Kent Academic Repository

Goodwin, Karl Andrew (2021) ***Modern ethnicity and ancient culture: The persistence of white narratives in displays of the Roman past.*** **Doctor of Philosophy (PhD) thesis, University of Kent,.**

Downloaded from

https://kar.kent.ac.uk/87602/ The University of Kent's Academic Repository KAR

The version of record is available from

https://doi.org/10.22024/UniKent/01.02.87602

This document version

UNSPECIFIED

DOI for this version

Licence for this version

CC BY (Attribution)

Additional information

Versions of research works

Versions of Record

If this version is the version of record, it is the same as the published version available on the publisher's web site. Cite as the published version.

Author Accepted Manuscripts

If this document is identified as the Author Accepted Manuscript it is the version after peer review but before type setting, copy editing or publisher branding. Cite as Surname, Initial. (Year) 'Title of article'. To be published in *Title of Journal* , Volume and issue numbers [peer-reviewed accepted version]. Available at: DOI or URL (Accessed: date).

Enquiries

If you have questions about this document contact ResearchSupport@kent.ac.uk. Please include the URL of the record in KAR. If you believe that your, or a third party's rights have been compromised through this document please see our Take Down policy (available from https://www.kent.ac.uk/guides/kar-the-kent-academic-repository#policies).

Modern ethnicity and ancient culture: The persistence of white narratives in displays of the Roman past

Karl Andrew Goodwin

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

University of Kent

2020

Wordcount: 102,074

Abstract

It has been over 40 years since Edward Said's *Orientalism* highlighted European imperialism and racism, involved in the West's representation of others. This relationship still exists throughout British museums where calls to become inclusive have yet to be answered. This research contributes to the examination of contemporary efforts of Roman museum displays to critically engage with the representation of diversity and analyses why change has yet to occur.

To do so, the theory of narratology has been used to deconstruct Roman display narratives in Britain, with comparisons made with Belgium and the Netherlands. Britain's ancient past has been, and still is, greatly relied upon in the construction of its national identity. As such, this thesis sees museums as ideologically informed constructs. They are entwined with how the Roman period is related to and its persistent relevance for contemporary societies in the formation of worldviews of who is included or excluded from local and national narratives.

The three research questions focus on how ethnic diversity is currently incorporated in display narratives, public opinion, and expectations of a museum's duty towards inclusivity, and how present-day, and past, ideologies inhibit progress. Two datasets have been amassed to gain first-person insights into these issues. The first includes 38 interviews, and two further conversations, with individuals that have been, and still are, included in curatorial decisions and deliverance of narratives in Roman museums in Britain, Belgium and the Netherlands. The second dataset comprises of 255 questionnaires completed by members of the public in these museums. Through analysis of both datasets, and examination of display narratives, this thesis found that explicit depictions of ethnic diversity are still rare within contemporary permanent Roman exhibits. It found that there is an initial desire by the public and museum professionals for institutions to be inclusive; however, past and present ideological worldviews still hinder transformational change. Conclusions emphasise a momentum that strives for inclusivity to be engrained in museal practice. This is faced, however, by a real danger that change will again be hindered by a sector that relies on traditional narratives to steady an unstable sector.

Acknowledgements

My research would not have been possible without the help and guidance of many individuals who have supported me in this endeavour.

Firstly, I would like to express my gratitude to my supervisors Professor Sophia Labadi and Dr Patty Baker. I have learnt so much from our discussions and have enjoyed being guided by your expertise. Thank you for your comments and support throughout the past four years. Thanks, must also be given to the University of Kent's Vice Chancellor's Research Scholarship that funded my first three years of study and allowed me to teach at the institution. I am also indebted to Dr Steve Willis who, alongside Professor Sophia Labadi, encouraged me to undertake doctoral research at the university, and put me forward for the scholarship. I would also like to extend my appreciation to my fellow PhD students: Philip Smither and Sophie Chavarria who have offered their time and friendship throughout. Finally, special thanks go to all the other members of staff at the University of Kent who have helped me on my journey and contributed to my thesis: Dr Kathleen Quinlan, Jacqui Martlew, Lloyd Bosworth, and other members of the School of European Culture and Languages, the Centre for Heritage, and Graduate and Researcher College.

I am also extremely grateful to all the individuals that have contributed to my two datasets; this thesis would have been impossible without your involvement. I would like to thank everyone who gave their time to be interviewed and provided insight into their Roman displays and curatorial processes. I would also like to extend my gratitude to the front of house staff at these institutions and other people there with whom I communicated. I always felt welcome throughout my research and enjoyed every visit - this helped a lot. Special mention goes to the primary school visit at Butser Ancient Farm who taught me to spin yarn and create runes. I am similarly thankful to all 255 members of the public that gave their free time to complete a questionnaire.

As such, I would like to thank the museums and heritage sites that allowed me to conduct both interviews and questionnaires first: Fishbourne Roman Palace and Gardens, Maidstone Museum, Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology in Cambridge, the Roman Museum in Canterbury, and the Yorkshire Museum. Other institutions include the British Museum, Burwell Museum and Windmill, Butser Ancient Farm, Colchester Castle Museum, Corinium Museum, Dartford Central Library Museum, Dover Museum and Bronze Age Boat Gallery, English Heritage South East, Friends of Canterbury Archaeological Trust, Gallo-Romeins Museum, Heritage Eastbourne, Mildenhall and District Museum, Museum of Classical Archaeology in Cambridge, Museum of London, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, Seaside Museum in Herne Bay, Sittingbourne Heritage Museum, The Collection in Lincoln, The Novium in Chichester, The Roman Baths at Bath, Thermenmuseum in Heerlen, Valkhof Museum in Nijmegen, Verulamium Museum in St Albans, and the Welwyn Roman Bath.

I would specifically like to thank Jo for her companionship and expert proofreading, and close friends that have provided much support in the form of laughs, music, and alcohol.

Finally, and above all, I would like to thank my family. We have been through a lot over the past four years and the support we have afforded each other, and you to me, has been enormously valuable. I would like to thank: my mum, Janet, particularly for the countless phone calls and homemade clothes; my dad, Andrew, for his support and instilling in me a desire to achieve and grow; my sister, Nicki, for all the laughs and pictures of dogs; and my grandparents, uncles, and aunties who have been greatly involved throughout. Special mentions also go to the puppies, and Manson who has left behind many treasured memories.

Table of contents

Abstract i

Acknowledgements ii

Table of contents iii

List of figures ix

List of Tables xi

Chapter 1: Introduction 1

1.2 Context and justifications for this research 2

1.3 Methodologies and theories used 4

1.4 Definitions of ethnicity 5

1.5 Thesis structure 8

Chapter 2: Theoretical Approaches 11

2.1 Narratology 11

2.1.1 Focalisation 15

2.2 The use of transmedial narratology in museum studies 16

2.3 Critical perspectives 19

2.4 Conclusion 23

Chapter 3: Roles of Museums 24

3.1 Foundational and core purposes of museums 24

3.1.1 Museums as tools of governmental mass media 24

3.2 Museums and the rise of nationalism 28

3.2.1 Roman narratives and European motives 31

3.3 Museums and their responses to coloniality 35

3.3.1 Museums and coloniality 35

3.3.2 Reactions to coloniality: Efforts towards inclusive museums 37

3.3.3 Recent decolonisation within institutions 48

3.3.4 Museums as places for social justice 52

3.3.5 Key theorists, theories, and concepts: Poststructuralism, postcolonial, and decolonial thought and their approaches 54
3.3.6 The ideologies of decolonising museums, postcolonial critique, and creation of anti-racist environments: A singular thrust or separate approaches? 56
3.4 Conclusion 61
Chapter 4: Methodology 63
4.1 Self-reflexivity 63
4.2 Dataset 1: Interviews 66
4.2.1 Interviews and Analysis 67
4.2.2 Selection Process 71
4.3 Dataset 2: Questions and limitations 75
4.3.1 Why another questionnaire? 75
4.3.2 Institutions and questionnaire participants 76
4.3.3 Questionnaire format 77
4.3.4 The intention behind questions 78
4.3.5 Limitations of the questionnaire 82
4.3.6 Saturation and ethics for both datasets 83
4.4 Conclusion 85
Chapter 5: Is ethnicity portrayed in contemporary Roman displays? 87
5.1. Ethnic diversity and identity within historical Roman narratives 88
5.1.1 Results 88
5.1.2 “Yes, explicitly” 89
5.1.3 Yes, but only implicitly 105
5.1.4 No, not at all 113
5.1.5 No answer 122
5.1.6 Differences between individuals at the same museum 124
5.2 Conclusion 125
Chapter 6: Influences on Roman narratives 127
6.1 Restrictions and constraints 127

6.2 (Lack of) resources 129

6.2.1 Funds 130

6.2.2 Loss of staff and specialisms 139

6.3 Government involvement 141

6.3.1 The ideologies of neoliberalism, multiculturalism, and populism 142

6.4 National curricula 145

6.4.1 Romans in the UK's National Curriculum 146

6.4.2 UK Roman displays and their relationship with the National Curriculum 149

6.4.3 The centrality of the Romans through a British lens 152

6.4.4 Comparison between the Netherland's and Britain's association with the Romans ...153

6.5 Conclusion 155

Chapter 7: Data set 2 157

7.1 Demographic groups 157

7.1.2 Age 158

7.1.3 Nationality 159

7.1.4 Ethnicity 162

7.1.5 Overall discussion on demographics 165

7.2 Sections 1-3: Questions 1-10 – overview of results and comments 166

7.3 Discussions and conclusions 183

Chapter 8: For whom are Roman displays curated? 186

8.1 Narratological characteristics and differences at the Yorkshire Museum and Bath's Roman Baths 186

8.1.1 Objects and narratives at the Yorkshire Museum: Why the Yorkshire Museum's Roman Galleries successfully included ethnic diversity 187

8.1.2 Yorkshire Museum's overall Roman display narrative 201

8.1.3 A comparable study of narrative construction and objects used at Bath 202

8.1.4 Conclusions: Similar objects, different contexts 208

8.2 Homogenous displays, populations, and messages 210

8.2.1 Othering and visual representation 215

8.3 Responses to populations that resulted in the inclusion of ethnic diversity......................221
8.4 Conclusion......................227
Chapter 9: The effect of past and present ideologies on the representation of ethnic diversity .229
9.1 Past ideologies and the foundational identity of museums 229
9.2 Contemporary ideology and representations of ethnic diversity......................238
9.2.1 Diversity schemes and their success......................238
9.2.2 National curricula and their influence on museum displays 239
9.2.3 Apprehension regarding challenge and change 243
9.3 Conclusion......................246
Chapter 10: Conclusions 247
10.1 Contributions to museum studies and Roman archaeology......................248
10.1.1 Other approaches towards sustained inclusivity......................251
10.2 Wider implications of research......................254
10.3 Recommendations for the field and future research 255
10.3.1 Museums and national curricula 256
10.3.3 Other periods of British history 257
10.3.4 Wales, Scotland, and Northern Ireland......................257
10.3.5 The Netherlands, Belgium, and other European countries 258
10.3.6 Momentum after Covid-19 258
Bibliography 263
Abbreviations......................303
Appendix 304
Appendix 1: Dataset 1 - Interview Question Sheet......................304
Appendix 2: Dataset 1 - Interview and additional conversation order, location, and dates.....306
Appendix 3: Dataset 1 and 2 - List of institutions and their details that were included in the research 308
Appendix 4: Dataset 2 - Questionnaire sheet......................324
Appendix 5: Dataset 1 - Participant Information sheet......................325
Appendix 6: Dataset 1 - Consent form......................326

Appendix 7: Dataset 2 - Participant information sheet 327
Appendix 8: Excerpt of an email exchange supplied by Interviewee 34 328
Appendix 9: Dataset 2 - List of self-defined nationalities provided by questionnaire participants 331
Appendix 10: Dataset 2 - List of nationalities used in Figure 21 332
Appendix 11: Dataset 2 - Comments made in Question 9's expansion field 334
Appendix 12: Dataset 2 - Comments made in Question 10's expansion field 338
Appendix 13: Comments from a Mail Online article that concern the Beachy Head Lady 342
Appendix 14: Dataset 1 - Detailed write-ups of interviews 344
Interviewee 1 – Rijksmuseum Van Oudheden – 03/05/2017 344
Interviewee 2 – The Valkhof - 04/05/2017 345
Interviewee 3 – Thermenmuseum - 08/05/2017 348
Interviewees 4 and 5 – Gallo Romeins Museum - 09/05/2017 351
Interviewee 6 – Corinium Museum - 03/08/2017 354
Interviewee 7 – Corinium Museum - 03/08/2017 355
Interviewee 8 – British Museum - 09/08/2017 357
Interviewee 9 – British Museum - 21/08/2017 361
Interviewee 10 – The Collection – 06/09/2017 363
Interviewee 11 – Roman Museum - 29/09/2017 365
Interviewee 12 – English Heritage South East (Roman sites – Dover Castle, Lullingstone Villa, and Roman Richborough) – 21/11/2017 367
Interviewee 13 – Welwyn Roman Bath - 16/01/2018 370
Interviewee 14 – Welwyn Roman Bath - 16/01/2018 370
Interviewee 15 – Burwell Museum and Windmill – 30/01/2018 372
Interviewee 16 – Cambridge Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology - 07/02/2018 374
Interviewee 17 – Verulamium Museum - 12/02/2018 376
Interviewee 18 – Mildenhall Museum – 13/02/2018 379
Interviewees 19 and 20 – Sittingbourne Heritage Museum - 17/02/2018 382
Interviewee 21 – Maidstone Museum - 26/02/2018 384

Interviewee 22 – Maidstone Museum - 26/02/2018 387
Interviewee 23 – Fishbourne Roman Palace - 05/03/2018 391
Interviewee 24 – Butser Ancient Farm - 06/03/2018 395
Interviewee 25 – Roman Baths at Bath - 13/03/2018 397
Interviewee 26 – Colchester Castle Museum - 03/04/2018 401
Interviewee 27 – The Cambridge Museum of Classical Archaeology - 04/04/2018 405
Interviewee 28 – Dartford Borough Museum - 06/04/2018 409
Interviewee 29 – Dover Museum and Bronze Age Boat Exhibition - 20/04/2018 411
Interviewee 30 – The Seaside Museum - 02/05/2018 414
Interviewee 31 – Eastbourne County Council – 11/05/2018 417
Interviewee 32 - Museum of London – 13/06/2018 419
Interviewee 33 - The Novium - 28/02/2018 423
Interviewee 34 – Colchester Castle Museum - 14/06/2018 426
Interviewee 35 – Yorkshire Museum - 05/07/2018 430
Interviewee 36 and Interviewee 37 – Museum of London - 22/08/2018 434
Interviewee 38 - The Roman Museum - 07/09/2018 438
Additional Conversation 1 – Verulamium – 12/02/2018 441
Additional conversation 2 – Mildenhall Museum – 13/02/2018 441
Appendix 15: Dataset 2 - Spreadsheet of questionnaire responses 442

List of figures

Figure 1: Visitors view the Rosetta Stone at the British Museum. Photograph by Adrian Grycuk, distributed under a CC BY-SA 3.0 Licence 30

Figure 2: View of the sculpture casts at the Cambridge Museum of Classical Archaeology © The University of Cambridge 33

Figure 3: Views of Trajan's Column, Cast Courts, Room 46a, The West court © Victoria and Albert Museum, London 34

Figure 4: Distribution map of UK museums and heritage sites included in Dataset 1. Map created by the author using Google My Maps 72

Figure 5: Distribution map of Dutch and Belgian institutions included in Dataset 1. Map created by the author using Google My Maps 72

Figure 6: Map of institutions included in Dataset 2. 1) Cambridge Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology 2) Fishbourne Roman Palace 3) Maidstone Museum 4) Roman Museum 5) Yorkshire Museum. Created by the author on Google My Maps 77

Figure 7: Answers to whether ethnicity is depicted within current permanent exhibitions © Author 89

Figure 8: Ivory Bangle Lady in the Meet the People of Empire videos at the Yorkshire Museum © Yorkshire Museum / York Museums Trust 91

Figure 9: Meet the People of Empire Gallery at the Yorkshire Museum by Gareth Buddo © York Museums Trust 93

Figure 10: Remains of the Ivory Bangle Lady at the Yorkshire Museum © Yorkshire Museum / York Museums Trust 94

Figure 11: Display plaque from the Yorkshire Museum's (UK) Roman Gallery © Nicola Goodwin.95

Figure 12: Image of Septimius Severus and family at the Yorkshire Museum © Author 96

Figure 13: Tombstone and description on display at the Yorkshire Museum © Nicola Goodwin .. 99

Figure 14: Funerary Inscription for Julius Vitalis, RIB 156 © Roman Inscriptions of Britain 101

Figure 15: Facial reconstruction from Bath depicting non-British traits © Author 103

Figure 16: Collection of tombstones on display at the Corinium Museum © Corinium Museum 107

Figure 17: Model of Londinium Bridge on display in the Museum of London's Roman Gallery © Museum of London 108

Figure 18: Replicas of the Mildenhall Treasure display at the Mildenhall Museum © Mildenhall Museum. Photo used by courtesy of the Trustees of Mildenhall and District Museum. 121

Figure 19 Roman religious display at the Roman Museum with the Dea Nutrix figurine in the centre © Author 125

Figure 20: Replies to whether the curation process is free © Author..128
Figure 21: Constraints, restraints, and influences that hinder the curation process as found in Dataset 1 © Author..129
Figure 22: Beachy Head Lady Display at Eastbourne Ancestors © Heritage Eastbourne / Eastbourne Borough Council..138
Figure 23: Distribution map of self-identified nationalities © Lloyd Bosworth..161
Figure 24: Word cloud from Question 9's expansion space © Author..178
Figure 25: A statue of Mars at the Yorkshire Museum © Author..188
Figure 26: Head of Constantine the Great (?) on display at the Yorkshire Museum © Marcus Cyron. Licence: CC-BY-SA 2.0..190
Figure 27: Tombstone of Lucius Duccius Rufinus © Yorkshire Museums Trust. Licence: CC BY-SA 4.0..191
Figure 28: Roman Head Pot on display at the Yorkshire Museum © York Museums Trust. Licence: CC BY-SA 4.0..192
Figure 29: Display board associated with the Ivory Bangle Lady. © Yorkshire Museum / York Museums Trust. Image provided by the Yorkshire Museum..194
Figure 30: Tombstone of Julia Velva © York Museums Trust. Licence: CC BY-SA 4.0..197
Figure 31: Roman tile cist/tomb on display at the Yorkshire Museum. © Carole Raddato. Licence: CC BY-SA 2.0..199
Figure 32: Inscribed object on display at the Yorkshire Museum © York Museums Trust. Licence: CC BY-SA 4.0..200
Figure 33: The Wold Newton Hoard. Photograph by Anthony Chappel-Ross © Yorkshire Museums Trust..201
Figure 34: View of Bath's Roman Baths from the Victorian Terrace © Author..204
Figure 35: Bronze Head of Sulis Minerva at Bath's Roman Baths © Tristan Surtel. Licence: CC BY-SA 4.0..205
Figure 36: People of Aqua Sulis exhibit at Bath's Roman Baths © Bath & North East Somerset Council 2021..206
Figure 37: Projection included in a character construction about a craftsman at Bath's Roman Baths © Author..208
Figure 38: Depiction of the invading Roman army at the Museum of London © Author..217
Figure 39: Model display of Claudius entering Kent at the Dover Museum © Author..217

List of Tables

Table 1: Genette's aspects of narratives and their relation to the temporal dynamics of discourse 14
Table 2: List of institutions where interviews took place 73
Table 3: Associated institutions where participants stated ethnicity was only implicitly expressed in their permanent Roman displays 106
Table 4: Associated institutions where participants stated ethnicity was not expressed in their Roman displays 114
Table 5: Age of current permanent Roman displays included in Dataset 1 134
Table 6: Replies to question six; How long should a permanent exhibition last? 135
Table 7: UK museums and heritage sites which were stated to be influenced by the National Curriculum....149
Table 8: Number of questionnaires completed at different institutions....157
Table 9: Age ranges of questionnaire respondents 158
Table 10: Nationality distribution of respondents....159
Table 11: Continental distribution of respondents....161
Table 12: Distribution of self-identified ethnicities 163
Table 13: Additional comments made by respondents that concern ethnicity 164
Table 14: Answers to Question 1 166
Table 15: Comments made in association with Question 1 167
Table 16: Answers to Question 2 168
Table 17: Comments made in association with Question 2 169
Table 18: Answers to Question 3 169
Table 19: Comments made in association with Question 3 170
Table 20: Answers to Question 4 172
Table 21: Comments made about Question 4 172
Table 22: Answers to Question 5 172
Table 23: Table of participant that stated they did not feel as though their ethnicities were included in museums and heritage sites but think that institutions should attempt to 173
Table 24: Table of participant that stated they did not feel as though their ethnicities were included in museums and heritage sites but think that institutions should not attempt to....174
Table 25: Table of participants that stated they did not feel as though their ethnicities were included in museums and heritage sites and did not provide an answer to Question 5 175
Table 26: Answers to Question 6 175

Table 27: Answers to Question 7 176
Table 28: Answers to Question 8 177
Table 29: Answers to Question 9 177
Table 30: Answers to Question 10 181
Table 31: Interview and additional conversation order, location, and dates 307
Table 32: Museums and heritage sites included in this thesis 323
Table 33: Self-defined nationalities of questionnaire participants 331
Table 34: Nationalities used for Figure 21 333
Table 35: Comments from the Question 9 expansion field 337
Table 36: Comments from the Question 10 expansion field 341
Table 37: Spreadsheet of questionnaire results for Dataset 1 467

Chapter 1: Introduction

It has been over 40 years since Edward Said published *Orientalism* (1978), a seminal book, that highlighted the colonial practices inherent in the West's representation of other cultures built upon European imperialism and racism. Recent events, such as the worldwide Black Lives Matter protests, have emphasised the continued existence of these power relations in modern society, and also highlighted the reluctance from many for this to change or be acknowledged. This thesis examines these issues through the study of how permanent Roman displays in British museums represent ethnic diversity. This research also delves deeper into the issue of representation to examine whether a change has been made that is proportionate to the need for better representation of marginalised identities. As such, the contemporary roles of institutions and their ideologically-informed outputs are studied alongside the social, ethical, and political factors that influence the discourses museums and heritage sites articulate.

To do so, the research questions used to guide this study are:

1) To what extent is ethnic diversity incorporated into Roman display narratives in the selected museums and heritage sites, and why?
2) What is the public opinion and expectation of inclusive narratives of ethnic diversity at the selected museums and heritage sites?
3) How do insights from questions one and two relate to social, ethical, and political issues that inhibit, but also call for, institutions' transformation into inclusive spaces in the UK?

These research questions aim to reveal the core of the relationship between Britain's museological tradition, its desire to transcend into a decolonial and inclusive field, and the contemporary socio-political views of the public.

To better explore these issues, two datasets have been collected to provide perspectives on Roman display narratives, their inclusion of ethnic diversity, and wider issues that relate to museums and heritage sites. Dataset 1 comprises of 38 interviews and two further conversations with people that contribute to discourses facilitated through depictions of the Roman past. Five of these interviewees came from institutions outside the United Kingdom (three from the Netherlands and two from Belgium), to provide further European context in the examination of Britain's museum sector. In addition, Dataset 2 includes the results from 255 questionnaires completed by the public in museums where the interviews took place. This collection of data allowed comparisons between both datasets to highlight similarities and contentions between the curatorial team aims and their public's expectations. As such, this thesis centres on the

collection of two datasets that offer a range of unique and valuable observations on the state of modern museums, their roles in society, and expectations that both promote and curb the curation of inclusive narratives.

1.2 Context and justifications for this research

This research is firmly situated within the framework of museum and visitor studies that critically examine the issue of representation of ethnic minorities in institutions (e.g. Banks 2019, 2012; Sweet and Kelly 2018; Onciul 2017; Butler 2016; McLoughlin 2015; Simpson 2001).[1] To do so, this research acknowledges and uses perspectives that examine links between institutions, coloniality, and identity creation that indicate relations between power and knowledge (e.g. Apsel and Sodaro 2019; Erskine-Loftus et al 2019; Chambers et al. 2014; Thomas 2010; Bennett 2004, 1995; Hooper-Greenhill 1992; Foucault 1978, 1977). The research contributed by this field is further located in wider discussions and calls for institutions to embody inclusivity and the representation of demographics routinely left on the peripheries of society [e.g. disabled people (Sandell et al 2010), immigrants (Holtorf et al 2018; Labadi 2018; Whitehead et al 2015; Tolia-Kelly 2010), and individuals that identify as LGBTQ+ (Adair and Levin 2020)]. This thesis is, therefore, concerned with museal practices, their implication for the promotion of social good (Gonzales 2019: 1; Janes and Sandell 2019b: 1), and entwinements with social, ethical, and political issues outside of their institutional walls.

Although there have been many calls for institutions to transform into inclusive spaces, exemplified by the studies cited above, museums have, intentionally or not, been slow to react (Abungu 2019: 66). This has not, however, stemmed from a complete lack of attempts by staff at museum and heritage sites to curate inclusive display narratives. Many efforts and practical initiatives have previously been implemented and have successfully incorporated inclusive measures into curatorial processes. These attempts are discussed in chapter three, but so too is the impermanency of these actions and how it reflects the widespread stagnation of the sector in incorporating inclusivity into their processes.

---

[1] This thesis chooses to use the term ‘ethnic minorities’ to encapsulate other acronyms such as BME and BAME. Acronyms, although useful, have shortfalls when discussing identity. BME and BAME for example may imply that all included in these umbrella terms are a homogenous group, which they are not. Furthermore, the terms can be seen to single out specific ethnic groups whilst ignoring white minority ethnic groups. To avoid these pitfalls, ‘ethnic minorities’ has been used throughout the thesis to remain inclusive and depict ethnicity and ethnic groups as living entities rather than convenient labels. It is noted that the concept of which identities constitute ‘ethnic minorities’ changes dependent upon country; it is to be understood throughout this thesis that the term refers to those within British society specifically.

As such, many institutions are seen to embody coloniality (Quijano 2007: 169) and proceed to function within a neo-colonial framework (Oyedemi 2018: 3; Verdesio 2010: 350). The continuance of a norm that has failed to incorporate successful processes that have already demonstrated how inclusivity can be incorporated into museum narratives justifies the need for continued research into why institutions remain slow to change. Furthermore, the pertinence of this thesis is emphasised by contemporary events that highlight societal fractures. These include the empowerment of right-leaning governments, populism, and nationalism across the Western world that cultivate projects such as Brexit (Krzyżanowski 2019: 466; Gardner 2017: 4). In Britain, these events have contributed to the UK's complicated relationship with its past, where the glorification of its imperial achievements and ideals conflict with modern attempts to challenge and deconstruct colonialist hegemonies (Giblin et al 2019: 472).

The complexity of these opposing ideologies in the UK places the study of Roman display narratives as a vital lens through which to examine contemporary events and attitudes. As developed in chapter three, the Roman period became an ideological mirror for British imperialism to justify and inform colonial diplomacy (Hingley 2000: 38-60). Through a romanticised view, the period was used to inform ideas of Englishness (Gardner 2017: 7) and create an immemorial past to construct and project a shared ideology into the future. Such narratives were platformed through Roman displays which still exist today. Consequently, they can act as a focal point to examine imperial discourses, its contemporary resurgence, and the position of museums in the support, complicity with, or challenge of this trend.

The connection between Roman archaeology and colonial ideals has already been documented and encouraged the subject's gradual progression into a self-reflexive field (e.g. Mattingly 2013; Hingley 2000). Such literature, however, focuses on an introspective examination of the discipline and not its implications that reflect wider issues in contemporary society. Zena Kamash's study into the (lack of) diversity in Roman archaeology, its practice and academic field, however, is one of the first studies, to my knowledge, that tackles this omission (*forthcoming* 2021). Kamash's paper critically examines and highlights the academic field's identity as a predominantly homogenous cohort of European white men in a diverse, modern world (*forthcoming* 2021). Contemporary research within Roman archaeology has also begun to contextualise the discipline within modern political phenomena (e.g. Hanscam 2019; Bonacchi et al 2018; Gardner 2017; Gonzalez Sanchez 2016). This thesis, whilst situated predominantly in the field of museum studies, also situates itself in the field of Roman archaeology and engages it beyond the traditional reliance of introspective insights into its historiography.

Few studies have attempted to address the use of Roman archaeology in modern narratives that support imperial discourses in museological practice (e.g. Polm 2014; Netzer 2014; Grew 2001). These studies, although important and insightful, each focus on the depiction of Roman Britain in London museums. Further examination is, therefore, needed to focus on other areas of the UK to fully understand the nexus that surrounds Roman display narratives, archaeology, and colonialism. Divya Tolia-Kelly's research also looks at the relationships between these concepts (2011) and departs from the usual reliance on London-centric studies by incorporating Hadrian's Wall to this field's repertoire of case studies. Tolia-Kelly's paper furthermore advances an anti-racist practice within the depiction of Britain's Roman past and informs overall discussions and conclusions of this study.

1.3 Methodologies and theories used

The originality of this thesis is, in part, due to the range of perspectives gained in both datasets that are central to this thesis and it provides a variety of unique insights into Roman display curation and reception. Datasets 1 and 2 are both unique datasets gathered specifically for this research project. They are geared to answer this thesis' research questions and do so through engagement with a range of individuals from different backgrounds and experiences with museums and heritage sites. As such, Dataset 1 includes the thoughts of 40 museum and heritage site professionals from a range of job roles, while Dataset 2 encompasses the opinions and experiences of 255 members of the public. Furthermore, data for this research was gathered from 29 distinct institutions from three different countries: Britain, the Netherlands, and Belgium. The selection process and methods used to gain data is discussed further in chapter four.

Both datasets offer a large amount of data to examine relationships between institutions and the public from each perspective. This is specifically relevant in the field of museology where calls for museums to act as advocates of social justice have swiftly become engrained into research aims (Gonzales 2019: 1; Janes and Sandell 2019b: 1; Labadi 2018: 3; Nightingale and Sandell 2012: 1; Silverman 2010: 3). This thesis' ability to gain insights from the public, through Dataset 2, also presents a lens through which to examine the thoughts and experiences of a British society that is seen to convey limited respect and tolerance of ethnic minorities (Vertovec 2010: 169). As such, this research offers a timely study of Roman display narratives that provides a snapshot of relations between institutions and society within a time of change. Therefore, while this thesis' datasets are pertinent to the study of modern society, they also offer future researchers a reference point for comparative studies of society and the roles of museums within it.

This thesis' methodology also distances it from traditional studies of Roman archaeology and museology by its incorporation of the opinions of the staff at institutions and their public. As such, this research offers a multi-dimensional approach to the study of display narratives thanks to the incorporation of views from those who produce and receive them. As a result, the associated analysis and concluding remarks in this research can have real-world impacts on how Roman displays are curated, perceived, and used in contemporary society.

To deconstruct the data and reveal its complexity, the theory of narratology underpins this thesis. This is because of its ability to highlight different aspects of discourses present between narrators and readers (Bal 1991: 1; Todorov 1969: 10). Chapter two provides a comprehensive overview of narratology, its uses, and benefits for this study. Although Mieke Bal, an influential scholar in the field of narratology, outlined the theory's ability to analyse museum practice (1996: 153), its explicit use within museum studies has since been rare. Using this theory thus adds another layer of originality to this thesis, as its underutilised perspectives allow for intricate deconstructions of narrative creation and reception that bolster analysis on the original data gained from Datasets 1 and 2. Furthermore, the addition of focalisation as a key theoretical approach, that also stems from narratology, provides a comprehensive scope to critically examine ideological influences upon museal practices. Again, focalisation is not an explicitly used concept in museum studies, but many researchers have contributed to a contextualised view of how narratives are constructed and with what they are associated. Therefore, this thesis continues critical engagement with discourses found in museum exhibits and does so with an explicit reliance on narratology and focalisation as key concepts.

1.4 Definitions of ethnicity

The concept of ethnicity is integral to this thesis and acts as a pivotal feature that guides research and discussion into the broader topics connected with the research questions. The concept of ethnicity has been chosen thanks to its characteristic as a modern concept that is used to analyse ancient culture and identity with present-day implications (Lucy 2005: 87; Jones 1997: 1-2). Therefore, the inclusion of ethnicity in Roman displays acts as a bridge between ancient and modern societies to provide useful comparisons and relevancy. The foundations of this link are, however, fraught with contentions of how ethnic minorities, in general, are included and excluded in display narratives.

The inclusion of ethnicity and ethnic diversity in display narratives also provides a unique insight into how the Roman period is presently used to shape knowledge and identity in museums and their colonial frameworks. The discussion of ethnicity in Roman display narratives can act as a

conduit for the support of past imperial discourses of exclusion, or support ideas of inclusivity and the diversity of populations. Therefore, ethnicity, its use and inclusion, is perfectly situated to act as a key indication into how institutions engage with the longstanding calls for displays to become inclusive.

As such, it is essential to define this thesis' understanding of ethnicity. This is, however, not a clear-cut task due to the complexity of the concept (Revell 2016: 25; Eckardt 2014: 6-7; Gardner et al 2013: 2; Brubaker 2009: 205; Lucy 2005: 87; Bhopal 2004: 442). This difficulty means that this thesis's definition of ethnicity, albeit based on a range of past studies, may not necessarily correlate with other's comprehension, and use of the concept. This only heightens the need, however, to define the concept that has been used to guide the creation of questions within the interviews, questionnaires, and analysis for this research.

To be as inclusive as possible with its definition of ethnicity, this thesis has made a concerted effort to distance itself from the narrow definition of ethnicity usually articulated by the UK government. Their definition restricts the concept to the confines of a person's origin of birth, hereditary background, and skin colour (e.g. see the *Ethnicity and National Identity in England and Wales: 2011* report [2012]). This definition can be seen to create synonymous links between *ethnicity* and *race* through its restrictive view of biological determinism rather than cultural autonomy. Consequently, participants that are provided with these choices to define their ethnic identities do not possess total freedom over their self-defined selves due to constrained criteria (Song 2003: 6-9). This is an issue presumably acknowledged by the designers of such dropdown menus through the offer of 'other' as an option to choose, which subsequently groups a complex range of individuals into a singular homogenous, albeit vague, group. The complexity of ethnicity is, therefore, lost within the UK government's definition, subcategories, and uses of the concept.

This thesis recognises ethnicity's complex overlap with other aspects of identity (Eckardt 2014: 6-7; Brubaker 2009: 205). As such, the definition used throughout this thesis sets out to encompass a subjective construction of ancestry, race, daily practices, beliefs, languages, and interactions with other people with common cultures, diets and uses of material culture (Schortman 2017: 267; Revell 2016: 20; Eckardt 2014: 26; Lomas 2013: 71; Fenton 2010: 12-23; Chandra 2006: 4; Amanolahi 2005: 38; Goldstein 2005: 30, 23; Bhopal 2004: 441; Roymans 2004: 2; Jones 1997: 13-14, 128). The subjectivity that is expressed by all these variables is also reflected in the view that an individual's ethnic identity is part of a consciously, ongoing reflexive process and is, therefore, in constant flux (Stovel 2013: 4; Tolia-Kelly 2010: 143; Roymans 2004: 2; Jenkins 1997: 40; Jones 1997: 13-14).

It is also important to note that, besides the objectivity inherent in ethnic identity, experiences of discrimination, stereotyping, and structural injustices play a role in what one can identify with, particularly for marginalised ethnic identities. This is relevant as life experiences, shared between individuals, are key to the development of ethnicity and membership of ethnic groups (Umaña-Taylor et al. 2006: 390; Phinney 1996). As such, a white European is not able to identify as a black African for example, as this extremely problematic scenario ignores the lived experiences of individuals from marginalised groups. Issues that relate to this were highlighted by the controversy that surrounded the paper *In Defense of Transracialism* by Rebecca Tuvel in 2017.

Tuvel's paper compared the experiences and rights of transwomen, specifically Caitlyn Jenner, to Rachel Dolezal, a now high-profile white woman who identifies as black (Tuvel 2017). The paper received widespread criticism with claims that it was void of black experience, offensive to transgender women, and written from a position of white ignorance. The article was later taken down, with apologies provided by the *Hypatia* journal followed by resignations from individuals in its editorial staff. As such, this episode demonstrated the intricacies between self-identification and the social perception of different demographics. It also highlights ways in which membership of a racial and/or ethnic groups necessitates the experience of being an individual from that associated marginalised group.

As a result, ethnicity is defined throughout this thesis as,

> A situational amalgamation of an individual's identification with others, based on aspects of daily life activities and/or identity traits, such as mundane practices, belief systems, personal history, and descent. This also extends to shared experiences of discrimination, stereotyping, and structural injustices faced by others that identify as the same ethnicity.

This definition is broad enough to cover different qualities attributed to ethnicity but also precise enough to provide a discernible, albeit malleable, outline of the concept. The given description also stresses the situational aspect of ethnicity and avoids the restriction of freedoms characterised by governmental categories. As this thesis engages with ideas of representation and inclusivity, it was paramount to allow the inherent ethics involved to inform language used throughout the research to express similar values.

Furthermore, throughout the thesis ethnicity is accompanied by the term ethnic identity. This concept is not meant as a different construct but relates to the self-defined characteristics of an individual's identity through their subjective conception of ethnicity. Furthermore, the term ethnic group is used to illustrate individuals that share one or more aspects of their ethnic identity.

1.5 Thesis structure

The first half of this thesis contextualises the issues that are tackled throughout and is dedicated to the theories, methodologies, and hypotheses that underpin research. Chapter two specifically engages with the theoretical approaches that have been used to analyse and situate this thesis within wider research fields. Consequently, narratology and the concept of focalisation and their application throughout this study are discussed. This chapter also includes a section that details postcolonial, anti-colonial, and anti-racist theories that contextualise perspectives used to guide analysis and discussion.

Chapter three then includes a comprehensive overview of the roles that museums have possessed within society. This critical examination originates with the foundational uses of museums to construct and embody national narratives. It then follows a chronological timeline to highlight important events and thoughts that have influenced museal practice and examination of it to the present day. The overtly political nature of certain parts of chapter three, and emphasis on museums as tools to define the nation, foreshadows the reliance on this contextualisation in the later overall discussions.

Chapter four then introduces the methodological approaches used to collect Datasets 1 and 2. This is developed across two sections that separately explain the use of interviews and questionnaires in this research. As both methodologies utilised a different set of questions, the intention behind both is discussed. As such, chapter four provides transparency in how data was gained, and objectives inherent in this process. To clarify the aims and perspectives used to collect and navigate data, chapter four begins with a section on self-reflexivity that remains important for all works on identity and representation.

After the theoretical and methodological approaches have been detailed, chapter five is the first to introduce Dataset 1, its results, and key points. To do so, it initially depicts responses to whether interviewees believe their associated Roman display narratives express ethnic diversity. Two case studies based on interviews at the Yorkshire Museum and Bath's Roman Baths are developed in this section due to the indications that they explicitly include ethnicity in their narratives. The chapter goes on to use narratology to critically engage with how, and whether, these displays do express inclusive discourses. The next sections discuss other replies from interviewees that state how ethnic diversity is only implicitly included in their displays or not at all.

Chapter six initially expresses the different obstacles claimed to inhibit or influence curatorial processes throughout interviews with those involved in Roman display curation and reception.

This is then followed by further engagement with ideological influences that enforce such restrictions on museums that have hindered their development towards inclusivity. Consequently, the initial half of chapter six discusses examples, provided by interviewees, that depict how, where, and why governments and local councils influence institutional output. This section is then followed by a discussion of how current ideologically informed ways to govern such as neoliberalism, populism, and nationalism have impacted museal processes. The widespread reliance on Britain's national curricula in museum education is then examined as it is identified as a fundamental conduit for how contemporary top-down ideologies enter display spaces.

Chapter seven then moves onto Dataset 2. The demographics of questionnaire participants are discussed first and portray a predominantly homogenous audience. This is then followed by the discussion of results culminated from the replies given by the public on four distinct areas: inclusive roles institutions are expected to fulfil; public interest in the topics of ethnicity and identity; how the Roman period should be depicted; and individual relations with display narratives.

Chapter eight is then the first of two phases of discussion that unite both datasets together to address research questions. Chapter eight concerns for whom Roman displays are currently curated. This topic merges views from heritage staff and the public to depict how exhibits are still curated for a targeted audience that consists of majority ethnic groups in Britain. Chapter nine engages with the relationships between institutions, the public, and different levels of social and political engagement. After the realisation that Roman display narratives persist in engaging with a homogenous audience, their apparent unwillingness to engage with inclusivity is discussed. This engages with museums as ideological informed constructs and examines how their colonial foundations and identities may imply that they are not able to become inclusive entities. Conversation subsequently turns to how museal discourses struggle to adapt in the face of the UK's complex and often conflicting relationship with its imperial past and Roman period that regularly supports exclusive narratives.

The thesis concludes with a final chapter that outlines the key findings of this research and discusses their wider implications for future practice and research. Discussion links how institutions are faced with the need to revolutionise their approach to curation to modernise, but resistant to make these changes in response to their core identities. This is also made difficult through a need to be relevant for a society that increasingly embraces polarisation in its political views. Although momentum towards the implementation of inclusive narratives is demonstrated throughout this thesis, the final section is cautionary. As such, the thesis concludes on a note that

an emphasis must be continually placed on better representational displays in the museum. This is positioned as a perceived necessity to resist a fallback on traditional narratives to stabilise what has become an increasingly unstable sector.

Chapter 2: Theoretical Approaches

This chapter focuses on the theory of narratology, and subsequently focalisation, that has been used throughout this work to examine the research questions set out in the previous chapter. As narratology is an assemblage of theories that examine 'cultural artefacts that "tell a story"' (Bal 2009: 3), this chapter acts to clearly define the specific taxonomies used to examine relationships between ideologically informed museums and calls for the representation, or better representation, of minority ethnic groups. As such, the theory of narratology and its grounding in French literary structuralism contextualises Gerrard Genette's narratological taxonomy ([1972] 1980) that is relied upon throughout this thesis to focus how narratives are deconstructed. This then leads to the discussion of focalisation, as used in Mieke Bal's narratological studies, that provides the ability to examine ideological influences that affect the construction and interpretation of different discourses (1991: 46). The transmedial properties of the theory are then discussed to contextualise its ability to analyse messages expressed by museums. As this thesis is situated within postcolonial theory and anti-racism, the final section of this chapter elaborates on how concepts shared by this perspective also help situate and guide the aims and ethics of discussions.

2.1 Narratology

Narratology is derived from studies that aimed to understand the logical and structural properties of narrative as modes of discourse (Bal 1991: 1; Todorov 1969: 10).[2] The Saussurean tradition of narrative study significantly influenced, and informed, early studies of structural linguistics seen in the 1966 edition of *Communications*. This academic tradition stems from Saussure's *Course in General Linguistics* (1916 [1974]), that indicates how communication occurs through a series of signifiers. This process occurs through written and visual indicators, which then become 'signs' that are substitutes for 'something else' (Eco 1979: 7) that depict aspects of reality or imagination.

Saussure's contribution to linguistic theory represents the acknowledgement that language is part of an intricate social network. As such, the mind, as a 'reservoir of cultural experiences' (Kim 1996: 11), is used to unlock societal systems of what a particular sign relates to. This encapsulates

[2] Also see studies in the 1966 special edition of *Communications* titled *L'analyse Structurale du Récit* by prominent scholars of French structuralism such as Barthes, Eco, Genette, Greimas, Todorov, and Metz.

the requirement of an individual to be included, in some way, in a societal network that shares common links between signs and the signified to obtain the ability to understand connections between sounds, texts, and realities. As such, Saussure's theory of signs and signifiers relies on the temporality of widely held structures of language manufactured and sustained by the society it adheres to (Stawarska 2015: 23, 24).

Consequently, through signifiers and the signified, language's function 'is to stabilize the process of consciousness in such a way that what is internal acquire an external existence by being linked to symbols' (Bal 1991: 37). As such, what is deemed reality and truth is connected to what symbolic systems an individual relates to. Michel Foucault focused on this relationship but moved away from the study of how relations between signs and signifiers determine a meaning. Instead, Foucault engaged with how this connection resembled power relations (1980: 114-115). As such, Foucault studied the creation of knowledge rather than meaning and discourse in place of language (Hall 1997b: 42-43).

Subsequently, Foucault recognised relationships between knowledge and power within these societal networks used to govern and understand language, signs, and signifiers. As a result, discourse encompasses the production of knowledge through language that is governed by existent power relations while also supported by them (Hall 1997b: 44; Foucault 1977a: 27). As such, Foucault argued that society possesses types of discourses that it accepts, implements, and, consequently, makes function as true in what was coined regimes of truth (1980: 131). Through these processes where power dictates knowledge, it also imposes what is represented as meaningful or true to society, its psyche, and informed worldviews. This is a fundamental concept to this thesis as it looks at how the past is formulated and represented as fact through museal discourse.

Many theorists built upon Saussure's earlier discussions of signifiers and the signified to examine different discourse phenomena that reveal a complex range of relationships between language, knowledge, and power. Roland Barthes, for example, discusses the construction and characteristics of myths that resemble ideological foundations of societal beliefs (1957). In this process, discourse is described as both empty and full (Barthes 1957: 142) as it holds significance without evidence. Similar to Foucault's regime of truth (1980: 131), myths are reliant on a top-down approach to power where meaning is woven into discourse irrelevant of historical justification or reality (Barthes 1957: 142). As such, power over symbols and their meaning allows society to determine reality without reliance on real-world experiences. This is achieved through the ability to dissociate meaning from reality and instead rely on metaphysical feelings that implement eternal justification between specific signs and the signified (Barthes 1957: 143).

Similarly, objects, their typology and descriptions in museum exhibits act as signifiers for events and narratives of past daily life. The discourse that surrounds communication between signifier and visitor in museums closely relates to the discussions of representation and meaning. Certain histories can hold more significance through display narratives, for example, thanks to their inclusion or exclusion from meaningful discourse. This process is further impacted by wider regimes of power that informs the interpreter of who should dispense knowledge and how this phenomenon is enacted. This perspective, therefore, illustrates the central role that discourse study has within this research as it can emphasise the communicative function of display narratives for selected audiences.

This study relies upon Gérard Genette's taxonomy of narratological study to guide the analysis of discourse presented by permanent Roman display narratives. Other key theorists will also be used throughout to contextualise and better-nuance discussion in order to direct it towards representation such as Foucault and Barthes. Genette's taxonomy remains key, however, as it best represents a type of guide that allows for critical engagement with narratives found in museums. Within his taxonomy, Genette's theoretical underpinning of narrative study was based on five concepts: order, frequency, duration, voice, and mood (1972: 31). Order, frequency, and duration regard the temporal dynamics of narratives (Liveley 2019: 196; Genette 1972: 31) and are usually grouped under umbrella terms that signify their contribution to the construction of narratives. Table 1 depicts the definitions of these key terms, alongside their application in museum studies.

Furthermore, the other aspects of mood and voice regard the regulation and manner of discourse respectively (Liveley 2019: 196). Voice is here used to define the type and style of narration and how involved a narrator is in their storytelling (Pavel 2004: 37). For example, voice depends on the tenses used and the narrator-character relationship in a story. This may be defined using first or third person perspectives, narration through outside narrators, or the use of protagonists and observers within a story (Akimoto 2019: 344; Pavel 2004: 37; Genette 1972: 31). In Roman displays, for example, narratives are spoken through a complex web of voices that range from ancient protagonists, the objects themselves, curators, visitor comments, and specialists in relevant fields. This aspect causally relates to *whose* voice is heard in display spaces, and how often, or not, it includes individuals from minority ethnic backgrounds.

Aspects that regard the temporal dynamics of narratives	Definition	Application for this study
Order	Relates to the order of events in a story and how they are arranged in a recounted discourse (i.e. chronological or anachronism) (Akimoto 2019: 344; Pavel 2004: 37; Henderson 1983: 5; Genette 1972: 35).	The order acknowledges the arrangement of objects, histories, and themes in displays. For example, is an exhibit arranged in typological, chronological, or thematic order?
Frequency	Relates to the frequency between the occurrences of events in a story and recounted number of times in a discourse (Akimoto 2019: 344; Pavel 2004 37).	This examines what has been discussed in a display, and how consistently it is recounted. For example, how often might a Roman exhibit visually depict the Roman period as diverse through images, text, and other forms of media?
Duration	Represents the time covered by narratives and variations in space accorded to them (Pavel 2004: 37; Henderson 1983: 8).	Duration represents different periods included in a display/museum with the amount of time spent on certain periods. For example, in a display that discusses the history of Britain, how much space is spent on the Roman period?

Table 1: Genette's aspects of narratives and their relation to the temporal dynamics of discourse

Finally, mood, or mode, is used to examine techniques that filter the expression of stories through distance and perspective (Pavel 2004: 37-38). The aspect of distance relates to how a story, for example, daily life in the Roman period is approached. Is it showing what life was like, or is it telling us? Furthermore, what is the distinction between the story of events and story of narration; are they the same, or distinct entities? The Roman period, for instance, can be distanced to depict a descriptive or analytical view of an ancient period. Conversely, a display could entwine themes with modern concepts to show relevant connections, similarities, and closeness between the periods such as long histories of culturally diverse communities. Each aspect of narratology as defined by Genette is, therefore, important to observe different aspects of narrative discourses and acts as a guide to examine and deconstruct its structure and interpretation.

2.1.1 Focalisation

It is vital to critically engage with influences that impact curation and display reception. Consequently, perspectives used within the creation and reception of discourses, which builds upon Genette's narratological taxonomy of *distance*, is perhaps the most crucial throughout this thesis. This is thanks to its emphasis on viewpoints involved in the formulation and representation of content (Pavel 2004: 37-38; Henderson 1983: 5).

Genette used the concept of focalisation in his work to examine the amount and type of information given to a reader to then decipher meaning from signs, signifiers and their relation to what is signified (1983: 73). This thesis borrows from Mieke Bal's use of focalisation, however, as she has also used it within a study of museums, through her work on the theory of *point of view* (Culler 1980: 10). The concept extends from Roland Barthes' argument that texts refer to cultural codes of knowledge to provide their work with meaning (1974: 98). To realise what is being referred to in the text or another medium requires the narrator and interpreter to comprehend similar worldviews that make connections between text and reality. Both parties rely on their ideologies to curate and interpret texts, and those with similar philosophies will find that their interpretations correspond (Bal 1991: 46). These representations are integral to the act of interpretation as they represent a vital tool to categorise and understand messages from many media and interactions.

As such, ideologies position themselves within the mental gap between source and interpretation. As visitors bring their own experiences into museum displays (Falks and Dierking 2013: 7), those that do not relate to mainstreamed ideologies will not interpret displays as they were perhaps intended. The super-diverse populations that currently make up modern society (Vertovec 2007: 1049), therefore, points to an issue with this process that predominantly relies on culturally specific learnt processes. Subsequently, museums that only relate to dominant world ideologies because of their curatorial teams or targeted audiences, will alienate those that do not associate with these worldviews.

As such, I will use the ideas expressed by theorists in their work on narrative discourse to inform this thesis. Ideology will be shown to have underpinned and formed the foundational and present purpose of museums in chapter three. These connections will be further examined throughout the thesis alongside the collection of both datasets that depict how displays are curated, received, and represent diverse audiences. Also, the notion that Roman displays are part of these ideological institutions is central to this thesis and builds upon similar influences on relationships with the period in academia and society. It is this range of worldviews that enter an institution's doors and needs to be recognised and acted upon to enact inclusivity. Past attempts have

demonstrated that this can be successfully implemented in display narratives, and this thesis intends to use focalisation to analyse why these attempts regularly remain side-lined, rather than incorporated into core curatorial practice.

2.2 The use of transmedial narratology in museum studies

Thanks to narratology's ability to differentiate constructs within discourse phenomena, the application of the theory evolved beyond the study of literature (Ryan and van Alphen 1993: 112-112). As such, the theory's proficiency in the examination of narratives that pervade all human activity was acted upon and realised (Goswami 2018: 4; Wolf 2004: 81; Fludernik 1996; Toolan 1988: xiii). Consequently, narratology became relevant for studies that examined intertextuality, intermediality, and intra-textual phenomena of polyvocality (Wolf 2011: 146). This intermedial application of narratology is of importance for the study of museum narratives as exemplified by its use throughout this thesis as demonstrated in Table 1.

Werner Wolf's definition of mediums within the context of transmedial narratology frames how transmedial approaches can identify the multiple modes of communication that occur through depictions of the past. Wolf describes mediums as,

> a conventionally and culturally distinct means of communication; it is specified not only by technical or institutional channels (or one channel) but also and primarily by its use of one or more semiotic systems to transmit its contents, in particular within the public sphere; according to the nature and format of their constituents, different media have different capabilities for transmitting as well as shaping narratives
>
> (Wolf 2011: 166)

Wolf's definition is further understood through Marie-Laure Ryan's definition that a medium in transmedial discourse become 'a type of material support […] that truly makes a difference as to what kind of narrative content can be evoked […] how these contents are presented […] and how they are experienced' (2005: 290). Both definitions provide means to situate communication between exhibits and visitors within a transmedial parameter. As such, displays narrativise (Wolf 2004: 85) Roman histories and heritages through texts, objects, spoken word, and visual aids for their recipients.

As a result, the study of narratives in museums has become commonplace, but not in a manner that strictly follows a taxonomy such as that developed by Genette. This is evidenced through common aims to understand the intricacies behind discourses emitted by institutions, which has

many links to the aims of narratology (e.g. Janes and Sandell 2019a; Thomas 2010; Hooper-Greenhill 1994; 1992; Bennett 1995). There have, however, been few studies that have followed such a taxonomy in a strict manner that have examined various objects routinely used to narrativise the past; for example, sculptures (Wolf 2011: 147-155), art (Voillous 2007; Wolf 2004: 92-103), and audio-visual aids such as film (Chatman 1980). Although examples of this type of research are limited, they evidence the range of communicative methods and technology increasingly used in exhibitions that can be deconstructed by narratology's literary taxonomy (Ahmad et al. 2014: 255).

Furthermore, studies that situate museums within discussions of education (e.g. Ng, Ware, and Greenburg 2017; Ulvay and Ozkul 2017; Hooper-Greenhill 1994a; 1992), colonialism (e.g. Vawda 2019; Gordon-Walker 2019; Oyedemi 2018), and power relations (e.g. Abungu 2019; Verdesio 2010; Bennett 1995; 1988), replicate the use of focalisation within narrative studies. This process is made explicit in this thesis through the indication that focalisation holds a significant role throughout the analysis of ethnic diversity's inclusion in Roman displays. To do so, publications that focus on the socio-political contextualization of Roman archaeology (e.g. Mattingly 2013; Hingley 2000) have been used in this thesis to attain a better comprehension of related discourses and their impact.

Besides, one of archaeology's primary objectives, to understand historical events through the medium of excavated remains, landscapes, and collections is itself an interpretational practice. This reflects the multiple layers of analysis that occurs between signifiers and signs involved in archaeological study, which are then narrativised in display spaces. For example, many objects routinely discussed in exhibitions are the focus of archaeological inquiry which simultaneously attempts to unravel their primary contexts and are then interpreted again by the public. Examples of these processes include the display of the Ivory Bangle Lady in the Yorkshire Museum (Leach et al. 2010; 2009), gold hoards housed within the Gallo-Romeins Museum, Tongeren (Roymans, Creemers, and Scheers 2012), and the Roman and late antique Egyptian artefacts housed in the Petrie Museum of Egyptian Archaeology, London (Swift, Pudsey, and Stoner *forthcoming*). Each of these studies adds layers of complexity to the wider contextualization of discourses expressed through display narratives and asks the question of whose voices are included and influence museal output.

Narratology's recognition of the complex strata of influence, narrative creation, and associated media, therefore, reveals its ability to unravel the intricacies of how, what, and who transmits messages within institutions. This complexity can be viewed in the different layers of communication present in museums. For example, Bal indicates that museums are, themselves,

discourses whilst exhibits are further utterances in these conversations (1996: 153). Although this statement may underplay the power singular exhibitions can possess, it highlights their perceived part of a whole.

This discourse is curated through what Genette and Bal previously describe as the ‘voice’ within an exhibition and relates to who the narrator is, and from where. In depictions of history the question of ‘from where?’, also translates to ‘through what mediums?’. As Bal experienced in a Czech museum where she did not understand the language used, objects and text do not necessarily transmit identical messages (1996: 148-149). Objects alone can be interpreted alongside their ordered position in exhibitions, but their further contextualisation is created through associated description panels. Information boards, for example, can completely alter one’s understanding of a narrative’s *order* (Table 1) and message. This represents the idea that museums are a complex medium, in and of themselves, due to their role as storytellers, myth makers, and imitators of reality (Silverstone 1989: 143). Furthermore, due to their privileged position in society (Janes 2016: 170), focalisation becomes a critical concept within the study of their purpose for, reception by, and influence on society.

Focalisation within the transmedial approach to narratology also becomes an important concept to examine the reciprocal cycle of narratives that support societal ideologies seen in museums. Different cultures develop various concepts of self-description, self-reflection, and symbolic patterns (Müller-Funk 2003: 209), that are all prevalent within institutional narratives. In accordance with this, most museums, heritage sites, and monuments around the world are employed to construct the nation (Labadi 2013: 60-61; Aldrich 2010: 14). The majority of regional and local museums also partake in this process in their definition of a people, area, culture, or heritage. These processes of defining people and culture are also the same at universal museums such as the British Museum, UK, and the Louvre, France, in Europe, as they are in national museums outside of European borders such as the National Museum Tajikistan (Blakkisurd and Kuziev 2019: 998). The prevalence of public display spaces used to define people and culture stems from their foundational uses as expressions of identity by colonial nation-states, as discussed in chapter three. Importantly, the definition of particular cultures is routinely conducted to define a national cohort to determine ‘us’ in opposition to others (Labadi 2013: 68). As will be discussed in the next chapter, there was little challenge to this exclusionary process before the 1970s and this has established a core identity of museums as exclusionary entities. Presently, however, their historic role in the definition of cultures also places institutions in a position to challenge these outmoded and unethical narratives that they helped give credence to.

This ability has been recognised by many and encouraged movements that advocated for institutions to become inclusive spaces, as evidenced by the then-revolutionary introduction of the *New Museology* (Vergo 1989). Discussed further in the next chapter, the new museology broadly highlighted the need for museums to become inclusive institutions that were relevant, reflexive, and accountable (Vergo 1989). Considering this, and the examination of its continuing process, narratology can act as a critical tool to measure success. This application has been emphasised by Mieke Bal who suggested a three-point check to aid in the creation of a critical narratological study of institutions (1996: 153). These are:

1) To analyse systematically the narrative-rhetorical structure of museums
2) Study connections between museal discourse and the foundational histories of institutions
3) To incorporate self-reflexivity to create self-critical analysis

Though Bal uses these three points to create an analysis of how new museological approaches were sustained, they also, importantly, resemble a process to conduct reflexive critical analysis. Bal's three points have, therefore, been incorporated into this thesis through various means. Firstly, the methodologies used have been designed to gather data that allows the examination of narratives within institutions. Interviews with professionals provide insight into the creation and aims of curated discourses, whilst questionnaires with the public record their reception. Secondly, the foundational roles of museums, alongside their current uses in contemporary society is an important perspective used to contextualise Roman displays in modern institutions. This is used as a tool of contextualisation and comparison. Finally, the struggle for a self-reflexive approach to research has been a constant feature that has been supported by academic fields with which this research interacts, as evidenced by the next section.

2.3 Critical perspectives

This thesis grounds itself within schools of thought that advance a sustained requirement for better representation of ethnic diversity in museal discourse. As such, this research engages with fields of study that resonate with postcolonial, decolonial, anticolonial, and antiracist theoretical and methodological approaches. This study does not singularly associate with one of these concepts but instead engages with them all at various points throughout the thesis. This is done through a series of engagements with academic traditions, curation processes, and public discussions that engage with the representation of minority ethnic groups through divergent approaches that can also be aligned.

Foundational ideas that are embraced by this thesis were introduced by postcolonial theorists who focused on colonial representations, exclusive discourses, and their effects on society and minority ethnic groups (e.g. Bhabha 1994; Spivak 1988; Said 1978 [2003]). Specifically, early postcolonial theorists concentrated on the concepts of colonial legacy, westernised hegemonies, race, and representation through literary studies (Kapoor 2002: 650). Akin to the use of narratology, postcolonialist theory took shape within literary critique but quickly evolved as a key concept for many different applications and mediums. Its continued importance and relevance in modern research (e.g. Bhagat-Kennedy 2018: 336; Painter 2015: 366; Go 2013: 29; Kapoor 2002: 647-648) is testament to its adaptability, relevance, and reflective quality upon society.

Furthermore, arguments made by foundational postcolonial theorists are still pertinent today. Homi Bhabha, for example, emphasised how works within the ideological framework of postcoloniality bear witness to contemporary world orders that depict contests for social, cultural, and political authority (1994: 25, 248). As evidenced by the continued calls for museums to be representative, Bhabha's critical perspectives are still prominent throughout contemporary discourse. The need for the persistent inclusion of foundational theorists and their ideas throughout this thesis is not, therefore, a *sine qua non* of academia where theoretical ideas are traced back to their foundation. The use of these authors is needed as their work is still applicable to modern museology and highlights the lack of fundamental change that has occurred in the field. This is emphasised by the still pertinent work of Edward Said, for example, who focused on representations of the cultural East through novels, anthropological works, and travel writings. Although Said's standout work *Orientalism* (1978) was published over 40 years ago, its argument that showcases the West's will to control, manipulate, and incorporate minority ethnic groups into their worldview is directly applicable to power relations present in modern-day institutions (Abungu 2019: 66; Oyedemi 2018: 3; Verdesio 2010: 350). As Aníbal Quijano identified, coloniality is still present amongst the hegemonic systems that the West is complicity engaged with (2007: 169).

As postcolonial ideas centres on all kinds of discourses that relay messages about the world, it has an important role in the critical examination of museums that reflect reality (Silverstone 1989: 143). Edward Said recognised this relationship and included museums within his scope of structures that reinforce systems of othering through their narration and categorisation of history and humanity (1978: 7). As such, it has long been identified that museums are key to the support of outmoded hegemonies as they reinforce colonial stereotypes of the savage, mystical, and primitive (Bhabha 1994: 82).

In acknowledgement of this, attempts have been, and continue to be, made by institutions to engage with anti-colonial discourse and processes. As will be indicated in chapter three, however, these efforts remain on the periphery of museal practice. Due to this characteristic, racialized communities in contemporary society often remain alienated within display spaces that support colonial and exclusive narratives (Tolia-Kelly 2016: 901). To challenge traditional museal discourses of Empire, Europeanness, whiteness, and modern-day implications, contemporary narratives need to actively challenge these norms (Tolia-Kelly 2011: 71). As such, anti-racism and anti-colonialism are two further perspectives this thesis engages with throughout. Although they are relatively modern offshoots of emancipatory discourse alongside anti-sexism and gay rights, their historical and social context resides in historical cases of oppression (Bonnett 2000: 10). As this thesis examines why change has not yet occurred to facilitate an inclusive shift across the museum sector in the UK, it aligns with anti-racist practices that oppose exclusive worldviews.

Furthermore, as much as antiracist arguments critically oppose racism as a societal structure, anticolonialism similarly opposes these, and other, discourses that still exist throughout society. As discussed by Priyamvada Gopal (2019: 19), Leela Gandhi's reflection on British anticolonialism in the 19th century sees anti-colonialists as radicals that refused 'the exclusionary structures of instrumental binary reason' (2006: 61). As argued by George J. Sefa Dei, there is a continued need for this oppositional approach as colonialism still exists and asserts imperial relations in various forms throughout society (2006: 1). As such, antiracist and anticolonialist perspectives, although similar to postcolonial theories, go beyond a critical perspective on discourse and emphasise an active engagement to oppose exclusive practices.

As successful attempts to curate inclusive spaces remain on the periphery of curatorial processes, these critical gazes inform a situation where institutions still envisage unwelcome spaces for racialised and minority ethnic groups (Minott 2019: 563). Throughout Europe in particular, this characteristic is linked to museal discourses that imitate outmoded racial hegemonies that induce anxiety in those it excludes or misrepresents (Minott 2019: 563; Dixon 2016: 68-69). Despite initiatives that improve inclusivity in museums as promoted by the New Museology movement over 30 years ago (1987), the peripheral location of these attempts informs a view that many institutions feign colonial amnesia (Abungu 2019: 66). This is of course unfair on the institutions that do curate spaces informed by inclusive ethics such as the International Slavery Museum in Liverpool. The mistrust instilled in individuals and their relationship with museums and heritage sites, however, filters out to reflect the heritage sector that, as a whole, struggles to implement momentary successes into its permanent processes. Instead of action, these institutions are seen to rely on time to heal past injustices without the implementation of a

dedicated move to actively become anticolonial and antiracist. This is developed further with key examples in chapter three.

