Ecomuseums: A study of how agents gain socio-cultural capital through participation within Flodden 1513 Ecomuseum

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I hereby declare that this thesis is an original piece of work, written by myself alone. Any information and ideas from other sources are acknowledged fully in the text and notes.

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Chapter 1. Introduction

1. Context of study

An ecomuseum is a cultural phenomenon that stems from the relationships between a specific place, which encompasses heritage, and the people, which form a community and identities, that inhabit that place. Ecomuseums are formed from the participation of human and non-human agents and their interactions and relations with the accompanying heritage of the involved community and place. The relationships formed between and among these agents and their heritage is fundamental to the formation and sustainment of the ecomuseum. These relationships are what this thesis investigates and explores.

The notion of socio-cultural capital used herein is derived in large part from Pierre Bourdieu’s work from the 1970s onward that focused on an extended notion of capital referring to the inherent structure of the social world. 1 From this broadened sense, various forms of capital have been identified such as human, social, cultural, and identity. The different forms of capital interrelate in a ripple effect and function as building blocks.

Alfred Gell developed an unconventional and imaginative way to regard, study, and perceive art that is not aesthetic nor meaning focused. Instead, Gell hones in on agency as he provides what he calls an “anthropological theory of art” in *Art and Agency: An Anthropological Theory* (1998). 2 Gell takes an action centered approach to art, one that emphasizes agency and the relational.

The research topic for this thesis is ecomuseums. To investigate the topic the theories of Alfred Gell as presented in his work *Art and Agency* and the forms of socio-cultural capital


are applied. Thus, a three-pronged approach for an examination into ecomuseums is formed with ecomuseums being the investigated topic through the lenses of Alfred Gell’s art nexus theory and the various forms of socio-cultural capital.

All three of these prongs are contemporaneous and share the same cultural conjunction, context, and condition. The same motivating forces and factors for development are echoed across all three prongs. The crucial cultural condition that shapes and defines all three prongs is the condition(s) of the postmodern. A fundamental condition of the postmodern is a blurring and erasure of bounds. A hallmark of the postmodern is the confounding of traditional concepts and practices. Thus the development of ecomuseum, which shakes up the traditional museum concept, can be seen as symptomatic or evidence of the postmodern. Likewise, Gell and socio-cultural capitals are emblematic, reflective, and responsive to the postmodern. Therefore, this thesis can be broadly situated as an investigation into arts and culture as they have been affected by the postmodern condition. Ecomuseums is the particular vehicle used in conducting such an investigation, and Gell and socio-cultural capitals power and propel the vehicle.

The first use of the term ecomuseum was in France in 1971, Art and Agency was published in 1998, and the theory of socio-cultural capitals thrived throughout the later half of the twentieth century booming particularly during the 1980s and 1990s. There has been extensive work done with socio-cultural capitals within the social and political sciences but very limited work done within the art, museum, and heritage sectors. These sectors have experienced immense change throughout the past decades. The wider fields continue to change as well. Arts and culture were wholly affected by the blurring condition of the postmodern. The study of arts and culture has had to respond to the changing conditions and context.
In attempt to investigate the changes within the art and museum fields, previous research has investigated traditional museums through analysis using socio-cultural capitals and achieved positive results in doing so. Previous research and work on ecomuseums have indicated potential in applying the theory of various forms of socio-cultural capital when analyzing ecomuseum practices. It is from this indication that this thesis departs. While this thesis aims to contribute to the existing body of work on ecomuseums, there still needs to be more research done within the field.

2. Problem statement and motivation for study

Ecomuseums are the key point of concern for this thesis. The concept and budding trend of ecomuseums has direct and impactful influence and affect upon the wider museum field and heritage studies and practices. Traditional museums are ever more concerned with visitor numbers and the experience that their museum goers have. Even the most conservative and traditional museums are implementing public strategies that seek inclusion and participation. Ecomuseums are built from and totally reliant upon involvement and participation. From this, ecomuseums can offer examples or insight for promoting and sustaining participation for other organizations to gain and learn from. Further, they take the integration of community and visitors into an extreme focus. That same focus is being continually intensified within traditional museums.

The specific question being asked about ecomuseum is: What are the dynamics of the relationships (between and among the human and non-human agents) within the ecomuseum? In other words, how do the relationships develop and operate within the ecomuseum, thus allowing for its existence, continuation, and success? In relation, two subsidiary questions are asked: How are the relationships configured and formed? And why are these relationships
formed? The utilization of Gell’s art theory will allow an answer as to how these relationships develop, form, and interact. The use of capitals will help indicate the motivations, intentions, and expectations of the agents giving an answer as to why the relationships are formed.

3. Aim and scope

This thesis is ambitious in its aims but also fully acknowledges and recognizes the limitations of certain factors. First, time is a major limitation as this research thesis has strict deadlines and due dates to adhere to. Time is also a factor for the amount able to be spent on the research trip which is restricted to one week. Location is a second factor. The location of the case study requires that an abroad trip be booked, planned and undertaken in order for the case to be visited. Resources is the third major factor. Financial resources are very restricted which also contributes to the length and extent of the research trip able to be done.

4. Significance of study

This thesis aims to contribute to the relevant field through theory development and innovative methods. The unique three pronged approach that is formed and utilized by this thesis is an innovative and inventive way to research the topic of ecomuseums as well as a novel combination and application of both Gell and socio-cultural capitals.

5. Overview of the study

This thesis is divided into five chapters. First is the introductory chapter which is what has been laid out prior to this. Through the introductory chapter the topic of ecomuseums has been situated within a broader area of research, and the significance and motivation of the study have been outlined. The second chapter is a conceptual chapter providing a theoretical
discussion of ecomuseums, Gell, and socio-cultural capitals. The two theories are conceptually merged with one another. That merging is then further connected to ecomuseums. The third chapter is a methodological chapter describing what methods are used in this research and why those methods were chosen. The case study being investigated is also introduced in the third chapter. The fourth chapter is includes the data, analysis, and discussion through which the results after applying the methods are described. Within this chapter the gains and formations of socio-cultural capitals will be traced. The relationships between agents within the ecomuseum will be analyzed through use of Gell’s art nexus. The fifth and final chapter is the conclusion that includes the implications and further relevance of the results and a call for further research.
Chapter 2. Conceptual orientation: *Art and Agency*, socio-cultural capitals, and ecomuseums

This chapter is a dive into the conceptual. First, Alfred Gell, socio-cultural capitals, and ecomuseums will be fully introduced and described. Then, two layered and correlated aims will be carried out. First, the connections between socio-cultural capitals and Gell’s theory as provided in *Art and Agency* will be explored. Five tendrils of connection will be traced to reveal three key convergences and two key divergences between Gell’s theory and socio-cultural capitals. These five tendrils will describe and conclude in a conceptual combination of Gell’s theory and socio-cultural capitals. That conceptual combination will then be compared and connected to the theory of ecomuseums, fulfilling the second purpose and aim of this chapter. This conceptual chapter is significant because it gives depth and explanation as to why the theories of Gell and socio-cultural capitals are being used within this thesis and being applied to this study of ecomuseums.

1. Alfred Gell and *Art and Agency*

Alfred Gell was a very influential British scholar, writer, and thinker. He passed away in January of 1997. *Art and Agency: An Anthropological Theory* was published posthumously the next year in 1998. The work was published in its less than polished state just as Gell had left it. The majority of the book was written over a period of only a month. Gell began working on the final chapter immediately after receiving tragic news of his incurable condition. If Gell had more time then more work and refinement would have surely been done. Gell even left notes for revisions and instructions for the posthumous publication. The work was published despite it not having a proper preface nor being fully finished and


4. Ibid.
refined. The remarkable circumstances and content of *Art and Agency* gave way to a cult status being formed around the work, but beneficial criticism and reviews have still been written.

Alfred Gell was an anthropologist and deeply interested in art studies. He saw the division between the fields as something that hindered both studies. He believed that a new approach and method could be devised and implemented. *Art and Agency* was his attempt at doing so. Gell wanted to extend beyond aesthetics and the formal institutional treatment of art. He was interested in the more general and ordinary workings of art. More precisely, Gell wanted to explore art as it manifests within social contexts. The work is dense with concepts and terms that all interrelate in complex ways. The use of examples is greatly varied and of niche specificities such as the New Guinea Kula canoes, the practice of volt sorcery, and Graham Sutherland’s portrait of Winston Churchill. The work ultimately offers a bridge between art and anthropology that can be stood upon to study such suited cases.

In *Art and Agency*, Gell describes an “art nexus” which is a milieu or any context in which an artwork (or any other material entity) mediates social agency. Agency, the attribution of intention, is of the utmost concern. There is no significant difference between art, object, or person for Gell as he sees them all as “social agents.” A social agent is an “index” which is “seen as an outcome, and/or the instrument of, social agency.” Gell differentiates between primary agents, which are intentional beings distinguishable from artifacts, and secondary agents, which are artifacts through which primary agents may

6. Ibid., 16.
7. Ibid., 15.
distribute agency. Both primary and secondary agents work by distributed personhood which allows the distribution of primary agents’ agency through secondary agents.

For there to be an agent there must also be a “patient,” defined as that which is being affected.8 “Social relations only exist in so far as they are made manifest in actions. Performers of social actions are ‘agents’ and they act on ‘patients’ (who are social agents in the ‘patient’ position vis-a-vis an agent-in-action).”9 The agent patient relation is the very foundation of Gell’s theory.

Thus, Gell’s art nexus is comprised of four key terms the “index,” the “artist,” the “patient” or “recipient,” and the “prototypes.”10 The index is the artwork or any other material entity which motivates inferences and cognitive interpretations. The artist is the person or any other intentional entity like a divinity to whom is credited responsibility for the existence of the index. The patient is the relational counterpart to the index, in that the index is considered to exert agency to the patient or the patient can reciprocally exert agency through the index. The prototypes are entities or beings that are represented in the index most often by visual resemblance but not exclusively so.

Ross Bowden wrote a detailed criticism of Gell in 2004. Bowden sums up Gell’s approach concisely stating: “Instead of saying that viewers often draw inferences from artworks about the status, power and intentions of the people who create and display them Gell asserts that ‘indexes (i.e. artworks) ‘motivate’ (i.e. prompt) ‘patients’ (viewers) to make ‘abductions’ (inferences) about ‘social agency.’”11 In Gell’s theoretical world a person

10. Ibid., 27.
viewing a painted portrait would be read or termed as the painting being the index, the person depicted in the painting being the prototype, the person or viewer viewing the painting being the patient, and the artist of the painting being the artist.

Another crucial concept for Gell is abduction which is the logical mechanism identified. The term is taken from linguist Charles Sanders Peirce and has a more intuitive connotation than deduction and also lacks the need for a conclusion that deduction connotes. For Gell, abductions are drawn from indexes and agency is a social abduction.

Gell is not primarily concerned with art itself or even the conceptualization of what art is. Gell gives no clear definition nor does he devote any time to defining art. Bowden points to this lack of definition as a weakness and it is one of three of his overall critiques of the work. Gell devotes so little to this issue because his primary concern is agency. Gell treats aesthetics in the same manner as he does the definition of art. Gell holds that the “technology of enchantment” is what accounts for aesthetic value but he does not address the issue of aesthetic value directly. This is Bowden’s second overall critique. For Gell, the technical complexity of an artwork is what makes them effective as mediators of agency. Focus clearly remains on agency and not on art nor aesthetics. This tunnel vision focus on agency might be a point of criticism for Bowden but for this study’s purpose, it is a strength. Gell’s focus on agency is fitting for the examination of an ecomuseum and the complex relationships that comprise it.

13. Ibid.
The terms that construct Gell’s art nexus were selected for their deviation from the commonly used terms associated with the traditional study of art and anthropology. These terms are not associated with the commonly used linguistic analogies that focus on semiotics and symbolic theories of art. Instead, these terms are used to describe agency, not meaning. In total, Gell identifies thirty-six different configurations using various relational combinations of these terms. Two types of diagrams or formula are used. The first is a scientific-looking linear formula and the second is tree structures or diagrams. These are the two illustrative ways through which the social complexities of the art nexus is captured. Gell offers a creative new twist on the way to interpret what happens when a viewer views an artwork.

Alfred Gell’s theory in *Art and Agency* is a theory of agency that describes agency as being mediated by indexes as the indexes relate and interact with prototypes, artists, and patients. These four crucial terms all function as distributed extensions of an agent. For Gell, agency takes place in a milieu or nexus and is exclusively relational and context-dependent. A social agent only matters as it stands in a network of social relations.

2. Socio-cultural capitals

The use of capital in this work refers not to the economic but to the broader, more symbolic and culturally referential notion of capital. This notion of capital was widely popularized by Pierre Bourdieu (1930-2002), who was a French sociologist, anthropologist, and philosopher. He supplied such concepts as cultural capital, social capital, and habitus. He was greatly interested in social networks and thought that individuals were defined in part by the different kinds of capital he or she articulated through social relations. Habitus can be


thought of as a system of perception, thought, and action.\textsuperscript{18} Musings on socio-cultural capital existed long before Bourdieu but he is the particular point of theoretical departure that is most apt for this research project.

The four forms of capital that are used in this thesis are human, social, cultural, and identity. The idea of human capital has been around for a long time. The concept is legible in the writings of Scottish economist and philosopher, Adam Smith, from the last decades of the eighteenth century.\textsuperscript{19} The term human capital began popping up in scholarly articles during the 1950s. In the 1960s, American economist, Gary Becker, researched, worked, and wrote extensively on human capital bringing it into the scholarly spotlight. For Becker, human capital is the stock of knowledge, skills, and experiences possessed by an individual.\textsuperscript{20} Human capital is the most basic of the forms but nonetheless essential.

Social capital is the networks of relationships among people in a particular society. Gender, race, age, as well as group memberships all can be considered resources associated with social capital. Robert Putnam emphasized trust and reciprocity in his conceptualization of social capital.\textsuperscript{21} Cultural capital refers to the assets of a person that allow social mobility in a society. Taste, style, preferences, education, and intellect are all resources associated with cultural capital. Social and cultural capital do share similarities and some overlap but key variations between the two keep them distinct from one another.

\textsuperscript{18} Bourdieu, “Forms of Capital,” 55.


Identity capital is the context through which identity is negotiated and maintained. James Cote provides a definition and discussion of identity capital. He defines it as how an individual invests in a particular identity, which can take the form of choice, or innovation, but also of duty, and following norms. In a very general sense, human and social capital are more concrete while cultural and identity capital are more abstract.

Some scholars select only one form of capital to work with. This does not allow for the complexities of the influences and interconnections between the forms to be taken into account. The various forms of capital exist as interconnected building blocks. Each form of capital is essential for the others to exist, while simultaneously being reliant on the existence of the other forms. The various forms of capital manifest in an interrelational nexus.

Robert Putnam widely popularized social capital in the 1990s with two key books. His work provides two useful categorical terms, bonding and bridging, for discussing the sources and outcomes of (social) capital. While he used these terms for his discussion of social capital, they can also be applied when discussing other forms of capital. Bonding refers to relations within homogenous groups and occurs amongst members who are similar. Bridging refers to relations among heterogeneous groups and occurs amongst people who are dissimilar like in age, race, or economic status.


A third category, linking, has also been identified and developed in great thanks to
Michael Woolcock. Linking occurs when individuals build relations with institutions or
other individuals that have relative power of them. Linking and bridging have a strong
similarity but still differ in the respect that bridging connotes horizontal interrelations, while
linking captures a more vertical dimension. Bridging and linking are where the largest
developments and changes occur.

There are a few scholars and projects that have recognized the connection and
potential between ecomuseums and capital. The research group G. Corsane, P. David, S.
Elliott, M. Maggi, D. Murtas, and S. Rogers conducted a project that studied five
ecomuseums in Piemonte and Liguria, Italy to assess how close the selected cases met the
demands of the ecomuseum theory. Research on capital was not in their project aims but
their “work suggests that success could be measured more effectively in terms of the forms of
capital that result from local people’s use of ecomuseum methods to engage with and
conserve their heritage.”

Lisa Schultz, Carl Folke, and Per Olsson studied the Ekomuseum Kristianstads Vattenrike in southern Sweden. They identified this ecomuseum as a bridging organization. They also point to the importance of social capital in their analysis and findings.


28. Ibid.

Hahn, Per Olsson, Carl Folke, and Kristin Johansson further studied the notion of bridging in their organizational analysis of the same ecomuseum.\textsuperscript{30} This thesis seeks to depart from these previous findings that suggest the benefit in examining ecomuseums through forms of capital.

Outside of the particular ecomuseum context, the application of capital to museums, their experiences, and their visitors has occurred. Andrew Newman and Fiona McLean seek to make sense of the museum user’s experience through research that is analyzed using human, social, cultural, and identity capital.\textsuperscript{31} Naomi Kinghorn and Ken Willis examine preferences of visitors to the Discovery Museum in northeast England with respect to opportunities for social capital gain.\textsuperscript{32} These research groups call for more in depth and purposefully aimed research to be done with ecomuseums and capital. This thesis aims to answer that call.

3. A conceptual combination of Gell’s \textit{Art and Agency} and socio-cultural capitals

The first aim of this chapter is to conceptually merge and compare Gell’s theory and socio-cultural capitals by tracing five tendrils of connection between the two theories. Both Gell and the theory of socio-cultural capitals bring their own advantages, histories, and critiques to the table. When viewing the two theories together through a comparative lens,

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five key points become legible. First, the three points of similarity and convergence will be described. Then the final two points of difference and divergence will be outlined.

*Tendril #1 - The connection between timelines and histories*

The first tendril follows the timeline and histories of the two theories. Gell and socio-cultural capitals are found to be contemporaries and to have similar and coinciding histories. Alfred Gell died of Cancer at the age of 51 in 1997, and *Art and Agency* was subsequently published posthumously in 1998. Gell wrote the majority of the work during his last month of life. *Art and Agency* greatly works upon and develops from four essays previously penned by Gell. The most significant of those essays was published in 1992 and titled “The Technology of Enchantment and the Enchantment of Technology.” The other three significant essays were published in 1993, 1995, and 1996. With these publications acting as ticks on the timeline, it is apparent that Gell’s theory was evolving and growing throughout the 1990s and eventually culminated towards the end of the decade with the publication of *Art and Agency*.

Socio-cultural capitals involves many scholars and crosses disciplines so it has an inherently wider timeline and history than Gell’s theory. Ideas of socio-cultural capitals can be traced far back to the eighteenth century. However, the notion of socio-cultural capitals that this work is concerned with did not come into real fruition until the later half of the twentieth century.

During the mid 1960s, Gary Becker released a work on human capital. In the later half of the 1980s, Pierre Bourdieu made social and cultural capital a buzzing topic with his 1986 essay “The Forms of Capital.” Robert Putnam was also instrumental in developing and furthering the concept of social capital, first working on the topic in 1994 with the book *Making Democracy Work: Civic Traditions in Modern Italy*. In 1995 he published an essay
titled "Bowling Alone: America’s Declining Social Capital" and in 2000 he published a book which expanded on the original argument made in the essay titled *Bowling Alone: The Collapse and Revival of American Community*.

Identity capital first gained prominence through the work of James E. Cote in 1996 with an article titled “Sociological perspectives on identity formation: The culture-identity link and identity capital.” He continues to work and publish on identity capital today through both articles and books, such as his 2005 article “Identity capital, social capital, and the wider benefits of learning: Generating resources facilitative of social cohesion” and his most recent book from 2015, *Identity Formation, Youth, and Development: A Simplified Approach*.

The notion of socio-cultural capitals came into prominence towards the end of the 1980s. Momentum for the theory continued through the 1990s and early 2000s. Today it is widely discussed and applied. While socio-cultural capitals may have a wider timeline, it is a timeline that encompasses Gell’s timeline. Therefore, the two theories are contemporaneous. As contemporaries, both Gell’s theory and the theory of socio-cultural capitals contain qualities and undertakings that are associated with the broadening of notions and the breaking of traditional bounds and divisions. Socio-cultural capitals is a deviation and expansion from the economic based definition and notion most commonly associated with the word ‘capital.’ Gell was deeply unsatisfied with the strict categorization and divides adopted by many in studying art, artifacts, and anthropology. Gell refused to fall in line with the traditional thinking of art and anthropology. He wanted to widen the way art was thought about and consumed. Gell wanted to widen what art connoted and could potentially refer to. He also extended the pool of potential uses for an anthropological theory.

Much like Gell, the intellectuals working closest with socio-cultural capitals were pushing the boundaries of their fields and broadening more orthodox theories like the more
literal economic notion of capital. The scholars associated with both theories were responding to similar and shared conditions.

Gell’s theory and the forms of socio-cultural capital share qualities, principles, and functions that seem to parallel and correspond to the blurring condition of the postmodern. Frederic Jameson established himself as a foremost scholar and writer on the postmodern condition with his work *Postmodernism, or, the Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism* (1991). For Jameson, “the Postmodernisms have, in fact, been fascinated precisely by this whole "degraded" landscape.” Further contributing to the blurring condition of the postmodern was the breaking of divides including the breakdown of the division between high and low. This is a key point for Jameson and he has referred to it as the “postmodern celebration of the effacement of the boundaries of high and low.” Thus, the postmodern is distinguished by effacement and degradation and these are both discernible in the employed theories.

Both Gell and socio-cultural capitals were conjured and developed in their own spheres and through their own paths, but they are fundamentally within and belong to the same vein. Gell and the scholars on capital come from differing but related disciplines. Gell was a social anthropologist who earned his Ph.D. at the London School of Economics and later taught there as well. Cote is a sociologist, Bourdieu was a sociologist, anthropologist, and philosopher, while Putnam is a political scientist. The various forms of capital are more broadly associated with the field of sociology. Gell’s theory is more niche, situating itself within the more specific realm of the anthropology of art.


The shared vein that these two theories lie within is the larger sociocultural context and conjuncture that is their respective timelines. Their histories both reflect and respond to the conditions of the postmodern. The paralleling developments of these theories played off of and responded to the postmodern. The theories have each established a place of their own, socio-cultural capitals mostly within the discipline of sociology and Gell’s theory gaining a cult-like status within the anthropology (and sociology) of art. Nonetheless, these theories are very much related and quite compatible.

To summarize the first tendril, both of these two theories are found to have similar timelines and histories. Thus, the theories occupy similar positions within the same cultural conjuncture. The timeline and historicities of these two theories resemble one another and share motivating factors and conditions. These two theories are compatible contemporaries.

**Tendril #2 - The connection between Gell’s “nexus” and Bourdieu’s “habitus”**

The second tendril is a connection between two similar concepts, Gell’s “nexus,”35 and Bourdieu’s “habitus.”36 These concepts are ways of describing the environments, situations, or worlds of their respective theory. Crucial to socio-cultural capitals is the notion of habitus as put forth by Bourdieu. When asked why he used the notion of habitus, Bourdieu responded: "Constructing the notion of habitus as a system of acquired dispositions functioning on the practical level as categories of perception and assessment or as classificatory principles as well as being the organizing principles of action meant constituting the social agent in his true role as the practical operator of the construction of

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objects.” Habitus can be thought of as the physical embodiment of socio-cultural capitals. The abilities, skills, habits, and dispositions that a person possesses due to their life experiences are all encompassed within the habitus. Habitus is fundamental for the conceptualization of the various forms of capital.

Gell developed a similar concept that he termed the nexus, or to be more specific, the art nexus. The nexus is the container concept employed by Gell. He sees it as “a series of social transactions between persons” and a “type of causal interaction between things.” Both habitus and nexus are fundamental as they each provide a means by which the context and conditions of their associated theories can be described.

Tendril #3 - The connection between core relationships

The third tendril also involves central terms of the theories. It is the connection between a shared dialectical quality of the theories. A similar relationship is central to both theories. Gell’s theory is centered around two key positions, the agent and the patient, that form a dynamic interrelated and interdependent relationship. The agent and the patient are both necessary for the other to exist and together the agent/patient relationship forms the poles anchoring the whole of the nexus. “For any agent, there is a patient, and conversely, for any patient, there is an agent.” Gell is “concerned with agent/patient relationships in the fleeting contexts and predicaments of social life.”

37. Bourdieu 1990, p. 13
39. Ibid., 22.
40. Ibid.
A similarly anchoring relationship is found in socio-cultural capitals. The various forms of capital all interrelate and flow into and out of one another. Human capital is the most basic and essential of the forms, followed by social capital. Human capital includes the skills of an individual and social capital includes the network through which skills can be deployed, developed, and rewarded. These two forms are the necessary building blocks needed in order for cultural and identity capital to be brought into the equation.

Thus, the core duo of human capital and social capital resemble the core duo of the agent and the patient in Gell’s theory. Both of these theories heavily rely upon and speak to dynamic interrelationships. Relationships are critical to both theories and a strong point of convergence between the two. The third tendril shows how both theories are complicated composites that are constructed using dynamic relationships but are also able in turn to describe and explain intricate systems and relationships.

_Tendril #4 - The difference in specificity of the role of the object or index_

The fourth tendril is the first of two important divergences between the two theories. It is related to how the theories specify and treat the role of the object or index. The theory of the various forms of capital is broader and does not necessitate an object, thing, or index to use Gell’s term. Gell’s theory is based upon what happens when an object, thing, or index is encountered. Gell’s theory is the more specific and focused of the two. Importantly, though, it is not the object or index that Gell is primarily concerned with. It is the encounter, the happening, the agency of the situation that Gell is interested in. Gell places “all the emphasis on agency, intention, causation, result, and transformation,” and he views “art as a system of action.”41 This segues into the fifth tendril.

Tendril #5 - The difference in focus on power or agency

The fifth tendril, and second point of divergence lies in how the theory of capitals and Gell’s theory focus upon power and agency respectively. Inherent to socio-cultural capitals is looking at the way power and resources are distributed. Traditional capital typically uses power as a concept that is associated with the material world or something concrete. Bourdieu developed a non traditional concept of power termed symbolic power that is built from the forms of socio-cultural capital. Symbolic power is “a power of constituting the given through utterances, of making people see and believe, of confirming or transforming the vision of the world and, thereby, action on the world and thus the world itself.” For Bourdieu, “symbolic power does not reside in ‘symbolic systems’ in the form of an ‘illocutionary force’ but that it is defined in and through a given relation between those who exercise power and those who submit to it.” The forms of capital are essentially tracing and describing the ways through which power is lost, gained, expressed and distributed. Agency is in the title of Gell’s work and the thing that is of utmost importance to him. Gell’s theory is fundamentally a theory of agency.

Summary of the conceptual combination of Gell’s theory and socio-cultural capitals

The first aim of this chapter culminates in a conceptual merging of Gell’s Art and Agency and the theory of socio-cultural capitals. Five key connections draw the image of and map this merging. The first tendril is the more external of the five taking into account the


43. Ibid.
factors and influences associated with the timelines and histories of the two theories. The remaining four tendrils all pertain to more internal qualities and elements of the theories. Two of those tendrils highlight core similarities and the other two highlight central differences. Both theories developed about the same time and respond to a shared condition. Motivations behind and desires for the theories overlap and echo one another. Together these five tendrils portray a conceptual combination of socio-cultural capitals and Gell’s theory from *Art and Agency*.

4. Ecomuseums

An official definition of ecomuseum was eventually given in France with the Ecomuseum Charter of French statute in March 1981. De Varine and Rivière were the two foundational writers on the ecomuseum concept and each contributed their own concentrations to the concept’s development. De Varine really championed for the democratization of museums and wanted to promote the role of the community. He typically worked within a more economic and political framework and agenda. In the late 1980s, after there had been considerable discussion of ecomuseums, de Varine presented four key objectives of the ecomuseum. First to be an object and data bank for the community. Second, serve as an observatory of change and help the community react to changes. Thirdly to be a focal point for gatherings, discussions, innovation, and to be a laboratory for the community. Lastly to reveal the community and region to its visitors, to be a showcase.


Rivière worked with the Regional Natural Parks of France and was interested in ethnographic work and rural material culture. Rivière was maybe the more prolific writer on ecomuseum of the two, publishing important writings on the ecomuseum concept throughout the 1980s. Rivière gave three key variations to his ever evolving conceptualization of ecomuseum. Rivière’s first definition favored the ecological and environmental aspect of the concept. In his second definition, he shifted focus to the experimental nature of an ecomuseum and the community’s role. The third definition gave attention to the interpretation of local history and culture and the nature of a specific territory that had unconventional boundaries.

For the past two decades, one of, if not the, most recognizable writer on ecomuseums is Peter Davis, a professor of museology. Davis published *Ecomuseums: A Sense of Place* in 1999 and a second edition was released in 2011. The work presents a comprehensive historical and philosophical background of the ecomuseum concept as well as an overview of the current examples and developments.

According to Davis, there are two key aspects of the development of ecomuseum. The first is the concept’s association with the development of new museology. Networking, multidisciplinary displays, site museums, and community involvement were all characteristics of new museology. Ecomuseums and new museology enjoyed a paralleling and supportive development through the 1970s and 1980s.


