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ARTICLE



Promoting tangible and intangible hidden cultural heritage: local communities influencing civic decision-making and international cultural policy

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ABSTRACT

This paper explores international policy approaches to inclusive cultural heritage within urban centres and communities. It defines and identifies hidden cultural assets, tangible and intangible, and examines how, and why, some cultural assets are hidden. We explore the use of two complementary digital methods: digital cultural asset mapping and digital storytelling to reveal hidden heritage and engage the local citizen's voice. The paper draws on a local city example that had ambitions to influence international reach and policy agendas; a year-long practice-based research project in Paisley, a large town on the edge of a major city conurbation in Scotland, as set within the context of wider cultural heritage policy discussion. The research reveals how hidden cultural heritage can be used to inform governmental decision-making on a national and international stage and simultaneously inform policy and practical step changes in peri-urban cultural regeneration whilst contributing significantly to sustainable development goals.

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Cultural heritage; cultural assets; sustainable development goals; hidden heritage; community engagement

Introduction

This paper explores international policy approaches to inclusive cultural heritage within cities and communities. It aligns to, for example, but is not limited to, the UN (2016) Sustainable Development Goal (SDG) 11 of safeguarding cultural heritage and promoting participatory planning, the OECD's recommendation on Global Events for Local Development (2019) adopted by 37 member countries and UNESCO (2014) approach towards working with creative methods, organisations and agencies to aid civic decision-making in making a contribution to a more representative cultural landscape. We draw on examples from European Capital of Culture bids (Liverpool, Stavanger, Valletta and those in Greece for 2021) and use the example of the UK City of Culture bid for Paisley to provide evidence of the role of hidden heritage in line with international resolutions and as a tool for community engagement, inclusive growth, cultural regeneration and international engagement.

There are differences in international definitions of what constitutes heritage and culture (Graham 2002; Vecco 2010) with some countries emphasising the importance of intangible heritage but others embracing only buildings or natural heritage to reflect their national policy. There are also differences between the West and East in terms of intangible cultural heritage and as Moualla and McPherson (2019) suggest communities within which the intangible cultural heritage are produced are seldom mono-cultural, but rather a combination of people from different backgrounds and

places. Cultural heritage can be seen to sit within the domain of experts (Smith 2011), however this paper aims to highlight the advantages of a participatory approach in revealing and recognising assets of value to the wider community in influencing national cultural agendas, in accordance with the principles of article 27 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (United Nations 2015) and UN SDG 11.

Defining cultural assets: a global perspective

Cultural heritage is a globally recognised concept, enshrined within the guidance and operational principles of bodies such as UNESCO (Rodzi et al. 2013; UNESCO 2014). The current UN SDG's contain indicators which aim to respond to the 'proportion of cities with a direct participation structure of civil society in urban planning and management that operate regularly and democratically' (2016, sec. 11.3.2), highlighting the need to embrace the principle that people should be able to become involved in issues affecting their area, if they wish to do so.

Current international policy outlines urban heritage as containing 'urban elements (urban morphology and built form, open and green spaces, urban infrastructure), architectural elements (monuments, buildings) and intangible elements' (UN 2015, 1). It is recognised that heritage which is of key importance to a local community may not be recognised or recorded in national registers (Mydland and Grahn 2012) due to the influence of authorised heritage discourse approaches (Waterton and Smith 2010). Delrieu and Gibson (2017) suggest that there are 'push' and 'pull' factors which can influence community perception of assets; the socio-economic make up of a community may result in cultural heritage being overlooked where the voices of this community have not been heard, and perceptions of whether something is of importance to an individual are multi-dimensional, for example its location and proximity to other facilities, and its perceived level of usefulness. Gilmore (2017) suggests that cultural research reveals a range of community assets of value, for example pubs, churches and parks. This strongly supports the argument that:

- (1) "Heritage is everywhere;
- (2) Heritage is for everyone; and that
- (3) We are all heritage experts" (Schofield 2014, 2)

Assets will thus be present in all areas, and people should have the opportunity to express their opinion on what assets exist, where, and what value these possess, a principle enshrined in Article 27 of the Universal Declaration on Human Rights. Vernacular culture deserves greater recognition (Edensor and Millington 2012) with an opportunity to recognise more unremarkable forms of cultural participation (Trell and Van Hoven 2010). Some items of local importance are not protected by any formal government designation yet form part of the cultural heritage of an area, for example in Norway one roomed schoolhouses form a key part of the identity of local communities nonetheless are not included in national registers (Mydland and Grahn 2012) and in India a local temple may be more important to those who use it than a nationally designated religious monument nearby (Di Giovine 2015).