In recent years, some museums have begun to openly align themselves with a decolonial approach to curation. A decolonial approach differs from that of postcolonialism as it does not centre specifically on deconstructive approaches and dialectic perspectives seen in postcolonial theories (Petersen 2014: 129). Instead, decolonial theory is implemented from the perspective of non-Western cultures and focuses on a dualism where the colonial West imposes its imperial reason upon the rest of the world (Mignolo and Tlostanova 2012: 7). As Anne Ring Peterson explains (2014: 129), Mignolo and Tlostanova state that decolonial approaches are structured 'with their "back" toward the West' (2012:12), however, fundamental objectives and characteristics of each approach are similar. While this thesis agrees that there are substantial similarities between the fundamental principles of both theoretical perspectives, the differences contribute to the range of voices and processes needed to challenge the UK's museum sector.

Decolonial theories and practices are, therefore, fundamental throughout this thesis. This is thanks to its aim to examine the roles imperialism and colonisation still play in the core functions of museums from a position that sets out to oppose it from a perspective detached from Western thought (Mignolo and Tlostanova 2012: 12). To engage fully with this concept, all aspects that are inherent within institutions are questioned, from the conception of exhibits to the demographics of their staff and visitorship (Minott 2019: 560). As processes are scrutinised through this critical lens and positive changes, the epistemological structures that inform representational strategies are challenged and their reality significantly disputed (Tolia-Kelly and Raymond 2020: 12). As such, the heart of decolonial theory's use in museum studies is its ability to engage, inform, situate, and re-situate practices to urge engagement with inclusive ethics.

Although decolonisation has very insightful, reflective, and critical characteristics, its implementation has not brought about authentic and widespread change to Britain's museum sector. This is discussed in greater detail in chapter three and reflects on the practices that have generally remained complicit in the support of an exclusive norm. As identified by Annie Coombes, anti-racist and anti-colonial perspectives need to be reinforced and sustained within museum practice to establish an authentic permanent change (1988: 57). Notions from different fields of postcolonial theory need to be engaged collectively to nurture transformation. Each critical perspective mentioned in this section contributes to specific aspects that are individually vital to the deconstruction of exclusive narratives that still pervade the museum sector. Whilst this thesis does not specifically align with one of these concepts in isolation, it attempts to

engage with key aspects of them all to ensure perspectives and arguments are geared towards permanent and actively inclusive shifts in the museum processes and their study.

2.4 Conclusion

This chapter has identified key theories and perspectives that are used throughout this thesis to focus on why UK museums are still to authentically embrace the representation of minority ethnic groups. The transmedial quality of narratology provides scope to deconstruct the different media that embody discourses between exhibition and visitors and guides examination of individual exhibitions. Furthermore, Genette's taxonomy provides this thesis with the key aspects of order, frequency, duration, mood, and voice to identify how exhibits include or exclude specific topics from their communicative media.

The use of focalisation is also crucial in how this research examines the representation of ethnic minority groups in display narratives. Importantly, the theory acts as a methodological tool to guide analysis and direct inquiry into perspectives that encompass and impact curatorial processes. Perspectives gained through alignment with antiracist, anticolonial, decolonial, and postcolonial theories also act to position research within this process. Moreover, focalisation affords a spotlight on ways in which the past is conventionally curated and then received by an expectant majority-white audience. Through this approach, analysis is sought to identify how, why, and if ethnic diversity is incorporated into Roman display narratives. It also seeks to examine public opinion on these topics and the ethical, social, and political influences that affect the museum and heritage sector.

Chapter 3: Roles of Museums

In line with the theory of narratology and the concept of focalisation, this chapter contextualises how museums are ideologically informed constructs. This chapter demonstrates, chronologically, how British museums remain linked to their imperial foundational use to define a nation, whilst some simultaneously attempt to distance themselves from these outdated core functions. First discussed is the founding roles of museums that saw them engage with an elite-led civilising project. The didactic, authoritative, and educative personae of early museums are then linked to their integral part in the definition of nations and cultures – an operation that is inherently exclusive and defines key processes still present in museal practices. The first half of this chapter then culminates in a section that illustrates the portrayal of the Roman period within the colonial frameworks that has shaped curatorial processes. As such, both museums and their Roman displays are shown to have originated from imperial uses and this remains influential on how their core purpose statement hinders their use as inclusive spaces.

Colonial practices discussed in earlier sections of this chapter are then shown to have remained within museal practice in present-day processes. This approach has remained constant through the complicity of museums and their staff in coloniality, where imperial hegemonies continue to inform how depictions of the past and populations are represented. The remainder of the chapter emphasises this process in modern-day curation processes and uses the introduction of post-WWII multiculturalism observed in Britain as its start. What then follows is a critical view of the response of UK museums to calls for more ethical representation of minority ethnic groups through multiculturalist ideologies and the—then-revolutionary—new museology movement in the 1990s. This chronological approach continues to the discussion of present-day decolonisation, anti-racist, and anti-colonial actions implemented by museums, but also counterbalances these alongside contemporary resistances to change from oppositional ideologies. Subsequently, this chapter demonstrates the use of focalisation as a concept to observe and analyse the ideological influences on contemporary curatorial decisions and permanent Roman displays.

3.1 Foundational and core purposes of museums

3.1.1 Museums as tools of governmental mass media

Just as Charles E. Orser Jr stated that colonialism, Eurocentrism, capitalism, and modernity haunt historical archaeology (1996: 57), they also occupy displays of the past. To add to this list, coloniality, orientalism, objectivity, power, and knowledge similarly intertwine to inform and

shape modern exhibition narratives. Deep-rooted characteristics of modern-day institutions are entwined with European colonialism and have greatly influenced the identities of modern museums (e.g. Vawda 2019: 75-76; Gordon-Walker 2019: 255; Oyedemi 2018: 3; Aldrich 2010: 13; Thomas 2010: 1; Classen and Howes 2006: 210; Hingley 2006:330; Bennett 1995: 62; Appadurai and Breckenridge 1992: 38; Hooper-Greenhill 1992: 145). As such, practices enacted by institutions today are played-out within performative spaces still complicit with imperial discourses.

Britain, France, Belgium, Netherlands, and other European nations throughout their colonial periods constructed museums to embody and promote their domineering achievements and ideals (Aldrich 2010: 14). As such, imperial nations began to enshrine their oppressive worldviews through public displays. These were located all over countries but most prominently in capital cities and locations that housed key educative institutions, such as London (British Museum) and Oxford (the Ashmolean and Oxford University) in the UK. The displays in these establishments became blueprints that many museums elsewhere followed that saw exhibitions become unofficial institutional ambassadors for empire. Museums linked to governments such as the British Museum, for example, may be described as 'official' ambassadors still. Consequently, museums became mechanisms of knowledge and power that spread exclusive narratives across countries, to illustrate the superiority of their state, history, and culture over others.

This practice reflected the process through which imperial powers observed and controlled those in their possession, to regulate worldviews and justify their right and approach to rule (Foucault 1978: 92). To do this, authorities used 'instruments of government' (Foucault 1978: 95) to preside over not only the state as a collective but also the behaviour of individuals on a personal level too. This approach originated in Europe in the 18th and 19th centuries when governments began to engage in the performative displays of power to influence public behaviour. These acts depicted the might of those who ruled and inspired awe and order. They simultaneously offered idealised glimpses of how higher society functioned to demonstrate which behaviours individuals from lower classes should replicate.

For Foucault, an example of this was the way in which public hangings were public demonstrations of the power held by the government. Through these spectacles, executions demonstrated the influence of judicial authority and its coercive effect on a population's behaviour through the display of control over life and death (Foucault 1977a: 57). In this case, the laws that led to execution would have offered an insight into the morals and ethics that high society wanted to propagate; this was then reinforced through the act of capital punishment. Tony Bennett later coined this process as the exhibitionary complex, in which articulations of

power are openly relied upon by governments to influence populations (1995: 59-88). In particular, Bennett and Foucault identified how the state utilised public displays of power to encourage conformity.

Although the comparison between public executions and museum displays is extreme, both depict ways in which governments began to openly depict their power to a viewing public. The establishment of public museums in the 18th and 19th centuries was, according to Bennett, supported by elite desire to utilise another avenue to assert power (1995: 59). What these new institutions offered governments was not an approach to public coercion through capital punishment but through access to highly curated depictions of the past that supported regulated access to education, culture, and knowledge (Bennett 1995: 62). In effect, exhibitions invited majority audiences into displays that depicted the dominant ethnic group as the pinnacle of knowledge, culture, and world order. This offered examples of how one should behave and think about the world and others around oneself. Furthermore, they demonstrated the power of the elite classes who had collected the vast arrays of objects, cultures, and treasures before them.

To make this process successful, museums paid great attention to acting as benevolent educators of the public, rather than mouthpieces for oppressive regimes. To do so, narratives and the associated display of items and peoples were designed to communicate unambiguous messages of civility. This was, for example, seen in the early development of the Pitt Rivers Museum in Oxford, UK, where displays were increasingly made to encourage self-reliant visitors (van Keuren 1984: 182; Pitt Rivers 1891: 117). Through this process, visitors were empowered by the understanding that they too were part of a superior culture, and freely able to engage with this through their initiative.

The intention behind early museums was, therefore, to broaden the minds of the public (Brown 2009: 145), but in a controlled manner directed at a specific group of people. Carol Duncan illustrates how this process creates a cultural experience for audiences who then receive narratives as objective truth (1995: 8) that then informs their worldviews. This led Duncan to view museums as ritualistic institutions aimed to civilise a specific group of people through a dictated ideological standpoint (1995: 13). This is reflected by the masses of individuals that flocked to early museums to embrace the elite-led discourses that positioned white Europeans at the epitome of world order. Through this practice, the public was invited to see the world through the eyes of the aristocracy and to envisage themselves as part of this privileged group. This process, continuously performed, eventually created a status quo where elevated cultures within museal discourses encouraged an identity based on self-importance and supremacy through the exclusion of others.

As this ritualistic act became reality through curated spaces, governments and elites began to shape the knowledge and worldviews that could be learnt from it. This act symbolises the development of museums into the educative institutions they presently embody (Hooper-Greenhill 1994a: 3). Furthermore, the process inherent to how and why museums became educative institutions incorporates Foucault's idea of 'instruments of power' (1978: 95) into their core function (1978: 95). As such, museums became more than institutions for knowledge production, but also awareness production that shaped how individuals saw themselves and others in line with governmental jurisdiction (McLeod 2010: 33). This is an important feature to acknowledge, as experiences and worldviews learnt within museums were, and still are, enacted outside of them (Falk and Dierking 2013: 211-214).

Furthermore, it is critical to note that the processes and power relations at play in early museums were already established through their precursor, the cabinet of curiosity. Before museums opened their doors to the public, collectors gathered objects from around the world in private collections to depict their owner's power through wealth and worldly knowledge (Booth and Powell 2016: 132; Millett 2012: 32-33; Zytaruk 2011: 2; Preston 2000: 169; van Keuren 1984: 172). As such, museums were not the originator of the core functions that embody their identity and roles in society; instead, they were informed by already established, traditional, elite-led practices. What is evident, is that the doors to private collections were opened and the oppressive messages they emitted were now accessible and relatable to wider audiences. This would have brought a heightened sense of prestige to lower-classes that were permitted to associate with these ideals. These audiences, albeit superficially, would have now felt included in the cultural fabric of the powerful and wealthy groups of society also seen to be culturally superior.

Consequently, public exhibits may not have been designed to embody a progressive and novel idea to educate the masses. They instead provided governments with a mass media tool to express their versions of the world and justify their positions of power. Concerning Martin Heidegger's ideas on how individuals make sense of their surroundings, this fits in with his concept that the world, to people, exists as a 'view' (1951: 10). Through individual perspectives, the world is observed through the assembler's eye and posits the whole of mankind within this specific perspective (Mathur 2007: 14; Hooper-Greenhill 1992: 82). This process also includes the individual who constructs this view, as they are also subjects in their own interpretations (Heidegger 1951: 12). Therefore, museums and their approaches to representation have developed from a historically established process that views individuals ordered by those in positions of power. The opening up of museums did not, however, represent a benevolent act to include more individuals in the creation of ideological worldviews. Instead, it was carried out to

spread and legitimise imperial narratives through an institution designed to be an instrument for the creation of new truth (Hooper-Greenhill 1992: 145).

3.2 Museums and the rise of nationalism

As early museums were intimately linked to state narratives of colonialism and superiority, they simultaneously became integral to the rise of 18th-century Western European nationalism (Anderson 1983: 19). A key role of early displays of the past in this process was their ability to create a usable history on which ruling cultures could capitalise (Gemie 2017: 337). This places museums as useful tools for governments to benefit from as the act of governing cannot take place without the use of stories, signs, and symbols to perpetually legitimise positions of power (Hunt 1984: 54). As the nation is an imagined state (Anderson 1983: 15), the curation of emblematic histories provides the main technique through which to construct cultural borders that aid the construction, and maintenance, of shared conceptions of the state (Nieguth and Raney 2017: 89; Hall 1997a: 258). This is used to define a country's sovereignty, something then fed to individuals through the creation of national identities. This process is defined by Anthony Smith through…

> …the continuous reproduction and reinterpretation of the pattern of values, symbols, memories, myths and traditions that compose the distinctive heritage of nations, and the identifications of individuals with that pattern and heritage and with its cultural elements
>
> (2001:18)

To do so, nations construct a 'national symbolic order' that consists of signs and cultural codes which activate, convey, entrench, and legitimise a sense of shared identity (Nieguth and Raney 2017: 90). Politicians that want to exploit nationalism for the loyalty that it creates, must, therefore, utilise symbols that individuals can relate to (Kaufman 2017: 19). Importantly, these links will only be made between the nation and groups it desires to be included in its character.

As no nation is metaphorically an island, however, the fabric of society will inevitably change over time through globalisation and the movement of people. Therefore, the architects and custodians of the symbolic orders must constantly reinvent and reconstruct the relevance of these cultural codes to society (Nieguth and Raney 2017: 89-90). These recreations may depend on traditional formations of identity to strengthen customary characteristics, or they could be progressive and malleable to cater to new realities. Whichever direction is taken, archaeology's

power to uncover places and objects used to create influential symbols reminiscent of constructed traditions becomes essential for this process (Dietler 1994: 597).

Museums also hold an important role in this practice. When archaeological objects are presented in exhibitions, they gain legitimisation within a nation's symbolic order due to the authoritative position museums hold in society. Within galleries, the malleability possessed by symbols that have multiple meanings for different communities is lost due to their cementation in a nationally led continual structuring of state identity (Nieguth and Raney 2017: 90). The range of voices that can bestow a multitude of meanings upon a certain object, event, or period of history is, therefore, ignored or invalidated to provide dominance for a state-sanctioned narrative. Institutions, therefore, possess the means to solidify symbolic orders and place versions of history on a pedestal to further reinforce exclusive worldviews. They further decide whose voice and values are included within stories and histories of nations that later dictate who belong.

The transformation of the Louvre in 1793 from a private royal collection to a public art museum is a standout example of how cultural codes associated with institutions, objects, and narratives can be politically repositioned (Berger 2015: 28; Duncan 1995: 22). This is thanks to the new bourgeois state that gained prominence at the end of France's democratic transformation, that made public the previously royal collection of antiquities and integrated it into the nation's consciousness (McClellan 1994: 50). The Louvre's purpose post-1793 was to sow new meanings of equality, civilisation, heritage, and pride throughout its collection, and suppress unwanted messages of luxury and status connected with the monarchy and associated power relations (Bennett 1995: 36-37; Duncan 1995: 32). Through this process, the French state remodified its collection to reflect how the nation no longer belonged to a monarchy, but the people (Duncan and Wallach 1980: 454). This new cultural code, however, was displayed through an art-historical approach that aimed to show the progression of French culture towards its new reality at the height of civilisation. In this narrative, everyone was equal; however, this was of course only attainable to those that could associate with the new cultural codes.

Furthermore, for those unable to associate or understand the cultural codes on show, the displays could provoke awe through the large collection of rich treasures on displays (Duncan 1995: 24). These narratological practices seen in the Louvre acted as a blueprint for contemporary and future Europeanised national museums (Berger 2015: 28; Duncan 1995: 32; McClellan 1994: 2). This saw the popularity of exhibitions used to provide a scaffold for individual nations, and those in and outside of their borders, as defined by those in power. These reasons underline how museums became instruments of government (Foucault 1978: 95) to control the minds and behaviour of individuals through Bennett's exhibitionary complex (1995: 59-88).

This ability, consequently, allowed those institutions that became public during the height of European colonialism, to repurpose symbolic objects and histories to reflect imperial ideals and nationalism (Thomas 2010: 1). As such, nations strode towards the eternalisation of their successes and national character through plaques, statues, and buildings that provided propaganda for domineering regimes (Aldrich 2010: 13). This ability ensured museums were built alongside European conquests and the implementation of new ruling elites (Millett 2012: 31-35; Brown 2009: 148; Bloembergen 2006).

Furthermore, the Louvre continues to exhibit objects gained during Napoleon's expeditions; so much was accumulated that the collection of loot is vast enough to produce large collections in the Louvre and British Museum simultaneously. The fact that the Rosetta Stone, for example, was taken by Napoleon from el-Rashid in Egypt's Nile delta, and then taken from France by Britain, illustrates how colonially gained objects were used in a game of intra-European one-upmanship. The current central position of the Rosetta Stone in the British Museum's Ancient Egypt Gallery (Figure 1) reflects its importance to the nationally owned institution's identity as a culturally prominent and relevant institution.

Figure 1: Visitors view the Rosetta Stone at the British Museum. Photograph by Adrian Grycuk, distributed under a CC BY-SA 3.0 Licence

Through these processes, objects gained through colonialism took centre stage in propaganda campaigns to highlight and elevate the greatness of European nation-states. To do so, narratives celebrated empire's aim to civilise the 'uncivilised' (Aldrich 2010: 13; Bennett 1995:60) and simultaneously reinforce whatever narrative the state currently used to legitimise rule. As Ernest

Renan illustrated in his 1882 conference paper *Qu'est-ce qu'une nation?,*[3] a nation relies on its members having commonalities whilst also forgetting their differences (1882: 251-252). As such, people that continue to identify with their individualised and culturally diverse heritages oppose the cultural confines set by those in power. To not adapt and assimilate comfortably into a set of defined cultural criteria, therefore, denies membership into the nationally recognised identity. The construction of a nation and its unique characteristics is necessarily exclusive, and hence, so too are narratives at the core of museum discourses that stem from this practice.

Subsequently, westernised messages promoted by early museums began to differentiate cultures and people through cultural, social, racial, and ethnic divides, based on a system that placed Europeans at the top. As othered identities were not associated with highly civilised and advanced European cultures, they were represented within discourses that saw their bodies as both objects and subjects outside the predetermined norm (González 2008:5). Through this process, demarcations between humans and material entities were blurred (Thomas 2010: 1) and certain groups were dehumanised to empower others. Edward Said's *Orientalism* argues how this occurs with the misrepresentation of othered communities defined by romanticised narratives of mysticism and incivility (1978). This process is at the root of many issues presently faced by museums concerning the representation of diversity and is seen to go further. The misrepresentation of history is closely related to the underrepresentation of minority ethnic groups and goes as far as their lack of representation in many traditional narratives.

3.2.1 Roman narratives and European motives

This section includes many examples of how the Roman period has, since the 17th century, been depicted through museum displays. Examples will concentrate on British museums to provide comparisons with the contemporary exhibits included in this thesis. It will also, however, contextualise these processes through examples from across Europe as museal discourse, present and past, must be understood within the Europeanised framework in which it exists and develops. Furthermore, key aspects of traditional displays will be later used to judge how, and if, modern depictions of the UK's ancient past have progressed, and how reliant modern displays are still on imperial modes of discourse.

As is demonstrated throughout this section, European nations utilised the Roman period as a tool to accentuate a rich history of power that justified their contemporary worldviews of superiority. Through this process, the ability to illustrate a connection with the Roman Empire became a symbolic marker of a country's status, civility, and historic right to rule. Consequently, imperial

---

[3] Translates to, 'What is a Nation?' (Giglioli 2018).

attitudes that are embedded in a museum's identity are ingrained in the curatorial processes and traditions involved in the display of the Roman period.

European superpowers' reliance on the Roman period to assert self-importance used the era as an ancient anchor to create an immemorial past (Anderson 1983: 19). This meant countries used the Roman period as a foundation for their legitimacy, insular characterisation of cultural and physical borders, and portrayals of national identity. This process particularly took off in Europe and saw a romanticised Roman period enmeshed with the self-definition of European states and peoples (Millett 2012: 31; Broughall 2014: 1; Hingley 2006: 330; 2000: 19; James 1999: 127). For example, Napoleon made direct correlations between his position of power and that of Rome's first emperor, Augustus (Adams 2007: 189). This act also saw Napoleon transfer many antiquities from Rome to Paris to aid his creation of a new cultural and imperial identity for France (Adams 2007: 201; Millett 2012: 31; Collis 2003: 199; Dietler 1994: 587-593; Gould 1965).

Such projects linked nations with the origins of western civilisation in a battle for cultural ascendency. Education remained a driving force in this curated façade to express superiority, exemplified by the establishment of cultural centres in Greece and Rome by many Europeanised powers. For example, the French Academy in Rome was set up in the mid-17th century; the German Archaeological Institute in Rome in 1879; the British School in Rome in 1900; and the American Academy was also situated in Rome and established in 1905. Each of these institutions resembled the desire to create powerful links between western powers and the ancient world and incorporated colonial expressions of high civility and culture into their education and diplomacy (Millett 2012: 35; Dmitriev 2009: 132; Majeed 1999: 91-4; Black 1997: 217).

As a result, renowned institutions such as Cambridge University placed energy into the study of ancient Greece and Rome. For example, Cambridge University saw curriculum reforms in 1879 that advanced the study of the Classics (Millett 2012: 36), including the collection of Roman and Greek sculptural casts now housed in the Cambridge Museum for Classical Archaeology (Figure 2). Students that entered privileged institutions such as Cambridge would then go on to hold elite positions in colonial powers; for example, staffing the Raj of India, civil administration in military command, and the Sudan Political Service (Dmitriev 2009: 132). Due to this progression, Sviatoslav Dmitriev considers ancient studies as enacting imperial duty in which students were indoctrinated in the ideology of imperialism (2009: 132). The inclusion of Roman history is integral to this practice and, therefore, sees it used within an imperial discourse employed as a colonial tool to propagate ideas across the world via oppressive regimes.

Figure 2: View of the sculpture casts at the Cambridge Museum of Classical Archaeology © The University of Cambridge

Consequently, the ownership of, and connection to the Roman period was embedded in educative institutions causally linked with the development of imperial officials. This embeds colonial discourses within the education of the classical period and its research, both of which are core elements of museums. Importantly, the establishment of public museums permitted the spread of imperial narratives, which were already engrained in the elites of European superpowers, to the public. The Roman period was now a mechanism that not only produced imperial identities in the ruling classes, but it also became a tool to filter these lessons down to the general population.

Subsequently, Roman objects, literature, archaeological reports, social systems, and historical events were used to support imperial ideals. For example, connections between the British and Roman empires were emphasised to underscore similarities between their grandeur, and moral and cultural superiority. The apparent benefits of colonial expansion, through its spread of technology, culture, and civility to “less-cultured” individuals were, therefore, an important message to curate and establish pride in one’s country and government.

Examples of the use of Roman archaeology to express the heights of British colonial rule still exist in British museums today. The cast of Trajan’s Column, an object associated with the heights of Imperial Rome, is displayed at the Victoria and Albert Museum, UK, (Figure 3) and once provided a visual parallel to Britain’s Empire for its citizens (Barringer 1998: 17). This link stemmed from the contemporary fascination that intellectuals had with the Roman period and the frequent comparisons made between the two in political debates (Butler 2012: 19). In their discussions, the British Empire’s mission to expand and civilise was seen to be inherited from the Romans amidst their occupation of Britannia (Butler 2012: 20). As such, Trajan’s Column acted as a

significant memorial to Britain's continuation of Rome's lofty achievements and mission statement. Therefore, imperialism was deeply ingrained in the UK's psyche thanks to the intimate links curated between the British and Roman empires.

Figure 3: Views of Trajan's Column, Cast Courts, Room 46a, The West court © Victoria and Albert Museum, London

The intellectual thought that forged these links contributed to the development of an imperial discourse that sustained Britain's links to classical Rome (Hingley 2006: 330; 2000: 25; Majeed 1999: 91). This discourse was predominantly active between 1880 and 1914, when politicians, administrators, educationalists, authors, and poets each accentuated links between Britain and Rome's empire (Hanscam 2019: 3; Grew 2001: 16). This process was even present in children's books such as Rudyard Kipling's *Puck of Pooke's Hill* (1906). Within Kipling's book, aspects of Roman archaeological inquiry were used to inform contemporary issues. For example, Parnesius, a Roman centurion in the story, has a strong imperial ethic that was described as resonating with young soldiers in the early 20th century (Carrington 1955: 381). As such, the reception of imperial discourses through a Roman lens was received by different demographics of British society through varied media that eventually permeated throughout the population.

Politically, comparisons between the Roman period and Britain contributed to governmental discussions of assimilationist approaches towards identity and preservation. As the British incorporated an increased number of cultures into their Empire, scholarly lessons from classical study about international relations directly affected how it was managed (Hingley 2006: 332; 2000: 48; Vance 1997: 239-240). Richard Hingley relays this point and has emphasised how colonial knowledge and relationships between Britain and the Roman Empire depended on William Camden's *Britannia*, published in 1586 (Hingley 2006: 332). Camden, a schoolmaster,

published a historical and geographical description of the British Isles that strongly influenced later historical surveys of the UK. Furthermore, it represented the Roman period as the ancient anchor for Britain's national foundation and characteristics (Rockett 1995: 829).

The comparisons between the Roman and British empires throughout *Britannia* were long-lived and influential over 16th and 17th-century views of Britain's past (Todd 2004: 445; Kunst 1995: 120; Levine 1987: 94). As Camden's views of Roman Britain became intertwined with British identity, the dominance of his work saw them further influence the work of subsequent scholars and politicians. For example, *Britannia* was used to inform and understand Britain's oversea policies through comparisons with the Roman Empire's management of imperial possessions (Hingley 2006: 332). The antiquarian obsession with the classical period, therefore, informed Britain's reliance on Roman history to legitimise its ideology as an imperial power. As is discussed in the next section, these practices designed to fulfil colonial purposes are still commonplace in modern depictions of the past. The Roman period is still affected by these influences and acts as a good example of how outdated ideals persist throughout the curation of the past.

3.3 Museums and their responses to coloniality

As will be discussed throughout this thesis, the foundational purpose of museums is a key factor that has continued to limit the authentic implementation of inclusivity into museal discourse. Their core role that saw the birth of public museums to define nations is exclusive, and this remains so in contemporary curation processes. Furthermore, the Roman period has been intricately assimilated into this framework through its study, reception, and colonial application.

This section continues to follow these practices and show how they have become embedded in contemporary museal discourse and contribute to structural and systemic forms of coloniality and racism. Different approaches that have aimed to combat outmoded ideological perspectives in line with contemporary worldviews and ethics will then be discussed. This will highlight the successes and failures of these methods that inform later discussions of how and why museums still persistently fail to implement inclusivity.

3.3.1 Museums and coloniality

As empires disbanded political colonial control over the 20th century, cultural coloniality persisted due to the prolonged standardisation of knowledge creation constructed by dominant powers (Quijano 2007: 169). Aníbal Quijano has coined the perseverance of oppressive hegemonies that originate as far back as the 16th century (De Loney 2019: 689) as the coloniality of power (Quijano 2007: 169-170; 2000: 218). Within this blueprint, diversities of experiences, resources, and histories are collected, moulded, and organised by Western hegemonies that control outputs (De

Loney 2019: 689; Vawda 2019: 74; Oyedemi 2018: 1-2; Mignolo 2013: 135; Grosfoguel 2011: 13-15). These structures work to legitimise and enshrine those practices that situate the dominance of one culture over another (Gordon-Walker 2019: 248; Galván-Álvarez 2010: 11-12). It is important to stress that imperialism has also been interwoven with multiple other political ideologies that contribute to colonial ideals such as fascism. Although this section focuses on the continuance of colonial ideals in historical narratives of neoliberal capitalist states, its effect is felt in different ways across the globe by countries historically and presently complicit in it.

Similar to the links Tony Bennett has made between early museums with access to power and the expression of civility (1995: 60), Toks Oyedemi states the same occurs with modern cultural Europeanisation (Oyedemi 2018: 3). Within this model, Euro-Americanised knowledge creation and culture is seen as a hegemonic global practice and aspiration (Oyedemi 2018: 3). This process' place in display narratives exists due to the relatively short history of modern institutions that have since stemmed from colonial practices (Appadurai and Breckenridge 1992: 38). As Kylie Message explains, this statement reminds us that museums attain power and status through their power to classify and define nations and cultures (2006: 26); a key aspect of early and modern institutions. Due to the short amount of time that has passed since European imperialism, colonial imprints are still strongly evident within museological approaches. This does not, however, excuse the complicity seen in these structures, demonstrated by institutions that fail to engage in anti-colonial and anti-racist processes.

The opportunity and failure to engage with these critical approaches are key points discussed throughout this thesis. Anti-racial and anti-colonial processes relate to how core functions of national institutions react to calls for representation of minority ethnic groups. As museums perpetually remain in a process of 'becoming national or (so to speak) of un-becoming and re-becoming national' (Bennett 2015: 85) there are perpetual opportunities to incorporate such progressive attitudes into curatorial processes.

It is important to stress, however, that processes such as decolonial action taken by institutions are themselves a movement evolved from the colonial matrix of powers that first instilled them (Mignolo 2013: 135, 142). Museums in Britain, and those found elsewhere in Europe, generally remain within a Europeanised bubble where dialogues that need to be challenged are themselves informed by fields and rhetoric that mask and perpetuate coloniality (Verdesio 2010: 350). This remains an important line of inquiry throughout this thesis and has implications for if and how museal practices can progress beyond an imperial core. An example that will be revisited later in this chapter is how multicultural museums have been described as 'collection[s] of otherness' (Hage 1998: 158) where diversity is depicted as a nation's possession. Museums as embodiments

of ideologically informed interpretations of the world, therefore, struggle to distance themselves from traditional processes ingrained in their foundation uses. The need to do so, however, is essential and has been attempted in various ways as illustrated below.

3.3.2 Reactions to coloniality: Efforts towards inclusive museums

Post-WWII diversity and multiculturalism

As colonial processes are deeply engrained within the character of museums, they are now required to 'remake', 're-do', and 'rethink' themselves. This is the principal way for modern institutions to create relevance for societies that increasingly distance themselves from the imperial ideologies relevant in 16th and 17th-century colonialism. This process forces museums to engage with their colonial pasts and reflect on their construction of knowledge and the perpetuation of Eurocentric narratives (Gordon-Walker 2019: 255; Vawda 2019: 75-76; Labadi 2018: 129; Bennett 2006: 191). Certain aspects need to be challenged to advance, and these include how museums communicate, collect, store, and express the experiences and knowledge created and lived by diverse groups of people (Vawda 2019: 78), both ancient and modern. This depicts a large challenge faced by present-day museum sectors across Europe; however, recent history offers insight into how this task is possible and has been engaged with.

Discussions of such action were highlighted in the Western world throughout the 1970s. Throughout this period, debates began to bring ideologies of biculturalism and multiculturalism to the attention of many. The discussion of the social and cultural rights of individuals was emphasised after nationalist ideologies lost favour post-World War II (WWII) (Kymlicka 2019: 136; Saukkonen 2013: 180; Cordell and Wolff 2004; Alcock 2000). This occurred through a widespread condemnation by the West, led by the United Nations, of existent and accepted racialist ideologies that were used to justify the horrors of the world war (Kymlicka 2019: 136). This led to the championing of human equality and rights as a new ideology to replace mainstream approaches of government that resembled colonial relations. In Britain, this led to the implementation of multiculturalist ideologies (Saukkonen 2013: 182). Subsequently, this push for human equality became the thrust behind the fight for multiculturalism and minority rights that arose in the 1960s and proceeded from a 20-year attempt for imperial powers to decolonise (Kymlicka 2019: 136). Examples that follow in this section centre on Britain, but similar process and reactions towards a post-colonial world were also seen throughout each of Europe's imperialist nations.

As such, decolonisation—in its rawest form as the disbandment of colonial possessions—posed a threat to the self-definition of European superpowers and their place in the world. In its response to this new reality, Britain attempted to forge a new identity for itself. Consequently, the UK

placed itself as the head of a renewed Commonwealth. As Ashcroft and Bevir explain, this was supported by the new British Nationality Act 1948 that granted individuals from around the empire and commonwealth the right to immigrate to the UK (2018: 5). This is argued to be a symbolic act by Britain to reassert itself as the 'mother-country' (Ashcroft and Bevir 2018: 5) but led to large scale migration of non-white individuals throughout the 1950s-1970s (Kymlicka 2019: 136; Ashcroft and Bevir 2018: 1, 5; Vertovec 2010: 170). In Britain, this period saw a rise in communities of individuals from South Asia (Vertovec 2010: 170), the West Indies—and the Caribbean more broadly—via the *Empire Windrush* in 1948 (Bawdon 2019: 173), and individuals from Canada, New Zealand, and Australia (Craggs 2011: 249).

This influx of immigrants, similar to present-day responses, was not received warmly. Tensions quickly rose at the realisation that Britain's fabric was in flux. It is perhaps likely that the confusion and threat to Britain's new place in the world post-empire, also affected how its predominantly white population saw itself too. Resistance to multicultural change saw hostility rise and resulted in the 1958 race riots (Ashcroft and Bevir 2018: 5) and brutal suppressions of British subjects such as the Mau Mau in Kenya and the Sharpeville Massacre in the 1950s and 1960 respectively (Craggs 2011: 249). These events and challenges to Britain's superiority represent the widespread social changes that occurred in Britain over this time; it also reveals the atrocious reactions to them and resistance to the relinquishment of power.

Subsequently, frictions continued to rise throughout British society in the 1960s and late 1970s. This was caused by the realisation that Britain was no longer an imperial power to support its self-definition as a global force. This shift and the identity crisis that followed then leant itself to the recurrent argument that Britain's confused state was due to the impact of migration that inherently challenged the fabric of its society. The blame placed on immigrants is evidenced by changes to UK immigration laws in 1962 and 1968 to help prevent large-scale societal shifts. Further evidence is also found in the British member of parliament, Enoch Powell's *Rivers of Blood* speech in 1968 to a Conservative Party meeting. In this speech, Powell indicated a fear that newcomers to the UK detracted from the core values of Britain and posed a serious threat to white dominance (Prabhat 2019: 201). This type of discourse is still prevalent throughout the Western world, particularly with negative attitudes towards minority ethnic groups as encouraged by contemporary rises in populism, nationalism and the far-right.

Despite the apparent issues that were associated with increased diversity, Britain's society continued to change at a fast pace. This eventuality also occurred throughout Europe and resulted in the cultural west beginning discussions on how to govern their increasingly heterogeneous populations (Ashcroft and Bevir 2018: 4-5, 14). This was reflected in new

approaches to citizenship that distanced the UK from past policies that imposed homogenous models upon immigrants, in favour of a process led by discourses founded in civil liberty (Kymlicka 2019: 136; Ashcroft and Bevir 2018: 3-4). Consequently, an ideology informed by the need to preserve the rights of the person became established in Britain's treatment of individuals. This resulted in a system designed to recognise group-specific ethnicities with an attitude to safeguard them. As such, cultural diversity was outwardly expressed by the state in a positive or neutral light, with differences between individuals maintained, respected, tolerated, and celebrated (Kymlicka 2019: 134; Colombo 2015: 801; Hurn and Tomalin: 2013: 192; Brahm Levey 2007: 199; Ravitch 1990: 337).

These ideological changes saw past imperial powers in Europe differ in approach to their new reality through museal approaches. The need for museums to transform was greatly needed and widely recognised, however, limited pre-1990s. In Britain for example, the need to distance museum collections from colonial power relations was acknowledged and saw the Imperial Institute closed and demolished in the 1950s and 1960s (Aldrich 2010: 18). This institution included display spaces that exhibited Britain's empire for educational purposes (Craggs 2011: 250). The institution resembled the core museal function to define a nation and influence its citizens as elaborated earlier in the chapter. After its closure, however, its colonial collections remained in London instead of being repatriated, that has become an action continually ignored by large scale British museums.

In place of the Imperial Institute, in 1962 Britain built a Commonwealth Institute as an educational organization that also included exhibit spaces (Craggs 2011: 248). This establishment failed to fully engage with anti-colonial narratives, however, as curators continued to struggle to engage with a new approach that distanced themselves from traditional practices (Aldrich 2010: 27). Importantly, despite their inability to authentically become decolonised and anti-colonial, attempts by British museums were seen to respond to the country's new reality; even if unsuccessfully.

Elsewhere, France and the Netherlands attempted to hide their colonialism in museums (Aldrich 2010: 27). As such, exhibits were closed, labels revised, and offensive messages erased. Similarly, to Britain, this reflects an effort to curate displays that are absent of colonialism, however, they did not critically engage with the structural systems their ordered views of the world still depicted. Alternatively, Belgium continued to showcase other cultures under their traditionally informed colonial perspectives (Aldrich 2010: 27). Mixed methods and attitudes were, therefore, taken across Europe to engage with the post-colonial world and how it affected national identity.

Neither, however, successfully managed to continue the curation of the past through an authentically decolonised process.

New Museology: Aims and impact

Despite the mixed approaches towards engagement with anti-colonial aims, oppressive hegemonies were still a dominant feature throughout Western museums. Associated discussions alongside the decolonial shifts implemented worldwide in museal approaches and society, later informed wider political philosophies of the 1990s (Colombo 2015: 804). These included a range of key academic studies into representation by individuals such as Homi Bhabha (1994), Stuart Hall (1989), and Gayatri Spivak (1988). Each of these emphasised how minority ethnic groups and racialised individuals within Western society were underrepresented, misrepresented, and even absent. These studies illustrated the fact that racial and ethnic inequalities were still a common feature across Europe despite the dissolution of empires. Studies into representation, therefore, spoke to the continued persistence of imperial structures and hegemonies throughout the postcolonial world later coined coloniality (Quijano 2007: 169).

Within these schools of thought, museologists also recognised the failure of many museums to successfully engage with new realities that required them to progress from their traditional and foundational uses. This led to the rejection of traditional museums and widespread calls for a revolutionised approach to museum practice (Message 2006: 26). This movement, coined as the *New Museology,* encapsulates the motivation behind the authentic change to reform and modernise contemporary approaches to curation. Within the edited volume that bears its name (Vergo 1989), five academics (Peter Vergo, Ludmilla Joranova, Paul Greenhalgh, Stephen Bann, and Norman Palmer) and four museum professionals (Charles Saumarez Smith, Colin Sorensen, Philip Wright, and Nick Merriman) criticised traditional approaches to museology and emphasised the purposes museums possessed for their audiences (Vergo 1989: 3). The British perspective to the study of museums that ensued throughout the *New Museology* movement presented the field with a revolutionary turn that saw visitors as central to the existence of institutions (Weil 2003: 42).

This movement is, therefore, acknowledged as a critical point in the study of museums, the definition of their functions, who they are for, and how they should represent people. As such, this period saw multidisciplinary studies into museology, and notably for this thesis, into the study of representations of power, knowledge, and communities in museum narratives (e.g. Bennett 1995; Hooper-Greenhill 1994a; 1992). These studies advanced discussions from earlier scholars such as Michel Foucault (e.g. 1973, 1969) who set the path for the examination of how existent power relations govern knowledge through self-regulated traditional hegemonies.

Amidst this period of revolutionary thought for museums, key institutions received an opportunity to redefine themselves. David Wilson, the director at the British Museum from 1977-1992, for instance, expressed how the institution collected for the whole world (1989:28). In the same statement, Wilson goes on to comment that it does so to create 'a heritage which is not chauvinistic' (1989: 28). This statement published the same year as the *New Museology* reflects the discourse that surrounded purposes for museums. Here, David Wilson placed the British Museum as a museum of the world, for everyone within it. In one statement the institution's colonial activities have been shaken off and shift people and their experience toward the centre of the museum's core purpose. This distances its past philosophy that saw people and cultures as mere subjects for it to collect and curate.

It is important to highlight beforehand, however, that the new museology movement did create momentum for a desire to revisit museal approaches. Furthermore, its perspectives resulted in tangible outcomes of exhibits that positioned people and modern populations at the centre of their structure and, therefore, had a positive impact on Britain's museumscape. A key example of this is the *Peopling of London* temporary exhibit at the Museum of London in 1993-1994. This exhibition investigated the diversity of London's population, and actively built on its previous *Londoners* exposition that failed to ethically address those it depicted (Collicott 1994: 261). As such, the *Peopling of London*, and the publication to complement it (Merriman 1993), aimed to depict London's cosmopolitan appearance as a characteristic that has always been present since its foundation. The exhibit also managed to successfully engage with societal issues that faced contemporary minority ethnic Londoners through a narrative that not only celebrated diversity but critically engaged with the challenges and tensions that arose around it. For example, Sylvia Collicott remarks on how the exhibit included photos of racist attacks to remind visitors that immigrants are not always kindly welcomed into society (1994: 262). Furthermore, the exhibition engaged with challenges faced by immigrants to London not experienced by majority white populations to raise critical awareness (1994: 262).

Through the *Peopling of London* exhibit, there was an effort made by the museum to implement progressive discussion that engaged with issues of representation. Also, it expressed a willingness for curators to critically analyse past exhibits and enact new ethical approaches. Perhaps crucially to this process, two contributors to the *New Museology* were contemporary employees at the Museum of London at the time of the exhibition; one of them was Nick Merriman, who became central to the curation of the *Peopling of London* exhibit. This indicates the beneficial impact that can occur when curatorial teams include members that understand the positives involved in active engagement with diversity and representation.

Furthermore, reports indicated that through the implementation of this exhibition, the Museum of London saw the numbers of ethnic minority visitors increase by almost 800% (Watson 2007b: 356-357). The success of this exhibition can, therefore, be measured in its ability to support social inclusion. This concept is defined by Laurajane Smith and Emma Waterton as the ability to encourage an increase in the number of people from ethnic minorities and working-class backgrounds into museums (2009: 107). This, in turn, diversifies the traditional white audiences that underpin the values usually expressed by displays, and potentially museum staff by extension, or vice-versa. It needs to be reiterated, however, that the *Peopling of London* exhibit (1993-1994) was temporary, and the continuation of its inclusive themes did not enter the Museum of London's permanent Roman displays. This is despite Sylvia Collicott's comment that staff at the Museum of London aimed to integrate material from the *Peopling of London* exhibit into their permanent displays (Collicott 1994: 264). This example is discussed later in chapter five.

The concentration on social inclusion through innovative approaches to museum practise is a key concept that became critical throughout the 1990s and early 2000s in the UK. As discussed in the next section, Britain's New Labour government pushed multiculturalism and saw better funds for museum workers who were specifically positioned to improve public engagement. As such, while museums across Europe, and particularly Britain, successfully altered their function to fit into a decolonised world, much more was needed to dismantle power relations inherent in curatorial processes. As indicated by the Museum of London's *Peopling of London* exhibit, representation of contemporary diverse populations and critical engagement with anti-colonial and anti-racist ideology demonstrated how the New Museological movement could achieve this. As such, the next section will examine how these innovations were implemented into museal practice, their integration within a countrywide ideology, but then their decline alongside the breakdown of multiculturalist ideology in Britain.

New Labour's multiculturalism and British museums

In Britain, multiculturalism reached both its zenith and fall simultaneously with Labour's time in power after their election in 1997. Upon their electoral success, those in power defined themselves as New Labour to distinguish their aims from previous Labour governments, and those in opposition. To do so, New Labour depicted itself as a pivotal social democratic party, that had learned from past defeats and acknowledged how society had changed (Bevir 2005: 1). As such, the introduction of New Labour simultaneously encouraged Britain to view itself in a new and progressive light. This change was crucial to how society would function compared to past governments, with multiculturalism revitalised as central to the UK's ideological shift.

This aim was emphasised through the government's discussions of race that were aptly named the 'race agenda' by the then home secretary, Jack Straw (Ashcroft and Bevir 2018: 6; Back et al 2002: 445). These discussions placed a spotlight on the UK's diversity through what New Labour called 'diversity talk', which was directed towards 'managing diversity' (Alexander 2004: 540; Back et al 2002: 446). The recognition that Britain was multi-ethnic was of course not a new concept. New Labour had only continued what was started in the 1980s by people from the political left who had engaged in anti-racist activism in opposition to the Conservative government of the time (Ashcroft and Bevir 2018: 6).

The emphasis on 'diversity talk' developed into a report titled the *Future of Multi-Ethnic Britain,* as part of the 2000 *Parekh Report* (The Runnymede Trust 2000). This is regarded as the peak of Britain's multicultural ideological standpoint and saw discussion turn into action. The emphasis on Labour's agendas to improve education, access, and social inclusion directly impacted their attitude towards museums with a recognised need to better fund major regional sites (Everitt 2009: 90; Selwood 2002: 17). This resulted in a government-convened taskforce in 2000, aimed to examine regional museums and their ability to engage with communities called Renaissance in Region (Phillips et al. 2015: 734-735). Within the government-led report, there was a recognition that regional museums needed to better capitalise on their identities as educators (Renaissance Review Advisory Group 2009: 41).

The government's efforts led to around £300 million of funds committed to the programme and the implementation of actions that aided the development of a more socially aware and active museum sector between 2002 and 2010 (Department for Digital, Culture, Media & Sport (DCMS) 2007). This took fruition through the investment of regional museums brought together by the creation of regional hubs as part of a wider national network to better connect with local populations. Research by academic clusters demonstrated the project's success in how it increased visitor awareness of museums in local areas, communities (e.g. Hooper-Greenhill et al., 2009, 2006, 2004).

Among this injection of money into the museum sector, institutions were able to employ staff that were directly concerned with social engagement and accessibility. Throughout New Labour's period of governance, the British museum sector generally saw a positive change in the representation of, and engagement with, contemporary communities. Within this political environment in which diversity was championed, museums across Europe also explored multiculturalist topics more noticeably (Carbone 2017: 14). This was due to the eventual permeation of multiculturalism across societies through language, education, and public policy.

In addition to the implementation of *the Renaissance in the Region* project and its funding of regional museums, the UK saw an increase in critical engagement with previously undervalued histories by public institutions. For example, the Birmingham Museum and Art Gallery, the British Empire and Commonwealth Museum, the British Museum, the International Slavery Museum, the Museum of London Docklands, the National Maritime Museum, and the Wilberforce House Museum each took part in the *1807 Commemorated* project. In this project, each museum took part in a study that aimed to reveal how the bicentenary of the UK's abolition of the slave trade had been marked (Smith et al. 2010: 122). British museums that engaged with this event sincerely intended to engage with the public on the UK's involvement in transatlantic slavery. Aims included the need to raise awareness of related groups in British society and the complex relations they have with recollections of the slave trade nationally, regionally, and personally (Smith et al. 2010: 124).

As demonstrated throughout various studies on museum engagement with the bicentenary of the abolition of Britain's involvement in the slave trade, curatorial struggles were highlighted. For example, the difficulty to sensitively and successfully curate critical spaces to challenge traditional museal practice and power relations were reported to have not been surmounted (Cubitt 2010: 159; Fouseki 2010: 188; Wilson 2010: 176). The complexities involved in the formation of narratives that were inclusive of minority ethnic groups did not comply with traditional discourses of Britishness and consequently caused problems (Smith 2010: 207). For example, there was a noticeable disengagement and avoidance from white audiences with the experiences and history of slavery. Laurajane Smith argues this illustrates the lack of emotional tools possessed by majority audiences, and supplied by museums, to navigate sensations of guilt and complicity in historical and contemporary oppressive societal systems (2010: 207). Ross Wilson concluded that this approach saw alternative and challenging histories as 'managed' within exhibitions rather than engaged with (2010: 176).

As such, contributions to debates and recognitions of multivocality and perspectives were found to be difficult topics to successfully curate in museum spaces traditionally shaped through white narratives. As Laurajane Smith et al. argue, the *1807 Commemorated* project does not imply that the project failed, but what…

> …was achieved was at least as much a heightened sense of the difficulty of navigating these complex challenges, and of the need for a more sustained investment in exploring and confronting them, as any straightforward advance in public awareness or social understanding.
>
> (Smith et al. 2010: 125)

Unfortunately, the continuance of funds to support diversity goals, and other aspects of the *Renaissance in the Regions* project did not meet Smith et al.'s calls for sustained support. After the election of the Conservative and Liberal Democrats coalition in 2010, a concentration on fiscal deficits negatively impacted the *Renaissance in the Region* project. As a result, the government body that ran the project was shut down by 2012, with the management of the project given to the Arts Council- a non-departmental public body of the UK government's Department for Digital, Culture, Media and Sport. Furthermore, funds were reduced by 15% and the resources associated with the *Renaissance* project was eventually tasked to minimise overhead costs within museum hubs. This was in place of it used to actively encourage and create innovative approaches to Britain's past and modern populations (Phillips et al. 2015: 736).

Subsequently, simultaneous to the defunding of the *Renaissance* project, a report by the Museums Association indicated a widespread loss of 'public-facing services' that caused a decrease in 'work with hard to reach audiences' (2010: 2). Across Britain, the museum sector was seen to retreat into a conservative tradition of curation partly caused by the lack of funds. The trajectory of museal practice away from innovative approaches was, unfortunately, evident throughout New Labour's time in power despite the positive changes it attempted to implement. This occurred as New Labour was continually reluctant to fully embrace multiculturalism and inclusive politics into their processes. Alongside their pushes for diversity, New Labour also attempted to align with less inclusive ideals of nationalism for the sake of populist appeal (Back et al 2002: 446, 452). Consistently accompanying pushes towards multiculturalism by the New Labour government were reactionary decisions that aligned with assimilationist politics and promotion of monoculturalism (Kymlicka 2015: 6; Lewis and Neal 2005: 437; Squire 2005: 52, 56). These slips in consistency with multiculturalism came, in part, as reactions to events inside and out of Britain that included global acts of terror and immigration concerns (Carbone 2017: 3, 9).

The contemporary 2001 race riots in northern Britain further demonstrated the rise in racial tensions that grabbed hold of Britain's socio-political environment (Ashcroft and Bevir 2018: 6; Worley 2005: 484). These actions quickly saw British politics discuss dichotomies of the 'harmless insider' and 'threatening outsider' (Squire 2005: 61). Such narratives played out in the British Prime Minister, Tony Blair's presentation of the UK and America's attacks on al-Qaeda - something which President Bush actively called a 'crusade' (Back et al 2002: 449). Of this, Gita Sahgal explained how Labour then needed 'to balance the bombing of the Muslims abroad with wooing them at home' (2002: 2). This period boosted contemporary perceptions that saw race based on fear, terrorism, and othering to differentiate between those who inhibit British values, and those that do not (Bhopal 2018: 74-75). Arguments and observations made by Kalwant

Bhopal are later used in the chapters eight and nine to better grasp how modern ideology shapes the way that minority ethnic groups are perceived in Britain and its effect on museum displays.

Contemporary discussions that saw exclusivity become a defining factor in national conversations of identity and governance, therefore, contributed to the larger ideological picture that diminished cultural difference as a positive quality. The *Renaissance in the Regions* programme was a key funder for diversity officers in museums that promoted positive change. As such, the defunding of the programme necessitated the dismissal of this effective cohort of museum staff dedicated to social inclusion. Consequently, authentic change was not brought about as staff involved in its promotion were not seen to be integral to museums. Instead, they were additional fixtures whose presence was dependent on outside funds.

Perhaps, as a result, this brings arguments that concern the difficulties faced by the *1807 Commemorated* project to the forefront of why the representation of minority ethnic groups continues to be poor. As indicated by Ross Wilson, museum displays in 2007 that were meant to disrupt traditional narratives were not successful as they were curated through exclusive curatorial means (2010: 176). Wilson emphasises the desire of curators to highlight shared histories (2010: 176), however, this only serves to hide differences in human experiences and connections with past and present power relations. There was, and still is a desire to avoid confrontation with difficult histories that provoke emotional responses and tackle traditional accounts of the past. This anodyne approach to curation is further reflected in key ideologies used by the government to prevent social fractures but ignore difficult conversations. As is discussed in the next section, there has been a continued effort to maintain this approach that negates authentic integration of inclusivity into society and museology.

Post-multiculturalism and its ideological shift

The failings of multiculturalism and the desire to continue the curation of shared histories, rather than critically engage with difference, is linked to further ideological changes. This failure stemmed from multiculturalist attempts to challenge and highlight examples of individuality depicted as a cause for social fragmentation (Carbone 2017: 2; Colombo 2015: 808; Vasta 2007: 724-725) and domestic terrorism (Cameron D. 2011). As such, multiculturalist ideologies that informed a host of inclusive changes was used as a scapegoat as its philosophy was seen as the cause of its failure, rather than its superficial implementation. This led countries such as Britain and the Netherlands to disassociate themselves from multiculturalism. Instead, they introduced a host of assimilationist approaches to help bridge societal fissures (Saukkonen 2013: 186; Scholten and Holzhacker 2009: 82). The shift to an assimilationist approach within the Netherlands, for example, stemmed from strong concerns relating to multiculturalist policies within the late 1990s

and early 2000s (Vertovec 2010: 86). The surgency of assimilationist approaches to governing societies represented a wider ideological trend that saw it introduced in both Dutch and British society.

As a result, both the Netherlands and the UK, alongside other countries in Europe such as Belgium (Mandin 2014: 9; Jacobs 2004), shifted to a post-multicultural society. Within this strategy to govern, society seeks to mend fractures through a system that remains to emphasise multiculturalism and diversity but with some assimilation-based policies integrated into its practice (Vertovec 2010: 91). As such, multiculturalist display narratives in exhibitions that originally took the sting out of politics of difference in wider society (Bennett 2006: 191), began to discuss topics that were seen to promote indifference, parallel lives, and ethnic separatism (Colombo 2015: 810). These accusations, therefore, revert to depictions of the past that were criticised by Ross Wilson as too intent on the production of shared histories. This, in turn, ignores differences that may be integral to an individual's identity and, therefore, prohibits representations of diversity (Wilson 2010: 176).

Thanks to a reliance on narratives that overemphasised commonalities to avoid contention, the rise of diversity agendas created by European powers during the heights of multiculturalism did not cause authentic change to existent exclusive narratives. Shahid Vawda posits the question of whether progress towards inclusive, decolonised spaces only managed initial steps towards this goal due to oversights or 'foundational, systemic or institutional-political reasons' (2019: 77). The quick rise and fall of multiculturalism, the inaction of many museum exhibits in line with multicultural goals, and the persistence of exclusive display narratives appear to support this view. Systemic traditions towards curation are in part the cause of stagnant museum displays.

As many institutions persisted in their display of outmoded discourses, they stunted attempts to elevate museum displays beyond their colonial predecessors. Furthermore, present-day shifts towards right-wing populism across Europe have legitimised racist views that again caused these outdated and colonial narratives to align with widely held ideologies (Pitcher 2019: 2490; Bhopal 2018: 12). Consequently, these shifts in ideological standpoints are not only reflected in approaches by countries to govern society, but they are also seen to resonate with their majority audiences.

YouGov UK, a global public opinion and data company, found for example, that 59% of participants within a 2014 survey felt that the British Empire was something to be proud of.[4] Also, 49% of participants thought that countries once colonised by Britain have benefitted from it. Through their analysis of this data, Giblin, Ramos, and Grout see the current climate, in Britain at least, as a paradox between the 'popular resurgence of colonial fantasy alongside the desire to confront it' (2019: 472). These opinions reflect those foundational, systemic, and institutional-political reasons Vawda raises may be behind the lack of engagement with representation seen in many museums (2019: 77).

Within this environment, those that have profited from colonial discourses, including museums, can, perhaps inadvertently, become defensive in their responses when confronted with their positions of privilege and power (Parasram 2019: 194). As such, to challenge traditional narratives simultaneously questions the core identities of museums and the intentions of people involved in the curation of associated discourses. Due to this, strategies are regularly deployed by those challenged with discussions of decolonisation, race, representation, and identity that avoid ownership and reject the existence of oppressive systems (Bailey 2015: 39, 41). These tactics are used to avoid racial stress, an experience predominantly felt by white individuals who become uncomfortable when their privilege is confronted and checked (Parasram 2019: 199). As museums are traditionally white spaces, the scale of racial stress can be seen to magnify as their critical engagement with forms of oppression represents more than the actions of one person. Whereas a curator may be one individual, their galleries represent and become used by whole populations. This can be used to channel and embed oppressive ideologies into the minds of many and, therefore, causes widespread reactions of racial stress and white fragility when confronted.

3.3.3 Recent decolonisation within institutions

As illustrated above, decolonisation is not a recent trend. The concept is, however, 'an ongoing process of becoming, unlearning, and relearning regarding who we are as a researcher and educator' (Datta 2018: 2). In this respect, as George J. Sefa Dei explains, the act of decolonisation is a continual effort to challenge the norm and unconscious practices that underpin oppressive systems (2016: 37). As such, Dei advocates that decolonisation should never be normalised or domesticated as it should persistently subvert the status quo that it aims to disrupt (2016: 37).

---

[4] Results from this survey are available online from http://cdn.yougov.com/cumulus_uploads/document/6quatmbimd/Internal_Results_140725_Commonwealth_Empire-W.pdf [Accessed 27/03/2020].

Therefore, its application and inherent processes should always remain critical and innovative to ensure it lends itself to crucial and constructive goals.

Consequently, successful attempts to decolonise museum spaces may be perceived as recent trends based on their need to consistently challenge perceived norms. These successes are only made possible, however, thanks to a progression from previous efforts to disrupt traditional hegemonies of knowledge creation. Furthermore, the act of decolonisation, and what it entails, has differed and is dependent on how modern audiences, researchers, and museums define critical engagement. For example, Miguel Zavala (2013: 66) indicates that decolonial practices are less about the method and more about the provision of space for indigenous people and voices. This resonates with the representation of all minority ethnic groups in museums and how the implementation of decolonisation has progressed. For example, earlier attempts concentrated on methods used to depict past colonial possessions failed to critically engage with multivocality. The Commonwealth Institute that replaced the Imperial Institute provides a good example of this, as its attempt to represent a new reality and ethics saw curatorial changes that still resembled imperial processes.

As indicated, current decolonial practices regularly attempt to include a range of voices from different cultural, geographical, and social backgrounds. Such examples envision the greater inclusion of voices usually othered through engagement and immigrant-initiated tours (e.g. Manchester Museum, UK, (Labadi 2018: 130) and the Multaka-Oxford project at the Pitt Rivers Museum, UK).[5] Such projects exemplify the potential of contemporary institutions, big and small, to become places of social justice. Representations of the Roman period have also been curated with a decolonial approach, such as the York Museum's permanent Roman exhibit, and the *An Archaeology of Race* (2009) temporary exhibition at Hadrian's Wall (Tolia-Kelly 2011). Both exhibits challenge normative approaches and perceptions of the Roman period and, instead, place minority ethnic groups at the centre of their display narratives to disrupt traditional discourse. As such, these display narratives challenge traditional approaches to the curation of the Roman period that stem from imperial discourses and emphasise the multi-cultural aspect of ancient populations (Tolia-Kelly 2011: 71). These narratives are, therefore, constructed with the perspective to be inclusive, and do so in a way that reflects diversity.

Other large museums across Europe have continued this process, such as the Welt Museum Wien in Austria, which reopened in 2018 after a major redisplay that tackles coloniality (Giblin et al. 2019: 474). Another example is Belgium's Royal Museum for Central Africa's recent attempt to

---

[5] https://www.prm.ox.ac.uk/multaka-oxford-0 [Accessed 01/04/2020].

transform from an explicitly colonial museum (Aydemir 2008: 77) to a space of decolonisation. The processes have, however, also emphasised the scope of work needed to fully transform institutions into inclusive spaces for everyone (e.g. de Block 2019; van Bockhaven 2019). As such, the transformation of institutions from exclusive to inclusive entities is still an active process across the Western world.

Presently, there is a recognition that museums can, and should, become critically engaged with societal discussions of identity, race, and unjust and racialised hegemonies of knowledge and power. This has been characterised by institutions, in line with Zavala's thoughts (2013), enacting decolonisation beyond only methodological processes. As such, a revitalised movement has occurred that perceives institutions as forces for good that can positively benefit society through ethical curation (Janes and Sandell 2019b: 1). This idea, therefore, engages with a modernised rehash of what a museum has to offer society. Foundational institutions that aimed to civilise and educate society (Bennett 2018: 3-4) also believed they were places for social good, albeit from an elitist, racist, and colonial top-down standpoint. The critical engagement with ethical thought and practice has, therefore, led curators to better listen to their audience and acknowledge how a museum can be a useful facet of their personal and social identity and development.

Museums have, therefore, become less didactic. They have recently developed a critical ability to listen and involve audiences that would have previously been ignored. This reflects an important innovation in how curators presently engage visitors, view their own academic identities, and impact on society. As such, many museums are now seen to ask themselves the same question Ranjan Datta posed in his reflexive thoughts on the Western neutrality inherent in early anthropological research. Through this process, Datta asked, 'Am I going to lose my neutrality if I respond to my participants' feelings?' (2018: 6). Similarly, museums have engaged with this highly relevant question that has, in turn, challenged their didactic approach, ethical responsibilities towards communities, and position as researchers and educators.

Consequently, museums have begun to engage with activism. This has seen institutions reflect on their ethical approaches to the curation of discourse that promote the discussion of issues that currently affect different strata of society (Janes and Sandell 2019b: 1; Vlachou 2019: 48; Wood and Cole 2019: 42; Ng et al. 2017: 142-13). There is still, however, much to be done in the fields of decolonisation and representation within workforces, visitors, volunteers, and displays (Giblin et al. 2019: 486; Labadi 2018: 99-102). The slow progression made by museums in decolonial, anti-racist, and anti-colonial critique and changes to their practices represents this. Furthermore, the perception that the museum sector is sluggish to change can also be a continued failure by the museum to communicate with its audiences. As Sophia Labadi indicates, institutions still need

to better transmit how they are currently progressive and act to support inclusive practices (2018: 78).

The perspective that most museums are outdated is perhaps an unfair claim. A key role in the process of combatting the colonial character of institutions is to not only tackle practices from within but to convey the positive transformations that have occurred. The openness that comes with this stance, however, is sometimes feared by curators (Janes and Sandell 2019b: 8). This results in the responsibility curators possess when traditional conceptions of identity are challenged by their discourses. Specifically, these changes complicate the conservative ideals of Britishness that are regularly associated with whiteness (Benson and Lewis 2019: 2220; Smith 2010: 207; Parekh 2000: 38). This, subsequently, alters how museums are situated in the development of new identities but also the preservation of established standards.

In its new and returned state, nationalism does not take shape as it did in the 18th and 19th centuries (Valluvan and Kalra 2019: 2393). This reality forces museums to rethink its relationship with this process as the definition of the state remains one of their core functions. Eric Kaufmann emphasises this using complexity theory, which questions the elite-led creation of national identity (2017). Instead, the construction of nationalist ideals takes place through a horizontal-vertical network and sees the decentredness of state-centred approaches (Kaufmann 2017: 11). This has increasingly resulted in individualised nationalism, coined ‘personal nationalism’ (Cohen 1996) and reflects the personalised acquisition of nationwide ideals. These principles are then shared amongst populations to form increasingly recognised national symbols from the bottom up.

Within this modern approach to nationalism, institutions still play a vital role in identity creation. Whilst history displays were, and still are in part, influenced by the government, they have been increasingly guided by a public concern in their attempt to modernise and remain relevant (Weil 2003: 42). This reality continues to situate institutions as central figures in the depiction of national and local symbols, no matter how they manifest. As such, depictions of the past have evolved into entities conflicted by two competing sets of ideals: old and new. These include traditional roles that place the original uses of institutions as key to their core identity, alongside recent ethics that distance them from outdated governmental processes.

