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

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3 **Promoting tangible and intangible hidden cultural heritage: local**  
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6 **communities influencing civic decision-making and international**  
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8 **cultural policy.**  
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13 This paper explores international policy approaches to inclusive cultural heritage  
14 within urban centres and communities. It defines and identifies hidden cultural  
15 assets, tangible and intangible, and examines how, and why, some cultural assets  
16 are hidden. We explore the use of two complementary digital methods: digital  
17 cultural asset mapping and digital storytelling to reveal hidden heritage and  
18 engage the local citizen's voice. The paper draws on a local city example that had  
19 ambitions to influence international reach and policy agendas; a year-long  
20 practice-based research project in Paisley, a large town on the edge of a major  
21 city conurbation in Scotland, as set within the context of wider cultural heritage  
22 policy discussion. The research reveals how hidden cultural heritage can be used  
23 to inform governmental decision-making on a national and international stage  
24 and simultaneously inform policy and practical step changes in peri-urban  
25 cultural regeneration whilst contributing significantly to sustainable development  
26 goals.  
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46 Keywords: cultural heritage, cultural assets, sustainable development goals,  
47 hidden heritage, community engagement  
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## 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's (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

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3 agendas, in accordance with the principles of article 27 of the Universal Declaration of  
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5 Human Rights (United Nations 2015) and UN SDG 11.  
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### 10 11 **Defining cultural assets: a global perspective** 12

13  
14 Cultural heritage is a globally recognised concept, enshrined within the guidance and  
15 operational principles of bodies such as UNESCO (Rodzi, Zaki, and Subli 2013;  
16 UNESCO 2014). The current UN SDG's contain indicators which aim to respond to the  
17  
18 "proportion of cities with a direct participation structure of civil society in urban  
19  
20 planning and management that operate regularly and democratically" (2016, sec.  
21  
22 11.3.2), highlighting the need to embrace the principle that people should be able to  
23  
24 become involved in issues affecting their area, if they wish to do so.  
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33 Current international policy outlines urban heritage as containing "urban  
34 elements (urban morphology and built form, open and green spaces, urban  
35 infrastructure), architectural elements (monuments, buildings) and intangible elements"  
36  
37 (UN 2015, 1). It is recognised that heritage which is of key importance to a local  
38  
39 community may not be recognised or recorded in national registers (Mydland and  
40  
41 Grahn 2012) due to the influence of authorised heritage discourse approaches (Waterton  
42  
43 and Smith 2010). Delrieu and Gibson (2017) suggest that there are "push" and "pull"  
44  
45 factors which can influence community perception of assets; the socio-economic make  
46  
47 up of a community may result in cultural heritage being overlooked where the voices of  
48  
49 this community have not been heard, and perceptions of whether something is of  
50  
51 importance to an individual are multi-dimensional, for example its location and  
52  
53 proximity to other facilities, and its perceived level of usefulness. Gilmore (2017)  
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3 suggests that cultural research reveals a range of community assets of value, for  
4  
5 example pubs, churches and parks. This strongly supports the argument that:  
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- 8 (1) “Heritage is everywhere;
- 9 (2) Heritage is for everyone; and that
- 10 (3) We are all heritage experts” (Schofield 2014, 2)

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16 Assets will thus be present in all areas, and people should have the opportunity  
17  
18 to express their opinion on what assets exist, where, and what value these possess, a  
19  
20 principle enshrined in Article 27 of the Universal Declaration on Human  
21  
22 Rights. Vernacular culture deserves greater recognition (Edensor and Millington 2012)  
23  
24 with an opportunity to recognise more unremarkable forms of cultural participation  
25  
26 (Trell and Hoven 2010). Some items of local importance are not protected by any  
27  
28 formal government designation yet form part of the cultural heritage of an area, for  
29  
30 example in Norway one roomed schoolhouses form a key part of the identity of local  
31  
32 communities nonetheless are not included in national registers (Mydland and Grahn  
33  
34 2012) and in India a local temple may be more important to those who use it than a  
35  
36 nationally designated religious monument nearby (Giovine 2015).  
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44  
45 Gilmore (2013) notes that the cultural participation data for some cities does not  
46  
47 accurately reflect the complexity of the area and its creative and cultural industries, and  
48  
49 concentrates too much on officially recognised groups or venues. Locally organised  
50  
51 bodies may run cultural activities but not be funded through arts budgets, and some  
52  
53 activities may be organised without any funding and may be gatherings of like-minded  
54  
55 individuals in a café. Those empowered to record official statistics on participation may  
56  
57 be unaware of non-government funded activities therefore mapping cultural assets in  
58  
59 this area is particularly important. If “non-participants are represented as a problem  
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3 category in binary contrast to those members of society who do participate” (Stevenson  
4  
5  
6 2013, 81), it is important to be clear about the nature of culture and the make-up of the  
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8 categories being discussed in order to further analyse what to do to address this  
9  
10 perceived problem. Is it actually a problem, or are the categories which are used too  
11  
12 strict and people do actually participate in culture but it is not seen as  
13  
14 official? Government definitions tend to focus on state funded activity, if a “more open,  
15  
16 eclectic stance on the use of evidence” (Miles and Sullivan 2012, 5) was taken a  
17  
18 different picture may emerge; this is of key importance within the context of civic  
19  
20 decision making; how open are policy makers to taking a non-conventional and open  
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22 path, which may conflict with traditional institutional values? (Mathieson et al. 2008)  
23  
24 argues that if people are socially excluded then their heritage is not promoted as  
25  
26 exclusion is multi-layered, social, economic and cultural; meaning that at times, a group  
27  
28 of people might have no voice and the importance of respecting rights, so it is not only  
29  
30 the inability to produce their heritage economically, but the bottom up approach is lost  
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32 if, their voice is not heard in the first place.  
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39 **The typology of hidden cultural heritage: which cultural assets may be**  
40  
41 **hidden, why and how do we reveal them?**  
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45 By adopting a framework typology of hidden heritage, as shown in table 1, creative  
46  
47 approaches to working with communities were explored with the aim of revealing  
48  
49 hidden culture and heritage; aiming for a more inventive, inclusive and representative  
50  
51 approach to identifying and recording cultural assets. The typology provides a toolkit  
52  
53 opportunity for researchers working with communities, inviting the use of creative  
54  
55 methods and approaches to open up dialogue around cultural heritage in different  
56  
57 cultural settings over a range of geographical locations. Hidden heritage is key to  
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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.

