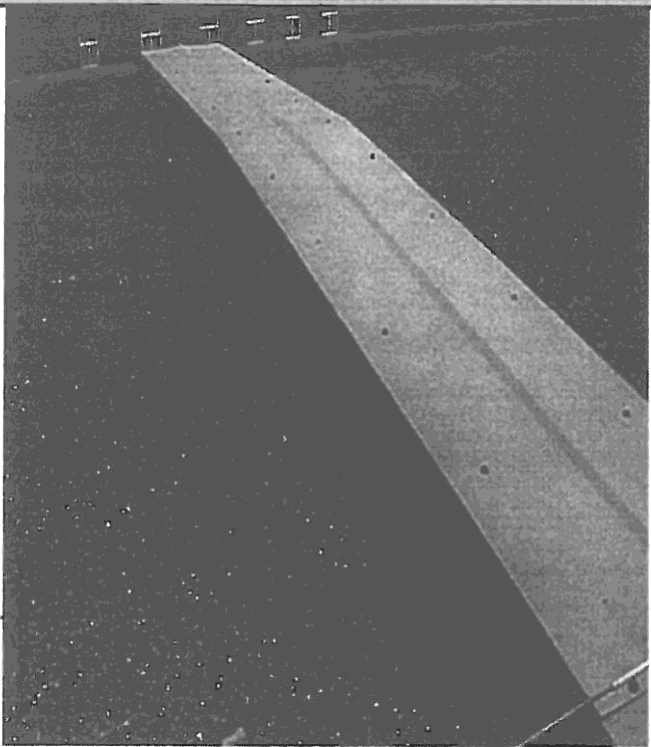
Photograph	Description
	<p>VENTILATION TERMINAL UNITS</p> <p>These are probably original terminal.</p> <p>SAFETY WIRE</p> <p>These are modern additions to ensure safety of operatives working on the roof.</p>

Comments
<p>Roof fittings not visible from below are not important and may be renewed or replaced without permission</p>

Formal consents required	
Planning	No (providing no height increase)
Listed Building	No
Building control	No
Landlord	Yes

# WYNDHAM COURT - ARCHITECTURAL APPRAISAL

Sheet No 10

Photograph	Description
	<p>UPSTANDS TO THERMAL MOVEMENT JOINTS.</p> <p>Upstands formed in felt roof covering with plastic coated metal upstand cover.</p>

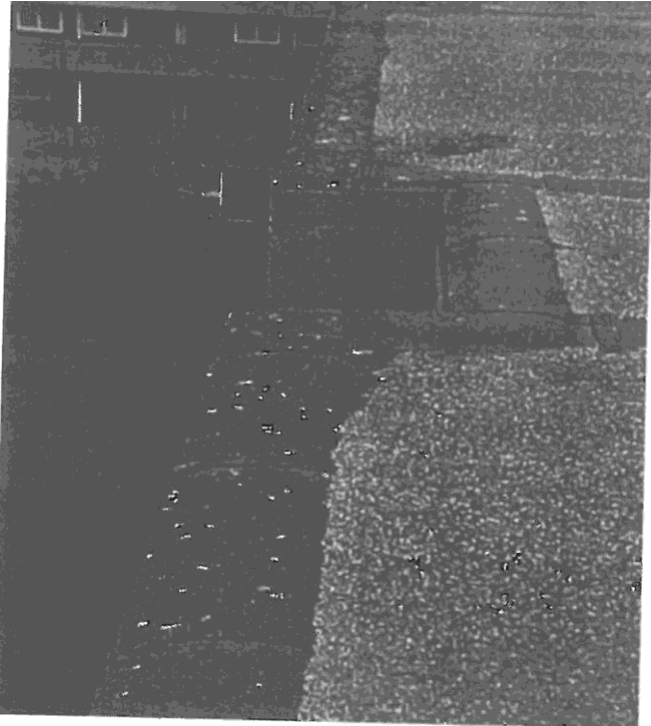
Comments
<p>These are probably modern additions. Renewal or replacement with other materials is acceptable without permission.</p>

<b>Formal consents re&lt;1uired</b>		
<b>Planning</b>	No	
<b>Listed Building</b>	No	
<b>BuiJding control</b>	No	
<b>Landlord</b>	No	



# WYNDHAM COURT - ARCHITECTURAL APPRAISAL

Sheet No 11


Photograph	Description
	<p><b>PERIMETER DETAILING</b></p> <p>Felt at the perimeter of the roof has been detailed so that it is not visible from the ground.</p>

Comments
<p>The detailing in this position is important as any edge trim could have a serious detrimental effect to visual appearance. There is however a conflict between visual appearance and good detailing. The present arrangement will lead to water run off down the face of the concrete and will cause staining and possible premature deterioration of the concrete beneath.</p> <p>Provision of edge trims would require:-</p>

<b>Formal consents required</b>		<input type="checkbox"/>
<b>Planning</b>	No	
<b>Listed Building</b>	Yes	
<b>Buildin control</b>	No	
<b>Landlord</b>	Yes	