The second aspect is found in the three types of museums that served as precursors to the ecomuseum. The first is the heimatmuseum that began in Germany in the nineteenth century but only gained significant momentum under the nationalist regime.\textsuperscript{49} The heimatmuseum celebrated various localities and strove for an attachment to the homeland. The second type of museum is the open air museum. The first one of these opened in Sweden and provided a very fun and entertaining environment for its visitors.\textsuperscript{50} Dances, music, demonstrations, and costumed guides were all features of this museum. Open air museums integrated recreation and learning. In the United States, open air museums took the form of the folk museum and became very popular during the 1950s.\textsuperscript{51} Folk museums are typically based around significant sites, focus on how people lived in the past, and seek to conserve buildings, technologies, and skills. The folk museum was unique in its ability to democratize, explore ordinary life, and highlight the local or regional. The third and final type of museum is the neighborhood museum. The Anacostia Neighborhood Museum, which opened in Washington DC in 1967, was the first of this museum type.\textsuperscript{52} It provided a focus for the community and served as a source of support and inspiration.

Today the number of ecomuseums is over 600 worldwide. France, Spain, Portugal and Italy are the hubs in Europe where there has been the greatest proliferation and achievements of and by ecomuseums. There is vast variation in the examples present across the globe. Variation in the definition of ecomuseum still remains. The most recent definitions do not stray from the founders but do more clearly incorporate the issue of sustainability. There is

\textsuperscript{49} Davis, \textit{Ecomuseums}, 51.
\textsuperscript{50} Ibid., 54.
\textsuperscript{51} Ibid., 56.
\textsuperscript{52} Ibid., 57.
not a single strict definition of ecomuseum nor is there any one system of measure or evaluation for ecomuseums.

In recent years, a few recognized trends have emerged in the study of ecomuseums. One being the use of twenty-one indicators identified by Gerard Corsane in 2006 as an evaluative instrument to be used in analyzing ecomuseum examples.\textsuperscript{53} These indicators are signifiers for the specific characterization of an ecomuseum. For example, the first indicator states that an ecomuseum will often be steered by local communities, the thirteenth points to sustainable development and use of resources, and the twentieth signals the provision for an intersection between heritage and responsible tourism.\textsuperscript{54}

Peter Davis provides five indicators that can be used to study an ecomuseum example:

First, the adoption of a territory that is not necessarily defined by conventional boundaries. Second, the adoption of a ‘fragmented-site’ policy which is linked to in-situ conservation and interpretation. Third, conventional views of site ownership are abandoned; conservation and interpretation of sites via liaison and cooperation. Fourth, the empowerment of local communities; the involvement of local people in museum activities and in the creation of their cultural identity. Fifth and final, the potential for interdisciplinary and holistic interpretation.\textsuperscript{55}

5. A further connection and comparison to the theory of ecomuseums

The second aim of this chapter is to use the previous conceptual combination of Gell and socio-cultural capitals to further connect and compare to the concept of ecomuseums. This secondary connection forms the second layer of this chapter. The connecting tendrils between Gell’s theory and socio-cultural capitals will now be linked to the concept of ecomuseums. This connecting and comparing of theories is necessary and important for its

\begin{itemize}
\item\textsuperscript{54} Corsane, “Using ecomuseum indicators,” 405.
\item\textsuperscript{55} Davis, \textit{Ecomuseums}, 92.
\end{itemize}
explanation and rationality as to why the topic of ecomuseums is being studied through the application of Gell’s theory and the theory of socio-cultural capitals. The same five tendrils that were previously sketched will continue to be followed as they proceed to connect to ecomuseums. The importance of the five tendrils is compounded and made more profound with their further tracing to ecomuseums.

*Tendril #1 - timelines and histories*

The first tendril describes timelines and histories. It was previously concluded that Gell’s theory and socio-cultural capitals were contemporaries. In looking at the history and timeline of ecomuseums the same conclusion is confirmed. The first use of the term ecomuseum was in France in 1971 but it was not until ten years later in 1981 that ecomuseum was officially added to French legislature. It was not until the late 1980s that substantial examples of ecomuseums began to be established and recognized. The 1990s and the first decade of the 2000s saw major exponential growth and proliferation of ecomuseums. Momentum and growth for the model continue today. The timeline of ecomuseums is in accordance with those of Gell and socio-cultural capitals. Consequently, ecomuseums then share the same factors and conditions that prompted Gell and the development of the theory of socio-cultural capitals.

The theories of Gell, socio-cultural capitals, and ecomuseums all share a crucially important attribute. That being the broadening of traditional bounds, definitions, and notions. The theory of ecomuseums was conjured from a desire to reposition the role of museums within society. A different type of museum model was desired and thus developed, much like Gell and his anthropological theory of art and the scholars of socio-cultural capitals. The same blurring condition of the postmodern also affected and prompted ecomuseums.
This widening and blurring has been fully acknowledged within the heritage field as the postmodern condition has had a similar effect on heritage. Laurajane Smith is a heritage scholar and researcher who has discussed “the postmodern or ‘postprocessual’ tendency” and its influence on archaeology and heritage.\textsuperscript{56} The principal characteristic of this postmodern tendency is a widening in that it “pays much attention in its rhetoric to that wider public, that wider constituency.”\textsuperscript{57} Smith states that “the postprocessual theorists ask archaeologists to act in reshaping ideology by challenging normative views of the past.”\textsuperscript{58} That normative view is what Smith calls the “authorized heritage discourse,” which is a “naturalized understanding of heritage.”\textsuperscript{59} The definition of heritage that the authorized heritage discourse (AHD) holds is that heritage is “positive examples of stuff from the past in the form of material objects, sites, places, and/or landscapes that current generations must care for and protect so that they may be passed to nebulous future generations.”\textsuperscript{60} This definition is restrictive and exclusive and does not allow room for alternative interpretations or non normative notions.

To counter this definition of heritage, Smith calls for a “re-theorization of heritage.”\textsuperscript{61} Through this re-theorization a differing definition of heritage is provided. This definition “stresses the idea that heritage is a cultural process or a performance.”\textsuperscript{62}


\textsuperscript{57} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{58} Ibid., 301.

\textsuperscript{59} Emma Waterton and Laurajane Smith, “There is no such thing as heritage,” in \textit{Taking archaeology out of heritage}, (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing 2009), 12.

\textsuperscript{60} Ibid., 12-13.

\textsuperscript{61} Ibid., 12.

\textsuperscript{62} Ibid., 15.
not so much the thing or place identified by the AHD as “heritage,” but instead the values and meanings that are constructed at and around them -- heritage is what is done and not what is conserved, preserved or managed.”\textsuperscript{63} This is the definition and conceptualization of heritage used herein.

Smith’s challenge and ask to re-theorize the definition of heritage and to think outside of the norm is similar to what transpired in the fields of Gell and socio-cultural capitals. Thus, the theory of ecomuseums lies within the greater vein that Gell’s theory and socio-cultural capitals reside in.

\textit{Tendril #2 - Gell’s nexus and Bourdieu’s habitus}

The second tendril stems from the connection between Gell’s nexus and Bourdieu’s habitus. Both habitus and nexus are attempts to describe and capture the way one perceives and digests the world around them and then reacts to it. Important to both nexus and habitus is not just the focus on perception but also on reaction. Both notions connote a wholeness, a complete and generative system. Habitus and nexus seek to capture the entirety of a person’s world making. This same type of complex system is resembled and legible in the structure of an ecomuseum. An aim of an ecomuseum is world making to an extent, and this is especially true for the members of the involved community. The complexities and myriad of moving parts that are essential and unique to an ecomuseum are congruent with the notions of habitus and nexus. These terms are seeking to capture and describe a dynamic assemblage such as that of an ecomuseum. These terms will prove very helpful and instrumental in exploring the relationship dynamics within an ecomuseum.

\textsuperscript{63} Waterton and Smith, “No such thing,” 15-16.
Tendril #3 - core relationships

The third tendril continues on the connection drawn between the core relationship of human and social capital and the core relationship of the agent and the patient in Gell’s theory. Central to the functioning of both theories is a core relationship built on two interdependent parts. A similar relationship is at the center of an ecomuseum. An ecomuseum is essentially an agreement and partnership between a community and its heritage. An ecomuseum is formed from two key parts, the people or community and the heritage. The heritage must exist to provide meaning and form for the community and the community must exist to give meaning to the heritage. A shared dialectical quality was found in Gell and socio-cultural capitals. That dialectical quality is now echoed by ecomuseums.

Tendril #4 - specificity of the role of the object or index

The fourth tendril is the difference between Gell and socio-cultural capitals that is found in the treatment and focus on an index. Gell’s theory requires an index of some sort, material or human, while socio-cultural capitals only describe human agents. The object, index, or material entity is not included in the theory of capitals as it is in Gell’s theory. Within an ecomuseum, both humans and non-human agents interact and relate on the same playing field and within the same domain. While it is possible to bracket off and focus on just the material or just the human in a study of ecomuseums, that is not what is of concern here. The relationships and partnerships within and comprising the ecomuseum are what is of concern. These relationships involve both the material and the human. Together, Gell’s theory and capitals are able to cover the different roles and agents. Furthermore, the differing focus on the index provides different perspectives through which an ecomuseum’s relationships may be analyzed.
Tendril #5 - focus on power or agency

The fifth tendril is the second of the differing connections. Power and agency are of greatest importance to socio-cultural capitals and Gell respectively. The theory of socio-cultural capitals is primarily concerned with power because of the primary focus on the human. Instead, agency is the primary concern for Gell because it is applicable to both an object and a person. Power and agency are not totally different focuses, though. They are of the same gist and they share similar concentrations. Because ecomuseums are built from the relationships between humans and objects, both power and agency are necessary concerns.

6. Conclusion

The theory of ecomuseums is a very particular and challenging concept and topic. Gell’s theory is equally, if not even more, challenging and complex. Socio-cultural capitals may be the most concrete and legible of the three theories but it still remains a dense and multifaceted theory. The continuation of complexity across all three theories makes for a mutual compliment. In the case of this thesis, the application of complex theories to a complex topic makes for a perceptive analysis. The conceptual combination of Gell and socio-cultural capitals portrayed a reciprocally beneficial relationship between the two theories. That conceptual combination proved complementary to the theory of ecomuseums.

In sum, the conceptual conjoining of Gell and socio-cultural capitals coincides and harmonizes with ecomuseums across three key tendrils. There are two diverging tendrils that provide points of friction and deviations that allow certain elements to be highlighted and brought into focus. The conceptual qualities and markers of Gell’s theory and socio-cultural capitals that have been traced through five tendrils provide a conceptual merging of the two
theories. That conceptual juncture was then further connected to ecomuseums. This has all been done to provide the rationale and reasoning for the application of Gell’s theory and socio-cultural capitals to ecomuseums. Gell’s theory and socio-cultural capitals are shown to be well suited for a study of ecomuseums.
Chapter 3. Methodology: methods used and the selected case study

1. Methodology

Gell provides two methodological instruments or tools in *Art and Agency*. In total, Gell identifies thirty-six different configurations using various relational combinations of the four terms of the art nexus. Two types of diagrams or formula are used. The first is a scientific-looking linear formula and the second is tree structures or diagrams. These are the two illustrative ways through which the social complexities of the art nexus are captured. Both of these tools will be used in the study of Flodden 1513 Ecomuseum. The relationships of the ecomuseum will be illustrated and analyzed using tree structures and linear equations following the approach adopted by Gell.

The framework for the application of socio-cultural capitals is informed by the concepts of bridging, bonding, and linking which have been used for discussing the sources and outcomes of socio-cultural capitals. These three terms are the methodological tools used for the application of socio-cultural capitals. Bonding refers to relations within homogenous groups and occurs amongst members who are similar. Bridging refers to relations among heterogeneous groups and occurs amongst people who are dissimilar like in age, race, or economic status. Linking occurs when individuals build relations with institutions or other individuals that have relative power over them. Linking and bridging have a strong similarity but still differ in the respect that bridging connotes horizontal interrelations, while linking captures a more vertical dimension. The purpose of this research is exploratory and attempts to identify and trace the perceived benefits (in the form of socio-cultural capitals) that an ecomuseum delivers to the different agents involved.
2. Methods used and why those methods are chosen

This research thesis employs a single case study based method that is carried out through three interrelated phases, a desk study, a research trip, and a final phase for analysis. The case study selected is Flodden 1513 Ecomuseum. It is predominantly located along the northeastern border between Scotland and England and uses the Battle of Flodden on the 9th of September 1513, as its point of departure. The ecomuseum is composed of physical sites and the intangible traditions and heritage associated to and stemming from the battle.

The reasons and criteria for the selection of this case are mostly found in the feasibility of resources, location, language, and reception. Flodden 1513 Ecomuseum provides no substantial language barrier as the language spoken is English. The proximity of the ecomuseum and the relative concentration of ecomuseum sites allows for a week long research trip to be conducted with limited resources. Acquiring permission, access, and information from key members of the ecomuseum has proven very easy. The co-coordinator, Lord James Joicey, has been remarkably receptive and helpful allowing access to all documents. He has also provided tours of some key sites and given of his time to be interviewed. Other key members of the ecomuseum have been equally receptive and helpful.

During the initial desk study two key tasks are performed. First, the current operations and contextual past of Flodden 1513 are reviewed along with a theoretical study of ecomuseums, Gell’s *Art and Agency* and forms of socio-cultural capital. Gell’s theory will be used to account for how the relationships are formed. The forms of capital will be used to account for why the relationships are formed.

The second task of the desk phase is the compilation and circulation of a digital Google Forms preliminary questionnaire through the Flodden 1513 community. The questionnaire is composed of twenty-one questions answerable with a yes or no. These
questions are derived from the twenty-one indicators of an ecomuseum that scholar Gerard Corsane provided. This follows the methods adopted by previous research on ecomuseums. Previous research found that a preliminary questionnaire with yes or no answers allowed for a clearer and more substantial basis than a questionnaire with open ended or long answer format questions.

The questionnaire will provide insight as to what extent Flodden 1513 meets the expected characteristics of an ecomuseum. It will give a starting point for the perception of relationships within the ecomuseum. The questionnaire will also be used to generate interview questions that will be used in the subsequent phase. This questionnaire will yield a preliminary basis for how and why relationships are formed and developed within the ecomuseum.

The second phase consists of a research trip to Flodden 1513 Ecomuseum. This trip took place from the 12th through the 18th of May 2017 and included four tasks. First, the sites of the ecomuseum were visited. Second, formal interviews and conversations with key personnel, visitors, and community members were conducted. Questions for the interviews were based on the data compiled from the preliminary questionnaire and the information from the desk study. The interviews aimed to corroborate, contradict, and expand the preliminary basis leading to a more comprehensive and conclusive analysis of the examined relationships. Third, the documents, archives, and minutes of the ecomuseum were researched. Permission for full access to these documents was readily granted. The fourth and final task was participant observation through participation within the community.

The third and final methodological phase is the analysis of all previously collected data. This phase provides an analysis of the interactions between agents and heritage that compose the ecomuseum. The analysis will be used for the ultimate aim of tracing how and
why relationships are formed within the ecomuseum. This will be a final deliverable. This study expects to provide insight as to why and how such a complex assemblage as an ecomuseum is created and sustained.

3. Introduction to the case study - Flodden 1513 Ecomuseum

The particular ecomuseum example studied by this thesis is the Flodden 1513 Ecomuseum. The ecomuseum sites are predominantly located along the northeastern border between Scotland and England. This ecomuseum uses the Battle of Flodden on the 9th of September 1513, as its point of departure. During the Battle of Flodden many Scottish and English soldiers and noblemen died, as well as the Scottish King James IV. The ecomuseum is composed of physical sites and the intangible traditions and heritage associated to and stemming from the battle. The physical sites include the battlefield, churches, walls, towers, statues, and grave markings and sites. Reenactments, bag piping tunes, and border ride outs are examples of the intangible traditions and heritage.

The founding date of this ecomuseum is traced back to 2008 when a small group came together to plan and discuss the upcoming quincentenary of the Battle of Flodden which would occur in 2013. This small group drew up a list of about thirty people and organizations that wanted to be involved in commemorating the event of the battle and further exploring what the battle means for national and regional history. This was the start of the “Flodden 500 journey.” The list of about thirty names termed the ‘Stakeholder’ list grew


65. Ibid.
to eighty names after an initial round of investigative interviews.\textsuperscript{66} This larger list regrouped under the name ‘Flodden 500 Steering Group’ and began to host events.\textsuperscript{67} The wider community was involved in these events. Through these events, twelve sites were selected in order to form the first phase of the Flodden 1513 Ecomuseum. Funding and support for this first phase and the establishment of the ecomuseum came from the EU LEADER program that also employed Project Officers to the ecomuseum.\textsuperscript{68}

Momentum continued for the ecomuseum and by the end of 2011, there were about ninety different projects under the Flodden 1513 umbrella. The Stakeholder list also had grown to be over 300 names long and ranged from local residents to large organizations. The original twelve sites have now expanded to over thirty sites within the ecomuseum. The ecomuseum was awarded a four-year project from the Heritage Lottery Fund to expand the number of sites, further archaeological knowledge, research documents and archives, and to improve teaching opportunities for children.\textsuperscript{69} This project, named The Flodden 500 Project, transpired from 2012 through 2016.

In February of 2017, the ecomuseum published a multigraph report of the results from the project. This multigraph includes contributions from personnel, volunteers, archivists, teachers, archaeologists, and students all remarking on the work done during the project and providing accounts of their personal involvement. The report is available on the Flodden 1513 website in electronic book format under the title \textit{Flodden: Legends & Legacy}. A limited number of hard copies were printed but were not sold and are still not for sale.

\textsuperscript{66} Lord Joicey, “Introduction,” 1.

\textsuperscript{67} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{68} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{69} Ibid.
Gerard Corsane’s twenty-one indicators and Peter Davis’ five markers provide a good starting place for examining Flodden 1513. Applying these two sets of indicators to this particular case paints a picture of the qualities that constitute the unique example that Flodden 1513 is. Davis’ five indicators will be applied now and the twenty-one indicators provided by Corsane will be used as a preliminary questionnaire.

The befitting of Flodden 1513 to the ecomuseum model will now be explored through Davis’ five indicators. The first indicator deals with the territory and bounds of the ecomuseum. Flodden 1513 is the United Kingdom’s first cross-border ecomuseum.\textsuperscript{70} The sites of the ecomuseum are located throughout both England and Scotland. The greatest concentration of sites is around the actual battlefield site and in the area of Northumberland and the Borders region often referred to as the Till or Tweed Valley. The territory of Flodden 1513 is one most definitely marked with unconventional bounds. The reason why the sites are so spread out across the two countries is because in-situ conservation is predominately used by Flodden 1513. This speaks to Davis’ second indicator that deals with a fragmented-site policy which Flodden 1513 has clearly adopted.

Flodden 1513 has a unique and somewhat complex structuring of its cooperation and liaison set up. The ownership of the ecomuseum sites is not a conventional set up, attesting to Davis’ third indicator. From the earliest beginnings of Flodden 1513, partnership and cooperation have been critical. The fourth indicator deals with the community, its empowerment, participation, and identity making. Flodden 1513 is a not-for-profit limited company (ltd.) set up by Lord James Joicey and George Farr. The ecomuseum fully relies upon the volunteered and donated hours of members of the community. The community was

\textsuperscript{70} Lord Joicey, “Introduction,” 1.
actively involved from the start and continued its involvement through the development of the ecomuseum.\footnote{Lord Joicey, “Introduction,” 1.}

One of the ecomuseum’s main goals is to provide a holistic interpretation and approach to the Battle of Flodden. Interdisciplinarity is the subject of Davis’ fifth indicator and is central to the ecomuseum. There are three central disciplines or tactics employed by the ecomuseum to promote community involvement, archaeology, education, and archival and other document research. Through the participation of community members interacting along these three disciplines, the Flodden 1513 Ecomuseum allows for a comprehensive representation of the Battle of Flodden and its ensuing history.

One of the most unique and defining factors of Flodden 1513 Ecomuseum is that it is a cross-border ecomuseum. By its very essence, Flodden 1513 functions as a vehicle to soften and blur borders. Flodden 1513 is a habitus or nexus that transcends borders. The ecomuseum both as a concept and as an iteration in Flodden 1513 works to blur borders and boundaries and to confound traditions. That blurring is the chief condition of the postmodern that is of utmost consequence to this thesis.

Flodden 1513 Ecomuseum is a significant case to be selected for study because there has been no academic study or examination of Flodden 1513 since the end of its funded project term. The timing is crucial as the funded project has ended but the ecomuseum continues on. Examining the ecomuseum to see by what means it shall continue is a significant and relevant study. Flodden 1513 and other ecomuseums will continue to have an impact and influence on other museums and heritage related organizations. The participatory means and relationship dynamics within an ecomuseum have a reaching impact.
Chapter 4. Data, analysis, and discussion: Flodden 1513 Ecomuseum

The principal question of this research thesis inquires into the dynamics of the relationships between both the human and the material agents that are formed and forged within the ecomuseum. The question being asked is, what are the dynamics of the relationships within the ecomuseum? In other words, how do the relationships develop and operate within the ecomuseum, thus allowing for its existence, continuation, and success? In relation, two subsidiary questions are asked: How are the relationships formed? And why are these relationships formed? Answering as to how and why the relationships are formed will provide an answer as to the dynamics of the relationships, which is the main question. This chapter is composed of an analysis and discussion that answers as to how and why the relationships are formed.

In answering these questions, a three phase methodological approach centered on a single case study has been employed. During these phases data was collected and compiled. That data will now be presented, analyzed, and further discussed. The tools and terms derived from the theories of socio-cultural capitals and Gell will be implemented in this analysis. These tools are the tracing of the various forms of capital and the bridging, bonding, and linking relations that enable the forms of capital to be gained. Linear formulas and tree structures which illustrate mediations of social agency are also tools used in this analysis. The tracing of socio-cultural capitals speaks to why the relationships within the ecomuseum form. The linear equations and tree structures speak to how the relationships are formed. These relationships involve two types of agents, human and non-human or material.

The application and utilization of both theories is important and necessary because of the provisions granted when the two theories are used in conjunction. Together, these two
theories allow for a more comprehensive and inclusive analysis of the agents operating and interacting within the ecomuseum. The two most important provisions are directly related to the two key divergences between the two theories. Five tendrils were previously outlined and discussed to present a conceptual merging of the two theories. Of those five tendrils two were points of difference. Those points of difference between the theories bring the greatest benefit to the analysis of Flodden 1513 Ecomuseum. The differing tendrils prove to be the most constructive in the following analysis.

Two other tendrils, both of similarity, also play a part in the analysis and discussion. The tendril of similarity between the two theories that is related to the shared quality of a core relationship is important as it reveals the anchoring relationships for the two theories. For Gell, the core relationship is between the agent and the patient. For socio-cultural capitals, the core relationship is between human and social capital. These relationships are quite similar. They are both foundational and necessary for the other components of the theories to be considered. Without an agent and a patient there is no instance of social mediation. Without human and social capital there is no cultural or identity capital. The other tendril of similarity traces the commonality between Gell’s nexus and Bourdieu’s habitus. Both of these terms are container terms for their respective theories and the terms by which total environment and world making are expressed.

The two differing tendrils, the role of the index and the focus on power or agency, are particularly interesting and telling in the analysis of Flodden 1513. The theory of socio-cultural capitals is largely sociological and is fundamentally interested in tracing the distributions and shifts of power. Socio-cultural capitals describe gains made by human agents. There is no index or object at the center of the socio-cultural capitals theory as there is in Gell’s theory. The lack of an index or material role makes the theory of socio-cultural...
capitals more closed off to consideration of how power is mediated or distributed by interacting with materials or indexes. The theory of socio-cultural capitals does not inform of the role of the material or the index.

In contrast, the theory of Gell’s art nexus centers and pivots on the index which can be material or human. Within the art nexus there is no differentiation or distinction between human and non-human agents. Because of that, Gell’s theory enables the role of the physical heritage and material of the ecomuseum to be considered in analyzing the relationships within the ecomuseum. There are two types of agents interacting and relating within the ecomuseum, human and non-human or material. Both the linear formulas and tree structures will be used to show the role of the human and non-human within these relationships. Utilizing both theories of socio-cultural capitals and Gell enables both types of agents to be emphasized and included in the analysis and discussion.

In this chapter the theories of Gell and socio-cultural capitals are operationalized to answer how and why the relationships within the ecomuseum are formed, and by answering how and why the dynamics of those relationships may be attested to, thus answering the main research question.

This chapter is composed of two parts, part one and part two. Part one presents the data, describes the modes of gathering the data, and the sources of the data. The second part analyzes and discusses the data. The analysis and discussion, part two, is answering how and why the relationships within the ecomuseum are formed. Part two is guided by the two tendrils of difference and the two tendrils of similarity. These theoretical tendrils play a continuous role throughout the second part of this chapter. Part two begins with first answering how the ecomuseum is setup and why the ecomuseum operates by first introducing Lord Joicey, who was the leader and founder of the ecomuseum. Next, two answers as to how
the ecomuseum is set up, namely along a bottom-up approach and with an environment of approachability and accessibility, and the chief answer as to why the ecomuseum operates, namely to promote the mental and physical well-being of the community, are outlined.

The analysis and discussion is then further divided into five sections. Section one and two answer as to how the relationships within the ecomuseum are formed. Section one focuses on the role of the material and physical because the material heritage is the reason for the very existence of the ecomuseum. The second section analyzes a particular agent/patient relationship. Section two operationalizes linear formula and tree structures as used by Gell to illustrate how relationships are formed and mediated. The linear formula and tree structures show how agents within the ecomuseum interact and mediate agency.

Sections three, four, and five answer as to why the relationships are formed. These sections answer as to why the agents are interacting and forming relationships. To provide this answer, the identification of bonding, bridging, and linking relations as well as tracing the forms of socio-cultural capital are operationalized. Bonding, bridging, linking, and the forms of socio-cultural capital indicate the motivations of the agents thus allowing an answer as to why relationships are formed. These relationships develop and transpire within the ecomuseum along three main avenues. These avenues provide the activities and programs of the ecomuseum. Section three explores the first avenue of the ecomuseum, archaeology. The fourth section reviews the second avenue, education. The fifth and last section investigates the third avenue, documentary research.

The reason for this structure and division is because it complements the development and structure of the ecomuseum itself. Lord Joicey is introduced first because it is to his credit and leadership that the ecomuseum was founded and formed. Lord Joicey was the first agent and participator within the ecomuseum so he is the introductory agent and starting
point. The ecomuseum exists because of the existence of material heritage, so accordingly the material is the first section. All relationships within the ecomuseum, which are the very thing this research inquires into, involve both an agent and a patient. Therefore, the agent/patient relationship is discussed second. The three avenues of the ecomuseum are analyzed and discussed last because it is through these avenues that relationships develop and transpire. It is through these avenues that both material and human agents and patients interact within the ecomuseum. The structure of this chapter thus follows or resembles the structure of the ecomuseum. The material is the base and foundation of the ecomuseum by which relationships are formed and those relationships are carried out along three avenues of activity. The selected structure begins with the material, moves to the agent/patient relationship, and then continues through the three avenues.

The discussion and analysis begin with the impact and influence of how the ecomuseum is setup and the reason for its operation. This impact and influence are evident in three key aspects. Two of these aspects are key characteristics of the ecomuseum setup, attesting to the how, and the third aspect is the chief reason for the operation of the ecomuseum, attesting to the why. These three aspects are defining characteristics of the ecomuseum. These aspects are also intensely related to one another. The first aspect is structural, referring to the structure, the model, and the setup of the ecomuseum. The second aspect is environmental and relational, referring to the environment and atmosphere of the ecomuseum and how relationships were fostered and developed within the ecomuseum. The third aspect is derived from the outcomes and drivers of the ecomuseum.

Structurally, the ecomuseum is based on a bottom-up approach. Environmentally and relationally, the ecomuseum strives to create and increase approachability and accessibility. The structure of the ecomuseum is what enables and allows the relational aims to be
achieved, hence the intense connection between these two key aspects. The third aspect, the outcomes and drivers of the ecomuseum, were established with the grant awarded from the Heritage Lottery Fund (HLF). In short, the HLF wanted to see results that indicated that the physical and mental well-being of the individuals of the community was being engaged and bettered. From these three key characteristics it is shown that Flodden 1513 Ecomuseum was built and operates through a bottom-up approach, has the aim of increasing approachability and accessibility, and has the desired outcome of bettering the physical and mental well-being of the individual community members.

Part I - Data

The data used is highly qualitative, befitting the qualitative question being asked. The data being used was obtained through three main means. First, through twenty completed questionnaires resulting in yes or no answers. Fifteen of the twenty-one questions received only yes answers. Of the six other questions, five of them (question numbers 1, 10, 13, 14, and 18) received three no answers each and one question (number 7) received four no answers. These results strongly suggest that Flodden 1513 Ecomuseum mostly aligns with Corsane’s twenty-one indicators of an ecomuseum.