Gilmore (2013) notes that the cultural participation data for some cities does not accurately reflect the complexity of the area and its creative and cultural industries, and concentrates too much on officially recognised groups or venues. Locally organised bodies may run cultural activities but not be funded through arts budgets, and some activities may be organised without any funding and may be gatherings of like-minded individuals in a café. Those empowered to record official statistics on participation may be unaware of non-government-funded activities therefore mapping cultural assets in this area is particularly important. If 'non-participants are represented as a problem category in binary contrast to those members of society who do participate' (Stevenson 2013, 81), it is important to be clear about the nature of culture and the make-up of the categories being discussed in order to further analyse what to do to address this perceived problem. Is it actually a problem, or

are the categories which are used too strict and people do actually participate in culture but it is not seen as official? Government definitions tend to focus on state-funded activity, if a 'more open, eclectic stance on the use of evidence' (Miles and Sullivan 2012, 5) was taken a different picture may emerge; this is of key importance within the context of civic decision making; how open are policy makers to taking a non-conventional and open path, which may conflict with traditional institutional values? Mathieson et al. (2008) argue that if people are socially excluded then their heritage is not promoted as exclusion is multi-layered, social, economic and cultural; meaning that at times, a group of people might have no voice and the importance of respecting rights, so it is not only the inability to produce their heritage economically, but the bottom up approach is lost if, their voice is not heard in the first place.

The typology of hidden cultural heritage: which cultural assets may be hidden, why and how do we reveal them?

By adopting a framework typology of hidden heritage, as shown in Table 1, creative approaches to working with communities were explored with the aim of revealing hidden culture and heritage; aiming for a more inventive, inclusive and representative approach to identifying and recording cultural assets. The typology provides a toolkit opportunity for researchers working with communities, inviting the use of creative methods and approaches to open up dialogue around cultural heritage in different cultural settings over a range of geographical locations. Hidden heritage is key to cultural distinctiveness (Griffiths 2006); what is distinctive makes a place inherently unique and interesting therefore identifying and revealing these aspects is an important tool for underpinning civic bids and decision making.

The typology encourages us to examine why heritage may be hidden, then challenge this position through actively working to find strategies to transition towards revealing it (for example unseen heritage is to be seen, untold heritage is to be told). Using creative methods unlocks ways to reveal once hidden heritage and challenges the traditional consultation silo-based approach; breaking down barriers across policy fields to enable greater understanding, especially where a more participatory governance approach is desired.

Devising ways in which to reveal hidden heritage creates opportunities to open up and present cultural heritage in new ways, for example, innovative exhibitions can attract new audiences to heritage assets, such as buildings and collections. Open access to archives and historical data or records is widely advocated by heritage funding organisations and non-personalised public access to records held by public bodies is expected under freedom of information legislation. Bodies such as Europeana are working to make information available from archives as open access with creative commons licensing, also encouraging creative remixing of the records which are out of copyright in line with the web 2.0 agenda (Kawashima 2010). Projects such as the Google Art initiative open up resources which were previously only viewable in person as a fee-paying gallery attendee. Non-traditional subjects may attract new audiences, and contemporary methods of displaying existing collections may also bring in audiences old and new. This form of inventive engagement invites people to reconsider elements of their culture or heritage and see things from a different perspective, increasing their level of significance and importance to new audiences, particularly where

Table 1. A hidden heritage typology.

Type of hidden cultural heritage	Unseen	Unknown	Undervalued	Untold
Opposite of this type	See	Know	Value	Tell
Ways of revealing the hidden cultural heritage	Exhibit, open up, explore, document, interpret	Map, research, write about, experience	Understand, promote, celebrate, explain, respect	Commemorate, learn from, share, mark, record

Source: (McCandlish 2019)

audiences such as the 'new young' (of 20–35 years of age) have opportunities to be involved (Lithgow and Timbrell 2014, 7). Breaking down physical and geographical barriers and at times cultural barriers across borders by looking to connect in ways that reveal commonalities rather than difference.