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)

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



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2  
3 organisations and non-personalised public access to records held by public bodies is  
4 expected under freedom of information legislation. Bodies such as Europeana are  
5 working to make information available from archives as open access with creative  
6 commons licensing, also encouraging creative remixing of the records which are out of  
7 copyright in line with the web 2.0 agenda (Kawashima 2010). Projects such as the  
8 Google Art initiative open up resources which were previously only viewable in person  
9 as a fee-paying gallery attendee. Non-traditional subjects may attract new audiences,  
10 and contemporary methods of displaying existing collections may also bring in  
11 audiences old and new. This form of inventive engagement invites people to reconsider  
12 elements of their culture or heritage and see things from a different perspective,  
13 increasing their level of significance and importance to new audiences, particularly  
14 where audiences such as the “new young” (of 20-35 years of age) have opportunities to  
15 be involved (Lithgow and Timbrell 2014, 7). Breaking down physical and geographical  
16 barriers and at times cultural barriers across borders by looking to connect in ways that  
17 reveal commonalities rather than difference.  
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40 Unseen cultural heritage is any cultural asset which is not normally on public  
41 view and can be in the form of private property, assets which are under the ground or  
42 under water, or hidden from view due to later accretions. Intangible heritage forms a  
43 significant element of this form of hidden heritage as it is not physical heritage and  
44 often only exists in the form of memories and traditions or in food and  
45 stories. Intangible heritage is easily documentable through creative techniques such as  
46 digital storytelling and this creates opportunities for an innovative archive of material,  
47 for example the “Dive into intangible cultural heritage!” initiative (UNESCO n.d.).  
48 Digitisation of archival records allows the opening up of records to a global audience,  
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3 therefore increasing the exposure of a previously unseen record set. Extrapolation on  
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5 the exact number of views for digital documents are unknown at the outset of the  
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7 establishment of a digital archive, however numbers can be monitored through data and  
8  
9 metrics which goes some way towards demonstrating their value. This allows the  
10  
11 possibility for the development of a strategy aligned to the British Council's approach to  
12  
13 Cultural Heritage for Inclusive Growth; recognising that marginalised groups such as  
14  
15 women, have traditional heritage skills often hidden and their voice unrecognised. This  
16  
17 also clearly links to SDG 10 and 11 of sustainable development and reducing  
18  
19 inequalities. In Paisley, we worked with a variety of groups in digital storytelling  
20  
21 allowing communities to create their own stories and amplify their hidden culture  
22  
23 through film, music, art, and festivity. Many of these communities were multi-layered,  
24  
25 some having three generations of unemployment and very local to Paisley and some  
26  
27 having many generations of immigrants and refugees forced together but forging new  
28  
29 ideas of what it means to be a community e.g.; geographical, cultural, social but  
30  
31 creating a new sense of place identity together. This is particularly relevant within the  
32  
33 context of SDG10.2 relating to inclusion and SDG11.3 regarding participatory  
34  
35 structures; in terms of deprivation, some of the communities in Paisley are placed on the  
36  
37 worst areas of socio economic deprivation in Europe and the City of Culture bid 2021  
38  
39 gave people a sense of shared purpose and identity to contribute and work towards.  
40  
41 Civic bids Terminology used by the Valletta 2018 bid is particularly interesting within  
42  
43 this context, it calls those who are organising and taking part in ECoC work 'the cast',  
44  
45 underlining their unique approach to engagement activities. An acting analogy is useful  
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47 as it shows everyone has a particular part to play; some of the roles interact whilst  
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49 others are solo pieces yet all of the cast come together as a whole aiming to make a  
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3 successful ‘production’, transforming and using the city as a stage backdrop for  
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5 European City of Culture (Valletta 2018 Foundation 2012).  
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10 Significant anniversaries of events provide opportunities to commemorate  
11  
12 previously untold stories and similarly tying in with current events or mega events is  
13  
14 actively encouraged as an audience development measure (Heritage Lottery Fund  
15  
16 2010), although it must be done with sensitivity as it can raise issues of conflict and  
17  
18 strong debate in certain political climates (Andrews 2018). Thematic exploration of  
19  
20 issues as part of cultural asset mapping and digital storytelling acts as a prompt and can  
21  
22 allow documentation of assets which might be otherwise missed (e.g. look at sporting  
23  
24 venues and assets as a result of an anniversary of a sporting team win, or explore assets  
25  
26 connected with the establishment of an organisation in a particular year).  
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32 Undervalued or hidden heritage may be known but not celebrated, for example  
33  
34 due to the values which underlie it being contentious or seen as undesirable in its  
35  
36 current societal context, or it may be overlooked despite its value due to the  
37  
38 predominant socio-political context. In this case technology can facilitate the  
39  
40 exploration of contested heritage in a deliberately challenging way, or be misused to  
41  
42 reinterpret objects or stories (Cunningham 2010; Garrett 2011). Within the context of a  
43  
44 cultural asset mapping research programme it is important to remember that a  
45  
46 researcher produced map can only be partially representative of the cultural landscape,  
47  
48 so working with underrepresented groups to show “vernacular cultural pursuits...  
49  
50 (across) the contours of cultural vitality” (Waitt and Gibson 2009, 287) is important. A  
51  
52 civic bid presents a rare and valuable opportunity to re-visit and re-write the  
53  
54 predominant cultural ideologies of a place; breaking up the role of dominant cultural  
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3 intermediaries (Perry, Smith, and Warren 2015) and recognising the layers of  
4  
5 multicultural and multidimensional histories which exist within a place (Li 2015) forms  
6  
7 a key part of engaging with this hidden cultural heritage. In this paper we explore the  
8  
9 case of identifying the seldom-heard groups within the demographics of the study area,  
10  
11 and taking steps to diligently engage with these groups using the hidden heritage  
12  
13 typology to devise appropriate methods to facilitate a movement beyond tokenistic  
14  
15 engagement (Arnstein 1969) helping to produce a more inclusive citizen voice and  
16  
17 ultimately a more interesting juxtaposition of cultural narratives.  
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## 25 **Research Methods**