The second mode of data obtainment was from all of the documents, meeting minutes, and records of the ecomuseum. The third means of data attainment was from all the information gathered during a week-long research trip to the ecomuseum. This data includes other informal and impromptu conversations, as well as site visits and participant observation. Twenty-six of the ecomuseum sites were visited and observed. Participant observation transpired through attending a Sunday morning church service at Branxton
Church, an afternoon spent at a local cricket match, and spending time at the Berwick Archives with the volunteer paleographers.

This data is highly qualitative because the sources for the data are individuals answering from their own personal experiences, opinions, and perceptions. As such, the reliability of this data lies within the realm of reliability of an individual’s viewpoint. The research question being asked delves into the personal and individual so it is suitable for the data to be acquired from such personal perspectives. Below are tables and a figure that illustrate the data used herein. Table 1 describes the data methods and sources. Table 2 presents the formal interviews that were conducted. Figure 1 is a map of all the ecomuseum sites. The appendices section of this thesis includes the transcriptions of the three formal interviews, Table 3, and Table 4. Table 3 provides the questions used in the questionnaire and the responses received. Table 4 introduces all sites of Flodden 1513 Ecomuseum, provides their location, and whether they were visited or not.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 1. Qualitative data methods and sources</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Qualitative data method</td>
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<td>--------------------------</td>
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<tr>
<td>Documents</td>
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<tr>
<td>Questionnaire</td>
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Interviews

Three formal interviews with Lord Joicey, Jane Miller and Andrew Tulloch.

Observations and conversations

Participant observation at Branxton Church, a cricket match, and Berwick Archives. Conversations with community members, ecomuseum co-founder George Farr, and archivist Linda Bankier. Visits to all feasibly reached ecomuseum sites.

Table 2. Formal Interviews

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Interviewee</th>
<th>Role</th>
<th>Key indicators</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Lord James Joicey</td>
<td>Co-founder and co-coordinator of Flodden 1513 Ecomuseum.</td>
<td>Speaks to the philosophy, structure, and model of the ecomuseum. The funding for the ecomuseum and its related outcomes and drivers.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Andrew Tulloch</td>
<td>Assistant curator of Coldstream Museum, an ecomuseum site.</td>
<td>Speaks to the perspective on the Scottish side of the border, the role of the joint exhibitions, and the role of the Coldstream Museum as an ecomuseum site.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jane Miller</td>
<td>Education officer of the ecomuseum and employee of Woodhorn Trust operating out of Berwick Museum, an ecomuseum site.</td>
<td>Speaks to the educational program, the role of Berwick Museum as an ecomuseum site, and perspectives on either side of the border.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Figure 1. Map of Flodden 1513 Ecomuseum sites

Part II - Analysis and Discussion

Part two begins by answering how Flodden 1513 Ecomuseum is setup and why it operates. To do so, three crucial aspects of the ecomuseum and Lord Joicey’s role as founding agent will be analyzed and discussed.

*Lord Joicey and three aspects of the ecomuseum*

The main finding and argument of this section is that Lord Joicey is the foundational agent who created and designed the ecomuseum, which functions as habitus and nexus. The design of the ecomuseum has three key aspects or characteristics that influence the formation of socio-cultural capitals within the habitus and the agent/patient relationships within the nexus.

A model of some sorts must be decided upon and implemented for each ecomuseum example. Author Peter Davis was involved in designing the model for Flodden 1513 Ecomuseum. He was influential during the setup and early phases of Flodden 1513. Davis was also particularly influential on Lord Joicey who is the co-founder and co-coordinator of Flodden 1513 Ecomuseum. Lord Joicey is the person to whom the credit of the ecomuseum is due. It was Lord Joicey’s suggestion, leadership, and guidance that enabled the ecomuseum to be established. Lord Joicey is the single most prominent and involved agent of the ecomuseum. Tracing Lord Joicey’s experiences and relationships within the ecomuseum is particularly insightful and interesting. This is why Lord Joicey and his influence and mediation as the foundational agent is discussed first.

From the very beginning, Lord Joicey desired to follow a bottom-up approach and to create an ecomuseum that was as open, approachable, and accessible as it could be. Peter Davis had a very similar mindset and conceptualization for the ecomuseum. It was never
explicitly stated during Lord Joicey’s formal interview, but after extensive in-depth
discussions with Lord Joicey, during which Davis and his involvement repeatedly came up, it
was clear that Davis was a strong proponent of the bottom-up approach. Lord Joicey said that
a mantra of Davis’ is “that an ecomuseum survives on the occasional conversation and cup of
coffee.”

Lord James Joicey is a major landowner and prominent figure in Northumberland,
England. Included in his land holdings is a large majority of the Flodden 1513 battlefield. As
such, he is deeply and integrally connected to the Battle of Flodden. As the 500th anniversary
of the battle loomed on the horizon in September of 2013, Lord Joicey took the initiative to
see to it that some sort of remembrance was orchestrated and held. That same desire to
commemorate the Battle of Flodden and bring it back into the community psyche (and
national, if feasible) was present among many throughout the wider community that includes
Northumberland and the Scottish Borders regions.

It was under Lord Joicey’s suggestion and leadership that the plan to create an
ecomuseum, in order to commemorate Flodden 1513, was set upon. It was more than just a
commemoration of a battle. The community also had a thirst for more knowledge, activity,
participation, and connection not just to Flodden but to their heritage in general, and the
ecomuseum was to quench that thirst. The very creation of the ecomuseum may be attributed
to Lord Joicey. Many others were involved and aided in the setup, but if credit must be given
to only one person, that would unquestionably be Lord Joicey.

From this, Lord Joicey can be understood as the agent responsible for directing
habitus, which is the structure or system by which socio-cultural capitals form. “In short, the

74. Lord James Joicey, Interview by Hilary Porter, May 15, 2017, Interview #1,
transcript, 111.
habit, the product of history, produces individual and collective practices, and hence history, in accordance with the schemes engendered by history.” Put another way, “a habitus, understood as a system of lasting, transposable dispositions which, integrating past experiences, functions at every moment as a *matrix of perceptions, appreciations, and actions* and makes possible the achievement of infinitely diversified tasks.” What Lord Joicey did was help create and orchestrate the habitus. “The orchestration of habitus is the production of a commonsense world endowed with the *objectivity* secured by consensus on the meaning *(sens)* of practices and the world, in other words the harmonization of agents’ experiences and the continuous reinforcement that each of them receives from the expression, individual or collective (in festivals, for example), improvised or programmed (commonplaces, saying), of similar or identical experiences.”

Thus, Lord Joicey, by way of creating the ecomuseum, is the orchestrator of habitus. The ecomuseum functions as habitus. The ecomuseum, as habitus, is a ‘commonsense world’ and is a vehicle through which ‘harmonization of agents’ experiences’ occur as well as the ‘continuous reinforcement… of similar or identical experiences.’ Habitus is the term used to refer to world making and to total environment. Bonding, bridging, and linking relations exist within a habitus. Through these relations the forms of socio-cultural capital are gained within a habitus. Habitus is the container term for socio-cultural capitals. The concept of habitus is mirrored in Gell’s theory with the concept of nexus. The similarity between these two concepts constitutes one of the tendrils of similarity.

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76. Ibid., 82-83.
77. Ibid., 80.
A commonality found in the structure of nearly all ecomuseums is the striving for a bottom-up approach and mode of operation. Great effort was made to have the bottom-up approach as strong as possible in Flodden 1513. As with any project, there needs to be a lead of some sort. This is true even more so when dealing with projects that are given large grants. Lord Joicey did act as that lead and as that head, especially in the dealings with HLF, but it was his aim to not be seen or utilized as the lead within the community and ecomuseum. Andrew Tulloch, the assistant curator of the Coldstream Museum (an ecomuseum site), verified this during his interview when he said that, “Lord Joicey doesn’t see him and the ecomuseum as running things, he sees it as enabling. He would rather people like me (Andrew Tulloch) get in touch with other sites within the ecomuseum and do joint projects with them.”

Jane Miller, the educational officer for the ecomuseum, also spoke of the desire to keep a bottom-up approach stating that, “we have tried really really hard at that approach and it is all about personal relationships and just the way you frame and the way you talk to people.”

Lord Joicey was very conscious to create an ecomuseum environment and atmosphere that was geared towards approachability and accessibility. To create this environment, Lord Joicey ensured that the volunteers and members did not feel as if they were giving of their time and energy to something or someone, but rather they were giving of their time and energy for their own benefit. During events, whether they be a seminar or an excavation, Lord Joicey made a point not to thank anyone for coming to the event or helping out. As he saw it, to thank someone was to imply that they were doing something for him or someone


else, but in actuality they were doing something for themselves so thanks was not necessary. Creating this type of atmosphere where volunteers perceive their efforts as not a benefit to others but as a benefit to themselves can be difficult to maneuver, but Lord Joicey did so with ease thanks to his exceptional leadership abilities. Lord Joicey set the tone and the example for enhancing approachability and accessibility within the ecomuseum.

The aim of approachability and accessibility applies to interactions and relationships between human agents but is also applicable to interactions between human and material agents. The physical sites of the ecomuseum are predominantly open access sites allowing for their utmost accessibility.

Approachability and accessibility were leading aims of the ecomuseum. A bottom-up approach is cohesive and complementary to fostering and enabling these aims just as these aims are able to foster and complement a bottom-up approach. The pairing of these two major characteristics of the ecomuseum is a fluid and mutually supportive pairing. Approachability and accessibility applies to all aspects and agents of the ecomuseum. This includes both the sites themselves and the dynamics between leaders and volunteers. Interaction was to be as open, approachable, and accessible as possible.

Flodden 1513 Ecomuseum began with a real strive for a bottom-up approach and feel. In order for it to actually materialize, it needed funding. The EU Leader program provided the first bit of funding for the first phase of development. The second bit of funding that was hugely significant was a £880,000 grant from the Heritage Lottery Fund. This funding was for 2013 through 2016. Besides the sources and amounts, a major difference between these two grants were the outcomes that each funding source stipulated. The Leader Program granted funding on the basis of a more economics driven outcome. With the Leader funding, it was agreed that the ecomuseum would report the jobs created and other economic markers.
In practice, those outcomes were not heavily enforced nor were they inquired into at the end of the funding period. As such, the ecomuseum was not heavily restricted and confined to meeting outcome projections during the initial phase of development. Economics has never been a major driver or focus of the ecomuseum.

The Heritage Lottery Fund allocated a grant to Flodden 1513 Ecomuseum with outcome conditions attached. During the time of writing and compiling the grant application, a top staffer for HLF came to Northumberland and met with Lord Joicey, who took him to the Flodden battlefield where a significant conversation took place. This conversation provided the third key aspect which is the outcomes and drivers of the ecomuseum.

During this conversation, the HLF staffer provided insight into the core thinking of HLF. The staffer said that those at HLF, when looking to the future and thinking of what cultural and social projects should be supported, see one thing very clearly. That thing is the change in demographics in the United Kingdom, one that has seen an aging population and the financial burdens that entail. Today’s older generations are living longer and they are requiring costly care for not only physical but also mental health with conditions such as dementia. Dementia and mental health care is exorbitantly expensive to provide as a national care. The HLF believes that the more they can support projects that mitigate the onset of ill health and especially dementia, then the more they will be doing and contributing to the wellbeing of the country as a whole.

The HLF staffer reiterated that this is done in two forms, the physical and the mental. The more a project can get people out and doing physical activity, the better. Equally important is getting people to engage their minds. Getting elderly people to take on a new skill or hobby and getting them to just generally engage in something, that is what HLF is about and what they thoroughly appreciate. And that is what Flodden 1513 set out to deliver.
The HLF grant necessitated outcomes that showed community and individual enhancement, particularly in the form of generating new skills and relations at the individual level and promoting mental and physical activity. The task and driver of the ecomuseum was then to supply these skills, relations, and activities for the community. Thus the reason for the ecomuseum and why its operates is to promote and provide opportunities for engagement of both the mind and body. This contributes to the bettering of the individual which increases the general well-being of the community. The outcomes were not economics nor tourism driven but rather individually and societally driven. The HLF cared about volunteer hours and upskilling, not economic growth.

It was evident that the community wanted to commemorate the anniversary, but more than that, they wanted a reinvigoration of their heritage and wanted to attain a more profound understanding and appreciation of their history and heritage. The upcoming anniversary, the desires of the community, and the wants of HLF all three came together in great harmony to assemble the Flodden 1513 Ecomuseum. The want of the HLF to improve mental and physical wellbeing, especially in the elderly, coupled perfectly with the community of Northumberland and the Scottish Borders (that is of an older demographic) wanting more knowledge and activity. The anniversary of the battle acted as an optimal catalyst triggering the means by which these wants would be met. The 500th anniversary was the excuse and reason but much had been stirring and brewing in the community long before then. The anniversary gave an excuse to weave together all the works that were at play or in desire throughout the community.

When it was decided that something would be done through the creation of an ecomuseum, it was not then that these events and undertakings then came to be. Rather, it was that the ecomuseum provided a sense of connection and network for the many separate
community events that were already in the works. The ecomuseum provided means or a platform to enable this community to dynamically network in a myriad of ways and on a myriad of levels. The outcomes stipulated by the HLF grant were conducive to and cohesive with a bottom-up approach and an environment focused on accessibility and approachability.

*Summary of Lord Joicey and three aspects of the ecomuseum*

From this, it is clear that Lord Joicey was the orchestrator of habitus and that the setup of the ecomuseum and its reason for operation are influential and impactful. Asking how the ecomuseum is setup and why it operates yields an answer composed of three key aspects. These aspects should be kept in consideration when analyzing and discussing Flodden 1513 Ecomuseum.

The bottom-up approach forms a foundation that is conducive to an environment and atmosphere of approachability and accessibility. Relationships are built within this atmosphere and environment that promote approachability and accessibility. It is this environment that fosters these relationships that in turn provide activity and engagement, thus affording the outcomes desired by the HLF. All three of these aspects benefit one another. The ecomuseum is built with a bottom-up approach and strives for an approachable and accessible environment in order to best engage the individuals interacting and participating within the ecomuseum. Without the ecomuseum and its bottom-up approach, accessible and approachable environment, and its desired outcomes, there would be no agents interacting and forming relationships. These three aspects thus function as the frame within which agents are interacting.

In viewing the ecomuseum as habitus it can thus be considered that these three aspects are thereby key characteristics of habitus within the ecomuseum context. The notion
of habitus has a counterpart found in the notion of nexus in Gell’s theory. This is a tendril of similarity. These three aspects are then also characteristics of the nexus. Consequently, these three aspects will influence and impact the bonding, bridging, and linking relations as well as the various forms of socio-cultural capital being formed within the ecomuseum or habitus. Additionally, these aspects will influence and impact the agent/patient relationships occurring within the nexus or ecomuseum.

Importantly, the ecomuseum only exists because of the heritage that exists. This notion of heritage is derived from Laurajane Smith’s re-theorized definition that states that heritage is the “cultural tools that societies use to remember and, in that process of remembering, construct meanings that have relevance and utility to the present.” Under this definition, “the heritage place then becomes a space -- both physically and conceptually -- around which particular social problems, debates or issues are (re)negotiated. What this theorization does is open up the conceptual space so that we are less obsessed with the object or site and are able to consider the “work” that heritage as a cultural process does in society.” In this regard, heritage is not just the physical and material but also the cultural process. Heritage is both space and place.

Without heritage there would be no ecomuseum. There would be nothing to engage with, nothing to interact with or form relationships around and with. The material and the sites are “given value by the act of naming them heritage and by the process of heritage negotiations and re/creations that may occur at them.” The ecomuseum sites have been

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80. Waterton and Smith, “No such thing,” 16.
81. Ibid.
82. Ibid.
named heritage and are the point of departure for the ecomuseum itself. The ecomuseum is composed of these sites and the cultural processes occurring around and at them.

In considering heritage as a process, the role of the material and the material agent will first be discussed and analyzed. Then the agent/patient relationship will be investigated. The first two sections utilize Gell’s theory to answer how the relationships within the ecomuseum are formed. Next, the three avenues, archaeology, education, and documentary research, by which human and material agents interact within the ecomuseum will be analyzed and discussed. These three avenues revolve around a very physical or material entity. The programming and operations of these three avenues are centered and focused on activity and connecting the community members with their material heritage. These three sections utilize the theory of socio-cultural capitals to answer why the relationship within the ecomuseum are formed.

1. The role of the material

   The main argument and finding of this section is that first, the material was the catalyst for the existence of the ecomuseum and secondly, the role of the material was guided by three aspects of the ecomuseum. The bottom-up approach was instrumental in organizing the sites, maintaining approachability and accessibility were top concerns in deciding how sites would be organized, and the outcomes and drivers heavily influenced the way sites were to be used and what types of interaction would occur. Through the ecomuseum, many sites saw a renewal of interest and engagement.

   The history and the material was a fundamental reason for the formation of the ecomuseum and thus the relationships operating within it. The members of the community had a desire to connect and interact more. It is imperative to keep in mind that the only reason
for these community members to be interacting with one another and engaging themselves individually is because of history and heritage. It is the place, the landscape, the sites, the objects, but also identity, society, and the intangible heritage that gives a reason and provides a purpose for people to engage and participate with one another and within themselves. This reverberates back to one of the main motivations for the formation of the ecomuseum and that was the want in the community for more knowledge and activity relating to their heritage and history. The ecomuseum provides an entity for fostering a sense of community and for the creation of relationships and connections within the community. The ecomuseum also provides an entity for fostering a sense of place and for the formation and negotiation of identity.

There are thirty-two physical sites of Flodden 1513 Ecomuseum. The majority of the sites are located in Northumberland and the Scottish Borders, also known as the Till Valley or Tweed Valley. Most of the sites are unmanned and free to access. Many are open twenty-four-seven and many others like the churches are open during daylight hours. Importantly, there is no competition or hierarchy among the sites. This nonhierarchical organization of the sites stems from the bottom-up approach of the ecomuseum and is congruent with fostering approachability and accessibility. The open access and open hours of the sites greatly contribute to an atmosphere of accessibility and approachability within the ecomuseum.

Further initiatives to encourage this nonhierarchical set up include the community decision not to have a central visitors center. At the very beginning, Lord Joicey assumed that one of the first orders of business would be to establish a central visitors center. During one of the first meetings, it was made clear that the community did not want a central visitors center. The rationale for this was that in setting up a central visitors center, it would have to be located in one specific physical location. A particular town or village would have had to
been chosen, and why that town and not another? It would create competition and envy within the community. It would establish a hierarchy. A central visitors center would not align with a bottom-up approach and a nonhierarchical organization. A visitors center would designate a certain locality as the center and there is no true center to an ecomuseum. An ecomuseum is a network connecting many horizontal centers or sites.

Instead, the Flodden 1513 Ecomuseum website was set up and created to act as a virtual visitors center and the website continues to act as such today. Because of the bottom-up approach, the community was able to communicate that a visitors center was not wanted. The bottom-up structure allowed for the website to become the agreed upon virtual visitors center. The website functions as the virtual hub for all the sites thus allowing the horizontal and parallel organization of the sites. The use of the website as the hub also helps maintain the environment of approachability and accessibility.

In becoming an ecomuseum site, the ownership went unchanged as did the management and maintenance. The changes that did occur with becoming an ecomuseum site were changes to accommodate the desired outcomes. Cycling, walking, and running trails were created connecting some of these sites. There was also a ramp and stair trail installed that leads from Branxton Church to the top of Flodden Hill, where the cross monument that was erected in 1910 stands. These trails were created to encourage community members to get outdoors and to become more active. This met the outcomes desired by the HLF to improve physical wellbeing.

Some of the greatest effects from becoming an ecomuseum site were related to identification, perception, and awareness. This was particularly true for some of the smallest sites. In becoming an ecomuseum site it refreshed and renewed that site within the psyche of the community. It often brought about a new awareness and appreciation for the site and in
many cases a re-identification with the site. The best example of this is in three small churches that are ecomuseum sites. These are Ladykirk Church in Scotland, Bolton Chapel in England, and Swinton Church in Scotland. Prior to the ecomuseum, these three churches were just ordinary village churches, they had no special meaning attached to them apart from their local histories and significance. Their only activity consisted of a weekly Sunday service.

After they became ecomuseum sites, the history and heritage of these churches were revived. They are now seeing a lot of extra traffic and interest. People are doing research into their families from the gravestones in these churches’ yards. The community has gotten much more interested in the churches’ affairs. Bolton is a particularly tiny place and they are very proud to have their chapel be an ecomuseum site.

Ladykirk Church is administered by the Church of Scotland and during the project the Church of Scotland decided to close Ladykirk Church. The minister of Ladykirk was not pleased with that decision and organized for everyone to write letters requesting the church to remain open. The entire ecomuseum community came together and was able to reverse the decision by the Church of Scotland. Ladykirk Church remained open and was even moved out of the direct care of the Church of Scotland and into local care and governance. Because of the ecomuseum and network of resources available within it, Ladykirk Church was not closed.

The ecomuseum prompted a renewal of appreciation and attachment to its sites, especially these three small churches. Ladykirk Church was a member and a site helping to form the ecomuseum, so when it was threatened with closure the community could not let that happen. It would have been a loss. The community would have lost access to part of its heritage. The plot of land the church sits upon, the churchyard, the graves and their markers,
the building itself, all of it, both separately and together, make for a heritage site. A space where cultural processes occur and a place that resonates and reflects the history and heritage of the area and its people both past and present. A community member’s identity is simultaneously negotiated within that space and revealed through the material presence and existence of the place. There is much history to the church and its yard, but that history is also ingrained into the physicalness of the church. That history is entrenched into the land and into the place. To close the church and deny access would be to close and deny access to a piece of heritage and identity. That is why the community was so fervent to keep that closure from happening, and so they successfully did.

2. Gell’s agent/patient relationship: Ladykirk Church

The main argument and finding of this section is that firstly, there is an agent and a patient in every relationship and interaction within a nexus, and the agent and patient may be interpreted in many different ways. Agency is mediated and transferred in many ways simultaneously. Linear formulas and tree structures illustrate some differing interpretations and indicate the many combinations and possibilities. By looking at the agent/patient relationship both roles are able to be analyzed and one role is not emphasized more than the other. It is not about the individual roles but about the relationship and dynamic between an agent and a patient.

In looking at the ecomuseum site of Ladykirk Church, one can imagine the relationship between the church building and a member of the congregation. That relationship manifests and unfolds within a “nexus,” the context in which a material entity mediates social agency according to Gell. The concept and definition of nexus is similar to the concept and definition of habits, which is one of the two key tendrils of similarity. When using the
terminology associated with socio-cultural capitals, one would say this relationship exists within a habitus. When using Gell’s terminology it is said that this relationship exists within a nexus. Both nexus and habitus are anchored by a core relationship which is the second key tendril of similarity.

Within this nexus are two key positions, the agent and the patient, these two form the core relationship of the nexus. The agent acts upon a patient by way of four key terms, the “index,” the “artist,” the “recipient,” and the “prototypes.” The Index is the material entity, the Artist is the person to whom is credited responsibility for the existence of the index, the Recipient is the relational counterpart to the index, and the Prototypes are beings that are represented in the index. In every instance of mediated social agency the positions of agent and patient may be found in any one of these four terms. Every instance of social agency may also be interpreted in different ways. One interpretation might see the index acting as agent while another might see the index acting as patient.

In looking at relationships between human and material agents occurring in a nexus, it is helpful to break down the dynamics by looking at the involved terms and positions (agent and patient) in order to decipher where the transference of agency occurs. This is also helpful as it allows both the human and the material to be analyzed on the same level without one being more centric than the other. Humans have the tendency to interpret human/material relationships as being human centric and as being mediated mostly by the human. The default thinking is that agency lies with the human, but this is not always the case. The material element can be the exeter and mediator of agency, not the human.

Linear formulas, as provided by Gell, are a tool used to illustrate and express the dynamics of a social relation. These linear formulas use ‘A’ to designate agent and ‘P’ to

designate patient. Either ‘A’ or ‘P’ is attached to the term (index, artist, recipient, or prototype) which is acting as either agent or patient. An arrow (→) represents the exertion of agency so ‘Index-A → Recipient-P’ is read as the index acting as agent exerts agency to the recipient which is acting as patient. Interpreting instances of mediated social agency through the use of linear formulas is helpful because it can highlight some of the more concealed and minute dynamics at play. The linear formulas provide an answer as to how the relationships are formed within the ecomuseum.

In this example, the building of Ladykirk Church is interpreted to be the index and to be acting as agent. The congregation member is the recipient and is acting as patient. The church building is exerting agency to the congregation member which is receiving that agency as patient. The architect of the church is the artist, and without delving into theological theory, God is the prototype.

The core dynamic or relationship is the agent/patient relationship, so with this example that is the relationship between the building and the congregation member with the index (the building) acting as agent, and the recipient (the congregation member) acting as patient. The linear equation, as provided by Gell, to express this relationship is: Index-A → Recipient-P.84 This formula is the one that typically illustrates “passive spectatorship,”85 which is what is occurring in this relationship, but not solely or entirely so.

\[
\text{Index-A} \rightarrow \text{Recipient-P}
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(Physical building of the church exerts agency to the congregation member)

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85. Ibid.
Also easily interpreted in this situation and interaction is the inverse of Index-A → Recipient-P. The inverse of this social relation is one where the recipient is acting as agent and the index is acting as patient. To illustrate this social relation the linear formula is written as: Recipient-A → Index-P.

Recipient-A → Index-P

(Congregation member exerts agency to the physical building of the church)

It is not surprising that both of these social relations can be detected or deciphered within this example. There is “almost always a sense in which the recipient of a work of art can see their own agency in the index.”86 This is certainly true for the relationship between a church building and a member of that church. “A religious congregation, for instance, is entitled to think that their piety and devotion were contributory to the causation of the cathedral in which they worship, [knowing] even though this cathedral was constructed centuries earlier... that the cathedral was erected with them in mind, the future generations of worshippers therein.”87 Ladykirk Church is no cathedral, but it is still an index acting as agent that works by producing identification.

The reason the Church of Scotland, a huge power and authority, reversed a decision of theirs is because they received so many letters from community members asking them to do so. Northumberland and the Scottish Borders is not a populous nor prominent region but together the community can make their voice heard on a national level as they did. Many individual community and congregation members had to care enough in order to be

86. Gell, Art and Agency, 34.

87. Ibid.
collectively heard. It proved not a difficult challenge because the relationship between the individuals and Ladykirk Church were so strong. Ladykirk Church obviously holds profound meaning for a lot of people.

The relationship between the Ladykirk Church building and a member of the church’s congregation has been analyzed through linear equations that express relational dynamics. This analysis has revealed that the material is just as much of an agent as the human. Within these relationships the material can be the mediator of agency just as easily as the human can be. The two linear formulas used to express the Ladykirk Church example are not mutually exclusive. Both situations and formulas are simultaneously occurring. There is no one definitively correct answer or interpretation. There are always multiple interpretations. The “index as agent encompasses, within itself, hierarchically subordinate ‘patient’ relationships, and conversely, the index as patient contains subordinated agency relations. The index, in other words, has an involute hierarchical structure, permitting abductions of agency at multiple levels simultaneously.” 88 There is another tool available to help illustrate these relationships, that being tree-structures. The use of tree-structures are particularly helpful in highlighting the crucial idea that there are abductions of agency occurring at different levels at the same time.

These two tree structures are illustrating the same relationship, that is between the
church building and a member of the congregation. One structure uses the formula, Index-A
→ Recipient-P, as the first distribution. The other structure uses the formula, Recipient-A →
Index-P, as its first distribution. By using a tree structure both formula can simultaneously be
expressed through one figure. “These formulae just provide a means of distinguishing
between different distributions of agent/patient relations.” Multiple distributions are always
at play but each distribution highlights the dynamics of the relationship in a slightly different
way. The benefit of the tree structure is that it allows multiple distributions to be illustrated
within one figure.

There are a great number of relationships within the ecomuseum that can each be
interpreted or read in a number of different ways. What is common among all these
relationships is an agent and a patient. These agent and patient relationships transpire across

89. Gell, Art and Agency, 56.
three main avenues of the ecomuseum. These are archaeology, education, and documentary research or paleography. These three avenues supply the opportunity for community members to participate in activities and knowledge enhancement. It was along these three avenues that many events were held and many things were done during the funded project years. From these three avenues there have been some major lasting developments on many levels. On the lowest level, which concerns the individual, there was a great deal of upskilling and relationship building. On the higher levels, new societies and organizations were formed.

The theory of socio-cultural capitals is now utilized to provide an answer as to why the relationships are formed along these avenues within the ecomuseum by tracing bonding, bridging, and linking and the different forms of socio-cultural capital. The operationalization of the theory of socio-cultural capitals indicates the motivations of the agents therefore supplying an answer as to why relationships form within the ecomuseum.