Unseen cultural heritage is any cultural asset which is not normally on public view and can be in the form of private property, assets which are under the ground or under water, or hidden from view due to later accretions. Intangible heritage forms a significant element of this form of hidden heritage as it is not physical heritage and often only exists in the form of memories and traditions or in food and stories. Intangible heritage is easily documentable through creative techniques such as digital storytelling and this creates opportunities for an innovative archive of material, for example the 'Dive into intangible cultural heritage!' initiative (UNESCO [forthcoming](#)). Digitisation of archival records allows the opening up of records to a global audience, therefore increasing the exposure of a previously unseen record set. Extrapolation on the exact number of views for digital documents are unknown at the outset of the establishment of a digital archive, however numbers can be monitored through data and metrics which goes some way towards demonstrating their value. This allows the possibility for the development of a strategy aligned to the British Council's approach to Cultural Heritage for Inclusive Growth; recognising that marginalised groups such as women, have traditional heritage skills often hidden and their voice unrecognised. This also clearly links to SDG 10 and 11 of sustainable development and reducing inequalities. In Paisley, we worked with a variety of groups in digital storytelling allowing communities to create their own stories and amplify their hidden culture through film, music, art, and festivity. Many of these communities were multi-layered, some having three generations of unemployment and very local to Paisley and some having many generations of immigrants and refugees forced together but forging new ideas of what it means to be a community e.g.; geographical, cultural, social but creating a new sense of place identity together. This is particularly relevant within the context of SDG10.2 relating to inclusion and SDG11.3 regarding participatory structures; in terms of deprivation, some of the communities in Paisley are placed on the worst areas of socio economic deprivation in Europe and the 2021 City of Culture bid gave people a sense of shared purpose and identity to contribute and work towards. Terminology used by the Valletta 2018 bid is particularly interesting within this context, it calls those who are organising and taking part in ECOC work 'the cast', underlining their unique approach to engagement activities. An acting analogy is useful as it shows everyone has a particular part to play; some of the roles interact whilst others are solo pieces yet all of the cast come together as a whole aiming to make a successful 'production', transforming and using the city as a stage backdrop for European City of Culture (Valletta 2018 Foundation, 2012).

Significant anniversaries of events provide opportunities to commemorate previously untold stories and similarly tying in with current events or mega events is actively encouraged as an audience development measure (Heritage Lottery Fund 2010), although it must be done with sensitivity as it can raise issues of conflict and strong debate in certain political climates (Andrews 2018). Thematic exploration of issues as part of cultural asset mapping and digital storytelling acts as a prompt and can allow documentation of assets which might be otherwise missed (e.g. look at sporting venues and assets as a result of an anniversary of a sporting team win, or explore assets connected with the establishment of an organisation in a particular year).

Undervalued or hidden heritage may be known but not celebrated, for example due to the values which underlie it being contentious or seen as undesirable in its current societal context, or it may be overlooked despite its value due to the predominant socio-political context. In this case technology can facilitate the exploration of contested heritage in a deliberately challenging way, or be misused to reinterpret objects or stories (Cunningham 2010; Garrett 2011). Within the context of a cultural asset mapping research programme it is important to remember that a researcher-produced map can only be partially representative of the cultural landscape, so working with underrepresented groups to show 'vernacular cultural pursuits ... (across) the contours of cultural vitality' (Waite and Gibson 2009, 287) is important. A civic bid presents a rare and valuable opportunity to re-visit and re-

write the predominant cultural ideologies of a place; breaking up the role of dominant cultural intermediaries (Perry, Smith, and Warren 2015) and recognising the layers of multicultural and multidimensional histories which exist within a place (Li 2015) forms a key part of engaging with this hidden cultural heritage. In this paper we explore the case of identifying the seldom-heard groups within the demographics of the study area, and taking steps to diligently engage with these groups using the hidden heritage typology to devise appropriate methods to facilitate a movement beyond tokenistic engagement (Arnstein 1969) helping to produce a more inclusive citizen voice and ultimately a more interesting juxtaposition of cultural narratives.

Research methods

This paper reflects learnings from a year and a half long research project in Paisley and draws exemplars from other commissioned work we have completed, on a local scale within Paisley and Scotland and internationally with the OECD on their Recommendation for Global Events and Local Development (2019) and the British Council examining Cultural Heritage for Inclusive Growth programme (2019/20). The authors were both seconded, part-time, to the Paisley 2021 bid team for a period of time, one conducting a year-long practice-based research project to inform the bid and the other as a cultural advisor to the bid team and developing the legacy and evaluation elements of the step changes within the bid itself. Both were embedded in the process from the beginning of the bid until the submission. Both authors contributed to digital storytelling training with four community groups from different backgrounds, including those disadvantaged and living in some of the poorest areas in Europe as identified by the indices of social deprivation, and those who are at risk of being overlooked due to age or socio-economic status. Our work examined the UN SDG 17 sustainable goals albeit Paisley is not experiencing the levels of deprivation of some parts of the world whose citizens live in slums, we have nonetheless drawn on examples of Goal 10: reducing inequalities and using Cultural Heritage in aiding deprivation and Goal 11: sustainable cities and communities which contained participatory planning and management tools and aligned well with the ambitions of Paisley.