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28 This paper reflects learnings from a year and a half long research project in Paisley and  
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30 draws exemplars from other commissioned work we have completed, on a local scale  
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32 within Paisley and Scotland and internationally with the OECD on their  
33  
34 Recommendation for Global Events and Local Development (2019) and the British  
35  
36 Council examining Cultural Heritage for Inclusive Growth programme (2019/20). The  
37  
38 authors were both seconded, part-time, to the Paisley 2021 bid team for a period of  
39  
40 time, one conducting a year 3-long practice based research project to inform the bid and  
41  
42 the other as a cultural advisor to the bid team and developing the legacy and evaluation  
43  
44 elements of the step changes within the bid itself. Both were embedded in the process  
45  
46 from the beginning of the bid until the submission. Both authors contributed to digital  
47  
48 storytelling training with four community groups from different backgrounds, including  
49  
50 those disadvantaged and living in some of the poorest areas in Europe as identified by  
51  
52 the indices of social deprivation, and those who are at risk of being overlooked due to  
53  
54 age or socio-economic status. Our work examined the UN SDG 17 sustainable goals  
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6 albeit Paisley is not experiencing the levels of deprivation of some parts of the world  
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8 whose citizens live in slums, we have nonetheless drawn on examples of Goal 10:  
9  
10 reducing inequalities and using Cultural Heritage in aiding deprivation and Goal 11:  
11  
12 sustainable cities and communities which contained participatory planning and  
13  
14 management tools and aligned well with the ambitions of Paisley.  
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20 Applying the principles of the “unknown” cultural heritage strand on the hidden  
21  
22 heritage typology presents an opportunity for engagement with structured research,  
23  
24 identifying topics and threads of hidden heritage which may not have been previously  
25  
26 considered within civic decision-making or heritage interpretation. Using creative  
27  
28 research methods to develop responses to archival material is particularly valuable to  
29  
30 uncover the sense of place of an area (Spencer 2011), digital tools and creative mapping  
31  
32 make a valuable contribution to this methodological toolkit.  
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### 40 **Digital cultural asset mapping**