3. Archaeology

   The main argument and finding within this section is that agents within the archaeology avenue participated in bonding, bridging, and linking relations that enabled them to gain various forms of socio-cultural capital. The establishment of two new archaeological organizations serves as prime evidence for how socio-cultural capitals are gained. These organizations demonstrate how the forms of socio-cultural capital are built up and gained through bonding, bridging, and linking relations.

   The first avenue explored is archaeology which is a main theme of Flodden 1513. Archaeology was something the community was very enthusiastic about and excited for. With the HLF grant a lead archaeologist was hired, Dr. Chris Burgess, and an archaeology program was created. The basis for the program was to train anyone who might be interested to learn
the skills and practices of archaeology. Seminars and workshops were held to provide instruction, information, and background on the discipline of archaeology and on what an archaeologist does. This desk or book information was then put into practice and action during excavations. Community members volunteered their time and energy to attend these seminars and workshops to acquire the knowledge in order to practice archaeology at the digs. Not all training was done in a classroom setting. Much training was done hands on and on site. The community member volunteers learned to plan, sketch, and design a dig. These volunteers went on to successfully plan and carry out excavations.

The hours that these volunteers gave as well as their skill improvements were tracked using a “Skills Passport.”90 This Skills Passport was developed by David Connolly and is a way to track time spent and skills learned.91 As a volunteer spent time at a seminar or a dig they would get their passport signed by the site manager for the hours they spent and the skills they learned or improved upon. By the end of the funded project time, in 2016, many of these volunteers had acquired major archaeological skills and experience. “If you went on one of the community digs, maybe apart from this site director, it would be very difficult to say who was the volunteer and who was the professional, especially towards the end of the project when some of the volunteers were really well skilled and trained by that stage and really amazing. Some of the volunteers got to the point where when we did the big dig with the schools it was some of the volunteers who basically set up the excavation.”92 The excavations that took place in the later part of the project time were typically drawn, planned, and designed by volunteers, not the professionals.

90. Miller, “Interview,” 141.
91. Ibid.
92. Ibid., 138.
On a very individual level, there was immense improvement and upskilling. Many community members, who had never had any sort of experience or exposure to archaeology before, through the ecomuseum, were able to learn the skills of an archaeologist and then put them to use excavating. Most of these volunteers are of an older age making this upskilling all the more important and relevant.

These volunteer community members, under the leadership of Chris Burgess, set up a new archaeological society. This society is called Till Valley Archaeology Society (TillVAS) and operates in the greater Northumberland area. As of March 2017, membership had reached 123 which included the society’s first overseas member. Interest continues to grow both locally and in a wider context. This society is a strong lasting remnant from the funded archaeological project period.

The avenue of archaeology was not tailored only to the older volunteers but also to the younger members of the community. In the United Kingdom, there is a national organization called Young Archaeologists’ Club (YAC) that has branches that operate throughout the nation. There is a YAC branch in Edinburgh, Scotland and one in New Castle, England. Northumberland and the Borders lie directly between Edinburgh and New Castle but did not have their own branch of YAC. Through the ecomuseum and all its archaeological activities, a group of youths interested in archaeology became prominent. These youths were also volunteers gaining the skills and knowledge needed to practice archaeology. The youths were also participating in the excavations putting their newly acquired skills and knowledge to use. It was decided to form a Flodden YAC branch and this new branch plugged the gap that existed between Edinburgh and New Castle. This new local branch allowed youths located in the area the ability to join something that would provide them the opportunity to continue learning and practicing archaeology.
Both TillVAS and Flodden YAC are still operating and active although they are now working in different contexts than Flodden. For example, during the research trip in May of 2017, the Flodden YAC spent a Saturday digging in the limestone works found on the coast in Berwick. Members of the TillVAS club typically join Flodden YAC on their activity days, as they did that Saturday in Berwick. With this, it becomes clear that the ecomuseum operated and continues to operate as a vehicle allowing for lines of connection and relation to be drawn. The Flodden 1513 Ecomuseum inspired both TillVAS and Flodden YAC to be formed. The two organizations collaborate and work together a great deal. Resources, both material and human, are shared between the organizations.

These types of relations can be analyzed and described using the tools supplied by socio-cultural capitals, bridging, bonding, and linking. Within the ecomuseum, the archaeology volunteers formed relations with one another while individually learning and growing. These relations formed are bonding relations as they occur within a homogenous group, that is typically older retiree aged community members. So one volunteer making friends with another volunteer during their time spent at seminars and excavations is a bonding friendship. These bonding relations grew to a point that a want for a collective society was developed. That collective want, which was birthed from bonding relations, gave way to TillVAS.

Similar bonding relations took place within the younger community members. The young archaeology volunteers also cultivated friendships during their time spent learning and upskilling. These are also bonding relations. These bonding relations grew to the point that a branch to encapsulate these young volunteers was formed. Thus Flodden YAC was founded. The young members of YAC formed connections with the members of TillVAS. The
relationships formed between these two groups are bridging relations because they are between heterogeneous groups.

Further relations were formed between the volunteers, both young and old, and the professionals that were instructing and guiding them. These relations between the volunteers or lay people and the professionals are linking relations, to the extent that the professionals have relative power or authority over the volunteers. These linking relations may also be seen as functioning to break down barriers and increase approachability. A repeated outcome of the ecomuseum is the breaking down of borders and barriers. The ecomuseum strives to promote approachability and accessibility to all and for all. This is deeply connected to the bottom-up approach that is another essential quality of the ecomuseum.

Linking relations have a vertical dimension and contribute to increasing approachability and accessibility. Linking relations describe those relations that are between those in an authority or power position and those that are under that position of power or authority. By definition, linking relations operate by crossing between positions and divides of authority or power. As linking relations form between volunteers and professionals, the boundaries between the two become increasingly blurred. Linking relations enable volunteers to feel comfortable, at ease, and on the same level as professionals. Linking relations foster approachability and accessibility.

By employing bonding, bridging, and linking the many relations and connections that were forged through the archaeology avenue of the ecomuseum can be made more legible and can be seen in greater detail. Furthermore, bonding, bridging, and linking help illuminate the interconnections and influence between the many relations. The three types of relationship forming help show interrelational dynamics and impact, specifically how bonding relations can morph into bridging relations and those into linking.
In keeping with the socio-cultural capitals application, the different forms of socio-cultural capital may also be deciphered in these relations and dynamics. As an individual volunteer gains knowledge or acquires a new skill, such as sketching or planning a dig, they are gaining human capital. As an individual volunteer expanded their network of relations by forming a friendship with another volunteer they were increasing their social capital. Also contributing to gains in social capital would be the joining of TillVAS or Flodden YAC. Group membership is a source of social capital so by joining either of those groups one was increasing their social capital.

As an individual gained human capital through knowledge acquisition and then social capital through group membership, they were also building their intellectual and educational assets thus building their cultural capital. Assets that allow for social mobility within a society are sources of cultural capital. By a volunteer becoming well trained, educated, and connected they increased their personal assets that could potentially mobilize them within society. Thus they increased their cultural capital. The choice a volunteer makes to obtain archaeological knowledge and skills and to invest their time and energy in participating in archaeological activities and organizations is a choice and investment made in a particular identity. Therefore, that volunteer is negotiating and forming their identity, thus impacting their identity capital.

It may seem as though identity capital is the end goal and aim, and while that might be true in some regards, identity capital can not occur without the presence of the other forms. All forms of socio-cultural capital are dependent upon the existence of the other forms. Socio-cultural capitals is one body or organism but with four separately operating organs. While human capital is the most basic, simple, and concrete, it is also the most fundamental. Without gains in human capital it is extremely difficult if not impossible to
make gains in the other forms. This is why the core relationship for the theory of socio-cultural capitals is the relationship between human and social capital. This core relationship is one of the tendrils of similarity. The relationship between human and social capital can be likened to the core relationship between the agent and the patient in Gell’s nexus. It is imperative for human capital to be gained which leads to gains of social capital. Once those two forms have been gained the other forms of capital are also then possible to gain. First and foremost, human and social capital must form a relationship.

The archaeology avenue was focused on activity and on engaging with the material. The program aimed to get as many volunteers as many field hours as possible, and with that get their skills as strong as possible. It was a very successful program and the only way to be successful was to have people repeatedly come and partake in excavations and workshops. The community genuinely enjoyed it and wanted to be doing it. Many individuals greatly benefited from building and growing a relationship with their heritage through learning and practicing archaeology.

4. Education

The main argument and finding in this section is how integral the outcome aspect and the environment of approachability and accessibility were to the education program. The outcomes determined the main mode of operation for the program. The approachable and accessible environment made the gains and formation of socio-cultural capitals possible. Dynamics between pupils and teachers, between pupils and heritage, and between professionals was made as open and accessible as possible.

The second key avenue of the ecomuseum is the education program. In the application for an HLF grant, the education component was a major aspect. While the grant
stipulations provided much freedom as far as activities and knowledge enhancement were concerned, there were greater specificities related to the education component. The HLF funds allowed for the hiring of a few key positions including an educational officer. Jane Miller was brought on as the educational officer and she developed a formal educational program revolving around Flodden. Miller is employed by the Woodhorn Trust which operates Berwick Museum where Miller works from.

The HLF grant asked for the project to reach some 20,000 school children. This number and model was written by someone in New Castle so was more tailored to an urban setting and model. The schools in Northumberland and the Borders are extremely small schools sometimes with classes of only twelve students. Because the target numbers were so high it was thought that this would be a great challenge. It proved not to be as great a challenge as expected, and the target number was almost reached in the end. This number did restrict the efforts of the educational program though. The outcomes forced the program to focus solely on schools and getting school groups through because that was the only way the target number might possibly be reached.

What the educational program entailed was a hands on activity for school groups, mostly primary school aged groups, located in the area. The youngest age pupils were four and five years old and the oldest ages were eleven and twelve. Typically, Miller spent two days with the students. On the first day she would go to the school and do an in classroom workshop that provided background information that also prompted the students to ask questions and engage in discussions. On the second day Miller would take the students out in the field and visit a couple of the ecomuseum sites. The students would always visit the battlefield, but then they also usually also visited the Peace Garden at Crookham Church, Etal Castle, and Heatherslaw Mill.
The program was quite flexible and adaptable. Many different variations of the educational program took place as there was a range of ages and schools involved as well as differing curriculums. Other museums and sites got involved including the Coldstream Museum which is in the town of Coldstream located on the Scottish side of the border. Some school groups did their workshop in the Coldstream Museum rather than their school’s classroom. Andrew Tulloch and the Coldstream Museum hosted many of these workshops and activity days. The Berwick Museum also hosted school groups for their workshops days. Miller made a real effort to form good relationships with the class teachers and work with the teachers on an individual level to deliver and plan a program that was best suited to that teacher’s class.

The feedback that Miller received from the schools, teachers, and students was very positive and encouraging. During the funded period of the project this educational program was offered freely to the schools. The project was about enhancing and engaging both the mental and the physical, not about increasing economics in the area. The schools that partook in the educational program have continued to do so now after the funding has ended. These schools now pay for the program offering (as there is no funding). This is indisputable evidence that there is benefit in the Flodden 1513 Ecomuseum educational offering. But what was it that made this educational offering so successful and achieve such good results?

To start off, this educational program positioned itself as not being within the school or educational institution, it was designed to be very accessible and approachable. The program was very practically focused and its prime purpose was to get the pupils out into the landscape to experience the place and learn hands on through doing. Miller believes that this is so crucial because “heritage is out there.. you've got to go look at it and explore it.”

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program was not centered on instruction and teaching but centered on experience and active participation.

Accompanying the positioning of the program outside of the institutional realm, was that the program wanted to make students feel more comfortable in approaching teachers or authorities and to make them feel more comfortable in asking a question or sharing their opinion. The program was constructed so that students could learn in different environments. Ones that were removed from the box that schools and institutions place students within. Miller had the students call her by her first name, Jane, to help create this environment of ease and comfortability. Students were encouraged to question what they were being told and shown. Within this non school-like environment, students with abilities and talents that are maybe not as easily highlighted within the institutional box, are given the opportunity to shine.

Obviously, the educational program was extremely successful and beneficial for the students but it was also for the teachers and adults involved. Miller greatly expanded her professional network. Many bridging relations were formed between Miller and the other museum education staff members and the teachers and administrators of the schools. Bonding relations were also formed among the teachers, among the museum staff, and among the pupils. The linking relations formed were especially vital because these linking relations are the ones formed between the students and the adult authorities, and it is through these linking relations that the aim of approachability is achieved.

Everyone involved in the educational programs were also forming and gaining forms of socio-cultural capitals. For a student involved, they gained human capital as they gained new skills and they gained social capital through the relationships they formed. The teachers and adults also gained social capital through the relationships they formed, and they gained
cultural capital through their increases in their educational assets. The gains in cultural capital allow them more societal mobility.

Embedded within the education avenue were activities and exhibitions held by the two community museums, Coldstream Museum and Berwick Museum, that are both ecomuseum sites. Coldstream Museum and Berwick Museum collaborated to put on three exhibitions during the project’s run. These two museums are located only about fifteen miles from one another, yet they had never worked together before. It was only through the ecomuseum that these two museums first participated in a joint effort or project together. Anne Moore is the curator of Berwick Museum and had never worked with Andrew Tulloch and the Coldstream Museum before. As of today, they have now done three exhibitions together thanks to the ecomuseum. Tulloch and Moore have an informal agreement that every two years they would like to get together and do an exhibition that would be shared between their two museums.

This type of relationship and informal agreement is what an ecomuseum is all about and how an ecomuseum continues on. The bonding relations formed between these curators and other museum professionals have directly benefitted the museums they respectively work for. These professionals saw great increases in social and cultural capital through the widening of their professional networks.

The education avenue was so positively received and so successful because it provided an opportunity for the students to get outdoors and connect and learn about the landscape and the history and heritage it holds. Through interactivity and outdoor learning activities at ecomuseum sites, the educational program “aimed to enhance a sense of place and identity, pride and ownership by increasing the value that children place on their local
environment.” The education program taught and encouraged many pupils by increasing access to heritage and making heritage more approachable.

5. Documentary research/paleography

The main argument and finding within this avenue is the clear demonstration of how the building blocks of socio-cultural capitals construct themselves along bonding, bridging, and linking relations. This avenue is exceptionally focused on individuals learning and performing a specific skill, paleography. That skill builds into other forms of socio-cultural capital and breeds relationships that ultimately have reaching impact on identity. The skills and relationships gained at the first level of building blocks are reflected in the upper levels of building blocks.

The third and final avenue is the documentary research or paleography. Linda Bankier was the project’s lead archivist and she is the Berwick Archivist of the Berwick Archives. The goal of the documentary research program was to find in the archives any material that spoke to the battle and to the period immediately after the battle leading up to 1603 and 1604 when there was the unification of the English and Scottish crowns creating the United Kingdom. This material and these documents were then to be studied, deciphered, transcribed, and analyzed.

This avenue operated in a similar manner to the archaeological avenue. Workshops and seminars were held to instruct and teach community member volunteers the skills of paleography. In short, volunteers learned and became trained and skilled amateur paleographers. Much of the document reading and deciphering was done at the individual's

home on their own time. Digital pdf scans of the documents were made and assigned to a volunteer. That volunteer would work on that document on their own time and then submit it to Bankier when finished. They would then receive another document to start on, and the process would continue like so. The volunteers worked in pairs and in many of these pairs strong lasting friendships were made.

In the funding application to HLF, it was stated that the goal was to train 20 volunteers in the skills of paleography and the documentary research avenue was suppose to go on for only two years. There was so much interest and enthusiasm from the community that Bankier had to expand her plans and carry out two courses to accommodate everyone. Anyone could get involved, the opportunity was open for all. It was very much done in a grassroots manner and all from the bottom up. Advertisements were run in the local newspapers informing all in the community of the opportunity to learn to be a paleographer. In total, Bankier trained 46 volunteers, and of those 46 volunteers, 40 of them have stayed with it and continue to work on different projects with Bankier.

Within the paleography program, a volunteer would learn new documentary research skills thus gaining human capital. While gaining those skills and human capital, that volunteer would also forge bonding relationships with other volunteers. Those new relationships feed into their social capital since it widens their social network. As a volunteer gains human and social capital through bonding relations, cultural capital is also gained as that volunteer’s educational and intellectual assets are increased. In the case of Flodden, as a volunteer spent enough time and energy investing in learning new skills and building new relations then their identity capital was eventually increased. The volunteers chose to invest and participate in influencing their own identity negotiation and formation. By the end of the project, a core group of these volunteers fully considered themselves experienced
paleographers. Before the project and ecomuseum, they might not have even known what paleography was, much less identity as a practitioner. The core group of volunteers is still actively working with Bankier on documents and archival research. They have moved on to other projects and topics now but they are only able to continue their practice because of the skills and relations that they acquired through their participation within the ecomuseum.

The same outcome of increasing approachability and accessibility was present in this avenue as well. Linking relations were formed between the volunteers and the professional archivists and paleographers. As these linking relations were forged the ease of approachability between volunteer and professional increased. Bankier, as a professional, saw great increases in her network through the ecomuseum. She was able to establish a relationship with other professionals that she worked with at the National Archives of Scotland, the British National Archives, the British National Library, and other similar organizations throughout the UK. Bankier greatly increased her social capital as she established connections and relations with many others in her field that she had not ever worked with before. Bankier has been able to use those new connections as a resource for other projects that she is now working on. Just as was seen with the museum professionals in Coldstream and Berwick, Bankier was given the opportunity to work with new organizations and individuals that greatly increased her own professional and personal network. Her pool of resources has grown immensely thanks to the ecomuseum. She finds the Flodden 1513 Ecomuseum to be one of the most enjoyable projects that she has ever done.

The documentary research avenue, like the other two avenues, is rooted in the material. The volunteer paleographers had a very one-on-one and intimate relationship with a single document at a time. This avenue is focused on promoting and providing interactivity between human and material agents within the ecomuseum.
Conclusion

Part one of this chapter presented the data, its methods, and its sources. Part two was the analysis and discussion and began by introducing Lord Joicey as the founding agent and answering how the ecomuseum is setup and why it operates. The analysis and discussion then answered how relationships form within the ecomuseum by investigating the role of the material and the agent/patient relationship. Why the relationships form was then answered by tracing the forms of socio-cultural capital and the types of relations as they occurred along the three main avenues of the ecomuseum.

All three avenues of the ecomuseum reveal that forms of socio-cultural capital were being gained by those involved and engaged within the ecomuseum and its programs and events. In looking at the relationships and why they were formed bonding, bridging, and linking help show the stages and progressions of relationships. An individual builds relationships with those most similar or closest to them (bonding, homogenous) then branches out to connect with those different from them (bridging, heterogeneous) and after those relations are formed there is eventual linking which connects those on different power or authority levels. It is important to remember and it is evident through the preceding analysis and discussion that the forms of socio-cultural capital operate and function as building blocks.

It needs to be reiterated how vital the material is to Flodden 1513 Ecomuseum. The first section of the preceding analysis and discussion covered the role of the material. This was done to reflect the essentialness of the material for the existence of the ecomuseum. The material plays a continuous and significant role within the ecomuseum and this is further reflected by the avenues previously analyzed. All three of the avenues are centered on
physical things. All three avenues operated with a focus on the place, the land, and the physical.

The avenues are activity, participatory, and interactively focused and driven. The avenues were geared towards connecting people with the land and the place and providing opportunities for them to get hands-on experience with heritage. The activities and programs of these avenues provided many occasions to engage the body and mind. This suited the outcomes desired by the HLF by contributing to the wellbeing of individuals and thus of society. By doing so in a way which informed of history and heritage made for a truly consequential project and a meaningful ecomuseum.

The application of the two theories, Gell and socio-cultural capitals, has provided an analysis that attests to why and how relationships are formed within the ecomuseum. With the application and conjoining of these two theories come two key tendrils of difference and two key tendrils of similarity. One difference is the focus and consideration of the human and material. The other difference is the focus on power or agency which is related to the human and material difference. One similarity is the shared quality of a core relationship and the other similarity is found in the two terms nexus and habitus. Both theories have proven fitting and beneficial for an analysis of an ecomuseum.

The use of the theories in juxtaposition has allowed for an inclusive and thorough analysis of relationships within the ecomuseum. Gell provided answers as to how relationships are formed and how agency is mediated between agents. Socio-cultural capitals provided answers as to why relationships are formed and the motivations of the agents. Together the hows and whys supply a more fleshed out answer as to the dynamics of relationships within an ecomuseum which is the central research question.
Chapter 5. Conclusion

1. Review of the study and results

The topic of this thesis is ecomuseums, which is relevant and pressing in that it is a burgeoning field with a growing pool of examples and communities. There is still much to be questioned and studied on the topic. Ecomuseums are created from, exist within, and are part of culture, to the extent that examining ecomuseums can point to much larger socio-cultural implications. Such implications and relevance are able to be drawn from the analysis of Flodden 1513 Ecomuseum. This concluding chapter outlines three key implications.

This thesis has investigated the topic of ecomuseums through the application of two theories, Gell’s art nexus as outlined in *Art and Agency* and socio-cultural capitals. The main research question being asked is, what are the dynamics of the relationships within the ecomuseum? In other words, how do the relationships develop and operate within the ecomuseum, thus allowing for its existence, continuation, and success? In relation, two subsidiary questions are asked: How are the relationships formed? And why are these relationships formed? One ecomuseum, Flodden 1513, was studied, analyzed, and discussed through the application of these two theories to provide an answer to the research question.

The answer, in short, finds that the relationships within the ecomuseum are formed between agents, both human and non, when those agents interact and participate with heritage, in the sense that the agents are engaging in cultural processes and performance by constructing value and meaning at and around heritage. Gell was used to illustrate the composite of these relationships and to indicate how agency is mediated within their interactions. Socio-cultural capitals expressed the intentions and motivations of the agents and demonstrated how agents and their relationships progress and develop. Three aspects are found to frame and guide the participation of agents within the ecomuseum. The bottom-up
approach, the environment of approachability and accessibility, and the outcome of bettering well being all impact and shape the participation and relationships within the ecomuseum. Utilizing Gell and socio-cultural capitals answered how relationships form and why they form thus providing an answer as to their dynamics.

Both theories are used to answer the research question and each brings their own focuses and emphases. There are three similarities and two key differences between these two theories, totaling in five key tendrils that map a conceptual merging of the two theories. Those five tendrils provide points of relevance, support, and benefit for the suitability of utilizing these two theories for a study of ecomuseums.

The combination of these two theories for a study of ecomuseums is unique to this thesis, yet this thesis remains firmly situated in past studies and research on ecomuseums as some of that research has suggested the importance and potential of looking at socio-cultural capitals in relation to ecomuseums. Previous research has called for more in-depth and purposefully aimed research to be done with ecomuseums and capital. This thesis has sought to answer that call. By applying the theory of socio-cultural capitals from the onset, this work has both aligned with previous research and also expanded the field by contributing a study that directly answers a call for further study made by previous research.

Coupling the theory of socio-cultural capitals with the theory of Gell’s art nexus allowed for a broader, more in-depth, and more holistic analysis of the relationships within an ecomuseum. The combination of these two theories is a major point of originality in this work. The combination enhanced the analysis of Flodden 1513 through the provisions of the conceptual merging of the two theories that is mapped through the five tendrils.

The two differences, the role of the index and the focus on power or agency, are particularly beneficial in analyzing Flodden 1513. It was these fundamental differences
between the two theories that made the conceptual merging and application of the two theories so beneficial. These differences allowed for a more comprehensive and inclusive study of the agents interacting within Flodden 1513 Ecomuseum. Within the ecomuseum, both the material and the human agents are deeply intertwined and interrelated. The pairing of socio-cultural capitals and Gell allowed for both the human and the material agents to be considered in the analysis.

From the analysis of Flodden 1513 Ecomuseum, it is clear that the community desired more opportunities for interaction and participation. They wanted to learn and engage more with their heritage. The ecomuseum has met these desires as well as the outcomes established by the HLF. The physical and mental well-being has been bettered for individuals and thus the ecomuseum community. This was achieved along three avenues that cooperated to provide ample opportunity for individuals to learn new skills, better those skills by applying them in practice, form new relationships, and become involved with other organizations and societies.

The way these individuals participated and built these skills and relationships was analyzed using socio-cultural capitals and Gell. Bonding, bridging, linking, and the forms of socio-cultural capital answered why the relationships were formed. The motivations of the agents were made clear through the application of socio-cultural capitals. Gell’s theory answered how relationships form and how different agents interact and mediate agency within a nexus.

What the analysis of Flodden 1513 Ecomuseum attests to is the impact and importance of the bottom-up approach, an approachable and accessible environment, and the outcomes established by the HLF. These three aspects have proven remarkably impactful on
the relationships within the ecomuseum. These three aspects also point to much larger socio-cultural implications.

2. Implications of the results

The bottom-up approach is the structure of Flodden 1513 Ecomuseum because it is worked into the basic notion of ecomuseum. The term ecomuseum was first used in 1971 and was contrast to traditional museums. A common way to briefly define an ecomuseum is to directly compare a traditional museum to an ecomuseum. A traditional museum is composed of a building, collections, expert staff, and visitors, whereas an ecomuseum is composed of a territory, heritage, memory, and population.95 Bottom-up is the opposite of top-down which is the standard and traditional. Ecomuseums treat heritage as dynamic and processual, which is why Laurajane Smith’s definition of heritage that re-theorizes the authorized or traditional definition of heritage is used. This same oppositional and non-traditional quality is rooted in socio-cultural capitals, which contrast the traditional economic notion of capital, and Gell, which contrasts many traditions in arts and cultural studies.

This shared non-traditional quality stems from the third tendril of similarity. This tendril traces the shared contextual similarities between Gell, socio-cultural capitals, and ecomuseums. This shared context has been identified as existing within the postmodern of which there are some key conditions such as the blurring of borders and the breaking with tradition. The theories, topics, and notions used throughout this thesis all occupy the same cultural context and operate as both symptoms of that cultural context but also constituents of

that cultural context. Consequently, this study, using those theories, topics, and notions, is able to indicate characteristics and findings that are relevant to this shared cultural context.

The bottom-up approach, as well as the implications from the other two key aspects, are related to and speak to this shared cultural context. These three aspects have further relevance and implications. All three aspects attest to the individuals constituting a society and culture thereby attesting to the conditions of that society and culture.

Achieving an environment of approachability and accessibility was something the ecomuseum community not only desired but also participated in to maintain. The postmodern condition has affected contemporary society and culture, as a result, participation and engagement are now ingrained within society and culture. The default is no longer to abide by strict disciplinary and professional bounds. Instead, accessibility and approachability, the erasure of boundaries, directs dynamics. This erasure of boundaries is a key condition of the postmodern, and this loosening of boundaries is something desired by the studied ecomuseum community. Flodden 1513 Ecomuseum, as a cross-border ecomuseum, fundamentally reflects this key condition of the postmodern. From this, it can be determined that the postmodern condition has influenced society and culture to want the loosening of bounds. While society and culture, through their want of the loosening of bounds, reflects and forms the postmodern condition. Society and culture are simultaneously both creators of and symptoms of the postmodern.

The third and final aspect is the outcomes established by the HLF. This grant had no economic drivers or outcomes. It was purely skill and activity seeking with the simple aim of engaging the body and mind. This is not a traditional grant. The outcomes break with the norm and what is usually expected. These non-traditional outcomes were an ideal fit for a non-traditional museum, an ecomuseum, that has a non-traditional structure and a non-
traditional environment. The bottom-up structure is well suited for enhancing individual well-being because the bottom-up approach focuses on the base level and the individual. The outcomes given by the HLF were easier to achieve with a bottom-up structure. The outcomes stem from a much larger issue, which is health care and the cost of caring for aging populations. While the outcomes given by the HLF were by no means economically driven, they still have economic impact and benefit. By bettering the well-being of the community, the cost of health care, especially dementia, is mitigated, thus having economic benefit.

HLF’s desire to mitigate ill health by engaging the body and mind and contributing to their society’s general well-being is something relatable to all humans. The rationale behind the outcomes is an issue and concern found all over the world. Every society seeks improvement and betterment. Engaging the body and mind is a profound yet simple task that constructs good health. Healthcare is a global issue, as is heritage. This study provides an example of an ecomuseum that functions as a vehicle for heritage management and interpretation, but that also simultaneously uses heritage to promote general well-being in individuals and society.

In conclusion, further research and study on ecomuseums and other heritage related entities are needed. Heritage is a complex and controversial concept. Many questions remain to be asked of ecomuseums and their role in heritage management and interpretation. The example of Flodden 1513 indicates that an ecomuseum is a capable and sustainable way to manage and interpret heritage. Furthermore, Flodden 1513 simultaneously provides, through heritage, the opportunity for engagement of the body and mind. This dual function of Flodden 1513 is what accounts for its success and continuation. This dual function is a major point of promise and potential and should be directly studied and investigated. There is vast
potential and opportunity for further research to focus on how organizations can both manage and interpret heritage while also enhancing the wellbeing of individuals and a community.
6. Bibliography


Tulloch, Andrew. Interview by Hilary Porter, May 16, 2017. Interview #2, transcript.