Applying the principles of the 'unknown' cultural heritage strand on the hidden heritage typology presents an opportunity for engagement with structured research, identifying topics and threads of hidden heritage which may not have been previously considered within civic decision-making or heritage interpretation. Using creative research methods to develop responses to archival material is particularly valuable to uncover the sense of place of an area (Spencer 2011), digital tools and creative mapping make a valuable contribution to this methodological toolkit.

Digital cultural asset mapping

Digital cultural mapping is a process by which the cultural assets of an area are mapped using a computerised mapping system. It is important that both hard and soft assets are included (Lee 2009), meaning that the festivals and activities which take place in an area (soft assets) are just as important as buildings and spaces (hard assets). Research shows that these soft assets can be just as valuable to making the area attractive for the development of further cultural activities and creative industries (Gibson, Brennan-Horley, and Warren 2010) so it is important to assess many angles of a place, particularly where current local authority initiatives are emphasising the cultural character of a place as part of the overall appeal of an area.

Cultural mapping in its digital form requires a form of software for its dissemination, and often uses geographical information systems (GIS) to perform this role. The increasing use of GIS technology in geography has long been the subject of discussion (Gibson, Brennan-Horley, and Warren 2010; Coulton, Chan, and Mikelbank 2011; Baker 2012) and has coined several phrases which attempt to capture the ethos of such projects, including bottom up GIS (Talen 2000), public participation GIS (Weiner, Harris, and Craig 2002), participatory GIS (Elwood 2006) and cartographic storytelling

(Cartwright and Field 2015). This latter phrase is most appropriate for this study, due to the combination of mapping and digital storytelling.

Where there are gaps on a cultural map there may be a lack of diversity across categories of asset (Holden 2015), which clearly depends on the categories which are initially defined. This points to the importance of acknowledging the positionality of the researcher, who holds power in establishing categories and should aim to challenge conventional outsider narratives in labelling areas as 'uncool' or 'hotspots' (Edensor and Millington 2012, 15), community involvement will result in a more representative picture. For the digital cultural asset map to be at its most representative, it requires those operating within the cultural fields to self-identify as a cultural practitioner and also engage with the mapping process by showcasing their location or work as part of the map, which can be problematic as some people do not engage with an arts network or consider themselves 'cultural' (Lizardo 2006). Issues with gender-bias in mapping may also occur (Gibson, Brennan-Horley, and Warren 2010; Hjorth 2013).

Cultural mapping forms part of the unknown-known strand of the hidden heritage typology and represents a key tool for civic bids. To illustrate the importance placed on cultural asset mapping within this context, one may consider the prominence attached to its inclusion in recent European City of Culture bids. Valletta aimed to use digital cultural asset mapping as part of the ECoC 2018 bid actions, building in participatory mapping within the monitoring and evaluation framework as a longitudinal activity (Valletta 2012 Foundation 2012). In bidding for ECoC 2021 Elefsina and Rhodes included proposals for detailed mapping, should a bid for ECoC be accepted for taken forward (European Commission 2016).

Digital storytelling

Digital storytelling incorporates a wide range of platforms and technologies, it can be used as a tool to emphasise the voice of seldom-heard or socially excluded groups through transitioning from simply consuming content which others have made, towards creating content and contributing to wider debates and discussions themselves. It has been recognised as important to forming a 'people-oriented form of urban heritage conservation' (van der Hoeven 2020, 130). This became a key area of our work with the community groups, revealing hidden heritage by recording stories. The availability of more affordable technology, including mobile phones and tablets with integrated cameras, make it easier to use social networking sites incorporating video, audio and photography to tell stories, to the extent that it has changed 'how we visualize intimate cartographies through shifting camera phone practices' (Hjorth 2013, 113). Digital recording is a logical extension of storytelling and oral history, and is increasingly important for documenting intangible heritage, as evidenced in its usage by significant cultural agencies such as UNESCO (Trower 2011; Pietrobruno 2013).

An analysis of social media use as part of the Liverpool 2008 ECoC festivities looked at (then early) adoption of online platforms by analysing content and keywords, concluding that local engagement was high (Miah and Adi 2009), this was carried out in conjunction with traditional print media analysis and offers an insight into the continuing importance of a digital strategy to accompany any civic bid. In the case of Stavanger one of the key aims of the bid was changing the image of an area which was dominated by the oil industry, refocusing on culture as a new industrial base; studies by Bergsgard and Vassenden (2011) evaluated the effects of ECoC implementation on the cultural businesses in the city, showing that some were very positive about the short-term effect of the programme on their work (particularly those who had received funding) and some felt they had made better connections and raised their profile, yet two thirds of the respondents in the surrounding city region area felt there had been no effect at all. They suggest caution in interpreting results of limited surveys but highlight the importance of longer term qualitative studies at the time of the ECoC designation and afterwards, to highlight benefits which move beyond basic quantitative data on visitor numbers and spend; digital storytelling and analytical tools connected to social media clearly have a role to play in this respect, both in the run up to a bid, and throughout the process of

implementing the intended cultural programmes; bids which do not include detailed digital participation aims can result in ECoC bid failure (as in Rhodes 2021 (European Commission 2016, 20)).