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42 Digital cultural mapping is a process by which the cultural assets of an area are mapped  
43  
44 using a computerised mapping system. It is important that both hard and soft assets are  
45  
46 included (Lee 2009), meaning that the festivals and activities which take place in an  
47  
48 area (soft assets) are just as important as buildings and spaces (hard assets). Research  
49  
50 shows that these soft assets can be just as valuable to making the area attractive for the  
51  
52 development of further cultural activities and creative industries (Gibson, Brennan-  
53  
54 Horley, and Warren 2010) so it is important to assess many angles of a place,  
55  
56 particularly where current local authority initiatives are emphasising the cultural  
57  
58 character of a place as part of the overall appeal of an area.  
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6 Cultural mapping in its digital form requires a form of software for its  
7  
8 dissemination, and often uses geographical information systems (GIS) to perform this  
9  
10 role. The increasing use of GIS technology in geography has long been the subject of  
11  
12 discussion (Gibson, Brennan-Horley, and Warren 2010; Coulton, Chan, and Mikelbank  
13  
14 2011; Baker 2012) and has coined several phrases which attempt to capture the ethos of  
15  
16 such projects, including bottom up GIS (Talen 2000), public participation GIS (Weiner,  
17  
18 Harris, and Craig 2002), participatory GIS (Elwood 2006) and cartographic storytelling  
19  
20 (Cartwright and Field 2015). This latter phrase is most appropriate for this study, due to  
21  
22 the combination of mapping and digital storytelling.  
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28  
29 Where there are gaps on a cultural map there may be a lack of diversity across  
30  
31 categories of asset (Holden 2015), which clearly depends on the categories which are  
32  
33 initially defined. This points to the importance of acknowledging the positionality of  
34  
35 the researcher, who holds power in establishing categories and should aim to challenge  
36  
37 conventional outsider narratives in labelling areas as “uncool” or “hotspots” (Edensor  
38  
39 and Millington 2012, 15), community involvement will result in a more representative  
40  
41 picture. For the digital cultural asset map to be at its most representative, it requires  
42  
43 those operating within the cultural fields to self-identify as a cultural practitioner and  
44  
45 also engage with the mapping process by showcasing their location or work as part of  
46  
47 the map, which can be problematic as some people do not engage with an arts network  
48  
49 or consider themselves ‘cultural’ (Lizardo 2006). Issues with gender-bias in mapping  
50  
51 may also occur (Gibson, Brennan-Horley, and Warren 2010; Hjorth 2013).  
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4 Cultural mapping forms part of the unknown-known strand of the hidden  
5  
6 heritage typology and represents a key tool for civic bids. To illustrate the importance  
7  
8 placed on cultural asset mapping within this context, one may consider the prominence  
9  
10 attached to its inclusion in recent European City of Culture bids. Valletta aimed to use  
11  
12 digital cultural asset mapping as part of the ECoC 2018 bid actions, building in  
13  
14 participatory mapping within the monitoring and evaluation framework as a  
15  
16 longitudinal activity (Valletta 2018 Foundation 2012). In bidding for ECoC 2021  
17  
18 Elefsina and Rhodes included proposals for detailed mapping, should a bid for ECoC be  
19  
20 accepted for taken forward (European Commission 2016).  
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### 28 **Digital storytelling**

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31 Digital storytelling incorporates a wide range of platforms and technologies, it can be  
32  
33 used as a tool to emphasise the voice of seldom-heard or socially excluded groups  
34  
35 through transitioning from simply consuming content which others have made, towards  
36  
37 creating content and contributing to wider debates and discussions themselves. It has  
38  
39 been recognised as important to forming a “people-oriented form of urban heritage  
40  
41 conservation” (Hoeven 2020, 130). This became a key area of our work with the  
42  
43 community groups, revealing hidden heritage by recording stories. The availability of  
44  
45 more affordable technology, including mobile phones and tablets with integrated  
46  
47 cameras, make it easier to use social networking sites incorporating video, audio and  
48  
49 photography to tell stories, to the extent that it has changed ‘how we visualize intimate  
50  
51 cartographies though shifting  
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3 camera phone practices' (Hjorth 2013, 113). Digital recording is a logical extension of  
4  
5 storytelling and oral history, and is increasingly important for documenting intangible  
6  
7 heritage, as evidenced in its usage by significant cultural agencies such as UNESCO  
8  
9 (Trower 2011; Pietrobruno 2013).  
10  
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14 An analysis of social media use as part of the Liverpool 2008 ECoC festivities  
15  
16 looked at (then early) adoption of online platforms by analysing content and keywords,  
17  
18 concluding that local engagement was high (Miah and Adi 2009), this was carried out in  
19  
20 conjunction with traditional print media analysis and offers an insight into the  
21  
22 continuing importance of a digital strategy to accompany any civic bid. In the case of  
23  
24 Stavanger one of the key aims of the bid was changing the image of an area which was  
25  
26 dominated by the oil industry, refocusing on culture as a new industrial base; studies by  
27  
28 Bergsgard and Vassenden (2011) evaluated the effects of ECoC implementation on the  
29  
30 cultural businesses in the city, showing that some were very positive about the short  
31  
32 term effect of the programme on their work (particularly those who had received  
33  
34 funding) and some felt they had made better connections and raised their profile, yet  
35  
36 two thirds of the respondents in the surrounding city region area felt there had been no  
37  
38 effect at all. They suggest caution in interpreting results of limited surveys but highlight  
39  
40 the importance of longer term qualitative studies at the time of the ECoC designation  
41  
42 and afterwards, to highlight benefits which move beyond basic quantitative data on  
43  
44 visitor numbers and spend; digital storytelling and analytical tools connected to social  
45  
46 media clearly have a role to play in this respect, both in the run up to a bid, and  
47  
48 throughout the process of implementing the intended cultural programmes; bids which  
49  
50 do not include detailed digital participation aims can result in ECoC bid failure (as in  
51  
52 Rhodes 2021 (European Commission 2016, 20)).  
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9 **The Town of Paisley, Scotland leading the way in securing SDG 10/11.**