7. Appendices

1. Transcriptions of the three formal interviews

**Interview #1 with Lord Joicey, co-founder and co-coordinator of the ecomuseum**

The interview was done at Lord Joicey’s home, Etal Estate, an ecomuseum site, on Monday May 15, 2017.

Hilary: looking at scholarly articles published by other researchers on ecomuseums but specifically Flodden no one has done no major scholarly articles

Joicey: No that is really interesting. I have had a couple of approaches of people to do it, particularly in Glasgow. commemorations 2013 to 2014 when she approached me and she sent me some pretty basic formulated questions and I do my bit sent back and never heard a peep ever again. That was one there and another one was this American Girl... (struggles to remember the name)

Hilary: the one from Denver Colorado the one who was studying

Joicey: Yeah .. (I can't remember) Kate something, it will come back to me and if not well, she was doing something with eco museums but no you are probably ahead of the game here

Hilary: that was also it, it was nice to be somewhere where there is not a ton of stuff written so that is why it’s relevant and needed and especially with the project now concluded and no one has studied it or anything so yeah [00:01:51]

Joicey: great what do you want to fire off with then

Hilary: I guess we spoke on Friday a little bit about your interaction with the Swedish examples and what they've ? and then going through the minutes and documents I saw you talked about the sky staffin and I've also looked. I've never visited or anything but just through research looked at that and did see that it was much of the same of the unmanned open access sites of staffin but is there any I guess co-operation between the two ecomuseums?

Joicey: no there isn't there. There isn't anything formal or anything, it is interesting
though that starting it was the only UK example pre-existing and I went up and looked at it and I was really impressed actually. I really was. I did contact the guy and I said where are you going with this? And he said we are going nowhere with this and I said what do you mean you're going nowhere with this? He said we put it all together we did as good of a job as we possibly can on the interpretive panels and everything it's really nice

>> Wife, Harriet, enters the room and is introduced to me and asks when lunch shall be ready.

Joicey talks about us getting swept up by the Farrs for cricket. Lucas talks about his sportsman ways.<<<<

Joicey: so he said we're not going anywhere with this our aim was to do the panels get them in as good of a shape as we possibly could and then walk away about it because 1000 million years of geology on staffin is not going to change. Interestingly, last year I heard that they have gone back to it. Now why and how, I do not know but I cannot think of who it was that told me this, but somebody said "I have been up to staffin and they have revisited it."

Hilary: I think they received big funding in maybe 2015 or 2016 and with that big funding well I was reading that they are calling it now Sky II. So with that so, huge Heritage Lottery Fund that gave them a huge amount and with that it kinda seems that well with the first they did it and set it all up and then they saw how successful it was and that it was bringing in tourism and money and so they were like well that? and get more money?

Joicey: no. no formal

Hilary: is there any sort of competition it all?

Joycie: <<shakes his head>> no,

Hilary: but the influence from the Skye staffin is very similar to the influence from the Swedish examples? [00:06:00]

Joycie: I think the Sky one was really interesting for me because it was the only ecomuseum example that I could find including the Swedish one and Italian ones that was historically based on what happened geologically on Sky all those millions of years ago and how it characterized the landscape and how the people
who work and live there now are dependent upon that geology so there is no risk of loss. But like I said on Friday about the Swedish one and the Italian ones being about kind of based around a real or perceived immediate loss of a traditionally speaking way. I could not find any of that and staffin is, the only thing I can say about staffin is that it has what in Scotland is known as Crofters the Old Gaelic speaking small time farmers that scratch a living and that is perhaps going. Those old ways will not be around forever but with us, no there is no loss.

Hilary: with developing the ecomuseum was there any part of the model that you found difficult to incorporate into your specific ecomuseum? So from the philosophy or model was there any kind of aspect that aspect that was difficult?

Joicey: of the greater model?

Hilary: yeah of the greater model. I don't know if you know but George Corsane has these 21 indicators.

Joicey: yes

Hilary: so is there any big aspect whether ecological or sustainable or something that was?

Joicey: That's a really interesting question. I think the answer is no. Yeah, the plain answer is no, but we kind of went into this not really knowing what we were going to come up with. We didn't follow a model. Peter Davis said there is no such thing as a model. The only model that he gives is that necklace. You know his necklace drawing with the clasp, and we are the clasp hanging it all together? All ecomuseums he believes you can boil them down to that schematic. So from terms of philosophy and the buildup of it and the structure of it, no. What lessons did I learn is probably the question here kinda. Well, I learnt from Sweden that it is really important not to be dominated by local authorities, you know the top down imposing.

Hilary: so the bottom up was crucial?

Joicey: Yes, everybody wanted to join in. Those hundred community events that they wanted to put on. There are these groups coming together, no one has told them to do it yet they do it. They said Flodden is coming up and we want to commemorate it. I don't know if you travel around or I don't know how it is in America much or if you travel around but in Europe we have these trails where you are taken from pillar to pillar like in France you have the wine trail but they are
tourist driven they are really there to create tourist traffic. There is the whiskey trail in Scotland but they are generated by The Tourist authority to direct you guys from abroad that are in their hired car. Well, we don't want that because that's imposed from the top down and we are very much just letting things happen. We have no real model, we just have this necklace like Peter Davis said and he said "you got to hang in there and be the clasp of the necklace and ? ... ? these folks are coming to you and you help people get in touch with each other and just see what happens in [00:10:48]

Hilary: so you wouldn't be able to say if there is one weakness of Flodden?

Joicey: I think the weakness now after it is all over is finance.

Hilary: finance.

Joicey: the question is what is expected of us now by the community, by the Flodden community number one. What do we, us, George and I, as Flodden ecomuseum, what do we expect of ourselves and where we are taking this company and see how we are going to fund it all? So far the funding we have had pretty much is from Heritage Lottery Fund. And a bit of a top up by the local authorities but small top up. We've got a small bank account but not much. But where are we going with this? There are one of two answers to that. Ford and Etal because we are bigger than George.. did he explained that he is farm focused?

Hilary: He didn't really explain much but I kinda looked into it

Joicey: He's got his own similar sort of operation but no tourism he is just not into that stuff or that world. But we've got something to tap into, we have got marketing for example. That brochure and such So we will lean a lot on Ford and Etal.

Hilary: So Ford and Etal are the means by which..?

Joicey: by which we will continue

Hilary: And you get that finance?

Joicey: Yes, and allow us to market for example. so we've got that with the brochure and the website that we originally created for Flodden. We migrated the
platform of that on to the Ford and Etal platform which meant a bit of a change of language but we got it across. Now going forward as we modify Ford and Etal we also modify Flodden. So all access codes is all going to Elspeth at the office who you met briefly on Friday. She now does the website but it's all basically on the Ford and Etal platform now. So we try to look ahead in that regard and look at the website engine and keep that warm because we really see that it will be our main vehicle by far and away

Hilary: Would you say that the ecomuseum is embedded in Ford and Etal then?

Joicey: Definitely, the ecomuseum is now embedded in Ford and Etal. The thinking of the administration behind it is because Ford and Etal already had it set up. Because it's just easy, we were dealing with it anyway. Why recreate

Hilary: The infrastructure is already there and setup.

Joicey: yeah

Hilary: What was the greatest unforeseen challenge?

Joicey: Wow oh Hilary

Hilary: Or was there something that you said this could be difficult, this could be testy. Or was there a challenge or difficulty that you never really thought would be a challenge or if there wasn't any that's also an answer.

Joicey: I think the answer here is that when we first started to talk about Flodden and question what we should all be doing about the commemoration and slowly these people came out of the woodwork and said we would do a flower festival or a book. And at the same time as they were doing that they were saying it would be quite nice to know a little bit more about the archaeology of the Battlefield, about the documentary evidence that is around in all the museums throughout Great Britain that have never really been read or investigated. It would be quite nice to get the profile of Flodden raised in the national psyche, get a little bit of publicity, get into schools, and then get these sites all joined together into the ecomuseum network. That is what they felt the common the commonality of the project was. That everyone would be interested in that whether you lived here or you're an academic in Bristol or Edinburgh or with Historic Scotland, everyone
looks to those four strains as the commonality of what should be done for work at the time of the commemoration. With a challenge, to come back to your question, is how do we organize all of that and pay for it frankly? George and I are sitting here on the board thinking we can't do this, yet someone has to do this, and that's why we created the company in the end and why we used the company as the vehicle to appeal to the Heritage Lottery for funding. So that £880,000 Grant that we were given was to the ecomuseum company.

Hilary: the Ltd?

Joicey: Exactly. So it was how do we organize this thirst for additional knowledge and additional raising of the profile of Flodden. Do you see what I'm trying to say?

Hilary: The challenge was almost in the interest, in the unexpected interest.

Joicey: The interest was there. Everyone said wouldn't it be great if and that IF is the challenge. [00:17:26]

Joicey: How do you get there was the biggest. Everyone was saying wouldn't it be great if we could do this and then it would be great if we could get into schools. Well ok, how do we do all that? George and I have always been guided by great advice and in your file, you will see that on the steering group which should show what advice is given and how we went about using that advice. So that was a challenge.

Hilary: Was there maybe what at the start you thought might be problematic or difficult to overcome that ended up not being a challenge or difficulty? Was there any foresight of maybe this aspect might be a speed bump but then as it played out it actually wasn't a problem?

Joicey: I would say just the sheer enthusiasm that people showed just made life so much easier. People were really on board with this and I really do not have to argue too much. I just had to lay it out that this was 500 years since Flodden, which means this and this, and this in the history of the nation and we really ought to be doing something about this, commemorating it in some way. And they showed just energy, commitment, and enthusiasm to get on with it. Either doing their own community events or joining in and helping and promoting the message, just getting the word out there. They were great everyone. As were the stakeholder meetings, not sure how much you've gotten into the files but the stakeholder meetings, we were seeing audiences of 100 people and I never thought we'd get 100 people. I hope you have details in those files of who
attended and how many people attended, we were never less than 50 60 and people had to give up their time to do that.

Hilary: Yeah I saw the average was 45 50 people. [00:20:08]

Joiccy: Yes and people gave up their whole day just to come and learn about it, just to hear about what we're going to do. And then we heard people saying "oh I have a concert," "ok can't have mine on that day because they're doing that," it was that kind of networking, that sort of sorting out logistics. This girl Becky Cooper she was, we paid for her to be our pa our general assistant and organizer. She got such help from everybody and she was brilliant. On the website, she kept a calendar of who was doing what and when. So you could see when was the church festival and then say no no no can't have a church concert then because they're having that. And I had thought that maybe that could be an issue with people saying I can't have that then because they're having that then and you know people getting a bit precious about it all. But not a bit. People were just willing to work together in the enthusiasm.

Hilary: Were there any major compromises that had to be made? And where there maybe any more traditional heritage management of these sites that had to be changed or adapted to be more aligned with the bottom up approach in a community-based ecomuseum?

Joiccie: I think I would say no. I supposed the answer to that really lies in the sights themselves of the ecomuseum and nobody changed their site to accommodate it. [00:22:03]
I suppose Ford, we just were, at the castle, maybe majored more on their Flodden connection. Previously they had been more about just border warfare. It was interesting noticing what that lady, Sharon, how enthusiastic she was about how we sell this book on Flodden now. And I thought to myself that is probably diagonally opposite to what you found at Stirling which is where the guys at the top do know what's happening but the guys on the ground don't. But here I bet her senior management at English Heritage haven't got a clue that she is selling all these Flodden books but she does. As soon as I walked in there I thought I wonder what Hilary is going to make of this because everything was Flodden. I mean not everything but a large amount was. And she knew about it. And we have had issues with English Heritage and their commitment and at the global level its fantastic, higher up, I think Historic Scotland might be a little well you have raised a good point there.

Hilary: The sites themselves weren't really changed for the ecomuseum
Joycie: The sights were not changed for the ecomuseum. They are all free to go. They are free to call me up next week and say we're not into it anymore we're just going to bug off and we're going to take off and not take part so you can you delete us from the website.

Hilary: Did the perception or heritage of any of the sites change? Was there any big change after they became an ecomuseum site? Or maybe the meaning or perception connected to that site changed?

Joycie: The smallest sites, I'm really thinking here 1..2..3 small churches who are involved, these are Swinton Ladykirk and Bolton. They were just ordinary village churches, they had no.. they had nothing. They just gave a Sunday service but because of their connection to the ecomuseum, they are now picking up a lot of extra traffic.

People are doing research into their families at the gravestones and they've gotten much more interest in their affairs, particularly Bolton. It's a tiny place, it's even smaller than here, and they are so proud to be part of an ecomuseum which is them being on stage with English Heritage. And Ladykirk church, on the Scottish side, is administered by the Church of Scotland and at one point during the period of our main project the Church of Scotland said: "we are going to close Ladykirk."

Hilary: I saw a reference to that in the notes [00:25:50]

Joycie: Oh you saw that. Yeah exactly, the Minister said "oh I don't know about this," and organized for everyone to write letters. He said "sorry guys we are in danger of being closed down," and everybody in the ecomuseum world was saying "who do we write to?" And they did and the Church of Scotland said "Woah woah woah." And they moved it out of their direct care. So there was a wobble and the ecomuseum managed to help them with that

Hilary: That's huge, without the ecomuseum you would assume that Ladykirk would be closed now. So with the 500th anniversary which created such a bubble of momentum and enthusiasm, but now post anniversary and post project how do you see the ongoing sustainability? How do you see it going forward? [00:27:04]

Joycie: We've had a lot of debate about this. Where are we right now? well right now we are in a position where George and I are directors of this limited company with a small bank account but we are still perceived as the hub of the wheel. If you want to find out about Flodden you go to the ecomuseum website. We intend to
keep that website alive and fresh but you cannot do that without some work. So how are we going to do that work? First, we will use Elspeth, who is with Ford and Etal, doing the general admin fielding the inquiries from the website so that is the admin side of it. When it comes to the introduction to the website of new material which might be a result of documentary research or archaeological research. Just not that long ago we got an enquiry from some guy down in the South of England who thinks he has an artifact of Flodden who could be a new member if we were to bring him into the ecomuseum then we would have to reconfigure the website and put a new number on it and that is more work to get that side of it done so we would use Elsbeth and Jane for that. And Jane is working for the Woodhorn Trust which is an independent charitable heritage body. We would appeal to them for funding to help us to do that type of necessary work to help bring someone else in. And then and we would use Jane’s connections in the Woodhorn channels to do that. So our aim is to keep that website out there and it goes back to a little bit about what we talked about with Staffin who said we put it out there and it was going to stick and they were not going to play with it too much. That was quite an important part of my thinking and I could see why they had done it. If you spend time and the effort in getting it right then it is going to last. We hope that what we have done with Flodden is right and that it will last but we do know that there is constant admin work required from the basic admin level to some of the bigger things that might come in if something exciting gets discovered, like the body of King James IV. We think we know where it is but no one has actually found it but if that was to be found or discovered then we will have to put that on the website. So in that sense, we are the hub, we are the brokers of information coming in. And anything that comes in that we feel needs to come out can be done through a newsflash on the website. And they need to be created and paid for so that is where Jane would come in. She has proper access and funds through Woodhorn for research for delivery mechanisms. Is that kind of right for where you were going?

Hilary: Yeah it is [00:31:31]

Joicey: Will we organize another big event?

Hilary; In another 500 years

Joicey: [chuckles] We don't actually think we will. We will if anybody asks us to do. We will be the frontman but we wouldn't necessarily want to deliberately be so. We feel like we've had the commemoration now. Britain is such a historical country that we are forever having commemorations. But it widens people's span of history and their appreciation.
Hilary: I saw in the minutes there was talk of an embedded video and a YouTube channel but I never came across anything like that.

Joicey: No, that never came to fruition. It came as a concept very early on, I can't remember by who. It was very much part of the second phase and our preparatory work that lead up to our application to Heritage Lottery funding. And that was just an idea and it got voiced and minuted but actually, it was never made. Some students got together and did a video documentary of the Commemoratory day itself. I'll give you a copy of that. They just used it as a project, I am forgetting who it was... Oh one of our steering group members is an ex BBC member so he helped them and they were all students in media studies of one sort or another and he said "I'll help you with this," so interview techniques, camera works, sound recordings, artistic design, it's quite a nice little thing. Hilary: Something else in the minutes was talk of Surrey house in Wooler that the ecomuseum wanted to be a site but that the private ownership was completely unresponsive.

Joicey: That is completely correct and there is no change there. Well, that's a good point to go back to the website if that ever came on we would have to put it onto the ecomuseum website because it is an important building in the landscape and a historic one. Yeah, that is a really good example, we would have to go and put several pages on the website about that. But for the moment no change.

Hilary: Was there any other big site or anything that you did not get? [00:35:12]

Joicey: I'm not sure if you picked it up but the Ord of Caithness. Way-way-way in the far north of Scotland it's a mountain pass, no one really lives there. Caithness is the northernmost county in Scotland and to come out of Caithness into the rest of Scotland you have to come through this mountain pass. And the clan, the family, the nobility from up there, the Sinclair family, they all marched out of Caithness to answer King James's IV call and they never returned. They were all killed essentially. And there is a legend, quite a strong legend, actually, that if you leave Caithness over the Ord of Caithness on a Monday wearing green you're going to have an accident and chances are you are not going to come back. So even today if someone drives out of Caithness and has an accident on the road and bumps his mirror or something like that you'll say oh it was a Monday and I was wearing a green jersey. And they up there in Caithness, they kind of wanted it to be an outpost of the other ecomuseum. And it's a beautiful view from the top of Caithness and people stop and take photos and they wanted a plaque that just kind of said 'do you realize you're now crossing the Ord of Caithness and in 1513 people marched to their deaths at Flodden from here.' It was really a kind of nice
idea but we couldn't really get anybody to really I mean, it's at the top of a mountain who's going to organize that. It was a nice idea and perhaps one day we will get it, and again it would have to go on the website. So to me personally that was a bit of a disappointment for me but that is maybe because I'm quite sentimental about these sorts of stories and legends.

Hilary: So I see you talk of the website as your virtual visitor center, which I found quite interesting because you were telling me at the beginning that you had the assumption that a visitor center needed to be built. But the community, the bottom up said no visitors center. [00:37:57]

Joicey: Yes, why you but not me, it pits your village against my village, why do you got it and not me.

Hilary: So from that, did that spark the idea to have the website as the virtual visitor center?

Joicey: Yes, I really think that is right. And we could see how it is, how everything is up there in space and the iCloud and there is a visitor center and we can all go to the cloud.

Hilary: We are all welcome on the cloud. I did notice on the website that there is no news, calendar, or what's on section. Is there a plan to do that?

Joicey: We had that when it was the old website before we migrated over to the Ford and Etal platform. And Becky's job was to keep that up to date so the local community could know what was going on but that has fallen away because we've had our commemoration, we've had her big moment of glory. If something came up, say there was to be a talk... to be frank with you, I haven't really explored too deeply what this new website does and does not contain and I should do that... but there's absolutely no news?

Hilary: It's a great website and that was the one thing that I was kind of missing missing.

Joicey: You can do the news flash stickies

Hilary: But there is no dedicated page for news, what's happening, calendar.

Joicey: We would do that through the Ford and Etal website but we would probably run the two together run it on Ford and Etal for Flodden.
Hilary: Ford and Etal has a calendar and events page? [00:40:05]

Joicey: Yes, and quite a lot of the bodies themselves that have been created out of Flodden such as the archaeological society known as TillVAS. Till Valley Archaeological Society, they've got their own website now.

Hilary: Is that iFlodden?

Joicey: No, TillVAS is the successor to iFlodden. iFlodden was built by the main archaeologist, Chris Burgess, and the site is dead now.

Hilary: It hasn't been updated since 2015.

Joicey: Chris had a real bad health scare, a brain aneurysm, mid-project and he was our main archaeological contract through Heritage Lottery Fund. And suddenly he is gone. He's ok, knock on wood, but my god he was lucky. So we had to really jump to and thankfully he had put into place some good second lieutenants under him who we turned to and said "guys you have to step up to the plate," and there was a challenge. Hey, you wanted to know about a challenge, well that was a challenge when that happened iy was 2014 I think or I can't remember but it was halfway through the project and yeah that sort of thing you don't foresee. So he created iFlodden.

Hilary: I was on it this morning and on the side page it has a link to the Flodden 1513 ecomuseum and it does take you to the new website.

Joicey: That would be Jane then, that's good though, Jane would have sorted that out.

Hilary: I did notice that the last news of the archaeological was 2015 but that it was live linking to the Flodden 1513 ecomuseum site.

Joicey: that's good news. [00:42:38]

<<<break for lunch >>>>

(Interview with Lord Joicey at Etal Estate on Monday May 15, after lunch, Part 2)

Hilary: Another thing that I saw that you spoke about in the minutes a good bit was that you really wanted to capture the visitors and then direct them to other points of interest
Joicey: Within the museum or elsewhere

Hilary: Within the ecomuseum yeah, so they go to one site and then you point them to another site and so on. How did you do that?

Joicey: Perhaps the question here is how successful have we have been at it. And the answer to that is I don't think we know really. Fortunately, we were not driven by an outcomes philosophy. For the project, the funding that we received the outcomes that we had to deliver were participation, volunteers, numbers of school children, who Jane has taught, a number of people who have learned a skill in archaeology and so on and so forth. It was never tourism orientated, the funding was purely cultural, purely heritage and not business or economic driven. So the answer is that we don't know. All we can really go on is anecdotal and evidence. I don't know. . . [00:01:46]. Your experience at Stirling is probably indicative of as anything at how successful we have been. They obviously are not pushing their guys up at Stirling down unto us because your guy had no idea what you were talking about. But Sharon in the castle this morning, talking to her and the message that she was giving was that she might be steering you onto something else. That was my impression of her this morning.

Hilary: Oh yes you can easily say the Battlefield is just there. [00:02:19]

Joicey: Oh yeah I know it is right there. Why don't you go to Norham why don't you, something like that. How successful we have been, we don't know. Peter Davis I think would say that doesn't really matter. You set up the cultural and the intellectual and the heritage links, they are all there, it's on the website, they can go to it. As the expression says, you can lead a horse to water but you can't always make it drink. And I don't think that I worry about that. Interestingly, just as an aside, the Leader project which is the European-based project which gives us the money to start, to kick start the whole process with the baseline of the 12 initial sites on the website, that was Leader money. That was from the European Leader program and that did have an economic driver and we did have to say, or at least we committed to say, how many jobs we were creating, how many extra visitors, how many extra bed nights, how many extra bed nights in Wooler. And actually no one ever came around asking for the results and no one ha's really bothered about that. So we were kind of a bit not naughty but we slid past that one, you know. The Leader award, the Leader approval that came from Leader was done by a local Leader panel which is a local thing based in Northumberland but they happen to have had a visiting delegation from Sweden with them when they heard our application. And the Swedes couldn't actually take part in it
because they were just observers. And that first application the Leader UK British English Leader panel turned us down. The Swedes apparently said to them afterward "why the hell did you do that for?" And the real reason for it is because the panel hadn't really done their homework. And they had not read the papers. Ecomuseum was a strange concept to them and eco means green so what is all of this have to do with sustainability, ecology, greenness. I don't get this. What are they about some crazy notion because some of the questions that we got during that hearing I kept thinking 'it is on page 5.' [00:04:51] You guys haven't read this. We couldn't say that but boy was it evident And apparently the Swedes went at them afterward and said, this is anecdotal, but I am pretty confident. One Swede to me afterward after having heard that is a really good idea this is absolutely right. So yeah interesting. No, no direct evidence needed actually about how successful we have been at that. Purely anecdotal and some will be accurate and some will not. [00:05:30]

Hilary: So your HLF funding was all about the community and their heritage and culture of the place?

Joicey: Upskilling. Didn't matter about economics.

Hilary: I also saw and George also mentioned about volunteer hours and valuing them?

Joicey: Yeah that was the real driver. That was the real outcomes driver there. One of the most stimulating conversations I had and one of the most kind of reassuring conversations I had in setting all of this up with the HLF was when we weren't sure if firstly we should be applying to England or the Scotland because they're done under separate jurisdictions. And in the end we are here George and I are based in England so we should do England but it was very much of cross-border project and they never really had had one of those before. And the guy came and visited us, a head guy and I stood him on the battlefield and I told him this is what we're going to do. And he gave me a real line into HLF where I could see and he said "as we at HLF look into the future and we look at cultural projects and social projects that we want to support we see one thing and that is a change of demographic in the United Kingdom, older people, an aging population. And aging population means one thing and that is money. Because they live longer and they need to be cared for physically but also dementia and dementia is really expensive to provide as a national care. So the more that we can support projects that mitigate the onset of ill health and dementia the more we will be contributing to the wellbeing generally of the country. And he said it's two forms he said the first is the physical well-being. We want you to get up there walking, cycling, so
create some bicycle and walking trails around Flodden. Get them onto your monument. The ramp and the steps that you walked up on the battlefield, that's new. That's funded by them. But get elderly people up there but also mentally and that really is a big cost center and I guess for America too. We want people to engage this, the brain, and if you can get them to become archaeologists or to read documentary research, ancient documents, paleography is what it's called and just generally engage in something. That is what we are really about and that is what we really appreciate. So that is what we had to deliver. So George's comment about volunteer hours, we have aggregated all of those volunteer hours that they spent on their hands and knees scraping away in an archaeological pit and people who have been sitting behind desks and screens reading old scripts and transcribing them, that they never done before. And these guys are still there doing other work that is not Flodden on their own time and engaging themselves and the social connections that make. They buddy up with someone they have not met before and they make friends and friendships get created and the whole community network is created. And that to me was a really key moment when he stood there and said that. I thought, you know we really can do this. Theoretically we can do this, we need some funds to organize it but boy could we deliver and we have.

Hilary: With that, how do you see generational change? So the memory the heritage the perception of the older generation, I know Jane obviously she has the younger, but where is the link between? Is there any or was there any workshop where maybe the members of the older generation passed on their stories?

Joicey: Not yet we're only in 2017 now, it's only right at the end of our volunteer program and the funding was 2013 through 2017 and we ended, sorry 2013 through 2016 and we ended in December of last year. We haven't had that yet. Anecdotally, we get stories of course of children learning from their grandparents or telling their grandparents that this lady called Mrs. Miller came and talked to us at school today about Flodden and we'll say oh yeah well I've been working on these documents or I know someone next door who has been working on these documents. So it's early days but it's a very valid question and the book which is on the website is one way of transmitting it. How much sticks, you never know. And kind of what you learn physically, doing yourself, is the best way of learning. So yeah no those were the outcomes in volunteers hours and community activity.

Hilary: I also saw there were hopes of the Battlefield, which is currently a registered battlefield, getting it changed to a scheduled ancient monument.

Joicey: We've failed on that one, we need to find bones, we need to find
skeletons, we need to find evidence of human remains that date, carbon date, back to that era. Two things to say on that quickly. The Victorians kind of maybe invented these body pits, we are never really sure whether they do exist or did exist. Victorians said that they did but you can't go on the here-say of the Victorians without the physical evidence of them being there. Which leads to the next point being the benefits of that change. And that word in law have enshrined, would have protected, would protect, the battlefield against like planning, housing, building, disturbances is what I'm talking about. At the moment it is a registered Battlefield which although sets certain protective parameters around it, doesn't absolutely cast iron guarantee mean that you can't go and build houses on it. It would be incredibly difficult but it would still be technically possible. And indeed the neighbor at the end of George's, the landowner to his West, halfway through the project put in an application for a chicken farm, big multi-scale thousands of chickens producing, I don't know eggs or what they are going to do. Then one guy again beyond that, a wind farm. And the neighborhood just went crazy saying "we can have this," but legally those guys were both within their right to do that. Now were it a scheduled ancient monument, which is the next level up, you can not even think about it, doing a chicken farm or wind farm on it. So George and I kind of got a bit of flak for that. Here we are landowners trying to preserve our property rights but actually arguing against ourselves because we wanted to have the landscape protected which is not exactly what landowners always want but we both feel that that would be a good thing if we could achieve it. We ran into another problem that in order to achieve that you have to find these bones and we set about a couple of days to try to find and we set in the couple of locations that the Victorians suggested we dig and we got a lot of problems, oh we got a lot of problems from some in the community saying "what are you doing? Oh no no no you can't be digging," and we got a lot of bad press for a short period about hallowed ground and all that. And I had not really communicated that argument through to the community and particularly the community in Coldstream and they got really upset about it and I thought I have not done this correctly here. So I went to their head guy and said look this is why I am doing it and he said alright ok we hadn't thought about that sorry we will back off and we will let you be here, we will just let this drop and I never heard a peep. Sadly it has not happened. There was a bit of bone found, a tooth, and it did not prove right. We had to shatter it to get the c14 dating of it so it was completely destroyed and it was the wrong date, I think it was 18th century early 18th century, so 200 years or so wrong on it. But it was at least something and it was a little too close to the churchyard in Branxton so it could have come out of the graveyard.