The town of Paisley, Scotland leading the way in securing SDG 10/11

Paisley has a population of 72,752 (Scottish Government 2018) and is the administrative service centre of the district of Renfrewshire, located in the south west of Scotland. It is classed as an 'Interdependent to Independent town ... (which are those which) have a good number of assets in relation to their population' (Understanding Scottish Places 2017). Assets within this context does not just mean cultural assets, however this recognition is a useful point which acknowledges that Paisley is well served by different services, which in turn may form cultural assets depending on their context. The presence of a large number of designated historic assets (the 'second highest concentration ... in Scotland', outside Edinburgh (Renfrewshire Council 2014a, 4) means that there is a wealth of assets to map within a digital cultural asset mapping context, and therefore it is essential that any cultural map aims to reflect the diverse range of activities which take place and the nature of the communities which it aims to represent. Renfrewshire has a population of 179,100 (Scottish Government 2019) and contains a variety of small villages and larger towns within its land area of 26,193.706 hectares (Scottish Government 2011). These settlements historically relate to Paisley as the social and economic centre, although as 1.4 million people live within half an hour travel time of Paisley (Renfrewshire Council 2014a) residents from within and outwith Renfrewshire travel to use services and cultural facilities in Paisley and its nearby larger centre, Glasgow city which is 10 miles away. Paisley grew from being an ecclesiastical centre in 1163, and has a reputation for being a radical town due to its political and social growth as a centre for weaving; the jacquard loom was invented in Paisley and the teardrop shaped pattern motif became associated with the town due to this innovation in manufacturing over the 19th century. Mill owners such as the Coats family left a philanthropic civic legacy of public buildings such as an observatory and parks which remain today. These assets are all recognised as key heritage themes which form the narrative of Renfrewshire and Paisley (Renfrewshire Council 2014a).

Socio-economic issues have led to one area of Renfrewshire within the Paisley urban boundary to 'consistently feature within the 5% most deprived areas ... from 2004' (Scottish Government 2016, 10), yet Renfrewshire as a whole has been ranked among the top 10 places of the UK for quality of life (Renfrewshire 24 2015). These demographic differences and cultural contradictions between areas mean that Paisley forms a useful example for cultural mapping as it has a microcosm of issues across the socio-economic, environmental and cultural fields, particularly important when cultural policy is moving towards contributing towards sustainable development by harnessing the role of culture as a crucial domain (CHCfE Consortium 2015).

Mapping focussed primarily on the town of Paisley, rather than the district of Renfrewshire, as this was the focus of the civic bid, and categories reflected those used in UK-based approaches to culture (DCMS 2017; Cultural Enterprise Office *forthcoming*; Creative Scotland *forthcoming*). In a primarily researcher-led process, structured internet searches across each category together with field visits of key localities were undertaken, together with a period of public consultation where suggestions for cultural assets were sought. ArcGIS was used to plot and map assets, Table 2 shows dataset summaries:

It can be seen that Paisley has both a density and quantity of assets, the high concentration of cultural assets demonstrates its significance as a local and regional population and service centre. Fashion, design and applied arts is of great importance as a former textile town famed for its distinctive patterned shawls; this fabric heritage lives on with sewing clubs and pub craft groups, formal training opportunities and drop in activities. Of particular note are banner making groups within several churches, once hidden assets but highlighted in the research identifying the multi-functional nature of community halls. Craft fair venues are also highlighted within this category, and are vital for small scale showcasing of local makers, as recognised within Holden's (2015) homemade

Table 2. Paisley and Renfrewshire Cultural Assets.