# WYNDHAM COURT - ARCHITECTURAL APPRAISAL

Sheet No 12

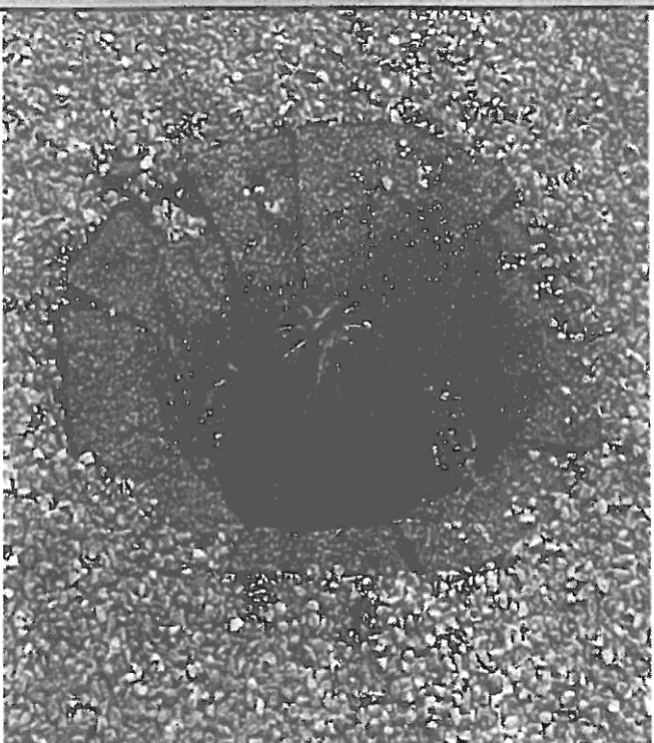
Photograph	Description
	<p>PERIMETER DETAILING</p> <p>See previous page.</p>

Comments
Empty space for comments

Formal consents required	
Planning	No
Listed Building	Yes
Building control	No
Landlord	Yes

# WYNDHAM COURT - ARCHITECTURAL APPRAISAL

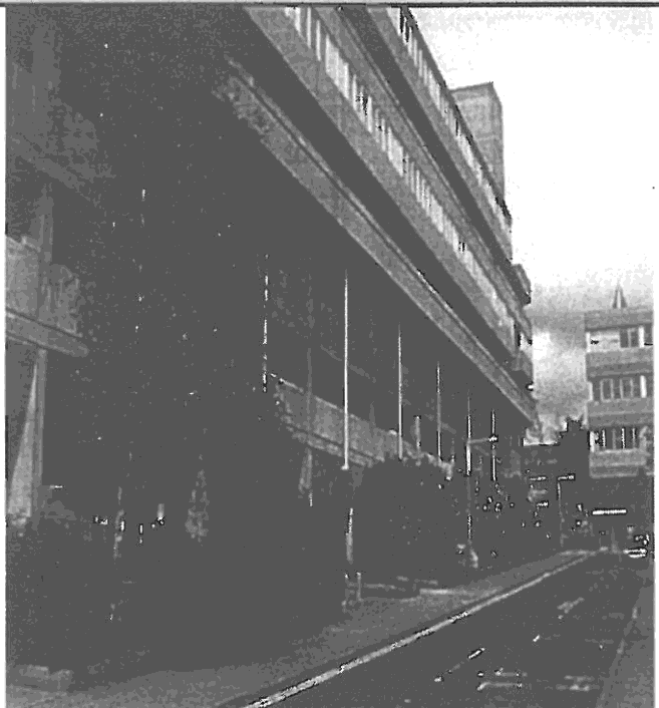
Sheet No 13

Photograph	Description
	<p>DRAIN OUTLET</p> <p>Formed in felt with metal grille.</p>

Comments
<p>Any replacement will not have detrimental effect.</p> <p>No permissions required.</p>

Formal consents required	
Planning	No
Listed Building	No
Building control	No
Landlord	Yes

**EXTERNAL**


Photograph	Description
	<p><b><u>STRUCTURE</u></b> EXTERNAL GENERALLY</p> <p>For description of building see previous sections.</p> <p>The external appearance of the building is dominated by the bold simple use of insitu concrete, which combined with opening features forms a building with distinct appearance with a horizontal emphasis. The horizontal emphasis originally was enhanced by painting walls white between windows and at balconies. Panels between windows are now formed with plastic panels.</p>

Comments
<p>Any extensions to the building will require all the normal permissions as below. Any proposals to infill balconies or other voids will require listed building consent.</p>

Formal consents required	
Planning	Yes
Listed Building	Yes
Building control	Yes
Landlord	Yes. Landlord consent will be required if it is proposed to alter a balcony to an individual unit.