[00:15:53] Hilary: Back to the tourism question, twofold, I know it is not economically outcome driven but have you seen an uptick in the tourism and
Joicey: I think the answer is yes and my answer for saying that is I get quite of a lot of feedback from the tourism providers here, the inn ladies the ones who run the Black Bull and so on. They tell me that a lot of people are looking at the brochure either online or the one there which they have in their leaflet racks. They are taking an active interest and do follow it through. The landladies themselves don’t always know exactly where the guests have been but they come back and talk in the evenings what have you done today what are your plans tomorrow. And certainly we’ve managed to get the awareness of Flodden as a potential tourism site up. I’ve never wanted to analyze it too much simply because we’ve got no need to and it would be incredibly difficult.

Hilary: It's not a requirement so why waste precious resources doing so. [00:17:31] I did see at sky staffin they have an electronic counter at one of their sites and in the minutes there is a discussion with a Sky person said that they have some sort of electronic counter that gives them their visitor numbers so they are able to track their visitors. But I'm guessing there is no tracking or anything here.

Joicey: No nothing at all.

Hilary: And there is no foresight to do that since it's not a priority?

Joicey: All we attempted to do was to put a base line in place at the start of this project so that we could try to measure whatever increase was going to take place in 2013 2014. It was done by camera that was just crudely taking pulses. The other way in which we are able to measure it and more accurately is through Google stats and that we did at the beginning, if it's not on the file I can give you it, but Becky Cooper did a report right towards the end of the time an interesting analysis of hits and rates and searches and sourcing.

Hilary: I don't think I did come across that but I would be very interested in seeing that. [00:19:00]

Joicey: Ok I'll get it to you.

Hilary: Also I saw with Sky they do something on the website what they call a digital visitor book, so on the website afterward they want you to go on and do either of two things. One when you can send an e-postcard to a friend saying I want to this really cool place and you should check it out. The other is just a visitor book you basically sign and can comment. And I thought that was interesting.
Joicey: Jane and Becky during 2013 and 2014 spent a lot of time tweeting and on Facebook, the retweets and all of that kind of thing. And that's more the measure of a thing rather than actually leaving feedback on a blog. Feedback on the site to my way of thinking has been slightly superseded by things like TripAdvisor where that's the kind of forum where these kinds of things hit nowadays. It's a fast-moving world and it's one of the fears that George and I have. That we are going to get left behind in this because we're not snapped up and up with it. I don't think we have debated a feedback thing, doesn't ring a bell.

Hilary: Everyone has a contact form but I thought that was an interesting digital visitor book where you just put your name and don't necessarily have to say anything. [00:20:51]

Hilary: In the minutes, Chris Burgess had the email and I believe was corresponding with Peter Davies and he said that there were three pitfalls that they had come across. One was disappointing expectations where community members were disappointed because they had very high expectations. Second one was unexpected decisions where the leaders and stakeholders had one expectation and the community went with another decision. I remember one was maybe the website colours ended up being a heavily debated topic and they didn't think it was going to be such a fiasco. And the third was ownership of projects, and that some of the community based projects were a bit upset that the stakeholders and the leaders were not able to raise funds for them and that it was up to them.

Joicey: Yes and that last point was a bit of an issue sometimes. They assumed that because Lottery was supplying us as the central thing they thought it would also supply them. And I explained to them or tried to explain to them pretty early on that if they wanted to do a project that it was their project and they should apply for the funding and we would supply a letter of support. In fact I think I did write three or four letters of support, I can't remember which projects they were but one or two would have gotten additional funding. But there was a bit of I think it was kind of a lack of understanding really and maybe we didn't really understand it too terribly well ourselves, how it was all going to work out. Most community events as far as I can tell were pretty much self funded with volunteer effort and they didn't need much by way of materials, they didn't have to really worry too much about it. And some of them were commercial. There was a ceramics company called Border Fine Arts that made a model for a mantelpiece ornament of the cross on the battlefield and put 500 years around it and they sold it on eBay, those were purely commercial decisions.
Hilary: My last question is the whole thing about an ecomuseum is that it is based on a community agreement. Would you be able to say in your own words what Flodden 1513 community agreement is? And if that agreement changed from the onset of the idea through the formation to after the anniversary? [00:24:19]

Joicey: At the onset of the idea we had no idea what the agreement would be. We mused and we contemplated what in the future what we might want to do and as it became clearer what people were going to do and what we as an ecomuseum company what we were going to do as agency for the HLF funding. That all became clearer, we never had a formal agreement we never had any such thing and we did not really want it. Peter Davis although he never actually articulated it, he heavily suggested that it was not absolutely necessary. His great mantra is that an ecomuseum survives on an occasional conversation and a cup of coffee, don't make it too heavy. The more you impose from the top, from public authorities, the more agreement you have to have. If it comes from the community, almost by definition communities don't operate by agreement, they just operate, by just you and I and you and come on let's get this guy and get this idea going.

Hilary: They operate by relations.

Joicey: Yeah that's it. You don't need a bit of paper to formally state your project. No the agreement, that's a really interesting question. And has it changed? No because it never was. You would have to go to some of the stakeholders some of the main players perhaps even the steering group and say to them 'did you feel you needed an agreement to have this delivered? You seem to delivered it without it. How worried were you that you don't have an agreement?'

Hilary: Maybe it was agreed to not have an agreement.

Joicey: Yeah yeah

Hilary: And that is an agreement.

Joicey: Yeah that is an agreement, it's an agreement not to have an agreement. George and I obviously had an agreement to set up the company and we still have to as an ltd provide reports every year and such so he and I do have an agreement and or main agreement was that if anything happened to us it would go to Harriet and Jane and quickly they would pass it to Woodhorn I hope, and Woodhorn I do believe will take it on because it's probably pretty low-cost low-maintenance and yet delivers an outcome of education and research and in the museum and education world which Woodhorn has to deliver in anyway, so we're
just adding a bit of support into Woodhorn's reason for being. An agreement not to have an agreement, I like that. [00:27:58]
Interview #2 with Andrew Tulloch, assistant curator of the Coldstream Museum

Coldstream Museum is in Coldstream, Scotland and is an ecomuseum site. The interview was conducted at the White Fox Art Gallery in Coldstream on May 16, 2017.

Hilary: I have dug through the meeting minutes a good bit and I saw that your main involvement was the exhibition that you put on of the Mauchillin wares?

Andrew: Yes we had 3 exhibitions. The first one was on the Mauchillin Wares and the second was on the battle itself and that was produced within, well I now work for the (?) Lith Borders Trust, we are a semi-government Agency but at that time it was Scottish Borders Council. And last year I did a joint exhibition with Berwick Museum and Berwick provided a lot of the technical input to create it. I was involved in planning for it. So we've had three exhibitions.

Hilary: Who did you work with most from Berwick with that?

Andrew: It was Anne More and Jane Miller.

Hilary: Ok I'm interviewing Jane tomorrow so that's great.

Andrew: Yes she will be very helpful.

Hilary: We just did a quick look through your museum and it was very interesting.

Andrew: Yes and we do have a diorama which is through the front but hasn't been back in display until we get a new panel made because one of the things that came out of the Flodden work was a different interpretation of the battle. And I wanted to use the panel to show what came with that and then, unfortunately, the archaeologist had a major stroke and it has been a problem getting that kinda thing because I don't want to harass him. I mean he's quite a young man, he's about 10 years younger than me so quite a shock.

Hilary: You said the interpretation of the battle was through the ecomuseum kind of changed?
Andrew: Yes the thing with battlefield archaeology is, you probably get the same thing in Gettysburg there's a bit of that where were the units were at any one time? And a lot of broad directions sometimes but the details are not so known. And it's surprising when you think that battles that are really well known like Gettysburg, Waterloo but there can be quite a lot of doubt. And of course, Flodden was 504 years ago so there's more than one interpretation. That we know approximately where the battle site is, that their armies may have been as much as 400 meters in a different location and that does alter how you actually interpret the battle maybe in a minor way but we know the major elements. But if we were to use Chris' work than other people might say you put the armies in the wrong place. I mean that is perfectly reasonable but sometimes people get offended.

There were two sets of tours of the Battlefield being done. One by a local councilor and he took people to a slightly different part of the Hill and Chris took them to a different and Chris always said, but he was joking, that he went because that was where his dog would walk. But unfortunately Clyde got offended when he heard that story so it can be, it can be kind of a bit delicate. We have a few things still left to do for our interpretation and I would like to change the interpretation of the whole museum but fortunately, I got another major project till 2019 so we can't even look at this museum until we've done that project. [00:05:13]

Hilary: How was the contradiction between the two mediated or handled or was it?

Andrew: I think they were really left to deal with it themselves because I wasn't on the eco-board. I attended a few meetings. Butt the ecomuseum is not trying to tell the story. It exists to create links between tourism and sites and other businesses that have an interest in the Battle of Flodden. So that we can maximize our interpretation, maximize our income, so we can maximize jobs and visits to the area. And what to me is particularly interesting is this cross border thing because although politically in one sense the United Kingdom is one country. But we now have our Parliament in Scotland which has certain remit as well as the Parliament in London. But that means that sites that are operating in England potentially operate under quite different rules than sites located in Scotland. And in fact the river itself, I forget which one it is, but I think that Tweed is operated under Scots law and the Slaw is operated under English common law. So doesn't matter if you were doing an activity that related to the river and you made an offense maybe in Scotland it would be under English law that would settle it but that over here, an English person can find themselves in a Scottish Court for an offense they committed on the English bank of the river. So it is quite interesting the fact that we got this trans-border. Because no one really thinks about the border on a daily basis. And you might notice when you go to Berwick, although sort of Berwick has
a Scottish ancestry, the accent is quite different. It does change on the border and that is despite centuries of intermarriage, there still seems to be. There are a Scottish identity, an English identity, and a Border identity. And you do find that the Scottish, some of them have will have a stronger Border identity than a Scottish one. But you know identity is something that is very fluid, I don't think people realize that.

Hilary: No but that is really interesting how about identity, how it is changed, formed, and reassessed. Politically, of course, there’s the United Kingdom but culturally you really see that there is a Scottish, Borders, and English?

Andrew: Yes and there will be an English border version as well. I would say even within Scotland because to look at Scotland, it is very often seen as the land of lochs and people wearing kilts, but within Scotland, they are very distinct regional identities even sometimes between neighboring towns. But in broad terms and for your project I would say there is a border identity, a Scottish identity, an English identity, and there are subtle English-Scottish versions of the border identity.

Hilary: Do you feel that maybe the ecomuseum has made it a bit more fluid moving between those three kinds of cultural spheres? [00:09:02]

Andrew: I don't know in terms of the culture because the people involved have been involved within the professions and within the businesses. But what it will do is that it will enable us to work together better. I have known in Anne More at Berwick Museum for about 10 years but I have not worked so often with her as I have in the past 3, 4 years. In fact yesterday I had an email asking for something from one of my collections it turned out not to be in my collection. It was actually my manager's collection. But the fact that we worked together a bit over the past few years meant that she naturally turned to me. And we did and unofficially agree that we would try to work together every second year to do an exhibition which is on Tweed or Border connections

Hilary: So the ecomuseum allowed you to form these relations that you can then tap into even outside of the Flodden? [00:10:05]

Andrew: Exactly.

Hilary: So were you were really able to widen your community and your context? [00:10:12]

Andrew: Yeah because I met Anne when she took over Berwick Museum when the
trust she works for was formed and the previous curator retired. She is based further south. But she comes to two three museums and the Flodden project gave us a tangible project to work on. Because very often you can have good intentions but if you are very busy you don't actually work together. Once you have a tangible project you do. I am hoping that maybe next year we might do something on oh I don't know say poaching for instance. We have a small display in the courtyard on poaching. I think there is a big panel as you come into the alleyway of the museum. So we might want to do something on poaching and the law of poaching. So we might start the exhibition say we could have it in Berwick and then it move to Coldstream or visa verse. [00:11:15]

Hilary: Is there a good bit of when an exhibition is formed it travels among the area museums?

Andrew: Well within the Scottish Borders area the museums' service has traditionally traveled a certain amount of exhibitions around between the 12 museums. And then we often base education projects in our museums. But we haven't done, other than the Flodden exhibition which came from Berwick to Coldstream, we have not done a cross- border. And that would be something, that would be quite good and something that might be that if we generate an exhibition then maybe some of the other trust museums south of the border might want it and some of my colleagues' museums might want it.

Hilary: So before the ecomuseum, you mostly stayed within Scottish?

Andrew: You mostly did because the funding is there in Scotland and England so you will turn to museums and galleries in Scotland for funding in Scotland, or if you were in England you would turn to bodies for funding English museums. And this is one of the challenges for a cross-border ecomuseum, that they got a lot of their funding from the Heritage Lottery Fund but beneath a certain level, the funds are allocated regionally. And I think it is over 2 million it starts getting allocated at a UK-wide level. And the people who are allocating HLF at a national level advise the applicant they would probably send and say oh it is Berwick so send it to the England team but if the see that it is a Scottish then. I don't see it being a problem there but there are complexities. [00:13:08]

Hilary: Through the Flodden project was there any major challenge, obviously there are foreseen challenges such as dealing with the different governments and funding, but was there any challenge that was not foreseen that was surprising?
Andrew: I think one challenge which maybe wasn't really foreseen was that everybody wanted to support it because of the significance. But I would say one of the problems of mine, for instance, my colleagues in Selkirk had to take part because I don't know if you've heard of the Common Ridings? They do have a version in Berwick but it is when people ride with the banners, it is a very big thing particularly in the Scottish Borders. And the Selkirk common riding is the oldest and the traditional start is the year after Flodden because it is said that only one person from Selkirk survived the battle and brought the town banner back.

Hilary: That was Fletcher correct? [00:14:36]

Andrew: Correct. It is a little bit like he brings the news and dies. So the Hoyk (?) Common Riding was the result of a skirmish when a Scottish force beat an English force outside of the town of Hoyk(?). Now the Coldstream common ride is much newer only about 60 years old but they ride out to Flodden and they have a number of rides, they ride to different parts of the town boundary and beyond. And they will ride to places and the principles will be entertained and there will be an event. And what they do at Flodden is they start and they go across the river and then they ride to the battlefield, there are speeches made and then they ride back to Scotland. These things like the Selkirk one although the common ride is a legend that started with Flodden, essentially then Flodden is not so important. Because it is about 50 miles down the road which in US terms is down the road but in Scottish terms, it is quite a way. And also the fact that it would take them an hour and a half to get there because we do not have freeways or motorways, it is not an easy drive as such. Distance is not always a finite amount but an emotional feeling of something that is important to you, then distance is nothing. I mean I've gone 80 miles for sports a couple of times this week. To me, that is not a big distance for that kind of event but for some people it seems like an awful long way to go. What I am trying to get to is that there was this feeling with some people that we had to be involved but it was to be involved to tick a box. But I don't think that sometimes my senior management realized that this museum being only 100 meters from the river and 250m from England, that is quite important for us and is quite useful to us. In building links across the border. The bulk of my visitors come from England. It is quite hard to get local people into that museum down there for a variety of historical reasons, I won't get into that. But it is also the fact that I know myself that you often don't visit your local museum unless you've got a good reason, so if you've got family and there is a children event then you may take them there. But the general visitor won't stay long and will go when they want, and then they just forget. As where people who are on holiday are more likely to come. The bulk of our day trip market is actually out there just outside the borders to the
north but in reality, it is mostly to the south. They come up the 697 come into to Coldstream and maybe spend half an hour to an hour in the museum and then go on somewhere else like Berwickshire.

Hilary: Have you seen an uptick in the tourism and economics of Coldstream from the formation of the ecomuseum? [00:18:22]

Andrew: I would say long term, no. At my level we do not measure it. We have been struggling since about the year of the Flodden anniversary we've had some physical problems in the museum that seem to have knocked us back a bit in visitor numbers in certain parts of the year because we had to close suddenly. So we had a very delayed start to the season and it took us a long time to recover from that. But there were signs last month that we are making a significant recovery for the first time in 4 years. But the biggest problem you find is it is sometimes hard to maintain these links when you are not involved in the project. You have to go out and create the projects and sometimes people at my level and maybe Anne Moore's level, we weren't working on the project on a daily basis whereas Jane Miller, the educational officer, was daily.

Hilary: Back to the Ride Outs a little bit did the ecomuseum bolster the desire to be involved and the importance of those Ride Outs? Did it refresh it?

Andrew: I would say it did refreshing in the way they are very traditional in for instance as an outsider I am not involved anyway with the Ride Out because for instance to be a principal usually you have to be local born. But now not too many babies are born with Edinburgh so close. You need to be from a Coldstream family if you want to be a principal. It's the same in all the border towns. You have to have a very strong association. They are very much run by people whose families have been here more than 50 or 60 years and often two or three hundred years. And they are very traditional local events and it did gain a lot of importance and extra marketing because the towns see them as bringing in tourism because it is spectacular. You will see 400 people on horseback riding through the streets and Coldstream will have a pipe band up front and in most years I have seen the Coldstream Guards marching at the head, so it is quite a spectacle. [00:21:03]

Hilary: Do you see the ecomuseum, and as a professional and authority, did you see any breaking down of the layperson feeling more comfortable in approaching the professionals? Did you see that?

Andrew: Not directly but anecdotally and in talking to colleagues there have been a lot more. I took part in one of the Flodden excavation not the one at Flodden but
within the Scottish Borders near where the site of where the Scottish army camped just across the river. And I would say there was quite a range of people taking part and there were all sorts of activities that people could take part in other than just the excavation. There was genealogy, there was documentary research. And you know the ordinary people in the army, it is much easier on the English side because the Scottish records were not as good as they were to say 60, 70, 80 years later. There was a lot more information on the English side of the border about where people came from. And the English army was smaller and more professional in the sense that England had the economy whereby they could actually employ soldiers. Whereas the Scottish army was largely feudal skilled, the bodyguards of the Nobles probably would have been paid for either in kind or cash. But in England there was essentially almost army units, there wasn't that much of feudal. And there are also opportunities to take part in transcribing documents. So I would say that a lot of these borders were broken down in general and we found that with those involved with the Berwick archives.

Hilary: Did you see a good number of community members and local inhabitants taking on these new skills and learning transcription?

Andrew: That was certainly happening and we had a number of seminars that were funded by the project held in the museum in the gallery where the art exhibition is put on. There would basically be an academic or two academics and maybe a group of people who may never have been to that type of thing before. And it was just like a university seminar led by the academic but with the opportunity for everyone to ask questions and to make comments and to say what their thoughts. And I would say that is something that I have noticed is appealing a lot more now generally. Perhaps it's the first instance I've seen it at such a local level.

Hilary: Do you see the ecomuseum as being very much bottom-up?

Andrew: I think it started top-down but I think there's potential because for instance Lord Joicey doesn't see him and the ecomuseum as running things, he sees it as enabling. He would rather people like me got in touch with other sites within the ecomuseum and do joint projects with them. And it is much easier for me to do joint projects with museums but it is potentially possible for me to do projects with other types of sites as well.

Hilary: With the Coldstream Museum being a site and being included what was your hope or expectations or what did you really envision at the beginning? [00:25:22]
Andrew: I don't think I really know because I wasn't involved with the project initially. It happened really at a political level, it was like a group saying we need to commemorate this. And I don't know how the ecomuseum idea came about but I did come to understand it. I went to a number of seminars and meetings and things. And I do see it as a vehicle that is very easy to lose track of now that the project is finished. But I do see it as a vehicle for making connections and working within the Scottish Borders but also cross-borderer. As I said, Berwick is quite an easy one for us but Berwick is also working with the Woodhorn Trust. So with that, it can also help connections with other organizations within Northumberland, such as the archives office. And I am trying to work with them on a completely different project now. And the archivist has come the library down the road here to run events

Hilary: Is that Linda Banklier? So the ecomuseum maybe allowed you to form those immediate connections that then bridge to more distant connections.

Andrew: Yes they are both personal connections but they also can be quite systematic. I would like to say for instance going back to Berwick Museum, I would like to think that maybe Berwick Museum and Coldstream Museum every second year could do a joint exhibition. I would like to do it more often but maybe every second year is already too much. But events happen. But if you can get it into the program that this is something you do. I also think the other thing is that some of the ecomuseum sites such as Twizle Bridge you drive past it, the bridge is no longer on the road. But being aware of these places and having the public aware of these places and that they have a link to the museum would encourage visitors. It is a good vehicle for getting people involved with studying and discussing history. I was quite impressed with the events that were held. I attended one because my museum boss was one of the leaders and it was quite nice to welcome him to my museum. But it was possible because it was funded. But it does demonstrate that there is maybe potential for such events if the funding can be found. That people are interested. I think that people are much more interested now than they were 50 or 60 years ago I also think the fact that people move around a lot more that having a connection is much more important to them than maybe a hundred years ago when people took it for granted. But not so much now, I mean I've lived in about a dozen different towns.

Hilary: Did you see that maybe one group or one locality was more prominent or heard or active than others? [00:29:28]

Andrew: I think to some extent there was and I would say that because of the way
the lottery funding works, there has to be a lead partner, and it was Woodhorn Trust. And they have the core staff of the project employed by them and we were kind of the junior partners and they had a building where they had the educational visits so they were very much the leaders in that respect. And I think also there is maybe sort of a feeling that was never expressed as such but that we shouldn't get so involved because we lost. Or in the case of some parts we are too far away from the battlefield. No one will ever say this but there was a feeling for some people that they were ticking a box for involvement. I would regret that we weren't more involved because we are so close to the border. We would get I would say every week we get inquiries about the battlefield. How do you find it? And I'm sure it's the same at Berwick Museum. Because we are only 5 or 6 miles from the battlefield so we get quite a lot of inquiries. For instance when we were doing educational activities in 2013 one of the options was that they could come to the museum in the morning and then on to the battlefield. And I think maybe 2 schools did that so my staff would have them in the morning and Jane's team would deal with them on the battlefield in the afternoon. Of course, there are other groups that would go to the battlefield and then go to the museum or did just the battlefield or just the museum.

Hilary: With the learning curriculum were they learning one thing at the battlefield and another thing at the museum?

Andrew: What we did if I can remember all the details now, we had a mannequin who was dressed up as James sitting at a table writing a letter because historically he had dealings with the French king and the French Queen and he had an ultimatum to King Henry. Some of the other activities we sat the kids around and talked to them and gave them some background information and gave them the chance to ask questions about it. Where the people came from for the army? And we did a practical activity where they wrote a letter on parchment and they had to sign it and seal it so sealing it with the wax. And it was very interesting the letters, there is a fellow across the road there and it was the son of the owner because his letter, written as James, it was written as if he was being told to tidy up his room, you can almost hear his mother's voice, kind of involuntarily very revealing. With children the very youngest age groups we get about 5 to 6 years old we didn't get them to do that, we would have adapted the activity. But I would say we did that with children age 7 to 10 up to the equivalent of elementary school, primary school here. And every child has got a different experience of learning how to express themselves. I don't have children but I don't expect in schools they use pen and paper that much these days, they've all got access to computers. You go into a class and there are iPads and everything. I find it hard to wright now for more than 10 or 20 minutes or so because I don't do it. I don't know
what it would be like to write an essay exam, it would probably be a nightmare. We like activities that challenge their intellectual capabilities but also gives them a little bit of dexterity. You know they had to put the ribbon down and stamp it so there was a little bit of practice and it was also a bit of social skill in the sense that you had to control them around an open flame. We had one child... But we like to do activities that are intellectual but also have a practical element so that different children can shine in different ways [00:35:10]

Hilary: With that the cross-generational so the oldest generation and the youngest generation do you see those activities as a way to pass on what the older generation has, their ideas of the heritage?

Andrew: We didn't do that so much with Flodden. That we do, we do that a lot within the museum with family based activities, especially during the holiday periods. So we have grandparents and parents coming in with the children and you often find that they help out if there are other children who have come, and it's very often that they know them or they are just being nice and helping out. You do find a bit of school groups now there will be one or two teachers and one or two parent helpers and of course you've got the museum staff which can be anything from 20 to 60. So it's my job but but those are probably factors I would deliver in a workshop that is sometimes not even obvious to me. You are interacting with children and we tend to be on first name terms. If you go into the school it is Mr but when they come to us we will say that is Rosie this is Andrew. And children dealing with other adults I think is a benefit to them. When I was in school that never really happened.

Hilary: That goes back to the approachability saying that they feel more comfortable coming to an authority and growing their own skills.

Andrew: Yeah and I think that that will help them when they leave school even if they don't go to university or college or whatever but going to the workplace they are already used to occasionally talking to people who are more adults and speaking respectfully. But when you are in a job you are employed to do something and your opinion, once you've learned your bit of the job, is just as good as someone else's who has been there for 25 years, they will have other knowledge to pass on. But an ability to communicate is equally possible and it helps them find a place and that helps them as individuals.

Hilary: And their elf worth and value, that their opinions and thoughts are just as valid.

Andrew: And we don't consciously do that within our activities but I do think it is a
good thing that comes out of it. Because I know from living in Dun that if I go into a school or school comes to the museum and then you're in the supermarket and you see a child and they are saying hello and the parent wonders how they know you and you say oh he's been to the museum, that's actually quite good. Sometimes you get children being cheeky to you in the street in the Borders. In some parts of Britain that might be a problem but in the Borders it's always kind of nice because you're always aware of what the boundaries are, you can't get away with much in the Borders because it will be reported back. I know from being a child in the Highlands doing something wrong very innocently at the age of 3 or 4 and when we got home our parents already knew about it. [00:39:18]

Hilary: Was there any part of the larger area's heritage that was maybe changed reassessed through the ecomuseum re-looking at the history? Was there a new story?

Andrew: That is probably a question Jane can help with more because she is seeing the bigger picture. From an archaeological point of view and background one of the things from talking to the archaeologists some of them they were disappointed that there was so little evidence on the battlefield. But I think that's partially because battlefields get cleaned up, things will remain but a battlefield like Flodden in the next day whatever the soldiers haven't taken away immediately after battle any local peasant would have been over picking things. That obviously, there's a certain amount because you had 14000 people there. It's the same I gather with Waterloo, there isn't an awful lot. I think the first World War and World War II because of the destruction there was more to be found underneath the surface but in these battles that I mean fighting during Flodden lasted just 3 or 4 hours maybe, it's not a long time. I think we need to look at how it doesn't need to, and it doesn't change the interpretation of the battle per say but we need to stop thinking that battlefields are going to be full of plunder and treasure because of these things. I think that armies are very efficient at cleaning up anything that is regarded as essential. I think they were kind of surprised it was so hard to find.

Hilary: So archaeologically it was kind of disappointing but did the archaeological activities, there was little benefit in finding great evidence, but the activities and the social benefit and the skills benefit?

Andrew: Oh yeah I only dug the once but I visited some of the other excavations like on the battlefield itself. It was obvious that there were people coming back again and again to dig. And that it was either an opportunity to get involved in something they were interested in or in some cases it was a new hobby. Till Valley Archaeological Society south of the border is quite an active society. I can easily
imagine many of the diggers on the excavations were members of that society. It provides a practical way to get involved there aren't that many big excavations in the country. I've just been on a big site in London that there's been near continuous excavation since the early 1970s. But they aren't really any projects like that around so that is the closest thing. So it does provide some form of social empowerment in taking park in interpreting history. And of course, you know even if you are just a volunteer digging you begin to appreciate how the evidence comes together and it makes you realize the limitations and strengths of archaeological evidence.

Hilary: They were hoping to get it moved to a Scheduled Ancient Monument but you must find bones to do so and Lord Joicey told me that when they first started digging in the areas there was a lot of backlash and that people in the community didn't want the digging to take place because they were not aware of the rationale behind wanting to get that Scheduled Ancient Monument classification. Did you see any of that transpire?

Andrew: Well no because that was happening south of the border. Sometimes the news coverage in the local newspapers are quite different, even the same newspaper will have subtly different editions that they will sell. And you see it quite often at the national levels and you see it in Scotland east to west. And there are a number of local newspapers that have editions targeted towards different areas. And that was not a big issue for us. I was always aware of a sensitivity around finding bodies and I get that there are disappointments that they didn't find that and if you do it could be designated a War Grave. [00:44:45]

Hilary: Do you see the border as something that has become more fluid and open or something that is more defining?