Category	Paisley urban area total	Renfrewshire total
Community	78	170
Fashion, design and applied arts	5	7
Film, broadcast and digital	21	40
History, heritage and architecture	190	338
Literature and Spoken Word	17	-28
Music	42	46
Sports, leisure and open spaces	50	115
Theatre and dance	6	9
Visual Arts	8	12
Events and Festivals	124	184
Total	541	949

Source: (McCandlish 2019)

cultural ecology sphere. Digital cultural asset mapping revealed visual and quantitative patterns across all asset types, reinforcing the quantity of heritage assets relative to the size of the region, but also highlighting areas where infrastructure appeared lacking. The research suggests a lack of theatre and dance groups, however, the numerical count of assets hides the significance and diversity of such groups; for example PACE is based in Paisley but has 1000 members attending weekly from throughout Renfrewshire and further afield is the largest youth theatre in the UK (PACE 2020). Similarly, visual arts assets appear to be lacking in quantity, yet there are dedicated formal arts education courses at the local college, which engage a wide student and staff population on campus and in outreach activities such as exhibitions. These apparent anomalies show the challenges of mapping, reflecting the need to read quantitative data alongside the underlying supplemental information, and a need to make connections with membership organisations who represent different cultural groups, as well as freelancers and individual practitioners (Lizardo 2006) to form the most complete cultural map of an area, in conjunction with other research methods.

Three groups with different geographical and age demographics took part in digital storytelling activities, chosen to represent those traditionally under-represented in cultural discussions. All participants attended groups based in lower SIMD areas, two groups of elderly participants from the west and east of the town (from ROAR: Connections for Life), and a group of adults who were service users of a community support group (called The STAR Project) in the north. A participant information sheet in plain English acted as topic prompts, and participants were free to record in any way they wished, some capturing their natural flow of conversation and some preferring to storyboard and pre-plan before recording. Participants used pen, paper and collage to collate materials which were relevant to their story, and brought items of meaning to accompany their recordings, for example family photographs or images of the buildings relevant to their story, which added to the richness of the media created, asking that these were included with the audio, as this more accurately presented their experience for them. Ross et al. (2009) suggest offering participants the option to edit and delete material is desirable, but none expressed a desire to do so, although they did express a great interest and 'intrigue' in the digital recording kit (Garrett 2011), with some later taking up related opportunities with their groups to develop more digital skills, which is an example of facilitating participants in moving from being digital consumers to digital producers (McGillivray et al. 2015). The quality of the recordings varied, particularly where participants recorded their group chats and many participants joined in, however as the objective was to engage in meaningful discussion and record memories around cultural assets, not create professional audio, the value of the process was clear.

The participants created eleven outputs as part of the facilitated workshops, comprising eight audio recordings and three pieces of illustrative collage to accompany the recordings, with insights into events in the town such as an unexpected encounter with a celebrity and their role in laying a wreath for a Remembrance Parade, or deeply personal experiences where buildings and venues in the town formed a backdrop to significant life events, none of these memories and anecdotes would

have been recorded without the storytelling sessions. The significance of the groups themselves to social and emotional wellbeing were expressed by some participants, for example one of the Roar members noted that when the group did not meet, they met up with other group members to spend time together and have coffee in the town. A STAR Project member who was also a member of a writer's group spoke about how they visited the town's old football ground just before it was demolished, and was allowed to sit in the manager's dugout, they also remembered matches where St. Mirren won, and enjoying the ritual of pies and Bovril. Tangible and intangible cultural heritage strands were therefore expressed through shared personal connections, and common cultural experiences for example memories of going to restaurants and dance halls, and attendance at gala days (local and state fairs/festivals). The STAR Project has since used the methods advocated in the research to create further digital activities for service users, sharing these through their social media presence, advocating for their members and amplifying their voices through this form of grassroots community web presence (as echoed in trends identified by van der Hoeven 2020). This same group has also created a community map, using the stories to record and explore their local area.

The data from the digital cultural asset mapping was utilised as part of the empirical baseline for the UK City of Culture 2021 bid, and offered a valuable opportunity to research and present information on the presence of assets, whilst the digital storytelling contributed to a larger conversation around what culture means in the area; such creative approaches to community engagement unlock the potential to greater involvement in cultural activity, both in defining culturally significant assets, and in recognising previously hidden stories of cultural relevance to the character of the area, particularly at a time when the town centre asset strategy and action plan was subtitled 'Paisley the Untold Story' (Renfrewshire Council 2014a). The research outputs were utilised to support the case for applying for £250,000 heritage based funding 'Great Place Scheme' for Paisley, which incorporates elements of capacity building for cultural community groups and businesses, as well as the provision of digital upskilling and tourism promotion initiatives (Renfrewshire Council 2018) and aligns with SDG 11.3 to enhance inclusive and sustainable urbanisation through capacity for participatory, integrated and sustainable human settlement planning and management in all countries.