# WYNDHAM COURT - ARCHITECTURAL APPRAISAL

Sheet No 15

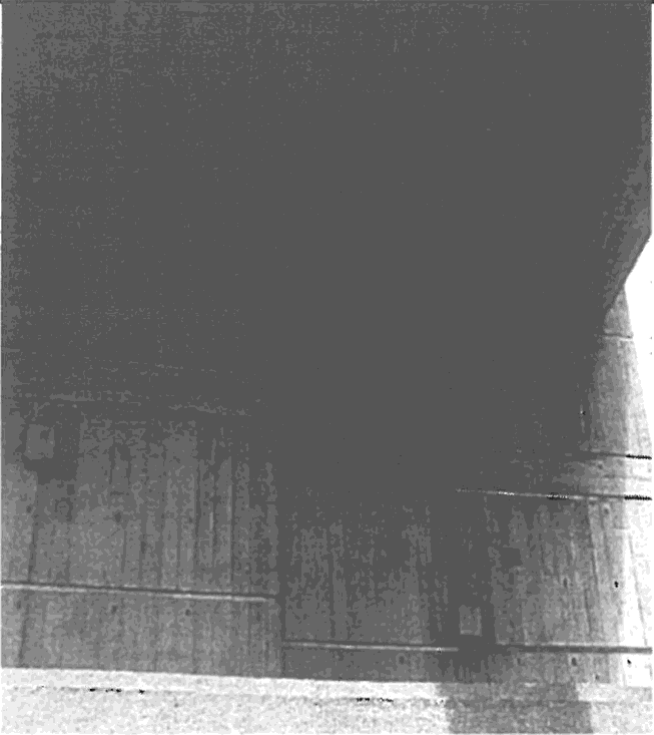
Photograph	Description
	<p>See previous.</p>

Comments

<b>Formal consents required</b>	
Planning	Yes
Listed Building	Yes
Building control	Yes
Landlord	Yes

# WYNDHAM COURT - ARCHITECTURAL APPRAISAL

Sheet No 16


Photograph	Description
	<p>INSITU REINFORCED CONCRETE</p> <p>Insitu reinforced concrete with sawn board marked finish.</p>

Comments
<p>The concrete finish is one of the most important features of the construction and sited in the listing schedule. Any alterations to this would require listed consent. Application of decorative coatings would not be appropriate. Listed consent would be required for decorative treatments.</p>

Formal consents required	
Planning	Possibly
Listed Building	Yes
Building control	No
Landlord	Yes

WYNDHAM COURT - ARCHITECTURAL APPRAISAL


Sheet No 17

Photograph	Description
	<p>SHOP FRONTS</p> <p>The shop fronts have all been altered from the original designs apart from that to the Hobby Lobby.</p> <p>The front to the Hobby Lobby is particularly cited in the listing schedule.</p>

Comments
<p>Generally any new shop front requires planning permission and listed building consent. It is desirable to retain the design of the Hobby Lobby as an example of the original design.</p>


Formal consents required	
Planning	Yes
Listed Building	Yes
Building control	Yes
Landlord	Yes



Photograph	Description
	<p>SHOP FRONTS</p> <p>See previous page.</p>

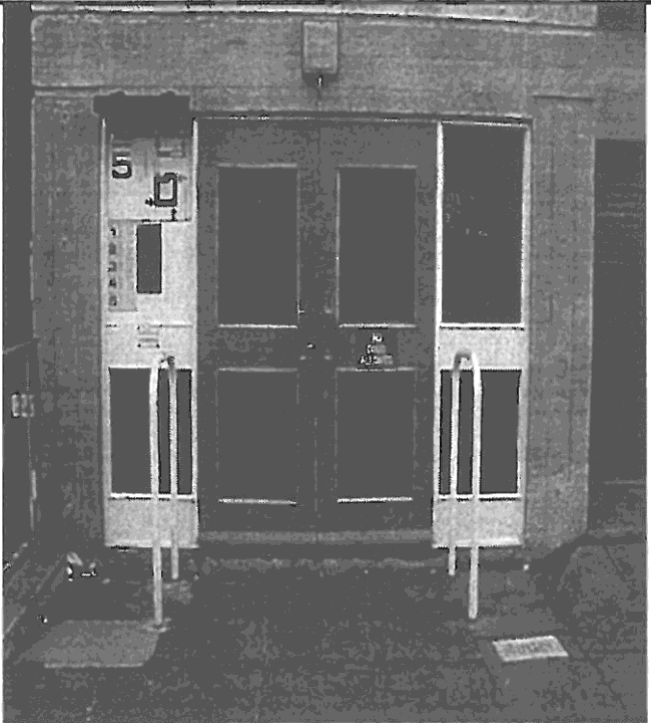
Comments
<p> </p>

<b>Formal consents required</b>	
Planning	Yes
Listed Building	Yes
Building control	Yes
Landlord	Yes

Photograph	Description
	<p>TIMBER BOARDED SOFFIT</p> <p>There are soffits formed in sawn timber boarding to the open areas adjacent to residents sheds and the covered way fronting Commercial Road.</p> <p>Photograph - boarding above residents , shed.</p> <p>Previous page boarding above covered way fronting Commercial Road.</p>

Comments
<p>The sawn timber echoes the finish to the concrete and therefore should preferably not be replaced with different materials. Replacement would require listed consent. .</p>

Formal consents required	
Planning	No
Listed Building	Yes
Building control	No
Landlord	Yes