Museums, therefore, remain at a crossroad where their historic foundations collide with present-day ethics. This is complicated further by the complexity and diversity of thought that inhabits modern populations. For example, post-Brexit Britain has simultaneously seen people turn to inward-facing nationalism (Valluvan and Kalra 2019: 2393), whilst others fiercely oppose this and the Brexit referendum vote associated with it. As such, institutions linger within a state of

identity crisis within a complex political milieu where institutions attempt to sit within a post-multiculturalist framework. Within this context, history displays are met with the problem of how they can reflect aspects of strong national identity with official recognition of cultural diversity (Carbone 2017: 11); both of which are fundamental components of post-multiculturalism (Vertovec 2010). Herein lies a fundamental concern examined by this thesis that examines the state of ethnic representation within present-day Roman displays and its struggle for societal relevance.

3.3.4 Museums as places for social justice

The past 30 years have observed an increased number of scholars and museum professionals that concern themselves with ways in which museums should engage with issues of equality, diversity, and human rights (Nightingale and Sandell 2012: 1). This has seen an increased argument for museums and heritage sites to engage with social justice, defined as a concern for 'fairness, equity and protection of disadvantaged individuals … [and the enabling of] individuals to participate equally in a society free of prejudice, and of educational, cultural and socio-economic barriers' (Labadi 2018: 6). As such, social justice involves issues of power and social equity (Anderson 2010: 2), two concepts central to the question of representation in history displays at museums and heritage sites.

The Brazilian educator and philosopher, Paolo Freire, an influential advocator of critical pedagogy, argued that knowledge was central to the realisation of social justice (Joldersma 2001: 131; Freire 1970). As museums historically control representations of the past and established authorities on knowledge creation they are, in line with Freire's comments, central to issues of social justice. These ideas were also advocated by the New Museological movement through its support of inclusivity and the representation of marginalised identities in museum output and processes. Furthermore, as previously identified in this chapter, depictions of history have been central in the creation of exclusive narratives. In this discourse, museums act as oppressors that, as defined by Freire (1970: 43-44), purports to the dehumanisation of the oppressed.

Eithne Nightingale and Richard Sandell argue that in this context, there is an increased need for individuals to recognise ways in which depictions of the past reflect and shape normative ideals of fairness and power relations between groups (2012: 2). As such, depictions of history are part of a matrix that frame local and global issues, injustices, power relations, and realities. This, in particular, has encouraged a general consensus that museums need to realise their responsibility as entities of social justice through their central roles in societies (Janes and Sandell 2019: 7; Ünsal 2019: 597; Nightingale and Sandell 2012: 4).

Consequently, the recognition that museal discourse should include aspects of social justice to support, involve, and represent each constituent of their community, reflects the global issues their discourses are entwined with. Deniz Ünsal, for example, has illustrated that global issues, such as racism, are transnational and 'connect people socially, economically, politically, and culturally with other places' (2019: 597-598). Consequently, issues of social justice that affect specific areas and demographics are also grounded in worldwide problems. Through this perspective, Ünsal questions whether museums can continue to define citizenship, identity, and culture through national borders (2019: 597-598). It follows, according to Ünsal, that museums must shift to a 'global citizen' approach where concepts such as migration need to be globally and historically contextualised to avoid singular national narratives (2019: 598).

This move away from localised versions of the past, therefore, works to inhibit discussions of cultures produced through a 'us' versus 'them' approach used in the creation of imagined communities (Anderson 1983: 19). This shift to the globalised contextualisation of issues and experiences also opens up opportunities for institutions to incorporate human rights that are now appreciated as a 'globalised political value' (Wilson 1997: 1). In such an approach, importance may be placed on inclusivity as a central concept in recognition of its property as a human right (Gajewski 2017: 3; Ngwena 2013: 472).

The growth in awareness of universal human rights, and their increased incorporation into discourse creation at museums has simultaneously seen an emergence of institutions that centre on globalised issues and humanitarian values (Sandell 2012: 197). Examples include the Musée National de l'Histoire de l'Immigration in Paris, the Migration Museum in London, and the International Slavery Museum in Liverpool. Each of these institutions is concerned with international narratives that concern global issues that are also replicated in smaller museums such as the Huguenot Museum in Rochester, the Jewish Museum in London, and the Wilberforce House Museum in Hull. Each of these institutions includes discussions of narratives that support the contextualisation of topics such as migration and slavery through a range of lived experiences and voices that integrate marginalised identities into usually exclusive discourses.

Furthermore, topics of human and cultural migration (forced and voluntary), slavery, and empire are relevant for the discussion of the Roman period. The *Archaeology of Race* temporary exhibition on Hadrian's Wall (2009) is one example that demonstrates the discussion of such universal issues through a Roman perspective (Tolia-Kelly 2011). As alluded to, many museums and heritage sites remain stuck within a colonial framework, perhaps caused by their localised narratives and storytelling. This thesis, therefore, as part of its argument and analysis examines ways in which Roman display narratives have engaged with globalised narratives, discourse, and

ethics to become inclusive spaces. It also contributes to discussions of how they may be able to become increasingly representative too. The concepts of social justice, therefore, remain a key concept throughout this thesis to recognise the levels of success modern Roman narratives embody in an increasingly globalised world and reactions to it.

3.3.5 Key theorists, theories, and concepts: Poststructuralism, postcolonial, and decolonial thought and their approaches

The authors Michel Foucault (1980; 1978; 1973), Gerrard Genette (1983; 1972), Roland Barthes (1974; 1957), Edward Said (1978), Walter Mignolo (2013; 2011a), and Anibal Quijano (2007) are used throughout this thesis to examine display narratives although they are associated with separate theoretical and academic fields. Their theoretical approaches to the analysis of museum and heritage site displays, power relations, and epistemic hegemonies are central to this thesis' framework as demonstrated throughout this chapter. It is, therefore, important to acknowledge the fundamental differences between these authors and their associated subject fields of poststructuralism, postcolonialism, and decolonial thought, and to express similarities between their aims that causes them to be used in conjunction with one another. To do so, this section will outline the ways in which the ideas of these authors relate to distinguishably separate fields with defined aims, methods, and perspectives, but also ones that are interconnected due to the systems of power and oppression they analyse, criticise, and deconstruct.

As such, the authors in question will be split into two camps: those whose arguments and perspectives stem from the academic field of French structuralism, and those grounded in opposition to it. Initially, Foucault, Genette, Barthes, and other authors based in Europe during the 1970s, were part of the French post-structuralist movement. This academic tradition is illustrated through Roland Barthes' *Mythologies* (1957) and Michel Foucault's *The Archaeology of Knowledge* (1969), as both their aims reflect poststructuralist motives – to demonstrate links between rhetoric, power, and knowledge. Poststructuralist scholars could also direct their analysis towards distinct fields, for example, Hélène Cixous' *The Laugh of the Medusa* that associates sexuality with a poststructuralist understanding of language (1976). As such, poststructuralists critically engaged with the expression, retention, and formation of power-relations, mainly with the aim to analyse them.

This changed, however, in the late 1970s with the advent of two scholarly fields: post-modernism and post-colonialism. These academic paradigms went beyond the sole act of analysis, they instead used and built upon the epistemological and ontological approaches of post-structuralism to support the creation of counter-narratives. Within this scope, scholars began to critique

modernist social structures such as capitalism (e.g. Jameson 1991) and patriarchy (e.g. Frug 1993; Butler 1990) that had been previously observed through post-structuralist frameworks.

Of these scholars, this thesis predominantly engages with individuals working in postcolonial studies, who use poststructuralist thought as an analytical tool to interpret, read, and critique the cultural practices of colonialism (e.g. Bhabha 1994; Spivak 1988; Said 1978). This genealogy, therefore, places postcolonialism as a system of thought that offers a framework to critique colonialism but importantly from an academic tradition that developed from within it. As such, postcolonial thinkers engage with the critique of colonialism, but do so from perspectives and experiences outside of the 'third world' (Mignolo 2011a: xxxvi). This positionality is predominantly a result of the Western academic fields of thought from which postcolonial criticism has originated, rather than the identity of authors. For example, Bhabha, Spivak, and Said are each non-European, and from the Global South, but use postcolonial thought that can genealogically be traced to French structuralism. It is this characteristic – that postcolonialism is situated in, and from, a geo-historical location not directly under colonial oppression – that differentiates the field from decolonialism's aims and viewpoint.

As Walter Mignolo illustrates, decolonial thought did not stem from the Western academic practices connected with postcolonialism. Instead, engagement with decoloniality materialised 'at the very moment in which the colonial matrix of power was being put in place' (Mignolo 2011a: 3). It is this very moment that defines decolonial thought and its foundation in oppositional dialogue to, and action against, colonialism and coloniality. Importantly, these activities are engaged from a positionality of minoritized and marginalised identities who are oppressed by these forces (Tlostanova 2019: 165-166; Mignolo 2011a: xxvi; Pérez 2010: 142). These characteristics are, therefore, opposed to postcolonialism's use of poststructuralism that, although critical of the Western academy, nonetheless works with and from within it. From this perspective, Madina Tlostanova (2019: 167) recalls Audre Lorde's argument that the master's tools will not dismantle the master's house (1984: 112).

Tlostanova further clarifies this point through the statement that 'postcolonial theory stops at the level of changing the content but not the terms of the discussion' (2019: 167). This is different to decolonial thought and action, which pushes for change through the field's delocalised starting point that has always opposed the West's dominant epistemological hegemony that postcolonialism emerged from (Castro-Gómez 2007: 433). This is illustrated by Quijano's assertion that decolonial action and thought needs to be delinked from western rationality, modernity, and coloniality to free the thought processes of the oppressed who engage with the critique of traditional power relations (2007: 177). Decolonialism, therefore,

proposes that there is no way out of Quijano's coloniality of power from within Westernised approaches to thought (Mignolo 2011b: 45). Epistemic disobedience is, therefore, an essential aspect of decolonial approaches and emphasises the key difference between postcolonial critique and decolonial action and thought.

Postcolonial and decolonial perspectives have much in common as they simultaneously focus on colonialism and coloniality (Mignolo 2011a: xxiii). As a result, authors from both fields are used frequently throughout this thesis as the research questions require academic analysis into representation, but also the work of decolonial thinkers who seek to delink the systems of oppression maintained by museums as colonial constructs. As they do so from fundamentally different positionalities and relationships with western hegemony, however, their simultaneous use by no means intends to merge these authors and fields into a homogenous mass. To further clarify these thoughts and approaches, the next section examines and illustrates how postcolonial critiques differ from decolonial action in museums and heritage sites, alongside anti-racist practice.

3.3.6 The ideologies of decolonising museums, postcolonial critique, and creation of anti-racist environments: A singular thrust or separate approaches?

Throughout chapter three, I have used a postcolonial critique of display narratives alongside discussion of the act of decolonising, and the creation of anti-racist environments. This aim is to discuss the action that reacts to the criticisms of traditional museal processes that embody colonialism and coloniality. These different approaches have often been combined as one singular thrusting critique of museal action. This reflects the similarities shared between these concepts as outlined in chapter two. It also, however, neglects to differentiate between the ideologies behind the decolonisation of museums, postcolonial critiques of museum narratives, and the creation of anti-racist environments. This section, therefore, distinguishes between ways in which these ideologies affect processes found in museums and heritage sites, and their impact upon narratives of the Roman past.

Initially, engagement with postcolonial critiques of museums and heritage sites seeks to uncover the imperial hegemonies that underlie their processes and discourses (Tolia-Kelly 2016: 897-898; Enwezor 2003: 58; MacLeod 1998: 315-316). As a continuation of postcolonialism's early application as a theory partly for literary criticism (e.g. Said 1978), its application in current display narratives similarly aims to critically engage with the production of a counternarrative. As such, exhibits that engage with postcolonial thought aim to curate and platform discourses that highlight and critique power relations that embody traditional curation approaches.

The *An Archaeology of Race* temporary exhibit (2009) introduced earlier in this chapter, for example, incorporated a postcolonial perspective to disrupt the elisions between the Roman period, Europeanness, and whiteness (Tolia-Kelly 2010: 71). The *Peopling of London* temporary exhibit (1993-1994) at the Museum of London, also previously mentioned, is another example. Both cases reposition the lens through which the past is observed and shift focus onto narratives that counter previously whitewashed histories. Postcolonial perspectives can, therefore, enter museums and heritage sites through the curation of counternarratives.

Discourses that challenge colonialism and coloniality also enter institutions through the bringing of postcolonial critique into colonial spaces. Examples include the Rijksmuseum's *Colonial Past* virtual tour that guides the listener through a counternarrative of colonial artwork and objects in its permanent collection. Another instance is the *Uncomfortable Art Tours*[6], run by Alice Procter, at Britain's National Gallery, National Portrait Gallery, the British Museum, Victoria and Albert Museum, Tate Britain, and the Queen's House, which is part of the National Maritime Museum. These tours situate some of Britain's main cultural institutions in a discourse that is shrouded in their complicity with, and origins in, imperialism. Either by an outsider or the museum itself, these tours manage to bring postcolonial criticism into imperial display spaces without physical change to exhibits. In many cases, conversations about coloniality are present, but spaces remain static.

For institutions to create discourses that engage with postcolonialism, they need to promote contemplation on societal conditions through their curation of collections (van Slooten 2018: 39). This process may include exhibits and co-curation processes that involve previously misrepresented identities such as those of indigenous scholars, activists and community groups including individuals that associate with minoritized communities (Wajid and Minott 2020: 28; Vamanu 2019: 1; Cotterill 2016: 1; Tolia-Kelly 2016: 899-900). These changes to the curation process challenge traditional processes and ideologies towards the treatment and perception of 'truth' that perpetuate coloniality. Action from institutions that platform postcolonial perspectives, therefore, stems from a sustained commitment to anti-racist practise and discourse that motivates the inclusion of postcolonial critique into their output (Coombes 1988: 57).

In Britain, anti-racist models of education, in particular, were developed by grassroots political movements in the 1980s and inspired by the Black Power movements in America and the anti-colonial movement in the UK (Anthias and Yuval-Davis 1992: 113). Anti-racist education, relevant to museums and heritage sites due to their position as educators (Hooper-Greenhill 1994a: 3),

---

[6] https://www.theexhibitionist.org/ (Accessed 08/02/2021).

was developed to take classroom discussion beyond a multicultural framework. This aimed to introduce a discourse that went beyond an emphasis on the teaching about cultures that struggled to go beyond media stereotypes (Habib 2018: 209; Lander 2014; Anthias and Yuval-Davis 1992: 114). As such, anti-racist education, as developed in the mid-late 1980s, focused on questions of discrimination and included the employment of more non-white teachers to dissolve racist ideologies from Britain's curricula (Anthias and Yuval-Davis 1992:114). It was, and is, therefore, paramount for industries that promote anti-racist action to ensure people of colour are represented in meaningful places such as display narratives, but also in management, leadership, and other roles that direct outputs (Boykin et al, 2020: 781).

In British museums, the need for staff to be better representative of the UK's diverse population began to be realised in the 1990s (Kinsley 2016: 476; Davies and Shaw 2013). With this realisation came certain schemes to boost the diversity present in Britain's museums and heritage sites. These included the *Renaissance in the Region* project, previously discussed, and the UK's Museums Association's *Diversify* scheme that ran from 1998 to 2011. This scheme was specifically aimed to diversify the museum workforce through the training of individuals from underrepresented groups in the heritage sector such as people from Black, Asian, and minority ethnic backgrounds, those with low socio-economic backgrounds, and disabled persons (Heidelberg 2019: 392). A sustained injection of diversity was, therefore, aimed for by these schemes to support inclusive change and corresponds to anti-racist calls for a better presence of minority groups in visible positions. A further requirement to create sustainable sector-wide change in diversity and inclusivity is to train and educate those already employed (Sandell 2003: 53-55). This is a flaw of many programmes designed to create change (Heidelberg 2019: 392). It is, therefore, important for positions and people in the museum and heritage sector, old and new, front of house and back of house, from curators to directors and education coordinators to be involved in, alert to, and advocates of inclusive action. Anti-racist behaviour and approaches to change need to be ingrained in diversity projects as a foundational value.

This is predominantly caused by anti-racism's aim, within a museum and its workforce, to tackle all aspects that are situated within a colonial praxis and perpetuate racist ideologies (Anthias and Yuval-Davis 1992: 114). This is crucial as exhibit displays continue to be key in the definition of Britishness that is still a racially coded concept (Habib 2018: 211; Gilroy 1992: 56). Proponents of anti-racism that aid in this challenge include the call to confront racism in oneself and others; to assist in educating each other on the topics of discrimination and oppression; to teach individuals ways in which to recognise and dismantle hierarchies based on discrimination; to enact accountability; to encourage and create change that dissolves racial hegemonies; and to support and sustain an inclusive workforce and space (Boykin et al. 2020: 781; Esson and Last 2020: 670).

Outward expressions have, therefore, been made by museums and heritage groups across Britain in recent years to express ways in which institutions aim to promote and enact anti-racist and inclusive action and ethics. Recent examples associated with the Black Lives Matter protests in 2020 include statements and resources that reinforce anti-racist solidarity and education. Relevant examples can be found on the websites for Museums Sheffield,[7] National Museums Liverpool,[8] National Museum Wales,[9] TATE,[10] and the Design Museum.[11] Prior efforts also saw the employment of diversity staff in the early 2000s in British museums, although funds for these roles subsequently dwindled and resulted in a return to white normativity (Smith and Fouseki 2011: 104-105).

More recent examples, however, of well-known displays and institutions that curate through an anti-racist practice include the previously mentioned Migration Museum and the International Slavery Museum. Other galleries and exhibits, temporary and permanent, include the *London Sugar and Slavery* permanent gallery at the Museum of London Docklands Museum, and the *Archaeologies of Race* (2009) temporary exhibit at Hadrian's Wall. What these museums and displays have in common, is the ways in which they take seriously the historical involvement of museums with colonialism and coloniality. They build on postcolonial critiques that examine their relationships with oppressive hegemonies of modernity and bring these to the forefront of display narratives.

Importantly, previous examples given in this section incorporate postcolonial and anti-racist perspectives in displays through the tools and methods of the museum that have been inherited through colonialism. The European perspectives this approach entails have been combatted through the increased involvement of guest and co-curators from outside the museum. Such collaborations bring in dialogues and perspectives to the curation process not usually associated with traditional practice. As postcolonial critique and anti-racist practice essentially work within the confines of a museum or heritage site, however, asymmetries of epistemology are likely to continue in favour of Western institutions (Bhagwati 2020: 354; Taylor 2020: 103).

Such an argument can be found in decolonial thought that aims to break free of the sorts of limitations found in curation practice. This is in line with Quijano's statement that decolonial thought and action must 'desprenderse' from modernity and coloniality (2007: 177). As such, de-

---

[7] https://www.museums-sheffield.org.uk/about/black-lives-matter (Accessed 09/02/2021)
[8] https://www.liverpoolmuseums.org.uk/black-lives-matter (Accessed 09/02/2021)
[9] https://museum.wales/about-us/Black-lives-matter/ (Accessed 09/02/2021)
[10] https://www.tate.org.uk/about-us/our-commitment-race-equality (Accessed 09/02/2021)
[11] https://designmuseumfoundation.org/black-lives-matter-and-anti-racism-resources/ (Accessed 09/02/2021)

linking is, per Quijano's statement, the main act that separates the decolonial from postcolonial. Within museums, this approach reflects Mignolo's observation that 'de-linking implies epistemic disobedience rather than the constant search for "newness"' (2011b: 45). This same aspect is where Mignolo claims previous decolonial attempts have failed - content is changed but the terms of the conversation stay static (2011b: 50). This process may reflect the introduction of narratives that challenge or educate visitors through engagement with coloniality but continue to be narrated through traditional power relations associated with museums.

This issue is still of concern for recent projects that aim to decolonise British museums. A primary example of this was shared by Sumaya Kassim and their involvement with the Birmingham Museum and Art Gallery's (BMAG) 2018 exhibition *The Past Is Now: Birmingham and the British Empire.* The aim was to curate a temporary display that addressed Birmingham's relationship with Britain's empire as an experiment to observe ways in which the narrative could be told more permanently (BMAG 2017). To do this, six external co-curators were invited to work alongside the museum as a decolonial exercise (Abeera Kamran, Aliyah Hasinah, Mariam Khan, Sara Myers, Shaheen Kasmani, and Sumaya Kassim). As outlined by Kassim in their article *The Museum Will Not be Decolonised*, however, the process generated questions that ask whether large museums in Britain are so engrossed in coloniality that they 'end up co-opting decoloniality' rather than facilitating it (2017).

Throughout the curatorial process that theoretically saw the museum relinquish control, Kassim shared concerns that the co-curator's efforts and passion to narrate a decolonial narrative could be 'edited away' because of a power relation that was in favour of the institution (2017). Sara Wajid and Rachael Minott expand on this example (2019: 31). They depict a situation where strong leadership and creativity by the co-curators, contributed to a power struggle with the museum and its staff who wanted to maintain the institution's authority and trustworthiness (Wajid and Minott 2019: 31). The concerns of the museum, of course, coincided with western ideals of what they should envisage and portray, and hindered the decolonial approaches' attempt to de-link from these Western ideals. Furthermore, it has been acknowledged that groups asked to co-curate a space are generally approached by an institution that already has an agenda in place that needs to be completed within a set range of variables, such as time (Mutibwa et al. 2020: 158). There are, therefore, questions over how decolonial action can take place in museums and heritage sites that are rooted in colonialism, and whether it is possible at all.

These issues are importantly discussed by groups in Britain such as Museum Detox, whose members are positioned in experiences and identities that contribute to decolonial thought and

action (Wajid and Minott 2019: 26). These conversations are also engaged with throughout this thesis, through the contextualisation of many individuals who have provided their thoughts and experiences on the topic of decolonisation within the museum and heritage sector.

As has been demonstrated in this section, postcolonial criticism, decolonial thought and action, and anti-racist ethos and processes have many aspects in common. They each take distinct approaches to critically analyse and challenge traditional practices in museums and heritage sites, particularly those that relate to inclusivity, representation, colonialism, and coloniality (Mignolo 2011a: xxiii). This research, therefore, engages with each of these concepts throughout - particularly anti-racist practice because of its advocacy of inclusivity which is at the heart of this thesis' focus on the representation of ethnic diversity in existent Roman display narratives.

3.4 Conclusion

This chapter is integral to later discussions that link modern Roman display narratives with traditional purposes of institutions that display the past and ideological influences. As such, it has highlighted how museums were founded by colonial ideals of Eurocentrism and 18th and 19th-century nationalism. This promoted the depiction of history through imperial ideologies and dictated the curation of the past as an exclusive activity to define national identities. This practice predominantly took shape through comparisons between idealised characteristics with othered undesired groups, to distinguish concepts like Britishness. Within this process, the Roman period became entrenched in an imperial discourse and characterises the ideologically informed exclusive pedagogy associated with displays of the Roman past in Britain.

The chapter then discussed ideological changes in post-war Britain, thanks to a period that experienced the disbandment of empires and rise of multiculturalism. Like today, museums had to change to reflect the shifts in how society and Britain perceived itself in the new world order. The decolonial actions that began in the 1950s resulted in change but remained limited by traditional hegemonies of knowledge and power rooted in colonialism. The revolutionary perspectives of the New Museology movement recognised these issues and embraced a visitor-centred attitude to curation. Exhibits that embraced this movement were also involved in museal approaches that supported multiculturalism and the celebration of minority ethnic groups. Key exhibits such as the Museum of London's *Peopling of London*, therefore, act as a precursor to exhibits that expressly promote diversity.

As discussed with the rise and fall of New Labour, however, multiculturalism failed to succeed as a strategy to govern diverse populations. It did, nonetheless, engrain diversity into future conceptions of Britain and the Western world that resonate with modern attempts to decolonise

museum spaces using anti-racial and anti-colonial methods. Present-day ideologies have recently seen a recurrent rise in far-right nationalism and populism, however, and act as a counterbalance to efforts taken by museums to become inclusive. In as much, this chapter represents the complex ideological situation that characterises the purpose and practices of museums that curatorial teams have to engage with.

Chapter 4: Methodology

The previous chapter provided contextualisation and further justification for this thesis' study into the representation of minority ethnic groups in Roman display narratives. This chapter outlines the methods used to collect and examine the data. First, the role and enaction of self-reflexivity throughout this thesis are addressed. The identity of researchers has a direct effect on the conceptualisation of research questions, the collection of data, its analysis, and interpretation of results. The value of a self-reflexive approach to research is also evident through this thesis' examination of representation. As such, it is fundamental to understand how my researcher identity may have affected the interpretation of results. This chapter then discussed the collation and analysis of data supported by its self-reflexive approach. Dataset 1's methodology is first discussed that contains 38 full interviews with staff members at museums and heritage sites alongside two supplementary conversations. This is followed by the methodologies used for Dataset 2, that consists of 255 questionnaires from the public.

4.1 Self-reflexivity

The act of self-reflexivity is the conscious effort to turn towards oneself and become the observed and observer simultaneously (Lee 2015: 39; Popoveniuc 2014: 205; Pagis 2009: 266; Alvesson et al 2008: 495; Robertson 2002: 784). This is to nurture a research practice that does not follow traditional Western conceptions that separate the researcher, the subject, and subjects of their work (Popoveniuc 2014: 205; Lewis 2012: 229; Fernandez 2009: 99). In this Western conception of research practice, non-engagement with a researcher's positionality within the context of their studies provides the view that work is a neutral vehicle to reflect events and relations in the world (Denzin and Lincoln 1994: 11; Usher and Edward 1994: 152). This does not hold, however, as analysis of their construction and reception plants hegemonic ideologies into research processes and outcomes.

Consequently, self-reflexivity provides both the author and reader with approaches through which to deconstruct research (Gordon 2005: 281; Usher and Edwards 1994: 152). Throughout this section, my researcher identity has been exposed to better understand the wider societal norms that shape my work, even whilst attempts are made to avoid this (Usher and Edwards 1994: 152). Through my experience as a European, white male who has been educated in the north of England, I have experienced privilege in relation to my identity and membership of the majority ethnic group in Britain. More specifically, I spent the years between 1992-2012 in Cleethorpes and Grimsby, South Humberside, before a move to Canterbury for university. In the

2011 local area report that details a range of statistics gained by Nomis for the Office for National Statistics (ONS 2011a), 97.4% of the region's inhabitants identified as white. As such, the first two decades of my life were spent in a location that was almost entirely white, and this impacted my early development and resulted in ignorance of life experiences that were different from my own.

I remain, however, situated within a socio-cultural, educational, and political system that does not limit my access to knowledge and socio-economic progression within its defined hegemonic structure (Bhopal 2018: 9-28). Consequently, the phrase 'the master's tools will never destroy the master's house' (Lorde 1984 [2019]: 105) is very pertinent to how my positionality affects my perspectives and the impact of this study. The crux of Audre Lorde's statement can be further elaborated through Bourdieu's *habitus* that illustrates how society unconsciously shapes a *modus operandi* in ways of thinking and acting (1977: 79). As such, self-reflexivity may be engrossed in the structures it attempts to challenge. However, as fields of thought enter times of crises, Bourdieu also indicates that reflexivity could appear to blur the boundaries between schools of thought to encourage change (Sweetman 2003: 540-541). This can be seen to relate to the field of museology, where calls for museums to diversify imply a crisis in which institutions continue to narrate outmoded and exclusive narratives (Verdesio 2010: 350; see chapter three). Consequently, engagement with self-reflexive approaches, such as postcolonialism, alongside the study of museology depicts a process that resembles the field's reply to crises flagged by studies of representation.

Similarly, my own experiences have followed a comparable route to an eventual change in how I perceive representation in display narratives. As my identity portrays, traditional Roman displays were easily relatable for me. The depiction of a homogenised Roman period did not make me uncomfortable as I did not perceive any injustice in a display that reflected my perception of the world. My identity was included in all displays of the ancient period; however, I was not aware that it was the only demographic on show at the expense of others. The ease I felt was supported by my identity as English, supported by a habitus that shaped my worldview from a young age (Saatcioglu and Ozanne 2013: 693).

This comfort and high level of inclusion in heritages and histories were also heightened by my inclusion in the rich heritage of Grimsby and Cleethorpes, whose identity stems from strong links to its fishing industry. This heritage is illuminated in the National Fishing Heritage Centre in Grimsby that highlights the town's illustrious past as the country's, leading fishing port in circa 1900 (Friend 2010: 76). This era of the town's past is idolised locally and used to inspire pride in a place that has echoed the rapid decline of many other fishing communities throughout the 20th

century (Friend 2010: 51). Furthermore, the region's powerful ties with Britain's Royal Air Force and base for Bomber Command in WWII also serves as a central theme used to heighten pride in the region. Lincolnshire's nickname as 'Bomber County', its countless aviation museums, flyovers by the Battle of Britain memorial warplanes, and the annual Armed Forces weekend celebrations remain a key feature of the region's identity. Inclusion in this highly celebrated history was never denied to me. I, therefore, experienced the great comfort that comes with membership of a dominant ethnicity, and large social group. This experience has also provided me with direct understanding of how powerful inclusivity can be, as well as, through reflection, its whiteness. By extension, this has exemplified the exclusive nature of current heritage narratives used in the UK. This is also indicative of memberships to identities and heritages that are underpinned by discourse purported by Roman displays that traditionally feed into ideas of Englishness (Gardner 2017: 7).

The ordered displays of cultures and ethnicities different to my own are not only ignored in many present-day celebrations of Britain's heritage, but they were also met with intrigue and fascination, much like the attitudes addressed by Edward Said's *Orientalism* (1978). There was a distance between the way my own identity related to my nation's heritage, and how I related to the portrayal of culture from other countries. This worldview placed me at ease, with a colour-blind perspective defined as 'white resistance to seeing' the problematic social fractures and injustices around me (Jervis 1996: 553).

As such, my experiences can only relate to those experienced by majority demographic groups of society. Increased awareness of this reality, however, has resulted in my continuous attempt to be self-critical, open-minded, and active in the pursuit of mindfulness of the experiences of others. Initial steps towards self-reflexivity are to take notice of personal relationships with society, culture, and power relations (Fernandez 2009: 99). This is understood as a continual process without an end. As such, my attempts to be aware of biases and to limit their ability to restrict perspective throughout this thesis are not without fault. The intention to do so, however, is done through three key methodological elements.

Initially, a conscious effort has been made to avoid the usual reliance on a westernised scholarship to construct and analyse this thesis' research questions. In addition to the canonical works of Foucault (e.g. 1973, 1969), Saussure (1916 [1974]), and Genette (1972), different voices have been incorporated throughout this thesis to ensure diversity of scholarship.[12] This feature is

[12] This is evidenced in section 4.2.2 under the sub-heading *An unavoidable flaw in participant diversity.*

also fundamental to the collection of both datasets that aim to integrate the experiences of many different individuals.

Mikhail Bakhtin, a Russian philosopher, and literary critic linked this process to the notion of a 'heteroglossia' (1981) – a thing that resembles 'a multiplicity of voices, genres and social languages' (Maybin 2001: 67). Reflecting how research is collected and used in this thesis, heteroglossia emphasises how knowledge is collectively negotiated and undermines the privileged position of the researcher (Alvesson et al. 2008: 487). Consequently, knowledge creation is seen as a collective effort (Gergen 1991: 270; Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992: 40) enacted through a diverse range of experiences. As such, this thesis attempts to be *one* voice amongst many others, and not *the* voice on the matter.

It is understood, however, that this approach is limited. It is not possible to treat the experiences of each participant equally (Alvesson et al. 2008: 487). The researcher's voice will be prominent throughout; however, attempts to incorporate others show intent to limit and reveal the amount of privilege granted to researchers over those that contribute to the study. To limit this criticism, this thesis does not necessarily concentrate on the experiences of those othered by institutional narratives. Instead, the focus is placed on why adequate steps have not yet been taken in response to those that have spoken out on behalf of themselves and others. This thesis also analyses the continuance of a status quo as reasons for a lack of change in the sector.

Finally, the research questions defined in chapter one of this thesis are used to gather data that focuses on the topics of ethnicity, representation, race, and identity politics. Without the inclusion of these focal points in research, researchers are more likely to retreat into the comfort zones of white norms (Gordon 2005: 299). Attempts have been made to avoid this outcome, by specifically keeping the concepts of ethnicity, race, and representation as central to this thesis.

4.2 Dataset 1: Interviews

Dataset 1 includes research obtained through interviews with museum and heritage professionals. The interview process will be initially defined, followed by the intentions behind each question. A discussion will then outline how data has been collected and analysed. The selection process will be discussed to show the range of professionals that have been included in this research project.

4.2.1 Interviews and Analysis

Interview format

Semi-structured interviews were chosen, as they allow for greater flexibility (Pike and Miell 2007: 261; Gubrium and Holstein 2002: 35). It was important to sustain a relatively free discourse with interviewees to encourage the exchange of ideas and experiences (DeJonckheere and Vaughn 2019: 2; Berg 2007: 96; Holloway and Jefferson 2000: 35). As shown in this thesis' analyses of results (chapters eight and nine), the methodology underpinned narratological examination through in-depth and individualised data (Alshenqeeti 2014: 40). This was aided through prompts employed in interviews to probe and gain richer datasets (Dörnyei, 2007: 136). Consequently, all but one question on the interview question sheet (Appendix 1) was open-ended to encourage this goal.

Question 1 took the form of a closed-item question: *Do your Roman displays explicitly portray ethnic diversity/identity within the Roman period?* Follow up questions were then used to probe further into initial answers. As depicted in Figure 7 (in chapter five), however, participants did not rely on strict 'yes or no' answers. Due to this, three categories were used to order replies on a scale of ethnic diversity and identity displayed explicitly, implicitly, or not at all. Consequently, data for Question 1 became more detailed and apt to study the state of Roman display narratives and discussions of ethnicity.

To keep the interviews in line with research questions, the question sheet (Appendix 1) was used to direct the conversation in multiple ways without inhibiting the flow of conversation. To achieve this, the question sheet had two important functions. Initially, the question sheet was given to participants before the interview took place. This allowed interviewees to pre-emptively identify key issues to be discussed and reflect upon their own experiences to aid further spontaneous discussion (Păunescu 2014: 602, 604). Secondly, questions were simply used to guide interviews as prompts.

Consequently, open-ended interviews were chosen for the multiple benefits they had for data collection related to this thesis. As outlined by Sergio González Sánchez in his study that also included interviews with museum and heritage staff (2016: 13), interviews benefit studies as they:

- Reduce external observer bias as they actively gain data from primary sources and insights
- Provide an opportunity for the identification of themes that may be elusive without direct input from those in the field
- Allow space for elaboration and a richer dataset

- Inform, complement, and contextualise the study of wider literature and other research methods

Supplementary conversations

At Mildenhall Museum and Verulamium, the opportunity arose to discuss research questions with other individuals. These opportunities were taken and have resulted in the addition of two more individuals in the dataset. These supplementary conversations have been included within the analysis of data when links can be made with their content. As such, they have not been included within the core number of interviews that form Dataset 1. Both individuals gave their permission for these conversations to be used within the dataset.

Intentions and interview questions

Question 1: Do your Roman displays explicitly portray ethnic diversity and/or identity within the Roman period?

Question 1 directly relates to one of this thesis' research aims: to examine representation in Roman displays narratives. As such, this question sought to initiate discussion on whether ethnic diversity and identity were topics discussed in their institution's portrayal of the Roman period and why. Moreover, this question focused on the narratives of permanent displays, from types of institutions that have regularly, and traditionally, expressed exclusive narratives of homogenised histories (Knell 2011: 14; Preziosi 2011: 56). Question 1, therefore, directly addresses the current state of how ethnic diversity is represented in contemporary Roman displays that have regularly denoted marginalised parts of society as 'significant others' (Zhang et al. 2018: 125; Sarup 1996).

Furthermore, this question directly addresses this thesis' research agenda. Identity as a concept encompasses much more than the concept of ethnicity (Eckardt 2014: 6-7; Brubaker 2009: 205) which can be used as a part of an individual's overall identification. Therefore, whilst this question and thesis directly examine the inclusion of ethnicity in Roman display narratives, it was important to contextualise this within the wider treatment of identity in museal discourse. This is because ethnicity remains only one aspect of an individual's identity, as defined in chapter one. As identity is a much larger topic than ethnicity, it was important to gather data on whether other aspects such as gender, religion, and diet were discussed by Roman displays even if ethnicity was not. Furthermore, it is also important to examine ways in which concepts that relate to identity are discussed and whether modern attitudes are included. For example, is gender and sex shown to be understood as two separate concepts that independently envision a complex array of identities and realities. Question 1 is, consequently, aimed to generate quantitative data on whether ethnic diversity was included in their displays, alongside qualitative data to explore the wider reasons for its inclusion, absence, and treatment.

Question 2: A. Is the curation process free? B. Are there any outside influences and/or restrictions on the curation process?

The second question on Dataset 1's question sheet was split into two, to gain information about specific influences on curatorial roles. The responsibilities and function of curators have transformed and continues to do so, alongside the continuously adaptive image of museums. For example, curatorial roles are no longer closed-off positions in which academics produce narratives in isolation; they now work alongside many individuals from different backgrounds and job positions (Davies 2010: 307-308). This has occurred, in part, through the expansive roles institutions have acquired in society, that results in simultaneous expansions in the tasks attributed to curatorial positions (Alloway 1996: 221).

Furthermore, pressures outside of museums and heritage sites affect internal processes. Government and council-owned institutions are linked to agendas imposed from outside of their organizations. The impacts of this were explored through further probes and to discuss pertinent restrictions such as the widely recognised lack of funding (Rex 2020a: 194; Mendoza 2017: 31). Parts 2A and 2B, therefore, explore and contribute to research into factors that impact curatorial decisions in institutions that are constantly reacting to contemporary events and audiences.

Question 3: Is there outside pressure to depict different identities? (In terms of depicting modern-day ethnicities through the representation of the Roman period)

Question 3 focuses on pressures that specifically affect the depiction of ethnic identity. As modern-day institutions increasingly need to demonstrate relevance to contemporary society (Weil 2003: 42), it is vital to gather data into where this pressure comes from. As Roman heritage has been historically used as an ancient anchor for political ideologies (Gardner 2017: 7-8; also see chapter three), it is important to perceive modern links between the Roman and contemporary world, particularly that which concerns modern concepts of identity.

Question 4: The process from archaeology to a museum/heritage display.

Question 4 introduces a topic, rather than a question, as it sought to encourage insight into actual curatorial processes. Three specific questions addressing how research informs display narratives were included to help guide the discussion (Appendix 1). Prompts additionally asked about the contemporaneity of research used and time taken for important items to be placed within exhibits. Analysis of the epistemological process that underpins display narratives is essential to this thesis, as institutions are vital to the creation and reception of knowledge and identity (Tetlie 2018: 170; Falks and Dierking 2013: 300-307; Hooper-Greenhill 1994a: 3, 1992: 145). Consequently, the time it takes for new knowledge to reach the public was addressed to

further understand how pertinent narratives are created, and why they may be perceived to lack behind contemporary society.

Question 5: In what ways do you attempt to keep the public constantly aware of contemporary research, particularly with permanent displays?

New technology has caused many changes to the concept of an "exhibition" (Davies 2010: 307). Advances in communicative techniques include virtual tours and museums (Katz and Halpern 2015: 776-777; Wang *et al*. 2009: 141), blogs and podcasts (e.g. The British Museum's Membercast,[13] and blogs by The Collection[14] and York Museum Trust[15]), and digital interactions to enhance the visitor experience (Ross 2012: 23-39; see the QRator Project at UCL for a specific project[16]). Consequently, institutions possess many channels for knowledge exchange, which in turn provides opportunities for the output of up-to-date information. This is of relevance thanks to the advancements of archaeological research, evidenced by the growing complexity that surrounds the study of identity (Díaz-Andreu and Lucy 2005: 5). It is, therefore, essential to acknowledge how, and if, these trends are reflected in regular changes to maintain display narratives that are relevant for modern audiences and researchers. Furthermore, it is vital to understand whether depictions of ethnic diversity are integral to display spaces, as inclusionary work can be shallow or tokenizing, intentionally or not (Ng, Ware, and Greenberg 2017: 143).

Question 6: How long should a permanent exhibition last?

General practice is that permanent displays are designed to last five, ten, or more years (Davies 2010: 307). The curation of display narratives takes place within certain contexts and reflects influences, fashions, and trends. As such, whilst Roman displays provide snapshots into ancient life, they simultaneously reflect contemporary realities that existed at the time of curation. Within this dataset, it has been important to identify when an exhibition was installed. This activity is vital within the study of how ethnicity is depicted as approaches to ethnicity have continuously differed throughout its practice (Lucy 2005: 86-87). This can then result in fundamentally outdated depictions in terms of relevancy and research methods for modern audiences and researchers. The contemporaneity of Roman display narratives, therefore, greatly affects the messages translated about concepts historically emphasised.

[13] https://blog.britishmuseum.org/category/podcasts/ [Accessed 15/04/2020].
[14] https://www.thecollectionmuseum.com/blog [Accessed 15/04/2020].
[15] https://www.yorkmuseumstrust.org.uk/blog/ [Accessed 15/04/2020].
[16] https://www.ucl.ac.uk/culture/projects/qrator [Accessed 15/04/2020].

Recording and analysis

Following interview-based research conducted by political scientists, this project gains data through the form of detailed notetaking (e.g. Aldrich 2009; Hertel, Singer and Van Cott 2009). These notes were then written up in full as soon as possible. Recordings were not taken throughout the interview process. Although recording may be viewed as advantageous, it can also negatively affect the reliability and validity of data (Al-Yateem 2012: 31, 33-34; Knapp 1998). When individuals know they are part of a study which is recorded, they may change their behaviour and inhibit the accumulation of snapshots that reflect reality; this is known as the Hawthorne effect (Al-Yateem 2012: 34).

The present study involves the discussion of potentially tense topics that can trigger certain reactions. Most notably, themes covered by the interview process are related to those that generate racial stress and white fragility (Parasram 2019: 194). Depending upon questionnaire responses, the failure to represent ethnic diversity and inclusive narratives needed to be discussed throughout interviews; attempts, therefore, to reduce stress were necessary. Consequently, to not record interviews may have supported the prevention of circumstances that could hinder data collection.

Once a full summary of interviews had been completed, they were digitally uploaded onto a qualitative data analysis programme called NVivo. This allowed the categorisation of research to produce an accessible dataset (Woods et al., 2016: 609-610; Dainty, Bagilhole and Neale 1997). NVivo was, therefore, integral to data collection, storage, and analysis; it was also supplemented by other programmes, such as Microsoft Excel, to create tables and charts that better-visualised data.

4.2.2 Selection Process

Sample - Countries

Dataset 1 contains 38 full interviews and two supplementary conversations from the United Kingdom (UK), the Netherlands, and Belgium (Figure 4 and Figure 5). All interviews were completed in a 16-month period that spanned from 03/05/2017 – 07/09/2018. In this process, each interviewee has been provided with a reference number, and the institutions to which the interviewees belong can be found in Appendix 2. The data collected throughout Dataset 1 predominantly centres on staff, and ex-staff, at British institutions. Five individuals in total came from the Netherlands (3) and Belgium (2). Therefore, data is heavily influenced by British museological practice. Assertions can still, however, be made that reflect realities in other countries due to the participation of many Western cultures in similar hegemonic processes as a consequence of their historic role in colonialism (de Loney 2019: 689; Vawda 2019: 74; Oyedemi

2018: 1-2; Mignolo 2013: 135; Grosfoguel 2011: 13-15; Quijano 2007: 169). The range of countries included within this project, therefore, aids an in-depth analysis of British museums and heritage sites, alongside data that contextualises it within a wider European perspective.

Figure 4: Distribution map of UK museums and heritage sites included in Dataset 1. Map created by the author using Google My Maps

Figure 5: Distribution map of Dutch and Belgian institutions included in Dataset 1. Map created by the author using Google My Maps

Sample - Institution types

The inclusion of a diverse range of institution types was necessary to produce a holistic picture of the treatment of ethnic diversity across different regions and communities. As such, the approach that was taken by this project allowed for an increasingly detailed vision of the underrepresentation, or otherwise, of ethnicities within the multitude of current institutions.

Appendix 3 is a list of features that the museums and heritage sites included in this project possessed. This list is not exhaustive, however, as general categorisations of institutions such as national, local authority, university, and independent have become increasingly inapt in showing the complexity of modern museumscapes (Davies 2010: 315). Below is also a list of museums where interviews took place (Table 2).

List of institutions where interviews took place[17]	
British Museum (London)	Museum of Classical Archaeology, Cambridge
Burwell Museum and Windmill	Museum of London
Butser Ancient Farm (Waterlooville)	Rijksmuseum van Oudheden (Leiden)
Colchester Castle Museum	Roman Museum(Canterbury)
Corinium Museum (Cirencester)	Seaside Museum (Herne Bay)
Dartford Central Library and Museum	Sittingbourne Heritage Museum
Dover Museum and Bronze Age Boat Gallery	The Collection (Lincoln)
English Heritage South East (Dover)	The Novium (Chichester)
Fishbourne Roman Palace and Gardens	The Roman Baths (Bath)
Friends of Canterbury Archaeological Trust	Thermenmuseum (Heerlen)
Gallo-Romeins Museum (Tongeren)	Valkhof Museum
Heritage Eastbourne (Eastbourne County Council)	Verulamium Museum (St Albans)
Maidstone Museum	Welwyn Roman Bath
Mildenhall and District Museum	Yorkshire Museum (York)
Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, Cambridge	

Table 2: List of institutions where interviews took place

As highlighted in chapter three, universal, national, regional, and small local museums each use periods of history to define a country or area through its history, heritage, and culture. Each type of museum and heritage site included in this research has been chosen to obtain a full understanding of this process, through the range of narratives - both, large and small, and homogenous and diverse - that target different types of audiences. As such, the Roman period is, in each institution included in this thesis, involved in the curation of a region's past and viewed through a specific lens which is dependent on the aims of curatorial teams. These aims will be based on who museum and heritage sites want to communicate and connect with. They also influence and are influenced by, how these discourses are ingrained into their targeted population's sense of being.

[17] Locations have been entered in brackets where it has not been made clear by the organisation's title.

A range of museums were, therefore, chosen; those included, however, are predominantly situated in the South East, Midlands, and southern parts of England, including London. Whilst this still offers a good breadth of locations and communities that have different relationships with the Roman period, this geographically-limited scope is acknowledged and was caused by time- and financial limitations linked to the research project. Furthermore, the institutions and individuals that were chosen and, therefore, included in this research correlates with those who were interested in hosting the project and had the means to do so. Initial contact via email was made to a larger number of institutions, in order to gather a more intricate picture of Britain's relationship with its Roman past and ethnic diversity. Many messages were, however, left unanswered, or answered with replies of disinterest in participation, or explanations of a lack of resources to accommodate this research. This may be caused by the difficulties faced by the museum sector in Britain and its precarious nature, but perhaps also by an uneasiness caused by the discussion of the levels of ethnic diversity and inclusivity in their display narratives.

Sample - Diversity of job descriptions

Interviews took place with a range of individuals with various work profiles. This was to capture insights from the increased roles present in today's museums. The result, of which, originates through institution's continual strive to be relevant for modern audiences (Watson 2007a: 27; Anderson 2004; Weil 2003: 42; Hooper-Greenhill 1994a: 3). As such, curators and ex-curators were seen to be just as important as education and collection officers, due to their individualised contributions that affect the creation and output of display narratives. For example, research has already shown the importance of museum educators thanks to their ability to better engage with communities (e.g. Tran 2008: 137; Dragotto, Minerva and Nichols 2006: 221; Ebitz 2005: 165). Engagement with a diverse set of interview participants was, therefore, necessary to fully explore the same characteristics across their outputs.

An unavoidable flaw in participant diversity

As demonstrated, the sample used within this study is representative of different types of institutions and the job roles within them. The current state of ethnic and racial equality and representation in Roman archaeology (Kamash *forthcoming*) and cultural institutions (Arts Council 2020; 2019) has, however, caused interviews with an ethnically diverse range of individuals to be impossible. Attempts have, therefore, been made to engage with a diverse range of authors and viewpoints throughout this thesis to prevent the creation of a biased study.

There is also a lack of publications by people from minority backgrounds that discuss Roman archaeology, ideology, and museology. To mitigate this, I have attempted to centre the ideas and experiences of diverse authors wherever possible, to centre their voices within a discussion that

has routinely excluded them. Furthermore, this thesis borrows from and builds upon, literature from fields beyond museum studies and archaeology. These include scholars from sociology (e.g. Bhopal 2018; Tolia-Kelly 2016; Go 2013; Quijano 2007), cultural geography (e.g. Tolia-Kelly 2011; 2010), education (e.g. Oyedemi 2018; Ülvay and Özkul 2017; Ngwena 2013; Dei 2006), and psychology (e.g. Tummala-Narra 2020; Song et al 2017; Dutta 2016); whilst these remain fields under-representative of scholars from minority backgrounds, they still consist of many diverse views from non-traditional author demographic groups, that benefit argument in this thesis.

Restriction of museum visits

Data given by participants about their associated Roman displays does not consider changes that occurred after their date of interview. Attempts have been made, however, to remain aware of any changes that may have occurred since data was collected. Unfortunately, with the untimely advent of the Covid-19 pandemic, visits to reassess Roman displays that may have been updated were not possible due to isolation and temporary closure. Furthermore, emails to museum and heritage site staff have remained unanswered and reflect how many museum staff were furloughed and made redundant throughout this period. The impact of the Covid-19 pandemic on the museum sector is further discussed in the concluding chapter.

4.3 Dataset 2: Questions and limitations

Dataset 2 of this thesis consists of 255 questionnaires conducted with members of the public from six different institutions in the UK. This section starts with a discussion of the reasons behind the design of a separate set of questions for the public. It introduces the locations at which the questionnaires were conducted, and its format. The intention behind and justification for each question on the visitor survey is also discussed before possible limitations with the methodology are considered.

4.3.1 Why another questionnaire?

Questionnaires with members of the public aimed to collect data that can be compared with Dataset 1. This is important as the theory of narratology, outlined by Gerard Genette, includes the study of three strands: the narrative content, how it is expressed, and the context of its use (1972: 27). To understand the context of ethnic diversity in Roman displays, it is essential to gather data from the public for which it is intended. Furthermore, opinions held by the public influence the decisions made by curators, due to their attempt to create displays that can relate to audiences. To study each aspect of narratology, therefore, requires data gained from museum professionals and visitors alike.

4.3.2 Institutions and questionnaire participants

All except three surveys were carried out in a Roman gallery or heritage site. This meant that participants had at least one Roman narrative to consider as they engaged with the questionnaire. The three individuals that did not complete the questionnaire within a museum or heritage site were members of *Friends of Canterbury Archaeological Trust*. Canterbury has a rich Roman history, and this group is deeply involved with its heritage and archaeology through its purpose to support the Canterbury Archaeological Trust, the foremost archaeological unit local to the area. They, therefore, had previous experience of archaeology and its output.

Besides the Friends of Canterbury Archaeological Trust, the other five institutions where questionnaires were collected are Fishbourne Roman Palace (Fishbourne); the Cambridge Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology (Cambridge); Maidstone Museum (Maidstone); the Roman Museum (Canterbury); and the Yorkshire Museum (York) (Figure 6). Appendix 3 offers information on how the five institutions differ in terms of type, size, and location. It was essential to gather data at a range of institutions to encourage diversity in the dataset's demographics.

Another factor that contributed to the selection of these institutions was their readiness to host this research. Many institutions were contacted to participate in Dataset 2's questionnaires, but, as witnessed by the institutional responses to requests for interviews discussed above, this was not routinely met with acceptance. This may again reflect the uneasiness in the museum sector to recognise and act upon its underrepresentation of minority ethnic groups. Furthermore, because the staff at the museums where questionnaires took place were also interviewed as part of Dataset 1, substantial links have been made between Dataset 1 and 2.

It was decided that those aged 17+ would be better suited to this study as the questionnaire contains complex issues more appropriate for adult audiences. Studies that examine the experiences of children and teenagers within institutions are already widespread and require specific methods and research questions that are not used in this project (e.g. Callanan et. al 2020; Croco, Puddu and Smorti 2019; Wong and Piscitelli 2019; Carr et. al 2018; Hooper-Greenhill 1991: 151-162). The large presence of 0-16-year-olds at institutions has not, however, been ignored. Interviews from Dataset 1 regularly discussed the importance of school groups and their influence on display narratives; attention is given to this in chapter six. Moreover, whilst participant contribution from individuals 85+ was not actively avoided or discouraged, it is absent from the dataset.

Figure 6: Map of institutions included in Dataset 2. 1) Cambridge Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology 2) Fishbourne Roman Palace 3) Maidstone Museum 4) Roman Museum 5) Yorkshire Museum. Created by the author on Google My Maps

4.3.3 Questionnaire format

As seen in Appendix 4, the questionnaire consisted predominantly of closed questions. There are numerous advantages to the restriction of contributor replies that benefit the study in Dataset 2. Firstly, 'closed-end questions provide quantitative data and yield data suitable for effective analysis and comparison (Marshall 2005: 132; Oppenheim 1992: 114). Additionally, closed questions require less time to answer than their open-ended counterparts (Oppenheim 1992: 114) and contribute to higher contribution rates. This process is opposed to Dataset 1's interviews that required pre-booked slots of time. An unfortunate disadvantage of closed questions, however, is the loss of spontaneity and expression offered to contributors (Oppenheim 1992: 114). As this research deals with complex and subjective issues, it was, therefore, important to offer space for participants to further expand and express themselves. To do so, three questions (Questions 5, 9, and 10) initially posed as closed questions were followed up with open-ended expansion fields.

As such, these open-ended questions gave participants freedom of expression, and simultaneously acted as predetermined probes (Singer and Couper 2017: 128; Oppenheim 1992: 112) on topics crucial for this research. Additionally, open-ended answers allow researchers to obtain further data and knowledge from its source (Oppenheim 1992: 112) to limit the extent of author interpretation bias. Contrary to closed-ended questions, however, they take longer to

answer and analyse. It was, therefore, decided to limit the number of open-ended questions to allow for the collection and investigation of more data to better illustrate trends and patterns.

The questionnaire ended with a demographic section that asked for age, nationality, and ethnicity. A key aspect of this thesis is not only the study of ethnic diversity in Roman display narratives but also the perception of inclusivity by the institutions they are held in. As such, demographic details helped to clearly define with whom this research, as well as the display narratives engaged with (Marshall 2005: 132). Following the benefits and limitations of both open and closed questions, this section consists of open-ended responses. It was imperative to give individuals complete freedom in their self-identification and although this produced difficult data to compile and analyse, it provided an authentic representation of contributor identity.

4.3.4 The intention behind questions

Section 1: Expectations of museums dealing with history

Questions 1-3 on the questionnaire aimed to examine whether the public perceived history museums and heritage sites as social institutions that actively engage with modern issues and audiences.

Question 1: Do museums/heritage sites have a duty to represent everyone in modern society?

Question 1 sets the tone for the rest of the survey and introduces various concepts such as 'duty', 'representation', and the modern role of institutions. The word 'duty' was chosen as it encourages participants to think about whether curated spaces are expected to represent all people and groups in modern society, or not. It is important to state that this query uses the phrase 'museums/heritage sites' to portray institutions as collective, and not as singular entities.

Through coloniality (Quijano 2007: 169), exhibition narratives have regularly been argued to be exclusionary in practice (Grosvenor 2019: 648; Bennett [2005] 2018: 79; 1988: 99; Polm 2016; Tolia-Kelly 2016: 897; Valdeón 2015: 372-373; Harris 2009: 485; Mackenzie 2009: 13; Vickers 2008: 71; Hooper-Greenhill 1992: 78), with some notable exceptions and valuable attempts, as explained in the previous chapter. For Eleanor Scott, representation of individuals from minority ethnic groups has featured in most cases in a pseudo-inclusive manner in museums, as a form of tokenism, where subjects are included for form's sake, but then marginalised and not subject to wider analysis (Scott 1997:3). These academic concepts need to be compared with opinions from the public to perceive how contemporary, ethical museological approaches correspond with public opinion. Question 1, therefore, tackles an important aspect of this research, whilst it also introduces the theme of the questionnaire.

Question 2: Are you concerned with how many identities/ethnicities are represented within history displays?

Question 2 leads on to query whether individuals are actively concerned with representation in display narratives. Through learnt social norms, humans are conditioned to act and perceive the world in specific cultural ways (Bourdieu 1977: 186-187; Mauss 1935 [1968]: 73). This can affect whether visitors to history exhibits see fault with exclusive narratives. The comfort experienced by majority groups through continued inclusion can shape their experience within exhibits of culture and history. Identical narratives will produce different emotions with routinely excluded demographics who cannot connect with the display's message on an interpersonal level. As such, comparisons may be made between answers to Question 2 and the respondents' demographics.

Question 3: Should museums challenge stereotypical opinions such as racism and sexism?

Question 3 continues to encourage participants to engage with the roles they think an institution possesses. Whilst Question 1 and Question 2 involve the concept of representation, the third asks how vigorously an institution should engage with social justice. A museum must actively express value judgements associated with social, political, and moral standpoints if it is to challenge societal rifts such as racism and sexism. As such, displays that challenge politically charged concepts also challenge the myth that institutions need to be neutral spaces (Janes and Sandell 2019b: 8). Question 3 asks how much of an active role an exhibit is expected, or believed, to have in socio-political reform and education. This, therefore, takes the role of Roman display narratives beyond their perceived neutral display of history.

Section 2: Personal experiences

The second section of the questionnaire sheet centres on the participant's own experience within museums and heritage sites. The focus is predominantly on whether they feel as their own identities are represented and whether they are interested in depictions of ethnicity and identity.

Question 4: Do you feel as though your own ethnic identity is included within museum and heritage displays?

Answers to Question 4 provided data that examines the intersections between museum studies, identity politics, and archaeology. Additionally, Question 4 demonstrates the dataset's ability to evaluate and contribute to contemporary museological approaches towards inclusive narratives (for example, through the representation of cultural groups (Sweet and Kelly 2018; McLoughlin 2015; Holtschneider 2014), immigration (Labadi 2018; Levin 2017; Message 2017; Goureividis 2014), disability (Sandell, Dodd and Garland Thomson 2010), sexuality and gender (Adair and Levin 2020), and activism (Janes and Sandell 2019a; Message 2013)).

Question 5: If not, do you think they should attempt to?

For those who answered Question 4 negatively, Question 5 offered participants an opportunity to express whether institution narratives should be inclusive of their identity. As such, Question 5 provides a much-needed opportunity for those who feel excluded from display narratives to have their voice included in this research. This relates to the use of narratology to underpin this study and strengthens it through the inclusion of different voices. Furthermore, many recent publications successfully argue for inclusivity as a prominent aspect of museological displays (e.g. Ng et al. 2017; Egholk and Jenson 2016; Tolia-Kelly 2011). Question 5, therefore, includes data that furthers these discussions throughout this thesis, alongside the opportunity for it to be used in further studies.

Question 6: Are you interested in discussions concerning identity and ethnicity of people in ancient periods such as the Roman era? **Question 7:** Are you interested in discussions concerning identity and ethnicity in modern societies?

There has been a recent rise in anti-intellectualism that stems from public distrust of experts (Gauchat 2012; Rigney 1991; Hofstadter 1963). Support for anti-intellectual agendas can come from all areas of the political spectrum; however, in recent years it has been routinely ignited by parties that lean to the right. For example, both Donald Trump in his role as president of the USA, and Michael Gove in his role as a British MP, member of the cabinet, and pro-Brexiteer, actively disregarded the opinions of experts (Motta 2018: 466, 468). Due to its ability to divert trust from experts and instead channel it towards politicians for personal gain, anti-intellectualism has quickly become part of contemporary political strategy. Movements to mend social fractures (typified by criticism of multiculturalism, see Ch. 3 'Roles of Museums') for example, provided ample opportunity for such tactics to be utilised.

Questions 6 and 7, therefore, aim to provide insight into whether recent discussions have sparked a continued interest in the concepts of ethnicity and identity in ancient and modern periods. Although Question 6 and Question 7 do not exhibit political connotations, they do provide an opportunity to show whether the concepts of ethnicity and identity are of relevant interest. Furthermore, if they are relevant for present-day audiences then it provides institutions with an opportunity to curate narratives that counter harmful and divisive forms of nationalism through the same concepts used to construct its ideological foundation.

Section 3: Questions specifically relating to depictions of the Roman period

The final section of the questionnaire included three questions, of which, two related to the display of the Roman period. Question 10, the final question, returned to discuss institutions as a collective and asks about their susceptibility to political influences.

Question 8: Is it important for Roman period depictions to include the make-up of their society? (This includes demographics, ethnicities, races, identities, cultures, religions and so on)

The eighth question sought to identify if audiences saw the discussion of concepts relating to identity as important to Roman displays. Discussions of different theoretical approaches to the cultural identity and fluidity of populations have taken centre stage in Roman archaeology (e.g. Romanisation (Millett 1990; Haverfield 1915; for a comprehensive overview see Hingley 2000: 109-155), globalisation (Pitts and Versluys 2015; Gardner 2013), creolisation (Carr 2003; Webster 2001), bricolage (Terrenato 1998), and variable hybridity (Ingate 2019)). As such, it is important to appreciate whether audiences are equally interested in the makeup of society as most contemporary researchers. To do so, would identify links between academic and public interests, and provide scope to foresee the use of concepts that can relate to the diversity of ancient societies.

Question 9: Is it important for the Roman period to be explained in ways that can reflect modern society and debate? (e.g. looking at contemporary topics such as body image through an ancient perspective)

Question 9 directly asks whether individuals believe that links between the Roman and modern period are an important aspect of display narratives. As such, this question engages with the politicisation of depictions of the Roman period through their entanglement with contemporary social, political, ethical conceptions of events such as immigration (Polm 2016: 237). Furthermore, Question 9 asks whether visitors believe the connection between ancient and modern concepts in museal discourse is a reliable and desirable aspect to be incorporated in display narratives. Data gained through this question is instrumental to understand the reception of museological approaches to create relational narratives between different cultures. It is, therefore, situated within the praxis of many issues that are addressed within this thesis.

Question 10: Do you think depictions of history are influenced by modern views?

The questionnaire culminates with a question that asks whether audiences think history displays are influenced by modern ideologies. It is not clear whether the inherent politicisation of history (evidenced through chapter three) is successfully conveyed to the public through academic research outputs and other vehicles. If audiences agree that history and politics are deeply connected, then it follows that they perceive museum and heritage site narratives as political agents. Conversely, if they do not then historical narratives may be interpreted as true depictions of history and continue to be used to create dogmatic narratives that resonate with majority identities rather than minority groups. Either viewpoint holds significance in the effect of display

narratives upon visitors, and the power possessed by institutions as manufacturers of knowledge, identity, and reality.

4.3.5 Limitations of the questionnaire

Representation - statistics

The collection of 255 questionnaires that make up Dataset 2 provides a good cross-section of people that visit museums and heritage sites. The margin of error percentage for results produced by Dataset 2 is +- 6.173% and has been calculated by confidence intervals for an infinite population with a 95% confidence level. The margin of error represents the level of random sampling error in the dataset, and the higher the percentage, the less reliable the data would be to reflect an entire population. The use of confidence intervals has been implemented as it presents a realistic perception of margins of error (Liu, Loudermilk and Simpson 2014: 99), and represents the accuracy level of the dataset for a population. The deviation of 6.173% is constant throughout the discussion of Dataset 2 as it provides the largest reliability deviation possible with 0.5 as the sample proportion and use of an infinite population in its formula's construction. The questionnaire is not, however, intended to represent the opinions of the whole UK population and beyond, but limited to those that visit museums.

Representation - demographic

Although the number of visitors to institutions grew at the turn of the 21st century, their demographic generally remained a homogenous group of 'traditional' middle-class individuals (McPherson 2006: 47; Martin 2002). Furthermore, even though the past 20 years has also seen a rise in engagement with decolonial practices (Giblin et al. 2019: 472), past process and the permanence of exclusive narratives still affects who enters display spaces. This is not, of course, a statement that represents all museum and heritage site types and their visitor demographics. Surveys have shown that different museums and exhibitions can affect the diversity of their visitors. For example, the *Peopling of London* exhibition in 1994 increased the diversity of the Museum of London's visitorship throughout its installation (Watson 2007b: 356-357; Collicott 1994: 263). Furthermore, it is not just the type and content of museums and heritage sites that can affect audience profile concerning diversity. The *November 2018 Museums Audience Report* by the Audience Agency, for example, found that black and minority ethnic visitors were more likely to visit museums with free admission (2018). Many factors affect who visit displays. Their content and admission price are but two aspects that reflect how current societal, political, and ethical issues, such as racial economic inequality, affect audience demography. Consequently, the exclusive narratives embedded in the identity of institutions affected the diversity of participants able to be engaged with inside of them.