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12 Paisley has a population of 72,752 (Scottish Government 2018) and is the  
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14 administrative service centre of the district of Renfrewshire, located in the south west  
15  
16 of Scotland. It is classed as an "Interdependent to Independent  
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18 town ... (which are those which) have a good number  
19  
20 of assets in relation to their population" (Understanding Scottish Places 2017). Assets  
21  
22 within this context does not just mean cultural assets, however this recognition is a  
23  
24 useful point which acknowledges that Paisley is well served by different services, which  
25  
26 in turn may form cultural assets depending on their context. The presence of a large  
27  
28 number of designated historic assets (the "second highest concentration... in Scotland",  
29  
30 outside Edinburgh (Renfrewshire Council 2014a, 4) means that there is a wealth of  
31  
32 assets to map within a digital cultural asset mapping context, and therefore it is essential  
33  
34 that any cultural map aims to reflect the diverse range of activities which take place and  
35  
36 the nature of the communities which it aims to represent. Renfrewshire has a  
37  
38 population of 179,100 (Scottish Government 2019) and contains a variety of small  
39  
40 villages and larger towns within its land area of 26,193.706 hectares (Scottish  
41  
42 Government 2011). These settlements historically relate to Paisley as the social and  
43  
44 economic centre, although as 1.4 million people live within half an hour travel time of  
45  
46 Paisley (Renfrewshire Council 2014a) residents from within and outwith Renfrewshire  
47  
48 travel to use services and cultural facilities in Paisley and its nearby larger centre,  
49  
50 Glasgow city which is 10 miles away. Paisley grew from being an ecclesiastical centre  
51  
52 in 1163, and has a reputation for being a radical town due to its political and social  
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3 growth as a centre for weaving; the jacquard loom was invented in Paisley and the  
4  
5 teardrop shaped pattern motif became associated with the town due to this innovation in  
6  
7 manufacturing over the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Mill owners such as the Coats family left a  
8  
9 philanthropic civic legacy of public buildings such as an observatory and parks which  
10  
11 remain today. These assets are all recognised as key heritage themes which form the  
12  
13 narrative of Renfrewshire and Paisley (Renfrewshire Council 2014a).  
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19           Socio-economic issues have led to one area of Renfrewshire within the Paisley  
20  
21 urban boundary to “consistently feature within the 5% most deprived areas... from  
22  
23 2004” (Scottish Government 2016, 10), yet Renfrewshire as a whole has been ranked  
24  
25 among the top 10 places of the UK for quality of life (Renfrewshire 24 2015). These  
26  
27 demographic differences and cultural contradictions between areas mean that Paisley  
28  
29 forms a useful example for cultural mapping as it has a microcosm of issues across the  
30  
31 socio-economic, environmental and cultural fields, particularly important when cultural  
32  
33 policy is moving towards contributing towards sustainable development by harnessing  
34  
35 the role of culture as a crucial domain (CHCfE Consortium 2015).  
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42           Mapping focused primarily on the town of Paisley, rather than the district of  
43  
44 Renfrewshire, as this was the focus of the civic bid, and categories reflected those used  
45  
46 in UK based approaches to culture (DCMS 2017; Cultural Enterprise Office n.d.;  
47  
48 Creative Scotland n.d.). In a primarily researcher-led process, structured internet  
49  
50 searches across each category together with field visits of key localities were  
51  
52 undertaken, together with a period of public consultation where suggestions for cultural  
53  
54 assets were sought. ArcGIS was used to plot and map assets, table 2 shows dataset  
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56 summaries:  
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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)

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

1  
2  
3 a former textile town famed for its distinctive patterned shawls; this fabric heritage lives  
4 on with sewing clubs and pub craft groups, formal training opportunities and drop in  
5 activities. Of particular note are banner making groups within several churches, once  
6 hidden assets but highlighted in the research identifying the multi-functional nature of  
7 community halls. Craft fair venues are also highlighted within this category, and are  
8 vital for small scale showcasing of local makers, as recognised within Holden's (2015)  
9 homemade cultural ecology sphere. Digital cultural asset mapping revealed visual and  
10 quantitative patterns across all asset types, reinforcing the quantity of heritage assets  
11 relative to the size of the region, but also highlighting areas where infrastructure  
12 appeared lacking. The research suggests a lack of theatre and dance groups, however  
13 the numerical count of assets hides the significance and diversity of such groups; for  
14 example PACE is based in Paisley but has 1000 members attending weekly from  
15 throughout Renfrewshire and further afield is the largest youth theatre in the UK (PACE  
16 2020). Similarly, visual arts assets appear to be lacking in quantity, yet there are  
17 dedicated formal arts education courses at the local college, which engage a wide  
18 student and staff population on campus and in outreach activities such as exhibitions.  
19 These apparent anomalies show the challenges of mapping, reflecting the need to read  
20 quantitative data alongside the underlying supplemental information, and a need to  
21 make connections with membership organisations who represent different cultural  
22 groups, as well as freelancers and individual practitioners (Lizardo 2006) to form the  
23 most complete cultural map of an area, in conjunction with other research methods.