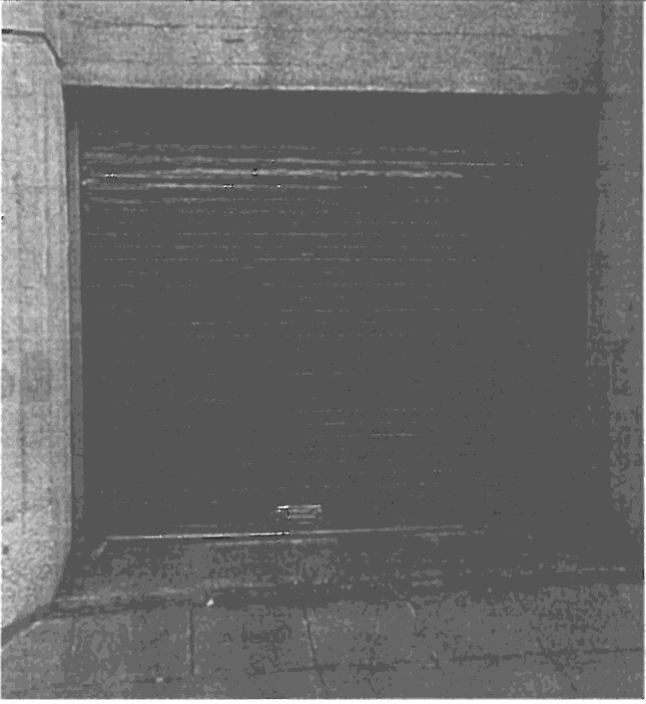
Photograph	Description
	<p><b>STAIRWELL ENTRANCES</b></p> <p>These are formed with a pair of wooden doors glazed in two panels with matching side screens. To one side is provided plans and entrance phone.</p> <p>The doors have a painted finish.</p> <p>40mm diameter metal railings are provided in front of the doors.</p>

Comments
<p>Replacement to match existing is acceptable, but other materials will require consent.</p>

Formal consents required	
<b>Planning</b>	Possibly
<b>Listed Building</b>	Yes
<b>Building control</b>	No
<b>Landlord</b>	Yes

# WYNDHAM COURT - ARCHITECTURAL APPRAISAL

Sheet No 21


Photograph	Description
	<p><b>STEEL ROLLER SHUTTER</b></p> <p>The entrance to the bin store is formed with metal roller shutters.</p>

Comments
<p>Replacement with a similar form of metal roller shutter would be acceptable without listed consent being required. Colour should be as existing.</p> <p>Replacement with another form of enclosure will require Listed Building consent and planning permission.</p>

Formal consents required	
<b>Planning</b>	Yes - for new form of enclosure
<b>Listed Building</b>	Yes - for new form of enclosure
<b>Building control</b>	No
<b>Landlord</b>	Yes

# WYNDHAM COURT - ARCHITECTURAL APPRAISAL

Sheet No 22


Photograph	Description
	<p>GATES TO CAR PARK</p> <p>These are a later addition formed in steel with mesh infill.</p>

Comments
<p>These have not been well designed, or positioned. Removal without listed consent would be acceptable. Listed Building consent will be required for any proposed replacement.</p>

<b>Formal consents required</b>			
Planning	No		
Listed Building	Yes		
Building control	No		
Landlord	Yes		

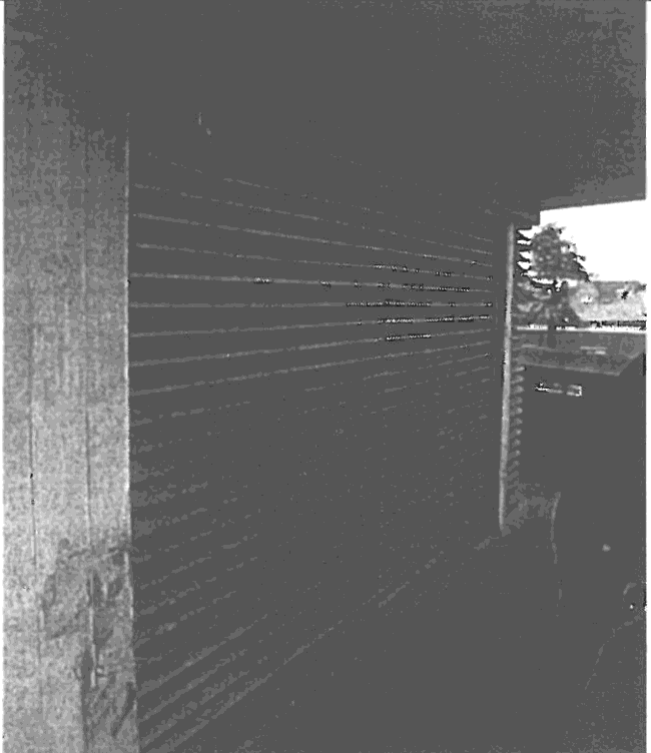
WYNDHAM COURT - ARCHITECTURAL APPRAISAL

Sheet No 23

Photograph	Description
	<p><b>ORIGINAL WINDOWS</b></p> <p>The windows to flat No.138 are the only original windows remaining-. These are galvanised steel frame construction with painted finish.</p>

Comments

Formal consents required	
<b>Planning</b>	No
<b>Listed Building</b>	Yes (to replace)
<b>Building control</b>	No
<b>Landlord</b>	Yes (to replace)