At the time of the City of Culture bid, a number of statutory documents were being reviewed and had begun to reflect cultural goals. Community Planning documentation included aims regarding cultural asset management (Renfrewshire Community Planning Partnership 2013) similarly, a Tackling Poverty report (whilst not primarily focused on culture) advocated power sharing as particularly important in anti-poverty practice (Renfrewshire Council 2014b). Following the unsuccessful bid the Local Authority undertook a period of refocusing Corporate activity to build on the momentum of the bid activity, but also allow for freedom of direction to act in accordance with the desire to continue being culture-led, set outside the context or constraints of a bid framework. This involved reviewing the successes of initiatives which had been kick-started in the bid process, maintaining and extending cultural funding, and rebranding initiatives to align with a 'Paisley.ls' place-branding and marketing approach which invites people to re-imagine what Paisley is to them, and what it could be and this is now FuturePaisley so that people see themselves as a key part of the Paisley's future. To achieve a lasting legacy from the bid process, the mainstreaming of a culture-led approach, and the alignment of 5 step-changes (like a road map to where they want to go) identified in the bid, was required, and Renfrewshire Council working with the University of West of Scotland amended these to 6 step changes as Renfrewshire Council were already witnessing the early stages of change in some areas. These step changes which are still subject to ongoing changes are:

- (1) Establish Paisley as a centre of excellence for cultural regeneration through leadership, partnership, participation and collaboration;
- (2) Working with partners across Paisley to help lift communities out of poverty;

- (3) Paisley will be recognised for its cultural excellence, through the development of a modern, resilient and innovative cultural sector which connects Paisley's past and present
- (4) Transform Paisley into a vibrant cultural town centre;
- (5) Grow a significant new dimension to Paisley's economy;
- (6) Radically change Paisley's image and reputation in Scotland, the UK and internationally

The Council are working with the staff at University of the West of Scotland who are developing a framework for monitoring and evaluation and 3 PhD students are undertaking a longitudinal study to chart and map progress of the step changes and help better understand the effectiveness of the Council's Cultural Heritage Strategy to grow a significant new dimension to Paisley's economy by using culture and events as key tools in their regeneration strategy. The strategy aims to lift Paisley out of poverty, using health and art to engage participation from those citizens most at risk and radically change Paisley's image and reputation in Scotland, the UK and internationally through an inclusive growth strategy that ensures the Council extend their culture and events programme and their brand reach both nationally and internationally. This is already showing some early wins with visitors to the area increasing by a 7.4% change from 2015–17 to 2016–18 to 2.5 m visitor spend up by just over 10% to just under £69 m for the same timescale. There is also some progress on the health and deprivation of Paisley; for the first time in over a decade key deciles of Paisley have risen off the bottom of the Scottish Index of Multiple Deprivation (Scottish Government 2020b) again showing progress towards the SDG target 10.2. Good progress is being made through the recognition and development with community groups of both tangible and intangible heritage that has been used specifically to aid volunteering opportunities and develop social economy skills of those who have been out of employment for a long time. Paisley are leading the way in putting culture at the heart of what they are doing in every policy-based decision, not just in economic regeneration and external promotion but having culture at the heart of decision-making about housing, social care and education again ties specifically to SDG target 10.2 and their step change of lifting Paisley out of poverty. It is transforming the way the town is seen by both citizens, policy makers and international investors, for example the Coats Group have moved their board meetings back to Paisley and major design companies Pringle and Hermes both created Paisley pattern brands with their clothing ranges. International business development has grown since the failure to win the bid; suggesting a success of their step change strategy of culture as inclusive growth in line with the approach of the British Council to aid participatory involvement, civic engagement and global business reach. The newly formed FuturePaisley partnership board are leading Paisley's transformation as a town, as a local development strategy and a contribution to global cultural policy; albeit in the early stages.

Figure 1 details Paisley's new strategy 'Our journey continues' (Renfrewshire Council 2020) where the step changes are more clearly visible with changes to the cultural heritage landscape, both tangible and intangible. For example, Culture is linked to improving SIMD and directly links to SDG 10.1 and the increase in funding links to SDG 10.4. Cultural mapping and projects/initiatives in areas where housing improvement occurs can be seen to align to SDG 11.1 and 11.3, where participatory planning and the FuturePaisley partnership board has a range of community groups involved in the planning and management of resources. Funding for heritage schemes and local groups to put them on a more resilient and sustainable footing which ties in SDG 11.4 and the development of the strategy document 'our journey continues' through the FuturePaisley partnership board involves cultural and heritage providers and allows any concerns that the policies address cross cultural issues, such as housing, deprivation and economic growth, directly aligning to SDG's 11a and b to be addressed strategically.

Paisley can be seen to be engaging with relevant parts of SDG 10 and 11 (UN 2016), through the six step changes and complementary initiatives which are tied in with relevant national policy drivers (Scottish Government 2020a).