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55 Three groups with different geographical and age demographics took part in  
56 digital storytelling activities, chosen to represent those traditionally under-represented  
57 in cultural discussions (All participants attended groups based in lower SIMD areas,  
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3 two groups of elderly participants from the west and east of the town, (from ROAR:  
4 Connections for Life), and a group of adults who were service users of a community  
5 support group (called The STAR Project) in the north). A participant information sheet  
6 in plain English acted as topic prompts, and participants were free to record in any way  
7 they wished, some capturing their natural flow of conversation and some preferring to  
8 storyboard and pre-plan before recording. Participants used pen, paper and collage to  
9 collate materials which were relevant to their story, and brought items of meaning to  
10 accompany their recordings, for example family photographs or images of the buildings  
11 relevant to their story, which added to the richness of the media created, asking that  
12 these were included with the audio, as this more accurately presented their experience  
13 for them. Ross et al. (2009) suggest offering participants the option to edit and delete  
14 material is desirable, but none expressed a desire to do so, although they did express a  
15 great interest and “intrigue” in the digital recording kit (Garrett 2011), with some later  
16 taking up related opportunities with their groups to develop more digital skills, which is  
17 an example of facilitating participants in moving from being digital consumers to digital  
18 producers (McGillivray et al. 2015). The quality of the recordings varied, particularly  
19 where participants recorded their group chats and many participants joined in, however  
20 as the objective was to engage in meaningful discussion and record memories around  
21 cultural assets, not create professional audio, the value of the process was clear.  
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49 The participants created eleven outputs as part of the facilitated workshops,  
50 comprising eight audio recordings and three pieces of illustrative collage to accompany  
51 the recordings, with insights into events in the town such as an unexpected encounter  
52 with a celebrity and their role in laying a wreath for a Remembrance Parade, or deeply  
53 personal experiences where buildings and venues in the town formed a backdrop to  
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3 significant life events, none of these memories and anecdotes would have been  
4  
5 recorded without the storytelling sessions. The significance of the groups themselves to  
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7 social and emotional wellbeing were expressed by some participants, for example one  
8  
9 of the Roar members noted that when  
10  
11 the group did not meet, they met up with other group members to spend time together  
12  
13 and have coffee in the town. A STAR Project member who was also a member of a  
14  
15 writer's group spoke about how they visited the town's old football ground just before it  
16  
17 was demolished, and was allowed to sit in the manager's dugout, they also remembered  
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19 matches where St. Mirren won, and enjoying the ritual of pies and Bovril. Tangible and  
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21  
22 intangible cultural heritage strands were therefore expressed through shared personal  
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24 connections, and common cultural experiences for example memories of going to  
25  
26 restaurants and dance halls, and attendance at gala days (local and state fairs/ festivals).  
27  
28 The STAR Project has since used the methods advocated in the research to create  
29  
30 further digital activities for service users, sharing these through their social media  
31  
32 presence, advocating for their members and amplifying  
33  
34 their voices through this form of grassroots community web presence (as echoed in  
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36 trends identified by Hoeven, 2020). This same group has also created a community  
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38 map, using the stories to record and explore their local area.  
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49 The data from the digital cultural asset mapping was utilised as part of the  
50  
51 empirical baseline for the UK City of Culture 2021 bid, and offered a valuable  
52  
53 opportunity to research and present information on the presence of assets, whilst the  
54  
55 digital storytelling contributed to a larger conversation around what culture means in the  
56  
57 area; such creative approaches to community engagement unlock the potential to greater  
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3 involvement in cultural activity, both in defining culturally significant assets, and in  
4 recognising previously hidden stories of cultural relevance to the character of the area,  
5 particularly at a time when the town centre asset strategy and action plan was subtitled  
6 ‘Paisley the Untold Story’ (Renfrewshire Council 2014a). The research outputs were  
7 utilised to support the case for applying for £250,000 heritage based funding “Great  
8 Place Scheme” for Paisley, which incorporates elements of capacity building for  
9 cultural community groups and businesses, as well as the provision of digital upskilling  
10 and tourism promotion initiatives (Renfrewshire Council 2018) and aligns with SDG  
11 11.3 to enhance inclusive and sustainable urbanisation through capacity for  
12 participatory, integrated and sustainable human settlement planning and management in  
13 all countries.  
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31 At the time of the City of Culture bid, a number of statutory documents were  
32 being reviewed and had begun to reflect cultural goals. Community Planning  
33 documentation included aims regarding cultural asset management (Renfrewshire  
34 Community Planning Partnership 2013) similarly, a Tackling Poverty report (whilst not  
35 primarily focused on culture) advocated power sharing as particularly important in anti-  
36 poverty practice (Renfrewshire Council 2014b). Following the unsuccessful bid the  
37 Local Authority undertook a period of refocusing Corporate activity to build on the  
38 momentum of the bid activity, but also allow for freedom of direction to act in  
39 accordance with the desire to continue being culture-led, set outside the context or  
40 constraints of a bid framework. This involved reviewing the successes of initiatives  
41 which had been kick-started in the bid process, maintaining and extending cultural  
42 funding, and rebranding initiatives to align with a “PaisleyIs” place-branding and  
43 marketing approach which invites people to re-imagine what Paisley is to them, and  
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3 what it could be and this is now FuturePaisley so that people see themselves as a key  
4 part of the Paisley's Future. To achieve a lasting legacy from the bid process, the  
5 mainstreaming of a culture-led approach, and the alignment of 5 step-changes (like a  
6 road map to where they want to go) identified in the bid, was required, and  
7  
8 Renfrewshire Council working with the University of West of Scotland amended these  
9  
10 to 6 step changes as Renfrewshire Council were already witnessing the early stages of  
11  
12 change in some areas. These step changes which are still subject to ongoing changes  
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14 are:  
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- 22 (1) Establish Paisley as a centre of excellence for cultural regeneration through  
23 leadership, partnership, participation and collaboration;  
24
- 25 (2) Working with partners across Paisley to help lift communities out of poverty;  
26
- 27 (3) Paisley will be recognised for its cultural excellence, through the development  
28 of a modern, resilient and innovative cultural sector which connects Paisley's  
29 past and present  
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- 32 (4) Transform Paisley into a vibrant cultural town centre;  
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- 34 (5) Grow a significant new dimension to Paisley's economy;  
35
- 36 (6) Radically change Paisley's image and reputation in Scotland, the UK and  
37  
38 internationally  
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50 The Council are working with the staff at University of the West of Scotland  
51 who are developing a framework for monitoring and evaluation and 3 PhD students are  
52 undertaking a longitudinal study to chart and map progress of the step changes and  
53 help them better understand the effectiveness of the Council's Cultural Heritage  
54 Strategy to grow a significant new dimension to Paisley's economy by using  
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3 culture and events as key tools in their regeneration strategy. The strategy aims to lift  
4 Paisley out of poverty, using health and art to engage participation from those citizens  
5 most at risk and radically change Paisley's image and reputation in Scotland, the UK  
6 and internationally through an inclusive growth strategy that ensures the Council  
7 extend their culture and events programme and their brand reach both nationally and  
8 internationally. This is already showing some early wins with visitors to the area  
9 increasing by a 7.4% change from 2015-17 to 2016-18 to 2.5m visitor spend up by just  
10 over 10% to just under £69m for the same timescale. There is also some progress on the  
11 health and deprivation of Paisley. ~~For~~ for the first time in over a decade key deciles of  
12 Paisley have risen off the bottom of the Scottish Index of Multiple Deprivation (~~Scottish~~  
13 ~~Government 2020~~). ~~These are clearly in alignment with the UN SDG goals 10/11 and~~  
14 ~~good~~ (Scottish Government 2020b) again showing progress towards the SDG target  
15 10.2. Good progress is being made through the recognition and development with  
16 community groups of both tangible and intangible heritage. that has been used  
17 specifically to aid volunteering opportunities and develop social economy skills of those  
18 who have been out of employment for a long time. Paisley are leading the way in  
19 putting culture at the heart of what they are doing in every policy based decision. ~~For~~  
20 ~~example~~, not just in economic regeneration and external promotion but having culture at  
21 the heart of decision-making about housing, social care and education ~~for example~~ again  
22 ties specifically to SDG target 10.2 and their step change of lifting Paisley out of  
23 poverty. It is transforming the way the town is seen by both citizens, policy makers and  
24 international investors. ~~For~~ for example, the ~~Coutts leather company~~ Coats Group have  
25 moved their board meetings back to Paisley. ~~Major and major~~ design companies Pringle  
26 and Hermes have both created Paisley pattern brands with their clothing ranges.  
27  
28 International business development has grown since the failure to win the bid;