As Dataset 2 included those that already visit Roman history exhibits, it succeeds in the presentation of substantial impressions of opinions held by individuals who already frequent museums. Furthermore, however, the fact that an individual is a museumgoer does not mean they simultaneously agree with the representation of diversity in display narratives. As such, whilst the demographics reached by Dataset 2 may be described as limited, it does not follow that thoughts and attitudes expressed were homogenous.

Language barrier

English was the preferred language for questionnaires per the author's linguistic ability and location of study. This, however, creates a language barrier that can negatively affect the questionnaire's ability to engage with a diverse audience (Marshall 2005: 132). This was an observation made throughout the process of study where language barriers prevented participation by certain groups of individuals. This, therefore, represented a significant limitation through disengagement with the many international tourists that visit the UK's heritage industry (Department for Digital, Culture, Media and Sport 2019: 1).

Hawthorne effect and social desirability responses

Akin to the interview methodology, data may be weakened due to the Hawthorne effect with participant awareness of their inclusion in a study (Al-Yateem 2012: 33-34; Knapp 1998). Moreover, this aspect may have been heightened due to the direct nature of questions such as, '*Should museums challenge stereotypical opinions such as racism and sexism?'*. A possible consequence may, therefore, be the social desirability response, which sees individuals deny socially undesirable traits and behaviours to present themselves in a favourable light (Randall and Fernandes 1991: 805-806; Zerbe and Paulhus 1987). Social science research has shown that this is an expected bias within research (Randall and Fernandes 1991: 813) and may be heightened through questionnaires situated within public spaces.

Anonymity has been shown to reduce levels of social desirability responses in research (e.g. Paulhus 1984; Nederhof 1985) and was implemented in this study. Other methods to specifically reduce bias included forced-choice answers (Nederhof 1985: 270-271; Paulhus 1984: 607) that, despite their limitations, have statistical benefits. Further attempts to combat bias include the engagement with many participants to dilute and limit its effect.

4.3.6 Saturation and ethics for both datasets

Saturation

The repetitive use of the same question sheet for Dataset 1 and another for Dataset 2, geared the project towards points of saturation. This occurs when results produce no new themes or data (O'Reily and Parker 2012; Walker 2012; Guest, Bunce and Johnson, 2006). Saturation in this

study occurred when a high percentage of participants provided similar answers to questions that reflect statistically significant opinions. As 38 full-length interviews, two supplementary conversations, and 255 questionnaires were conducted, it was decided that suitable numbers had been reached to acquire reliable saturation points.

To find saturation within both datasets, Dibley's two-pronged strategy of 'rich' and 'thick' data was implemented (2011). This approach focuses on the quality and quantity of research produced. Thus, answers and themes that were repeatedly brought up in the interviews and questionnaires have been singled out and discussed within the later chapters of the thesis. As such, saturation directed what topics were discussed through their frequency and weight represented in chapters 5, 6, and 7. Replies to questions that differ from the norm have also been included to probe and explore the veracity of data through relevant comparisons.

Research ethics

All stages of research throughout this project adhere to the University of Kent's ethical codes that concern research. Through this, the research also followed the *General Data Protection Regulation (EU) 2016/679'*s (GDPR) *recital 33* that emphasises how research must meet recognised ethical standards. Processes and forms that informed, guided, and safeguarded participants all went through various platforms of ethical review to ensure a high quality of research.

Interview and questionnaire participants were provided with documents and information before the research took place. Interview participants were provided with information sheets (Appendix 5) and consent forms (Appendix 6) that provided information on the research topic, processes, and how data would be stored and used. Additionally, these forms gave participants control over their participation as they depicted permission to abstain from the study if desired.

Besides, questionnaire participants in Dataset 2 were informed about the research, means of participation, and its use through face-to-face interactions on site. Per ethical guides and procedures, this was also supported with sheets that informed participants about the project (Appendix 7). Furthermore, institutions had advanced access to questionnaires and granted time to discuss further ethical concerns which were put into effect.

The *Data Protection Act 2018* and *GDPR* Article 6(1) requires researchers to be explicit about the use of personal data. It was, therefore, made clear that all personal data kept on record is to be anonymised after the project ends. The British Sociological Association's *Statement of Ethical Practice* states that participants should know of the extent to which anonymity is afforded to them (2017: 6). In line with codes of best practice, this thesis anonymises all participants. The

names of institutions where specific interviews and questionnaires where held have, however, been included to provide important contextualisation throughout the project.

4.4 Conclusion

In conclusion, the methodologies included in this chapter support the aims of this thesis. Self-reflexivity was first highlighted to underpin the conceptualisation and processes behind this thesis' intentions. Furthermore, my identity was discussed to reflect the introspection conducted, in an attempt to recognise my biases. Furthermore, this consistently needed self-reflexion throughout the processes necessary for this thesis. As representation and inclusivity are key concepts throughout this research, they are also used to guide the scholarship that underpins my research methodology and the theories relied upon within it. Approaches to this were highlighted through the use of questionnaires with the public, interviews with museum and heritage site staff, and centralisation of scholars from diverse backgrounds, in order to combat the overuse of an academic canon that is white, pale, and stale.

Katy Sian argues this point in her book *Navigating Institutional Racism in British Universities* and states that the sector continues to cultivate whiteness that maintains homogeneity in its workforce and outputs through its structured norms and values (2019: 150). This process has been indicated in the teaching of Roman archaeology for example, through Zena Kamash's 2019 *Roman Archaeology Teaching Survey*. Respondents to Kamash's survey linked the use of an academic canon with a teaching process that inhibits inclusive practice (*forthcoming* 2021). Publishing bias also indicates the maintenance of a canon within the field of Roman studies. It has, for example, been acknowledged and evidenced by the editors of the *Journal of Roman Studies* that the publication has, for the past 15 years, seen a significant underrepresentation of female authors for instance (Kelly et al. 2019: 445). The notion of an over-relied upon canon in Roman archaeology must, therefore, be recognised by this thesis in order to question why its prevalence continues.

The intentions behind each question in both datasets have also been discussed to provide clarity behind research methods and aims. The rationalisation for each question also demonstrates this thesis' focus on the key topics of representation of diversity, ethnicity, and inclusivity, as well as how they are observed. Furthermore, this chapter also elaborated on the selection processes involved in data collection and why particular institutions were chosen. Although a range of museums and heritage sites were included in this research, it is also clear that limitations restricted wider participation from additional museums and heritage sites. This was likely caused

by an array of possible reasons but may underline the uneasiness of curatorial teams in discussing ethnic diversity that this thesis sets out to explore.

Chapter 5: Is ethnicity portrayed in contemporary Roman displays?

The previous chapter examined the methodologies followed to collect data. This chapter discusses Dataset 1. As such, it addresses the opinions and experiences of museum and heritage site staff at the institutions included in this research (Figure 4 and Figure 5). Specifically, replies to Question 1 from the interview process are discussed at length:[18]

1) Do your Roman displays explicitly portray ethnic diversity/identity within the Roman period?

Question 1 is key to examining the current state of how ethnic diversity is represented in contemporary permanent Roman displays. Overall, this chapter indicates a poor integration of ethnic diversity into discourses that depict the Roman past. Only two interviewees, one from the Yorkshire Museum (Interviewee 35) and another from Bath's Roman Baths (Interviewee 25), stated that their displays explicitly included ethnic diversity. Consequently, these exhibits are individually examined as case studies through observations made at both museums. Aspects of Genette's narratological taxonomy (1972: 31) will be relied upon to indicate how messages are portrayed, and whether ethnic diversity has been successfully integrated into their displays.

This then leads to the discussion of cases where ethnic diversity was not stated to be explicit in Roman display narratives. These have been split into three sections: those that implicitly depict ethnic diversity, those that do not engage with the concept at all, and individuals that did not answer. Case studies will not be used to explore each institution for those that did not claim that ethnic diversity is explicit in their institution's permanent Roman display narratives. Prominent trends that pervaded the data collected will, however, be discussed to highlight important trends and patterns found in Dataset 1. This is then followed by a section that assesses answers by individuals from the same institution that differ, with a focus on the Roman Museum in Canterbury. A conclusion is then provided to depict the poor integration of ethnic diversity into current permanent British Roman displays, alongside significant trends that will be later discussed in chapters six, eight, and nine.

---

[18] For a more comprehensive overview of the aims and intentions behind Question 1, see chapter four.

5.1. Ethnic diversity and identity within historical Roman narratives

This section focuses on the responses to Question 1 of the interview question sheet (Appendix 1) with museum and heritage site staff. Answers to the question, 'Do your Roman displays explicitly portray ethnic diversity/identity within the Roman period?' have been divided into four categories to aid clarification, classification, and analysis:

1) Yes, ethnicity is explicitly expressed

This category indicates that the interviewee clearly stated that ethnic diversity and identity were explicitly depicted in their permanent Roman display narratives. Inclusion in this section does not indicate that ethnic diversity has been explicitly incorporated into their display narratives; this is examined by further scrutiny of data and observational analysis.

2) Yes, however, ethnicity is only implicitly expressed

The concepts of ethnic diversity and identity were implicitly mentioned within a Roman display; however, their inclusion was not clearly emphasised. This category was also used to indicate responses that mentioned how the concepts were present through the objects on display, yet overt discussion of ethnic diversity was not used to convey meaning. As such, ethnic diversity and identity would not be noticeably recognisable in their exhibits for members of the public but may be identifiable by specialists who are better acquainted with the objects on show.

3) No, ethnicity does not feature within associated displays

This categorisation indicates the complete lack of engagement with the concepts of ethnic diversity. The emphasis here was largely on the absence of any discourse that represented a range of identities from the Roman era.

4) No answer

As will be discussed, some participants did not, or could not, provide a direct answer to this question.

5.1.1 Results

As indicated (Figure 7) only two of the 40 participants in this dataset indicated that their current permanent Roman displays had ethnic diversity and identity explicitly embedded throughout their narrative. Fourteen individuals stated that ethnic diversity and identity were only implicit concepts in their permanent Roman exhibits. Almost half (45%) of the participants indicated an

absence of these concepts in their Roman display narratives, and a further six did not, or could not, provide an answer to Question 1.

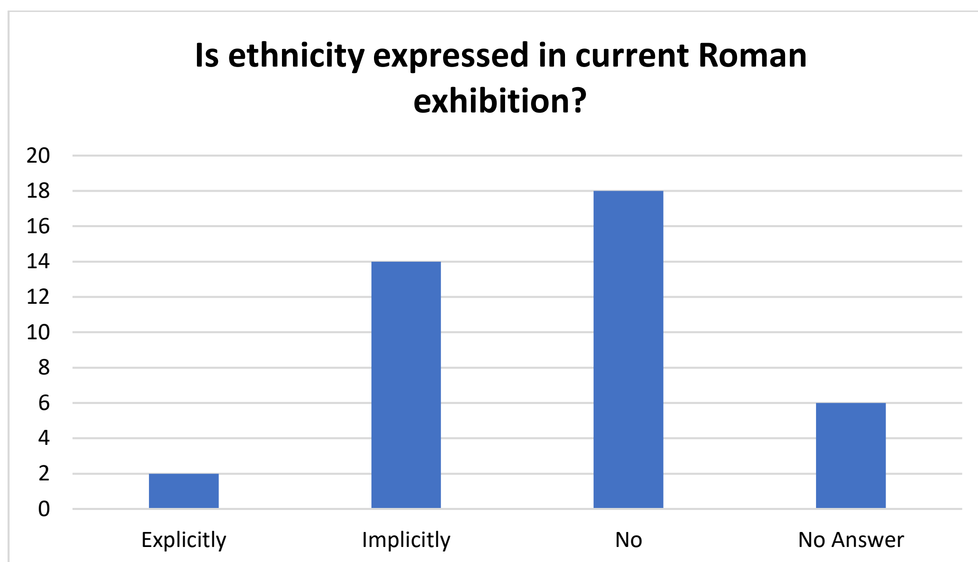

Figure 7: Answers to whether ethnicity is depicted within current permanent exhibitions © Author

As Figure 7 depicts, there is an acknowledged widespread failure to explicitly incorporate ethnic diversity into permanent Roman display narratives. This supports the claim that Roman narratives continue to perpetuate a homogenised, colonial version of history that is exclusive (Gardner 2017: 7; Tolia-Kelly 2011: 71, 73). As such, it supports the claim that museums and heritage sites are relatively stagnant in attempts to be representative of modern audiences.

5.1.2 "Yes, explicitly"

The Yorkshire Museum and Bath's Roman Baths are used to foresee how ethnic diversity is stated to be incorporated into their display narratives. These accounts are critically cross-referenced by observations and literature to reflect on their success, or failure, to explicitly include diversity into their narratives. Successes in the corporation of ethnic diversity are highlighted and celebrated; however, this is also scrutinised in the reflection of how authentically representation has been engrained into museal practice. This is then used to better understand methods of best practice that demonstrate and elevate how Roman narratives can challenge traditional processes supported by outmoded ideologies.

Interviewees from the Yorkshire Museum and Bath's Roman Baths stated that their permanent Roman displays explicitly incorporated ethnic diversity. Consequently, they are both included in this section; however, this does not imply that they have both authentically incorporated clear representations of minority groups into their discourse. The Yorkshire Museum is examined first using Genette's narratological taxonomy (Akimoto 2019: 344; Liveley 2019: 196; Pavel 2004: 37; Henderson 1983: 5, 8; Genette 1972: 31). Roman exhibits at the Yorkshire Museum are argued to

have successfully curated a Roman display that is inclusive and representative of marginalised demographics. Attention is then turned to discourses at Bath's Roman Baths and it is deemed to have not authentically and explicitly used ethnic diversity as a main concept to depict the ancient past.

5.1.2.1 The Yorkshire Museum, York, UK (Interviewee 35)

The participant from the Yorkshire Museum provided many examples to depict where ethnic diversity was emphasised throughout their depiction of the Roman period. They stressed that the whole exhibition aimed to combat a stereotypical view that Roman York had a white, European, and predominantly male demographic. Evidence for the inclusion of ethnicity ranged from audio-visual content to the display of remains and includes discourses that directly, and indirectly, assert the multicultural and multiracial characteristics of Roman York. As clear examples were provided, this case study is split into sections that discuss various objects, techniques, and narratives used to depict different identities throughout their Roman exhibits.

Meet the People of Empire: An audio-visual projection

The first encounter with ethnic diversity, pointed out by the participant, was an audio-visual projection titled *Meet the People of Empire* (Figure 8). This video presents a series of individuals from Roman York based on past excavations whose remains are included in the museum's exhibitions. Each historical figure takes turns to approach visitors, introduce themselves and provide information about their identity. Furthermore, the *Meet the People of Empire* video is the main focal point in the first room visitors enter at the beginning of their route around the museum. The voices of Roman citizens are also a prominent factor in the centrality of this exhibit as they can be heard throughout the main hall and draw audiences to listen to them whether nearby, or not.

Figure 8: Ivory Bangle Lady in the Meet the People of Empire videos at the Yorkshire Museum © Yorkshire Museum / York Museums Trust

The position of this medium and the sound that accompanies the projection reflects its success as a powerful transmedial approach to the production of discourse, as identified by narratology. Using the fundamental phrasing that Genette developed (1972: 31), the central location of the projection within the museum's entrance is crucial, as it places the projection and its message of a diverse ancient York in an unavoidable position within the museum's narrative *order*. The *frequency* with which multiculturalism is signposted throughout the Yorkshire Museum's Roman displays also created a strong focus on the concepts of identity and ethnicity. The repetition of these themes consistently emphasised these concepts and encouraged awareness of diversity as a key descriptor to depict the Roman period.

The concept of *frequency* in Genette's taxonomy is important here, as it positions the representation of diversity and the museum's use of a range of protagonists as a central aspect to its display. This has been curated through the portrayal of York's ancient past, through a variety of lived experiences that each contributes to emphasise York's multicultural history. To return to Genette's taxonomy briefly (1972: 31), the repetition of diversity as an explicit topic in York's displays also indicates that the *duration* of time covered by its discussion signifies its importance to the curatorial team's aims.

The style of narration (Akimoto 2019: 344; Liveley 2019: 196; Pavel 2004: 37) used through this transmedial approach is, however, the most innovative aspect of the video's contribution to the museum's narrative. The relationship between the narrator and the object of its narration is personal and intertwined. As each person depicted in the video is based on an individual whose remains were found in a Roman context at York, they are reanimated and used as a conduit for

information. As reconstructions offer a direct depiction of past individuals, they can effectively imprint powerful images onto how history visually looked for visitors. Consequently, reconstructions, such as the one at the Yorkshire Museum, can heavily influence the myths and illusions portrayed, created, and sustained by museums that concern the visual diversity of the past (Gazi 2014: 6; Smiles and Moser 2005: 6). This point appears to have been considered by the curatorial team at the Yorkshire Museum, as the projection successfully recreates aspects of a diverse ancient past shown through archaeological research.

To illustrate the Yorkshire Museum's emphasis on ethnic diversity, the Ivory Bangle Lady was included in the *Meet the People of Empire* projection in the first gallery of the museum (Figure 8). This individual was excavated in York in 1991 and with craniomorphometric analysis,[19] it has been found that the Ivory Bangle Lady may have been mixed-race (Leach et al. 2010: 141). Consequently, the discussion of the Ivory Bangle Lady counteracts traditional imaginings of a whitewashed, male, and militaristic Roman Britain (Smith 1922: 6). Further details of the Ivory Bangle Lady are discussed in the next section, as their remains are displayed as a central feature in the main Roman gallery. This, however, further emphasises the *frequency*, *duration*, and *mood* placed upon narratives of ethnic diversity throughout the museum's representation of the Roman period.

Meet the People of Empire: Main gallery and the Ivory Bangle Lady

The main, standout Roman gallery (Figure 9) of the Yorkshire Museum is titled *Meet the People of Empire* and was explained, by the participant from the museum (Interviewee 35), to include identities generally overlooked by traditional displays. As discussed in chapter three, coloniality and Euro-centrism persist throughout many depictions of the past (Oyedemi 2018: 3; Verdsio 2010: 350; Appadurai and Breckenridge 1992: 38), the Roman gallery at the Yorkshire Museum was installed in 2009/2010 to combat this and reflects contemporary calls for ethical and representative measures ingrained into practices within institutions (e.g. McKernan 2020; Gran et al 2019; Topaz et al 2019; Ünsal 2019; Schuch et al 2018; Ng, Ware, and Greenberg 2017). The success of the Yorkshire Museum's curatorial team to depict ancient York as diverse does, however, contrast with the more traditionally curated Roman galleries at the museum that centre on more traditional techniques in the construction of narratives.

---

[19] The problematic history of the methods and ideologies developed that supported earlier craniometric studies were identified by the research team. It was argued that the methodology is worthwhile pursuing, particularly given the advances made in modern research techniques. Furthermore, it was highlighted that the use of craniometric study in combination with other theoretical approaches can, and have, contributed towards knowledge that directly evidences diversity in Britain's Roman period (Leach et al. 2010: 132).

Figure 9: Meet the People of Empire Gallery at the Yorkshire Museum by Gareth Buddo © York Museums Trust

The main Roman gallery at the Yorkshire Museum initially presents a myriad of communicative techniques and technologies to construct its narratives. Archaeological objects are joined by human remains, audio-visual displays, description boards and panels, images, activities for children, and visual cues to take full advantage of modern research into the translation of information (Katz and Halpern 2015: 776-777; Ahmad et al. 2014: 255; Ross 2012: 23-29; Wang *et al*. 2009: 141). Through this transmedial approach to the construction of their discourse, the exhibition has an instantly recognisable contrast between the imperial grasp Rome had on York, and its population. This was done, as explained by the participant (Interviewee 35), with imperial imagery, objects, and portraits of emperors. This was further emphasised using the colour red (see Figure 9) which has contemporary connotations with blood, the divine, power, and the military in British psyche (Scully 2012: 14); these connotations were also familiar in the Roman period too (Pennick Morgan 2018: 52; Gage 1993: 26).

Although perhaps not noticeable by all members of the public, the clever use of the colour red effectively splits the gallery's narrative in two. The narrative of Roman imperialism is overseen by the back wall of the exhibition, permanently in sight, that displays the remains of lower status individuals from Roman York. This provides another contrast between the power displayed in one side of the room and those this power is exerted over at the back, who gaze through the display. As such, the use of space encourages audiences to be aware that the narratological *mood* of the

exhibition also focuses on the people of the Roman Empire and their diversity, not stereotypical depictions of elites.

After the break in imperial symbolism, the gallery refocuses its lens to reflect the diversity of Roman York through its population. This half of the room rotates around a central display case that includes the remains of the Ivory Bangle Lady (Figure 10). As just observed, this is the same individual represented in the projection that meets all visitors and, therefore, evidences the continuance of an overarching narrative that opposes homogenous depictions of ancient Britain.

Figure 10: Remains of the Ivory Bangle Lady at the Yorkshire Museum © Yorkshire Museum

The Ivory Bangle Lady's skeletal remains were displayed alongside associated grave goods, archaeological interpretations, and bioarchaeological data. The material culture found in the Ivory Bangle Lady's burial were jet and ivory bracelets, pendants, beads, a glass mirror, a blue glass jug, and a piece of bone inscribed with the words S[OR]OR AVE VIVAS IN DEO, translated to 'Hail, sister, may you live in God' (RIB II.3: no. 2441.11). The material that accompanies the Ivory Bangle Lady and its description expresses concepts such as wealth, culture, and religion, as studied in academic research of the remains (Leach et al. 2010: 140-141). The material is used to place a wealthy woman at the centre of the gallery's narrative, something which again contrasts with traditional male-centric depictions of the past (Gero 1985: 344).

Furthermore, bioarchaeological data suggests that the Ivory Bangle Lady was a newcomer to York. Research shows that the Ivory Bangle Lady likely grew up on the western edge of Britain, or somewhere with a similar climate that was warmer than York (Leach et al. 2010: 141). Although vague, this indicates the movement of individuals and makes this case through the perspective of a woman; a feature that the research (Leach et al. 2014) and exhibit illustrate as not unusual in cosmopolitan Roman York, or ancient Britain. This piece of information has been emphasised

throughout the display of The Ivory Bangle Lady, and an undercurrent which connects different aspects of the new installation at York throughout the museum's discourse.

As noted earlier, the back wall of this gallery is populated by remains of a diverse range of individuals that have been excavated from Roman contexts. Figure 11 depicts one example from this wall, which features a descriptive panel that accompanies a skull. As is shown, the emphasis is placed on evidence that indicates the presence of a foreigner in Roman York. This is true of the other examples provided on the back wall that overlooks the whole gallery and emphasises the movement of people locally, nationally, and empire-wide. It also indicates possible reasons for the movement of people and emphasises the many contributions that migration brings to society. This aspect is particularly impressive within Roman displays as archaeological research on the topic of migration only regained popularity in the last ten years after a lull since the 1980s (van Dommelen 2014: 477-478; Burmeister 2000: 539).

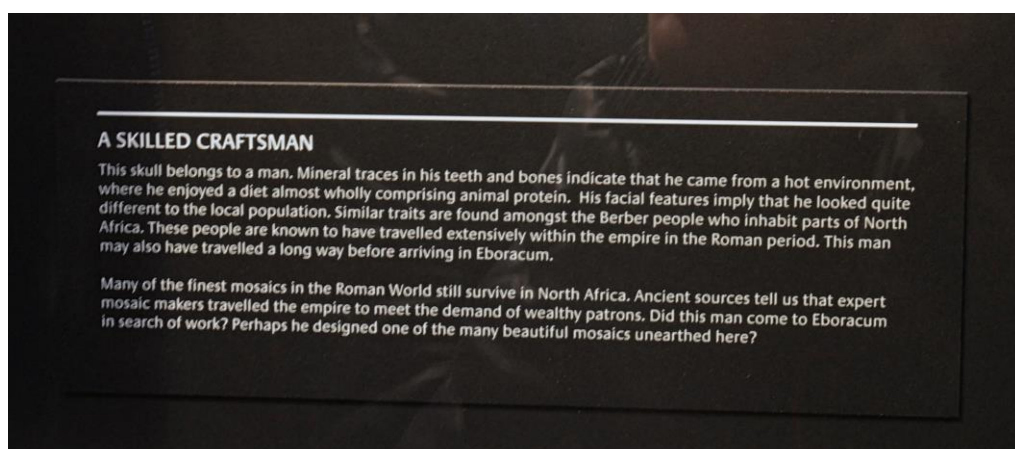

Figure 11: Display plaque from the Yorkshire Museum's (UK) Roman Gallery © Nicola Goodwin

This exhibition, therefore, provides a snapshot of an ethnically diverse Roman York that sits comfortably within academic literature that argues the same point (e.g. Cascio and Tacoma 2016; Revell 2016; Leach et al. 2010; Hartley et al. 2006; Cool 2002: 42; Swan 1992). Furthermore, the gallery situates local diversity within the picture of Empire and large-scale, normalised, movement of people and culture. This approach links the Yorkshire Museum's displays with other academic contributions that connect the mobility of the Roman period with modern comparisons (Hingley 2018: 78; Eckardt and Müldner 2016: 215-216). Furthermore, it does so through the placement of an immigrant at the centre of its narrative; an action related to the modern boom of museum variety and connection with social justice that has seen the representation of traditionally overlooked demographics (Labadi 2018: 2; Porsché 2018: 14).

Septimius Severus' presence in Eboracum

The interviewee from the Yorkshire Museum (Interviewee 35) also stated that an ethnically diverse Roman population was indicated by the presence of Septimius Severus, a 2nd century AD Roman Emperor, as part of their narrative. Severus makes only one appearance in the museum's Roman galleries where he is depicted in the newly renovated gallery amongst the imperial half of the room (Figure 12).

Figure 12: Image of Septimius Severus and family at the Yorkshire Museum © Author

In this space, Septimius Severus is included on a wall text that stated,

> On three occasions Eboracum played host to the emperor and his court, making it the heart of the Roman Empire. Emperor Hadrian came to pacify the North and consolidate the frontiers of the empire. Septimius Severus spent the last three years of his life in Eboracum. When Constantius Chlorus died here, his son Constantine was immediately proclaimed emperor by the army.
>
> Emperors, like soldiers, came from across the empire. Hadrian was from Spain, Severus from Libya, and Constantius and his son from Serbia. With each

> came new tastes, ideas, beliefs, and goods to inspire and influence the people of Eboracum.

Septimius Severus was, therefore, used in the Yorkshire Museum's initial room of its Roman galleries as part of a discourse that emphasises the diversity of ancient York and the movement of people and ideas. This combines with other aspects of the *Meet the People of Empire* that highlights a range of cultures and people present in Roman York. The relevance of Septimius Severus' connection with Roman York stems from his death that took place in the city whilst on a military campaign to subdue tribes depicted as hostile to Britain (Aelius Spartianus, *Scriptores Historia Augusta*, 10.19).

Furthermore, the relevance of Severus to diversity, made by Interviewee 35, was directed at through his African heritage used to depict an aspect of the Roman Empire's diversity. Ancient sources indicate that Septimius Severus came from Lepcis Magna in Tripolotania (modern Libya) in Roman Africa (Aelius Spartianus, *Scriptores Historia Augusta*, 10.1; Birley [1971] 1999: 1). There are, however, complexities associated with Septimius Severus that need to be addressed, but not touched upon by the museum in detail. Initially, Severus' presence in York and the indicated connection to ethnic diversity does not serve the purpose of portraying a multi-ethnic city. Instead, Severus' social standing distances him far from local populations. The fact his presence in York was due to a military campaign (Hodgson 2014: 31; Birley [1971] 1999: 170-187), which is not highlighted enough, reemphasises traditional narratives that glorify Roman imperialist achievements in the colonial tradition of imperial discourses (Hingley 2006: 330; 2000: 25; Majeed 1999: 91).

Additionally, there are serious questions that concern the ethnic identity of Septimius Severus and his physical appearance (Imrie 2018; Tolia-Kelly 2011: 80-82; Asante and Ismail 2010: 614; Birley [1971] 1999: xi). As highlighted by many academics, Severus' identity is complex and vague, as his African heritage and associated connotations of the African Other conflict with his position as an Emperor, who was culturally a Roman elite (Aelius Spartianus, *Scriptores Historia Augusta*, 10.1). Throughout his imagery, Severus emphasised links between himself and Marcus Aurelius as propaganda (Asante and Ismail 2010: 610-611). Consequently, images of Severus do not necessarily allude to noticeable African characteristics, nor did the associated label associated with his inclusion divulge Severus' complex identity.

Pertinent to this thesis, images of the emperor do not comply with modern media images of minority ethnic groups and individuals routinely associated with nationalities from African nations. This is not only caused by his resemblance to Marcus Aurelius but through his political position as emperor. As Stuart Hall elaborates, depictions of Black men can be categorised into

three base-images: the dependable and conniving slave figure; the native as dignified and savage; and the clown or entertainer (1990: 16). These stereotypical expectations are informed by the dominance of Western art history in European institutions and media that rely on westernised aesthetic values from its imperialist history (Abiodun 2001: 15-16). Septimius Severus does not fit into these categories and, therefore, when positioned effectively in museal discourse, can challenge outmoded, yet mainstream, stereotypes of Africans. There are, however, some indication of Severus' African ancestry in his imagery that allude to the thickness and curliness of his hair that can express an African characteristic if highlighted (Asante and Ismail 2010: 611). To recognise Septimius' complex identity could then lead to further discussions that depict the complexity of African identities, both past and present.

As Molefi Asante and Shaza Ismail develop, the issues predominantly seen to challenge Septimius Severus' African identity are communicated through critique levied by European writers (2010: 615). Therefore, they argue that the Western academic tradition is the perpetrator behind the disconnect Severus has with Africa. Asante and Ismail's paper, consequently, contribute to the recovery and rediscovery of African history that has been clouded, stripped away, and eclipsed by European academic and colonial dominance (Asante and Ismail 2010: 606; Cooper 1994: 1516; Said 1978: 108-109). Any display that uses Septimius Severus as a focal point for Africanism or diversity in general, therefore, needs to be aware of this academic tradition to truly engage with messages of inclusivity, diversity, race, and ethnicity.

As the Yorkshire Museum does not use Septimius Severus as a central figure in their exhibition, however, his complex and politically loaded identity cannot be unpacked. Consequently, the intricacies of what he may contribute to the wider narratives of diversity are not fully utilised. As depicted by Divya Tolia-Kelly's central positioning of Septimius Severus in the exhibit *An Archaeology of Race* (2009), his identity can be narrated to support an innovative approach to disrupt outmoded narratives of whiteness. Interestingly, the latter Roman galleries at the Yorkshire Museum included a bust of Constantine and sees a reversal in the narrative expressed by the *Archaeology of Race* exhibit. In any case, Severus' inclusion in York's display, and the diverse and non-traditional discourses his inclusion partly contributes to, does add to the museum's modern narrative. Unlike the innovative approach to the display of the Ivory Bangle Lady, however, Severus takes up less space. This undermines the expression of Septimius' complex identity who, as admitted by Interviewee 35, provides an opportunity to continue discussions of diversity in the Yorkshire Museum's galleries. Despite this, the presence of Septimius Severus as part of York's history is used, albeit momentarily, to evidence the movement of people and ideas across the Roman Empire.

Other objects and narratives

Other items were also used to depict the multi-ethnic characteristic of Roman York. Thanks to the rich archaeological data connected to York there are many artefacts in the museum that can depict a continuous narrative underpinned by identity and diversity. Artefacts on display included African influenced pottery and tombstones that relate to a myriad of religions, places, and identities. Larger objects that draw visitors to their attention also promote the discussion of identity which remain traditional topics but shift the focus from male to female. A key example of this is a large sarcophagus made for a Sardinian woman (Figure 13).

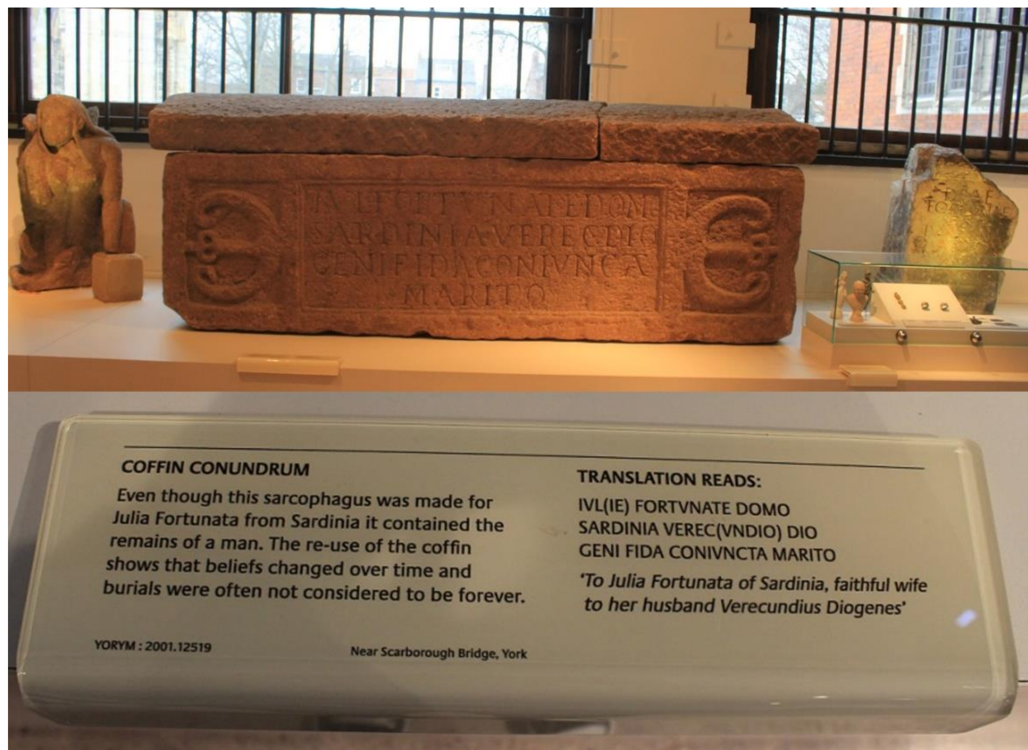

Figure 13: Tombstone and description on display at the Yorkshire Museum © Nicola Goodwin

The inscription upon the sarcophagus explicitly shows the presence of a foreign individual in Roman York, as well as the reuse of cultural items. Whilst the information plaque does not provide much detail and, therefore, does not explicitly discuss ethnic identity, it successfully contributes to the overarching narratives of diversity.

Conclusions

The Yorkshire Museum's Roman displays express a consistent message of ethnic diversity throughout its treatment of the period. The centrality of the *Meet the People* projection that each visitor encounters introduce the concept of identity and ethnicity which does not dissipate until you have left the Roman galleries. When the core narratological principles of *order*, *frequency*, *duration*, *voice*, and *mood* (Akimoto 2019: 344; Liveley 2019: 196; Pavel 2004: 37; Henderson 1983: 5, 8; Genette 1972: 31) are considered, the inclusion of ethnic diversity is

consistent, repeated, emphasised, and central throughout discourse that narrativises York's Roman past. Furthermore, an impressive range of communicative techniques and strategies were engaged with throughout the displays, that alternated between types of narration and perspectives. For example, academic voices are joined by those of the public, which bolsters the transmission of information through objects and descriptions. Moreover, subjective concepts of identity are handled ethically through the mouthpieces of ancient individuals and research. Consequently, this changes the *mood* of narration by shifting information between the narrator's voice, objects, and protagonists. The Yorkshire Museum could have, however, better supported a consistently strong narrative to depict ethnic diversity with the repositioning of Septimius Severus alongside more detailed discussion into his identity and its implications.

5.1.2.2 Roman Baths, Bath, UK (Interviewee 25)

The participant from the Roman Baths also stated that ethnic diversity was explicitly included in discourse that depicted the Roman period. This section proceeds to examine key examples provided by the participant that was stated to engrain diversity into their displays. As will be elaborated upon, critical examination of examples provided, and observations made throughout the institution concludes that ethnic diversity is not explicitly shown. Instead, this section illustrates how the representation of minority ethnic groups should be considered as implicitly included as opposed to explicit.

Constructed character narratives

Throughout the displays at Bath, there are various constructions of character narratives. These recreations are based on archaeological evidence and research that is displayed through various types of media. Whilst objects remain central to narratives of Roman archaeology and history at Bath (van Oyen and Pitts 2017: 4), the participant emphasised the use of epigraphic evidence as central to their construction of these character narratives.

It was indicated by the participant, that inscriptions on objects such as tombstones and altars convey information on the movement of people across the Roman Empire. For example, a tombstone was used as part of the character construction of an individual called Julius Vitalis (Figure 14).

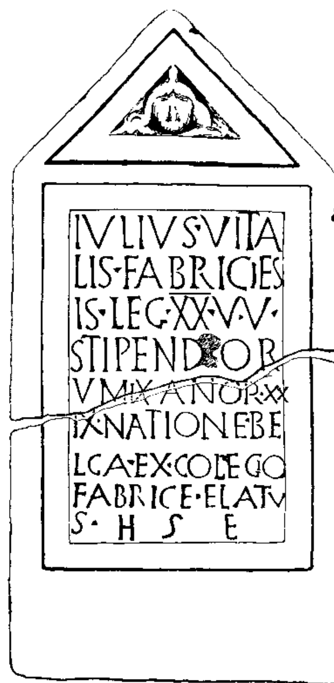

Figure 14: Funerary Inscription for Julius Vitalis, RIB 156 © Roman Inscriptions of Britain

The inscription states:

Iulius Vita|lis fabricie(n)s|is leg(ionis) XX

V(aleriae) V(ictricis) | stipendor|um IX

an(n)or(um) XX|IX natione Be|lga ex col(l)egio

fabrice(nsium) elatus|s h(ic) s(itus) e(st)

____

Julius Vitalis, armourer of the 20th Legion

Valeria Victrix, of 9 years' service, aged 29

years, a Belgic tribesman, with funeral paid for

by the Guild of Armourers, lies here.[20]

[20] The inscription and its translation have been taken from an information plaque that accompanies the material in its display. The inscription, although slightly different, provides the same information as the translation given by the Roman Inscriptions of Britain (RIB) database (RIB 156. Funerary Inscription for Julius Vitalis).

The inscription was used to contextualise an associated information plaque that expanded upon Julius Vitalis' character construction:

> Vitalis came from a tribe called the Belgae who lived in Southern Britain as well as northern France. He died in *Aquae Sulis* in the later 1st century AD and so may have been with the troops who built the Baths and Temple.
>
> He was one of the many skilled craftsmen with the army who maintained and repaired equipment.[21]

As demonstrated, epigraphic evidence can refer to many aspects of an individual's life. In this instance, specific aspects of Julius Vitalis' identity were conveyed by the curatorial team. It is noted, however, that this information plaque offers little more context to the information provided by the inscription itself. This practice was seen throughout the museum's treatment of the Roman period. Consequently, little was done to emphasise aspects of ethnicity and identity, as the displays avoided engagement with an interpretation that would give meaning to their associated objects.

This can be linked to the regularly experienced attempt by institutions to appear neutral. This outcome is, however, impossible as the curation process inherently involves the inclusion and exclusion of different histories, objects, and points of view (Janes and Sandell 2019b: 8; Sandell 2007: 195). At Bath, the display panels and boards do not go beyond the obvious which presents the information given by the curatorial team as objective (Ravelli 2006: 89). Contrary to this perception, a subjective decision has been taken to not expand upon their object descriptions. This masks the subjectivity through a descriptive panel that does not explicitly demonstrate a point of view (Ravelli 2006: 89). This attempt at neutrality that may have been intentional or not, therefore, did not draw attention to ethnic diversity.

An example of how ethnic diversity is only implicitly depicted at Bath is through the description of bioarchaeological research that accompanies some reconstructions of individuals[22] such as the remains of a Roman male who grew up in Syria, or a nearby region, who that participant stated was of possible Dacian origin (modern-day Romania). Bioarchaeological data on the remains were displayed alongside a facial reconstruction of the male (Figure 15). This mounted a visual representation of a Syrian/Mediterranean individual through facial features and skin tone. It is difficult to see how this explicitly depicts ethnic identity, however, as the associated

---

[21] This description is taken directly from an information plaque.
[22] More examples of this are included in section 5.1.3 as it examines other museums that implicitly depict ethnic diversity through their depictions of the Roman period.

interpretation did not explicitly unpack this information and contextualise it. The presence of a Syrian/Mediterranean individual in Roman Bath may represent the movement of people, but there was not an explicit emphasis on culture. There is, therefore, a question of whether this reconstruction was enough evidence to explicitly depict diversity through visual cues.

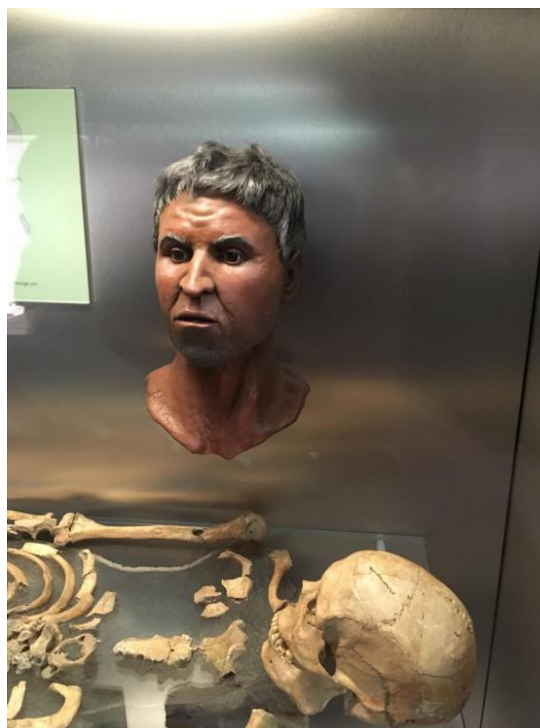

Figure 15: Facial reconstruction from Bath depicting non-British traits © Author

Other forms of communicative technology complement the character narratives. These include projections of tasks individuals may have enacted in the past such as carpentry. Also, the participant stated how actors usually dressed as these ancient individuals are employed to engage with visitors and answer questions around the museum.[23] Again, although the museum has used innovative communicative techniques, ethnic diversity was not an emphasised concept. Representation of ethnic diversity was, therefore, not noticeably integral to the display's narratives and shown to be authentically incorporated into their discourse.

Any effort to portray Roman Bath as diverse may have, therefore, been lost on museum visitors who bring individualised encounters of reality, history, and associated biases into institutions (Falks and Dierking 2013: 7). Consequently, they will interpret messages and values expressed dependent on their own experiences. This implies that a singular text has with it a 'galaxy of signifiers' (Barthes 1974: 5) where a specific interpretation depends on shared worldviews that can navigate this plurality. As such, clarity is key in the introduction of inclusivity into a display

---

[23] Unfortunately, this did not occur during my visit for this interview and, therefore, could not be commented on.

narrative. One way to do so is to emphasise desired messages through frequent references to it, that provide important concepts with appropriate time and space. Without such an approach, it is likely that traditional narratives that associate with a euro-centric worldview (Oyedemi 2018: 3; Verdesio 2010: 350), will be relied upon as per the current norm in museum discourse. This perpetuates the continued delay in the trajectory for all institutions to become inclusive spaces (Abungu 2019: 66) and highlights the need for curatorial teams to be innovative, and obvious, in their approaches to narrate diversity, if intended to do so.

Projected videos of gendered space

The previous section discussed part of Bath's exhibits where diversity was noted to be present, but this possible intention behind curatorial aims has not resulted in its successful integration into display narratives. This section observes further comments made by the participant (interviewee 25) that reference another example of ethnic diversity entwined in their exhibits. The example includes two separate projections, with sound, that depict activities that occurred in gendered sections of the bath complex. One projection showed women bathers participating in a set of activities associated with Roman bathing practices. The other showed the same, but with male actors to denote the male side of the compound. Both examples present issues with the way ethnic diversity is supposed to be depicted.

The main emphasis on diversity expressed by the participant was two men conversing in modern Greek in the depiction of male bathers. It is indicated that the inclusion of two bilingual actors was, however, not a predetermined plan. It instead occurred through chance, due to the choice of individuals brought in by the casting company on the day of filming. Nonetheless, the result does produce a depiction of at least two different languages spoken at the baths. It is not clear, however, how this translates to an explicit depiction of ethnic diversity. Without an emphasis on the link between diversity and language, this message is lost. The *frequency*, *duration*, and *mood* of discourses (Akimoto 2019: 344; Pavel 2004 37-38; Henderson 1983: 8) that are meant to be interpreted, also contribute to this failure.

Firstly, as with the previous discussion of character constructions, ethnic diversity is not frequently pointed out by the institution's Roman displays. Consequently, without prior indication to focus the minds of visitors, factors such as the presence of a foreign language may not alert the audience to a diverse Roman population. Furthermore, the use of modern Greek does not insinuate an ethnically diverse Roman population for individuals that cannot distinguish Greek from Latin, for example. It could be that visitors expect actors portraying ancient individuals to converse in a foreign language to promote accuracy.

The corresponding projection of women bathers also exemplifies an issue similar to that of the 'diverse' depiction of male bathers. The participant expressed how the female projection included a geographically diverse cast that included an eastern European individual. This does not, however, translate to audiences as all the cast members were white, and there is, therefore, no visual cue to demonstrate diversity. This criticism befalls the male representation of bathers too, who again were all white. In the case of the female cast, it was admitted that an ethnically diverse message was not translated, but this was in comparison to the apparent success of the male projection.

Both depictions of bathers were stated to include some form of diversity; however, at close inspection neither did so explicitly; nor is its implicit inclusion clear. This failure may be linked to the absence of intention for ethnic diversity to be a focus of these displays. The intention behind an act is important as it simultaneously demonstrates *why* an act was decided upon (Anscombe 1963: 39-40). Furthermore, acting upon an intention foresees a desire to follow through on a decision that has been motivated and informed by value judgements (Raz 2017: 123). Whilst the depiction of diversity could have been portrayed unintentionally—a black actor could have been chosen by the casting company, for example—it would have represented a hollow gesture to incorporate diversity. Moreover, the absence of intention presents representation as a secondary concern for curators.

Conclusions

In conclusion, the displays at the Roman Baths at Bath struggles to evidence where ethnic diversity is explicitly highlighted throughout its displays. A great breadth of research and communicative technologies are used to curate and depict Bath's Roman past; however, this has not resulted in the transmission of representation. This is predominantly due to the lack of space, time, and frequency given to the subject of diversity in the museum's narrative. As such, while Bath's Roman displays do include the discussion and representation of identities from different parts of the Roman world, this topic is not elevated above the museum's primary focus on their identity as a heritage site about the Roman remains. Bath's narrative is, therefore, more concerned with how the Roman bath functioned and how the site was used, rather than who used them. This is in contrast to the Yorkshire Museum's displays that concentrated on the people of Roman York rather than its archaeological remains and standing heritage.

5.1.3 Yes, but only implicitly

Fourteen participants from twelve different institutions (Table 3) responded that their associated Roman exhibitions did include ethnicity; however only in an implicit manner. The examples below

focus predominantly on British institutions; however, comparisons and examples are also given from Belgium and the Netherlands.

Associated institutions of those who responded that their Roman exhibitions implicitly expressed ethnicity		
The Collection, UK	Verulamium, UK	British Museum, UK
Gallo Romeins Museum, Belgium	Cambridge Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, UK	Thermenmuseum, the Netherlands
Welwyn Roman Bath, UK	Colchester Castle Museum, UK	Dover Museum, UK
Rijksmuseum Van Oudheden, the Netherlands	Roman Museum, UK	Corinium Museum, UK

Table 3: Associated institutions where participants stated ethnicity was only implicitly expressed in their permanent Roman displays

Missed opportunities

As expressed by many participants, the implicit expression of ethnicity was caused by the absence of an emphasis on diversity in object descriptions and display boards. For example, participants at the Corinium Museum (interviewee 6) and the Roman Museum (Interviewees 11 and 38) identified objects on display that could have expressed ethnicity but did not.

On a walkthrough of the Corinium Museum, Interviewee 6 highlighted a display of tombstones (Figure 16) with associated inscriptions that mentioned individuals and identity indicators. Much like the use of inscriptions at Roman Bath, their associated information panels remained descriptive. Furthermore, epigraphical research is typically compartmentalised into different typologies of inscriptions, with the majority coming from military contexts (Hope 2016: 287). This has influenced the use of tombstones in display narratives as part of traditional imperial discourses that relate to male-centric and militaristic descriptions of the period (Polm 2016: 239; Tolia-Kelly 2011: 73).

The relevance of tombstones and inscriptions to discuss elements of identity and ethnicity was, however, acknowledged by a participant at the Corinium Museum (Interviewee 7). It was stated that they would like to make changes to their displays to better incorporate discussions of different identities. The age of display creation and contemporary research at the time of curation can contribute to the lack of modern themes and concerns in contemporary display spaces. Modern epigraphical research, for example, has begun to reflect the diversity of the Roman populace in its analysis of the past and associated content (Noy 2010: 22; 2004: 10-11; Vanderspoel 2005: 46-52). To incorporate this into their future narratives, the participant from the Corinium Museum (Interviewee 7) explained how they could use data from epigraphical

studies alongside other objects used to depict different cultures. Unfortunately, the participant (Interviewee 7) indicated that such changes would not be possible in the short term as the Corinium Museum's current focus was on the renovation of its prehistory displays. This indicates the lack of time and funds that many participants identified that prevents the renovation and modernisation of permanent Roman displays as discussed in chapter six.

Figure 16: Collection of tombstones on display at the Corinium Museum © Corinium Museum

The lack of engagement with materials and missed opportunities to highlight their links to modern concepts was further discussed by one of the participants at the Roman Museum in Canterbury (Interviewee 38). They emphasised the lack of details and interpretation provided by description panels throughout the museum. This contributed to their decision that the museum's narrative only vaguely includes the concept of ethnicity throughout. Like Bath's depiction of the Roman period, innovative communicative techniques superseded any advances to modernise the content discussed. An example was the Roman Museum's recreated market square that did not communicate issues of identity and ethnic diversity well. Akin to the projection of bathers at Bath, it was indicated that the mannequins used to represent ancient craftsmen and sellers did not correspond to the range of individuals who would have been present in Roman Canterbury (Interviewee 38).[24]

As such, there is an issue with contemporary displays that concerns who was chosen to resemble ancient citizens and how this is transmitted, both visually and descriptively. This is caused partly, as Polm indicates, through the reliance on research that stems from colonial ideologies (2016:

---

[24] Since the interviews with two individuals at the Roman Museum in Canterbury, several galleries have gone through a small renovation. These may have changed narratives in such displays as issues with this aspect of their representations of the past were identified by interviewees. As a result of the Covid-19 pandemic, however, a return visit was not possible to verify whether renovations have resulted in better engagement with ancient individuals and populations.

210). It is also caused by the continuance of traditional display methods and the absence of a postcolonial, reflexive, critique of their curation processes, communicative methods, and material on show.

In the depiction of Roman Britain at the Roman Museum in Canterbury, individuals are always depicted as white. This echoes Bath's projected bathers' video and is also evident in the Roman Museum's use of white mannequins in their marketplace with a lack of detail concerning their identities. This is further apparent in imagery found at the Museum of London that depicts a homogenous dockland (Figure 17) and Roman military (Figure 29), despite evidence that indicates its diversity (Coulston 2004: 135-136; Collicott 1994: 262). The issue lies with depictions of white individuals as signifiers for ancient populations. The body reflects an object and instrument to inform worldviews of ourselves and others (Varutti 2017: 6; Breton et al. 2006: 14; Mauss 1979: 104). As such, bodies are 'socially informed' (Boudieu 1977: 124) and continuously used to denounce who is included and excluded from individualised conceptions of imagined communities (Creese 2019: 1479; Strathern 1996: 21; Connerton 1989: 104; Anderson 1983: 16).

Figure 17: Model of Londinium Bridge on display in the Museum of London's Roman Gallery © Museum of London

Depictions of bodies need, therefore, to be scrutinised when used in museums as cultural and visual expressions of an ancient community. This is important as depictions of populaces designed to visualise past communities are seen to inform typicality rather than individuality as they depict groups rather than their constituent parts (Henningsen 2019: 152; Ali 2008: 83). Consequently, the reliance on white individuals to represent the ancient past reflects modern processes that locate white individuals as the 'norm' to sustain the status quo (Strathern 1996: 15) gained through colonial hegemonies. As such, there is a need for institutions to capitalise on material that may be used to focus on diversity. Tombstones are a popular example of where these missed opportunities can appear, but only represent one type of artefact amongst many

that are used in the same way. This further indicates a need for curatorial teams to curate whilst engaged with the representation of diversity. Otherwise, appropriate narratives will continue to be missed and traditional discourses supported by outmoded practices will remain to be relied upon.

Age of display narratives

The age of a display was regularly correlated to the lack of description, analysis, and links to the modern ethics of inclusivity. This justification for the lack of modern ethics and ethnic diversity in a display narrative was highlighted by the interviewees at the Gallo Romeins Museum in Belgium (Interviewees 4 and 5). Within the Belgian museum's Roman galleries, terms such as 'hybridisation' and 'culture mixing' were used alongside outdated terms such as 'Romanisation' that have received criticism over the past 20-30 years (e.g. Mattingly 2007, 2004; Webster 2001; Barrett 1997; Hingley 1996; Freeman 1993). Moreover, the term is now mostly avoided in academia as it fails to successfully illustrate the intricacies of societal changes in the Roman period (e.g. Gardner 2013; Mattingly 2013: 38-41; 2007; Hingley 2003).

As the Gallo-Romeins Museum does include terms such as hybridity and culture mixing, it does indicate diversity in Roman society. However, the age of the exhibits has created a range of concepts that can be seen to fundamentally conflict with one another. To a casual onlooker, this discrepancy between terminology may not be an issue, however, it does indicate the presence of a confused narrative behind its creation. Furthermore, concepts such as hybridity have been in existence for almost a century (Collingwood 1932: 92), and has been consistently challenged for its lack of complexity in modern scholarship (e.g. Jane Webster's theory of creolisation (2003, 2001, 1997) and by Jay Ingate's use of variable hybridity over hybridity's traditionally uniform approach to societal change [2019]). Consequently, although the use of traditional terminology can at first indicate the inclusion of modern ethics into Roman display narrative, it does not follow that modern research or views have been considered in the curation process.

Lack of archaeological material and research

Another reason given in the interview for the implicit expression of ethnicity at the Gallo Romeins Museum was the lack of local archaeology to express ethnic diversity (Interviewees 4 and 5). It was stated that the material culture available to the Gallo Romeins Museum reflects a wealthy homogenous demographic. This eventuality meant that the depiction of a diverse population was not possible for them. This statement, made by two participants from the Gallo Romeins Museum (Interviewees 4 and 5), is also supported by archaeological studies. Roman Tongeren, where the museum is situated, is described as an area populated by many inhabitants that 'belonged to a Romanised, native elite mainly engaged in agriculture and secondly in trade

and crafts' (Cooremans 2008: 3). This level of homogeneity with Roman culture stems from the town's title of Civitas Tungrorum, capital of the Gallia Belgica province that originated from an earlier military settlement (Wouters et al. 2019: 448).

Although reports point towards homogeneity, the Gallo Romeins Museum's permanent Roman galleries use the terms hybridity and culture mixing to describe Roman society. Consequently, the Gallo Romeins Museum has actively influenced the perspective used to interpret its Roman history as a historically diverse place. Cooremans' description of Roman Tongeren (2008: 3) can be used to support the claim that Tongeren once included a homogenised population of wealthy elites. Alternatively, the presence of Romanised native elites could be used as a conduit to discuss the cultural change and diversity that occurred in ancient Tongeren to create this eventuality. While the Gallo Romeins Museum does draw on these descriptive terms, however, the concept of an ethnically diverse ancient past is not emphasised. Rather, it is lost in what is a gallery that, while visually innovative, is securely positioned within a traditional curatorial approach that spotlights archaeological remains over individual lived lives.

The option to introduce topics of ethnic diversity was, however, stated to not apply to areas that have a distinct lack of archaeological evidence to support discussion. A participant from the Welwyn Roman Bath (Interviewee 14) explained that local archaeology limited the depiction of ethnic diversity due to the homogenous nature of the area's archaeological dataset. In such instances, display narratives may be built upon poor archaeological records. This affects the information available to provide a flexible base to then create discourses that can be frequently adapted to associate with inclusive modern concepts. If such connections are made without strong supporting evidence, it may damage public reception of the museum as they are seen to be educators based in objective truth (Rochford 2017: 209; Hooper-Greenhill 1994d: 3). It may, therefore, be disingenuous for an exhibition to express a narrative not supported by academic thought. This also holds if curatorial teams decided to discuss diversity based on evidence that discussed ancient Britain in general terms, as it fails to rely on the examination of the museum's localised area.

Additionally, a participant from the Verulamium Museum (Interviewee 17) indicated that their incomplete archival records prevented the inclusion of ethnicity in their narratives as objects remain understudied. This is symptomatic of issues concerning the mass of artefacts in museum stores and available resources to study them. It also concerns a complex set of ideological worldviews that have shaped how archives are formed and subsequently researched which transpire into inclusive and exclusive practices (Gale and Featherstone 2011: 18-19). This results from an archive's contribution to the cultural definition of a culture or region. What becomes a

priority in a collection is, therefore, reflective of the dominant ideologies of collectors and researchers (Foucault 1969: 145-6). Calls for inclusivity and representation that challenge colonial practises also relates to uses of archives. As such, until archives have been studied through a postcolonial lens, imperial power relations will persist and prolong coloniality's hold on Roman displays. Whilst not permitted in the space of this thesis, it would be of interest to investigate what types of objects have received attention in archives, from what perspectives, and by whom. Gaps that would appear may likely link to causes of continued colonial outputs regularly seen in display narratives.

To add to this point, Interviewee 10 from The Collection in Lincoln explained that material such as locally excavated tombstones could be used to depict ethnicity and diversity. These tombstones, however, were housed within the British Museum and prevented their use to depict diversity for The Collection's audience. Interestingly, another participant from the British Museum (Interviewee 9) stated that the museum did not have much material that looked directly at daily life and/or ethnicity. This reflects a common occurrence where objects of significant value for local communities are often kept by national museums that do not make these object readily available for communities they most relate to (Mutibwa et al. 2020: 158). As demonstrated by the value placed on the tombstone from Lincoln, different perspectives can be used that may situate cultural material in different contexts that determine its cultural significance. Although on show in the British Museum, these tombstones are shut away from local communities around Lincoln. The relevant stories of ethnic diversity that these items could illustrate for Lincoln's past cannot, therefore, be shared and contribute to better representation of diversity in their currently homogenous display as stated by Interviewee 10.

Space for elaboration and visitor attention

Finally, concerns over limited space and word count on interpretational plaques and boards were discussed on numerous occasions. Ethnicity is a complex concept (e.g. Revell 2016: 25; Eckardt 2014: 6-7; Gardner et al 2013: 2; Brubaker 2009: 205; Lucy 2005: 87; Bhopal 2004: 442), therefore, it may be difficult to limit its description to a short explanation. The inclusion of ethnic diversity throughout the Yorkshire Museum's Roman galleries does, however, provide an example of how it can be achieved in a display context. Consequently, difficulties of space permitted to the inclusion of ethnicity appear to associate more with how important and relevant it is deemed for curatorial teams and their displays, rather than the physical constraints of the room.

This is evidenced by the British Museum's galleries that depict ancient Rome. Interviewee 8 from the British Museum indicated a delicate relationship between the amount of description

appropriate to be included on displays boards and plaques and the attention span of visitors. They stated, for example, that if visitors read every board and plaque within the Greek and Roman Galleries then ethnicity would be an obvious concept in their narrative. Upon reflection of the British Museum's displays on the Roman Empire, the curatorial teams successfully depicted a diverse range of artefacts from different parts of the world, but this did not translate to a frequent representation of diversity. It was further stated by the participant from the British Museum (Interviewee 8), that visitors do not generally read every piece of information available to them. It is, however, uncertain as to whether audiences would recognise the diversity of the Roman Empire if every label and information panel were read. This is caused by the display's absence of concepts, such as ethnicity and identity, used as key descriptors to explore and portray the period.

Martijn Polm (2016: 239) expands on this point and argues that the British Museum does not engage with wider topics of the empire to demonstrate a nuanced approach. As a visitor to the Roman galleries, the grandeur and size of the Roman Empire are noticeable from objects on show and display panels and boards that emphasise its breadth and enormity. This has not translated, however, to engage discussions of the range of individuals and cultures the objects on show at the British Museum relate to. To use Genette's narratological taxonomy (1972: 31), *time* and *space* are dedicated to the size and beauty of empire but its diversity is not touched upon, and this results in the *infrequency* of the topic throughout its displays and, therefore, absence. The exhibits have been curated through a *point of view* that fails to engage on a level that represents the ethnically diverse quality of the Roman Empire's constituents and fails to detach itself from a colonially influenced top-down perspective of property and power.

Whilst it may not have been implied by the Interviewee 8, it is not appropriate to use the public's apparent lack of concentration to explain why the representation of ethnic diversity is not explicit in display narratives. It is known that individuals are not likely to read every description in an institution's Roman gallery, but they will read some (Falks and Dierking 2013: 116; Ambrose and Paine 1993: 88). Without the repetition of key themes, such as ethnicity, concepts will be missed as visitors do not have time to read all texts presented to them (Falks and Dierking 2013: 117). Besides, Interviewee 8 from the British Museum, continued to emphasise throughout their interview that while the institution could be perceived as progressive in many of its activities, it continues to neglect its permanent displays. As many galleries in the British Museum that relate to the Roman period are over 20 years-old, the lack of involvement from the museum to update them is a prominent reason as to why its narratives are outdated.

Consequently, it is the curatorial team's prerogative to construct narratives that 'attract, communicate, inspire, and help visitors' (Serrel 1996: 47) get what they want in line with the critical messages institutions want to express. To do so, however, permanent galleries need to engage with contemporary values and concepts to produce modernised depictions of the past that audiences can relate to.

Conclusion

This section discussed replies that indicated why Roman display narratives only depicted aspects of ethnic diversity in an implicit manner. Many thought-provoking reasons were provided which will be continued into the next section. As was expressed by many participants, objects that could have acted as vessels to illustrate ethnic diversity were present in their displays and stores but not utilised as such. Reasons for this include the age of a display, access to relevant research, ideological uses of archives, and available space for discussions of ethnicity.

Although these explanations do not necessarily indicate that ethnic diversity is actively avoided, they do reflect a practice influenced by traditional processes and worldviews. Significantly, the research perspectives applied to certain societies and their objects have caused disinterest in the representation of different ethnicities. This impacts the creation of narratives through the lack of space and time allowed to express inclusive values. Consequently, the three narratological aspects of the *order*, *frequency*, and *duration*, regarded as the temporal dynamics of a narrative (Liveley 2019: 196; Genette 1972: 31), do not focus on ethnicity and result in its absence from the foundation of constructed discourses.

5.1.4 No, not at all

This section discusses the reasons given as to why displays were void of ethnic diversity. Many participants stated how their displays did not include discussion of ethnicity at all, and others that their displays did not engage with identity. Within this category, eighteen individuals represent 15 museums and heritage sites (Table 4).[25] Some discussion will echo that included in previous sections; however, it further emphasises the common issues faced by all institutions.

[25] The participant from English Heritage had two Roman sites under their jurisdiction: Lullingstone Roman Villa and Richborough Roman Fort. The answers to Question 1 for this individual have, however, been counted and recorded collectively as one in Figure 7 in regard to whether ethnicity is depicted as their answer was 'no' for both.

Associated institutions of those who responded that their Roman exhibitions do not express ethnicity in the UK			
Museum of London	Burwell Open Air Museum	Mildenhall Museum	Sittingbourne Heritage Museum
Butser Ancient Farm	Roman Museum	Seaside Museum	The Novium
Maidstone Museum	Colchester Castle Museum	Dartford Museum	Fishbourne Roman Palace
Cambridge Museum of Classical Archaeology		English Heritage SE (including Richborough Roman Fort and Lullingstone Roman Villa)	

Table 4: Associated institutions where participants stated ethnicity was not expressed in their Roman displays

This section is of great importance for this thesis, as Roman displays devoid of ethnic diversity can be seen to hinder, or actively oppose, progress towards inclusivity. It is, therefore, critical to understand why these institutions have not treated ethnicity, or ethnic diversity, as an important concept they visibly engage with.