Andrew: I think it operates at different levels. I go to the supermarket in England to shop even though I look North to Edinburgh perhaps for social things. I think it depends on what you are doing. Certainly, it's nothing just to pop over the river for a reason. Whereas in terms of legality and law there is Scots law and Common law and they are a very fixed thing. And the rules around the river are slightly different but they're quite clear. If you are involved you know what they are or you know which jurisdiction. But there has been for a very long time intermarriage and I think that goes back to before the union of the crowns when England and Scotland were separate political countries. I think the Scots feel very Scottish and the English feel very English. But I don't think people think about it on a daily basis. I don't think that if I drive to Berwick I'm going to another country. You notice the accents change or something like that but you're not really consciously aware of that. One of the most
obvious things to be aware of now is the drink drive laws. I was having a meal with my niece and her fiance and I was having a drink and I knew when I got in the car I was perfectly legal to drive, I had one drink. Because it's always in the back of my head that when you come over the border that the drink drive limit in Scotland is less so you can actually be legal on one side and then 10 seconds later you cross the bridge and you are illegal. You don't feel any different, you wouldn't be any more dangerous but legally you would be in danger if you had a broken light and the police stopped you and they went to breathalyze you. So there are differences but you don't think about them terribly much we tend to think that the laws are the same but it is not quite. The jury in Scotland is 15 people and it's 12 in England and there are three verdicts in Scots law proven guilty, not proven guilty, and not guilty. But it is only guilty or not guilty. We have it's like we know you're guilty but we can not prove it. [00:47:45]

Hilary: Getting to a pretty sensitive subject and question here, with the Brexit and the pending referendum, do you see the ecomuseum as in any way changing or having any effect or influence on the very changing climate currently within the United Kingdom?

Andrew: Very difficult to say. Maybe in a small sense in that, we are cooperating across the border. Even people in Scotland who are still very much more pro-EU it does lessen the tension and show that you can work together. But I don't think people will really think about it. I was thinking about Brexit in the car because you know only a minority of people voted for it but because of the vagueness of the British democratic system that was portrayed as a majority. But when they surveyed it showed the country is split right down the middle. So I suspect that when they were taking opinion polls people felt they had to take a side but they didn't go out to vote. But I don't think people mainly really think about it. On the other hand, subliminally, it will be a positive factor. One of the disappointing things with the project right as it got started before it even got the grant their website was created and had pages for people to post things and their thoughts about Flodden. Some people don't even know they had ancestors that fought there. And one of the first posts was a guy saying he had been to the battlefield and saw the Scottish flag and said it was an English Battlefield and the English won. He was an Englishman and the person that created the website is an English person and he was just absolutely mortified that it was becoming. Because there's always a minority but they tend to be the most noticeable, the loud minority is more noticeable than the reasonable majority. Very often with the reasonable majority, not enough people are willing to put their head above the power pit. So I think maybe subliminally it will be a very positive thing but I can't really make a connection. I can see the illusion that Scotland might get independent and then
how that would make a cross-border ecomuseum work I think there's one in Scandinavia am I right?

Hilary: Yes between Sweden and Norway. [00:50:28]

Andrew: And of course people tend to think Norway is in the EU but it isn't. Norway is not in the EU it is not. So there is obviously ways to make it work. I think one of the benefits is that trade is interconnected now and so to go to war with one of your training partners is almost unthinkable. I mean if it was 70 or 80 years ago we would have just stopped trading with them, it wouldn't affect your other trade unless the war did. I think for the ecomuseum my concern for it is that without the funding how will it continue? Will enough people buy into it? Will enough people do things?

Hilary: Yeah will the community stay enthusiastic and interested.

Andrew: And to me, the fact that someone going to Twizel Bridge might go to Flodden might come here is great, and if we can maximize that for the ecomuseum that is good. The danger is someone will say ok they will do that anyway, but I think that the ecomuseum can be a mechanism to develop that and can be a mechanism to maximize what people get out of it. It is not enough to just get bodies in, if you are just getting bodies into a building then it is just a head count. You can organize a special event for people but they get no real benefit, you go and get your 500 people for the weekend and it sounds wonderful. But I think the challenge for the ecomuseum is how does it keep itself relevant when they are not special events and there is not something to encourage them to work together. Maybe what the ecomuseum needs is perhaps, I don't know, a festival or something that may be moved around, or a weekend where visits are encouraged and there will be activities. For instance, the Flodden exhibition at Berwick last year, they had some live history events. We do not have any at ours, we had seminars. And live history events are quite a good way of bringing people in because they are approachable. Seminar sounds a bit, we didn't call it seminar, by the way, but that's what it was. But seminar does sound a bit academic. But someone dressed as an actor or as a character and showing the equipment, that is more entertaining. That sort of thing would be nice to see. I haven't been invited to any of the forums they had, they've not had one for a while. It would be nice if these things were to happen maybe once a year and there was an opportunity to not just do a joint exhibition but maybe a Flodden festival. So maybe say a weekend.

Hilary: An annual anniversary type thing. [00:53:47]
Andrew: Yeah and people could go round you know they could go the museum and then to Flodden and then to Twizel Bridge where there could be a couple of actors.

Hilary: Yeah and using volunteers. And reconciliation and peace was a big desired theme of the ecomuseum. Did that come across to you? Or did you know about it? Or was that maybe another box ticking?

Andrew: Yeah to some extent there is rivalry between Scotland and England. The example I gave about the flag and somebody complaining. There is a small minority a small amount of extreme Scottish nationalist and extreme English nationalist and anyone from any other nation is not as good. And to me that is just crazy that is just quite crazy behavior. I'm quite proud to be Scottish but I've spent 16 years of my life working in an English Museum. I've dug in England, the best man at my wedding is English. I haven't seen him for 10 years and even though it's been 10 years it will be like we haven't seen each other in 5 minutes. I think it's quite good to keep reinforcing it, I'm not sure how is essential it is actually. Because people on the border, if you just walk along the street here you can stop people randomly and ask where they are from. Are they from Coldstream? Do they have English relatives? You will find quite a few people have English relatives across the border and they might have a Scottish accent but they are still related. The border is not such a big thing, even in the 16th century when there was a lot of border raids, there was intermarriage between families. And there is a certain loyalty to your country but there's also a bit of loyalty to your family. English arms are strong and Scottish arms are strong. It was almost an economic activity, I mean this was a fairly lawless area. But I think there is personal enmity between people but I don't think there was such a big deal of national enmity. They probably saw the government as being the most. And there was a regional identity, it's obviously stronger on either side of the border but there's always been a sort of cross-border regional identity. Like the rivalry between colleges, it doesn't stop you from being friends with other students. But you still cheer for your school during games.

Hilary: Yeah it can be more of a beneficial rivalry and can you give more of that motivation and drive. [00:57:13]

Andrew: For by and large these things are pretty good. The rivalry today is probably that kind of level. But on this side of the river, there is a feel that it is part Scotland and the border does meander. If you go up towards Berwick and Tweed is there but you are 10 miles inside Scotland. So there is one field and the story goes that every year the Scots and English would play football for it. But the Scots
won so often that the English let them have it. It kind of shows the rivalry but it also shows that it wasn't too serious either. [00:58:10]

Hilary: [01:01:35] my final question so with the ecomuseum philosophy it is said that it is all based on a community agreement that is fundamentally were an ecomuseum is would you be able to identify where the community agreement is for the Flodden 1513 ecomuseum?

Andrew: you know I couldn't really because I wasn't involved at that level when it was set up

Hilary: not administrative but just generally?

Andrew: a lot of my work was creating exhibitions in activities for it and doing the admin for it I took part in one of the four rooms because of the organization I work for is the political one and they were the partner and a designated Coldstream as one of the sides of vehicle museum so wasn't even my boss but her boss and her boss and they were making arrangements and some politicians as well so it wasn't really dealt with a detectable that all that I could really relate to I can only really relate to her on a personal level that I worked with n and I worked with Chris and that I got to know James and I could see the potential but there is never sort of the new community agreement and my love all of that this is what you agree to do

Hilary: So even personally you didn't get that there was a community consensus?

Andrew: Well to some extent but not to a great extent because I was kind of looking at it as a museum professional and I could see the importance but I do not live in Coldstream. Duns is where I live and that is actually quite close to where the Scottish army camped before. But Duns wasn't one of the sites, the village 45 miles away is a site. Although when you drive through I think I can see where the Scottish army probably was. There is a very flat valley really really flat, providing that it didn't flood, that would have been a good place to put an army maybe 40000 people and a mile to 2 miles of flat land on either side the road. But no I wouldn't say so. It's difficult to say. Yes on a personal basis, yes my dealings with Jane and Chris and I could see how if I was doing something with Twizel Bridge but see who manages Twizel Bridge? So sometimes it is not always that easy to know who we should contact for something that has sat there for hundreds of years, same as the battlefield where's it's obvious with a museum.

Hilary: [01:05:39] Could you do a Facebook group or something to allow people to
have access to each other to help collaborate in a more easy way?

Andrew: That is an interesting idea that I haven't thought of and it's quite obvious to set a Facebook page up or whatever. Because the fact that it is decentralized is what is perfect about it. If there is one thing I can say with my professionalism this is the way I go about it but also in a practical way I can't dictate how another site runs. So you've got to respect that well they might not be a historian or archaeologist or site manager and they have a right to what they want to do. And if you can offer support and help that's great.

Even if you're going to join an event and it is a separate event or festival with 6 venues then each venue does what it wants. But in terms of how you market it and link the event and promote it, that's when you need agreement and you need a lead. But not in the actual content. Unless someone came up with something and you said can I see how that fits into an overarching theme would you like to think about it. These were the aims and the community's way of doing that. But at the same time how could you say to another venue, especially who was privately or community owned, that they have to follow museum standards because you are a museum. I do not think that is appropriate you can learn from each other. And can think of things in new ways that you never thought of.

I work with a trust in another organization. We just had a weekend with them at an event and it was the first time we worked with them in years and the first time we worked with them on the same stand and it worked really well. And you can learn from that. But yeah I think it has to be if you have six events each site needs to be able to manage and design their event. Maybe some criteria for the festival that is overarching but that should be reached by agreement, that shouldn't be dictated because otherwise people will do the bare minimum or won't do anything, they will just drop out of the event.

As museum professionals sometimes we forget that our profession is quite new. The Museum Association has been around since the 1880s but even today you switch on the radio and hear the BBC talk about old dusty museums and you think oh that's so out of date but it's actually not. We as museum professionals are almost living in a different bubble. Why is BBC or another news agency still saying all these things that don't make sense to us. But you've got to some extent go with that, you've got to realize that as professionals it is different to public perception. And that for a museum event professionalisms might be appropriate but it might not be appropriate for a community event.

I went to my football club's 150th anniversary and they had hundreds of things on display and they just put cling film over it, so that meant it was very hard to pick up, you can't touch it. It was super simple security and made security easy, it was very simple and effective but if I said to my boss we are going to put cling film over it, he will say no you're not. So maybe for a local solution, it may not be
museum standards, but it doesn't diminish the museum part of the event and it brings you together.
Interview #3 with Jane Miller, educational officer of the ecomuseum
The interview was conducted at Berwick Museum, an ecomuseum site, in Berwick upon Tyne, England on Wednesday May 17, 2017.

Hilary: I have worked my way through Legends & Legacy and that's a really cool publication. But I guess to get started for me I choose the topic of ecomuseum for my thesis and this is my only case study. Flodden is my only case study so I really want to dig into it. And my research question is about the relationship dynamics and partnerships so more on the sociological side of it, but not just the human element and not just the material and non-tangible but what mediates between all those relations. And on an individual level the identity formation and etc. And so that's probably what I'm interested in and eventually my aim would be to deliver some sort of cognitive relationship map about the ecomuseum connections locally and then going out from there.

Jane: When will this piece of work be finished? What is your deadline?

Hilary: July 1st so will be published to my university and I guess I've gotten a good bit done so far but still a lot to do but this has been hugely inspiring and motivating week, I just hope I can get it all in. So I do have an idea of what you've done and your role and Joycie has told me about your position and your relationship with Woodhorn Trust but is there any opening remark or anything that I might not have come across?

Jane: I don't know. Really for me working on the project has been the best thing I've ever done. It's just been fantastic. You've met James and George and when you've got those kind of people steering a project it's very different because they are not Museum professionals so the whole outlook of the project is really different. And it gave it a really nice grounding. I don't know if it is because they are both landowners and farmers and looking long-term but most local museums are run by local authorities and politicians thinking to the next three years with the next election or whatever it is so they have a much longer view of everything and it's very different and I think that brought a real quality to the ecomuseum that you don't get. So I think from that point of view it has been a different feel to the whole project and it has been fantastic because we had a brilliant project manager James and George and archaeologist and Linda and everyone just worked so hard and so well together and it was just great. [00:04:05]
Hilary: so would you consider yourself a museum professional and not a education professional?

Jane: Well my background is in archaeology and I did my teacher training but I never had a teacher role in a school. I always worked in museums.

Hilary: So with that, I guess were you involved from the onset of the project?

Jane: I came on board when they started making appointments after getting the big Lottery grant. There was a lot of work involved behind the scenes before that which I wasn't involved in, so I came on board in 2013 the year of the commemoration. So just after they took on the project manager.

Hilary: So when you first came on where did you kind of expect or envision and obviously it sounds like it exceeded your expectations.

Jane: I didn't really know, I had been working in schools for quite a long time. Not teaching but doing stuff with behavioral support and speech and language problems. So I had been doing something very different for a while I had been out of museums for a while so I was quite open to how it was going to go. And I knew archaeology was a huge element within the project so I didn't have you any expectations. I presumed it would be like the other museum education projects I had worked on in the past but a little bit different because there's lots of sites, lots of active research and fieldwork. And mine main thing was to go in the community and find out what's going on and how can we engage the kids in the community in this live research really. So that's what we did rather than quite often people write a program or a workshop and say this this is what we're going to do and that's it. But it was much more organic because we are constantly on site digging and then there was Linda finding things in the archives. So I don't think I had really any fixed ideas. But I knew the site, I grew up around here so it was an interesting one because there is the intangible side of it as well. And you know how much it means on the other side of the border, within the Scottish Borders, so it could go either way, it could be a tricky one. But again because James and George managing it, it was all quite smooth. [00:06:38]

Hilary: Well did you know about ecomuseums or the ecomuseum model or philosophy before?

Jane: I had heard it mentioned but I did not know very much about it at all. Obviously, before I applied for the job I did lots of research. So I did kinda know but it's actually difficult to find out what an ecomuseum is because when you do
research you hear what this country has and says but then this country says this. But yeah I kind of managed to get the gist of it but no I didn't know much at all before.

Hilary: Obviously you go in thinking there are going to be some challenges like sensitivity by was there a challenge that arose that was not foreseen?

Jane: A big challenge I had was when you put in a bid to get Lottery funding it’s a lot of numbers of people you will work with and the numbers were really really high. And I could see that problem straight away because of the area where we were in. They were talking about working with 20 schools, work with 100 children from each school. Well, I was working in schools that had 12 children you know in Northumberland. It has been written by someone in Newcastle so it was very much more of an urban model that did not fit here. So that was our main challenge, right at the start was that these numbers are enormous. It was 12,000 children in 3 years but actually, in the end, we got quite close to that. We got quite close but it meant that all of our focus was getting school groups through because that was the only way I could get the numbers. Which was a shame because it would have been nice to do more stuff on the battle or troops or other projects in schools but really we had to get the numbers through. So that was a slight problem and at the start it looked like it was going to be really tricky to get those numbers with working with very small schools and also because I started in March and a lot of schools had actually started to do their Flodden projects already so by the time I was on board they had kind of done it for that year. So that was a bit tricky but apart from that it was really good there weren't any problems.

Hilary: Was there maybe a challenge that you thought was going to be a challenge but ended up not?

Jane: I don't think so. A little bit in getting the schools engaged, some of them were slow to engage but they did eventually. It didn't quite link to the curriculum and then they changed the curriculum. But no, not really.

Hilary: Was there much corporation with universities or with other sorts of educational?

Jane: No. Again that's something that sort of suffered because there were such high numbers to get we ended up mainly working with primary schools so that is up to 11 and 10-year-olds. On the English side, there are first schools so that takes them up to about 13 but the high schools which are 12 until 18 not much. And not much at all with colleges and universities because of that number thing and it takes
time to build those relationships and the timetable makes it difficult for them. We did
give tours to the students from Newcastle who are doing their heritage master.

Hilary: So about 12 years old was the oldest?

Jane: Yeah yeah I would say probably.

Hilary: What was the youngest age?

Jane: The youngest would be 4 and 5 years old.

Hilary: That seems adorable. [00:11:04]

Hilary: I forget which chapter number it is but your nice article that you wrote you
talked about the young archaeologist club which from what I gather was formed from the ecomuseum and you called that the informal education and that is what is going to continue. And the formal was the seminars and the workshops in the schools. Do you see or hear of any desire for the formal to continue? Do you see that as something that could be?

Jane: I'm still doing it but the thing is we don't have the funding so we charge schools now. We've got two schools at the minute now who are doing Flodden projects and I'm doing workshops with them. It's just that they pay now for it.

Hilary: So it's basically we have this program available, it cost this much if you want to do it.

Jane: Yeah yeah so these are schools that have done it for the last 3 or 4 year every year. For their year sixes they do Flodden.

Hilary: And it was so successful during the funded project time that they wanted to continue and pay on their own. That is a huge success.

Jane: Yeah that's great it's great and hopefully that will continue. And and the program I have for the museum here I've added in Flodden, if you want a Flodden workshop. So we have that continues on as does the archaeologist group.

Hilary: So the young archaeologists club, are there other branches out there?
Jane: Yeah it's a national organization.

Hilary: So this is just a new branch?

Jane: Yeah it's a new branch because before we set up the Flodden one there was a branch in Edinburgh and one in Newcastle and nothing in between. So we kind of plugged that gap a little bit. We get kids traveling pretty far to do it.

Hilary: Has the interest in the formal spread out from the Borders and Northumberland region?

Jane: No, it's pretty much here. We did a couple of schools towards Edinburgh but it's always been in this area really. I bet that is partly because people don't know about it, but no it's mainly been local schools.

Hilary: Also in your article, you talk about the cross-border lunch that was done and you say that there were difficulties with the different curriculums and the different timetables. What tactics or how did you combat, how did you deal with that cross-border?

Jane: It was just a case of building up good relationships with the teachers really because although they have different curriculums, which you have to be aware of, particularly on the English side. The English curriculum is much more prescriptive. The Scottish curriculum is a lot more open as long as they are meeting their objectives and the kids are learning the skills they need to learn they can do a project on pretty much anything really. They have some content they need to cover but it's much more flexible. So just building up good relationships with teachers. Basically the kids are all the same so as long as you can say to them that the kids will get this out of it and this ticks how many boxes for you and other boxes for you, then it's quite an easy sell anyway because it's all so hands on, they love it and it's free as well for them.

Hilary: So yeah why say no.

Jane: Yeah it is great. So the different curriculums you had to be aware of and make sure that you are ticking enough boxes for both of them. And the kids are the kids no matter where they come from and give them a helmet and they are happy.

Hilary: So you mostly dealt with teachers. Did you deal up the food chain so to
speak as far as education?

Jane: Quite often you would go through headteachers initially but usually you build up relationships with class teachers. Beyond that not a great deal, that was kind of it really.

Hilary: I guess it's kinda nice to deal in that, kind of staying in the more bottom up.

Jane: Yeah absolutely. And that is the idea of the ecomuseum, you are just going and talking to the people that you are going to be working with. Build up a really good relationship and that works really well from my point of view because I would usually spend 2 days with kids. So I would go to the school for one day and do a workshop and then they would come out on the site and spend a full day. So we would have two full days and the idea was that the teacher would build a project around that so they filled in the other days and I would supply them with images and suggest things and different things. So it's good to have that and that good contact with them because you could actually work with them to plan their projects and I would say "I actually have this in the museum you could borrow, or that you can borrow that for presentation."

Hilary: So do you see the ecomuseum as being a bottom-up organization?

Jane: I think so but it's always difficult because you need to manage a project but this project very much had that. In the early meetings where the stakeholders were there you know with 50 60 people in a village hall, that was incredible. Because James has always been very conscious to have that approach. When we've had our volunteer days and sort of things he's very conscious to not thank them for their work because to thank them would make it look like they were doing something for them but the whole idea is that they are doing something for themselves and their community. It is a really tricky one. He gets away with it because he is Lord Joicey but I see where he is coming from. Because to say to someone "thanks for doing that," that implies that they've done that for you when actually they've just been doing something for themselves and for their own community. So we have tried really really hard at that approach and it is all about personal relationships and just the way you frame and the way you talk to people. So I think it has been as much as a project like that can be. I think it has been bottom up much more so than others that I've seen. [00:17:08]

Hilary: You also mention that you have two main aims. One was analytical skills and the other was enhancing sense of place. So really to what extent do those succeed? And it was really interesting reading the kids' quotes and blurbs about
Jane: I think that was really important and I think it worked well. It was quite interesting.. at the minute I'm doing a Flodden project with the Year 6 group who are 10 years old in a local independent school, a private school, so a lot of those kids have come from other local schools. But amongst that class of 30 children there were 10 that said to me "oh I did Flodden when I was at Council school," or another Berwick School. So a lot of them had already taken part in the project before and I said oh what a shame you have to do it again and they said oh no no we love it we love it. And they were really pleased that they could remember bits about it and a lot of, especially on the Scottish side, there were a lot of cultural things that they could then engage in conversation with their parents or grandparents when they have Ride Outs in the summer and everybody is talking about Flodden. And now they know something about it so it's more meaningful to them. And even the workshops we've run here and now that we've moved on from Flodden and look at Berwick just after the time of Flodden and it means that kids in Berwick can really engage with their rich history here. And if they don't know about it they just see Berwick as a slightly rundown town, which it has become, and people are very negative about it. But this place is amazing, look at the history that you have, and it's giving them that identity and that sense of pride in where they're from and that is really important. To know where they are from, absolutely. And I think we've achieved that with some of them. I mean some of them pshhh.

Hilary: Kids will be kids at times. Obviously 5 to 11 is kind of a big range but was there kind of a sweet spot with the kids ages?

Jane: Yeah sometimes it depended on the groups but the 8 to 9 year olds that's at that spongy stage and they are still enthusiastic, they don't have any of the teenager attitude and they just absolutely love it. Although sometimes when you're working with a slightly older one like the 10 year olds you can go into real depth with them and that's really nice. As well as sometimes they challenge your views in what you are saying and that makes you think yeah they are right because you know sometimes you get into an autopilot sometimes and they will challenge you and that is really interesting and generates great discussions. But the 8 to 9 year olds they just love it and throw themselves into it, it's brilliant.

Hilary: Yeah I guess that's coming back to the analytical skills that they can hear what you're saying but then have the mind to critique and question for themselves and analyze facts and question and I think even so through the project. Maybe
there at the beginning they weren't necessarily going to ask a question but at the end of it, they feel like they can.

Jane: It's also creating that sort of environment that they feel safe and feel like they can say anything. So kind of protecting them there and building up their knowledge and never really challenging them in any major away. So you are always asking them about things that they know something about, so they are slightly informed. Yeah I think it works really well

Hilary: Would you say that there was an overall breakdown of approachability? Students or even speaking of the older adults involved and just kind of lay people but that they felt they wasn't necessarily a barrier between them and the professionals, and that the approachability and line of communication did you see the ecomuseum as really leveling that? [00:21:43]

Jane: Yeah I think that worked really well. If you went on one of the community digs, maybe apart from this site director, it would be very difficult to say who was the volunteer and who was the professional, especially towards end of the project when some of the volunteers were really well skilled and trained by that stage and really amazing. Some of the volunteers got to the point where when we did the big dig with the schools it was some of the volunteers who basically set up the excavation.

Hilary: Quasi professionals then.

Jane: Yeah because by that time they were that qualified. And a lot of them come from professional backgrounds as well.

Hilary: You don't have a degree to you know.

Jane: No, no but yeah it was a mix of people which is nice.

Hilary: Did you find that with the formation of YAC did you see that it acted as a gateway to other aspects of the ecomuseum?

Jane: Well a little bit in that we got involved in some of the community digs and some of the archival research. But it has been an interesting thing. I was a little bit reluctant to set it up initially because I have done it before and you get certain kind of kids coming who tend to be from more wealthier backgrounds with very interested parents, so initially I was a wee bit reluctant. But it's such a great thing for those kids who are really really keen and interested and it's the only way they
can find out and get involved in archaeology so I gave in and I set it up. But initially we would be working and volunteering with the ecomuseum digs or our archaeologists would run a session with them and help train them. So they were kind of another little band of volunteers really on the project. And the last session we had couple of weeks ago we were in the archives working with Linda in a slightly different site, and again tomorrow we are digging, or on Saturday we are digging. For me it was great because I made so many contacts through the ecomuseum and through working on it I met lots of archaeologists who work in the area, so we get opportunities through that. But without the ecomuseum I never would have set up yak because I was supported when I first set it up by archaeologists and then through those contacts I manage to keep it going.

Hilary: You mentioned a little bit about the kids especially as they learn, and then hearing from their parents or grandparents, that generational aspect of the heritage and memory and stories that are held within the older generation, was there any purposeful or intentional cross-generational where you tried to get that Heritage passed to the younger?

Jane: No the only time we have done that is through yak when we had them work with the older volunteers, but no we have not. Which is maybe a shame. But certainly I know within the school projects the teachers have sent the kids home saying I want you to ask parents and grandparents what do they know about Flodden and come back and tell us and we will discuss it. So that was usually part of their project and that was always quite interesting.

Hilary: So on a real nuclear family level but no seminar or workshop level?

Jane: No

Hilary: Is that something that maybe in the future?

Jane: Yeah it would be interesting because it was interesting when we had things like the big dig and we had lots of older volunteers. And volunteers do tend to be older anyway. And the young kids there and they would chat and it was really interesting and a really nice thing to do.

Hilary: Do you see that as being a means for the sustainability for not only the ecomuseum but also the greater heritage and stories?
Jane: Yeah I think so, I do, because I think a lot of that gets lost unless it is purposefully done or directed slightly. I think a lot of that does get lost so I think that's quite a nice thing to do.

Hilary: And especially making people aware because you might not necessarily be aware that that is going to go with you and so it's also reminding that this is so important and so vital.

Jane: And I think you'll find that a bit. Now we're doing a couple of WWI projects and you really find that because the stories are still in the family and they are still very real and people are really just starting to realize oh right if I don't find out now that will be gone then. So it's trying to get the kids interested and trying to record some of that.

Hilary: Can I go into a different topic now. On the Scottish side from Flodden there's a huge sense of loss and tragedy and on the English side not so much.

Jane: Indifference

Hilary: Maybe just being a little bit mum about it but did you see that even with the children? How did that play out?

Jane: Yeah you do because when you do workshops with them I split them into English and Scottish and I hand out bibs with the royal Scottish coat of arms and James' coat of arms and then the English coat of arms and the Tudor coat of arms. And I start handing them out to the kids and the kids start to realize and they say 'no I'm English, I want to be English. No I'm Scottish, I want to be Scottish.' It depends where you are as well. When I would take them up to Flodden field and take them up Branxton Hill and get them to march down the hill, and some of the kids would be like 'no I don't want to be in the Scottish army.' But I did notice it more when I went to Selkirk and when I work with schools in Selkirk and it has a big story with Fletcher. And when you work with schools in Selkirk and ask who fought in the battle of Flodden? It was 'Fletcher!' Who was leading the Scottish army? Fletcher! Who was one major person killed in Battle? Fletcher!! Everything is just Fletcher. And so in a sense that is quite challenging because they have a different story of the battle to the one that we use that is more objective and based on a small amount of evidence that we have. And their Flodden story is very different. And you don't want to go in there and say no you have it all wrong because their story is just as valid and they have grown up with that and it is important to them and to their community. And it is finding ways that show the other stories of Flodden and the evidence we have for it and talk a bit
about oral history and the pros and cons of that. So yeah it did come up a bit. There would be lots of cherring in some of the schools like the English ones and some of the other schools not so much. So they did react to that but with living on the border you do find that, especially when it comes to things like Flodden or rugby.

Hilary: It's funny the cricket team that George is captain of is Scottish and the other side is Tillerside which is Lord Joycie's team. At the end of the day he said oh you played for the Scottish team so that was English VS Scottish. Lord Joicey talked a good deal about citizen science and he really loves that. And from what I understand you developed a skills passport?

Jane: Yeah we used the skills passport. It was developed by somebody else, David Connolly, who runs a website called badger (British Archaeological jobs and sources) and he put together the skills passport. And the idea is that it is set up for archaeologist and for people who did not have or even those who did have a degree but wanted to get into field work and wanted to show look I've worked on so many excavations and gotten so many skills and also for employers because how do you know that someone has done planing or section drawing or whatever else. It's a wee passport and it's just got all the different skills and the different levels and you get the site supervisor to sign it off. So we use that for our YAC and adult volunteers. But we had one specifically designed to include the archival research as well so that volunteers who work with Linda could also have one and get their part of it signed off.