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3 suggesting a success of their step change strategy of Cultureculture as inclusive growth  
4 in line with the approach of the British Council to aid participatory involvement, civic  
5 engagement and global business reach. AsThe newly formed FuturePaisley partnership  
6 board are leading Paisley’s transformation as a town, as a local development strategy  
7 and a contribution to global cultural policy ~~FuturePaisley group are leading Paisley’s~~  
8 ~~transformation as a town~~; albeit in the early stages.  
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22 Figure 1 details Paisley’s new strategy “Our journey continues” (Renfrewshire  
23 Council, 2020) where the step changes are more clearly visible with changes to the  
24 cultural heritage landscape, both tangible and intangible. For example, Culture is linked  
25 to improving SIMD and directly links to SDG 10.1 and the increase in funding links to  
26 SDG 10.4. Cultural mapping and projects/ initiatives in areas where housing  
27 improvement occurs can be seen to align to SDG 11.1 and 11.3, where participatory  
28 planning and the FuturePaisley partnership board has a range of community groups  
29 involved in the planning and management of resources. Funding for heritage schemes  
30 and local groups to put them on a more resilient and sustainable footing which ties in  
31 SDG 11.4 and the development of the strategy document “our journey continues”  
32 through the FuturePaisley partnership board involves cultural and heritage providers  
33 and allows any concerns that the policies address cross cultural issues, such as housing,  
34 deprivation and economic growth, directly aligning to SDG’s 11a and b to be addressed  
35 strategically.  
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54 [Figure 1 near here].  
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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).