Lack of research and importance on ethnicity

The most prominent reason for the absence of ethnic diversity in contemporary Roman displays was due to a lack of research on the topic. It is important to emphasise that this relates to relevant studies of their archaeological material, rather than the many studies of ethnicity in the field of archaeology (e.g. McInerney 2014; Gardner et al. 2013; Derks and Roymans 2009; Roymans 2004; Jones 1997). A similar justification for the lack of ethnic diversity in display narratives was seen in the previous section. Verulamium, for example, considered their incomplete archive to prevent explicit engagement with ethnicity (Interviewee 17). It is noted, however, that there is a large difference between implicit inclusion of ethnic diversity and none. The former implies the acknowledgement that traits of ethnicity can be recognised, but not emphasised. The latter, however, indicates a situation where narratives and material have been curated without consideration of how it can reflect an ethnically diverse society.

Interviews at the Seaside Museum (Interviewee 30), Maidstone Museum (Interviewee 22), and English Heritage South East (Interviewee 12) stated that the absence of ethnicity in their Roman displays was due to the limited importance placed on the concept by the curatorial teams who designed the current exhibits. The absence of the representation of minority ethnic groups in Maidstone Museum's Roman displays did not reflect a similar trend in other parts of their museum. This is also an aspect seen in other institutions such as the Museum of London, where the Roman display is seen to lack the expression of diversity whereas others do. For example, Maidstone Museum explicitly engages with ethnic diversity in their Egyptian exhibit, *Ancient Lives* (2017). As discussed in the next chapter, funds may only provide the ability to renovate parts of a

collection at a time. Furthermore, demands on staff, also discussed in the next chapter, results in limited concentration that is divided across on all aspects of a museum simultaneously. As such, ethnicity and representation may be part of the curatorial team's perspective into the narration of the past, but other issues hinder its specific inclusion into Roman displays.

This was not the case, however, for Sittingbourne Heritage Museum. In this instance, two interviewees stated that ethnicity was absent from their displays due to the lack of importance placed on the concept by current staff (Interviewees 19 and 20). Sittingbourne Heritage Museum is a volunteer-led institution, and the issues raised here are relevant for museums in similar situations. Most prominent here, there appears to be a disconnect between the volunteer-led staff of the museum and the continued interest in identity studies in academia. Concepts which are in vogue in modern society are usually reflected in contemporary academic trends (Sunstein 2001: 1265). The lack of a specialist may have affected Sittingbourne Heritage Museum's ability to tap into key societal issues and modern museal practices. Such outdated displays may cause volunteer-led institutions to be placed in precarious positions, as lack of engagement with modern trends could affect relevancy. This will then likely affect their economic sustainability- an issue that is known to threaten museum sectors worldwide (UNESCO 2013: 21).

The lack of engagement with the contemporary concerns of community interest groups has also been noted by Smith and Fouseki's study that connects the lack of representation with social justice, ideology, and politics (2011). They use Fraser's 'politics of recognition' (2000) that concern the recognition and time given to community group appeals for representation. Through their study, Smith and Fouseki argue that engagement with the diversity seen in museums in the early 2000s represents continued recognition and acknowledgement for the concerns of diversity in British society and its museum sector since the new museology movement (2011: 101). This is then compared to the current situation later in the decade where staff that had concentrated on diversity issues struggled for significance in their institutions, due to the ideologies of their peers, and institutional pressures caused by the lack of resources (Smith and Fouseki 2011: 104-105). This represents two factors that relate to the issues at Sittingbourne Heritage Museum, but also elsewhere in Britain's museum sector.

Firstly, the rise and fall of significance seen for diversity staff correspond with that of multiculturalism throughout the UK and Europe (Carbone 2017: 2; Colombo 2015: 808; Vasta 2007: 724-725; see chapter three). As multiculturalism petered out, the importance placed on representation was also lost in the ideological foundation of governance represented by Fraser's politics of recognition (2000). Since Labour's departure from Downing Street and the accession of the Conservative party in 2010, multiculturalism continued to fall out of favour and was

eventually replaced by increasingly assimilationist ideology (Saukkonen 2013: 186; Scholten and Holzhacker 2009: 82). Fraser notes how levels of acknowledgement given for work on representation by the government as embodied in their distribution of resources provided to facilitate these goals (2001: 22). As such, the lack of specialists seen in institutions is linked to wider political trends that saw their importance diminish alongside the resources to support them. This is an important point to grasp as many museums in the UK are publicly funded. Moreover, schools that inform the ideologies of visitors are simultaneously educated through curricula developed by government bodies, thus reinforcing the level of legitimacy placed on representation.[26]

Although intimately related to the first factor, the second depicts how the distribution of resources, that is influenced by ideology, affects wider issues that result in homogenous volunteer-led institutions. Studies have identified that white, middle-to-upper class females are the dominant demographic group of museum volunteers (Art Council England 2019: 14; Council on Museums and Education in the Visual Arts et al. 1978: 244).[27] In contrast, minority ethnic groups and the poorer strata of society cannot generally afford to freely give their time to an institution (Council on Museums and Education in the Visual Arts et al. 1978: 245). This has a knock-on effect at institutions that are volunteer-led, such as Sittingbourne Heritage Museum (Interviewees 19 and 20) and The Mildenhall Museum (Interviewee 18), who stated that their displays did not include ethnic diversity. As such, without staff that engage with diversity work, an institution will likely lack a commitment to representation. This also extends to homogenous workforces that results in a lack of encouragement for narratives to be more reflective of social inclusion that is provided by a varied workforce (Sandell 2000: 214).

These points are representative of many issues seen in the British heritage sector. At the turn of the 21st century, nine out of ten museums in the UK employed volunteers (Institute for Volunteering Research 2002). Around the same time, a quarter of museums in the UK were completely reliant on volunteers (Holmes 1999). The financial issues faced by the present heritage sector (Rex 2018: 36) also foresees further reliance on volunteers to support museums and heritage sites. This has simultaneously occurred in a period where many institutions have had to close or make large infrastructural changes. An example was provided by Interviewee 11 associated with Canterbury that illustrated the council’s closure of many museums.

---

[26] The role of funding and national curricula in relation to museum output is discussed further in chapter six.

[27] Demographic data for voluntary staff at UK museums is largely unknown; however, the trends seen in the known data show a large bias towards older, white individuals.

The proposals to establish a 'Heritage Service as a Cultural Enterprise' (2019: 2) by Lincolnshire County Council is a contemporary example of the largescale change in heritage infrastructure that affects museums included in this research such as The Collection in Lincoln. As outlined by Lincolnshire County Council (2019: 2), it is likely to be influenced by a widescale change thanks to fluctuations in governmental funding and strategic shifts to business models for the area's cultural institutions. As is outlined, Fraser's politics of recognition (2001) and Smith and Fouseki's argument (2011) corresponds to the lack of representation seen in present Roman display narratives, with a link to a steep fall in funds available to support diversity work and paid staff.

Museum of London: Diversity and Ethnicity

The responses given by participants from the Museum of London (Interviewees 32, 36, and 37) that indicate it does not engage with ethnic diversity throughout its Roman displays may come as a surprise, as the institution is well-known for its work on diversity within London.[28] Furthermore, the Museum of London is seen to be well funded with a consistently high footfall. As confirmed by each individual associated with the Museum of London, however, their identity as a politically engaged museum is not expressed in their permanent Roman displays. Out of the three interviewees associated with the Museum of London, two were permanent staff at the time of data collection (Interviewees 36 and 37), and the other employed when the permanent Roman display was curated between 1994-1996 (Interviewee 32). As such, a comprehensive view of the museum's stance on ethnicity can be developed, with an indication of how and why ethnic diversity has not been engaged with throughout their permanent Roman displays.

With the permanent Roman display at the Museum of London, Interviewee 32 indicated that other aspects of identity creation were more prominent than ethnicity at the time of its construction. Therefore, the importance placed by Mieke Bal on focalisation (1991: 47) is highly relevant here in the creation of a narrative. The participant involved in the construction of the display's discourse highlighted that concepts such as feminism were the focus of contemporary studies of archaeology in the mid-1990s (e.g. Conkey 1993, 1984; du Cros and Smith 1993; Gero 1985, 1983) and overshadowed other concepts such as ethnicity.

This is of interest, however, as the *Peopling of London* exhibition, a highly progressive display for its time, was in fact on display at the Museum of London in the same period (1993-1994) (discussed in chapter three). As representation was a key and successful aspect of this

---

[28] This claim is supported by their proactive engagement with representation and outreach within London such as the *Curating London* project (https://www.museumoflondon.org.uk/discover/curating-london-collecting-community-contemporary-city [Accessed 26/05/2020]) and diversity work with other institutions such as the *Diversity Matters* programme (https://www.museumoflondon.org.uk/supporting-london-museums/development-grant-programmes/diversity-matters [Accessed 26/05/2020]).

contemporary display to the implementation of the Roman galleries, it is unclear how the concept of representation was not also important to other in-house projects. As highlighted in this thesis' introduction, Roman archaeology is a predominantly white-centric field of study where engagement with diversity and inclusivity is still in its infancy (Kamash *forthcoming*). This may have influenced the absence of ethnicity as a concept to view Roman London at the time of curation. This issue resides with the quality and topics of research conducted by specialists in the field of Roman archaeology.

Even though scholarship may not have focused on ethnicity at the time of the current permanent Roman display, it is still difficult to foresee how curators were absent-minded of the issues that surround representation of minority ethnic groups. This is thanks to ethics discussed throughout the new museology movement (Vergo 1989) that revolutionised museum practice in the early 1990s and began to revolutionise museology and included a movement for better representation of minority ethnic groups. Furthermore, two contributors to the main publication that encapsulates the movement (Vergo 1989), Colin Sorensen and Nick Merriman, were employed by the Museum of London at the same time. The conversation that involved new curatorial practices concerning representation was, therefore, present at the institution in the mid-1990s. Additionally, the inclusion of Black soldiers in the *Peopling of London* exhibition (Collicott 1994: 262) shows the curatorial team's knowledge of diversity in the ancient period that could reflect modern audiences.

This information may have influenced the inclusion of two Black soldiers in the Museum of London's mural that meets visitors in their permanent Roman Gallery (Figure 29). The disengaged inclusion of these two individuals amongst a sea of white people waging war against ancient Britons undermines the prominence of their inclusion, however. The insertion of these two black individuals, that could have been a discussion point, is not elaborated on through the display's information boards and plaques. As stated by Respondent 32, the curatorial team that designed the Museum of London's current Roman Gallery were described to have lacked evidence to introduce the discussion of, and presence of black individuals in Roman society (Appendix 14). This was, of course, despite the *People of London* exhibit that had already provided such evidence. Despite this, the lack of engagement with this topic signifies a missed opportunity for the Museum of London to create a discussion around the topic of representation that is important for them and their diverse constituents.

It may be of further surprise that two participants from the Museum of London also stated that ethnicity was not included in the museum's *Roman Dead* temporary exhibition (2018) (Interviewees 36 and 37). The display included skeletal and cremated remains of 28 Roman

individuals from Londinium and over 200 burial objects. The exhibition looked at the grave goods and scientific analysis of ancient Londoners to explore, in part, the diversity of Roman London, an aspect emphasised throughout its marketing campaign (Interviewee 36 and 37).

Despite the possession of tombstones and bioarchaeological analysis, the exhibition did not use ethnicity as a descriptive or interpretive concept. Ethnicity was stated to not be explicit in the display's narrative due to the predominantly objective basis of the research used that was explained to be scientific rather than cultural or interpretational (Interviewees 36 and 37). As such, their research approach could depict migration and ancestry, but not ethnicity and culture. The participants elaborated on the desire to not confuse data on an individual's origin with their ethnicity as per its cultural definition over biological determinism (Interviewees 36 and 37). This decision was made as the curatorial team did not have enough time to produce new research to delve further into the identities of the individuals, they have skeletal remains for. As such, the *Roman Dead's* curation had to best utilise the data that had already been amassed about the remains they possessed, and use this knowledge in an ethical manner that did not confuse biological identity with ethnic and cultural interpretations and assumptions.

From a narratological standpoint, therefore, the Museum of London's curatorial team is in line with modern scholarship that defines 'ethnicity' as a cultural concept rooted in lived experience and social injustices, rather than biologically and geographically determined (Schortman 2017: 267; Revell 2016: 20; Eckardt 2014: 26; Lomas 2013: 71; Fenton 2010: 12-23; Chandra 2006: 4; Amanolahi 2005: 38; Bhopal 2004: 441). Attempts to depict ethnicity through deterministic research approaches have, therefore, been excluded from the *Roman Dead's* narrative which is based on subjective scientific data. The emphasis on the importance of this recognition by Interviewees 36 and 37 was also connected with a description of a social remit that encourages them to reflect social trends and concerns.

As such, whilst the Roman period displays at the Museum of London avoid discussion of ethnicity, there are different levels of awareness of this in the construction process of discourses. Ethnic diversity was, for example, a concept highlighted in the curatorial decisions for the temporary *Roman Dead* exhibition. Its absence from the display was a consequence of their research methods that did not contribute to their culture-centred definition of ethnicity. Although this process sustains the lack of ethnic representation in their displays, it did, nonetheless, encourage the exhibit to explore other avenues to depict diversity. The permanent display's narrative, conversely, did not include ethnicity within any stage of its narrative construction. The presence of the *Peopling of London* (1994-1996) exhibit and prominence of the new museological movement (Vergo 1989) at the time of curation raises many questions over the claim that

ethnicity was not a key concept at the time of construction. Both instances represent an issue faced by the sector today that revolves around when, and how, do representation and ethnic diversity become a central issue that needs to be addressed in displays. This question is critical in the process to understand why the concept is still not widely seen as important enough to be a necessity for contemporary exhibitions and audiences.

Narrative perspective

Further explanations as to why Roman displays did not include ethnicity were related to the chosen narratives of museums and heritage sites included in Dataset 1. This section analyses how ethnicity and diversity were omitted from the construction of display narratives due to their styles of narration (Pavel 2004: 37) and focus of the institution, rather than the curatorial team itself. This section will demonstrate the influence placed on curatorial teams through their institution's historical aims and current remit, to curate discourses counter to inclusive aims.

Interviewees from Sittingbourne Heritage Museum (Interviewees 19 and 20), Fishbourne Roman Palace (Interviewee 23), and Burwell Museum (Interviewee 15), each stated that their museums look at a singular localised area, or site, that prevents the discussion of ethnic diversity. This was based on the premise that their limited perspective on the past restricts the inclusion of ethnicities from outside of their locality. Moreover, the interviewee at Burwell Museum (Interviewee 15) stated that a local narrative represented what individuals from the local area desired.

As such, Burwell's small and predominantly older white population (ONS 2011b, 2011c) was highlighted by the participant from the institution to have influenced their opinion to not discuss ethnic diversity (Interviewee 15). It is decided that the inclusion of this concept would fail to connect with their audiences. This reflects the complexities in decisions about what is relevant for local institutions whose primary purpose is dedicated to their communities (Brown 2019: 6-7). Whilst it may hold that a local community could be homogenous, there are still, however, minority ethnic groups present amongst them who need to be included in narratives that encapsulate the identity of a region. Museums also receive visitors from outside of their immediate locality which further emphasises their need to be inclusive and perhaps short-sightedness when they do not.

As chapter three indicates, many of the issues placed upon the exclusive characteristic of institutions are based on their compliance with coloniality (Quijano 2007: 169) and exclusive narratives (Tolia-Kelly and Raymond 2020: 512; Minott 2018: 563; Dixon 2016: 68-69; Knell 2011: 14; Preziosi 2011: 56; Tolia-Kelly 2011: 71; Verdesio 2010: 350). Despite their allegiance to local communities, no matter how whitewashed they may be, this fundamentally needs to change to

challenge exclusive and destructive narratives. As Kevin Coffee states, ‘no museum is an island’ (2008: 261), and whilst this remains true, diversity work must involve all museums to effectively envisage them as collectively modern and relevant institutions.

The perspectives taken towards archaeological data used in narratives was also indicated to influence the lack of ethnic diversity at the Roman Museum (Interviewee 11), The Novium (Interviewee 33), and Mildenhall Museum (Interviewee 18). Each Roman display at these institutions was stated to ignore the demographic of Roman society and instead focused on descriptive object-based narratives. Their displays focused on material rather than people. The Roman Museum in Canterbury, for instance, dedicates a lot of space to building materials without any indication of those involved in its process. It also does not depict the many cultural practices and representations of power relations associated with different techniques and building styles (Hingley 2005: 80). Conversely, the Mildenhall Museum dedicates a large part of its Roman display to replicas of the Mildenhall treasure (Fig 18). Again, those involved in its creation and cultural significance are not central to the associated narratives that focus on the treasure’s aesthetic value.

Figure 18: Replicas of the Mildenhall Treasure display at the Mildenhall Museum © Mildenhall Museum. Photo used by courtesy of the Trustees of Mildenhall and District Museum.

Another impact on the inclusion of ethnic diversity in display narratives, particularly that of local audiences, was the inclusion of material that inherently represents ancient societies from another country. In this case, the interviewee from the Cambridge Museum of Classical Archaeology (Interviewee 27) stated that their Roman displays steered away from ethnicity. Instead, their displays expressed a chronological progression of Greek and Roman sculpture rather than individual insights into the lives of ancient people. Again, like the Mildenhall Museum, their narrative is largely based on the aesthetic quality of the artwork and lacks the

inclusion of informative panels that discuss ancient life. As shown by Werner Wolf, however, much can be gained from a narratological approach to the study of sculpture (2011: 147-155). As such, it is the case with all institutions in this section that ethnic diversity is not represented in their narratives specifically because of their perception of the Roman past through the material they have; not because the objects themselves limit the ability to do so.

Research outcomes of material culture

In one interview at the Dartford Museum (Interviewee 28), the case was made that material culture cannot provide an insight into the identity of those who made or used it. Instead, it was emphasised how the study of material culture depicts aspects of Roman life such as trade and the movement of objects, not people. This approach is criticised as it dissociates artefacts from people and resembles traditional, outmoded approaches to the study of Roman material culture (van Oyen and Pitts 2017: 4). Current research continues to observe the movement of material; however, it also aims to examine the human experiences it can reveal (e.g. Stoner 2019: 1; Swift 2017: 1; van Oyen and Pitts 2017: 3-4; Allason-Jones 2011: 1; Hingley 2005: 1-2). The viewpoint expressed by the participant from the Dartford Museum (Interviewee 28), therefore, limits the communicative power of archaeology to explore different aspects of society. It also hinders archaeology's ability to be relevant for modern audiences and in turn the institutions that use it to narrate the past. Without a connection between their material and human experience, the ability of display narratives to relate to modern audiences is greatly limited; the same is true of modern expectations that museums should engage with social justice (Gonzales 2019: 1; Janes and Sandell 2019b: 1; Labadi 2018: 3; Nightingale and Sandell 2012: 1; Silverman 2010: 3).

Conclusions

Overall, this section has provided many examples of why ethnic diversity is absent from Roman display narratives. Explanations range from the absence of material in their possession to construct chosen narratives, to the lack of the necessary types of research. The constant theme throughout this section is, however, that in each case, ancient material and culture has not been perceived in a way conducive to the depiction of ethnicity in an inclusive fashion. As Bal emphasises (1991: 47), focalisation is a key aspect to grasp and provides a better comprehension of how narratives are constructed. Throughout this section, it has been shown that the focus of many displays is on viewpoints that ignore the importance of an institution's ability to connect to a diverse audience.

5.1.5 No answer

Six individuals did not provide an answer to Question 1 for several reasons. Three of these individuals were associated with the British Museum (Interviewee 9), the Seaside Museum

(Interviewee 30), and the Valkhof (Interviewee 2) respectively. Each of these individuals discussed, at length, the questions involved in the interview process, but did not provide an answer that could be simply categorised into one of the sections above. For example, Interviewee 9 from the British Museum discussed the institution's stagnation on contemporary topics but did not explicitly indicate whether ethnicity and/or ethnic diversity was apparent in its Roman displays. Another individual, this time from the Verulamium Museum (Interviewee 39), did not discuss whether associated displays expressed ethnicity. This dialogue was one of the supplementary conversations, however, which were not pre-planned and time-limited.

Another participant, an ex-senior archaeologist who was, and still is, greatly involved with the displays at Welwyn Roman Bath (Interviewee 13), had done little research on ethnicity. Attempts were made throughout the interview to define ethnicity as outlined in the introduction; however, the transmission of the meaning and application of the concept was not successful. Thus, although the interview discussed other aspects of this research and Welwyn's exhibit, it did not contribute to a discussion of whether ethnicity was depicted and if so how. However, the presence of an individual who does not grasp the role of ethnicity in the creation of a Roman display strongly suggests that ethnicity was or is not included in the exhibition itself. As is mentioned above, another interviewee from Welwyn Roman Bath (Interviewee 14) stated that ethnicity was included implicitly in their display narrative. This answer related to the display of objects that could, if the intention was there, be used to support the depiction of ethnic diversity in the area's ancient past.

Consequently, the comparison between the two answers by interviewees at Welwyn can be seen to evidence the theoretical shift made by archaeologists that saw relevance placed on the concepts of identity and ethnicity. As the archaeological remains at Welwyn were excavated in the 1960s and 1970s, they comfortably fit into the processualist movement of scientific-based research (e.g. Watson, Le Blanc and Redman 1975; Binford 1968; Clarke 1968). As such, Welwyn's Roman Bath's interpretations fall under the same criticisms levied at processualism, most pertinently its failure to explain variability in human behaviour (Earle and Preucel 1987: 501). Consequently, the absence of representation in Welwyn's Roman Bath's display narratives is a direct cause of the outdated research it is based on.

The sixth and final individual who did not provide an answer to Question 1 came from Eastbourne County Council (Interviewee 31). Unfortunately, Eastbourne does not currently have a permanent display that examines its Roman past. At the time of the interview, Eastbourne Country Council could only exhibit temporary displays. It is worth mentioning, however, that Eastbourne County Council were involved in the *Eastbourne Ancestors* exhibition (2014) that did

explicitly depict ethnic diversity. This exhibition is examined at further length in the next chapter in line with its connection to The National Heritage Lottery Fund (NHLF).

5.1.6 Differences between individuals at the same museum

To gain a holistic view of the curation process from different individuals involved with Roman displays, more than one interview was undertaken with different staff members at ten of the museums and heritage sites included in this research. These institutions included the Gallo-Romeins Museum, Tongeren (Interviewees 4 and 5), the Corinium Museum, Chichester (Interviewees 6 and 7), The British Museum, London (Interviewees 8 and 9), the Roman Museum, Canterbury (Interviewees 11 and 38), Welwyn Roman Bath (Interviewees 13 and 14), Verulamium, St Albans (Interviewees 17 and 39), Mildenhall Museum (Interviewees 18 and 40), Sittingbourne Heritage Museum (Interviewee 19 and 20), Maidstone Museum (Interviewees 21 and 22), and the Museum of London (Interviewees 32, 36, and 37).[29] Three instances occurred where individuals from the same institution provided different responses to Question 1. Interviews at Welwyn Roman Bath and Verulamium both contained one participant who did not provide an answer to the question of whether ethnicity was exhibited in their associated Roman displays (Interviewees 13 and 39). In both cases, those that did provide an answer (Interviewees 14 and 17) were staff integral to the curation of Roman narratives and stated their depictions implicitly included ethnic diversity.

Interestingly, both interview participants at the Roman Museum in Canterbury provided answers that were different. One participant worked for the local council in a capacity that oversaw many institutions (Interviewee 11), whilst the other worked specifically for the Roman Museum (Interviewee 38). Interviewee 11 did not consider ethnicity to be included in the Roman display's narrative. Reasons for this were that the museum did not look at the demography of Roman Canterbury as a whole and, therefore, overlooked the concept of ethnicity. It was stated, however, that the Roman Museum did house specific objects that could touch upon the concept of ethnicity and interaction between cultures (Interviewee 11). Items emphasised to make this point included religious paraphernalia (Figure 19) such as the Dea Nutrix figurine and their collection of Pudding Pan pots.[30] These artefacts were identified as they were stated to have the potential to touch upon religion, culture, and other concepts that can be used to convey the Roman period's diverse characteristics.

---

[29] Interviewees 39 and 40 were both supplementary conversations rather than full interviews.
[30]These aptly named Roman Samian ware pots are from the Pudding Pan shipwreck off Whitstable, Kent. The name 'Pudding Pot' pans originated from local fishermen and their families using the Roman Samian pots to make a special kind of pudding in them.

Figure 19 Roman religious display at the Roman Museum with the Dea Nutrix figurine in the centre © Author

Conversely, Interviewee 38 whose focus is on Roman archaeology thought ethnic diversity was depicted in their associated Roman displays, but only implicitly. The specialist, perhaps through their expertise in Roman material may have made stronger links between the material in the museum and its connections to ethnic diversity than a non-specialist. Consequently, this disagreement can be related to Falks and Dierking's point that visitors to museums are not empty vessels (2013: 7), instead they come with their knowledge, expectations, and experience. Different relations to the material that supports the discourse at institutions can create varied interpretations of the material and the past it narrativises. As Barthes emphasised in his depiction of narratives as a 'galaxy of signifiers' (Barthes 1974: 5), he implied that messages, like curated displays, have the potential to elucidate many meanings. As such, display narratives need to be clear and explicit for important concepts to be noticed, as seen at the Yorkshire Museum.

5.2 Conclusion

Chapter five is central to understand the importance that has been, and is, placed on the representation of ethnic diversity in Roman display narratives. This thesis found that only two individuals (Interviewees 25 and 35) stated that ethnic diversity was explicitly included in the discourse found in their permanent Roman exhibits. Consequently, a preliminary conclusion was made that the representation of ethnic diversity in the exhibits included within this research was poor. Upon examination, however, only the Yorkshire Museum was seen to successfully incorporate ethnic diversity throughout their display space in an explicit manner. Their *People of Empire* (2010) exhibit can be used as a great example of how representation can be threaded

through a display narrative. In reflection to Genette's taxonomy (1972: 31), narratives that expressed ethnic diversity were central elements to their exhibits. Therefore, the style of narration (Bal 1991: 47) depicted ethnic diversity through ancient individuals, alongside more traditional didactic approaches.

Consequently, a range of perspective was used that explored diversity through the lives of different demographics such as the elite, women, craftsman, and immigrants. As such, their displays spent time on ethnic diversity and frequently brought up relevant biographical and material examples to provide a range of voices that varied how the narrator spoke to visitors. The arrangement of exhibitions too served to encompass representation throughout. The central position of the Ivory Bangle Lady's display case, for example, made their story and indicator of diversity an unavoidable aspect.

The remainder of this section examined reasons why ethnic diversity was only represented implicitly, or not at all. There was overlap throughout these discussions and depicted trends that affect many aspects of curation. The lack of appropriate research and material was repeatedly emphasised to justify why ethnic diversity was not included. As indicated by many participants who stated their displays implicitly depicted ethnicity, objects which could illustrate the concept, were not used to do so. Rather than the lack of material and research, it appears that a lack of prestige, appropriateness, or localised knowledge of the topic caused ethnic diversity to be avoided.

Furthermore, there appeared to be a trend that saw an uneasiness around the discussion of diversity in display narratives. The latter point, in particular, relates to Interviewee 27's assertion that increased levels of diversity and lived experiences in the Cambridge Museum of Classical Archaeology's workforce would better prepare the museum to deal with diverse crowds and questions they may produce. Anxieties that surround the inclusion of diversity in display narratives and the discussions this may encourage, therefore, related to how diverse audiences can be facilitated. Furthermore, it involved the uncomfortable realisation that the challenge of traditional narratives is predicted to provoke a backlash from majority ethnic groups that may be unfavourable to changes.

Chapter 6: Influences on Roman narratives

This chapter offers an overview of the many reasons provided by interviewees that show the variety of influences that affect the curatorial process. Common issues are then focused on to comprehensively analyse key factors that hinder progress towards the representation of minority ethnic groups in display narratives. First, the lack of funding and loss of staff and specialisms in museums and heritage sites are discussed, as these were frequently raised topics. This is then followed by an examination of how funding bodies affect museum practice and the inclusion of diversity in museum displays. Finally, these issues are considered in association with governmental influences, to demonstrate the way that ideology drives many processes that decentralise representation. Links between government, ideology, funds, resources, and education are, therefore, highlighted throughout this chapter to examine why ethnic diversity is not a key aspect supported by museums in their display narratives.

6.1 Restrictions and constraints

Question 2 on the question sheet (Appendix 1) addressed two main issues:

- Is the curation process free?
- Are there any outside influences and/or restrictions on the curation process?

Freedom throughout this thesis is defined as not being subject to a dominant entity, such as an external body like the government, a university, or business that directs what a display should represent and how it is presented. Every individual that provided a clear answer to the first part of the question agreed that their curation process was free from influence or restrictions (Figure 20). Six participants (15%) did not provide an explicit ‘yes’ or ‘no’ answer to the question despite the provision, by some, of in-depth answers. These results imply that the responsibility for the construction of discourses lies with the curatorial teams who decide what topics, materials, and demographics are included in their displays.

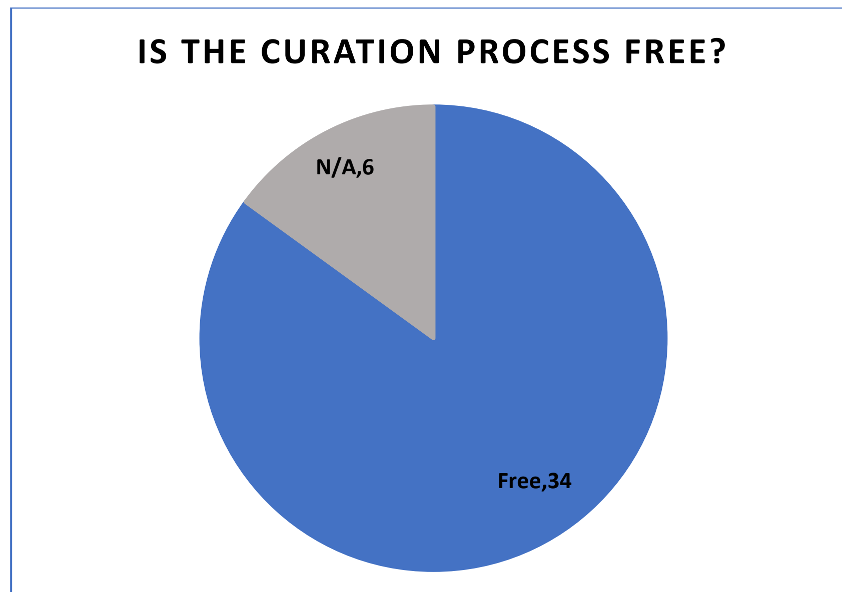

Figure 20: Replies to whether the curation process is free © Author

Whilst most participants stated that the curation process they were involved in was free, many nonetheless expanded on various constraints, limitations, and influences that underlie the practice. These are shown in Figure 21 and represent the array of challenges that can inhibit the curation process. The factors represented in Figure 21 will be discussed in more detail throughout this chapter. Three, however, are defined here for the sake of clarity:

- *Curriculum* denotes an answer that explicitly names the national curriculum, set by the government, as an influence on their displays.
- *Issues with the display space* relate to problems that occur due to exhibition areas, for example, the lack of room to create flexible and imaginative exhibitions; security risks that limit what can be used for display; and inflexible layouts.
- *Lack of archaeological knowledge* represents the lack of knowledge by staff which may be caused by limited familiarity with up-to-date research, or lack of academic subject-specific research.

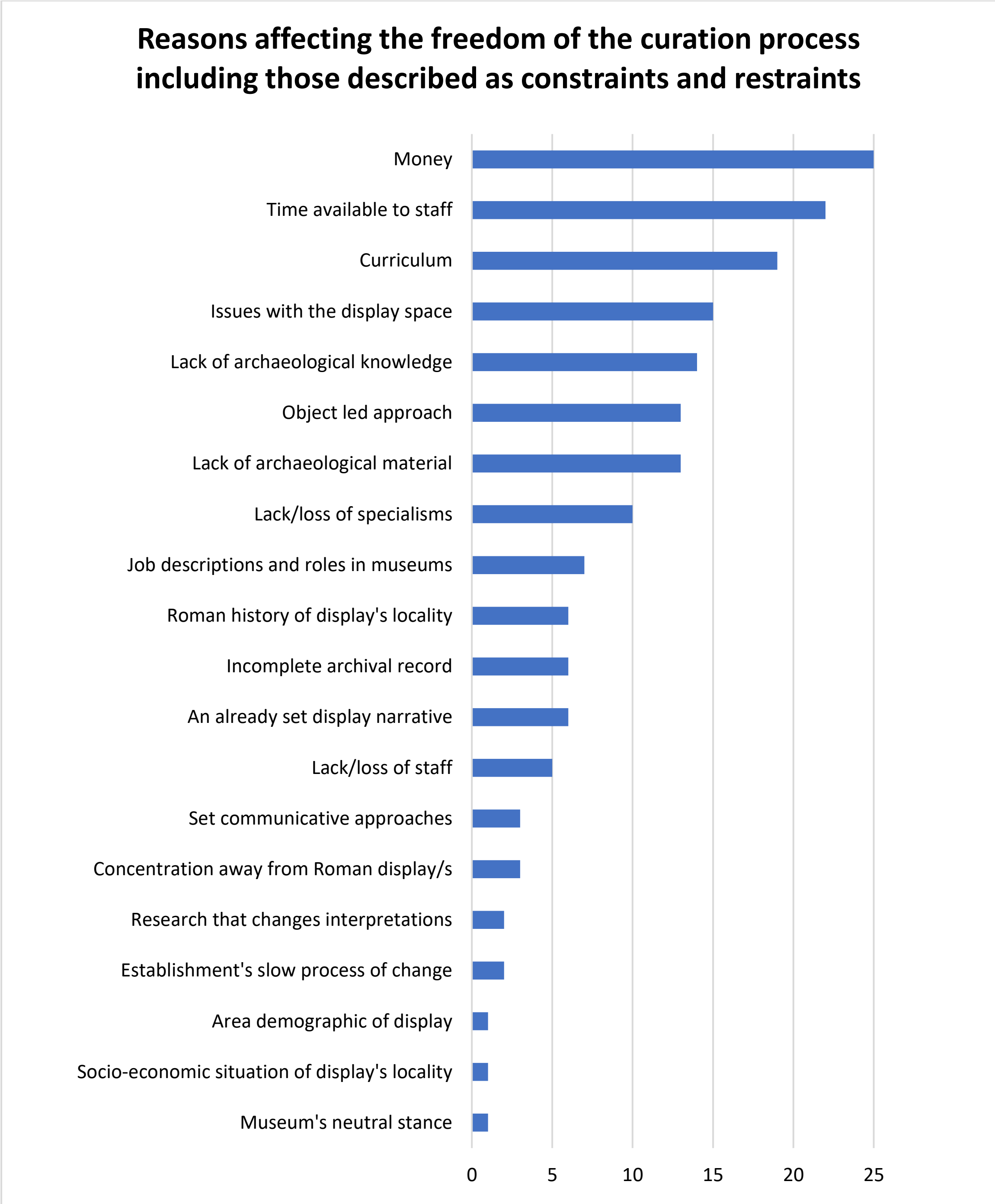

Figure 21: Constraints, restraints, and influences that hinder the curation process as found in Dataset 1 © Author

Dataset 1 has identified that the most common issues faced by those involved in the curation of a display are the lack of resources such as money, time, and staff (Figure 21). Consequently, these issues are discussed first, followed by the governmental influence that results in the prevalence of these issues linked with widespread ideologies.

6.2 (Lack of) resources

The general lack of resources for museums was a significant issue raised by many interviewees. The limited provision of five key resources, in particular, was seen to restrict the capacity and

freedom to curate and update displays. These included a lack of money, staff, time, subject or job-specific specialisms, and appropriate exhibition spaces. The lack of resources has a substantial effect on the performance and identity of institutions and their staff (Rex 2020a: 194, 2020b: 77, Abdullah et al. 2018: 183; Morse and Munro 2018: 361; Kahn and Garden 1993: 285-286). The unequal spread of resources across public services in the UK (Gray and Barford 2018: 549) also creates discrepancies between the performances of institutions across Britain. It is important to note that these issues are also faced by non-public organisations too. Resources are stretched and influenced by all types of funders from an array of ideologies and business models. This has also been exacerbated by the recent Covid-19 pandemic and museum closures that followed.

Consequently, as touched upon in chapter five, one reason behind the different levels of engagement with representation in museums is related to the availability of resources. This section looks specifically at motives behind ideological intentions and outcomes that inform the uneven spread of funds seen to affect museums across Britain. In line with Bethany Rex's indication that specific implications of shortfalls in resources are usually overlooked by studies that concentrate on ideological foundations to these issues (2020b: 77-78), this chapter provides space for the analysis of both.

6.2.1 Funds

Twenty-five (63%) interviewees stated that money was a limiting factor for their curatorial processes. Throughout this research, funding has been identified as an issue faced by institutions and emphasised the need for further examination. The following sections identify broad themes that were most associated with how a lack of money impacts the construction of display narratives.

6.2.1.1 Retention of funds to remain open

There are imbalances in the capabilities of museums across the UK due to their funding context, particularly in the case of local authority museums (Rex 2020a: 199, 2018: 36; Matthews et al. 2009: 17-18). A recent Museums Association report concluded that local authority funding for museums has, since 2010, declined by a third (2018: 13). Conversely, the same report revealed that funding for independent and national museums in the UK has generally risen or remained constant (Museums Association 2018: 13). Accordingly, if this trend continues a significant divide will form between different types of museums and the resources available to them.

It is noted, however, that this trend was identified pre-Covid 19, and funds throughout the pandemic in Britain were precarious, vague, and sometimes non-existent for all types of museums. In response to the different levels of funds that are accessible and acquired by

institutions, how, or whether, the Roman era is represented may vary in different places. If regional and smaller museums cease to exist, for example, localised discourses that relate to the Roman period may follow suit. This process would deny a level of multivocality within narratives that connect people with their country's Roman past, as the relationship would stem from governmental narratives from national curricula, larger museums with a large online presence, and non-local institutions. For example, a resident of York in Britain might be denied the inclusive perspective of their ancient past if the Yorkshire Museum was closed. This would be detrimental as the innovative perspective of an ethnically diverse Roman York, and ancient Britain by extension would be lost as other museums are predominantly void of this discourse.

The maintenance of funds for local institutions is, therefore, important for the prolongment of a range of perspectives, and potentially voices, that deal with the Roman period. This is a crucial point to make as various interviewees discussed major consequences caused by the lack of funds available to institutions. In particular, the endangerment of existent institutions and the ability to fund permanent displays and remain open was seen to be under threat. The participant from the Thermenmuseum in Heerlen (Interviewee 3), for example, expressed how certain socio-economic issues faced by the city prompted its fall in relevance to the council and populace. The dire economic depression experienced by Heerlen, as stated by Interviewee 3, had a significant effect on the museum. These impacts are still seen through the low visitor numbers it receives each year. A similar trend may become a reality in Britain because of the economic crisis that has resulted from the Covid-19 pandemic in Britain. These patterns may also be seen in countries around the world that have also experienced museum closures caused by a worldwide health pandemic.

The interviewee from Eastbourne County Council (Interviewee 31) revealed how cutbacks pre-Covid had already resulted in the loss of institutions. Eastbourne, for example, lost the funds needed to house a permanent display in their town. Similarly, a participant from Canterbury City Council (Interviewee 11) stated how cutbacks caused the closure of many museums in the region. Only two museums remain under Canterbury Council's remit, a number that mirrors the sharp decline in the presence of cultural institutions in the region that rely on public funds. The Seaside Museum in Herne Bay, for example, once run by Canterbury City Council is now run by volunteers and gains funds through grants that are currently depleted (Interviewee 30). Museum closures due to declines in funds have also been reported elsewhere in Britain and reveal how widespread government cutbacks have been felt in the museum sector (Kendall 2012).

The UK government's administrative austerity cuts were projected to remain a feature to hamper institutions into the future (Rex 2018: 25; IFS 2017; Bagwell, Corry and Rotheroe 2015: 28;

Woodward 2012: 25). These cuts were also made in line with neoliberal aims to relinquish reliance on government by institutions like museums, and for them to diversify funding sources. As is discussed later in section 6.3, however, the outcome of such intentions has not caused a positive change in the museum sector with the reflection of economic security or ability to concentrate on public wants. In this situation, institutions fight for commercial relevance but estrange themselves from their value-driven identities as institutions for social good, if that was ever an inherent aspect of their character to start with. Consequently, financial obstacles are commonplace in the museum sector that may detract from a desire to become inclusive through their concentration on efforts to survive.

6.2.1.2 Ability to renovate permanent displays

The types of narratives that can be expressed through Roman exhibits are also inhibited by the failure of museums to renovate and modernise spaces. As just discussed, major fiscal concerns can affect the existence of institutions as an entity, before these levels are reached, however, display spaces will likely suffer before this eventuality surfaces. In reflection of the financial difficulties currently faced by Britain's museum sector, widespread monetary issues were seen to inhibit innovative changes to display spaces. Fourteen participants (35% of those interviewed) from 13 institutions specifically stated that their Roman displays have remained, or will remain, unchanged due to the cost it takes to update and adapt them.

A participant at Fishbourne Roman Palace (Interviewee 23) stated, for example, that their permanent display had not changed for around 50 years. The interviewee expressed that the cost of a redisplay was the main reason for this. Another participant, a former employee at the Museum of London (Interviewee 32), stated that their current permanent Roman Gallery cost around £440,000 when it was constructed in 1996. As such, a redisplay was reported to cost more now, and thus require a vast amount of funding that would consequently be taken away from other areas of the museum. Hannah Paddon identifies the vast cost to redisplay permanent exhibitions as evidenced by Interviewee 32, as a reason for their overly long lifespan (2014: 107). Without modernisation, display narratives will remain outdated with the danger of becoming more disconnected with current society as time progresses. As described by Interviewee 23 from Fishbourne Roman Palace, the stagnation of the site has led to advancements in knowledge absent from its current displays that continue to be thematic and about the history of the site rather than ancient cultures and people.

The need to renovate, however, has encouraged an increase in the reliance on funding bodies by British museums (Janes and Sandell 2019b: 8). As rejection is a large part of the grant landscape for hopeful institutions, large sums of money remain difficult to obtain (Paddon 2014: 107;

Brophy 2005: 151). This has resulted in a continuation of stagnant displays across museums and means little change has occurred in the authentic implementation of innovative concepts such as inclusivity.

Thanks to this eventuality, renovations that consist of partial redisplays and temporary exhibits have become relied upon that use smaller amounts of money and require less structural modifications. This indicates why short-term galleries are likely to be more innovative in terms of perspective, communicative technique, and themes used to portray the past (Siapkas and Sjögren 2014: 79-80; Sunstein 2001: 1265; Cousins 1994: 417). As museums cannot afford to alter whole permanent exhibitions at once, small changes are the only spaces that become impacted by modern ethical curatorial processes. Their noticeable difference to traditional displays may also reflect the requirement of many small-scale displays to demonstrate to the public that the institution can indeed engage with social discussions and be relevant corporations.

The impermanency of temporary spaces, however, reflects how topical subjects do not then become incorporated into the fabric of a whole institution. As indicated concerning the *1807 Commemorated* project, sustained action is needed to authentically engage with underrepresented periods, events, histories, and people (Smith et al. 2010: 125). When temporary displays are taken down, so too are the innovative practices and discourses they embody. This leaves outdated messages and curation processes present in permanent display spaces as these narratives remain unchanged and increasingly outdated (Kim 2007: 45; Hooper-Greenhill 1994: 258). A useful example is the inclusion of black Roman soldiers in the *Peopling of London* exhibition (1994-1995) to prove London's diverse past in the mid-1990s (Collicott 1994: 262), but their absence in the current Roman Gallery that fails to narrate the period's diversity that was already emphasised by the institution in a previous exhibit. In the Museum of London's case, this lack of diversity is not reflected throughout other permanent exhibits it houses. This cannot be said of other institutions, however, where homogenous displays are not counteracted by the existence of other diverse space, and results in uniformity as a key message expressed throughout many institutions.

Consequently, inclusivity needs to be present within permanent museal outputs to be authentically ingrained into museum practices and its reception. Attempts to do so should not be characterised by superficial, short-term demonstrations of engagement in ephemeral discourses. Inclusivity, and the decolonial, anti-racist, and anti-colonial discourses that support its premise requires to be a central aspect of displays in line with the importance placed on their inclusion as a form of social good. Furthermore, while inclusion is applied to different narratives in varying degrees, there is a fundamental consensus that inclusion is a human right (Gajewski 2017: 3;

Ngwena 2013: 472). Outdated Roman displays are not only vulnerable towards difficulties to resonate with modern diverse audiences, they are also in danger of misalignment between purported discourse and ethical curation underlined by the preservation of basic rights. As outlined and enforced by the United Nations' *Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities* Article 24, it guarantees and leans on the rights of every individual to obtain an inclusive education (de Beco 2017: 265-269). This is built on a recognition that the right to education includes the absence of this without discrimination in line with ethnicity, race, gender, disability, and other aspects of an individual's identity. As the identity of museums in contemporary society remains based on their educative properties (Hooper-Greenhill 1994a: 3), it is important they engage with this ethos and be inclusive.

The age of permanent displays may, therefore, be a critical element to analyse and understand why museums remain stagnant and increasingly disconnected from their need to become inclusive. It is no surprise, that over half (52%) of the permanent Roman displays included in this thesis were over ten years old (Table 5). This was perhaps indicated by the earlier realisation of their collective failure to have fully embraced inclusivity through curatorial processes such as the representation of ethnic diversity.

Age ranges	No. of permanent Roman displays
1-5 Years	5
6-10 Years	7
11-15 Years	2
16-20 Years	2
21-25 Years	3
26-30 Years	0
30+	6
Total	**25**

Table 5: Age of current permanent Roman displays included in Dataset 1

This reflects trends seen throughout Britain's heritage sector where permanent displays are likely to remain unchanged for longer than a decade due to funding difficulty (Paddon 2014: 149). Furthermore, outdated display narratives can be pernicious in that they may support, rather than challenge, colonial discourse (Coombes and Phillips 2020: xxviii). This is in line with their continued disconnect from modern ethics and is of importance with Roman depictions that have traditional links with British colonialism (Hingley 2006: 330; 2000: 25; Majeed 1999: 91).

The need for permanent displays to be relevant and regularly updated was, however, recognised by museum staff in Dataset 1. Of the 30 individuals that responded to Question 6 of the interview, 'How long should a permanent exhibition last?', 19 (63%) stated that a permanent

display should last ten years or less (Table 6). A further five individuals (20%) replied that permanent displays should be continuously revised to remain up-to-date and relevant (Table 6).

Age ranges	No. of participant responses
1-5 Years	7
6-10 Years	12
11-15 Years	2
16-20 Years	2
Forever	2
Continuously Updated	5
Total	**30**

Table 6: Replies to question six; How long should a permanent exhibition last?

These statistics imply that museum staff realise a need for permanent display narratives to be updated. These arguments do not only relate to ethical outcomes of inclusivity, but also monetary factors as outdated exhibits may not attract repeat visitors that are relied upon for financial viability (Roppola 2012: 114-115). Those involved with the curation of a display may, therefore, recognise the issue of long-term displays and how it contradicts traditional and modern aims of institutions – namely, to educate in line with modern research and currently held values.

6.2.1.3 The influence of funding bodies on UK museums

As stated above, the British museum sector has seen a greater reliance on funding bodies to maintain existence and implement projects (Janes and Sandell 2019b: 8). Once money has been provided to an institution by a funding body, however, they too are seen to have a direct influence on processes at the associated institution. This stems from the expectation that recipients of grants need to reflect the objectives of funding bodies that also possess the power to retract funding if they so wish (McLean 1997: 69). It is, therefore, important to examine how much influence funding bodies possess in the heritage sector, and whether their inclusion promotes and/or drives positive inclusive change.

This question is complex as particular grant schemes, projects, and funding bodies may not be able to provide enough to implement authentic change to museums despite desired philosophies. The *Renaissance in the Regions* project is a reminder of this. After the government relinquished control of this scheme, the depleted funds were diverted to Britain's Art Council to fulfil its duties. The *Renaissance Project's* aim towards better inclusivity and diversity in the museum sector was suitably matched to the ethos possessed by the Arts Council. The funds available to Arts Council once in control of the project were, however, only sufficient to pay for museum overheads rather than fund innovation. This section continues to show that despite

inclusion work and aims that are ingrained into the mission statements of funding bodies, the reliance upon them has not yet resulted in a sustained change in the museum sector.

Overall, four participants from different institutions in Dataset 1 discussed the use of funding bodies to facilitate changes to displays at their institution. These came from the Corinium Museum (Interviewee 7), Eastbourne County Council (Interviewee 31), the Seaside Museum (Interviewee 30), and the Yorkshire Museum (Interviewee 35), all from the UK. Both the National Heritage Lottery Fund (NHLF) and Arts Council were discussed as key investors in the sector and are, therefore, predominantly used to examine the influence of funding bodies in this section.

Both the NHLF (Heritage Fund 2019a) and the Arts Council (Arts Council 2018a) consistently provide large amounts of money for British museums. Both organisations simultaneously embody aims that embrace the sustainability, transformation, and investment in museums (Heritage Fund 2019a; Arts Council 2018a). Their directives, therefore, aim to support a progressive sector that promotes modern ethics such as representation and inclusion of ethnic minority groups. For example, inclusivity is explicitly outlined by the application criteria needed to be considered by the Arts Council for funding (2018b).[31]

Consequently, both funding bodies incorporate value judgements into their application processes. The NHLF has illustrated their societal aims and in their 2008-2013 strategic plan expressed the need for successful claims to 'conserve the UK's diverse heritage for present and future generations' and/or 'help more people, and a wider range of people, to take an active part in and make decisions about heritage' (Reilly 2010: 102). Furthermore, all successful projects must 'help people to learn about their own and other people's heritage' (Reilly 2010: 102). For over ten years the NHLF has, therefore, focused on community engagement and inclusivity to guide decisions on who receives funds. This is of interest alongside the results of how inclusive the museum sector is, as the democratic approach of the NHLF has not fundamentally changed the representation of diversity in Roman displays in British museums and heritage sites.

The failure to secure widespread change does not take away from the successes achieved by institutions that have used funding that advocates for inclusive curation. It is crucial to understand, however, why their effectiveness to support change in certain places is not reflected elsewhere. To do so, this thesis will first examine how the Yorkshire Museum and Eastbourne

---

[31] Specifics can be found in their separate narrative strategies that act as guidelines to engage with representation: the *Children and Young People National Narrative*; *Digital and Creative Media National Portfolio Narrative*; *Diversity National Portfolio Narrative*; *International National Portfolio Narrative*; *Rural National Portfolio Narrative*; *Sector Support Organisations National Portfolio Narrative*; and the *Touring National Portfolio Narrative* (Arts Council 2018b).

County Council[32] both used funding pots to curate inclusive displays. Specifically, it will be analysed how influential funding bodies may have been through the enforcement that causes successful applicants to remain aligned with their ethos. Alternatively, it will also be examined whether recognisable inclusivity that is inherent in these displays, particularly at the Yorkshire Museum, has been implemented because of their link to a funding body or motivated by their desire to construct an inclusive space that pre-existed curation. If the representation of ethnic minority groups is only included in displays where curators are already willing to engage with inclusivity, then it will be difficult to see how their ideologies of the funding bodies have, or still aim, to influence ways in which museums display the past.

The alignment of values between funding bodies and museums was evidenced by discourses inherent in the *People of Empire* exhibition at the Yorkshire Museum (2010) and *Eastbourne Ancestors* exhibition (2014) in Eastbourne. Both displays included similar narratives and used bioarchaeological data to provide snapshots into the diversity of past local populations. Similar to the *Peopling of London* exhibit (1993-1994), the displays aimed to prove diverse pasts for their local areas, and Britain by extension. The Yorkshire Museum, as already mentioned, centred on the Ivory Bangle Lady (Figure 10), a woman of probable Syrian descent whose image remains side-lined in traditional narratives that generally depict a homogenous Roman past. Eastbourne County Council's 2014 temporary exhibit *Eastbourne Ancestors* likewise used the remains of a woman who was not native to the area to depict the area's diversity in the Roman period. In the case at Eastbourne, the Beachy Head Lady, who was found to have sub-Saharan African facial characteristics and heritage was central to the exhibition (Figure 21). Furthermore, Eastbourne's past display reflected the aims of the *Peopling of London* exhibit (19993-1994), as it shared an identical aim to depict a diverse past for its locality. The main difference, however, is that Eastbourne has a noticeably less diversified population than London.

[32] Eastbourne County Council's *Eastbourne Ancestors* (2014) display was not included in chapter five as the exhibition was a past temporary display.

Figure 22: Beachy Head Lady Display at Eastbourne Ancestors © Heritage Eastbourne / Eastbourne Borough Council

Evidence of how these displays challenged traditional narratives that centre on exclusive discourse is demonstrated through negative comments on the displays and their connected research received.[33] These insidious comments represent how the displays were seen to attack, or offend, people's identities based on their preconceived ideas that Britain's past was homogenous. Consequently, the displays became embroiled in identity politics, despite neither exhibit explicitly positioning themselves ethically, socially, or politically. Both displays did, however, address representation and diversity, two subjects that disrupt traditional discourses found in museums.

As such, narratives curated by the Yorkshire Museum and Eastbourne County Council were in line with the values of both funding bodies described above. Specifically, both displays engaged with the current emphasis on museums to interact with a range of visitors (Filippoupoliti and Sylaiou 2015: 119; Acuff and Evans 2014). It is important to note that without the funds supplied by the funding bodies that aided them, these discourses may struggle to have surfaced. As such, the NHLF and Arts Council can here be seen to successfully promote inclusive qualities through their choice of projects that merit their support. Although an expressly important point that continuously needs to be made is that these efforts remain largely limited to authentically change how British museum's display a crucial part of the UK's past, its Roman era.

---

[33] Comments that depict reactions to the Ivory Bangle Lady at the Yorkshire Museum- https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-1254187/Revealed-The-African-queen-called-York-home-4th-century.html#comments [Accessed 13/01/2020].Comments that depict reactions to the Beachy Head Lady as exhibited by Eastbourne County Council in 2014- https://www.dailymail.co.uk/sciencetech/article-2551513/Pictured-The-1-800-year-old-face-Beachy-Head-Lady-revealed-time-thanks-3D-scanning.html#comments [Accessed 13/01/2020].

A reason for this may be found in the interview held at Herne Bay's Seaside Museum. The participant indicated that while the institution admits that they do not reach out to minority groups in their community, they still receive grants from bodies that hold inclusive values (Interviewee 30). This may represent the wide range of identity-based issues faced by the museum sector (Roberts 2014: 24) and issues that expand beyond the representation of minority ethnic groups that need to be addressed.

The lack of money available for museums across Britain places heightened responsibility on which narratives are to be enacted. This is where authentic change can be made by funding bodies. It may just be as important to funding bodies, however, that institutions survive in a time of austerity so that communities remain to have some connection to its heritage, even if it does not engage with modern ethics. The reality is that many institutions rely on funds from external bodies to survive, and this also places pressure on bodies that have the power to pick and choose which museums deserve safeguarding. The function of funding bodies may not, therefore, be central to the implementation of change, but perhaps to the endurance of the museum sector itself. This would cause the emphasis on an inclusive change to remain in the hands of curatorial teams and places them responsible for the persistent lack of diversity in their display spaces. As will be discussed next, however, the staff that may specialise in this process are faced with precarity.

6.2.2 Loss of staff and specialisms

The lack of available funds also lead to cuts in staff numbers, another aspect identified by interviewees in Dataset 1 (Fig 21). In addition to this, three museums included in this thesis are entirely run by volunteers, with the Seaside Museum for example previously funded and run by Canterbury County Council. As such, it is not only the loss of staff that is of concern when thinking about who curates displays, but also which demographic groups in the area generally possess enough financial stability and time to work-for-free. To this end, contemporary surveys suggest that links between financial and racial disparities across Britain enforce that volunteers in museums remain white middle-to-old age individuals (Art Council England 2019: 14; Council on Museums and Education in the Visual Arts et al. 1978: 244). This is also likely to be exacerbated by Covid-19 that has seen massive cuts in museum staff and funds.

Overall, the UK has seen a significant fall in paid museum staff, as reported in the Museum's Association report in the year 2016-2017 (2018: 5, 17). A reduction in staff numbers directly results in increased responsibilities for those that remain employed. Furthermore, the expansion of roles inherited by institutions in their attempts to stay relevant also places higher demands on the fewer staff members that remain and volunteers. This was demonstrated by twenty-two

interviewees who stated time constraints were a major factor that negatively affected the creation, update, and adaptation of displays.

Furthermore, the loss of specific staff members also affects the interests of those who make up an institution's workforce. Lynch suggests that a stretch in resources can lead to aspects of an institution's role, such as social inclusion, becoming overlooked if it is not seen as a core function (Lynch 2011: 448; Weinstein 2012). This eventuality has already been recognised through the widespread loss of museum staff that dealt with inclusivity and community engagement between 2000-2010 (Smith and Fouseki 2011: 104-105; see chapter three). The emphasis placed on different roles that need to be addressed by museum employees at different times has seen the importance of museal roles vary. For example, Interviewee 32 previously associated with the Museum of London expressed that there is now an emphasis on educational roles of staff that has surpassed the importance of curatorial positions.

The significance and value of curatorial roles in museums have, for example, seen a great fluctuation in the past four years in Britain. To use the National Trust as an example of this, their organisation doubled the number of curators it employed from 36 to around 65 between October 2016 and January 2018.[34] John Orna-Ornstein, the trust's director of curation and experience stated this was in line with an increased effort to concentrate on its research and scholarly approach to its collections and cultural engagement. Fast forward to August 2020, however, and there was a leak of an internal briefing document that indicated the National Trust's query over its purpose as a cultural institution and continued need for a high number of specialised curators (BBC 2020a). In the financial struggle brought on by a global pandemic, the Trust's authoritative position as a scholarly institution has, therefore, been faced with the need to adapt. In this case, it is the curatorial role that has been challenged rather than community outreach roles that were previously questioned at the turn of the millennium.

The changing importance placed on different roles was also expressed and challenged by other individuals throughout the dataset. Seven individuals elaborated on the variety of roles now required of them that limit their ability to focus on curation and research (Figure 21). Roles stated to be included in the daily activities of curators extended to archival work, public engagement, education, research, administrative roles, the facilitation of research such as that involved in this dataset, and other tasks such as meetings. Therefore, the traditional curatorial

---

[34] Information has been gained through the article *National Trust Doubles Curator Numbers* (19th January 2018) by Jonathan Knot for the Museums Association about the National Trust's 2018 cultural programme launch. https://www.museumsassociation.org/museums-journal/news/2018/01/19012018-national-trust-almost-doubles-curator-numbers/ [Accessed 26/08/2020].

role that resembled an insular position is now challenged. Instead, curators are now tasked to inhibit non-traditional functions that highlight collaboration, openness, and duties that are not research-based (Davies 2010: 307-308; Alloway 1996: 221).

The turn away from the traditional need for scholastic curators in Britain's museum sector, therefore, lead to a perceived loss in subject-specific curators. Ten participants (25%) emphasised this point and linked job loss to the lack of individuals that can contribute to specialist knowledge that bolsters the academic side of museums (Figure 21). This is, of course, a blow to institutions and visitors that envision them as authoritative entities that embody displays of power and order (Bennett 1995: 69).

The rise and fall of different type of staff roles in museums correspond to wider ideologies that inform what and who cultural institutions are for. The lack of money in the museum sector enforces an issue where staff numbers remain limited and enforce the need to align workforce specialisms with desired museal outcomes. Despite the recent rise in a critical awareness of societal injustices, however, the instalment of diversity staff over traditional roles is still widely criticised.[35] The stigma attached to diversity that has persisted since the fall of multiculturalism appears to have followed current attempts to implement inclusivity in museums. This may reflect the ideological transition seen from multiculturalism to post-multiculturalism through growth in assimilationist approaches amidst diversity driven agendas (Vertovec 2010: 91). As will be developed next, ideological influences driven by governmental and social trends can be seen to infiltrate display narratives. This is demonstrated through a range of methods that continue to express how museums attempt to define a nation through subtle but effective influence from government-led ideology.

6.3 Government involvement

As chapter three demonstrated, museums were intricately related to the nation's ability to define itself and population. This resulted in exclusive narratives that embraced an imperial ideology to order cultures and people (Vawda 2019: 75-76; Gordon-Walker 2019: 255; Oyedemi 2018: 3; Classen and Howes 2006: 210; Bennett 1995: 62; Appadurai and Breckenridge 1992: 38; Hooper-

---

[35] For example see *The Guardian's* article 'Curator Cuts at Leicester Museums Criticised as Disastrous (https://www.theguardian.com/culture/2019/mar/13/curator-cuts-at-leicester-museums-criticised-as-disastrous [Accessed 01/06/2020]), and *Leicester Live's* article 'All of Leicester's Museum Curators are Being Made Redundant (https://www.leicestermercury.co.uk/news/leicester-news/leicesters-museum-curators-being-made-2610639 [Accessed 01/06/2020]). Although these newspaper articles criticise cuts to museums in a broad sense, they specifically criticise the loss of subject-specific curators and retention of engagement staff.

Greenhill 1992: 145). Through these relations, museums were shown to be influenced by narratives determined by European colonial powers that shaped nations and their constituents.

Despite widespread agreement that the curatorial process in museums was unrestricted by Dataset 1's participants (Figure 20), outdated practices that condition the construction of exclusive narratives are still prevalent. If procedures are thought to be free from constraint by the government, the similarities between display spaces and government-led ideologies need to be readdressed. This section examines this issue through answers given by individuals that contributed to Dataset 1. It gains perspective and expands specifically on five interviews that provided examples of where the government has influenced Roman displays, albeit whilst the process was kept free.

6.3.1 The ideologies of neoliberalism, multiculturalism, and populism

Links were made by various participants between the lack of funds, staff, and changes in specialisms at museums. The example from the Thermenmuseum relates to how an institution may not be prioritised by a local government when other social reforms are preferred or needed after events such as a recession (Interviewee 3). Furthermore, as evidenced from the example of Canterbury County Council's release of museums from its ownership and funds, plus Eastbourne County council's loss of permanent display space, reliance on public funding is crucial. This may, therefore, place pressure on institutions to conform to criteria that correspond with how governments evaluate whether a museum is worth sustaining. This may be in line with the values of specific institutions and their public but could equally go against core principles.

With the modern rise of neoliberalism in Western politics, the monetisation of culture and museums corresponds to neoliberal processes that increasingly oversee how institutions are run and remain sustainable (Kundu and Kalin 2015: 41). Through this process, the worth of contemporary depictions of the past and different cultures is primarily judged by an ability to commodify heritage. An example is found in Lincolnshire County Council's *Detailed Business Case: Future of the Heritage Service* report that outlines changes to The Collection's function as a museum (2019). In this plan, Lincolnshire County Council details how The Collection is included in their strategy 'to establish the Heritage Service as a Cultural Enterprise' (2019: 2). The strategy aims to create two 'supersites' to maximise commercial opportunities and profit.

The emphasis on museums as commercial centres is critical to understand how neoliberal ideologies, reinforced by the government, have a hold on institutions alongside their purpose and value for society. To do so, neoliberal governments—contradictory at first—attempt to separate business from state responsibility, illustrated by the drive for a free market (Kundu and Kalin 2015: 40-41). Max Ross saw this as a great opportunity for museums to reduce elitism, as it

would force institutions to become more responsive to their customers and diversify funding (2004: 100). Whilst this holds in theory, neoliberalism effectively cut public funding to social services and created further competition in a sector that already struggled financially (Kundu and Kalin 2015: 40).

As such, whilst the freedoms of individuals and institutions were theoretically elevated through neoliberalism, the state's responsibility for their well-being simultaneously diminishes (Davies and Bansel 2007: 248). Consequently, in their relinquished responsibility for the museum sector, with the presence of a neoliberal aim to help diversification, performativity became the main driver for success. This approach centred achievement on footfall rather than the quality of narratives and public engagement that was once supported by Britain's *Renaissance Project*.