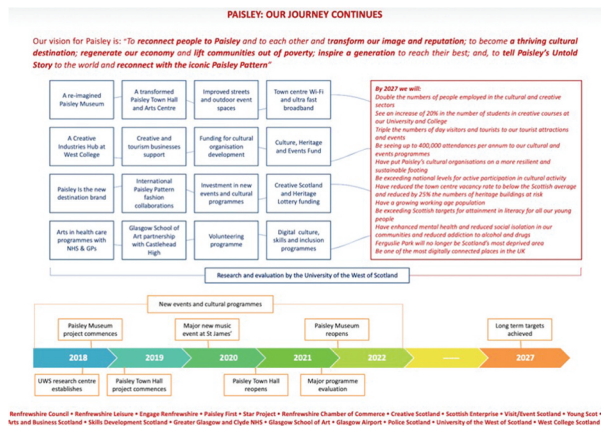


Figure 1. Paisley's new strategy 'Our journey continues' (Renfrewshire Council 2020) (used with permission).

In addition to aligning to Scottish Government and engaging with the UN SDG's Paisley also engaged with the OECD specialists in their work on Global Events and Local Development. A senior policy advisor helped facilitate and position the towns' policies and ambitions to that of international partners, the OECD and the UN SDG's to both inform the bid and give them a clearly integrated strategy of development. This resulted in a greater ambition and level of cultural exchange with partners in India for example in relation to Paisley shawls. As having the second largest number of designated listed buildings in Scotland and holding museum collections of international significance is important, they continue to strive to align themselves to UN SDG's and work with the OECD and other international partners to raise their potential to grow and promote their cultural assets internationally, sustainably whilst maintaining the environment.

Conclusions

A cultural map is a useful device to record events and invite the further exploration of the character of a space, acting as a method to hold and contain information that is accessible for all to see and participate. The use of digital storytelling as an innovative method to record experiences through video, audio and multimedia, then embedded in a cultural map, allowed partners to hear and see the 'hidden voices' of communities. For example giving recognition of the 'ordinary, quiet and everyday forms of cultural participation' (Gilmore 2013, 92) at non typical venues. Digital cultural mapping presents the opportunity to see a richer picture of meaning which is revealed when explained through digital storytelling; particularly important when most cultural mapping activity tends to concentrate on tangible assets (Jeannotte 2016). In this sense adopting a multimodal approach is more likely to reveal hidden cultural heritage, as a both physical assets and intangible stories are explorable and remembering that these stories are not monocultural. Using digital tools in projects can open up new research avenues and provide rich information on the changing nature of places and assets both for the researcher and participants themselves (Murthy 2008; Houghton, Miller, and Foth 2013; Hidalgo 2015; Ozkul and Humphreys 2015), and also challenge the traditional notion of what constitutes heritage (Terras 2011). Heritage narratives, storylines and themes can be explored in more depth by using this multimodal model, avoiding the approach which risks favouring 'sites before stories' as with traditional cultural heritage protection modes in national protection and designation registers (Pocock, Collett, and Baulch 2015, 963).

The language and tone of civic bids and policy is important. The work that is being carried out in Paisley is aligned with this common cultural language used within the UN SDG's 10 and 11 and the OECD and aims to place the town within a contested global arena. Paisley is aiming high and showcasing its once rich tangible and intangible cultural heritage back on an international stage

and at the heart of international cultural policy. It challenges the way we view cultural heritage and presents a different nomenclature for policy makers to engage with citizens and understand cultural needs and assets, as evidenced by the use of the cultural mapping in the datasets for the City of Culture bid and the uptake of digital storytelling and mapping by the community group, together with the use of the data by the Local Authority to bid for future place-based cultural heritage funding. These all contribute towards revealing hidden heritage and work with the power of digital and cartographic storytelling, adding to the methodological toolkit of cultural heritage scholars and policy makers.

As recent international research has shown that participatory practices and approaches which are based around cultural heritage can contribute to inclusive growth (British Council 2018). Inclusive methods of consultation, which move beyond tokenism (Arnstein 1969) and towards higher levels of participation and involvement mean that discursive and creative methods including cultural asset mapping and digital storytelling can form part of a larger toolkit for regulatory bodies within the participatory governance agenda: 'Transparent, participatory and informed systems of governance for culture involve a diversity of voices, including civil society and the private sector, in policymaking processes that address the rights and interests of all members of society' (UNESCO 2014, 2). This study and the work emanating from Paisley's bid has moved beyond the success of inclusive civic-decision making at a local level, influencing national level governmental policy, attracting investment at national and international level and achieving an international reach that sets Paisley on a continued path of cultural and economic growth and at the forefront of international cultural policy for its participatory cultural practice.

Disclosure statement

No potential conflict of interest was reported by the authors.

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Data availability statement

Data is shown in Table 2. This is original data, based on author research.

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