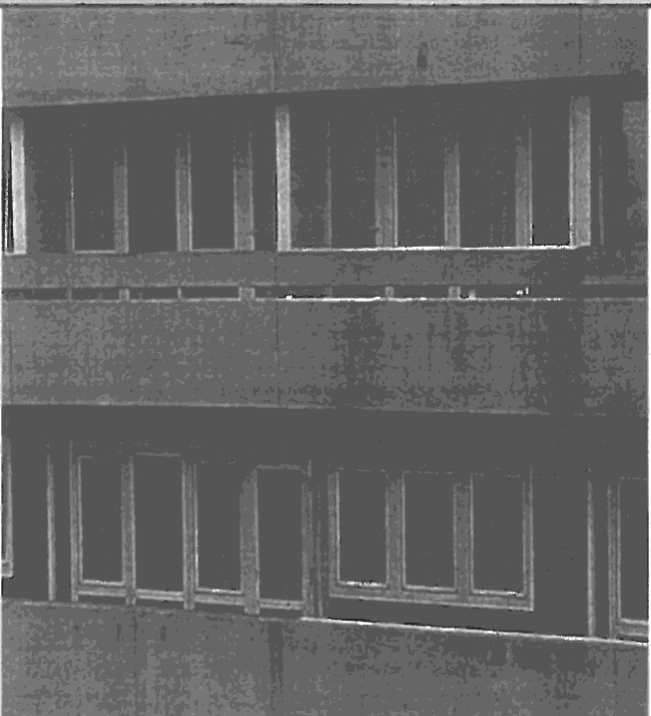
Photograph	Description
	<p>LOUVRES TO DRYING AREAS</p> <p>These are formed in galvanised steel. They are an important design feature.</p>

Comments
<p>Removal of these would require listed consent. Replacement with similar louvres would not require listed consent but a change of colour would require Listed Building -consent.</p>

<b>Formal consents required</b>	
Planning	No
<b>Listed Building</b>	Listed consent for colour change, and removal
<b>Building control</b>	No
Landlord	Yes

# WYNDHAM COURT - ARCHITECTURAL APPRAISAL

Sheet No 25

Photograph	Description
	<p>Plastic framed patio windows and doors.</p>

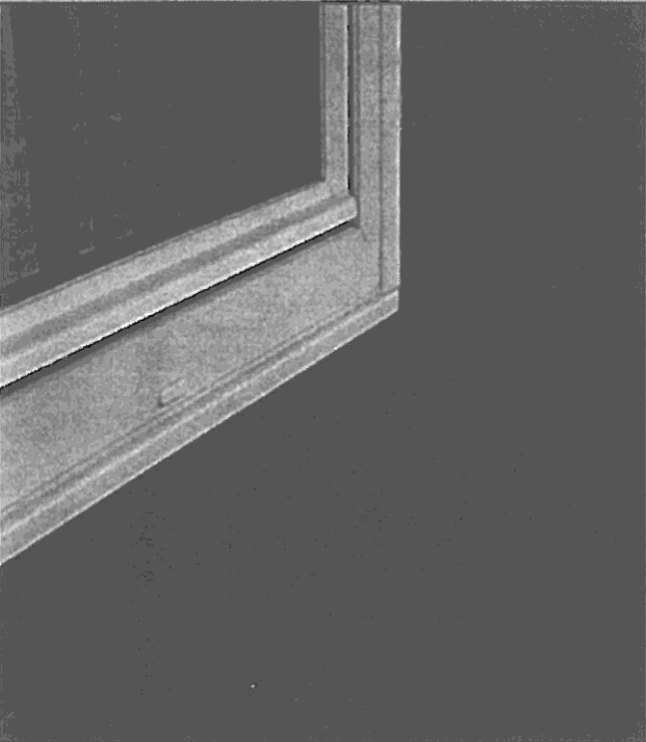
Comments
<p>Replacement windows.</p> <p>If the style of any windows or materials are changed, planning and Listed Building consent will be required.</p>

Formal consents required.	
Planning	Yes
Listed Building	Yes
Building control	No
Landlord	Yes



# WYNDHAM COURT - ARCHITECTURAL APPRAISAL

Sheet No 26

Photograph	Description
	<p><b>BRICK PANELS</b></p> <p>Walls to flats fronting balconies are formed in facing brickwork with pigmented mortar joints.</p> <p>The dark brickwork is an important design feature. This emphasises the dark band formed by the balconies and reinforces the horizontal design aesthetic.</p>

**Comments:**


The dark brickwork should be retained. Decoration should not be considered on an individual flat basis. Preferably natural brick colour should be retained.

Formal consents required	
<b>Planning</b>	Possibly
<b>Listed Building</b>	Yes (to decorate or alter)
<b>Building control</b>	No
<b>Landlord</b>	Yes

## LANDSCAPE

# WYNDHAM COURT - ARCHITECTURAL APPRAISAL

Sheet No 27


Photograph	Description
	<p>The design philosophy of the main buildings has been consistently applied to the landscaping around the building and within the internal courtyard. The design is formed with simple bold forms with mainly hard surfaces between. The style is harsh and may be described as 'brutalist'</p> <p>The landscape is an important contribution to the style of this complex.</p>

Comments
<p>The landscaping is particularly harsh but as this is a property of this design style it is considered that any changes should be the subject of listed building consent.</p>

<b>Formal consents required</b>	
Planning	New structure requires planning consent
Listed Building	Yes
Building control	No
Landlord	Yes

# WYNDHAM COURT - ARCHITECTURAL APPRAISAL

Sheet No 28

Photograph	Description
	<p><b>CONCRETE LIGHT WELLS</b></p> <p>Light wells to the basement garage area are protected by solid concrete balustrade which has the sawn board surface finish.</p>

Comments
<p>Alterations will be subject to a listed consent application.</p>

Formal consents required	
<b>Planning</b>	Possibly
<b>Listed Building</b>	Yes
<b>Building control</b>	No
<b>Landlord</b>	Yes

## **APPENDIX B**

### Participant recruitment documents

- B i One page information document
- B ii Unabridged information document
- B iii Consent form
- B iv Questionnaire



**Making Sense of the Places We Visit:  
Developing sites of community heritage to include and engage the people that  
they serve.**

Our heritage is everywhere, from the castle that we visited as kids, the local pub or community centre that has always been the hub of local events, or the museums that we went to for school trips. Local community sites that represent our heritage are becoming increasingly important as we find our society becoming more fractured and difficult to live in. To help connection to these sites, I believe we need to understand why we engage more easily with some places than others.