The importance of the UK's museum sector has not been forgotten despite the government's performative release of grip on its funding to artificially increase freedom. The need for heritage to play a large role in the identity of England and its relationship alongside neoliberalism dates to the Conservative government of Margaret Thatcher. Throughout the 1980s, the Thatcherite government established a push for the nostalgia of a more productive Britain to mask its contemporary decline (Gledhill 2017: 62). This mobilisation of Britain's past to circumnavigate disappointment in its contemporary performance was coined 'heritage industry' by Robert Hewison (1987: 9). The term came to see a type of discourse that reflected on England's imperial past to underscore definitions of Britishness (Oliete-Aldea 2015: 2).

Consequently, heritage became a useful tool to drive a type of nationalism that superficially fixed wider societal issues. Museums, therefore, remained important tools of governance. In this role, however, depictions of the past became entangled in a sector needed to promote imperial histories, but also adapted to the introduction of multiculturalism that opposes it. A similar issue is still played out today as right-wing appeals for nationalism and populism promote colonial pasts while widespread liberal movements demand the disruption of these discourses. Also, similarly to today, museums still had to function in a neoliberal market that placed importance upon them whilst concurrently cutting funding. In this instance, curators are left to progress with liberal change or remain traditional with the prospect of appealing to the same majority audiences as before.

Further influence from the British government upon the direction of organisations under neoliberalism, is also stressed by their intervention under the guise of their non-interventional mask to free the market in times of need (Fine 2012: 59-60). As such, their invisible yet noticeable hand takes the role of market enabler and guarantor within a system it is supposed to have relinquished from its control, deemed by the government's implementation of neoliberal

ideology (Gledhill 2017: 29). Therefore, the state proceeds to have influence over which institutions flourish and survive in times of struggle and may impact whether the museum decides to challenge traditional narratives that are congruent with conservative worldviews to govern. Furthermore, the heightened precarious situation faced by present-day museums, thanks to Covid-19, may place pressure on displays to fall in line with Conservative ideology to better their chances of survival.

In line with this, strategies, like the one published by Lincolnshire County Council (2019), tend to focus on the economic value of institutions rather than cultural. This provides those in power with data suitable to understand the worth of an institution. It, therefore, encourages further museums to implement sustainable business models based on footfall rather than the success of an institution to educate or promote social good (Rowley 2017:186; Scott 2016; Jankowska and Marcum 2010; Throsby 2010). This point was known by interviewees, as evidenced by a participant from Colchester Castle Museum who mentioned the desire to keep politicians happy through their retention of high visitor numbers (Interviewee 26).

The desire to please local councillors was thanks to their perceived authority over the museum, even if a hands-on approach to this had not been witnessed. Furthermore, the emphasis on visitor numbers indicates some sort of alignment between this and the notion that footfall alone pleases council members. In reflection of how the Thatcherite government utilised heritage to fuel nationalism and pride in a time of industrial decline, pertinent links can be made that are vital to this thesis' research questions. For example, with the continuance of neoliberalism as an ideology that includes nationalism as a tool to govern, the more individuals that experience heritage to fuel patriotism the better. This obsession with footfall may, therefore, be linked to a museum's worth to remain valuable for a government and be safeguarded in return, if display narratives align with governmental discourses.

As a result of this trend, the simultaneous increase in the analysis of demographic characteristics of visitors (Falk and Katz-Gerro 2016: 128; Fullerton 1991) has been questioned. While diversity figures can be used to create a strategy to expand visitor bases, it is simultaneously difficult to separate it from dishonest plans to increase financial gain. Through this perspective, ethnic diversity in visitor statistics can become a goal that represents a successful spending strategy. Under the guise of outreach projects or surveys to implement change, diversity is here used to foresee a successful end to a project. Instead, of a tick box exercise and economic performance appraisal, however, engagement with diversity should be understood as a tool for continual transformation (Ng, Ware and Greenberg 2017: 149; Ahmed 2012: 17).

Consequently, approaches to the incorporation of diversity within cultural institutions have become questioned over its properties, connotations, and inherent power relations (Maturo et al. 2019: 60; Urciuoli 2018: 108). For example, what does it mean for an exhibition to encompass diversity, how (if ever) is it reached, and who directs diversity agendas? As such, whilst institutions appear to be separate from governmental influence, the practices they adhere to can consistently reflect government-led ideologies in the form of neoliberal practices devoid of cultural value. As discussed in the next section, governmental influence also comes from national wide curricula that further encourages museums to depict the past in line with their worldviews.

6.4 National curricula

It is widely agreed upon that museums hold an educative role in society (e.g. Rochford 2017: 209; Ulvay and Ozkul 2017; Cameron 2011; Silverman 2010; Hein 1998). Many institutions also have strong links with places of higher education such as universities (Kim 2007: 45). Furthermore, museums regularly cooperate with schools to bolster finances and fulfil their social roles for their community (Ulvay and Ozkul 2017: 624). Consequently, school children are regular visitors to institutions, in- and outside of school groups (Smithsonian Institution and Smithsonian Institution Office of Policy and Analysis 2014). This heightens the need to cater to their needs and provide informal learning environments (Song et al. 2017: 44). The importance of school children to institutions is also reflected in its discussion by 25 individuals (63%) in Dataset 1. Nineteen (48%) of which, stated the curriculum has, or still, influences their Roman displays.

This section focuses on the connection between Roman display narratives, education, representation, ideology, and links to governmental influence. Anthony Smith emphasised that mass education was key to government attempts to induce a national devotion and homogenous culture (1991: 16). As such, importance is here placed on the influence of the UK's national curriculum for students aged 7-11 (Key Stage 2 (KS2)) in Roman depictions.[36] In this section, the KS2 curriculum is first outlined alongside its treatment of the Roman period. This is then followed by an discussion of its effect on Roman displays and how it shapes the individual and national identities of UK students. After, a comparative study draws upon interviews that discussed the Dutch curricula's effect on their displays and national identity. This will emphasis Britain's unique relationship with the Roman past cultivated by ideologies nurtured through education.

[36] The UK's Key Stage 2 curriculum focuses on the Roman period whilst Key Stages 1 and 3 do not.

6.4.1 Romans in the UK's National Curriculum

Just over half of Britain's student body up to the age of 16 attend state schools that are informed by the government's national curriculum (Frostick et al. 2018: 328; Department for Education 2018). The latest headcount in 2020[37] means that 8.89 million pupils are currently educated within this unified system that directs the topics taught and, pertinent to the study of history, the events, and perspectives from which they do so. The breadth of influence from the national curriculum also extends to those previously in the education system and envisages most of Britain's contemporary population to have been influenced by its implementation.

The UK's national curriculum is a document created by the British government that outlines programmes of study for all students aged 5-16 in local-authority-maintained schools (Department for Education 2014a). The majority of Britain's current national curriculum came into effect in September 2014 and includes the Roman period as a topic to be taught. As a point of reference, this indicates that the Roman museum displays older than six years old will not only be outdated in terms of academic research but may also fail to represent aspects of the modern curriculum.

The topic of history in the current curriculum is not a compulsory subject for 14-16 year-olds in Britain. It is, therefore, only outlined for ages 5-14 categorised as KS1 (ages 5-7), KS2 (ages 7-11), and KS3 (ages 11-14) students. The UK Department for Education's documents concerning the inclusion of history in KS1-KS3 explicitly states why the topic is in its curricula:

> A high-quality history education will help pupils gain a coherent knowledge and understanding of Britain's past and that of the wider world. It should inspire pupils' curiosity to know more about the past. Teaching should equip pupils to ask perceptive questions, think critically, weigh evidence, sift arguments, and develop perspective and judgement. History helps pupils to understand the complexity of people's lives, the process of change, the diversity of societies and relationships between different groups, as well as their own identity and the challenges of their time.
>
> (Department for Education 2013a: 1; 2013b: 1)

The UK government, therefore, aims to use history as a method to develop student engagement with arguments, views, queries, and Britain's place in the world. The latter is an important point

---

[37] This data has been published by the UK government on the 25th August 2020. Available on: https://explore-education-statistics.service.gov.uk/find-statistics/school-pupils-and-their-characteristics [Accessed 26/08/2020].

throughout this thesis. Furthermore, history programmes are seen to play a key role to help learners contextualise their own and others' identities.

Only KS2 students encounter the Roman period in their education. This comes under the topic, 'the Roman Empire and its impact on Britain'. Five bullet points develop examples of topics for teachers to follow and use in their approach to the subject.

- Julius Caesar's attempted invasion in 55-54 BC
- The Roman Empire by AD 42 and the power of its army
- Successful invasion by Claudius and conquest, including Hadrian's Wall
- British resistance, for example, Boudica
- 'Romanisation' of Britain: sites such as Caerwent and the impact of technology, culture and beliefs, including early Christianity

(Department for Education 2013a: 3)

The examples provided by the UK government for guidance in teaching the Roman Empire's impact on Britain can be split into two categories. First, the top three relate to invasion, the military, and men in power that correspond to traditional lines of archaeological enquiry (Conkey and Spector 1984: 6). The current national curriculum, therefore, continues to perpetuate topics and viewpoints that are now openly challenged within the field of Roman archaeology (Kamash *forthcoming*). This may be caused by several reasons, some of which are explored throughout this thesis. It is possible that the National Curriculum as set by the UK Department for Education does not value, or is not aware, of contemporary ethical debates in the academic field of Roman archaeology or Classics. Another reason may be the desire for the Government to continue a version of history that suite already established and traditional narratives that already express their preferred version of history and subsequent national identity. Finally, but not the last in an exhaustible list, academics, museum professionals, and others involved in the research and reception of the Roman past may not successfully communicate current issues to the government. This may be driven by a comfort in contemporary teachings of the Roman period that prevents a desire to challenge existent practice, or perhaps the lack of a channel to direct concerns at a level that will bring change.

Furthermore, the initial three topics given to teach *the Roman Empire and its impact on Britain* also serve to contextualise history rather than use it to explore values as expressed in the *Purpose of Study* statement (Department for Education 2013a: 1; 2013b: 1). This again reflects the inclusion of outdated processual approaches to archaeology to study the period. These have

previously been criticised as they fail to recognise agency and cultural diversity in research approaches (Earle and Preucel 1987: 501).

The final two bullet points, however, can direct discussion of the Roman period towards the concepts of identity, culture, and reception of invading imperial forces. These are concepts that appear in line with modern research agendas if framed within a postcolonial framework. However, the curriculum is not framed as such. The topics of resistance and 'Romanisation', alongside the three initial outdated points, relate the study of the period through outmoded contexts. Romanisation, for example, is regularly refuted by contemporary archaeologists and regarded as an inappropriate theory to study societal change through Britain's early Roman period (e.g. Mattingly 2007; 2004; Hingley 2003; 1996; Webster 2001; Barrett 1997; Freeman 1993). The topic of resistance can also be used to illustrate a Roman versus native Briton perspective. This again depicts an oversimplified version of history that is also used to criticise Romanisation that contributes to an 'us vs. them' dichotomy. Interestingly, this is a viewpoint still used in an exclusive and harmful narrative with ideas of Britishness and British values in the face of mass migration as discussed in chapter three.

Furthermore, a British versus Roman dichotomy is emphasised by the synonymous use of 'British' to relate to the ancient inhabitants of the UK. This speaks to Andrew Gardner's indication that the Roman period is still used by British society to act as an ancient anchor for its national identity (2017: 7). The Romanisation angle placed on the curriculum, then indicates how these ancient 'Brits' become Roman, which has direct implications for Britain's relation to Rome and its imperial practice. The history of this process stems from the emphasis on Romano-centric research agendas, and late-Victorian and Edwardian fascinations with the Roman period (Polm 2016: 209).

These fascinations are still present today, albeit led through an education system that persists in using the Roman period as a mirror for present society. This is counter to the academic field of Roman archaeology that has begun to challenge these relationships through reflexive processes (Michielin et al. 2019: 5; Hanscam and Query 2018: 2-4). Consequently, there is a lag between attitudes towards reflexivity, multivocality, and representation that have started to emerge in Roman archaeology and school-level teaching of the period. Faint echoes of these research themes are experienced in the UK's national curriculum through the mention of diversity in its *Purpose of Study* statement (Department for Education 2013a: 1; 2013b: 1); however, this has not resulted in a meaningful impact on how the period is presented.

6.4.2 UK Roman displays and their relationship with the National Curriculum

Eighteen (45%) individuals from 12 UK museums explicitly mentioned that the national curriculum had influenced their associated displays (Table 7). This is significant as it totals more than half of the Dataset 1's interviews at British institutions. Those interviewed broadly noticed a rise in the importance of education that has consequently, affected the curatorial process in a multitude of ways.

Museums and heritage sites where the UK National Curriculum have influenced their displays			
Museum of London	Verulamium	Bath's Roman Baths	Welwyn Roman Bath
Maidstone Museum	Colchester Castle Museum	Fishbourne Roman Palace	Yorkshire Museum
Roman Museum, Canterbury	Corinium Museum	Sittingbourne Heritage Museum	The Novium

Table 7: UK museums and heritage sites which were stated to be influenced by the National Curriculum

Importantly, interviewees, as a collective, did not consider the need to incorporate the national curriculum into their displays as a governmental influence upon their curatorial processes. This is of interest as it reflects how the government affects the curation of Roman display narratives, through the necessity for museums to reflect a governmental document that is simultaneously viewed as disengaged from the state. Similar to neoliberal approaches to institutional funding, the government is here seen to intervene in matters under the guise of a non-interventional party.

Interviewees from the Museum of London (Interviewees 36 and 37) and Colchester Castle Museum (Interviewees 26) expressed that the national curriculum had to be included because of the number of schoolchildren that visit their institutions. One participant from the Colchester Castle Museum (Interviewee 26) went as far as to say that thanks to their regular visits, school groups are prioritised over other audience demographics. These statements reflect the reliance placed upon school groups by many museums and heritage sites and the financial benefits they bring. Furthermore, interviewees from The Novium (Interviewee 33), Maidstone Museum (Interviewee 22), and Sittingbourne Heritage Museum (Interviewees 19 and 20), that all have free admission, exemplified the need for the national curriculum to guide narratives. This has been seen to support the view that displays need to be relevant for these demographics. This again implies the educative role museums currently fulfil in modern society that transcends financial benefit.

In this role, Roman display narratives remain a tool deployed by museums as civic engines. As such, museums inherently contribute to the relationships between power and knowledge,

exercised by their decisions over the demographics they decide to direct narratives towards (Bennett 1988: 99). To do so, museums will repeatedly curate discourses needed to fulfil their goals (Bennett 2006: 188) and reflect the 'realities of the social world' of those involved (Bourdieu 2000: 41). Consequently, in their attempt to remain relatable to school groups, overreliance on the national curriculum could have denied the implementation of a multivocal approach to history and teaching.

This would be caused through the heightened use of a one-dimensional, didactic approach—the use of the national curriculum alongside traditional museal practices—that encourages students to be passive (Kember and Wong 2000: 80). This process replicates how past displays entwined with coloniality communicated *to* audiences, rather than *with* (Baker 2012). The same approach to the display and teaching of the Roman period can also be associated with modern approaches within the context of museums. This is reflected by the continued reliance on singular, white, male, and Eurocentric discussions of the past (Bennett 2015: 79, 1988: 99; Hooper-Greenhill 1992: 78) that are also seen in archaeology (Montón-Subías and Hernando 2017: 455-456; Orser 2012: 738-742). The outdated topics and language in the national curriculum, therefore, importantly inform the use of outdated terminology and associated connotations in modern display spaces.

An example of how language in the curriculum directly affects Roman display narratives was provided by an interviewee previously associated with the Colchester Castle Museum (Interviewee 34). The evidence centres on a series of email exchanges between individuals involved in the curatorial process (Appendix 8). They pertain to the perception of who curates displays, how some narratives are prioritised over others, whether research supports the entirety of exhibits, and how much influence the curriculum has. The participant who provided Appendix 8 indicated that the exchange evidenced how a 'sound' version of history may be compromised to align with discourse set by the government in their curricula, rather than academic research.

The issue presented to the curatorial team at Colchester in 2011, revolved around the inclusion of the word 'Celts' in its exhibition. Appendix 8 is an excerpt from the ex-curator's diary and describes why the term 'Celts' was not appropriate. Although not included in the transcript, there has been scholarly work to dismantle the term 'Celt' as it does not resemble the true diversity evidenced by archaeological research in the ancient societies of northern Europe (Collis 2003; James 1999: 136). The term has also been argued to be a modern creation placed upon populations of the past to form idealised versions of history to support modern foundation myths of national identities and heritages (Gemie 2017: 335; Yeats 1903: 290). Despite these claims, however, it was ultimately decided that the term 'Celts' needed to be included. This was thanks

to its use in the national curriculum and reliance on conformity with this to bring in school parties that also pay money.

As such, to communicate a relatable and understandable version of history, it may be in the curator's interest, at times to use the similar language used by educators, even if it goes against up-to-date academic thought. Furthermore, in this case, the national curriculum and need to relate to it forced a museum to use a term that fails to represent the diverse range of ancient peoples that once inhibited and moved around northern Europe. The use of the national curriculum in this example, therefore, dictated a framework that a display needed to fit and caused restrictions to the freedom of curatorial teams.

Alternatively, the participant from the Yorkshire Museum (Interviewee 35) saw the inclusion of national curricula in their curatorial process as a positive aspect. The interviewee from York noted how the UK's curriculum is quite loose, and as such allows flexibility in interpretation and displays of the past. This contradicts the experience just evidenced by Interviewee 34 associated with Colchester Castle Museum who saw the national curriculum as restrictive rather than open to interpretation.

The flexibility of the curriculum expressed by Interviewee 35 from the Yorkshire Museum, however, combined with the KS2's indicator towards diversity in its *Purpose of Study* statement (Department for Education 2013a: 1; 2013b: 1) created space for the discussion of non-traditional topics in their displays. The Yorkshire Museum's previously mentioned link to the Art Council's diversity agenda and accessibility to relevant contemporary research also made an inclusive narrative possible. As such, the inclusion of the national curriculum not only provided a perspective to discuss their innovative and inclusive display, it also meant the resultant exhibit was relevant to school children.

As can be appreciated, however, such alignment will only occur with the fulfilment of various factors not available to many institutions. Museums that lack Roman specialists, for example, may struggle to use a vague curriculum to direct a display about diversity. The resources available to a curatorial team linked to the government also impact their ability to innovatively utilise national curricula to their benefit. Another two factors include access to relatable research and resources that make a redisplay possible.

Interestingly, only one individual explicitly stated that their display narrative did not adhere to the National Curriculum. In the case of Dartford Museum's narrative, it was stated that the curriculum was not relied upon as the council paid for its upkeep and, therefore, reliance on school groups was not needed (Interviewee 28). This is a problematic statement as it appears to contradict the educative role routinely identified as an institution's main prerogative (e.g.

Rochford 2017: 209; Ulvay and Ozkul 2017; Silverman 2010; Hein 1998; Hooper-Greenhill 1994d). Interestingly, however, the descriptive portrayal of the Roman period at the Dartford Museum reflects other displays in this study that do rely on the national curriculum. Consequently, no matter if national curricula are relied upon, traditional depictions of the Roman period are still likely to pervade.

This may point to two significant issues. Firstly, curatorial teams generally stick to traditional curatorial processes despite input from curricula and continue the production of outmoded narratives. Secondly, the national curriculum also relates to outmoded perspectives of the Roman period, even though it adds a caveat of diversity to its *Purpose of Study* statement (Department for Education 2013a: 1; 2013b: 1). One speaks to the processes inherent in institutions that are habitually entwined with national approaches to identity. The other speaks to an educational system created by the government that, by this very virtue, is connected to national narratives.

6.4.3 The centrality of the Romans through a British lens

The narratives that surround Roman displays in the UK relate to the public's connection with the period. Britain's national curriculum depicts the Romans from a British-centric perspective. This is, consequently, reflected in many Roman exhibits. As such, the Romans are discussed as integral to British heritage and identity and this entwines them with a view of Britishness and whiteness (Gardner 2017: 7; Parekh 2000: 38).

Of the institutions included in Dataset 1, only two do not view the Roman period from a strictly British perspective. These are the British Museum and the Cambridge Museum of Classical Archaeology. Alongside the British Museum's *Roman Britain* Gallery, the ancient period is viewed as a civilisation not associated with UK history. Instead, galleries that depict the Roman world such as the *Greek and Roman Sculpture* Gallery (room 23) and the *Roman Empire* Gallery (room 70) portray a distinct civilisation with its own culture and geographical region. This has been achieved by presenting a perspective associated with the study of classics rather than archaeology. A similar situation was observed in the Cambridge Museum of Classical Archaeology that contains casts of original Roman and Greek statues previously housed in the Fitzwilliam Museum (Figure 2).

In both examples, a classical perspective has changed how the Roman period is generally understood. This different approach to the depiction of the era has, as stated by the interviewee from Cambridge (Interviewee 27), resulted in a disinterest in its Roman exhibit. The participant from the museum expressed that school groups primarily come to study the Greek, rather than Roman, statues presented by the institution. This was linked to the treatment of Greek society as

a foreign culture by the National Curriculum, whereas Roman culture is associated with British heritage (Interviewee 27). Consequently, British audiences do not appear to appreciate a discourse that views the Roman world from a distance. Romanticised ideas of ancient civilisations, regularly perpetuated by classical interpretations of the past (Millett 2012: 31; Broughall 2014: 1; Hingley 2006: 330; 2000: 19; James 1999: 127) do not, therefore, have a personal connection to Britain and its integral relationship with its archaeological past.

6.4.4 Comparison between the Netherland's and Britain's association with the Romans

As indicated by the interviewee from the Valkhof (Interviewee 2) the Dutch public does not have much of an interest in its Roman period. This was claimed to predominantly be the case in Nijmegen where the public lose interest in history before World War II. One reason provided for this was the possibility that the Dutch mentality of being 'forward thinkers' meant they do not place much relevance on chronologically distant periods.

This is of interest as it contrasts with the British persistence in memorialising its ancient past (Gardner 2017: 7). As indicated above, the Thatcherite Conservative government in Britain implemented the concept of the "heritage industry" to camouflage issues seen across Britain (Gledhill 2017: 62). This reflects the hypothesis that an imagined past can be used to form a national identity which then propels a country into the future as a uniform cohort (Smith 1999: 49; Anderson 1983: 19). The rise of populism has further emphasised the role nationalism has in British identity. Its ideological approach to governance relies on a glorified past to express the shared heritage and values that justify their attitude to leadership. The approach to Britain's Roman past in the national curriculum, consequently, demonstrates this through its incorporation of Roman history into its celebrated past.

The comparison with the Dutch public's relation to the Roman period is further depicted in their national curriculum. Louis Swinkels, a curator at the Valkhof, explained that the Romans are only discussed in Dutch schools twice: firstly, around 10 years of age and again in secondary school (Gonzalez Sanchez 2016: 287). Additionally, Swinkels expands on how the Batavians, an ancient tribe traditionally used to construct Dutch national identity in their imperial period (Onnekink and Rommelse 2019: 46-47), are no longer seen as fundamental in the definition of the Netherlands and its inhabitants (Gonzalez Sanchez 2016: 279). This is further reflected in the Batavians disappearance from their national curriculum (Gonzalez Sanchez 2016: 283). This contrasts with the approach taken by the British government that persists in the integration of the Roman period into its heritage. As such, the Dutch curriculum, in this case, has avoided an

approach to national identity construction that relates to colonial practices, whereas the British curricula continue to do so.

Interestingly, the inclusion of Dutch archaeology and the Roman period in its national curricula may result from a more outmoded discourse previously than presently seen in the British. This may be the case as Dutch focus on the Batavians is described by Sergio Gonzalez Sanchez as 'nearly an obsession [that responds] to the impulse and needs of patriotic feelings, nationalistic ideologies and national identity formulation' (2016: 222). It may be the case that its absence from their national curriculum is a powerful aspect that prevents the Dutch psyche utilising the Roman period as the British do.

The differences in the curricula of both countries with their curated, and even restrained, relationships with the ancient period is important. The construction of identity on individual and community levels is partly formed through the schooling experience and shared constructions of memories (Barausse and Luchese 2018: 721; Cieciuch and Topolewska 2017: 47-48). Through these shared narratives, experienced by many in the school system, the relevance of the Roman period spreads through communities and promotes similar connections between people and the past (Anderson 1983: 16). As such, knowledge of history is democratised, but in a very directed way, and leads to fostered emotions of belonging (Endere, Chaparro and Conforti 2018: 2). If the Roman period is included in this process, then its importance for people and the nation will follow.

Museums are critical for this process. In the case of Britain, they continue to entwine the Roman period with the nation's history. Their continued use of British archaeology to explore historical events may, therefore, play a large role in how Britain's Roman period is prevalent in its heritage and character. Once in motion, this process supports itself. Raphael Samuel discusses how national origin-myths become entwined with academic thought and will subconsciously affect a historian's approach to history (1998: 14). The aggrandisement of Roman and native events in British scholarship, therefore, enters display narratives and popular culture. It then affects those who were educated in a British context and those who teach it. As such, schools, museums, and heritage sites as key learning resources are crucial mechanisms behind the perpetual involvement of the Roman period in the formation of British national identity.

Progress by museums to become inclusive spaces and incorporate a diverse range of perspectives may, consequently, be inhibited by a 'habitus' they simultaneously support and are affected by (Bourdieu 1977: 79; Mauss 1935 [1968]: 73). Within a habit of learning, UK citizens are exposed to the British government's 'general politics' of 'truth' (Foucault 1977b: 13), where history is produced through regimes of practices that include museums and schools (Hooper-Greenhill

1992: 193). Crucially, institutions that depict the Roman period, and other eras closely related to the British psyche, may find it more difficult to revolutionise their displays than those that do not; as exemplified by the Dutch's absence of Roman archaeology in its curricula.

6.5 Conclusion

Many pressures identified throughout this chapter reflect the same outcome of Howard Kahn and Sally Garden's research that identifies factors which increase stress levels in UK museum staff (1993: 300). This thesis has found and discussed a host of potential sources of pressure placed on museum staff such as the lack of autonomy, expansion of tasks not originally defined in job descriptions, demands on time, local authority restructuring and competitive tendering, insufficient finances and resources. Although Kahn and Garden's study is based on a limited number of museum staff from 30 years ago (1993: 302), issues faced by institutions then, still pervade Britain's contemporary museum sector. Alongside these issues, present-day Roman displays continue to exist within a complex political and social context, in which institutions deal with strongly conflicted ideologies possessed by government and the public.

Furthermore, Kahn and Garden introduce their study through reference to financial pressures placed on museums through governmental cuts (1993: 285). Issues present in the early 1990s, despite the influx of diversity staff alongside New Labour's push for multiculturalism (Ashcroft and Bevir 2018: 6; Alexander 2004: 540; Back et al 2002: 445-446), have continued and include mass cuts to the heritage sector (Rex 2018: 25; IFS 2017; Bagwell, Corry and Rotheroe 2015: 28; Woodward 2012: 25). The situation observed in this study implies that the cause of issues faced by the sector has not changed for at least 30 years. This supports the claim that the structure of how individuals work within institutions, and the ideologies brought into them, culminating in a largely static field that struggles to develop.

In reflection of Britain's relationship with the Roman period and how it is perpetuated in its national curriculum, it is difficult to perceive how the momentum for innovative and inclusive narratives will progress without structural change in all of the UK's institutions that possess educative qualities. Furthermore, the advent of the Covid-19 Pandemic has caused monetary income to plummet further which stresses the precarious existence of many museums. This also takes place within a British economy that has been hit by at least one recession per decade since the 1950s, with the last two being the greatest.

As such, trends that have been revealed through the examination of Dataset 1 have significant relevance for the whole heritage sector. Conditions that affect the output and, therefore, the identity of institutions have long existed with museums. Over this time, their identity has been

moulded and maintained. Without substantial change, it is difficult to perceive how this cycle can be broken to achieve the alterations necessary to become inclusive. This discussion is continued in chapter nine and relates these conclusions with those of chapter eight that examine views provided by members of the public.

Chapter 7: Data set 2

This chapter illustrates and discusses data from the 255 questionnaires that make up Dataset 2. Table 8 acts as a key and shows the institutions at which respondents completed questionnaires. These include the Roman Museum in Canterbury; Maidstone Museum in Maidstone; Fishbourne Roman Palace in Fishbourne; Yorkshire Museum in York; Cambridge Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology in Cambridge; and individuals from the Friends of Canterbury Archaeological Trust. The selection process of these institutions is discussed in chapter four, section 4.3.2.

Institution	No. of questionnaires	Respondent numbers
Fishbourne Roman Palace	17	1-17
Cambridge Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology	63	18-80
Friends of Canterbury Archaeological Trust	3	81-83
Maidstone Museum	33	84-116
Roman Museum	69	117-185
Yorkshire Museum	70	186-255

Table 8: Number of questionnaires completed at different institutions

The questionnaires gained insight into visitor demographics and the opinions of visitors to institutions that included Roman displays. Key themes and trends in answers that link to the depiction of ethnic diversity will be highlighted. Ideological views and references to the underlying causes of the exclusive nature of displays have also been emphasised. This is to build a picture of the reciprocal cycle of the construction of exclusive displays to remain relevant for audiences that expect them to be so, who are influenced by the exhibits themselves. As such, whilst this chapter presents opinions from an array of visitors, it also emphasises views that are symptomatic of homogenous, traditional narratives that support ideas of Englishness and nationalism (Gardner 2017: 7; Carter and Robinson 2016: 214; Strong 2012: 150; Parekh 2000:38; Smith 1999: 49; Guibernau 1996: 47). Before answers provided by the public are analysed, however, this chapter examines the demographics of participants. This illustrates the homogeneity of modern audiences and contextualises the views expressed by museumgoers within a Europeanised and white hegemony of knowledge.

7.1 Demographic groups

Responses were collected from an extensive range of people of different ages, nationalities, and ethnic identities. Only eight individuals in total (3.1%) did not provide any demographic details. A

further 31 participants (12.2%) entered some of the data asked for but not all. Subsequently, the study successfully collected a large corpus of information to provide a snapshot of visitors to Roman displays, and who contributed to this thesis.

7.1.2 Age

Twenty-four individuals (9.4%) either did not respond when asked their age or inputted an age range that could not be placed into the predetermined categories. The age groupings used reflect those applied by the Audience Agency (e.g. 2018) to allow for direct comparisons with larger datasets. The age ranges for those aged below 24 do, however, differ from the Audience Agency's categories. This was done to include an 18-24-year-old category that loosely reflects the influence of university cities like Cambridge, Canterbury, and York on this dataset's visitor demographics. As shown in Table 9, almost a quarter (23.92%) of the questionnaire respondents were aged 18-24. This outcome was further impacted by the presence of a first-year university trip to the Roman Museum in Canterbury when the research was conducted.

Age	No of participants	Percentage
17 and under	1	0.39%
18-24	61	23.92%
25-34	55	21.57%
35-44	30	11.76%
45-54	29	11.37%
55-64	28	10.98%
65-74	20	7.84%
75-84	6	2.35%
85 and over	1	0.39%
N/A	24	9.41%
Total	**255**	**100.00%**

Table 9: Age ranges of questionnaire respondents

Whilst 0-16 year-old museum visitors were not engaged with, their large visitorship at institutions has been recognised, particularly with the discussion of the UK's influence on Roman displays through the national curriculum (Maher et al. 2011: 29-30; Hooper-Greenhill 1994: 9-10; Museums Association 2018: 10; see chapter six). There is also a low number of individuals aged 85+. Participation of this age group was not avoided. Their low engagement with this study does, however, reflect similar trends found in larger studies such as the Audience Agency's 2018 visitor survey (2018: 10).

7.1.3 Nationality

Forty-six different self-identified nationalities were provided by a total of 243 participants (Appendix 9). Twelve individuals (4.71%) did not provide a nationality. As Table 10 demonstrates, Dataset 2 consists predominantly of individuals who self-identified as British or an equivalent term. This is shown by 181 individuals (70.99%) who identified as British, English, UK, English / British, Brit, Welsh, English / Kentish, British White, White British, Cornish, and Saxon British. A further 6 respondents (2.35%) included British as part of their self-identified nationality but also incorporated a component that geographically places part of their national identity outside the UK: British / Australian, British / Irish, British / World, and English / Welsh / Irish and others.

Nationality	Frequency	Percentage	Nationality	Frequency	Percentage
UK	182	71.37%	Czech	1	0.39%
USA	11	4.31%	Greek	1	0.39%
French	7	2.75%	Japanese	1	0.39%
Australian	4	1.57%	Dutch	1	0.39%
Italian	4	1.57%	Norwegian	1	0.39%
Brazilian	3	1.18%	Panamanian	1	0.39%
Spanish	3	1.18%	Portuguese	1	0.39%
Belgian	2	0.78%	Slovak	1	0.39%
German	2	0.78%	Swiss	1	0.39%
Polish	2	0.78%	Ukrainian	1	0.39%
Romanian	2	0.78%	British / Australian	2	0.78%
Argentinian	1	0.39%	British / Irish	1	0.39%
Bulgarian	1	0.39%	British / World	1	0.39%
Canadian	1	0.39%	English / Welsh / Irish and others	1	0.39%
Chinese	1	0.39%	European	1	0.39%
Columbian	1	0.39%	(blank)	12	4.71%
			TOTAL	**255**	**100.00%**

Table 10: Nationality distribution of respondents

Answers such as the British Empire, Saxon British, and Cornish point towards nationalities not widely recognised. In the case of Saxon British and Cornish, they can, however, be placed within a modern British context. The answer ‘British Empire’ is also problematic on two levels. Firstly, it is difficult to situate on a map as the UK’s colonial reach spanned many continents. As such, the answer does not feature in the data for a modern categorised region such as Britain. Furthermore, non-sensical, hurtful, and sarcastic replies are likely to be resultant behaviours acted out of white fragility (Liebow and Glazer 2019: 3; Parasram 2019: 194; DiAngelo 2011: 57). Respondent 184 who defined their nationality as British Empire also described themselves as

ethnically white. As noted by scholars in other fields, such emotional reactions may stem from discomfort caused by a direct discussion of race and ethnicity, that results in avoidance tactics that belittle the topic (DiAngelo 2011: 55). Evidence of such outbursts by white people in the face of difficult discussions and confrontation in their complicity in oppressive and racist societal structures has recently spiked and appears commonplace across the Western world.

Of the 255 respondents, 55 individuals (21.96%) were non-British with 25 different countries identified. Nationalities dissociated from British included American, French, Italian, Brazilian, Australian, Spanish, Romanian, Polish, German, Belgian, Ukrainian, Panamanian, Slovak, Bulgarian, Dutch, Argentinian, Greek, Portuguese, Swiss, Czech, Norwegian, Japanese, Columbian, Chinese, and Canadian (Table 10). A single individual stated that their nationality was European; this placed them within European borders but did not associate them specifically with a country.

The data, therefore, represents a wide array of individuals from different nationalities as represented by Figure 22.[38] However, as Figure 22 also makes visibly clear, a large proportion of questionnaire respondents identified with Westernised countries [i.e. associated with countries that are closely related to traditional colonial powers with a Euro-centric culture and history (De Loney 2019: 689; Vawda 2019: 74; Oyedemi 2018: 1-2; Mignolo 2013: 135; Anderson 1983: 19; Said 1978: 1]. As such, whilst a lack of non-Westerners is made clear, Figure 22 demonstrates the complete lack of engagement with any individual whose nationality is associated with the African continent.

---

[38] Figure 22 only includes nationalities that are not dual and those directly associated with modern nationalities. Appendix 10 depicts data that has been included and omitted from the distribution map.

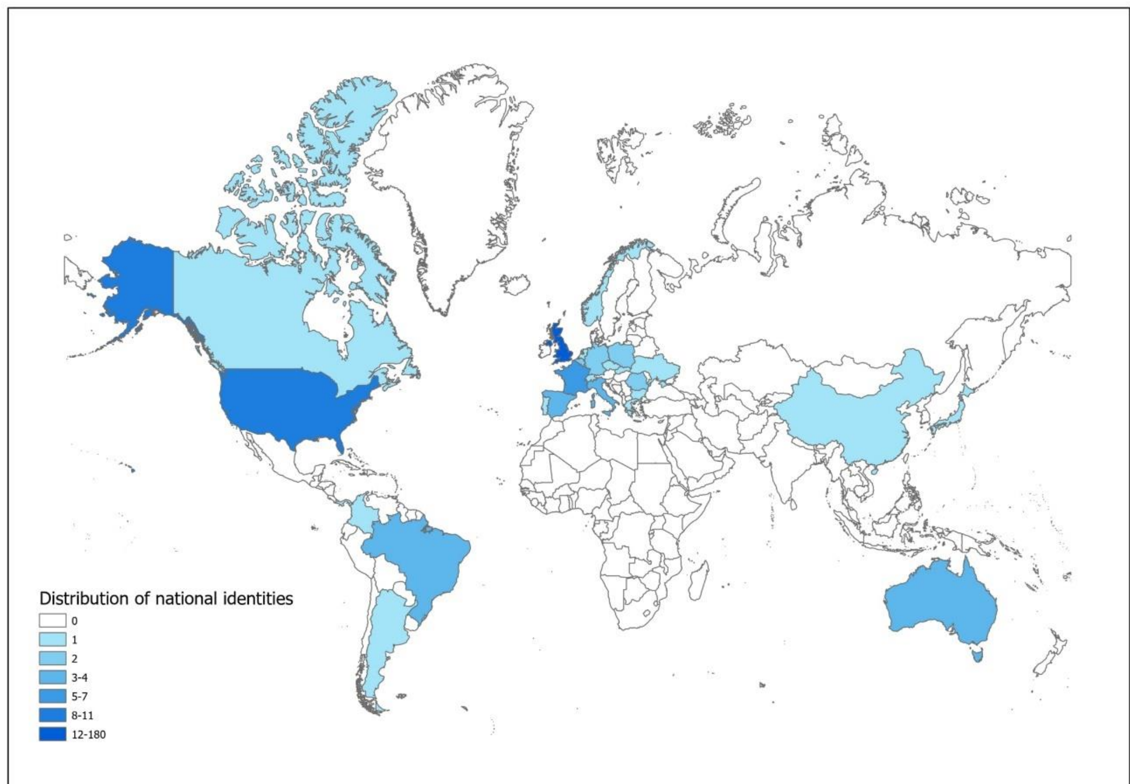

Figure 23: Distribution map of self-identified nationalities © Lloyd Bosworth

History displays are traditionally white, Eurocentric spaces, and continue to be curated as such (Gordon-Walker 2019: 235; Vawda 2019: 75-76; Bennett 2015: 79; Hooper-Greenhill 1992: 78). This may be caused by the demography of majority audiences, vice versa, or a symbiosis of both. Either way, it is of no surprise that most respondents engaged with were European (85.88%) (Table 11).

Continent	Frequency	Percentage	Continent	Frequency	Percentage
Europe	219	85.88%	Asia	2	0.78%
North America	12	4.71%	Africa	0	0.00%
South America	6	2.35%	N/A	12	4.71%
Oceania	4	1.57%	**Total**	**255**	**100.00%**

Table 11: Continental distribution of respondents

Overall, less than 5% of the total respondents provided nationalities that came from South America, Oceania, Asia, and Africa collectively (Table 11). Consequently, Dataset 2 raises various questions such as whether the white and Eurocentric visitor base observed supports the view that there is an entwinement between Eurocentric narratives and Roman history (Broughall 2014: 1; Millett 2012: 31; Tolia-Kelly 2011: 71; Hingley 2006: 330, 2000: 38-60; Majeed 1999: 91). If so, are homogenous audiences the cause of a reliance on traditional discourses? Is this relationship reversed; do outmoded discourses deter diverse audience participation? Or do

answers to both of these questions feed into one another to create a self-sustaining situation built on colonial hegemonies and a fear to change?

7.1.4 Ethnicity

Dataset 2 also engaged with 50 different self-identified ethnicities (Table 12). As is shown, some ethnic identities overlap which can confuse the data and may also demonstrate less diversity than appears. This was caused by the decision to provide total freedom in the ethnic self-identification of participants. This approach avoided a restricted choice of ethnic identifiers that reflect a nation-specific, or person-specific, perspective on how to address identity (Moreno and Benavides 2019: 1687). It was observed, however, that most individuals nonetheless reported ethnic identifiers commonly seen in British government forms and questionnaires that include a tick-box section with standardised categories such as white British, Irish Traveller, and Caribbean British.

That participant choices demonstrated the restriction of ethnic identity to a combination of race and nationality reflects the UK government's definition of ethnicity used in its data collection. This outcome indicates how the state influences definitions of key terms that are used to determine and express identity in society. Consequently, this process also relates to the self-definition based on a fit between chosen categories and oneself, whilst not considering the label to be personally significant (Kinket and Verkuyten 1997: 339). Interestingly, the absence of a drop-down menu was apparent for many individuals who struggled to identify themselves without it. This further highlights the reliance people place from the nation to provide them with an identity with which to relate– routinely expressed through museums. This approach did, however, cause many individuals to take time and reflect on their identity.

Of the 231 individuals that provided a self-identified ethnic identity, 176 (69.02%) used the term 'white' within their answer. Furthermore, of those who chose to ethnically identify fully, or partly, as white, 63 (24.71% of the whole) used characteristics associated with Britain. To examine this closer, 98 individuals (38.43% of the whole) solely identified as white and/or Caucasian. In comparison, only 9 individuals (3.53%) included one, or more, of the terms 'black', 'mixed', 'Asian', 'Latino', 'Afro-Latina', and 'native' within their ethnic identity (Table 12).

Self-identified ethnicity	Distribution	Percentages	Self-identified ethnicity	Distribution	Percentages
White	80	31.37%	German	1	0.39%
White British	53	20.78%	White Australian	1	0.39%
N/A	21	8.24%	Guatemalan	1	0.39%
Caucasian	13	5.10%	Multicultural	1	0.39%
British	12	4.71%	Hispanic	1	0.39%
English	9	3.53%	Normal	1	0.39%
White European	6	2.35%	Hispanic / Latino	1	0.39%
Human	5	1.96%	Ukrainian	1	0.39%
British White	4	1.57%	Australian	1	0.39%
White Caucasian	4	1.57%	Don't have one	1	0.39%
Native American / Black Mixed	2	0.78%	Asian	1	0.39%
Belgian	2	0.78%	White / Irish	1	0.39%
Welsh	2	0.78%	Brazilian Native / Portuguese	1	0.39%
White / Anglo-Saxon	2	0.78%	White Asian	1	0.39%
Atheist	2	0.78%	Caucasian / White	1	0.39%
White other	2	0.78%	Black / Arabic	1	0.39%
White English	2	0.78%	Afro-Latina	1	0.39%
Celtic	1	0.39%	English / Caucasian	1	0.39%
White / Non-UK / Other	1	0.39%	Mixed / White Asian	1	0.39%
Chinese	1	0.39%	Irish	1	0.39%
English / Welsh / Irish and Others / White	1	0.39%	White Male	1	0.39%
White Caribbean	1	0.39%	Italian	1	0.39%
European	1	0.39%	Yorkshire	1	0.39%
Pakistani	1	0.39%	Me	1	0.39%
French	1	0.39%	Mediterranean	1	0.39%
British / European	1	0.39%	**Total**	**255**	**100.00%**

Table 12: Distribution of self-identified ethnicities

Subsequently, there may be a relation between the homogeneous profile of the ethnicity of visitors that feeds into the creation of exclusive narratives to relate with a uniform target audience. The reverse likely holds more influence, however, where issues caused by Eurocentric narratives accentuate colonial and exclusive narratives (Bennett 2015: 79, 1988: 99; Hooper-Greenhill 1999: 91). These discourses then alienate racialised communities (Tolia-Kelly 2016: 901) and result in visitor demographics like those found in this dataset. This characteristic of Roman displays has previously been identified (Tolia-Kelly 2011: 71) and stems from the imperial

discourses that situate approaches to the discussion of the period. Consequently, this data reflects no change in audience demographics and instead indicates the static nature of discourses that narrate Britain's Roman past.

In addition to the data and insights gained from answers, three main points were identified through six comments made by participants in response to the collection of data on ethnicity (Table 13). These include the statement that ethnicity is not a universally used concept; there are issues with drop-down menus and categorised ethnicities; and an instance that expressed the self-policing of how others should identify.

Respondent	Answer	Comments
58	N/A	Think racist way termed such as white and so forth
66	White	Note: Was going to say mixed - i.e. Irish, French etc. But got told by person with them that they are not mixed but just white
80	White non-UK / other	*Comment made* - doesn't like drop down options and fact have to say UK or other for themselves
120	Human	Only by st???ing idea of ethnicity can we make a world truly free of racism
164	White other	In Spain don't get asked these sorts of questions but did when came to Britain
168	See Above (white)	(Depending on how far back we're going)

Table 13: Additional comments made by respondents that concern ethnicity

Respondent 164 stated that ethnicity was not asked of them in Spain but was when they came to Britain. This comment relates to wider discussions of if, and how, demographic data that concerns ethnicity should be collected, examined, and discussed (e.g. Parameshwaran and Engzell 2015; Simon 2012; Burton et al. 2010; Zagefka 2008; Bonnett and Carrington 2000). These issues particularly concentrate on whether ethnic data should be gained through the classification of the country of origin or more subjective gauges (Parameshwaran and Engzell 2015: 399). The confusion that surrounds the definition and use of ethnicity as a concept is also reflected in comments made by respondents 58 and 80 (Table 13). Respondent 80 stated that they did not like drop-down menus for ethnic identity questions and the options open to them. Respondent 58 additionally expressed their opinion that ethnic terms are racist due to the use of skin colour as a key factor.

Issues raised by participants in Table 13 illustrate the restrictive conceptualisations of what ethnicity means when defined and used within a certain framework. This supports Moreno and Benavides' argument that ethnic identifiers usually reflect categories set by the government to best align with their ideological worldviews (2019: 1687). Similarly, the difficulty observed with many participants to ethnically define themselves without standardised options supports this

view. The deep connection between museums and national identity creation emphasises a need for this to be explored within institutional outputs.

7.1.5 Overall discussion on demographics

Dataset 2 predominantly engaged with individuals who identified as white British. The homogenous characteristic of questionnaire participants engaged within Roman exhibits is likely caused by an array of explanations. The questionnaires were conducted in Britain which grossly increases the chances of engagement with a predominantly white British crowd. Furthermore, visitors were engaged with inside museums and this, therefore, has resulted in the general lack of minority demographics that, as discussed in chapter three, are routinely excluded from institutional narratives. Another explanation for the homogenous demographic of respondents could have been the timing of questionnaires. Many research days took place midweek to comply with when museums were able to facilitate the presence of a researcher. As Kevin Coffee explains, however, the 'concept of 'leisure' is predicated on socio-economic constraints' (2008: 270). Consequently, the racial inequalities seen across the UK, as evidenced by The Runnymede Trust's *The Colour of Money* report (2020), may inhibit the ability for these groups to capitalise on midweek leisure trips to museums and heritage sites.

Finally, the questionnaires took place within Roman galleries. As such, the subject's links with colonialism may impact the demographics that want to engage with this period, outmoded approaches to its discussions, and connection to Britishness (Polm 2016: 235-236; Gardner 2017: 7; Tolia-Kelly 2011: 71, 73; Dmitriev 2009: 124). This is further mirrored in academia where Roman archaeology conferences, used in a study by Zena Kamash (*forthcoming*), similarly depicts a white subject field. Consequently, the focus of Roman archaeology is planted within a heavily westernised ideological framework and appears to have become an exclusive practice, both academically and publicly.

The traditional approach to Roman display narratives shown in chapters five and six may indicate an expected older audience too. Contrarily, around 24% of individuals who engaged in Dataset 2 were 18-24 compared to 10.6% of individuals aged 65 and over (Table 9). As such, this data represents a high presence of young, white, British individuals presently visiting contemporary Roman displays. Subsequently, if displays do not change, young individuals will continue to experience outdated narratives that reinforce exclusive portrayals and uses of history; this is dangerous. The need to incorporate representations of ethnic diversity into displays has amongst its many benefits, two that strongly relate to how visitors interact with their Roman past. Firstly, it aims to widen participation from minority groups. Secondly, it alters how majority audiences relate to, use, and question whitewashed versions of history.

7.2 Sections 1-3: Questions 1-10 – overview of results and comments

In this section, the frequency of answers for each question is displayed in table format. Additionally, comments made by participants will be discussed alongside associated themes. As such, key discussion points that are most relevant to this thesis will be highlighted and further analysed.

- **Question 1:** Do museums/heritage sites have a duty to represent everyone in modern society?

Response Item	No. of respondents	Percentage
NO	72	28.24%
YES	178	69.80%
N/A	5	1.96%
Total	**255**	**100.00%**

Table 14: Answers to Question 1

Over two-thirds of individuals (69.8%) (Table 14) stated that museums and heritage sites must represent everyone in modern society. Conversely, just over a quarter (28.24%) (Table 14) stated the opposite. These responses are significant as they reflect contemporary academic thought that emphasises the centrality of museums for their communities (Morse and Munro 2018: 362; Ng et al. 2017: 144; Robinson 2017: 871; Kim, You and Park 2016: 185; Stuedahl 2011: 5; Weil 1999: 229). Additionally, if museums fail to be representative of modern society, then these results highlight a possible failure by them to meet public expectation. This would be of great consequence for modern institutions in a neoliberal free market that has emphasised self-reliance and survival through relevance (Kundu and Kalin 2015: 44).

Furthermore, eleven individuals provided a comment related to Question 1 (Table 15). The remarks predominantly reflect opinions on the use of the term ‘duty’, when describing whether institutions need to represent all individuals in society. Another concern was whether it was the duty of *every* museum and heritage site to reflect everybody in modern society.

Respondents 27, 91, 103, 232, and 237 each expressed concern over which museums have a duty towards displays that are representative of modern society. It was highlighted how it was not the duty of ‘all’ museums to represent the whole of a contemporary population. Museum type and size were both factors that affected this expectation. Respondent 27 for example, stated that it is the duty of ‘big museums’ to be representative of all demographics.

Respondent	Answer	Comments
27	YES	To be 'interesting' and answer relates to 'big museums'
60	NO	Not too sure on term "duty"
90	NO	Not actual duty
96	NO	The past not present
103	NO	Not all, depends on museum type
127	NO	eg an exhibition at a museum may be centered around raising awareness / representing a specific identity, ethnicity, minority or even time period
232	NO	Museum dependent
237	NO	Not all museums do
91	N/A	Depends on museum
176	N/A	Everyone - very difficult for one institution but museums as a collective should be representative (stated undecided next to Y/N choice)
193	N/A	When they can

Table 15: Comments made in association with Question 1

There are many reasons as to why large museums should represent contemporary society. Their superior levels of footfall from different demographics, the vast number of objects at their disposal, and their usual attempt to depict many cultures from around the world are all reasons that support their need to be inclusive. International and Universal museums such as the British Museum still do not, however, engage with representation at an integral and personal level. This is in contrast with the encyclopaedic expanse of their collections and aged claims that they are the most international museum in the world (Wilson 1989: 106).

To only expect 'big museums' to step-up and be inclusive, however, denies the power and advantages possessed by smaller local institutions to adapt to their communities. National museums, for example, are supported by a hundred years of tradition that might in some cases have caused static display spaces. Conversely, local museums need to be dynamic to adjust and specialise to specific places and audiences (Hudales 2007: 424). As stated by respondents 127 and 176 (Table 15), however, unlike national museums, regional institutions are prone to have less material and be unprepared to represent diversity.

It is important to reiterate that display narratives do not have to rely on an object-led approach as much as they did before (Conn 2010: 20). The rise in other didactic devices (Conn 2010: 20) and the implementation of social and oral histories in museums demonstrate this point (Sommer 2015: 19-21). Furthermore, many museums represent specific demographics. The Huguenot Museum in Rochester, UK, is an example of this, and although it discusses a singular demographic, it is inclusive of an underrepresented community that contributes to a museumscape (Macdonald 2016: 4) that is inclusive. This, of course, requires a nationwide view

to collectively be representative that requires informed museum staff which may not presently be the case.

- **Question 2:** Are you concerned with how many identities/ethnicities are represented within history displays?

Response Item	No. of respondents	Percentage
NO	162	63.53%
YES	79	30.98%
N/A	14	5.49%
Total	**255**	**100.00%**

Table 16: Answers to Question 2

The majority (63.53%) of individuals stated that they were not concerned with how many identities or ethnicities are represented in history displays (Table 16). Around 30% of individuals stated that they were concerned, while 5% did not provide an answer.

Likely, many individuals were not concerned with ethnic representation in history displays because they already were, themselves, comfortable with their inclusion within narratives. As 69% of individuals explicitly identified as white (Table 12), this may have led to the result of a similar percentage illustrated here. As already identified, white individuals are not alienated from Roman history displays. As Parasram explains with reference to DiAngelo's *White Fragility* (2011), this causes majority ethnic groups to have a sense of entitlement to racial comfort as their histories are not challenged or absent (Parasram 2019: 200). The lack of engagement with ethnic diversity expressed in chapter five, for example, illustrates how inclusive narratives are not regularly presented to contemporary audiences through Roman displays. Consequently, the continued portrayal of the archetypal Roman as white remains unchallenged throughout exhibits and supports the perpetuation of structural racism (Bhopal 2018: 27).

Participants 248 and 185 (who ethnically identified as English and White respectively) provided comments (Table 17) that support the view that Roman displays contribute to white comfort, ignorance, and entitlement. Participant 248 for example, confirmed that institutions should not be biased, but stated that they have not seen cause for concern with representation. Contributor 248 then stated that imagery was perhaps typically white throughout the Yorkshire Museum's Roman history depictions. Respondent 185 similarly had not considered there to be an issue with the representation of identities in history exhibits. Again, they then reconsidered their opinion after the subject was explicitly encountered through the questionnaire. Both cases illustrate the lack of material that deals with whitewashed histories, and links to the politics of representation

that foresees the absence, simplification, and stereotypical portrayal of the experience minority ethnics have (Donington et al. 2016: 11; Kowaleski-Wallace 2006: 11-12; Hall 1989 [1996]: 441-442). More positively, the conversation prompted by this research also represents the successes that can be achieved with the discussion of societal matters through an open but focused dialogue.

Respondent	Answer	Comments
176	YES	Respondent circled 'concerned' and drew an arrow to the word 'aware'
185	YES	Hadn't considered it previously, but yes now!
127	NO	Interested in, not concerned
248	NO	I agree that they should be unbiased but haven't seen any real concerns that I can recall. I think that they generally do a good job. Maybe imagery is typically white though.
1	N/A	At a certain level
67	N/A	Dependent
163	N/A	Depends on museum type
164	N/A	Depends on museum type

Table 17: Comments made in association with Question 2

Again, there was a dependency on museum type to inform what the expectation of an institution was. Respondents 67, 163, and 164 each emphasised this point in the comments to Question 2 (Table 17). As discussed with Question 1, it is not necessarily every museum's duty to represent the whole span of society. It is, however, important for institutions to recognise their contribution to the wider museumscape that informs the recognition of different identities within a nation's past and current identity.

- **Question 3:** Should museums challenge stereotypical opinions such as racism and sexism?

Response Item	No. of respondents	Percentage
NO	48	18.82%
YES	194	76.08%
N/A	13	5.10%
Total	**255**	**100.00%**

Table 18: Answers to Question 3

Over three-quarters of respondents (76.08%) answered that museums should challenge stereotypical opinions such as racism and sexism (Table 18). The result of Question 3 is significant, for it presents the viewpoint that history displays have a role to play in the formation of a cohesive society through engaged socio-political narratives. It also strengthens the argument

that museums and heritage sites can become advocates of social justice (Gonzales 2019: 1; Janes and Sandell 2019b: 1; Labadi 2018: 3;) and simultaneously be supported by the public.

This conclusion is, however, in opposition to a Museums Association survey in 2013, that represented a reluctance from the public for museums to portray social stances (Museums Association 2013: 24-25). What this comparison may provide, however, is that given the choice of a 'yes' or 'no' answer, as provided by this thesis' research, visitors do think that institutions should engage with political matters. The priority of museums to engage with socio-political matters may not, however, be an issue that is widely thought to be a central and immediate concern.

Moreover, of those that stated 'yes' to Question 3, six provided additional comments to clarify their answer. Two individuals (103 and 193 (Table 19)) highlighted that institutions should challenge stereotypical opinions, but not force topics within displays. As neither respondent expanded on their answer, it is difficult to clarify what they meant. Nonetheless, it appears to echo the issue just highlighted where certain issues deserve to be challenged but there is not a desire for these to be implemented with immediacy.

Respondent	Answer	Comments
102	YES	Informative way
103	YES	Not forceful way
118	YES	History should never be subjective!
176	YES	In an ideal world, yes, bit I don't think this is a realistic expectation
193	YES	But not force
222	YES	!!!
52	NO	Record
191	NO	?? ????? Of their time[39]
1	N/A	What general / stereotypical opinions are being referred to?
91	N/A	To be honest
216	N/A	If topic of exhibit / not to be PC

Table 19: Comments made in association with Question 3

Similarly, participant 216, who did not answer Question 3, stated that topics such as racism and sexism should be challenged. This came with the caveat, however, that it should only be done if it is the topic of an exhibition. To do otherwise, would illustrate an attempt to tick a politically correct box (Table 19). Reliance on political correctness in an argument is to challenge the validity of values through the integrity or intellectual dishonesty of the accused (Wikström 2016: 159). It

[39] Question marks used here as Respondent 191's comment was illegible.

is extensively used to frame pointless acts of virtue signalling that support liberal agendas of inclusivity and progressiveness (Wikström 2016: 169). Within the context of a display narrative, this avoids interaction with topics of representation and places pressure on the curator to defend their veracity. Consequently, it engages with what Alison Bailey terms as 'white talk' and relates to the evasion of engaged conversation and rejects the privileges of whiteness evident in display narratives (2015: 46). As such, while challenges to racism and sexism in display spaces would represent engagement with social issues, not political, the concept of political correctness is seemingly used to disagree with museums that liberally engage with real-world politics.

Furthermore, it may be the case that comments made by contributors 103, 193, and 216 refer to the concept of colour blindness. The concept of colour blindness has been positively linked to racism and the denial of white privilege (Kim et al., 2019: 78). The main characteristic is its idea that the discussion of racism itself, is racist. As such, to recognise difference feeds inequality, and to overcome racism we must halt discussion of it (Apfelbaum, Norton, and Sommers 2012: 205). Therefore, to force the discussion of sexism and racism in a Roman display may place too much emphasis on those topics and work against their expulsion from society. This argument is, however, majorly flawed as it is essential for institutions to actively engage with previously avoided topics such as racism and colonialism to become advocates of social justice (Goswami 2018: 9). It is necessary to recognise and engage with a problem to deal with it. To ignore social issues will not lead to their disappearance but instead, its unquestioned solidity in societal hegemonies.

Additionally, whilst respondent 52 agreed with the previous comments that racism and sexism should not be challenged by display narratives, they contrarily emphasised the need to merely record such events (Table 19). It is uncertain what participant 52 exactly means, however, but to record racist events in history without a challenge is problematic. Exclusive narratives have already alienated individuals from minority ethnic groups (Cerejido 2018; Ng, Ware, and Greenberg 2017: 142; Tolia-Kelly 2016: 901; Lakshmi 2010: 102; Herle 1997: 65). To continue this practice only prolongs this activity, and further sees museums become complicit in negative uses of their messages. Contributor 52's response, therefore, presents the idea that museums should not be places for social justice. This does not, however, recognise the already political nature of display spaces and their processes shaped by colonialism.

In conclusion, most responses to Question 3 advocate for commitments made by institutions towards engagement with socio-political concerns. Without such an outcome to Question 3, it would be difficult for institutions to engage in the topic of ethnic representation. The comments

do, however, reflect criticisms of this initiative. Furthermore, opposition generally stems from the view that museums should remain neutral entities, an issue later discussed in chapter eight.

- **Question 4:** Do you feel as though your own ethnic identity is included within museum and heritage displays?

Response Item	No. of respondents	Percentage
NO	33	12.94%
YES	213	83.53%
N/A	9	3.53%
Total	**255**	**100.00%**

Table 20: Answers to Question 4

The majority (85.53%) of individuals felt that their own ethnic identity was included within museum and heritage site displays (Table 20). This result directly mirrors the fact that 85% of contributors also self-identified ethnically as white (Table 12). Only one individual provided a comment related to Question 4.

Respondent	Answer	Comments
114	YES	Don't expect so much in smaller museums

Table 21: Comments made about Question 4

Participant 114 stated that they do not expect their ethnic identity to be represented in smaller museums (Table 21). As brought up in answers to previous questions, there is a trend throughout comments that institutions of various sizes and types have different expectations placed upon them. Further discussion on this aspect is discussed in chapter eight.

- **Question 5:** If not, do you think they should attempt to?

Response Item	No. of respondents	Percentage
NO	17	6.67%
YES	15	5.88%
N/A	223	87.45%
Total	**255**	**100.00%**

Table 22: Answers to Question 5

Table 22 depicts responses to Question 5 that was requested to only be answered if the participant did not think their ethnic identity was included in display narratives. Various combinations of responses, therefore, follow with how Questions 4 and 5 were answered.

Two individuals stated their ethnicities were included in museum and heritage displays but noted in Question 5 that institutions should not attempt to do so. Respondent 181 stated that ‘Museums should present the facts, and allow people to draw their conclusions, admittedly with

guidance from the museum' (Respondent 181). Additionally, participant 138 commented that 'I am a white European and displays of white European heritage are quite common in Europe. I care more about accuracy and authenticity than representation' (Respondent 138). To rely on 'facts' to ensure inclusion in a nation's history, however, negates an acknowledgement that historical truth is constructed and guided by ideology (Smith 1999: 49; Anderson 1983: 19). To be included is, therefore, not dependent on historic accuracy, but rather the notion that an individual's identity fits the national idea of itself.

Of those who answered that they did not feel as though their ethnicities were represented in museums or heritage sites, 14 stated that institutions should attempt to include their ethnicities. Of these 14 individuals, three provided comments in the expansion field to question 5 (Table 23). Contributor 174 provided an extensive and fundamental comment that requires attention due to its central importance for issues presented throughout this thesis. Respondent 174, a British Pakistani, provided the view that south Asian/other non-white diasporas (and their contributions to modern society in the UK) have little representation in museums. As explained, the absence of minority groups in display narratives implies their modern-day presence in a country as new. It can also reinforce the opinion that they 'have little claim to the country in which they reside' (Respondent 174).

Respondent	Answer to Q4	Answer to Q5	Q5's expansion field
72	NO	YES	Tricky because of a lot of different ethnicities
150	NO	YES	Germans are very misrepresented
174	NO	YES	There is little representation of south Asian/other non-white diaspora (and their contributions) in the UK in museum displays – this promotes a narrow interpretation of the makeup of historical societies. It implies that racial diversity is a relatively new development, which in turn could reinforce the idea that these groups are recent arrivals and have little claim to the country in which they reside.

Table 23: Table of participant that stated they did not feel as though their ethnicities were included in museums and heritage sites but think that institutions should attempt to

The latter point indicates that traditional narratives of homogeneity persist to feed into nationalistic propaganda to support populism and bolster the idea of a singular collective (Kaya 2020: 10). The absence of minority identities in a country's narrative has a direct effect upon their reception in the present. In Britain this takes shape through the idea of Britishness, bolstered by structural racism, that denies the right for minority ethnic groups to belong (Benson and Lewis 2019: 2220). As imitators of reality (Silverstone 1989: 143), history displays need to

take great care with who populates depictions of the past, because it is used to curate perceptions that form the imagined communities that support national psyches (Anderson 1983: 143).

Alternatively, a similar number of individuals who felt their ethnicities were not represented, did not think institutions should attempt to include their ethnicity (12 out of 30 people, 40%). Nine of these individuals provided comments to justify and clarify their answer (Table 24). Respondents 7 and 8 similarly proclaimed that the inclusion of their ethnicity in a history display narrative was not relevant. Participant 8 stated that displays should present history and the contemporary beliefs of people but indicated a need to avoid the inclusion of modern beliefs and values in depictions. Participants 7 and 8 are joined by contributors 90, 164, 168, and 173 who place importance on the factual aspect of historical narratives. Their views, however, place their subjective version of *factual* accounts of history at the expense of inclusivity. This sees a complex relationship that confuses truth with expectant narratives, which is then challenged by portrayals of diverse pasts that disrupt the discourse they may rely upon for the sake of their own identity. As such, attempts to increase ethnic diversity in representations of the past can be seen to interfere with accuracy. This harks back to views that *history should be kept as history* to avoid a negatively biased narrative. This view, again, does not, however, acknowledge the already present ideological influences involved in exhibit curation and their complicity in this process.