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 Digitaldigital 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

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2  
3 revealed when explained through digital storytelling; particularly important when most  
4  
5 cultural mapping activity tends to concentrate on tangible assets (Jeannotte 2016). In  
6  
7 this sense adopting a multimodal approach is more likely to reveal hidden cultural  
8  
9 heritage, as a both physical assets and intangible stories are explorable and  
10  
11 remembering that these stories are not monocultural. Using digital tools in projects can  
12  
13 open up new research avenues and provide rich information on the changing nature of  
14  
15 places and assets both for the researcher and participants themselves (Murthy 2008;  
16  
17 Houghton, Miller, and Foth 2013; Hidalgo 2015; Ozkul and Humphreys 2015), and also  
18  
19 challenge the traditional notion of what constitutes heritage (Terras 2011).- Heritage  
20  
21 narratives, storylines and themes can be explored in more depth by using this  
22  
23 multimodal model, avoiding the approach which risks favouring “sites before stories” as  
24  
25 with traditional cultural heritage protection modes in national protection and  
26  
27 designation registers (Pocock, Collett, and Baulch 2015, 963).  
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36 The language and tone of civic bids and policy is important. The work that is  
37  
38 being carried out in Paisley is aligned with this common cultural language used within  
39  
40 the UN SDG’s 10 and 11 and the OECD and aims to place the town within a contested  
41  
42 global arena. Paisley is aiming high and showcasing its once rich tangible and  
43  
44 intangible cultural heritage back on an international stage and at the heart of  
45  
46 international cultural policy. It challenges the way we view cultural heritage and  
47  
48 presents a different nomenclature for policy makers to engage with citizens and  
49  
50 understand cultural needs and assets, as evidenced by the use of the cultural mapping in  
51  
52 the datasets for the City of Culture bid and the uptake of digital storytelling and  
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54 mapping by the community group, together with the use of the data by the Local  
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56 Authority to bid for future place based cultural heritage funding. These all contribute  
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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.

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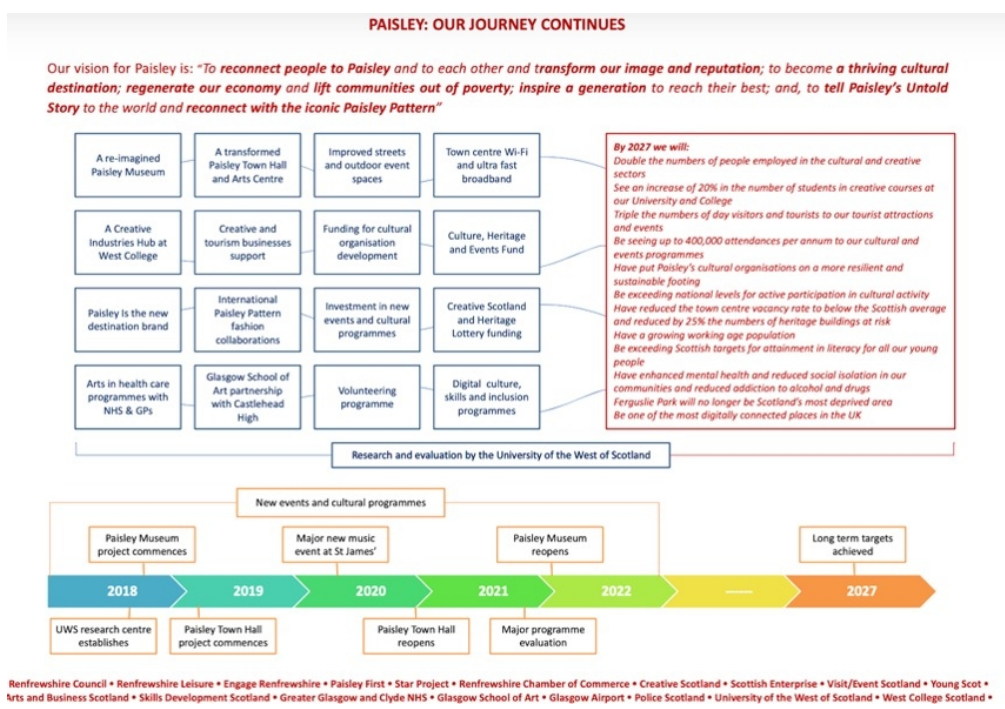


Figure 1 Paisley’s new strategy “Our journey continues” (Renfrewshire Council, 2020) (used with permission)

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