This research builds on a two-year community centred research project that took place at Newhaven Fort in 2017/18. The Fort will again be one of the case studies that I will be using. My work aims to combine an understanding of a particular community's diverse culture, with what their *senses* might be telling them when they feel like one place is *for* them and another is not. Importantly, by focussing on physical *and* emotional experience, there is an opportunity to understand and empathise with the rich diversity of individuals that might encounter these sites.

**My research will be asking: -**

- How does the approach to the space from the street or through the countryside, make us feel before we get there? Does it feel hostile or welcoming? Why?
- How does trying to access and move around the space make us feel?
- How does the light, sound or smell affect the way we move around the space?
- Do our feelings feel *right* in that particular place?

**Outcomes:**

**a)** It will help those responsible for a site, to really think about what that place means to the local people. Through that understanding they can make better decisions on where and how to spend the ever-decreasing funds that are available to them via local authorities.

**b)** By really involving the community and giving them the opportunity to take ownership of that place, it is hoped that the site will become a hub that is accessible, represents them and feels good to be in.

I hope that what I learn from the case studies and interviews at the heart of this research, can go on to be used to help include communities in the development of local heritage and community spaces all over the country and beyond.

IF YOU ARE INTERESTED IN FINDING OUT HOW YOU CAN TAKE PART  
PLEASE E-MAIL ME: [h.parry1@brighton.ac.uk](mailto:h.parry1@brighton.ac.uk)

**\*If English is not your first language, a translation of this information can be provided.**



**Making Sense of the Places We Visit:**

**Developing sites of community heritage to include and engage the people that they serve.**

**Introduction**

My name is Harriet Parry and I am a PhD student based at the University of Brighton. I am being funded by the Arts and Humanities Research Council to investigate how we might better understand the way people experience and remember places that have been given official heritage status.

My focus is on how these places make us *feel* and how that might influence the way we connect to them. This research builds on a two-year community centred project that took place at Newhaven Fort in 2017/18. The Fort will again be one of the case studies that I will be using for this research. My work aims to combine an understanding of a particular community's diverse culture, with what their *senses* might be telling them when they feel like one place is *for* them and another is not. Importantly, by focussing on physical *and* emotional experience, there is an opportunity to understand and empathise with the rich diversity of individuals that might encounter these sites.

**Outcomes:**

**a)** It will help those responsible for a site, to really think about what that place means to the local people. Through that understanding they can make better decisions on where and how to spend the ever-decreasing funds that are available to them via local authorities.

**b)** By really involving the community and giving them the opportunity to take ownership of that place, it is hoped that the site will become a hub that is accessible, represents them and feels good to be in.

I am hoping that what I learn from the case studies at the heart of this research, can go on to be used to help include communities in the development of local heritage and community spaces all over the country and beyond.



**I would like to invite you to take part in my research study.** Before you decide I would like you to understand why the research is being done and what it might involve for you. I will go through the information sheet with you and answer any questions that you have. This should take about 10 minutes. Talk to someone else about the study if you would like, and ask me if there is anything that is not clear. You will be given time to think about whether you would like to take part before making the decision, and you can take this sheet away with you.

\*If English is not your first language, a translation of this information can be provided.

**I have asked you to participate** because you have a connection to this site and you have shown interest in the research that I am doing. I would like to involve as broad a range of people as possible and there are several ways in which you could become involved. Your participation is voluntary, and you are free to withdraw at any time without giving any reason. I would be grateful if you would inform me that you intend to withdraw via the contact email or address provided.

### **What are the ways in which I can take part? (There are five options)**

**1. A questionnaire- No longer than 10 minutes to complete.**

This will be a simple one page questionnaire.

**2. Take part in a voice recorded interview- No more than 1 hour.**

This will be a one-to-one interview at a mutually agreed place. Participants will have their names replaced with a code such as 'A1' or 'B1'.

**3. Take part in an audio-recorded walking tour- No more than 2 hours.**

This will be a one-to-one interview taking a pre-determined route around the site. The route will be shown to the participant before taking part in the tour. Participants will have their names replaced with a code such as 'A1' or 'B1'.



**4. Take part in a video-recorded walking tour- No more than 2 hours.\***

This will be a one-to-one interview taking a pre-determined route around the site. The route will be shown to the participant before taking part in the tour. The participant will be identifiable from the video footage that is taken. Still images may be used in the final PhD thesis, an academic journal article, or at academic conferences. The images the researcher intends to use will be shared and agreed in writing with the participant beforehand.

- \* If you have taken part in the video-recorded walking tour, you may be asked to take part in a further interview at another date, to talk about your memories of that experience. This should take no more than 1 hour.