Respondent	Answer to Q4	Answer to Q5	Q5's expansion field
7	NO	NO	Not relevant
8	NO	NO	Not relevant, it's about presentation of history and what they believed.
17	NO	NO	Too much focus is made nowadays of ethnic importance - acceptance / acknowledgement not enforcement.
90	NO	NO	More interested in history
164	NO	NO	Nice to see history from different place
168	NO	NO	Museums are there to accurately represent times past - not re-write historical events and change facts.
173	NO	NO	The duty of museums is to display objects in their accurate historical / archaeological context to give the viewer a sense of their history and meaning. The ethnicity of those represented should be historically accurate.
186	NO	NO	Locality perspective
195	NO	NO	Own country does that

Table 24: Table of participant that stated they did not feel as though their ethnicities were included in museums and heritage sites but think that institutions should not attempt to

Furthermore, four individuals voiced their opinion in Question 5's expansion field but did not answer Question 4 (Table 25). Three of these four (Respondents 104, 111, and 115) echo opinions already discussed. Participant 170, however, exemplifies the anger that can be incited through a continued lack of inclusion within display narratives.

Respondent	Answer to Q4	Answer to Q5	Q5's expansion field
170	NO	N/A	I feel the current narrative of a singular trajectory of history and heritage is entirely one dimensional and in no way sufficient in its representation. If this is the case of presenting my personal ethnic identity, then I desire not to be represented by this narrative.
104	NO	N/A	Not negative, museums are for history
111	NO	N/A	Everyone would be difficult
115	NO	N/A	History should be depicted, not modern

Table 25: Table of participants that stated they did not feel as though their ethnicities were included in museums and heritage sites and did not provide an answer to Question 5

Participant 170, a British Guatemalan, highlighted the failure of current approaches to display construction that continue to misrepresent minority ethnic groups in depictions of history. Moreover, Respondent 170 explicitly states that they do not desire to be represented by these narratives if they continue to remain unchanged. This reply illustrates a serious effect of alienation, where individuals feel separated from social roles and become cynical toward institutions (Wegner 1975: 171). In this instance, the persistence of traditional discourses represents not only a disenfranchisement from national discourses but also a whole sector that promotes them. This statement depicts the failure of museums that have become unreliable for someone who associates with a minority ethnic group. Importantly, Respondent 170 also identifies as part-British, and this emphasises the issue that museums, with their exclusive narratives, also deny membership for British citizens to be included in British heritage.

- **Question 6:** Are you interested by discussions concerning identity and ethnicity of people in ancient periods such as the Roman era?

Response Item	Frequency	%
NO	30	11.76%
YES	220	86.27%
N/A	5	1.96%
Total	**255**	**100.00%**

Table 26: Answers to Question 6

The majority (86.27%) of individuals stated that they were interested in discussions that concern the identity and ethnicity of ancient populations (Table 26). Thirty (11.76%) stated that they were

not interested, whilst five individuals did not respond. Significantly, almost 90% of individuals were interested in these topics, as it expresses an interest in themes not regularly included in contemporary Roman display narratives as expressed in Dataset 1.

This overall response to Question 6 is also of interest due to the negative reactions regularly seen in many newspaper articles towards accounts of history that centre on people of colour as main protagonists (e.g. Beachy Head Lady, Ivory Bangle Lady, and the BBC's depiction of a Black soldier as representative of a typical Roman soldier).[40] The presence of these voices was also highlighted by interviewees at the Dover Museum (Interviewee 29), Eastbourne County Council (Interviewee 31), and the Cambridge Museum of Classical Archaeology (Interviewee 27) in Dataset 1. Consequently, the opinions of visitors to Roman displays who were engaged by this thesis generally opposed the views that were demonstrated to have influence. Furthermore, replies to Question 7 also indicates that visitors are interested in the discussion of ethnicity and identity that concern the present (Table 27).

Response Item	No. of respondents	Percentage
NO	43	16.86%
YES	209	81.96%
N/A	3	1.18%
Total	**255**	**100.00%**

Table 27: Answers to Question 7

It may be the case that individuals who 'shout the loudest'[41] and show disdain towards inclusive display narratives do not represent those that visit museums. Interestingly, those that complain online about institutions may, also, represent a demographic that is disenfranchised from contemporary museums. They may feel as their ideologies, once safeguarded by traditional displays, have now been challenged. Rather than being a negative, this alienation may conversely indicate that substantial progress has already been made towards the production of modern narratives that challenge white-centric discourse. Although, the disenfranchisement of this demographic also highlights the polarisation of social issues and the further fragmentation experienced in British society.

---

40 See articles and comments for examples:
Beachy Head Lady - https://www.dailymail.co.uk/sciencetech/article-2551513/Pictured-The-1-800-year-old-face-Beachy-Head-Lady-revealed-time-thanks-3D-scanning.html#comments [Accessed 13/01/2020]
Ivory Bangle Lady - https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-1254187/Revealed-The-African-queen-called-York-home-4th-century.html#comments [Accessed 13/01/2020]
BBC's depiction of a Black individual to represent a typical roman soldier - https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/2017/08/06/mary-beard-misogynistic-race-row-bbc-cartoon-us-academic-claimed/ [Accessed 13/01/2020].
[41] Interview 31, Eastbourne County Council, 11/05/2018.

- **Question 8:** Is it important for Roman period depictions to include the make-up of their society? (This includes demographics, ethnicities, races, identities, cultures, religions and so on)

Response Item	Frequency	Per cent
NO	1	0.39%
YES	254	99.61%
N/A	0	0.00%
Total	**255**	**100.00%**

Table 28: Answers to Question 8

All but one individual stated that it is important for Roman displays to include the make-up of ancient society (Table 28). This provides a reliable statistic towards the suggestion that visitors anticipate that display narratives will discuss a range of topics that engage with the characteristics of individuals. Consequently, discourses that treat ancient people as passive are likely to fall short of public expectations. An example of where this disappointment could take place is at the Dartford Museum where the interviewee saw archaeological research as an ineffectual tool to study ancient culture and ethnicity (Interviewee 28).

Furthermore, as research indicates, the Roman period was culturally diverse (e.g. Cascio and Tacoma 2016; Revell 2016; Eckardt 2010a; Hingley 2005). The desire for displays to explore culture encourages engagement with this fact and, therefore, the production of inclusive narratives. As such, museums currently have an opportunity to simultaneously modernise displays and create better appeal for their audience through the same actions.

- **Question 9:** Is it important for the Roman period to be explained in ways that can reflect modern society and debate? (e.g. looking at contemporary topics such as body image through an ancient perspective)[42]

Response Item	No. of respondents	Percentage
NO	50	19.61%
YES	193	75.69%
N/A	12	4.71%
Total	**255**	**100.00%**

Table 29: Answers to Question 9

Three quarters (75.69%) of individuals stated that it is important for Roman displays to reflect modern society and debate through their narratives (Table 29). Alternatively, around a fifth

[42] The example comes from the Timeless Beauty temporary exhibition at the Gallo-Romeins Museum (2016-2017).

(19.61%) of respondents answered that links between the Roman period and the present were not significant. A further 4.71% of the contributors did not provide an answer (Table 29). This outcome supports the view that audiences realise the ability for display narratives to connect past and present events. Significantly, it also indicates a desire for Roman exhibits to draw from the past to discuss modern topics. As such, there is scope for galleries that depict the ancient past to be inclusive and engaged with the representation of minority ethnic groups.

Furthermore, 91 individuals elaborated upon their answers in the associated expansion field (Appendix 11). Figure 22 depicts the most frequently used words and concepts by participants. The central position of 'relatable' denotes to the regular occurrence of the concept in participant replies. This is significant, as an institution's relevancy for its public remains a key component to demonstrate public value and ultimately justifies their existence (Anderson 2006: 3; Weil 2003: 42).

Figure 24: Word cloud from Question 9's expansion space © Author

A range of different qualities that would create relevancy for an institution through connections between the past and present were presented. Respondent 136 for example, expressed that 'a modern audience will be able to empathise' with individuals in the past if narratives reflected modern issues through depictions of history. The concept of empathy has recently become popular within museum studies as an effective approach to teaching history. Educational scientists have coined the phrase, 'historical empathy' to describe a process that teaches the past

through empathetic narratives (Endacott and Brooks 2013: 41). As such, engagement with historical events and individuals becomes achievable through hearts and minds to reconnect a level of emotion to usually disconnected observations of history (Uppin and Timoštšuk 2019: 312). To do so, the past is engaged with, through lived experiences, decisions, and actions that aid engagement with the complexity of earlier societies and re-centres human experience as the lens through which to observe history (Doppen 2000: 160).

Such an approach encourages a more reflexive attitude towards curation processes and shifts narratives from a didactic approach to a more conversational method. This process is, therefore, in line with the modern push for museums to be increasingly interactive and engage with visitors (Falk and Dierking 2013: 110). This style of narration will, therefore, also alter to perceive history through a range of experiences, not necessarily solely focused on a single academic's interpretation of events. Consequently, this process can aid the discussion of inclusive topics through display narratives.

Moreover, respondents expressed how topics that link present concepts with the ancient period increase the relatability felt with exhibit content (e.g. Respondents 22, 23, 99, 114, 124, 126, 135, 142, and 248). Other contributors specifically focused on aspects that increased relevancy and benefits for visitors when links are made to the present (e.g. Respondents 45, 64, 137, and 190). These include a range of positives for institutions and the public such as the emphasis on comparisons (e.g. Respondents 53, 69, 89, 122, 123, and 165). Proclaimed advantages included the ability to make topics more interesting for audiences (e.g. Respondents 177 and 185), produce more comprehensible displays (e.g. Respondents 23, 72, and 132), better illustrate the progression of societies (e.g. Respondents 2, 92, 96, 119, and 127), and to further contextualise the archaeological research that supports display narratives (e.g. Respondent 91).

Participants also included examples of topics that could be discussed in addition to the example of body image included in the question itself. Respondent 9, for example, stated that migrant workers 'are not a new idea' and could be discussed in Roman displays. This reflects Respondent 174's comment that discussed how contemporary narratives do not support the view that minority ethnics are an integrated part of British society with a long history. The topics of invasion and slavery were also suggested to link the Roman past with present issues (Respondent 9). These reflect the suggestions of topics currently in vogue within museological, archaeological, and heritage studies (e.g. Labadi 2018; Levin 2017; Message 2017; Gallas and DeWolf Perry 2015; Araujo 2012; Smith et al. 2011), and also public inquiry.

Furthermore, the suggestions provided by respondents corresponded with subjects that traditionally appear as taboo in Roman depictions thanks to their continued absence. An example

of this is that the term *slave* was not used in the Roman Museum's displays in Canterbury. Instead, the museum used *servant* in its place which holds different connotations and can distort the lived experience of those in the past and individuals who may relate to them in the present (Fichtenau 1991: 370). Elsewhere, there are relatively new institutions and exhibits that focus on slavery. The Museum of London Docklands' permanent *London, Sugar and Slavery* Gallery and the International Slavery Museum in Liverpool are examples of institutions that face the new reality of how these concepts can and should be narrated in public display spaces.

A further suggestion came from Respondent 170 who advocated for the subject of female sexual oppression and other forms of subjugation to be included in modern narratives that dealt with the past. Incidentally, Respondent 170 further indicated that these topics can challenge and promote inclusivity. Additionally, it was further implied by Respondent 81 that wider themes such as gender, race, and sexual identities are themselves 'great ways to engage the public in history and museum displays'. The potential that comes with the inclusion of contemporary concepts was, therefore, seen by many and promoted.

Alternatively, however, many comments displayed apprehension towards the inclusion of modern topics in Roman display narratives. These include the expression of conservative views on the uses of history, manipulations of the past, and comments that stressed the importance of objectivity to remain central to museum displays. The use of contemporary topics within historical narratives was, for example, stated to impose modern morality onto the past (Respondents 131, 168, 173, 182). This was seen to 'reinvent' (Respondent 43), twist (Respondent 118), and underhandedly edit (Respondent 169) the truth. As respondent 244 stated, 'history is history' and its narrative should not be adapted to please individuals who may disagree or dislike the way ancient society lived. It was also pointed out by Respondent 163 that 'it is not the job of museums to engage in promoting politically correct views or engaging in liberal social engineering'.

Again, the phrase politically correct has been used here to confer disagreement and belittlement of institutions that engage with social issues that oppose the ideology of the participant. It is also used to question the integrity of curatorial teams and academics, challenging their ideal take on the past. As already stated, the threat of a *reinvention* of the past, and the negative connotations of this, is most likely associated with the apprehension that it is the participant's interpretation of history that is under threat.

Furthermore, the denial that institutions should engage with societal issues also limits their ability to engage communities and become spaces of care (Morse and Munro 2018: 362-364). Ironically, the suggestion that museums should not 'engage with liberal social engineering'

(Respondent 163) contradicts the foundational roles of history displays that remain to influence museal processes. This statement is yet another reminder that the ideologies already present in the curation processes are so ingrained they have become the norm and seen as neutral.

- **Question 10:** Do you think depictions of history are influenced by modern views?

Response Item	No. of respondents	Percentage
NO	40	15.69%
YES	205	80.39%
N/A	10	3.92%
Total	**255**	**100.00%**

Table 30: Answers to Question 10

Just over 80% of respondents thought depictions of history were influenced by modern views and ideologies (Table 30). A further 15.69% of individuals stated that they did not think history displays were impacted by them, whilst 10 individuals (3.92%) did not answer. The acknowledgement that displays are already political may help overcome initial disapproval of increasingly engaged narratives that are needed to participate with inclusivity. It would also indicate an acknowledgement of this phenomenon, despite repeated inclinations throughout participant comments that indicate how knowledge of ideologies in narratives of the past is limited.

The need for this to occur is demonstrated in the necessity for institutions to make partnerships with communities, and not to represent through stereotypes or archetypes (Coleman 2018: 39). This requires curators to be active in public outreach and acknowledge who they represent and how concepts such as race and ethnicity need to be discussed and why.

In total, 94 individuals elaborated upon their answers for Question 10, all of which are shown in Appendix 12. The most frequently asserted sentiment was that modern influences embedded in historical narratives remain a negative influence. Another popular remark was that this eventuality is unavoidable. Ideological biases in the curatorial process were seen to taint the past (Respondent 124), distance narratives from ‘actual history’ (Respondent 119), and culminate in displays that are not ‘truthful to the past’ (Respondent 132).

Two individuals (Respondents 120 and 138) went as far as to say that history should be discussed in objective terms. The past is constantly in flux due to the many ideological constructs it is contextualised by, however, as observed by participant 138 (Appendix 12). This stems from the process of constructing narratives with signifiers linked to symbols to represent objects and orders in the world (Bal 1991: 37). Therefore, discourse cannot be neutral as the narratological theory of focalisation demonstrates that the use of ideologically informed cultural codes is

always present in narrative formation (Bal 1991: 46-47; Barthes 1974: 98). What many appeared to be concerned with, in fact, was not fundamental bias in our views of the past, but the intentional manipulation of history that is explicitly political and harmful to *their* ideologies.

Respondent 126 for example, argued against historical narratives used to benefit politics. Participant 117 additionally stated that modern influences in the curation process are not always beneficial. This is because modern influence can be used to cherry-pick specific historical facts to support specific points of view to legitimise a range of views. This has been exemplified in Benedict Anderson's conception of how nationalism is fuelled (1983: 19).

To avoid bias, six individuals expressed how history should be viewed through the same ideals shared by those contemporary to the periods that are depicted (Respondents 4, 9, 11, 81, 126, and 134). This was further justified by claims that moral judgements upon the past is either not possible, or inappropriate. As Respondent 11 stated, 'that was then, this is now. You cannot judge the past by today's standards'. Similarly, Respondent 81's comment refers to a perceived issue with the pertinent topic of Cecil Rhodes statue in Oxford, UK, and states that,

> Every period views history through the lens of its own preoccupations and this is unavoidable. The danger of this, if taken to extremes is distortion and anachronism. There are many recent examples of past figures being judged by current ethical standards rather than that of their own time. This has the risk of rewriting history and erasing aspects we do not approve of. An example is the Cecil Rhodes controversy at Oxford. We must always remember that our moral views are just as liable to be superseded as those of our predecessors.
>
> (Respondent 81)

In this example, observing the past through a modern critical lens is linked with the idea that history can be rewritten and erased if it is not approved of. In response to the recent worldwide Black Lives Matter protests, these issues have been thrust into the public consciousness. The removal of the statue of Edward Colston in Bristol by protestors in June 2020 can be directly compared to Respondent 81's comment. The act reflects the removal of other statues such as the Robert Milligan statue outside the Museum of London Dockyards Museum[43] in London, and the rise in critical discourse about which individuals should remain to be memorialised in bronze. Furthermore, it confronts the complicity in the increased glorification of Britain's empire that is tied to contemporary English and populist nationalism (Corbett 2016: 16). Important, is what are people afraid of being erased? Is it the factual history, or the ideologies that traditional discourses of the past support?

---

[43] The statue was not associated with the museum.

With the removal of Edward Colston's statue in Bristol, key members of the UK's Conservative government such as Home Secretary Priti Patel proclaimed the incident as 'utterly disgraceful' (BBC 2020b). Similarly, Prime Minister, Boris Johnson, described the event as a 'criminal act' (BBC 2020b). Two months onward and the British Prime Minister remarked that he thinks 'it's time we stopped our cringing embarrassment about our history' (BBC 2020c). In one sentence Boris Johnson belittled the need for better critical engagement with coloniality and implied that participation in these anti-racist and anti-colonial thoughts are a cause of nationwide humiliation. Furthermore, this statement symbolises the precarious ideological foundation that supports the nationalism, based on an imperial past, needed to legitimise the current use of populism to govern the UK. Therefore, disagreements over identity politics, existent colonialism, racism, their relation to the depiction of history, and how, or whether, to engage with it is currently a prominent and important topic across Britain.

Only two individuals included in Dataset 2, however, indicated a beneficial outcome, albeit cautiously, of the influence modern concerns place on display narratives. Respondent 219, for example, simply stated that the incorporation of modern-day matters is not necessarily 'a bad thing' in depictions of the past (Respondent 219). Contributor 173 also stated that the inclusion of contemporary topics in descriptions of history can provide insight, 'if done carefully' (Respondent 173). Both individuals acknowledge the possible benefits contemporary social stances and ideologies can have when incorporated in the curation of ancient displays. They both, however, remain wary, possibly caused by the knowledge of negative uses of history as indicated by other participants.

7.3 Discussions and conclusions

Responses throughout the questionnaire reveal an audience that is well represented in museums. This may have influenced the general lack of concern expressed with the state of diversity in exhibits, despite a majority opinion that they should. These responses speak to a comfort felt by majority ethnic groups whose identity is consistently represented by exclusive colonial narratives (Vawda 2019: 75-76; Gordon-Walker 2019: 255; Oyedemi 2018: 3). A cause for this consistent representation of white identities lies in the authoritative character of institutions and their production of knowledge based on traditional, colonial hegemonies (Goswami 2018: 2; Gable 2013: 141-143; Hooper-Greenhill 2010: 15; see chapter three).

The continuation of these processes entail influential depictions of the past that fail to illustrate how their knowledge is formed but remain trusted sources by the British public (Tetlie 2018: 170; Falks and Dierking 2013: 300-307; Hooper-Greenhill 1994a: 3, 1992: 145). Subsequently, society

is, increasingly reliant on traditional narratives that do not engage with the reality that they are subjective. At the same time, there is also a lack of discourse found in Roman displays that challenges this Eurocentric and whitewashed narrative. As such, there is a symbiosis between traditional Roman displays and their use to support the identities and heritages of majority ethnic groups. This then turns into a reliance and dependency on such narratives to remain static to continue the expression of the norm that remains complicit in prejudiced interpretations of the past. Increasingly so, this is also depended on by governments that utilise populism and leads to further rhetoric that enables and strengthens its place in contemporary ideology.

Responses to Question 10 indicate, however, that audiences know that political and societal perspectives influence display narratives. Importantly, this was generally expressed by participants as having negative outcomes. This is supported by many respondents who advocated for an exhibition's depiction of the past to be objective. This is personified by the statement that 'history is history' (Respondent 244). Another comment that encapsulates this view stated that it would be wrong to rewrite history to suit the whims of modern morality (Respondents 131, 168, 173, 182). To this effect, the term *politically correct* was used to label this process (Respondents 81 and 216) and implies a want to protect a worldview that has itself, influenced the way the past is shown.

Institutions need to remain relevant to their audiences (Weil 2003: 42). They cannot, however, be relative for all ideologies, specifically in Britain where societal fractures continue to persist and become amplified (Benson and Lewis 2019: 2224; Ford and Goodwin 2017: 17; Cheong et al. 2007: 24-25). History has shown, however, that institutions can reinvent themselves at times of social change. At the end of WWII and disbandment of the empire, museums in Britain had to adapt to a new reality and recognise diversity (Kymlicka 2019: 136; Ashcroft and Bevir 2018: 4-5, 14; Saukkonen 2013: 180). This positive outcome was embraced by contemporary governments and eventually resulted in an increase of diversity in staff at institutions throughout New Labour's push for multiculturalism (Carbone 2017: 2; Colombo 2015: 808; Vasta 2007: 724-725).

Modern society in Britain now faces another challenge to its identity. As illustrated by Giblin et al. (2019: 472), there is a contemporary rise in nationalism that glorifies the UK's imperial past. This has simultaneously occurred alongside an increased awareness that prominent versions of history need to be challenged. The widespread calls for institutions to engage with inclusivity does not, however, reflect the values expressed by the contemporary government of Britain.

In the UK for example, the state has ushered in a period where the population is guided by right-wing populist tactics. These have been epitomized by the continued negativity directed towards immigration to protect traditional narratives of national identity (Bhopal 2018: 74-75) and to

push events such as Brexit (Ding and Hlavac 2017: 428, 432). As will be critically examined in the next two chapters, this has formed a difficult situation for institutions. This is caused by their need to match the ideologies of audiences to their narratives to create relevancy. Contemporary disparities over how Britain's past should be received, however, make this task difficult for modern institutions. This process is also met with caution, as institutions cannot do this without alignment with social stances that forces active engagement with societal and political discussions. Subsequently, they would be thrust into conversations they have long avoided through the smokescreen diversion that they are politically neutral entities (Janes and Sandell 2019b: 8).

Chapter 8: For whom are Roman displays curated?

This chapter begins with a section that provides narratological analysis of the content and narratives at the Yorkshire Museum and Bath's Roman Baths in detail. The core differences that cause the Yorkshire Museum's narratives to be inclusive and explicit of ethnic diversity, and Bath's Roman Baths' display to not be, will be explored. Discussion will then examine key issues that arose from Datasets 1 and 2 and focuses on whom Roman displays are currently curated for and who influences representations in narratives. The main feature of this chapter is the justifications and influences behind decisions that impact what ethnic groups are included in Roman displays. As such, the use of evidence from Dataset 1 is initially relied upon and indicates a correlation between a perceived level of homogeneity of an institution's constituents and who is represented. This leads to discussions of how traditional narratives of Britishness, Englishness, the rural idyll, and other traditional character traits of Britain is worked into museal discourse through ideology. Dataset 2 is also relied upon to demonstrate how this is felt by members of the public, the disenfranchisement it causes, and standardisation of othering that is seen across the sector.

The second half of this chapter disrupts this view, however, and illustrates the positive actions taken by specific institutions, such as the Yorkshire Museum, to implement inclusive action through their curation process. This is supported by instances from other institutions, responses to the public questionnaire, points made by interviewees, and discussions that have recently been held outside of museums that challenge traditional processes. Ideology will be expressed to support a desire for change, but also a desire to stay stagnant, and other contradictory drivers and influences on how ethnic diversity is treated by contemporary British museums.

8.1 Narratological characteristics and differences at the Yorkshire Museum and Bath's Roman Baths

This section will document the content of the displays at the Yorkshire Museum and Bath's Roman Baths in more detail. I shall undertake narratological analysis of their respective displays to further clarify why the Yorkshire Museum has succeeded in the incorporation of diversity into its permanent display in a way that other case studies in this thesis have not. To do so, certain objects will be emphasised alongside the narratives they project, and how they contribute to the wider discourses present in their galleries and institutions will be considered. The Yorkshire

Museum is addressed first and this is then followed by a comparison with Bath's Roman displays to highlight differences and any implications for other display narratives.

As outlined in chapter two, Genette's taxonomy of *order*, *frequency*, *duration*, *mood*, and *voice* (1972: 31) will be used to deconstruct discourses. This section will approach the displays at the Yorkshire Museum and Bath's Roman Baths through these key insights and emphasise ways in which objects are tied to overall discourses that may, or may not, signify inclusivity as inherent to the Roman period. Mieke Bal's approach to focalisation (1991: 46) will also be central to this chapter, as my interpretation of displays will rely on the way in which I understand the exhibit's messages, as well as the way the discourses have been formed and presented.

8.1.1 Objects and narratives at the Yorkshire Museum: Why the Yorkshire Museum's Roman Galleries successfully included ethnic diversity

The Yorkshire Museum has three distinct spaces that deal with the Roman period. The first of these spaces encountered by visitors is the Central Hall. The latter are two separate galleries that house the *Roman York: Meet the People of Empire* permanent exhibit. Each area offers a particular viewpoint of York's Roman past and they join to create a perspective that places the city within the entirety of Rome's territory. First impressions see York presented as part of a large empire, alongside the diversity this brings with it. After this is established, the narrative focuses on ancient York, its inhabitants as a collective and as individuals, and then depicts objects related to daily life and the physical appearance of Eboracum (Roman York). As the Yorkshire Museum has around 500 Roman objects on display (Ottaway 2018: 70), this section will include specific artefacts, texts, and remains that are strategically placed to draw the attention of visitors to aspects of ancient life. Gallery layouts will also be analysed to illustrate the visual cues that influence and focus visitor perception.

8.1.1.1 Central Hall: The introduction of the narrative's mood and voice that focuses perspective

As stated above, the Yorkshire Museum starts its representation of the Roman period from an empire-wide viewpoint. To do so, the visitor's first encounter with Roman archaeology is a life-sized statue of the Roman god Mars (Figure 25). The arm of this statue has since broken off and likely held a spear, but its current state suggests an extended limb that welcomes individuals to the museum (Ottaway 2018: 28). The features of Mars with his Hellenistic helmet, breastplate, tunic, greaves, sword, and shield presents an unmistakably militaristic character. As such, the welcoming posture is overshadowed by a combative quality and instantaneously informs visitors of the display narrative's *mood* that directs the visitor's perspective of Roman York.

The museum's narration of Eboracum and its inhabitants channels the way with which York's ancient past is firstly engaged, through a militaristic perspective. The position and posture of

Mars, therefore, reflects the curatorial team's attention to the *voice* used in their exhibit that denotes the ways in which they are involved with the narration of the past (Pavel 2004: 37). Thus, the visitor's earliest engagement with Roman archaeology at the Yorkshire Museum is channelled through Mars as the protagonist. This influences a narrator-character relationship that slightly distances itself from a traditional didactic approach between curator and audience member, and places the well-known figure of Mars, the God of War, as their initial conduit. Furthermore, as Mars is the first encounter with history at the museum, Roman York becomes immediately placed within a discourse that situates the city as an imperial possession of Rome.

Figure 25: A statue of Mars at the Yorkshire Museum © Author

Directly behind the figure of Mars, placed as if he were guarding it, is a map of the Roman Empire (Figure 25). The positional relevance of this layout puts Eboracum behind Rome's military strength and pantheon of gods. The floorplan symbolically reflects the power balance between Rome and her subjects and symbolises the militaristic means to this end. The positionality of these two media, therefore, contribute to the ways in which the discourse directs focalisation. The frontal placement of Mars before the map continues the perception of Roman York under imperial control.

Further back still, beyond the statue of Mars and the map of the Roman Empire, is an interactive video screen that introduces audiences to some inhabitants of ancient York via reenactors (Figure 8). This projection disrupts the *voice* that narrates Eboracum's past and affects the *mood* and

perspectives used to provide context for the discourse. As such, whilst Mars was seen to be the first protagonist to give voice to York's ancient past, this task is then given over to those who lived there. This video is discussed in terms of its narratological importance in section 5.1.2.1 (pp. 90-100) and emphasises the significance of its introduction of diversity as a key theme through which ancient York's society can be understood. As discussed in chapter five, the range of characters that introduce themselves through the interactive video screen advance the ways in which the museum centres diversity into the *frequency*, *duration*, and *mood* of its overall discourse.

Furthermore, the positioning of the three main features of the Yorkshire Museum's first engagement with the Roman period represents the changing perspectives that will be used to narrativise the era. In effect, the Central Hall's discourse focuses the audience's perception of ancient York to better contextualise ways in which the remaining galleries express, more intimately, Eboracum's populace, their daily lives, and place in Rome's vast empire. To reflect on its narratological construction, the statue of Mars, the map of the Roman Empire, and interactive screen focus visitor perception and introduce the protagonists through which York's ancient history will be expressed. This approach sets up the *mood* and *voices* used to interpret archaeological objects that offer temporal dynamics to the perspectives already identified through their contribution to the *order*, *frequency*, and *duration* in the rest of the museum's Roman exhibits.

8.1.1.2 Meet the People of Empire: Imperial grasp

The narration of Roman York through a military perspective is prominent in the initial half of the Yorkshire Museum's Roman galleries. The use of the colour red in this section and its association with imperial military power (Pennick Morgan 2018: 52; Scully 2012: 14; Gage 1993: 26) has already been discussed in section 5.1.2.1. The red colour scheme, therefore, continues the discourse of ancient York through the gaze of the Roman Empire and is further emphasised by the archaeological objects in the gallery that provide physical evidence to support these viewpoints.

The arrangement of the first half of the Roman gallery, as seen in Figure 9, is formed of a clear walkway through a selection of archaeological objects. A twice life-size carved head, identified in the museum as Constantine I, is one such artefact (Figure 26), which originally would have been attached to a statue body. The size of this object is large and its intricate carving causes it to be visually impactful as an unmistakably imperial image (Russell 2018: 214; Henig 1984: 58). The imperial gaze this bust casts upon the gallery is also magnified by the portraits of the emperors Septimius Severus, Hadrian, and Constantine the Great on the gallery's right wall. The sense of

being watched by ruling elites is unavoidable and continues to place ancient York, and the objects on display, within the context of the Roman Empire. In this space, the *mood* and perspectives used to focus visitors are continued and reinforced by archaeological objects that provide temporal evidence to simultaneously focus audiences and to satisfy their desire to see authentic objects from the past.

Figure 26: Head of Constantine the Great (?) on display at the Yorkshire Museum © Marcus Cyron. License: CC-BY-SA 2.0

The relationship between artefacts and overriding narratives through similarly used visual cues is further reinforced by the display of coins that also depict Roman emperors. The Yorkshire Museum possesses a numismatic collection that covers most Roman coin hoard types in Britain (Drost 2018: 92), and include coins that remind visitors who controlled the empire, and consequently York. The region's ancient period is, therefore, persistently depicted as part of a militaristic, male, and imperial world - something achieved through the way in which archaeological objects have been situated to repeat visual cues connected with the museum's desired perspective on the period. As such, the curators have paid close attention to the *frequency* and *duration* of a discourse that emphasises the involvement of Rome and its emperors in York's ancient past.

Within this section, the display also starts to evidence the mobility of individuals within the Roman Empire - another key theme which is emphasised through archaeological evidence and focused on by overarching narratives. This concept, used to provide a perspective of an Empire

with the movement of people as a core characteristic, is explicitly stated within the Yorkshire Museum's information plaque discussed on p. 96-97. This plaque informs the public that the emperors Hadrian, Severus, and Constantius were from Spain, Libya, and Serbia respectively. Historic evidence is here given to bolster the museum's discourse that uses the mobility of ancient society to partly evidence the diversity of ancient York. The monument to Rufinus (Figure 27), the standard-bearer of the ninth legion, is a six-foot and six-inches high physical artefact that further supports this narrative. The object portrays an individual from the Voltinian tribe, from Vienne, France, who died at 28 years old (RIB 673; Funerary Inscription for Lucius Duccius Rufinus). Although the apparent migration of this individual was only from France to Britain, it nonetheless typifies mobility within the Roman Empire. This object, therefore, offers a physical link between York's ancient past and the perspectives used to focus visitor attention through frequent links to the key themes of mobility and Rome's presence in the region.

Figure 27: Tombstone of Lucius Duccius Rufinus © Yorkshire Museum Trust Licence: CC BY-SA 4.0

The representation of individual mobility within this section of the Yorkshire Museum's Roman displays is kept in a European context. Without an emphasis on movement that transgressed European borders, the Roman period continues to perpetuate a view that only ancient Europeans were advanced enough to be part of a complex and mobile society that often reflect the faces of those in power. This section of the Yorkshire Museum opens this view up, however, by its discussion of individuals from North Africa. The examples that follow evidence ways in which the

objects on display better contextualise the movement of people through the Roman Empire via its representation of individuals from outside of Europe. This is attached through a change in *frequency* and *duration* of time that focuses on European individuals in ancient York and diverts to a more nuanced discussion of mobility that highlights diversity as a key perspective through which to now view the city's ancient population.

An initial example of this is narrated through a panel that announces Septimius Severus' Libyan heritage (pp. 96-97). The example of Severus, in this instance, remains a reflection of the experiences of the ruling elites in the Roman Empire and fails to express the lives of everyday citizens. The cross-provincial movement of middling classes of Roman society such as traders and artisans is touched upon, however, by the display of a Roman Female Head Pot on one of the pedestals in the exhibition (Figure 28). This object demonstrates the movement of individuals and culture from beyond Europe to York, as research has demonstrated that these vessels have a stylistic link to North Africa and were made locally by North Africans in the Severan period (Swan and Monaghan 1993; Swan 1992: 15-22; Braithwaite 1984: 117). This research is highlighted by the Yorkshire Museum and lays the foundation for further examples that evidence diversity in York's ancient period, ranging from the ruling elite to lesser-known individuals.

Figure 28: Roman Head Pot on display at the Yorkshire Museum © York Museums Trust. Licence: CC BY-SA 4.0

The Yorkshire Museum is fortunate to have archaeological material, particularly the Romano-British Head Pots, that demonstrates the presence of different cultures in their ancient past. The existence of North Africans who inhabited ancient York through its archaeological collections

especially provides the Yorkshire Museum with tangible connections to societies outside of Europe. These artefacts are used by the museum to reinforce the overarching discourses that direct the display's perspective on the ancient period that also focus visitor understanding of the diverse characteristic of York's past.

The museum's access to these objects and relevant research permits the museum to engage with the topic of migration and mobility, something rarely discussed in displays, but increasingly more common beyond museums due to public interest and recent political debates about immigration (Polm 2016: 237). The dominant trend within this part of the Yorkshire Museum's displays remains the use of traditional approaches to the period, however, with its focus on an imperial, elite, and European perspective. This is achieved, particularly, through the persistent links the museum's material has with the Roman military and ruling class. The links this gallery's narrative begins to highlight with North Africa, however, introduces the evidence that represents York's long-established links with diversity that is increasingly explicit in the next section of the gallery.

8.1.1.3 Meet the People of Empire: York's diverse population

The next section of the Yorkshire Museum's display (the second half of the first Roman gallery) focuses on the fabric of the vicinity's population rather than the ruling elites. To do so, the archaeological remains in this part of the museum's exhibits focus predominantly on diversity and develop an increasingly nuanced representation of Roman York. As such, the narratological aspects of *frequency* and *duration*, in particular, are directed at the ways in which archaeology provides physical examples to support discourse that portrays Eboracum as diverse.

The first visible change in the gallery's *mood* that symbolises a switch in perspective from militaristic and elite to one that focuses on local inhabitants is the change in the colour scheme. Instead of the imperial red used extensively in the initial part of the gallery, the colour in this second section is provided by the artefacts and display boards in a predominantly white and black space (Figure 9). Visually, this décor draws attention to the objects in cabinets around the edge of the room, and towards the remains of the Ivory Bangle Lady in the central position of the gallery (Figure 9). Through this arrangement, visitors are drawn to the Ivory Bangle Lady; not only are her remains central to this half of the gallery, but the path through the imperial section of the room also leads directly to the display case.

As already described on pages 94-95, the remains of the Ivory Bangle Lady displayed alongside her burial goods provide an important example of a Roman citizen of York, who challenges the traditional concept of who lived in ancient Britain. One of the display boards (Figure 29) depicts a reconstruction of the Ivory Bangle Lady's face that is noticeably different from the usual white depiction more often used to represent members of Roman society, and consequently to link

these individuals with modern forms of Britishness and ultimately, whiteness (Gardner 2017: 7; Polm 2016: 235-236). As such, a discourse that counters such traditional narratives has continued from the interactive video in the museum's Central Hall, through the imperial displays that indicate the movement of individuals from Africa, and is realised by the physical manifestation of the message of the Roman Head Pot: the presence of non-white individuals in Roman York. Gradually, therefore, archaeological objects increasingly provide authenticity to the museum's lens upon the ancient period that views it as ethnically diverse.

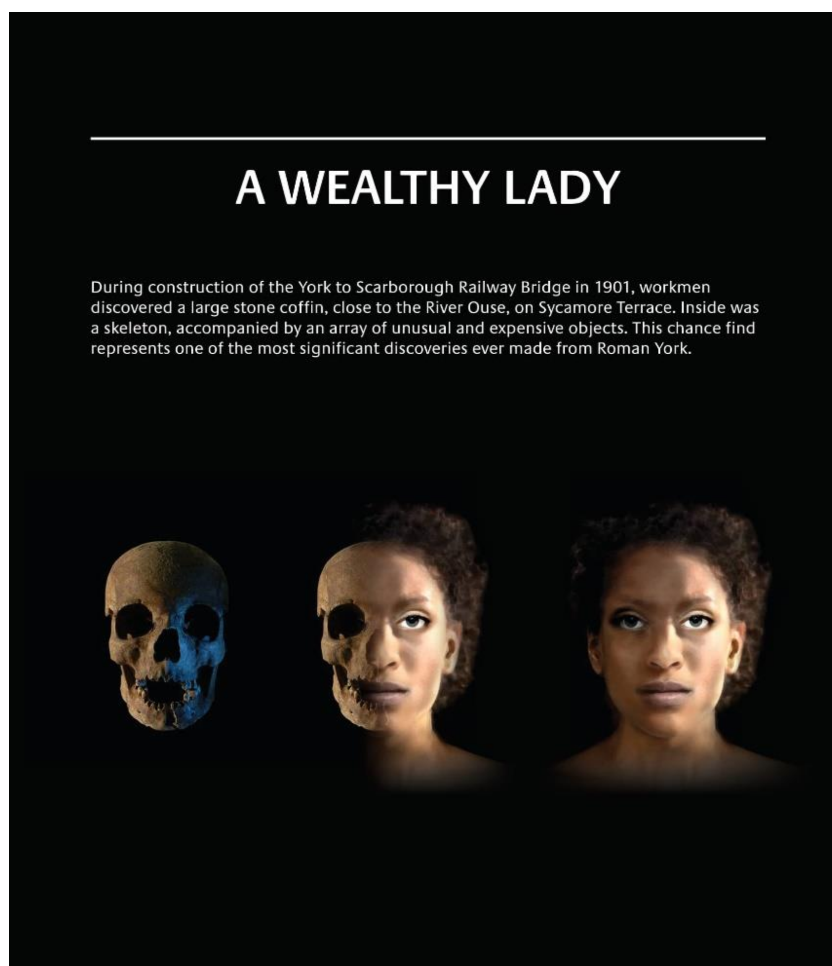

Figure 29: Display board associated with the Ivory Bangle Lady © Yorkshire Museum / York Museums Trust. Image provided by the Yorkshire Museum

The central position of this display case is, accordingly, crucial to the Yorkshire Museum's narrative, as visitors are forced to engage with archaeological evidence that supports a counternarrative to a normally whitewashed British past. This is further supported by a panel of text that further explains who the Ivory Bangle Lady was, and what archaeological and scientific research can tell us from the study of her remains and burial finds:

> Study of the skeleton has revealed that it belonged to a woman. She was 5ft 4ins tall, and was not even twenty when she died. Evidence of a poor immune system and circulation problems may explain her early death.

> Investigation of her facial characteristics suggests that she may have been of mixed North African ancestry. Scientific analysis of residues from her teeth indicates that she grew up somewhere hot and arid. Changes in these residues suggest that she had not lived long in Eboracum before her death.
>
> This woman was laid to rest accompanied by a range of incredible objects. Carved elephant ivory bangles emphasize her African roots, whilst bracelets of jet sourced locally in Whitby indicate her taste for local fashion. Rare glass earrings and a perfume bottle from the Rhineland show her to be extremely wealthy, with cosmopolitan tastes and connections.
>
> Significantly, a bone mount discovered with the burial which reads 'Hail Sister, may you live in God' may mark her out as a Christian, or else a follower of the Egyptian god Serapis, who was also referred to in this way.
>
> How this wealthy woman came to be in Eboracum remains somewhat of a mystery, however the location of her burial – close to the legionary fortress – hints at a military connection. Perhaps she was the daughter of a high ranking military official or wife of an officer posted in Eboracum.
>
> (Copied from a description panel associated with the Ivory Bangle Lady at the Yorkshire Museum)

The description panel is important in the museum's communication of a diverse past. The reciprocal support the object panels provide to the Yorkshire Museum's overarching discourse and archaeological material is central to the institution's ability to successfully focus the viewpoints of audiences and depict ancient York as diverse. This is achieved through the display's focus on the fluidity between cultural styles and objects and the movement of an individual. For example, artefacts the Ivory Bangle Lady was buried with depict the connectivity between different parts of the empire. This is shown in the carved elephant ivory bangles that relate to African origins, jet bracelets from Whitby in the county of East Yorkshire in Britain, glass earrings and a bottle from the Rhineland, and a bone mount that may link the Ivory Bangle Lady to Christianity or the Egyptian god Serapis who almost certainly had a temple dedicated to him at York (Henig 1984: 101).

The Yorkshire Museum has, therefore, successfully created a display using artefacts in their available archaeological stores that acts as a case study to explicitly convey the movement of people and cultures in the Roman Empire, and ways this affected ancient York. We see here the ways in which the Yorkshire Museum's artefacts sustain a conversation of diversity: through the

duration and *frequency* of key themes they contribute to the overall *mood* of the museum's discourse. Simultaneously, visitors experience a narrative that, while it remains within the realm of academic inquiry, has moved from the *voice* of ruling elites to everyday individuals.

It should be noted, however, that such a display is not possible for many institutions for two significant reasons. Firstly, curatorial staff may not have possession of objects and remains that can represent the topic of diversity for their area's ancient past. Examples are found in this thesis' Dataset 1 in which 14 interviewees stated they had a lack of knowledge about their archaeological stores or region, 13 stated they had a lack of archaeological material to discuss ethnicity explicitly, and six indicated that their archival records were incomplete (Figure 21). The Yorkshire Museum is, therefore, fortunate to be in possession of a large and varied archaeological collection that provides an insight into a location once occupied by Romans and used as a provincial capital. In contrast, the collection of Burwell Museum, for example, was stated to predominantly be limited to pottery and creates difficulty in the creation of display narratives (Interviewee 15).

Secondly, the Yorkshire Museum is privileged to be in the possession of archaeological remains that have been researched with modern techniques by the University of Reading's *A Long Way from Home: Diaspora Communities in Roman Britain* project from 2007-2009 (e.g. Chenery et al. 2010; Eckardt 2010b; Leach et al 2010; 2009; Lewis 2010). This *Arts and Humanities Research Council* (AHRC) funded project, directed by Prof. Hella Eckardt, Dr Mary Lewis, and Dr Gundula Müldner aimed to examine Romano-British skeletons to investigate the diversity of ancient urban populations.[44] As part of the AHRC's *Diasporas, Migration and Identity* research programme, the work by the scholars at the University of Reading was, therefore, a resource readily available, without cost, for the Yorkshire Museum. The skulls of ancient individuals situated on the wall behind the Ivory Bangle Lady at the Yorkshire Museum were also researched by this project.

The Yorkshire Museum's use of contemporary research on ways in which their archaeological objects express diversity is not an aspect simply replicable elsewhere. The availability and accessibility of relevant research on archaeological remains that belong to specific museums and heritage sites are not common phenomena. The remains at the Yorkshire Museum, for example, remained unstudied until 2007-2009, even though their significance for showing the presence of 'non-locals' from places like the Middle East and North Africa in Roman Britain was suggested in 1968 after their excavation (Leach et al. 2009: 546; Warwick 1968: 157). The human remains on

[44] The *A Long Way from Home: Diaspora Communities in Roman Britain* project's homepage can be found at https://www.reading.ac.uk/archaeology/research/Projects/arch-HE-Diaspora.aspx [Accessed 01/03/2021].

display at the Yorkshire Museum are, therefore, a good example of the kinds of resources that may be lying dormant in a museum's stores that could directly relate to the expression of diversity.

As well as the inclusion of human remains and their associated burial goods, this section of the museum also uses tombstones as a key source of information. A standout object is the carved gravestone of Julia Velva (Figure 30; RIB 688, Funerary Inscription for Julia Velva), which depicts a reclining woman with three individuals around her. The central figure on the tombstone, presumed to be Julia Velva, has been interpreted as a wealthy individual through their participation in a Roman dining event.

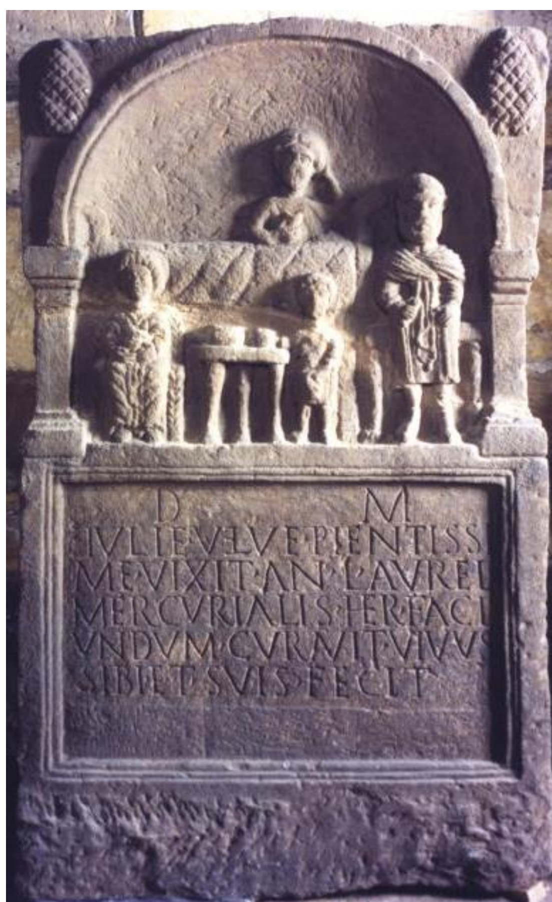

Figure 30: Tombstone of Julia Velva © York Museums Trust. Licence: CC BY-SA 4.0

This scene on Julia Velva's tombstone will be familiar to contemporary museum audiences who have become accustomed to upper-class dining activity depicted on Roman objects such as mosaics, silver plates, and textiles (Hudson 2010: 664). Through these depictions, associations with ancient banquets in ancient Rome have become linked with excess and decadence (Rawson 2007: 15), and the dining scene on Julia Velva's tombstone is instantly recognisable as an image of a high-status individual. The inclusion of this gravestone next to the range of other diverse inhabitants of Eboracum, therefore, provides a more nuanced context for this familiar

representation of the Roman past. Similarly, the Roman displays at the Gallo-Romeins Museum in Tongeren, Belgium, which was also a provincial capital, depict a population that is quintessentially wealthy, homogenous, and Roman (Cooremans 2008: 3). The key difference between the Gallo-Romeins Museum and the Yorkshire Museum's depiction of the Roman past, however, is York's efforts to find and include less visible demographic groups that also populated wealthy capitals. The Yorkshire Museum's narrative and the objects it has used can be seen, therefore, to seamlessly situate aspects of a traditional display within new contexts. As such, conceptualisations of the Roman military and the ruling elite remain familiar to audiences but are placed within a better-informed discourse in relation to representation because of other topics that are repeatedly evidenced alongside it, such as diversity.

8.1.1.4 Daily life in Roman York

The final third of the Yorkshire Museum's depiction of the Roman period continued to use objects commonly seen in Roman displays within a discourse that better represents diversity. This was achieved by a predetermined route through the museum's Roman collections that initially based the period within an empire-wide context. The evidenced and core aspects of the museum's discussion of Roman society, such as the mobility of people and cultures, was central to its inclusive narrative. Importantly, this movement of individuals was not limited to that of emperors and military men, even though this was a key feature. The Ivory Bangle Lady and the possible presence of tradespeople from outside Europe represented through skeletal remains and objects such as the Roman Head Pot, broadened the image of people on the move in this period. This was crucial to the later displays that examined daily life in Roman York that remained traditional in approach. Fundamentally, the material culture included in the latter parts of the Roman displays, such as tools, glass vessels, bowls, jugs, tiles, sarcophagi, busts, and a mosaic, had been positioned within a new context despite their regular use elsewhere in outdated narratives. Within the Yorkshire Museum's discourse, these predominantly mundane objects had become representative of a diverse population, rather than a wealthy white elite.

As such, the objects in the final section of the museum's Roman displays that focus on the daily lives of ancient inhabitants of York provides an intimate look at their beliefs and practices to further describe the diverse population. In this relationship, archaeological objects provide sustenance to the overall narratives that have already been set out. Predominantly, this is accomplished through objects related to burial practices, and reflects York's impressive collection of funerary monuments (Ottaway 2018: 26-27). Standout objects on display include the inscribed stone sarcophagi of Julia Fortunata from Sardinia (Figure 13), a tile cist tomb (Figure 31), and a gypsum cast that has preserved the impression of three individuals including a child. These large items offer a glimpse into the range of burial practices used by York's ancient population, from

traditions that stem from Britain's Iron and Bronze Ages such as the cist burial, and those introduced by way of Roman influence.

Figure 31: Roman tile cist/tomb on display at the Yorkshire Museum. © Carole Raddato Licence: CC BY-SA 2.0

Other stone objects include sculptured masonry that provides evidence for the appearance of ancient York. These items included numerous inscriptions that also illustrate the population's connection with different gods such as Mars and other Roman and non-Roman deities. For example, next to the Roman tile cist is a large dedication stone memorialising Claudius Hieronymianus' benefaction to re-build a Roman temple for the god Serapis (Figure 32; RIB 658. Dedication to Serapis). As with other monumental objects on display in this section, it is used to bring together various strands of narrative that run throughout the Roman display's discourse. In this case, the dedication stone and its information plaque highlight the presence of the military at York through Claudius Hieronymianus' title as a Roman Legate of the 6th Legion. This object also indicates Roman York's African links through the worship of the North African god Serapis (Henig 1984: 101) and associates the actions of Claudius Hieronymianus with Septimius Severus' arrival in York. The interconnectivity between the themes used to discuss archaeological objects is a key feature throughout the Yorkshire Museum's displays. Each object relates to various strands of the overall narrative that span discussions of diversity through migration, religion, identity, empire, and trade. As such, the broader concepts used as a lens to characterise the ancient period, for example, diversity and the military, are persistently reinforced by objects that keep these topics central to York's history. In relation to Genette's narratological taxonomy (1972: 31), this relates to a curation process that centres on the *frequency* and *duration* of these characteristics through the material to foreground Eboracum's multi-ethnic population.

Figure 32: Inscribed object on display at the Yorkshire Museum © York Museums Trust Licence: CC BY-SA 4.0

Smaller objects are also included in the Yorkshire Museum's final gallery that shares insight into the daily life of an ancient population. These include two bronze tablets with Greek punched dot inscriptions dedicated to the 'gods of the governor's residence' and 'Ocean and Tethys'. Another example is the inclusion of the Wold Newton Hoard (Figure 33), one of the many Roman coin hoards found in Yorkshire (Drost 2018: 92). This hoard includes almost 2000 Roman coins and includes dated coins from the reign of at least nine Roman emperors; Claudius II, Diocletian, Maximian, Galerius, Constantius, Severus II, Maximinus, Constantine, and Domitius Domitianus (Proctor 2014). Other hoards on display include the Tadcaster Hoard and arm purse. The four denarii coins in this hoard date to the reigns of Domitian to Commodus (Drost 2018: 93). The inclusion of such coins in the museum's displays not only reflects items regularly used by individuals, but also repeatedly highlights Roman influence on ancient Britain through its economy and depiction of rulers. The receptacles these coins are found in are also used to provide an insight into ancient York. The arm purse that accompanied the Tadcaster hoard, for example, is predominantly found in auxiliary and legionary contexts and almost exclusively a male, military accessory (Worrell 2006: 433). This links to Roman York's garrison, while the Crambeck ware pot in which the Wold Newton hoard was found represents a locally made and commonly used object (Wood 2016: 316-317; Ottaway 2013: 290).

Figure 33: The Wold Newton Hoard. Photograph by Anthony Chappel-Ross © Yorkshire Museums Trust

Other fragments of pottery were also on display in the late Roman gallery exhibits on daily life. These items include bowls, jugs, and amphorae that would have been used both in the home and commercially throughout Roman society. Other small finds are also on display such as glass vessels that represent the lives of different strata of society through everyday objects (Fleming 1999: 13). The Roman displays at York, therefore, include mundane objects used throughout ancient society and combines more prestigious forms of Roman culture such as an ornate mosaic and wall fresco with accessible forms of pottery such as the locally made Crambeck ware (Wood 2016: 316-317; Ottaway 2013: 290). Again, the Roman mosaic and fresco on display associate the Roman galleries with more traditional ideas of the classical world, yet their inclusion is still contextualised within the framework of the diversity of ancient York. This is crucial as objects that are consistently used to portray a traditional and exclusive narrative of the ancient period are instead, at York, understood through the acknowledgement that society was diverse. The curatorial team has, therefore, dedicated much time to the support of the overall perspective with which they want visitors to view the past. This relates to the concepts of *mood*, *frequency*, and *duration* that interlink to focus visitor interpretation.

8.1.2 Yorkshire Museum's overall Roman display narrative

The Yorkshire Museum's Roman displays initially take a broad view of Eboracum's place within the Roman Empire and then narrows to observe individuals. The narratological *order* of the galleries, therefore, allow visitors to first understand the overall *mood* and perspectives used to view the ancient past before they focus on daily life. Discourse is initially situated within the grasp of ruling elites through a military perspective and then opens out to include the ancient population of York in a way that emphasises the region's diverse social character. This section, in

particular, shapes the perception of Roman York as multi-ethnic and multi-racial which continues to be a foundational concept that latter depictions of daily life are based on.

The standout objects used to express and support this narrative are predominantly large or centrally positioned. This means they draw the attention of audiences to the concept of diversity they are used to express. Furthermore, these objects add to the *frequency* and *duration* of the ways in which these core concepts remain present and supported throughout the galleries. Tombstones and human remains are the principal materials used to do this and provide authenticity to York's inclusive displays as they contribute individual case studies to evidence the concepts of migration and movement in the Roman period and make them tangible. In terms of Genette's narratological taxonomy (1972: 31), diversity is made into a frequent concept that once positioned as a core aspect of ancient York, remains present, even when displays fall back into traditional interpretations of material culture. As such, the discourse of ancient individuals' daily lives, as told through mundane objects such as pottery, tools, as well as more elaborate finds like the Roman mosaic, are viewed after diversity has been established as a key characteristic of society. The narratological *order* of the Yorkshire Museum's displays, therefore, aids in the expression of an inclusive interpretation of York's Roman past.

Importantly, the Yorkshire Museum visually represents non-white figures in key parts of its displays. Initially, Septimius Severus is introduced and linked to North Africa and so too is the Roman Head Pot that suggests the presence of North Africans (Swan and Monaghan 1993; Swan 1992: 15-22). The museum's narrative then builds on this through the display of researched human remains that provide individual examples and scientific evidence of Roman York's diverse past. This is also accompanied by the central positioning of a non-white individual as a core part of the city's history and depicts their physical appearance for audiences to see. This, in particular, disturbs traditional narratives of the Roman past that are typically dominated by white faces and reinforces York's inclusive narrative.

8.1.3 A comparable study of narrative construction and objects used at Bath

Analysis in chapter 5 (pp. 100-105) indicated that the discourse expressed by Bath's Roman Baths heritage site did not explicitly discuss ethnic diversity despite the statement by Interviewee 25 in Dataset 1 that it did. It was found that Bath's Roman exhibits did contain a range of innovative research and communicative technologies, however, these were not focused on a discourse that centred on the representation of an ethnically diverse past. It was, nevertheless, indicated that Bath's displays did include cases that depicted different identities from around the Roman Empire, but this was omitted by the heritage site's main discourse in favour of expressing the site's function and use. This section will analyse the ways in which objects that were seen to add

to the *frequency* and *duration* of key concepts such as diversity at the Yorkshire Museum, did not perform the same function at Bath.

8.1.3.1 Archaeological objects displayed at Bath

The permanent Roman displays at Bath contain many items also displayed at the Yorkshire Museum such as tombstones, coins, busts, human remains, and a range of small finds. It is, therefore, essential to examine how and why these objects are narrated differently. As will be discussed, the predominant divergence between these two institutions is the foundational purposes of their exhibits. Fundamentally, the Yorkshire Museum is dedicated to the portrayal of an ancient population through the archaeology of a city and its region, whilst Bath's Roman Baths seek to depict this from the perspective of an individual heritage site. This, effectively, changes the ways in which the past is observed and narrated and, therefore, impacts the overall *mood* of the institution's discourse. The archaeological material that is then viewed through this lens is interpreted differently from that at York and not explicitly linked to a diverse society.

At Bath, the focus is kept firmly on the archaeological remains of the ancient bathing facilities and the Victorian architecture built up around it. For instance, the initial contact visitors have with the Roman period is via a bird's eye view of the ancient bath from a terrace dominated by Victorian architecture and statues (Figure 34). The classically inspired architecture and statues of Roman emperors, deities, and governors of Britain that surround the baths are reflective of antiquarian and colonial discourses that accompanied the rediscovery and study of the Roman world and desire to restore Roman virtues into British society (Savani 2019: 14; Ayres 1997: 84-85). From the start, therefore, visitors are placed within a traditional discourse of the Roman period, as the narrative's *mood* continues to be situated within an antiquated setting.

Figure 34: View of Bath's Roman Baths from the Victorian Terrace © Author

After visitors have walked around the terrace that encircles the bath, they enter a space that more closely resembles modern museum exhibits. Concentration on the remains of the Roman baths continues throughout the site's displays, however, and maintains a discourse focused on built heritage. For example, visitors are immediately faced with two models of Bath's temple and bath complex that is then followed by the remains of a temple pediment dedicated to Sulis Minerva.

Next on the visitor's itinerary, however, is a room specifically focused on the people of Aqua Sulis. It is important to highlight that this room is the only space at the heritage site that is specifically dedicated to Bath's ancient population. Beyond this room, audiences are met with the remnants of another pediment and a circular temple once dedicated to Minerva. Afterwards, visitors are met with more architectural remains, this time of an ancient temple courtyard that is accompanied by the world-famous gilt bronze head of Sulis Minerva (Figure 35). Also included is a Haruspex stone, an engraved dedication monument set up by an ancient priest. Further on, audiences visually encounter the sacred spring and a ground floor view of the baths, changing rooms, saunas, heated rooms, and plunge pools once used by ancient individuals. The *mood* of Bath's discourse is, therefore, overwhelmingly centred on its standing archaeology, and prevents a narrator-character relationship where the story comes from ancient individuals as seen in York.

Instead, the story of Bath's Roman past is channelled through the bathing complex and, therefore, the *voice* of their narrative is dissociated with the area's ancient diversity through its population.

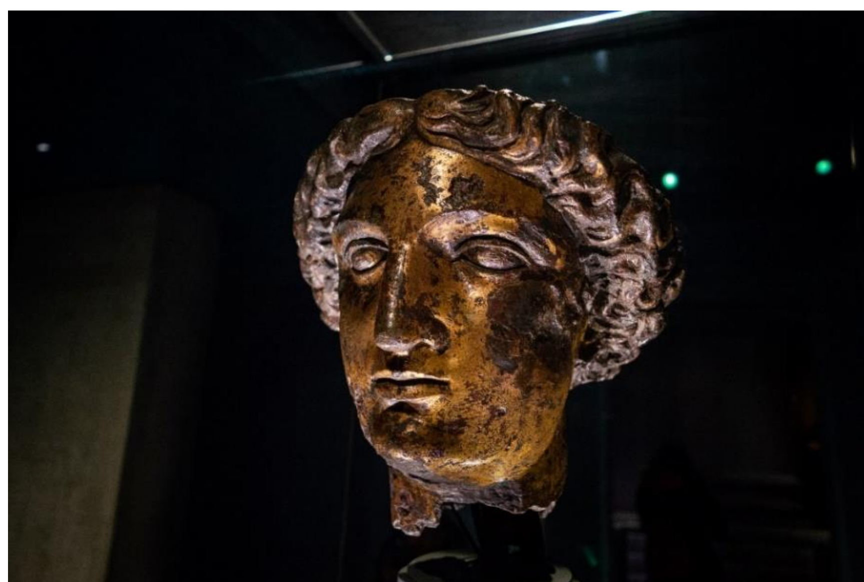

Figure 35: Bronze Head of Sulis Minerva at Bath's Roman Baths © Tristan Surtel. Licence: CC BY-SA 4.0

Objects are also on display in these spaces but remain side-lined both physically and metaphorically. For instance, cases that house objects found in the sacred spring such as curse tablets and a *patera* are not positioned centrally to confront visitors, and they continue to be used to tell the story of the Roman bath, rather than the town's people. If the heritage site were to express ethnic diversity explicitly, each space would need to be connected to diversity in some way; this is not possible within the existent narratives that are focused predominantly on the baths, their functions, use, and remains.

It is important, however, to analyse the space that has been identified by the museum as dedicated to the people of Aqua Sulis (ancient Bath). If this room were to provide visitors with an explicit view of Bath's diverse Roman population, then this could work, as at York, to alter the *mood* of ways in which the rest of the archaeological material is interpreted. Interestingly, there are, in this small room (Figure 36), similar archaeological objects to those found at the Yorkshire Museum. For example, this section of Bath's display contains a tombstone of a Roman soldier, the remains and reconstruction of an ancient individual, a bust of a wealthy woman, and the display of a coin hoard. These objects are also used in narratives that are, in many ways, similar to those in York, just not as central or explicit. This, in essence, is why the discourse at Bath fails to make the concept of diversity a frequently referred to aspect of the Roman period. Furthermore, as this is the only room to explicitly discuss Roman society specifically, the *duration* of this theme is short-lived, meaning it is also only briefly within the visitor's mind.

Figure 36: People of Aqua Sulis exhibit at Bath's Roman Baths © Bath & North East Somerset Council 2021

Within this room is the already discussed tombstone of Julius Vitalis (Figure 14; pp. 101-102). The artefact's display plaque (pp. 101-102) reconfirms what the tombstone's inscription states. Crucially, it highlights that Vitalis is associated with the Belgae tribe who were situated in Southern Britain and Northern France. The description panel then expands to state that Vitalis was one of many skilled craftspeople to travel with the Roman military. This introduces discourses about the movement of people via the Roman military, similar to that presented at York. The use of this tombstone at Bath, however, does not go beyond the initial indication of movement caused by the Roman military. It does not, for example, address issues such as the impact this would have had on local communities, particularly through the migration of people from outside of modern-day Europe. The regular presence of such links would increase the *frequency* with which the concept of diversity would be highlighted in the museum's discourse. Conversely, its absence keeps the theme dormant.

Also, in this room and similarly discussed in chapter 5 (pp. 102-103) are the remains of a man whose information plaque states he came from the region around modern-day Syria, as determined through isotope analysis. Again, the possession of human remains that have been studied is similar to those at the Yorkshire Museum. Both institutions depict, through human remains and scholarly investigation, individuals that were wealthy and travelled far to end up in Britain. Furthermore, reconstructions of their appearances represent non-white faces that are visibly different from those typically used to link ancient Britain with concepts of whiteness, Britishness, and Englishness. As indicated by Interviewee 25 at Bath, however, their reconstruction is also based on a Mediterranean appearance. This means that the face of the Syrian Man is not a strong display of diversity, as he instead conforms to the appearance of a Roman from a society based in the Mediterranean.