Hilary: From what I understand, the funding is not at all based on economic or tourists outcome but on the cultural and community and specifically the building of skills both mental and physical most specifically of the older generation, so upskilling really, how did you see that? [00:32:56]

Jane: Most of that work was done by Linda in the archives and Chris with the archaeology but it was quite interesting speaking to Chris about it at one point because he was talking about another community archaeology project further down the coast, and with it had been specified that they had to get a certain number of people so different people, whereas we would count just the number of volunteers every day. So we might have the same ten volunteers over five days but that would count as 50. But they had to get different people everyday and that was part of the stipulation for their grant funding, whereas we do not have that, luckily, because we had the same volunteers everyday for the 3 years which meant that their skills just went through the roof. It was just incredible.
Hilary: That is almost the time of a bachelor's degree.

Jane: I know, exactly! It has just been incredible and so I'm so glad we do not have those restrictions on us. And it was just a smaller core people. I mean I don't think we ever turned anyone away so anybody could come. So that was more of their side of things, I would say they did a lot more of that. And a lot of the training was done on site.

Hilary: So that was the volunteer evaluation really using that skills passport and measuring their time spent.

Jane: Yeah after everything we would give them their evaluation forms to fill it out and we would get feedback that way.

Hilary: And I saw that, I mean it is obvious now that schools are paying for it on their own, but that your feedback from schools was really positive.

Jane: Yeah I know it's been really great

Hilary: That's great that the kids have this and have that opportunity and I'm quite envious, I wish I would have had that and it's a really the opportunity to get into that before University.

Jane: I think any chance to go into field work is just really really amazing. Like this Saturday our kids from YAC are going on the beach in Berwick and there's lots of lime works and so will be excavating in the lime works which are from the 19th century

Hilary: Did you see student aged pupils and then even possibly parents and the older volunteers, did you see them building relationships and really creating lasting bonds?

Jane: Some of them yeah. I have some volunteers that help me run YAC and some of them are older volunteers who started coming on digs and they have yeah. Yeah it's quite a small bunch, got about 12 of them and we have all gotten to know each other really well, and the parents. You all kinda consider each other friends really, and the older volunteers do help and even the professionals as well. It's a nice setup.

Hilary: Andrew told a really interesting story about how the kids would go to Coldstream in the morning and in the Battlefield in the afternoon and meeting all
of these kids he does his market shopping across the border in England and he would see a kid now and then in the grocery store and they would say hi to them and the parents are like who is that man and I found that just really fascinating. And then also him as a museum professional that the students didn't feel a border there. Did you have any?

Jane: Oh yeah yeah and you notice if you have event days or family activities here you'll get kids that come in and do informal activities and come up and say hi Jane and I'll say hi whoever you are a small child I don't remember.

Hilary: Did you encourage that at all for them to not be so formal?

Jane: Yeah yeah when we do outreach in schools I always had the kids call me Jane. The teachers would say Mrs. Miller and I was saying oh no Jane, I would encourage that. Just to put the kids at ease and to make them feel it wasn't school even though I was going into the school I didn't want them to feel it was a real "schooly" thing, it was different. And the whole approach was different and my approach with them was different. It was quite deliberate.

Hilary: But that is so valuable to learn that your education doesn't have to be within school time and within school walls but that your education is 24/7 up to your own desire to learn and to go. Also I think it's nice for the student for you as a museum professional and archaeologist that they can call you Jane and then they can think I can easily be Jane.

Jane: Yeah that's the idea because if I was talking to an adult there is no way I would say was I was an archaeologist. My degree is in archaeology and I've done a fair bit of digging but not for a long long time apart from with the kids. So I wouldn't say to you I'm an archaeologist, I would say my background is in archaeology. But to the kids after a little while I thought I will say that to them because as far as they are concerned I am an archaeologist. Just so it opens their horizons that people do this as a job, not many, but some people do and you know people doing it so you think it is something I can do. And again it's just to make them think that and it meant that they can ask you things about it as well which is great.

Hilary: That is great, you mentioned a little bit but obviously your professional network has ballooned.

Jane: Oh yes yes
Hilary: Andrew was talking about collaborating and really he would like to do a joint exhibition or project every couple years and that during the project he did a couple of joint exhibitions. So can you personally and professionally can you say how the ecomuseum has affected that?

Jane: Oh yeah I think definitely and Anne, the curator, who was in here before had not worked with Coldstream before but through the Flodden exhibition there was quite a few meetings and I see Andrew quite a lot and he is also an archaeologist and if we're doing something that I think may impact on them or might be of interest to them I will say so. I also always say I've got lots of costumes so if you need anything just give me a shout.
So from that point of it I'm always really keen to be out there as much as possible and to continue that kind of ecomuseum feel which is just being out there and speaking to people about the local heritage. And there is a dig coming up in June in Coldstream Priory, an old monastic site on the Scottish Borders. There will have a day where they are having all the schools and such and a teacher that I worked with in one of the schools on the Flodden project is now retired and got in touch with me and asked if we can help with some of the things. It's just things like that because I have lots of costumes and habits they can borrow. So it's just been being very generous with everything and that's the idea of the ecomuseum. It's not like oh this is ours and we are going to tell you about it but it really is our. The ecomuseum thing is it's everybody's and you just want to kind of facilitate in engaging with it and enjoying it really. [00:41:02]

Hilary: So both your professional relationships but then also sharing of resources, as your kind of stock and store has expended to where you feel more comfortable reaching out, and obviously other organizations and people feel comfortable reaching out to you.

Jane: I think so. I think it works quite well.

Hilary: With that, since the end of the project now and since these connections and relationships have been made, is there any sort of central communication tool or body?

Jane: No it's all quite informal.

Hilary: No but even informally is there anything in place to try to make sure these connections are maintained and those lines of communication are open or is it just very organically done?
Jane: Yeah I think it's just going to be organic and it's just a case of me emailing Andrew in six months saying do you want to do an exhibition next year. I think that it is at that kind of level. Really though, not a problem with ecomuseum but the thing with ecomuseum is there are so few members of staff, there are four of us working on it, so it comes down to individuals. And there's nothing sort of formal in place but it is always in my brain. I do want to carry on, I don't want to lose those connections because it has just been fantastic.

Hilary: So there's no even kind of Facebook page where the central professionals just have a Facebook page to just have kind of that place to go, just a very informal you know, just a Facebook group.

Jane: Yeah I know that's a good idea, yeah it's an interesting idea because there are a few different social media sites that have come out you know. Because they is TillVAS archaeology Society and they have all of their sites now so yeah that is interesting.

Hilary: One of Andrew's concerns, or not necessarily concern, but something he would like to see that now since the end of the project and since the commemoration if there was once a year a festival or something. He was just kind of thinking out loud but is that something that you see as possibly once a year?

Jane: Yeah it would be nice and you know there's always lots of interest around the anniversary. And you know last year George did something in Branxton so I'm not sure if he is wanting to do that again this year but yeah it would be nice to do something. It always comes back to funding but it doesn't always take a lot of money to put these types of things on so yeah it would be quite an interesting thing to do.

Hilary: I guess how it is now is just at the very very bottom and organic so only if someone was to say

Jane: And that's how it was with George last year, he said I'm doing this thing at Braxton if you would like to come along and I said yeah I will come along.

Hilary: But then again if there is always a community member interested in doing that you don't necessarily have to formally set up with ok every year on this anniversary.

Jane: No exactly and I guess that is more of the ecomuseum way to just let it come. As long as it doesn't die out but you know it won't because on the Scottish
side it will never die out they will never forget but yeah it is nice to continually be involved with it so yeah maybe more will come. [00:45:19]

Hilary: Did you have much interaction with any of the distant sites, with school age kids it's really the battlefield but did you have any dealings with any of those further sites?

Jane: No not a great deal. No so when we take them on a site visit we take him to Etal Castle and to Heatherslaw and we go to Flodden field. And some the schools were looking more at castles as well so we would go to Norham Castle. And the peace garden at Crookham we did some stuff for them.

Hilary: Did you do stuff in building and developing the garden?

Jane: We had kids out there when they were putting it together in the final stages, we did a little bit of planting and stuff and we had some kids at the opening and I designed some kids activities. So little things like that. If anything the ecomuseum sites got in touch with me and if they wanted kids activities then I would try to put something together for them. But mainly again it was just that numbers game trying to get as many kids through as possible.

Hilary: But you got pretty close to your number?

Jane: Yeah we got close.

Hilary: So what were the kids’ favorite, obviously the battlefield, but was there maybe a site or aspect that the kids were drawn to?

Jane: When I go in the classroom I do a dig and they love that. So it's like 3 coffin size boxes with the skeletons in there and compost and the finds and it's all set up and stuff. So we have a supposed female who hasn't been in the battle and is all nicely laid out and there are female artifacts but we have good discussions about that as well. And a rich person with gold coins and jewelry and a poor person. So it's just getting them to think about what the objects tell you about that person and you do get in some really interesting discussions then because the woman or not has needles and thimbles so you think it's a woman. But the begin the discussions about why do you think that? Do you think women do all the sewing? No, not necessarily. So really you get into in-depth discussions about gender roles and things like that.
Hilary: That's really difficult to do. You can't just go up to a 10 year old and ask how do you feel about gender equality?

Jane: Yeah but you can do it in a roundabout way really well. And assuming because you find gold coins on one of the bodies then they were rich and there's always some smart kid that says maybe they stole them off of him over there and you say yeah absolutely maybe he did. All those kinds of things and it's just constantly questioning because we don't know. If you're on an excavation you can make assumptions and you can make educated guesses but you don't know for sure. So it's just getting them to question and think about it.

Hilary: And think outside of that instructed box.

Jane: It's quite frightening frankly that box that there is.

Hilary: Joicey has talked a good bit about the disappointing archaeological finds did you really see the social cultural benefit so not necessarily that they didn't find something big but just the activity and the being there among peers and older community members?

Jane: When you've worked in archaeology quite a bit you're not really expecting anything. You often find very little and we were finding some things that didn't necessarily relate to Flodden but it was still finding things.

Hilary: Yeah I like the domino.

Jane: Ah yeah, so lots of interesting things. But to me that wasn't the point and that's why the book ended up being what it is. I think in the initial bid Chris had put in to write a monograph a full academic paper but because there were very few finds and because he was ill we kind of thought well maybe a different direction. And really what came out of the project wasn't the archaeological finds it was the community that built up and the skills that were given to people. It was more about the people than the archaeology, which I guess is an ecomuseum thing again. It's about the people and the place not the stuff.

Hilary: Absolutely did you see from what I can interpret the strong intangible heritage of the area especially on the Scottish side with the Ride Outs and bag piping tunes, but did you see through the ecomuseum that aspect maybe refreshed or reinvigorated?
Jane: Yeah they anniversary kind of did that and all the publicity surrounding the anniversary really brought it to life again a bit more. It made me think a little bit more rather than just. Having said that I saw someone being interviewed at the Coldstream Ride Out, one of the riders, and the reporter asked him where are you riding and he said I don't know we do it every year. But I think generally it did raise awareness. Yes it definitely raised awareness because we had quite a lot of media coverage and in the news as well so it has helped in that way I think. I think it's maybe giving them something a bit more tangible in their cultural events.

Hilary: Because it is important

Jane: There is a reason behind it.

Hilary: Yeah there is a lineage. Also there is a theme of peace and reconciliation obviously with the garden that is big but did that really or was that really brought to the pupils?

Jane: A little bit. I did have a few teachers that asked for that particularly and there was a couple of things we did in the peace garden. And there is one of the schools that the headteacher brought the children and really would like to make a peace garden in the school grounds that way when there are children that are struggling with behavior and having to talk to them about conflict and conflict resolution we can take them out into the garden and maybe use the garden as a vehicle for discussing some of those difficult issues because on a school playground you've got lots of conflict. So sometimes it came up. And we had another school from Selkirk that wanted to come visit the peace garden and the Battlefield and they had their lunch at Ford school in England. So there were one or two but on the whole not a whole lot of it came up in conversation you know they would say who won the Battle. Well you know England but what do we mean by win? Who is really winning here? And we would have a whole discussion about that do people actually win a battle, what does winning mean, what do we gain, what was lost, what was won.

Hilary: And then how that in less than just a hundred years later was the unification of the two crowns.

Jane: We got into that a little bit and a lot of the schools would go on to cover that towards the end of the project but we did not get in to that too much really. Mostly the schools did but we do not do that too much it was really what can fit in a day was our problem.
Hilary: It was all about the activity of it and learning new skills.

Jane: Yeah it was all about doing and discussions and all quite informal.

Hilary: Sensitive here but the referendum pending and the Brexit and that whole can of worms.. interestingly I chose this case study before anything happened so the relevance of this now is enormous. But how do you say or how did you see maybe I don't know?

Jane: Well the referendum was a really tricky one for us you know it was in the back of your mind you thought it's not going to go that way but you have to think about that. And it was very interesting from the top levels in Scotland which went very quiet about Flodden whether it was deliberate or ignorance, I don't know. They were just pushing Bannockburn at that time with the anniversary of Bannockburn coming at the same time of the referendum and Bannockburn being a victory for them. But can people really be so childish? But it certainly appeared that way because Flodden was kept very quiet, whether that was deliberate or not, who knows. And there might have been some impact, it would have been a huge impact practically if it had gone through I guess. But on the border we're quite used to just carrying on regardless. Then Brexit, yeah I don't know, it's all too depressing. [00:55:24]

Hilary: Being here I've got a lot and I mean I've only been here a week but I feel such an affinity and the community has just been so warm and welcoming and if something was to happen I would be terribly upset I just oh my gosh I can't even imagine so I can't imagine what you know.

Jane: You know I live on the Scottish side and I work here, I work for Northumberland.

Hilary: And I guess being here and seeing how beautifully the border is crossed and lived. I can't imagine that becoming.

Jane: It would just be impossible wouldn't it. I can not see it. it is just very sad. But again that is something else we tried to do with the kids when working with the kids because obviously immigration has been happening forever, people are always coming from other countries and have always you know. And that is something else that we can get across in our workshops. We've had soldiers from France who came up to Scotland and helped and people coming from all over Europe. It was a big European thing... and it is just sad. And you can try and do
that I do that quite a lot with prehistory workshops and we go way back into prehistory you know when you can do isotope analysis of the teeth and you can see how he came from Switzerland or he came from Austria or wherever and they're living here and people have always moved about. Get over it.

Hilary: Do you see the border, it is obviously a very fluid border, so it is not something you think of everyday really, but do the school age kids do they have that same sense? Do you see a change in that?

Jane: I think the school age kids see different towns as being different so they might have a rivalry like the kids from Duns might have a rivalry with kids from Eyemouth and the kids from Berwick but just cause they are different towns. But I don't know, it's difficult, I suppose there is a bit of rivalry that comes from Rugby usually and things like that but on the whole certainly on this side of the border people just come and go. Most of the kids I speak to are from Duns, Coldstream, and they have relatives in Berwick. They do their shopping here.

Hilary: Intermarriage has been going on.

Jane: Yeah exactly. It is not really, I mean I was born in Berwick but brought up in Eton just on the other side of the border so we were brought up being told we were borderers and if someone said your English is we would say I'm British I'm a borderer. But it's always been, certainly on this side of the border, a very very fluid border and it is not an issue really. I notice it more now because I am working in the schools and they have the different curriculum setups so I do notice the difference. And I'm working for a local authority.

Hilary: But culturally it's very similar it's only when you start dealing with the funding and the politics.

Jane: Yeah and the schools are set up very differently but the kids won't necessarily notice that and you dealing with the teachers.

Hilary: Even though they're set up differently it's not really a barrier?

Jane: No because you just deal with them on a personal level.

Hilary: So the basis and the fundamental of an ecomuseum is a community agreement. Would you be able to say what the community agreement of Flodden
1513 is? I've been asking this to everyone and it's been interesting.

Jane: A community agreement.. I think the Flodden ecomuseum just comes out of a mutual desire to share the Flodden story and to raise awareness of the Flodden story and to learn new skills from each other. I mean I've learnt plenty from our volunteers and the professional staff. So to share skills that we can then take on to other projects. So it has you know the satellite projects going on, there are for them going on now and community archaeology project going on because people have learnt skills through the Flodden project. So I think it is all about coming together to share that story and upskilling together and disseminating the information we found really.

Hilary: That's a beautiful answer. [01:00:30]

Hilary: You are also one of the only ones that have answered it.

Jane: No comment

Hilary: Joicey said I think it was no agreement but I think he was thinking in more of the formal contractual sense. From that he interestingly said the no agreement is all about us just being a community so our lack of an agreement was our agreement to not be formal or top down but to just stay us. And then Andrew kind of also said the same thing that there was no agreement but a general consensus was the agreement.

Jane: But people really bough into it so there was something really binding everybody together and there still is. It really is quite strong still. We would have meetings with the steering group and everybody would see differently the whole concept of ecomuseum.

Hilary: Was there any, you are a professional in many senses of the word, was there any major new skill or a skill said that you acquired that you did not expect to?

Jane: I had never worked with archives before and that was really interesting working with Linda because I kind of thought documents those are boring but then I started working with Linda and saw it was just like archaeology, it's all about discovery. You've got the 16th century documents that no one has read for 500 years and you start to read through them and you start to find these treasures within them and these discoveries that nobody knew about. And that was actually the big revelation for me.
And then using that with children. We had year threes who are 6 to 7 years old transcribing 16th century documents and they were brilliant at it. And it is just a case of trying things and having the trust of the teachers as well. Because really young children are still doing it letter by letter and that is the way we teach adults to transcribe old documents. Don't try and site read words, you do it letter by letter. So little ones who are still spelling things out as they read them, they are perfect for doing transcription because that is the way we do it anyway. They don't just look at a word and try to guess what it is, they are just going letter by letter writing it down, so they are pretty great at it 6 and 7 year olds.

Hilary: Also I think it was Joicey that said he really saw that with the transcription stuff especially with the older volunteers that they got a buddy and really buddied up and really made very close friends through transcriptions. [01:03:45]

Jane: And they're still working together a lot of them on other projects. Linda has done an amazing job working with them. And really nice things like there is a couple and his wife had dementia and they were looking for something different that they could do together but that still had a purpose to it and although she was quite unwell and struggled a little bit they could still do it together and they could come along to the days together and engage with the others and it was really nice. So yeah Linda spent a lot of the time with her volunteers and building up their skills and she is quite strict with them but they want to learn and they did learn an awful lot.

Hilary: Would you say that with the transcribing was that the biggest upskilling?

Jane: possibly

Hilary: Or both archaeology?

Jane: Yeah the archaeology as well. We have some volunteers now that are pretty much professionals, so I would say it's a bit of both.

Hilary: How would you suggest people in other places implement what you have done here? [01:06:27]

Jane: That's a tricky one because we had funding from Heritage Lottery Fund so we were always slightly independent from the schools or anything else but it was very much that bottom-up effect. And the secret is going out and speaking to people and for there to be a desire in the community in the first place. There was a big desire to find about Flodden and to link again to that Heritage and to that event
and also desire to be upskilled. There is a big interest, quite a lot of retired people, people that retired young that are still looking for things to do and people that retire to this area, so there are a lot of people looking to be upskilled. But I don't know that is a tricky one. We were very lucky that the individuals involved just got on really well and we really all just wanted to make it work. In museums sometimes when people work there for a long time they get a bit institutionalized. But with Flodden we don't have a building so there was no sitting in the museum hiding saying come to us come to us. So you had to go out, you had to be out. There was no ownership or anything because there wasn't really anything to own so I think that was a really good starting point. So maybe the starting point is not having walls to hide behind. The people who were here this morning are from Woodhorn Trust and they have museums and they're very "museumy" people and I'm more like let me out. When I run workshops in here for schools they are in here for the morning to get some background but then I take him out. I take them outside to get them looking at the walls because the heritage is out there. We've got kinds of stuff in here and it is a false environment. But the heritage is out there, go and look at it, you've got to go look at it and explore it. And it's amazing how many of them have not been to certain parts in the town and the walls. It's also about changing your thinking because museums are also thinking about how we need to get visitors in but maybe we need to rethink that.

Hilary: That's also a great thing about your funding is that it was not about your visitor count or about the economics it was about the individual community member get. What is their culture? [01:09:24]

Jane: Even though we did have targets we could go out and do that in anyway. It wasn't very restricted, we were out and about doing stuff, that was really nice. Whether getting kids out on the professional digs or whatever it was all counted.

Hilary: It's such a good point about your institutional walls where you're safe and you're back in your box but if you are in the ecomuseum with just the sites and network that is always moving. Then when you're in it you have to, it is for you to connect the sites. And then you are kind of bare and you don't have the walls to hide behind so you can say and do whatever. And museums also have their own narrative. But when you go out to the battlefield it is up to you to see a narrative and that there are always multiple.

Jane: Yeah and it is making the children aware of that.
2. Table of the questionnaire results

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Questions: provided by Gerard Corsane in 2006, twenty-one indicators of an ecomuseum, answerable with yes or no</th>
<th>Response (yes/no, out of 20)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| 1. Does the local community manage the ecomuseum? | No - 3  
Yes - 17 |
| 2. Does the ecomuseum allow for public participation in a democratic manner? | No - 0  
Yes - 20 |
| 3. Is there joint ownership and management between local people and ‘experts’—i.e. is there a double input system? | No - 0  
Yes - 20 |
| 4. Is there an emphasis on process rather than on product? | No - 0  
Yes - 20 |
| 5. Does the ecomuseum encourage collaboration with local craftspeople, artists, writers, actors and musicians? | No - 0  
Yes - 20 |
| 6. Is the ecomuseum dependent on substantial active voluntary efforts? | No - 0  
Yes - 20 |
| 7. Is it a fragmented ‘museum’ with a hub and ‘antennae’ of buildings and sites? | No - 4  
Yes - 16 |
| 8. Does the ecomuseum encompass a ‘geographical’ territory that is determined by shared characteristics? | No - 0  
Yes - 20 |
| 9. Does the ecomuseum deal with past, present and future perspectives, i.e. it covers both spatial and temporal aspects? | No - 0  
Yes - 20 |
| 10. Are connections between: technology/individual, nature/culture, past/present interpreted at the sites? | No - 3  
Yes - 17 |
| 11. Does the ecomuseum promote preservation, conservation and safeguarding of heritage resources in-situ? | No - 0  
Yes - 20 |
| 12. Is attention given to intangible heritage resources? | No - 0  
Yes - 20 |
3. Table of the Flodden 1513 Ecomuseum sites

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Significance</th>
<th>Visited</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Flodden Field</td>
<td>Tweed Valley, Northumberland, Cornhill-on-Tweed</td>
<td>The battlefield of Flodden where the two armies met.</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abbotsford</td>
<td>Tweed Valley, Scottish Borders, Melrose</td>
<td>Estate of Sir Walter Scott and where he wrote Marmion which tells of the Battle of Flodden.</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Location</td>
<td>Description</td>
<td>Visit Information</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barmoor Castle</td>
<td>The site of the English Camp on the night before the Battle of Flodden.</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Berwick upon Tweed</td>
<td>Important port where 600 English soldiers were garrisoned at the time of the Flodden.</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bolton Chapel</td>
<td>In 1513 the English army camped in the field around the Chapel. The Earl of Surrey and his noble took Holy Communion here.</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Branxton Church</td>
<td>In the days following the Battle the Church serves as a temporary mortuary. Legend holds that King James IV was laid up here. Some casualties from the Battle buried here.</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coldstream</td>
<td>The Scottish army crossed the River Tweed at the Coldstream Ford. Coldstream provided soldiers for the battle.</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ellemford</td>
<td>King James IV and his army mustered here before Flodden.</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Etal Castle</td>
<td>The former chapel houses a permanent exhibition about Border warfare and the Battle of Flodden. The Castle ruins are open to explore.</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Location</td>
<td>Location Details</td>
<td>Description</td>
<td>Answer</td>
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<tr>
<td>Flodden Hill</td>
<td>Tweed Valley, Northumberland, Cornhill-on-Tweed</td>
<td>The wooded ridge one mile south of the battlefield where King James IV and his army waited for the English to engage them in battle.</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Flodden Peace Center</td>
<td>Tweed Valley, Northumberland, Cornhill-on-Tweed</td>
<td>Located at Crookham Church. A narrative garden speaking to global peace and reconciliation inspired from the Battle.</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ford: Ford Church, Ford Castle</td>
<td>Tweed Valley, Northumberland, Ford</td>
<td>King James IV is believed to have attended mass here before the Battle. Ford Castle was besieged by him and he set up camp on nearby Flodden Ridge.</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hawick</td>
<td>Tweed Valley, Scottish Borders, Hawick</td>
<td>Tradition holds that every man from Hawick aged 16 to 60 died at Flodden. In 1514 a group of Hawick young men beat some English soldiers returning to the town victorious.</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Heatherslaw Mill</td>
<td>Tweed Valley, Northumberland, Cornhill-on-Tweed</td>
<td>A mill has been here since the 13th century. Likely to have provided flour to both armies during September 1513.</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hume Castle</td>
<td>Tweed Valley, Scottish Borders, Kelso</td>
<td>Family seat of the Earls of Home at the time of Flodden and acted as a muster point. In the aftermath of the Battle and subsequent conflicts it played a prominent role.</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Location</td>
<td>Region</td>
<td>Description</td>
<td>Answer</td>
</tr>
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<td>---------------</td>
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<td>-----------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kelso</td>
<td>Tweed Valley,</td>
<td>A magnificent abbey. After Flodden, Dand Ker of Ferniehurst broke into the</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Scottish Borders,</td>
<td>Abbey and installed his brother as Abbot.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Kelso</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ladykirk Church</td>
<td>Tweed Valley,</td>
<td>King James IV ordered its construction in the 1490s. There is a bust of</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Scottish Borders,</td>
<td>James IV on view.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ladykirk</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Norham Castle</td>
<td>Tweed Valley,</td>
<td>After a five day siege King James IV captured the Castle providing the</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Northumberland,</td>
<td>Scottish great protection for their supply lines and flank.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Norham</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Selkirk</td>
<td>Tweed Valley,</td>
<td>The Halliwell House Museum has displays related to Flodden and artifacts</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Scottish Borders,</td>
<td>from the Battle. A statue near the town center depicts Fletcher, who was</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Selkirk</td>
<td>the lone Selkirk survivor and returned to the town with the banner.</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Swinton Kirk</td>
<td>Tweed Valley,</td>
<td>Home of the Flodden Bell which was rung in 1513 to mark the death of so</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Scottish Borders,</td>
<td>many Scots at Flodden.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Swinton</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Twizel Bridge</td>
<td>Tweed Valley,</td>
<td>Built in 1511 and provided the only dry crossing of the River Till. Likely</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Northumberland,</td>
<td>that both armies crossed the bridge.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Cornhill-on-Tweed</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Traquair House</td>
<td>Tweed Valley,</td>
<td>The Stuarts have lived in the house since 1491 when James Stewart became</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Scottish Borders,</td>
<td>1st Laird. He died at Flodden.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Traquair</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Site</td>
<td>Location</td>
<td>Details</td>
<td>Answer</td>
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<tr>
<td>---------------------</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wark Castle</td>
<td>Tweed Valley, Northumberland, Cornhill-on-Tweed</td>
<td>One of the first castles captured by the Scottish after their invasion in 1513. The castle was a key element in King James IV’s defense strategy.</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Weetwood Bridge</td>
<td>Tweed Valley, Northumberland, Wooler</td>
<td>Where the English army likely crossed the River Till as it marched to battle.</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Castle Sempre</td>
<td>Renfrewshire, Scotland</td>
<td>Lord Sempill died at Flodden. He is buried inside the family’s church and his tomb is open to visit among the ruins of the church.</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Edinburgh</td>
<td>Edinburgh, Scotland</td>
<td>Remains of Flodden Wall, the old town wall, are visible. The Bore Stane? Edinburgh Castle was the seat of the Scottish Crown.</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Framlingham</td>
<td>Suffolk, England</td>
<td>The Flodden Helm, believed to have been worn by the Earl of Surrey who lead the English at Flodden, is on view in St Michael’s Church.</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Mary Rose</td>
<td>Portsmouth, England</td>
<td>The ship was Thomas Howard’s flag carrier and around 1000 troops to Newcastle upon Tyne to join the English army.</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middleton Church</td>
<td>Manchester, England</td>
<td>The yeoman-archers, who fought at Flodden, were from Middleton. The Church features the Flodden window which commemorates the English victory at Flodden.</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Location</td>
<td>Region, Scotland</td>
<td>Description</td>
<td>Question Answered</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------------------</td>
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<td>-----------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Linlithgow Palace</td>
<td>West Lothian, Scotland</td>
<td>Royal residence favored by King James IV. He remodelled the residence during his reign.</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stirling Castle</td>
<td>Stirling, Scotland</td>
<td>Royal castle where King James IV carried out considerable building work.</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Whithorn</td>
<td>Dumfries and Galloway, Scotland</td>
<td>Regarded as the cradle of Christianity in Scotland. King James IV made the pilgrimage to St Ninian’s Chapel every year of his reign.</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>