**5. Take part in a focus group with other members of your community. This will be over a morning or afternoon session of approximately 2-3 hours.**

This will involve up to five other participants who will be asked to share their experiences of being and interacting with the site of study. Participants will be asked to respond to some visual representations of current research findings, where their input and opinions will be welcomed. Participants will have their names replaced with a code such as 'A1' or 'B1'. At the beginning of the session a full introduction will be made on what will happen and when, and participants are free to leave at any time if they no longer want to take part.

**Expenses:**

Participants will be offered the cost of travel for any journeys that might put them out of pocket. Refreshments will be made available such as water, hot drinks and biscuits and research will be timed so as not to conflict with standard mealtimes. Participants who are asked to return multiple times to the Newhaven Fort site, will be offered a one year individual season ticket to avoid any issues with easy access. Interviews will take place both in the week and at weekends to ensure that participants are inconvenienced as little as possible.

**What are the potential disadvantages of taking part?**

It is possible that the walking tours or the interviews could become tiring for participants as they will be the main focus for the research. They are able to pause or stop the interview or walking tour for whatever reason and at any time. I will talk through the proposed route for the walking tour and any concerns a participant might have for getting around any parts of that route. An alternative can be discussed if necessary. The participant does not have to give a reason for wanting to stop unless they wish to.

**What are the potential benefits of taking part?**

The research aims to develop a different way of understanding and communicating how we feel about the spaces that we use. The benefits may not directly impact the participants who take part, although it is possible, but I hope that this research will have significant impacts on how we think about the spaces that represent local community heritage.

**Will my taking part in the research be kept confidential?**

All aspects of the research will identify a participant as being local or connected to a particular place. Names will be coded (such as A1 or B1), but it is possible, if the research is read by someone that knows a participant, to identify them. Most of the information that is recorded will involve how the participant is feeling at that point in time as well as memories that might be brought up by that moment. It is always possible when more detailed explanations are given, that participants might include some personal information. Participants will also be asked to give some background information, such as how long they have been living at, or visiting the site of study. Participants in the video walking tour **will** be identifiable. The researcher will be the only person that has access to the original recordings. Participants will be given a code to identify them when the research is used to communicate findings. Recordings will be stored on a password encrypted computer hard drive and the original recordings will be deleted. The University of Brighton's storage policy is that student research that could be published in an academic journal or book, should be kept for a minimum of 10 years.

**What will happen if I don't want to carry on with the study?**

Participants can withdraw at any time without giving any reason. Any information that you have provided will be destroyed, paperwork shredded and information stored on the hard drive deleted, and no reference to the participant's involvement will be made. If you have taken part in the focus group any contributions including conversations with others will be removed from the study and destroyed. Once research has been submitted to the University for assessment, it will not be possible to remove the information included that refers to the participant from interviews or focus groups from the final PhD thesis. This will be no sooner than April 2021.

**What will happen to the results of the study?**

The information provided by the participants will be used as part of a PhD thesis to be submitted to the University of Brighton for assessment. It is likely that some of the research will be used for academic papers reporting on the research in progress, as well as after it has been submitted for assessment. It is my intention to also share my work at academic conferences and books, where information provided by the participants might be used. On completion and assessment of the study, the final PhD thesis will be made available for participants to read.

**Who is organising and funding the research?**

The research is being undertaken by Harriet Parry as a doctoral student at the University of Brighton. The research has been devised by Harriet Parry, and has been funded by the Arts and Humanities Research Council (AHRC) within the Design Star consortium. See links to organisations on the next page.

**What if there is a problem?**

If the participant has any concerns or complaints, please contact Harriet Parry's lead supervisor from the school of Humanities at the University of Brighton through the contact details on the next page.



**Contact details**

PhD Supervisor      Dr Louise Purbrick  
School of Humanities  
University of Brighton  
10-11 Pavilion Parade  
Brighton  
BN2 1RA  
h.parry1@brighton.ac.uk

**Arts and Humanities Research Council:** [ahrc.ukri.org/about/what-we-do/](http://ahrc.ukri.org/about/what-we-do/)

**Design Star:** [www.designstar.org.uk/about/](http://www.designstar.org.uk/about/)

The study has been reviewed and given favourable ethical opinion by **the Arts and Humanities CREC at the University of Brighton.**



**University of Brighton**

## **Participant Consent Form**

**Title of Project:** Making Sense of the Places We Visit: Developing sites of community heritage to include and engage the people that they serve.

**Name of Researcher:** Harriet Parry

**Please  
tick or  
initial box**

I have read and understood the information sheet for the above study, and have had the opportunity to consider the information and ask questions.

The researcher has explained to my satisfaction the purpose, principles and procedures of the study and any possible risks involved.

I have agreed to complete a **questionnaire**.

I have agreed to take part in a **voice recorded interview**. Excerpts from interviews may be included in my written thesis, for academic conferences or academic journal articles or books. Your name will be replaced by a code such as 'A1' or 'B1' in any published material.

I have agreed to take part in an **audio recorded walking tour**. Excerpts from interviews may be included in my written thesis, for academic conferences, journal articles or books. Your name will be replaced by a code such as 'A1' or 'B1' in any published material.

I have agreed to take part in **video recorded walking tour** where excerpts from interviews and images could be potentially used for publication in the final PhD thesis, academic conferences, journal or books. Your name will be replaced by a code such as 'A1' or 'B1' in any published material but you may be visually recognisable.

I have agreed to take part in a **focus group**.

This will involve a maximum of five other participants at a local venue. You will be asked to share your thoughts on the site itself as well as respond to my current responses to the research so far. Excerpts from interviews may be included in my written thesis, for academic conferences, journal articles or books. Your name will be replaced by a code such as 'A1' or 'B1' in any published material.

I have agreed that **photographs** of me can be taken and potentially used for publication in the final PhD thesis, academic conferences, journals or books.

I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw from the study at any time without giving a reason and without incurring consequences from doing so.

I understand that any information that I have provided cannot however be removed from any released publications or the final research thesis after it has been submitted to the University of Brighton for assessment.

I understand how the data collected will be used, and that any confidential information will normally be seen only by the researchers and will not be revealed to anyone else.

I agree to take part in the above study.

.....  
Name of Participant, Date, Signature

.....  
Name of Researcher, Date, Signature

**If English is not your first language, a translation of this consent form can be provided on request.**



**Making Sense of the Places We Visit:  
Developing sites of community heritage to include and engage the people that they serve.**

**Participant Questionnaire**

I appreciate you taking the time to complete this questionnaire. The aim of the questionnaire is to collect information on how residents or visitors might feel when walking around Wyndham Court.

The questions are designed to be as brief and open as possible so as not to influence your answer.

**Any information provided cannot be used until the accompanying consent form has been read and signed.**

Please return your completed consent form and questionnaire as quickly as possible in the stamped addressed envelope provided. A digital version of this questionnaire is available on request from [H.parry1@brighton.ac.uk](mailto:H.parry1@brighton.ac.uk).

**Answer with as much detail as you can, particularly \*Q2. There are 7 questions to answer.**

**Q1. How often do you have to walk around/through Wyndham Court?**

- a) This is my first time
- b) Daily
- c) Weekly
- d) Occasionally

**\*Q2. Jot down in single words or short phrases** the first thoughts and feelings that come to mind when describing your experience of moving around Wyndham Court?

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**Q3. Which public area of Wyndham Court do you spend the most time in?**

**Q4. Which public area of Wyndham Court do you spend the least time in?**

**Q5. Describe one place (anywhere) where you feel relaxed and if possible explain why?**

**Q6. Describe one place (anywhere) where you feel uncomfortable and if possible explain why?**

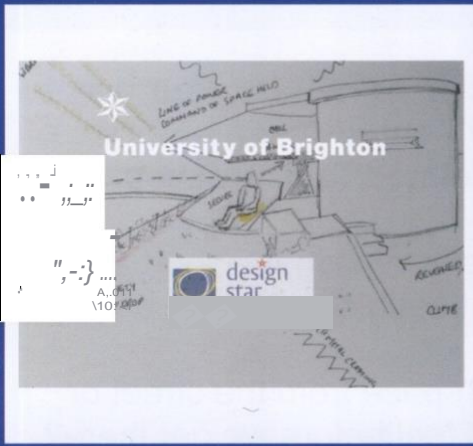
**Q7. Is there anything you would change about Wyndham Court?**

Thank you again for your participation in this questionnaire, your opinion and experience is an important part of my research. Harriet Parry.



## **APPENDIX C**

Participant recruitment leaflet



# A Sense of Place

University of Brighton PhD Research Project

Call: 07519 972017

E-mail: [h.parry1@brighton.ac.uk](mailto:h.parry1@brighton.ac.uk)

Facebook: @uobphdresearch

School of Humanities  
University of Brighton  
10-11 Pavilion Parade  
Brighton  
BN2 1RA

## WYNDHAM COURT

Grade II Listed

CALL FOR INTERVIEW PARTICIPANTS

Our heritage is everywhere, from the castle that we visited as kids, the local pub or community centre that has always been the hub of local events, or the museums that we went to for school trips. Local community sites that represent our heritage are becoming increasingly important as we find our society becoming more fractured and difficult to live in. To help connection to these sites, I believe we need to understand why we engage more easily with some places than others.

More information overleaf.

IT'S EASY TO TAKE PART AND VERY INFORMAL  
PLEASE GET IN TOUCH THROUGH THE DETAILS ABOVE  
TO FIND OUT MORE.

**You may live at Wyndham Court or pass it on your way to work or the shops. You may have childhood memories of the building or have work related to its upkeep.**

My research will be taking place at Wyndham Court and Newhaven Fort in East Sussex. At each site I will be asking:

- How does the approach to the space from the street or through the countryside, make us feel before we get there?  
Does it feel hostile or welcoming? Why?
- How does trying to access and move around the space make us feel?
- How does the light, sound or smell affect the way we move around the space?
  - Do our feelings feel right in that particular place?

Outcomes:

- a) It will help those responsible for a site, to really think about what that place means to the local people. Through that understanding they can make better decisions on where and how to spend the ever-decreasing funds that are available to them via local authorities.
- b) By really involving the community and giving them the opportunity to take ownership of that place, it is hoped that the site will become a hub that is accessible, represents them and feels good to be in.

I hope that what I learn from the case studies and interviews at the heart of this research, can go on to be used to help include communities in the development of local heritage and community spaces all over the country and beyond.