The positioning of the display of the Syrian man is also important. Whereas the Ivory Bangle Lady was central to the display space in the Yorkshire Museum and, therefore, to the narrative, the Syrian man is located to the side of the room. In the middle of the room is instead a large bust known as the Flavian Lady (Figure 36). At the centre of this room that focuses on the people of Aqua Sulis is, therefore, a traditional depiction of an elite woman, a group usually represented as white in historical accounts of the past. Although visually impressive, the placement of this bust centres, visually and symbolically, traditional narratives that include whiteness into the room's depiction of the Roman period. This can refer to the idea of *order* within Genette's narratological taxonomy (1972:31) that relates to the ways in which events are arranged within a discourse (Akimoto 2019: 344; Pavel 2004: 37; Genette 1972: 35). As such, the main feature in Bath's discourse on its ancient population is visually and symbolically, an individual linked to traditional and exclusive versions of the past. This could have been altered with the centralisation and expansion of the Syrian man's display case and what his presence may imply for Bath's ancient society and empire-wide mobility. The Flavian Lady could, nonetheless, be a response to gender critiques as expressed by Interviewee 32 of the Museum of London, who identified this as a key concern in their curation process almost 25 years ago. Incidentally, the Yorkshire Museum has achieved, through the display of the Ivory Bangle Lady, a central case study that responded to gender critiques that museums are male-dominated spaces, but also whitewashed and Eurocentric.

As this is the space dedicated to the people of Aqua Sulis there is, therefore, no moment in Bath's narrative that strongly signifies its ancient population as diverse that can then be used to focus visitors on the rest of the heritage site's displays. This is significant as the process of focalisation that is used by audiences to interpret display narratives (Bal 1991: 47) will remain synchronised with dominant traditional discourses of a white Eurocentric Roman history. This is particularly the case as this perspective continues to be unchallenged throughout Bath's exhibits. Other items in Bath's permanent displays such as bathing equipment, the 17,655 coins in the Beau Street Hoard, curse tablets, and deposited objects in the sacred springs are situated in a context that is not explicitly shown as part of a diverse society. As discussed on pages 104-105, later projected CGI reconstructions of daily activity on display at Bath include all-white actors and continue to leave traditional narratives unchallenged. This is also the case for the character construction displays based on citizens of Aqua Sulis that are on display at Bath (Figure 37). Within these insights into the individual lives of ancient people, there is a missed opportunity to refocus traditional viewpoints of Britain's Roman past on diversity as a foundational feature.

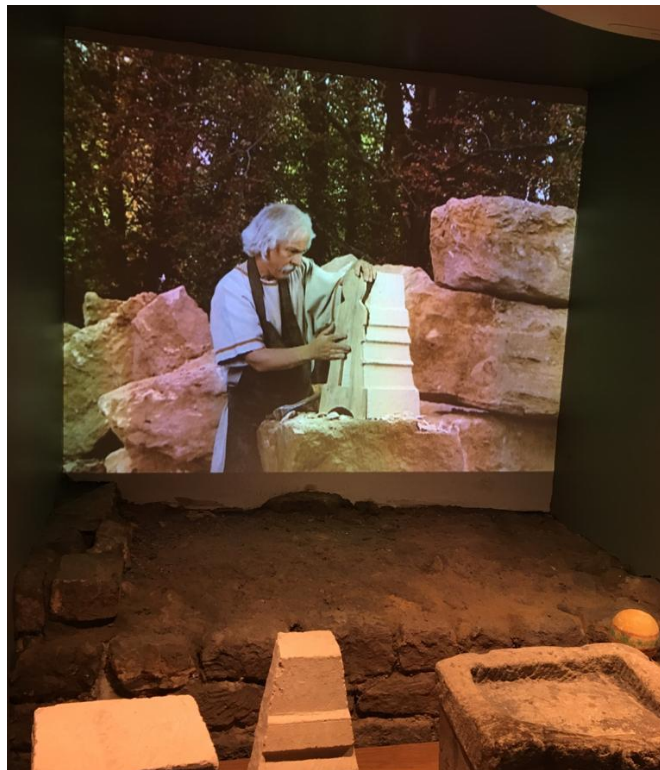

Figure 37: Projection included in a character construction about a craftsman at Bath's Roman Baths © Author

8.1.4 Conclusions: Similar objects, different contexts

The main difference between discourses at the Yorkshire Museum and Bath's Roman Baths is the background narratives that are used to situate and contextualise the archaeological remains and objects on display. Both institutions have a range of archaeology on display with large objects such as tombstones, human remains, and building material central to displays. This is also similar to other Roman displays discussed in this research such as Cirencester's Corinium Museum's possession of multiple tombstones, Canterbury's Roman Museum's display of building material, and Roman skeletal remains at both the Welwyn Roman Bath and Dartford Museum. Material that can provide case studies of ancient migration and movement, as evidenced by the Yorkshire Museum, is, therefore, accessible to institutions that possess these kinds of items. Similarly, smaller objects such as pottery can be used to depict the movement of cultures and craftspeople across the Roman Empire; the Roman Head Pot at the Yorkshire Museum is a great example of this. Material needs to be contextualised within a narrative that uses the concept of diversity and movement of people and cultures as a foundational characteristic of the Roman empire, to be able to contribute to this discourse. Once this has been achieved, the narratological *mood* of a display space will act to focus the audience's interpretation of archaeological material and help them to understand ancient society as diverse. From this, objects that examine aspects of daily life in the ancient past will relate to diverse populations, and not traditional displays of

homogeneity. Each link to society will, therefore, add *frequency* and *duration* as ways in which a multi-ethnic population is related to.

This trajectory of thought is relatable to Mieke Bal's experience in a Czech museum where objects and their positioning offered a certain amount of understanding, but the information panels were what directed the focus of the exhibits (Bal 1996: 148-149). As such, the past indeed speaks through the archaeology on display in Roman exhibits, but the ways in which this discourse is situated is entirely dependent on how the ancient period is initially contextualised. The discussion of small finds and material culture is key, for example, to express the intricacies of daily life, identity, and culture in the ancient period (Spradley 2001: 107, 109), but the people referred to through exhibits depends on how society is broadly portrayed. The final room at the Yorkshire Museum, for instance, appears no different from other traditional displays that examine daily life through artefacts such as pottery and tools. The fact that this display is placed after a gallery that defines Roman society as fluid and multi-ethnic is all too important, however, as daily life is then understood to take place within that framework.

It is crucial for a space to be curated with diversity as its foundation, in order to allow more intricate explanations of aspects of Roman society. It remains true that some institutions have archaeological evidence that has been researched to produce singular case studies that illustrate diversity, whereas others have not. This can, however, be combatted by the large amount of scholarship that places small finds such as brooches (e.g. Swift 2019; van Thienen and Lycke 2017; Mackreth 2011), and jewellery (e.g. Swift 2012; 2008; 2003; Johns 1996), which most museums and heritage sites possess, in wider contexts that evidence the empire-wide movement of peoples and expansion of social, cultural, and trade networks. Furthermore, there is much scholarship on the ways in which religions, beliefs, and cults move and fluctuate across the Roman Empire (e.g. Walsh 2019; Clark 2004; Henig 1984) which can also relate to many of the objects possessed by museums and heritage sites.

A shift in the way the Roman period is initially approached by museums and heritage sites is required for diversity to become a core characteristic in its depiction. After this has been accomplished, traditional displays will be better contextualised within recent and scholarly discourses that portray the ancient period as diverse. In this regard, modern research into the Roman period has already established ancient links to cultural and ethnic fluidity (e.g. Cascio and Tacoma 2016; Revell 2016; Leach et al. 2010; Hartley et al. 2006; Cool 2002: 42; Swan 1992). On reflection, it appears as though the foundational narratives that underpin permanent Roman displays have not engrained this research into their narratives. As such, it may not be the case that British institutions are merely required to overhaul their displays and the objects within

them to bring in notions of diversity and inclusivity. Instead, they need to carefully recontextualise their initial approach to the diverse fabric of ancient societies as a fundamental characteristic. In comparison with modern Britain, it would, for example, be inappropriate to portray a region of the UK as disconnected from a multicultural context; the same can be said for locations within an ancient Britain that was ethnically and culturally diverse.

8.2 Homogenous displays, populations, and messages

Five interviewees, from four institutions, the Burwell Museum and Windmill (Interviewee 15), the Mildenhall Museum (Interviewee 18), The Novium (Interviewee 33), and the Gallo-Romeins Museum (Interviewees 4 and 5), expressed how their Roman history displays were void of discussions that examined ethnic diversity, as it would not resonate with their local communities. This implies that these curatorial teams reflected upon the homogenous character of their local constituents to inform what identities were to be included in their display narratives. This is problematic, as although local communities must be included within display narratives to create relevancy (Mutibwa et al. 2020: 159), the process portrayed is inherently exclusive. Furthermore, the justification for these methods, that ultimately ignore ethnic minority groups, rely on manipulation of the new museological aim to be relevant for society (e.g. Weil 2003: 42; Hooper-Greenhill 1994a: 3). This point leads to pertinent questions central to this chapter that specifically examine who museums consider their target audiences, and how this relates to, or excludes, specific demographics of the population and their constituents.

Each of the four institutions, that the previously mentioned interviewees were associated with, were either classified as local or regional museums. Who they depict as part of their history can, therefore, have a direct impact on the identities and sense of place for local visitors. The connection between a museum's narrative on past identities and its constituents was evidenced by the interviewee at the Burwell Museum and Windmill. It was recounted by Interviewee 15 that the museum's visitors and voluntary workforce is constituted of locals. It was further explained that because of this, locals, therefore, expected the museum to represent themselves. As such, Burwell's middle- to late-aged, white demographic was expressed to prevent a divergent discussion about identity in the Roman period without support from archaeology.

Although the example from Burwell demonstrates the ability of a museum or heritage site's local audience to control museal discourse, this phenomenon can also solidify a population's reliance on certain narratives. As argued by Carol Duncan, museums 'control the representation of a community' (1995: 8) through their conceptualisation of who the legitimate characters in a place's identity and heritage are. Curatorial teams, therefore, possess the power to moderate the

significance of specific demographics in society and influence perceptions of their position in society. The example of Burwell has aided white identity, for example, to be a central aspect of the area's heritage and those with which it connects.

This point is perhaps more significant to ethnic minority groups that are local to these museums, rather than white locals or visitors, as their identities remain void from their region's cultural past. The narrative at Burwell, and those from other museums that reflect similar practices, therefore, reinforce the alienation and marginalisation of minority demographics within their communities. This also affects members of these minority ethnic groups country-wide too, as they increasingly find themselves estranged from the totality of their nation's heritage. This occurs as each localised narrative, that is exclusive, contributes to the piecemeal portrayal of Britain's cultural heritage and modern identity that restricts their inclusion to the peripheries of society.

Depictions of the Roman period can play an important role in this process as they possess a powerful significance in these exclusionary practices as a culturally important period in Britain's history. The fetishization of the links between certain locations and the Roman period, in particular, places great emphasis on who these discourses place as integral to their heritage, and who remain disregarded. The Novium, located in Chichester, UK, and the Gallo-Romeins Museum, located in Tongeren, Belgium, for example, are both situated in towns with strong heritage links to their ancient pasts. This point was particularly personified by Interviewees 4 and 5 who emphasised that Tongeren, as a town, relates to the ancient period through its heritage. Furthermore, Interviewee 3 used the Gallo-Romeins Museum in Tongeren as a reference point for the Thermenmuseum's future plans to similarly establish their museum as a beacon for the town. Consequently, the Roman period that is central to both of these museums, despite the time elapsed since then, can be seen to act as a significant tool to define a location's identity.

In reflection of this, it may be very noticeable to a person of colour in Chichester, for example, if the town's Roman Week festivities celebrate a heritage that fails to include their ethnicity. As Interviewee 33 from the Chichester's history museum, The Novium, stated, their Roman displays did not include discussions of ethnicity, and this was partly due to the lack of research on this topic. The lack of diversity inherent in the museum's displays, however, is highly likely to affect the ways in which Roman history is taught, expressed, and experienced in the town's Roman Week Festival. Through this process, questions may arise from excluded groups of why they are not seen as integral to an important part of its past. Conversely, it may empower majority groups that are included, and create a sense of entitlement towards their right to be central in a region's

history and culture while others are not.[45] Certainly, a town's Roman Week could also act as a powerful spectacle to showcase how diversity is ingrained into a town's character.

Even if the Roman period is not centralised in a town or region's heritage, however, it can still become an important component to showcase historic significance for chosen narratives. To return to Burwell again, the Roman period is noticeably positioned within an ideological past used to represent a specific location and group of individuals. In this case, the Roman period has been used to fit and support an identity that represents what Interviewee 15 from Burwell claimed to be a homogeneous population.

To do so, Burwell Museum exhibited a strong focus on rural activities that occurred in its village's past. As a result of its homogenous population, a bespoke heritage had been curated that is akin to traditional narratives in that it excludes diversity. It is, however, difficult to identify the dominant influence behind this decision. It may be due to an outmoded discourse that has been curated as a sole reaction to its expected audience. This also fits the statement made by Interviewees 36 and 37 from the Museum of London, that their diverse public informs a need to depict histories that are inclusive of a likewise multicultural and multiracial population. Alternatively, the Roman period could have been curated in compliance with traditional practices that routinely avoid engagement with lived experiences and diversity. Either way, Burwell's curatorial team's choice to do this demonstrates a reliance on a discourse intricately linked to the rural idyll archetype, that is strongly associated with the concept of Englishness (Carter and Robertson 2016: 214). This may link to the previous point that Burwell's volunteers and its homogenous population are central to the museum's narrative.

Burwell's display, in particular, manages to link itself to the rural idyll that is caused by the incorporation of the Roman past into a romanticised view of the English countryside and the peaceful, yet bountiful, activities that have shaped it. These qualities act as a conduit through which a historic, romantic identity for Burwell's past has been imagined. Incidentally, this interpretation of history has been curated for a perceived visitorship that is 'stereotypically English' as outlined by the need to curate for a typically white middle-to-old aged audience. To do so, it has been constructed through ideologically informed museal practices that normalise exclusive histories.

---

[45] Chichester's Roman Week celebrations were not observed in this research but could be used in a wider study to examine how minority ethnic groups are involved in the celebration of a town's heritage. Such a study would be able to observe how a town's identity is reflected through a period of history routinely told through an imperial discourse, and how it associates with modern audiences.

Through these narratives, national identities are shaped by unified tropes of Englishness that enforce a shared interpretation of heritages and pasts (Smith 1999: 49). As such, a discourse has been curated to reflect the associated heritage and history of a homogenous and tradition population that forces excluded minority ethnic groups to the periphery of society (Guibernau 1996: 47; Verdery 1996: 227). Through this process, displays maintain their relevance, but this is partly due to the associated narrative's pertinence for white audiences. This situation is also likely seen with other display narratives included in this research, that do not include discussions of ethnicity or diversity. Such exhibits remain relevant, but mainly thanks to their reliance on and depiction of a whitewashed history for homogenous audiences. Furthermore, the dependence this creates on maintaining a status quo may inform the uneasiness that surrounds the curation of inclusive narratives, as evidenced by the reluctance for curators to offend visitors (e.g. Interviewees 27, 29, and 31) and the public's negative reactions to narratives that challenge traditional discourses (e.g. Respondents 43, 118, 131, 163, 168, 169, 173, and 182).

Alternatively, other permanent Roman displays included in this research use militaristic characteristics to embody national identity and superiority. This is not only a feature in Britain, however, as individualised accounts of past wars and conquests are widely used to inspire pride and a sense of belonging across the cultural West. As argued by Burak Kadercan, the rise of nationalism, which underpins tropes that inform identities, is closely related to cross-country military competition and international relations across Europe (2012: 422). This is particularly noticeable with the curated image of the "plucky Brit" who embodies determination and the courage of the UK and its inhabitants (Capstick and Clegg 2013: 250-251). This has been done through continuous use of historic parallels to inform a sense of self and strength in response to new and unknown situations (van der Vlies 2016: 302; Young and Leinhardt 1998: 155-156). British examples include analogies of stubbornness in the face of invincible enemies such as those faced in World War One, World War Two, the Napoleonic Wars, and English opposition of the Spanish Armada (van der Vlies 2016: 300-301).

This narrative is also emphasised through accounts of Boudicca's revolt in the face of the similarly unassailable Roman invasion of Britain (Goldhill 2011: 158). Although Colchester Castle Museum critically engages with the motives and actions taken by Boudicca (Interviewee 26), it builds upon a well-known story based on a national hero whose ancient affiliation, the Iceni tribe, was geographically located near Colchester. Similarly, romanticised observations of confrontations with invincible foes are hinted at in the Museum of London's mural of an ancient battle, and Dover Museum's model of Emperor Claudius entering Britain atop an elephant. In both instances, uncontextualised depictions of Roman military strength depicts a formidable enemy and relates to traditional narratives of brave Britons. A similar example was also demonstrated in the

Netherlands by Interviewee 2 from the Valkhof in Nijmegen. They stated how a past exhibition on the ancient Batavians was specifically chosen as an attempt to resonate with a story traditionally used to support and inspire regional and national identity. As such, some common traits and topics permeate across depictions of the Roman past, that correlate narratives with national tropes and characteristics that appeal to majority homogenous crowds.

Furthermore, interviewees at Mildenhall Museum (Interviewee 18) and The Novium (Interviewee 33) likewise used the homogenous characteristics of their local population to justify the lack of diversity in their display narratives. Like Burwell, their populations consist of a predominantly white and middle-to-old aged demographic that has been relied upon to inform topics and identities discussed by display narratives (ONS 2011d; ONS 2011c; ONS 2011f; ONS 2011g). As curation continues to focus on majority groups, people that identify as a minority ethnic is ignored. This will affect people from underrepresented groups that visit these institutions from different towns, but stress is again placed on its effects on those that are local.[46]

Dataset 2 provided limited, but crucial, insight into the thoughts and experiences of minority ethnic groups about this type of exclusion. Respondent 170 for example, encapsulated a negative attitude directed at traditional displays based upon their continued exclusion of minority groups (Appendices 11 and 12). Respondent 170's statement reflects a view of dissent in which an individual wanted to remain 'excluded' from museal discourse as their inability to be representative has caused a desire to stay distanced from their archaic characteristic. Lola Young discusses this reaction and associates it with the desire not to be part of the narrative that centres on inequality and exclusivity, to begin with (Young 2002: 204). This view demonstrates the disenfranchisement caused by exclusivity from not only the inaction from museums in the adaptation of new realities but also their continuance to curate exclusive spaces. Respondent 174 in answer to Question 5 for example, provided further contextualisation as to why this marginalization occurs. They explain that by not recognising minority ethnic groups in a nation's history, displays diminish their contribution to contemporary society (Respondent 174).

As calls are made for museums and their spaces to be revolutionised, the question remains as to whether displays can become inclusive. Is this possible, for example, if museums continue to hold the same key functions that have traditionally grounded their existence? For instance, it may not be possible for a Roman display to embrace inclusivity while it continuously acts as a vehicle to narrate specific versions of the past to represent the nation and traditionally white audiences.

---

[46] The Office for National Statistics records that 2.6% of Burwell (ONS 2011b), 9.5% of Mildenhall (ONS 2011d), and 3.1% of Chichester's (ONS 2011f) local populations respectively do not define themselves as White British.

This relates to traditional processes to curate snapshots of the past that are inevitably affected by ideologies (Bal 1991: 46). Dangerously, if British museums remain stagnant, they will increasingly fail to fulfil even their traditional purpose of defining the nation (Vawda 2019: 75-76; Gordon-Walker 2019: 255; Oyedemi 2018: 3; Bennett 1995: 62; Appadurai and Breckenridge 1992: 38; Hooper-Greenhill 1992: 145). This is because they will become estranged from society and define national character through imperial pasts, that harkens to and memorialises histories that need to be challenged. At this point, museums may begin to resemble monuments to past narratives rather than active entities that represent an increasingly diverse visitorship and population.

8.2.1 Othering and visual representation

The experiences alluded to by Respondents 170 and 174 are connected to the act of othering which museums engage with when traditional processes remain unchallenged. The act of being othered occurs when individuals, cultures, and communities are categorised outside of imagined social boundaries of the majority communities that traditionally retain power and the status quo (Dixon 2016: 1**;** Ajzenstadt and Shapira 2012: 686-687). Furthermore, Edward Said described the process of othering as defining an individual or group per the perceived superior European experience (1978: 1). In Britain, this extends to the implementation of Britishness and Englishness to uphold values and define who is part of that culture. Museums engage in this through their failure to enact widespread fundamental change to discourse creation and representation, despite exceptions to the rule such as the Roman galleries at the Yorkshire Museum.

Other institutions are also seen to endorse outmoded and exclusive values to support and protect the traditional ideals of Britishness. Schools in the UK for example currently install 'British values' into their pedagogy to shape and police identities of young children through education (Bhopal 2018: 70-71; Asari et al. 2008: 14). This is a very important point as 45% of interviewees from British museums and heritage sites emphasised the importance for displays to correspond to the British national curriculum, its topics, and approaches to the teaching of the Roman period.

The definition given by the UK's Department for Education outlines British values as 'democracy, the rule of law, individual liberty and mutual respect and tolerance of those with different faiths and beliefs' (Department for Education 2014b: 5). As vague as this description may be, its implementation is also supported by the Prevent Duty Guidance, put into effect in 2015, that places teachers with a responsibility to prevent and alert authorities of children exposed to extremism and radicalisation (Department for Education 2015c: 7). As Kalwant Bhopal argues, the combination of British values taught in schools and the Prevent Duty places race and identity within a narrative 'associated with terrorism, fear and othering' (2018: 74). This discourse drives

current forms of British ideology of cultural and self-definition. It also sees parallels between institutions that primarily possess educational functions and their treatment of diversity such as museums and heritage sites.

Similar to teachers in schools, curators depict histories based on their impression of whom they curate for, and the cultural values that are promoted and disregarded in line with their chosen narratives. As such, othered communities that do not correlate with the majority norm see their voices and perspectives devalued in display spaces as they do not fit mainstream and traditional discourse. This causes exclusion from community identities and versions of the past as their identities become and remain marginalised. Consequently, their self-perception, alongside their reception by others within their communities, is challenged by their position within narratives in both schools and museums designed to represent the history and heritage of their society.

As such, ideologically informed perspectives dictate how different demographics are portrayed and interpreted in depictions of the Roman era. In exhibits, curators need to realise how underrepresented groups, if included, are visualised. In the Museum of London's permanent Roman exhibition, there is, for example, a mural that depicts a military scene between Romans and native Britons (Figure 38). In this image, two black soldiers can be seen amongst the Roman army, one of whom is atop an elephant. The individuals were brought to my attention by Interviewee 32 to emphasise the visual inclusion of two people of colour; this was however after they stated in their interview that ethnic diversity was not included in the display's narrative.

The position of the black soldier upon a war elephant may be considered one of power in the eyes of visitors. Elephants had significant imperial meaning and held politically symbolic value in the Roman period (Futrell 2006: 7). However, the position of the Black individual on top of the elephant can also perpetuate the continued and, perhaps, expected association between ancient and contemporary Black populations with Africa. In this case, it is caused by cliched thoughts of where the elephant is from. If the inclusion of a person of colour in this mural was to express a multiplicity of ancient populations, however, then this remains uncontextualized and is not an explicit portrayal of diversity. As museums and heritage sites do not presently operate through a complete set of inclusive processes, visitors are unlikely to interpret this image as a representation of inclusivity. This stems from an audience's use of already attained ideologies to aid their interpretation processes (Bal 1991: 46; Barthes 1974: 98). In Britain, this is likely to relate to ideas of Englishness and whiteness which support contemporary depictions of the Roman period that uncontextualized displays fail to challenge.

Figure 38: Depiction of the invading Roman army at the Museum of London © Author

A similar example is seen at the Dover Museum where visitors are met by a model of Claudius entering Britain, also sat upon an elephant (Figure 39). This model includes two black individuals in total; however, both are elephant handlers rather than riders. When questioned, Interviewee 29 from the Dover Museum stated that common-sense leads to the view that non-white individuals would be those that care for the elephants. This was emphasised by the previously mentioned idea of the geographic origin of elephants.

Figure 39: Model display of Claudius entering Kent at the Dover Museum © Author

The lack of research here is problematic factually, just as much as it is ethically. The Romans did not see elephants as effective weapons due to their unreliability upon that battlefield and lack of

control (Prothero and Schoch 2002: 180). They did, however, use them for entertainment in the arenas, in victory parades, as a sport to be hunted, and even in public executions to crush Roman deserters (Futrell 2006: 8). These activities were common enough that by the third and fourth centuries AD, North African elephants were reported to be extinct north of the Sahara (Hughes 2014: 103; Prothero and Schoch 2002: 181). Furthermore, it is not certain that Claudius entered Britain and campaigned against its native inhabitants with war elephants in tow. It has been noted for example, that Suetonius' account of Claudius' time in Britain makes no mention of elephants or bloodshed (Henshall 2008: 41). Additionally, as elephant populations continued to decline in North Africa, their rarity may have ultimately prevented Claudius' inclusion of African elephants in his army. Not only does the Dover display lack research, it stereotypically assumes the presence of Africans in this scene, due to the presence of an exotic animal.

To routinely perceive certain demographics in similar situations associates groups of people with specific tasks, jobs, and connotations. The visual representation of black individuals in the instances just elaborated on from the Museum of London and Dover Museum reinforce a narrative of minority ethnic groups in the Roman period as foreign and exotic. In these examples, people of colour have been recognised and included to an extent, but not as fully integrated individuals in the Roman military and, by extension, society. This is further problematised by the popularity of homogenous Roman military displays in contemporary museums; the Roman army, of course, a topic that can be used as a conduit to discuss diversity as depicted in the 1993-1994 *Peopling of London* exhibit at the Museum of London. In line with Edward Said's concept of orientalism (1978: 42), both examples, from the Museum of London and the Dover Museum, represent a practice that locates non-white individuals in a discourse where they possess common characteristics that distance them from others.

As such, representations of history that depict all, or the core, of ancient society as white have subverted the reality that populations in the Roman period were diverse. Instead, they have focused on the homogenous appearance of legal, military, and economic institutions that, although many associated individuals would have been white, obscures the multiracial and multi-ethnic characteristic of past societies (Clarke 2003: 274). This observation is traditionally supported by exhibitions in which cultural differences are not emphasised. An example explored by this thesis is the Roman Museum in Canterbury, described by Interviewee 11 as not addressing the make-up of the city's ancient population, and described by Interviewee 38 as a museum in which objects remain uncontextualized. As a consequence of such displays and the authority museums still possess, a complex situation has developed where some audiences equate traditional, uncontextualized, and anodyne narratives with fact.

This has led to a distrust of Roman exhibits that depict an ancient society as heterogeneous, even if it is based on modern research. This occurrence has been evidenced through comments made by the public in Dataset 2 that perceive the inclusion of modern concepts and diversity in displays as pandering to liberal philosophies and political correctness (e.g. Respondents 43, 118, 131, 163, 168, 169, 173, and 182). These reactions can be argued to stem from white fragility (DiAngelo 2011: 58) and white normativity where majority ethnic groups get viewed as the 'typical' population demographic over diversified ones (Morris 2016: 952). The visual aspect of this was, however, observed by several respondents in Dataset 2. For example, Respondents 185 and 248 from the Yorkshire Museum stated that images associated with the Roman period at the institution were predominantly of white individuals. This feature may have been increasingly recognisable due to the Yorkshire Museum's inclusive Roman exhibit that focuses on the Ivory Bangle Lady (Leach et al. 2010). It may also be the case that audiences at York, and others in institutions that are situated in visibly diverse areas, are more likely to be perceptive of, and concerned with, homogenous displays.

This view is emphasised by this thesis' data. Interviewees 36 and 37, both professionals associated with the Museum of London, stated that contemporary displays need to recognise the diversity in their local populations. They stated that it would be 'odd' if future exhibits at the institution did not acknowledge the diversity of London and, therefore, include this as a feature in their narratives. This is, of course, hypocritical as the Museum of London's Roman galleries do not engage with ethnic diversity, even though the 1993-1994 *Peopling of London* exhibit had already done this. It may suggest, despite these claims and imminent move to another site, that Roman displays at the institution will remain static for some time.

The statement made by the staff at the Museum of London remains true, however, as there is an established need, encouraged by the new museological movement that museums must represent their local audience (Anderson 2006: 3). The importance of this duty has also been emphasised through its ability to challenge prejudicial views that have increased alongside the popularity of far-right politics (Ng et al. 2017: 142). Furthermore, the diversity inherent in modern audiences highlights the significance of museum spaces to become inclusive contact zones (Srinivasan et al. 210: 737-738).

In reaction to this, numerous interviewees indicated a want to curate increasingly inclusive narratives to represent the diverse nature of their local populations and visitors (e.g. Interviewees 19, 20, 21, 24, and 30). Consequently, this thesis has found a desire for more ethnically representative displays. It has also, however, identified issues reported by curatorial teams as hindering this kind of progression (Figure 21). These hindrances may have slowed down

the eventual progression towards curation of museum exhibits through inclusive practices and narratives. Inclusive changes to institutional displays must become integral to narratives. The Museum of London's *Roman Dead* exhibit represents a diverse ancient population but contrasts, for example, with the homogenous permanent Roman Gallery that remains central to discourses in its main museum.

Furthermore, objects that can be used to explore difficult histories need to be fully engaged with. Interviewee 26 at Colchester Castle Museum highlighted this point with a case that housed Roman period slave chains in their permanent gallery. It was emphasised that the slave chains could act as a conduit to discuss non-elite Roman individuals, but the curation of such connections are too often left uncontextualized (Interviewee 26). Opportunities to curate ethnically diverse and inclusive displays can, therefore, be lost. This is also likely to be due to a lack of critical engagement with objects that could be used to introduce nuanced discussions of representation. This may be further caused by the lack of diversity and lived experiences present in contemporary museum staff, that limits the worldviews used to curate display spaces (Sandell 2000: 214).

It is important to also note that even if attempts to be inclusive may fail or be too minimal, they remain to signify some form of progression. Through these slight changes, there is a power that comes from marginality seen in discourses expressed by museums. This stems from the increased presence of ethnic diversity for example, or objects that support it, that may envision the start of a negotiation of hybridity to overcome the traditional and outdated narratives (Bhabha 1994: 326). The question is, however, whether the minority ethnic groups that experience marginalisation in museums spaces feel empowered by it or remain disenfranchised.

These approaches require the inclusion of ethnic diversity within their display spaces. It is, therefore, crucial that this thesis found how 18 out of 40 interviewees associated with museums in Dataset 1 thought their related Roman displays were void of the concept. As such, whilst many misrepresentations of minority ethnic groups may occur in displays that do discuss diversity, the issue may go beyond the act of othering. To be 'othered' requires some form of representation, the complete lack of it suggests a much deeper issue. As discussed by Sophia Labadi (2018: 38) drawing upon the work of Charles Taylor (1992: 25), non-recognition can be a form of oppression that reduces minority ethnic groups to a lesser existence in which acknowledgement, as a human need, is disregarded. As Labadi then indicates, this can contribute not only to discrimination by others but also to low self-esteem and self-exclusion from society by those not recognised by it (2018: 38). This may indicate that the desire to be excluded from displays, as depicted by Respondent 170, is far more common than expressed through this thesis' datasets. This raises

questions of how a museum may reconnect with disenfranchised individuals and groups. It also indicates a need for curators to be more active in communities as engagement with underrepresented groups is unlikely to occur within display spaces that espouse exclusive narratives and are, therefore, avoided.

8.3 Responses to populations that resulted in the inclusion of ethnic diversity

Contrarily to this thesis' result that acknowledges not enough has been done to embrace inclusivity, it also found that some curators wanted to construct inclusive narratives to better represent their local constituencies. The two interviewees from the Museum of London alluded to the view that a highly diverse society encourages institutional narratives to reflect this characteristic (Interviewees 36 and 37). It was not explored as to whether this aim for diverse displays was specifically due to London's multi-ethnic locality, but this already been argued to be a likely factor for the Museum of London (Polm 2016: 237).

This viewpoint questions whether there is larger pressure for institutions in known multi-ethnic areas such as London, Manchester, York, and Birmingham to address inclusivity, than in more homogenous communities. Certainly, the interviewees from the Museum of London recognised their role to curate displays representative of their multiracial and multicultural society. The interviewee from the Yorkshire Museum also emphasised a need to reach out into the community to make their displays relatable for their local audiences (Interviewee 35). As defined by Viv Golding and Jen Walklate in *Museums and Communities* (2019: 7), communities are 'internally heterogeneous, potentially intersectional, and exclusionary on some axis, but held together by the communication of some commonality'. Consequently, large populations are complex entities in which museums become lynchpins that narrate the elements that bring together their constituent members.

Outside of obviously diverse populations, this research has found an increased interest from museums to also construct inclusive narratives. Interviewees from local museums such as Maidstone Museum (Interviewee 21), Sittingbourne Heritage Museum (Interviewees 19 and 20), and the Seaside Museum (Interviewee 30) acknowledged a need for their exhibits to connect with minority groups in their society. As super-diversity becomes an increasingly ingrained characteristic of British society (Musolff 2019: 257-258; Vertovec 2019: 126; 2007: 1049), traditionally homogenous locations will inevitably become more heterogeneous. Subsequently, to balance the politics of representation for groups in society is not only farsighted, but it also situates museums as places of social justice and forces for good (Ünsal 2019: 606). The latter

point is certainly relevant as communities become more apt to decode their social situation and possess higher degrees of critical consciousness (Freire 1974: 14).

In line with this social trend, this thesis found that 70% of the public that took part in this research agreed that it was a duty for museums to be representative (Table 14). Therefore, the call for inclusive narratives has also been received from the majority of the mainly homogenous audiences that already visit displays. It is, therefore, short-sighted for curators to assume that representation is only a concern for diverse and underrepresented communities, as implied by Interviewee 15 from Burwell Museum. This interest is likely linked to Giblin et al.'s reflection on a British public that partly wants to challenge outmoded imperial narratives (2019: 471-472) that have increasingly developed alongside the adoption of critical consciousness.

For example, post-war Britain saw an increase in awareness of race and the UK's relation with it (Rich 1990: 175). A similar trend followed throughout the 1960s, alongside feminist movements that shone a light on societal structures. This increased critical reflection on intersectional inequalities that includes disparities and oppressive attitudes based on different aspects of identities such as race, gender, ethnicity, sex, and class (Pearson 2013: 47). Subsequently, progress has continuously been earmarked and present in pockets of society, but this has not yet been reflected by integral and permanent changes in British museums and Roman displays. The age of displays cannot also be used as an excuse here, as many displays were constructed alongside the questioning of important social issues that were not incorporated into displays. The displays at Fishbourne Roman Palace, for example, were stated to have remained static for around 50 years (Interviewee 23); nonetheless, they do not incorporate themes seen in the late-1960s onwards from feminist, anti-racism, and anti-discrimination movements (Thomlinson 2016: 10, 21).

Contemporary events such as the Black Lives Matter movement have, again, reignited a heightened public interest, concern, and awareness in issues of social disparity. This reaffirmed momentum has serious implications for display narratives that continue to be split, like the British public (Giblin et al. 2019: 471-472), between the glorification of the past and the challenge of it. This need not imply that the Roman period can only be exalted within exclusive narratives, as the veneration of the era may be inclusive of its diverse attributes too. It will, therefore, be of interest to see if the desire to better engage with social matters in exhibit narratives is met alongside this contemporary rise in public critical consciousness, or if it remains side-lined as seen in the past 50 years.

If institutions consider themselves to be societal goods, however, as implied by their educative function, then to depict the value of diversity recognises their interdependency of community

members (Townley et al 2010: 71). This would also acknowledge their support of more humanized conceptions of othered communities (Dutta 2016: 477). As such, to value and express inclusive narratives has many benefits, no matter the ethnic makeup of the audience, as it is inherently community-based through its focus on outreach (Lee and Priester 2015: 36). Consequently, the identities that are represented in displays should not be determined by the majority composition of an institution's local community but instead driven by values.

There are two further points to make here in reflection of why Roman displays should be inclusive of ethnic diversity. Firstly, if the Roman world was multi-ethnic, multiracial, and culturally divergent as research shows (e.g. Cascio and Tacoma 2016; Revell 2016; Eckardt 2010a; Hingley 2005), then representations of the era should depict this feature. It is not a question of whom in the modern era is represented, but instead a case of not misleading audiences about who the Romans were. This approach would, for example, be in line with Interviewee 31's comment that Eastbourne County Council's Heritage Team try to factually represent all of its community through its history depictions.

The need to associate concepts with physical objects was acknowledged by Interviewees 36 and 37, from the Museum of London, to the desire for visitors to see authenticity in museum exhibits. Stories of diversity in the UK's Roman period had to, therefore, be grounded with tangible objects, and local archaeological evidence. Other interviewees (e.g. Interviewees 14, 15, and 18) also referred to this necessary link between discussions of diversity and local archaeology if exhibits were to discuss ethnic and cultural divergence in historic periods. The lack of such objects, or localised research, would, therefore, prevent the inclusion of such topics in display narratives because of a reliance on the traditional object-led approach.

This also linked to the calls from many members of the public in Dataset 2 that wanted museums to be factually accurate (Respondents 138, 168, 176, 181, and 182). This potentially stems from the traditional foundational role museums possess as authorities on historical knowledge (Bennett 1995: 69), and their reliance on traditional, localised approaches to narrative creation. As argued by Deniz Ünsal (2019: 598), localised narratives prevent the full contextualisation of intricate concepts that are shared by individuals from different parts of the world. The lack of change towards this curatorial process, however, may represent the comfort of majority, local audiences in this approach to how past narratives depict the regional history and, therefore, identities. The expectation that museum narratives are accurate and rely on research, however, now dictates that diversity should be central to Roman display narratives as per the research that supports this view (e.g. Cascio and Tacoma 2016; Revell 2016; Eckardt 2010a; Hingley 2005).

The close ties between the core identities of museums to support, influence, and curate national identities with European superpowers, however, has linked narratives with the construction of distinct and homogenous national heritages (Millett 2012: 31-35; Brown 2009: 148; Smith 2001: 18; Hooper-Greenhill 1992: 145). Consequently, old, and new interpretations of the past are reinforced by separate ideologies, both of which are presented in contemporary museum spaces. This highlights the view that exhibitions represent cultural battlegrounds where histories, identities, and experiences may conflict (Lakshmi 2010: 102). This can identify key reasons as to why the Yorkshire Museum's old and new galleries were noticeably different through their discourse, and not only in the display's appearance and communicative techniques. Through this process, institutions cannot develop into inclusive spaces if they still cling onto their traditional practices and exclusive perspectives.

Due to the inclusion of these two ideologically informed viewpoints in museal processes, they have begun to compete for dominance. In this sense, the inclusion of ethnic diversity and the implementation of accuracy can be seen to be two separate issues, even if they may produce the same outcome. This is represented by displays that retain outmoded narratives within new exhibitions such as Roman displays that do not depict the period as ethnically diverse. Such a desire to do so by curatorial teams was indicated by Interviewee 29 from Dover Museum who stated that the museum would not change the topics or discourse, even if displays were presently updated. Consequently, these dated perceptions of the Roman past, that remains mainstream as evidenced in chapter five, have influenced how audiences challenge the integrity of displays that do.

This has been caused by the recognition of concepts associated with the politically liberal left, such as the acceptance of diversity and need for equity, not able to fit into mainstream perceptions of history. Importantly, these opinions are reinforced by personal interpretations of what a display narrative should be and what it means to be historically accurate. These, in turn, are supported by the same institutions that have shaped, but can also challenge identities, knowledge, and ideologies. The discomfort that followed is included in this thesis' dataset. Many members of the public, for example, saw the inclusion of ethnic diversity in Roman displays as a threat to the accuracy of displays and, therefore, the sincerity of institutions (e.g. comments made by Respondents 7, 8, 90, 164, 168, and 173 in Table 23).

Respondent 138 for example, cared about the accuracy and authenticity of a display more than representation. The traditional whitewashed narratives of the Roman world have misled audiences to the point that oppositional accounts are interpreted as false and politically motivated. This is reflective of the modern post-truth world where the success of statements

results from their 'emotional appeal and symbolic value and [are, therefore,] subjective' (Kalpokas 2019: 2). This greatly affects display narratives that have themselves shaped the myths used to support ideologies with accounts of history (Barthes 1957: 127). These interpretations are used to bind together past, present, and future moralities, and esteemed values of a society to form bonds and create cohesion between citizens (d'Ancona 2017: 31; Gemie 2017: 337). Consequently, inclusive display narratives need to deconstruct the perspectives used and shared that have been deeply ingrained into the ideas of community that relate to belonging and truth.

Depictions that oppose these individualised perceptions of the world are met with discomfort. Due to its nature, the reaction that emerges comes across as anger with curatorial motives rather than the content output. Participant 81 reinforces this view through the statement that 'liberal social engineering' and the promotion of politically correct views is not a job for museums (Respondent 81). As such, discussions of ethnic diversity are identified as liberal manipulations of the past. They are, however, more reflective of the progress made by research supported by data and societal concerns, than underhanded manipulations of facts. To ignore new research, or disregard it based on a disagreement with its social implications stagnates discourses. It also ignores developments that concern the representation of ethnic diversity in and outside of academia.

Given this, interviewees from the Cambridge Museum of Classical Archaeology (Interviewee 27), Museum of London (Interviewees 36 and 37), and Butser Ancient Farm (Interviewee 24) discussed widespread public calls for diversity. They expressed how these voices are important factors that impact their curation processes and narrative constructions. Butser Ancient Farm, for example, is located away from a typically diverse town or city, yet the associated interviewee expressed a need to include diversity within their narratives. This need was described as coming from two specific sources. Firstly, via contemporary political debates and, secondly, through the diverse demographic of visitors, mainly school groups, to Butser from further afield (Interviewee 24). The diverse demographic makeup of those on educational visits was, for example, used to illustrate a need for Butser's display narrative to change and depict narratives that increase relevancy.

The case at Butser Ancient Farm highlights an increased realisation that diversity is needed within contemporary display narratives. The main challenge to enact this, however, is to maintain focus on the need to modernise narratives as a primary focus of progressive museal action. A previous failure to do so is reflected in Smith and Fouseki's argument that exemplifies this process in the late 1990s through to 2010 (2011). A repeat must be avoided if institutions want to remain and

gain relevancy for their diverse constituencies, as previous failures to meet the need for inclusivity heighten the necessity for it to be achieved sooner rather than later.

To this aim, the explicit inclusion of ethnic diversity in the Roman narratives at the Yorkshire Museum, and those that implicitly depicted ethnic diversity elsewhere, provides promise. The inclusion of diversity as a topic in the Museum of London Dockland's *Roman Dead* exhibit and inclusion of difficult histories through objects like slave chains in Colchester Castle Museum (Interviewee 26), reflects that progress has again begun towards the production of these narratives. Furthermore, interviewees such as one at the Maidstone Museum (Interviewee 21) indicated knowledge of items, such as slave chains, in their possession that can be positioned to construct discussions that go beyond traditional discourses. These examples may indicate that ways to progress have already been thought about but highlight the necessity for sustained momentum and action.

These changes also need to be transformational in how institutions relate to their public. For example, the urge for institutions to remain relative through reliance on majority demographics at the expense of others needs to be avoided. An instance of such an event was illustrated by Interviewee 31 from Eastbourne County Council. In 2014 their *Ancient Ancestors Project* discussed archaeological remains that showcase the area's historically multiracial and multi-ethnic population, as discussed in chapter five. Interestingly, Eastbourne's contemporary homogenous characteristic was a motivation behind the inclusion of diversity in their display narrative (Interviewee 31). Consequently, the *Ancient Ancestors Project* targeted an audience interested in the identity of past populations and used this opportunity to construct inclusive narratives that remain true to archaeological data. As depicted in chapter seven, the public has an interest in these topics and was capitalised on by Eastbourne County Council who stated the display appealed to new and old audiences (Interviewee 31).

Despite the attempt to widen participation in Eastbourne's heritage, however, the council lost funds for permanent displays and similar projects. As a result, the interviewee from Eastbourne County Council stated they were only able to currently curate small exhibitions through a more local perspective (Interviewee 31). Interestingly, by 'local', the participant meant homogenous. Despite the evidence that showcases Eastbourne's diverse past, there was a fallback to traditional narratives. This is perhaps to ensure continual audience numbers through familiar depictions of the past.

It is of interest that Eastbourne County Council's fallback to sustain visitor numbers was to not curate ethnically diverse narratives. Moreover, it regresses to a situation that leaves minority groups ignored and underrepresented. Interestingly, as the *Eastbourne's Ancient Ancestors*

Project ran in 2014, it coincides with the neglect of community outreach staff across the UK's heritage sector discussed by Smith and Fouseki (2011: 104-105). Perhaps the priority placed on inclusive narrative was lost because of the lack of precedence placed on diversity throughout society.

Simultaneously to these events, the *Ancient Ancestors Project* in Eastbourne faced negative public reactions, as illustrated in Appendix 13. These individuals were depicted as the ones that 'shout the loudest' by Interviewee 31, and not necessarily those that engage with display narratives through exhibit visitation. This would be in line with this thesis' findings that saw audiences of Roman exhibits as predominantly keen to embrace inclusive narratives. It may, therefore, be the case that those who react negatively to inclusive histories are not initially engaged with museum output at an intimate level. Instead, they participate with the heritage sector from a distance in a way that is not supportive of its existence such as criticising exhibits through online comment sections and social media. It is important, therefore, that institutions identify who their audiences are, and what narratives they choose to curate in aid of their aim to be ethically and politically engaged with constituents.

Like Max Ross's optimistic view that neoliberalism would bring freedom for institutions to diversify and be more responsive (2004: 100), perhaps the failure of the free market to support institutions has made this realisation more substantive. Although based on reactionary strategies to avoid financial impracticality, it forces institutions to make decisions. Signs of this approach have been identified throughout this thesis, with Sittingbourne Heritage Museum and Maidstone Museum as key examples (Interviewees 19, 20, and 21). Both expressed the want to widen narratives to better relate to their diverse audiences and create relevancy as well as inclusivity. With the continued increase on the emphasis of community engagement in museology and need to establish better connections with a super-diverse society (Vertovec 2007: 1049), more institutions may be encouraged to be representative of multi-ethnic constituencies. This would then progress museal processes beyond outmoded and exclusive narratives out of a need to become relevant for more cultural groups, rather than solely retain relevancy with the homogenous demographics they already connect with.

8.4 Conclusion

As outlined, Roman display narratives are still predominantly curated for white audiences. There is, however, a continued recognition, illustrated throughout this thesis, that inclusive narratives need to be aimed for. This has been expressed by staff in the museum sector throughout interviews and supported by key outcomes of questionnaires with the public. There are also

contemporary examples of representation of ethnic diversity in museal discourses such as at the Yorkshire Museum. Furthermore, there exist institutions that indicated where diversity was implicitly expressed alongside a desire to take these instances further. Consequently, awareness and an appetite to become more inclusive has been evidenced throughout this thesis.

This aim is still, however, opposed by individuals that desire displays to remain traditional in their narrative discourses and display techniques. Data indicate that both museum professionals and members of the public rely on display spaces to be curated through localised and object-led approaches. Furthermore, even though the age of displays has been seen as a reason why narratives are anodyne, these were still curated amidst social movements and activism. There is, therefore, a continued practice in which museum displays struggle to incorporate contemporary ethical and social issues into their discourse. The next chapter will, therefore, focus on why these aims have not yet come to fruition through widespread and institutional change.

Chapter 9: The effect of past and present ideologies on the representation of ethnic diversity

This chapter discusses how ideology has influenced the museum sector and the ways in which it has obscured and prevented progression towards the implementation of inclusivity. As such, discussion continues from the previous chapter, which showed that majority and homogenous audiences are still targeted by curators of Roman displays in Britain. These worldviews have persistently supported dissociative narratives created to distance marginal identities from the core of society (Tummala-Nara 2020: 50). In the UK, these discourses have contributed to deep-rooted, British national identities that cast minority groups in the role of unwanted parts of community (Varvin 2017: 364; Akhtar 2014: 138; Fivush 2010: 89).

The continuation of these narratives occurs as curatorial teams still rely on alignment between the histories they associate with, and the worldviews of their targeted audiences (Minott 2019: 568). As such, the first section of this chapter discusses why institutions have relied, through their foundational roles and uses, on exclusive discourses. This is then followed by a discussion that has seen a progressive movement of critical engagement with Britain's imperial past, but also a rejuvenated glorification of it in response to these challenges. As such, issues have developed that foresee the curation of discourses to cater to audiences that include contradictory views. The conclusion will bring these strands together to identify key obstacles that have prevented the normalisation of inclusive narratives. It will also emphasise the positive work that illustrates the current momentum towards critically conscious and politically active display narratives.

9.1 Past ideologies and the foundational identity of museums

This thesis found only one out of 31[47] permanent Roman display narratives included in this research successfully and explicitly depicted ethnic diversity. Despite this bleak conclusion, progress towards inclusivity has been identified to be on the increase, however, greatly inhibited.

[47] The English Heritage South East interviewee represented the Roman Painted House in Dover, and Lullingstone Villa in Lullingstone. Furthermore, the Roman Baths at Bath were found to only include the concept of ethnicity in an implicit manner.

This section examines how the traditional roles of museums and their ideological foundations and purposes continue to restrict progression towards representational displays of society.

As illustrated in chapter three, museums were partly developed by colonial powers in Europe, most notably Britain, Belgium, the Netherlands, and France to promote imperial achievements and support the construction and definition of the nation (Aldrich 2010: 14). Tony Bennett, with a reliance on Foucault (1978), coined this the exhibitionary complex (1995: 60-61). This process saw power relations that favoured Europeans, used to order imperial possessions in a way that educated and influenced European populations (1995: 59-88). In this role, museums were installed to broaden the minds of their public (Brown 2009: 145). This process was, however, conducted through a specific approach that aimed to control, influence, and shape the worldviews of European visitors (Falk and Dierking 2013: 211-214; McLeod 2010: 33). This is still reflected in the educative capacity of modern museums and heritage sites as discussed by 63% of the interviewees in Dataset 1 (25 individuals).

Carol Duncan expands upon this view and sees museums entwined with ideological forces. As such, they create cultural experiences for audiences who then receive these narratives as objective truth (1995: 8). In these spaces, identities that are represented as superior become part of an institutional ritual that confirms and reinforces the ideology they conform to. Similar to Tony Bennett's exhibitionary complex, this process resembles controlled enlightenment that predominantly targets majority ethnic groups. Furthermore, as the power dynamics involved in this process imply, the procedure resembled a top-down approach that was curated in an elite-led manner (Bennett 1995: 67). As this process became established, it simultaneously fostered the educative characteristics that museums presently possess (Hooper-Greenhill 1994a: 3).

The representations of power that are present throughout display narratives, and how they aimed to educate and civilise, placed museums in an authoritative position over society. This characteristic has also remained core to the identities of modern institutions. For example, many members of the public saw institutions as authorities on knowledge (Respondents 119, 120, 124, 132, and 138). Comments made by museum visitors also depicted how the traditional top-down approaches to narrative construction have influenced the perception of what factual depictions of the past resemble. This implied that traditional didactic approaches regularly found in museums have normalised the view that uncritical representations of history are authoritative and objective (Goswami 2018: 2; Gable 2013: 141-143; Hooper-Greenhill 2010: 15). For example, comments made by questionnaire respondents reflected distinctions between narratives that resembled objective and historical truth, with those that included critical engagement with modern ethics.

Furthermore, as outlined in Chapter 3, the discourse that came to embody how a museum categorises the world was intimately linked with nationalism. In their role to construct national narratives, museums were key to the creation of pasts that symbolised and legitimised contemporary positions of power (Gemie 2017: 337; Hunt 1984: 54; Anderson 1983: 15, 19). Not only was this used by the state to exploit patriotism to promote loyalty (Kaufman 2017: 19), it also centred white Europeans in authoritative narratives at the top of the world hegemonic order (Gordon-Walker 2019: 248; Oyedemi 2018: 3). Through the solidification of this worldview, coloniality has become a permanent feature of modern display narratives (Quijano 2007: 169). This may also be seen as an undercurrent for English Heritage, that was outlined by the government in 2013 'to help people understand, value, care for and enjoy England's rich historic environment' (DCMS 2013: 7).

Consequently, through the relationship museums and heritage sites have with elite and authoritative messages, they have come to embody an extremely specific medium of communication that is didactic, authoritative, and influential. This has been curated and embodied throughout a continued reliance on a narrative construction that has formed 'a conventionally and culturally distinct means of communication' (Wolf 2011: 166). This also relates to Duncan's concept of the ritualistic museum (1995: 13). As such, museums have situated themselves as key purveyors of national symbolic orders (Nieguth and Raney 2017: 90) that have the authority to entrench objects, events, periods, and values into national narratives, collections, and archives that form collective identities.

Accordingly, curators construct a discourse that relies on, supports, and creates realities based on recognised histories and identities. This process is further evidenced by the interviewees who saw a necessity for museums to rely on local archaeology to define local populations and is the purpose of a large host of museums and heritage sites included in this research (e.g. Colchester Castle Museum, Dartford Museum, Maidstone Museum, the Seaside Museum, the Yorkshire Museum, The Collection, and Verulamium). The dependence on cultural codes of knowledge in this process involves the repeated use of signifiers that relate to already established ideologies that reinforce traditional narratives (Barthes 1974: 98; Saussure 1916 [1974]). This provides authority and meaning for what is signified as it acts to focus interpretation through commonly held constructs (Bal 1991: 46). Similar to Barthes' argument for narrative construction of myths (1957: 142), this process does not have to rely on historical accuracy as the establishment of traditional narratives have begun to support themselves. As a result, to remain relevant for their audiences, institutions regularly rely on some sort of connection to normalised processes and discourses that are embodied in museum practice.

This thesis datasets found links to how this reliance on past narratives, and the authority and reliance associated with it, affected present-day decisions to construct a discourse that challenges these approaches. Two factors that prominently inhibit the inclusion of ethnic diversity in Roman displays illustrate this point. First, there was a fear that inclusive narratives may offend its audience that, as described by Interviewees 1 and 23, pay the bills. This eventuality occurs as the inclusion of ethnic diversity in museum spaces challenges the homogenous versions of history that institutions have traditionally expressed. The second is that museums have been built upon a tradition of exclusive depictions of the world, which have become an integral part of their identity and processes.

As majority audiences have been historically comforted and influenced by outmoded narratives, most individuals do not think it is relevant for displays to change. Evidence to support this claim comes from only 30% of respondents in Dataset 2, affirming a concern with the representation of diversity in museum spaces, even though 70% agreed that institutions must represent the whole of society. This indicates a lack of critical engagement with whom is represented in depictions of the past by current museum audiences. Furthermore, of those that stated their ethnic identity was not represented in display narratives, 40% stated that displays should not attempt to do so. Of the nine individuals who left a comment that fit into this category, five did not think their inclusion was relevant (Respondents 7, 8, 17, 90, and 168). This points towards different ideas of what a museum is for, and who they should represent - something which will be also influenced by past experiences at institutions.

Elsewhere, many participants saw it as inappropriate to bring modern concepts, such as ethnicity and diversity, into depictions of history (e.g. Respondents 43, 118, 131, 163, 168, 169, 173, 182, and 244). These opinions were of concern for museum staff, as expressed by interviewees from Eastbourne County Council (Interviewee 31) and the Dover Museum (Interviewee 29). Both highlighted the need to manage offence caused, intentionally or not, through display narratives and the implementation of modern topics. As indicated by the participant from the Dover Museum (Interviewee 29), narratives need to be careful to not offend those who “pay the bills”. This statement was directed at Dover residents and their local, council-owned museum. This notion also works for private institutions, however, who also rely on entrance fees as a main source of income. Furthermore, this idea that museums must not instigate offence is linked to their desire to protect their ‘neutrality’. This aim has been argued to safeguard essential funds, that are sourced from independent corporations and governments, that may halt their support of institutions that challenge the perceived norm (Janes 2009: 59; Greenhalgh 1989: 94).

Consequently, as staff from the Colchester Castle Museum (Interviewee 26) and Eastbourne County Council (Interviewee 31) expressed, curators, are likely nervous to cause offence or controversy. The participant from Colchester Castle Museum added that discussions of concepts such as ethnicity instantly act to politicise a display, and the significance of this scares curators away from its inclusion (Interviewee 26). Recent studies have shown that politication of issues is intricately linked with the polarisation of opinions on how to deal with societal concerns, where politicisation and polarisation feed off the escalation of each other (Simon et al. 2019: 769; Webster and Abramowitz 2017; Vangoidsenhoven and Pilet 2015: 59). As such, the rise in the politicisation of immigration and immigrant status in contemporary Britain (Grande et al. 2019: 1445), and the recent history and breakdown of multiculturalism across Europe (Vertovec 2010: 167) has caused discussions about ethnic diversity to become heated.

The interviewee from the Cambridge Museum of Classical Archaeology (Interviewee 27) directed attention to an example of this through an outcry seen on social media in 2017. This event saw heavy criticism directed at the BBC's use of a black individual to represent a member of a typical (military) Roman family for an educative video.[48] Furthermore, similar comments directed at the BBC's depiction of diversity in the Roman period are also evidenced elsewhere. Newspaper articles that communicated research on the identities of the Ivory Bangle Lady and Beachy Head Lady that were central to displays at York and Eastbourne, for example, also faced criticism.[49]

Consequently, institutions are seen to hesitate in the challenge of traditionally imperial discourses that inform depictions of the Roman period (Polm 2016: 210) as it may alienate majority audiences. This point is connected to institutional alignment with false neutrality, where ahistorical depictions of the past become synonymous with objectivity. This was reflected in the comments by the public in Dataset 2 that saw no need to use 'modern concepts' to interpret the Roman past, as it disrupts the production of objective narratives (e.g. Respondents 4, 9, 11, 81, 124, 126, and 134 in response to Question 10 [Appendix 12]). This, in turn, feeds into the support of exclusive narratives for they are seen as safe, reliable, and relatable for majority audiences. When these narratives are challenged, however, they are faced with an uproar as the introduction of diversity damages the traditional ideal of a homogenous past that many feel the need to protect.

---

[48] BBC's depiction of a Black individual to represent a typical Roman soldier - https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/2017/08/06/mary-beard-misogynistic-race-row-bbc-cartoon-us-academic-claimed/ [Accessed 13/01/2020].

[49] See Footnote 23.

What the construction of such narratives entails, however, is the reliance on majority audiences that are also the generally targeted demographics of museums, as discussed in the previous chapter. As argued by Rachael Minott (2019: 568), the implementation of neutrality relies on the alignment of curated perceptions with those held by majority audiences, and the assumption of which demographic they belong to. It is, however, important to realise that when minority groups are considered by curatorial teams, the process still functions within a framework in which institutions decide who to target. The comment by Interviewee 31 from Eastbourne County Council, who stated that their Heritage Team's main aim was to try and represent all the community whilst remaining factual in their narratives, demonstrates this. While Eastbourne's Heritage Team aims to be inclusive, it is the department alone that has determined whether this is worth their while. Incidentally, the same team were also said to have now retreated to a local view for their outputs that indicate a shift back to traditional narratives (Interviewee 31). Consequently, the constructions of diversity in exhibition spaces continue to be governed from a position of power that is aligned with whiteness in Britain's contemporary heritage and museum sectors (Bennett 2006: 194).

As critical narratives enter display spaces, however, their inclusion is still accomplished through a system that manages this challenge through traditional means. This will need to change and encompasses many areas of the museum sector that needs to develop into a fairer and more representative environment. Projects designed to be inclusive where minority ethnic groups are included in co-creation for example, currently see unrepresented groups work *for* institutions rather than *with* them (Labadi 2018: 44; Boast 2011: 63). The power relations inherent within traditional museum processes subsequently, continue to dictate who museums are for, the histories they present, and who they work with, and exploit.

This viewpoint also reinforces the idea that museums were designed and intended for white audiences, supported by existent hegemonies, that institutions remain to be part of. Therefore, serious questions arise as to whether museums can transform themselves into completely inclusive spaces. It may not be possible for an institution to still be a 'museum' if it distances itself from practices that are so intrinsically connected with their reliance on exclusivity. Furthermore, as identified by Walter Mignolo (2013: 135, 142), processes aimed to decolonise present institutions are themselves processes birthed from the same imperial matrix that created and supported these issues.

This causes concern for institutions that now aim to build trust with communities they have previously ignored and potentially lost. This thesis has found examples that illustrate this distrust, alongside the reasons behind it. Participant 174, for example, emphasised the lack of

representation of South Asian and other non-white diasporas and their contributions in past and modern society. Furthermore, participant 170 highlighted their lack of trust in museums, through their desire to not be represented by traditional narratives that are 'in no way sufficient in its representation' of ethnic minorities (Participant 170). This lack of trust is here linked to racialised communities who are alienated from traditional display narratives (Tolia-Kelly 2016: 901) and modern society.

Consequently, institutions have begun to implement projects aimed at building trust with minority ethnic groups. The idea of radical trust for example, that sees all audiences as key to knowledge creation rather than just recipients (Lynch and Alberti 2010: 15), has been an aim since the early 2000s. For instance, Nick Merriman reflected on the Manchester Museum's *Revealing Histories* and *The Myths of Race* projects and their attempt to embody radical trust (Mulhearn 2008: 24). These projects aimed to incorporate an authentic co-production into the institution's processes. This was found to be more difficult than envisioned, however, with limits to this practice caused by the same impairments experienced by curatorial teams found by this thesis (Figure 21).

Bernadette Lynch and Samuel Alberti argued that museums may not be suitable places for the incorporation of radical trust or locations where authentic co-production can occur (2010: 30). The institutional constraints experienced by curators, identified by this thesis such as a lack of time, money, and specialism available to museums and their workers (Figure 21), are also placed upon the public when they attempt to co-create knowledge in the same spaces. Instead, co-producers were seen to contribute to a process that did not allow freedom of expression, as it oversaw a process in which the public is approached with a subject or agenda that is predetermined by staff at institutions (Mutibwa et al. 2020: 158). To elaborate, while interviewees expressed that the curatorial process was predominantly free, the same cannot be said for individuals who are asked to contribute to the co-production of knowledge.

This is similar to the curatorial process that saw members of the public in York provide their insights into the use of craft and trade objects found in Roman contexts (Interviewee 35). In this process, the creation of knowledge was co-produced; however, the activity was largely dictated by the museum's predetermined framework of what they wanted. Though restricted in practice, attempts at co-production of knowledge represent positive steps towards inclusivity. One such example of this is the creation of a shared space that Yudhishtir Raj Isar identifies as an area new to both groups involved, that is not owned by one type or individual shareholder alone (2006: 22). As indicated, however, this process will always involve power relations and constraints, but it nonetheless demonstrates a notable challenge to traditional methods of curation.

As identified by Lynch and Alberti, these attempts faced changes that prevented the freedom to allow authentic experiences of co-production; however, this is not a reason to give up (2010: 31). Positive changes to display creation have continued, and this persistence, even if it has not permanently focused on the representation of ethnic diversity, has kept the issue alive. These issues demonstrate that it is the essence of institutional power relations that need to be changed, challenged, or replaced. As noted, it may not be possible to fully do this from within the same institutions that have created and supported these realities and the projects to confront them. If the essence of institutions cannot change, and the restrictions it places on what occurs inside of them, then the question remains whether the identity of relevant institutions is, itself, the issue. Consequently, museums need to radically deconstruct, question and then reconstruct their processes to advocate a motion towards inclusivity. Unsurprisingly, the idea of such a revolutionary change was not brought up by any of the interviewees in Dataset 1. This may reflect a range of reasons that include the constraints faced by institutions to make such changes, refusal to do so, or incomprehension of its possible need.

There are, however, questions over what processes need to be implemented, and the semantics used to lead discussions. The decolonisation of museum spaces, for example, may not be implementable within museal processes. Although the Yorkshire Museum, for instance, includes a video that incorporates an element of co-curation, it was still produced to fit the traditional framework set by the institution. A new tactic may need to be implemented, therefore, that tackles issues of representation in exhibits through a more critically aware process. Such an example was demonstrated by the *Archaeologies of Race* exhibition at Hadrian's Wall (2009) that was constructed with and through anti-racism discourse (Tolia-Kelly 2011: 72).

This was done through a curated narrative that recognised the imperial discourses that knowledge and discussion of the Roman period in Britain are built on (Tolia-Kelly 2016: 897, 901; 2011: 71, 73; Majeed 1999: 91). Also, this foundation for contemporary knowledge was challenged through an emphasis on the multi-cultural aspect of populations from different strata of Roman society involved with Hadrian's Wall (Tolia-Kelly 2011: 71). Consequently, the exhibit on Hadrian's Wall decentred traditional approaches as it changed the perspective from which the monument's ancient past is usually viewed. As such, the focalisation process (Bal 1991: 46; Culler 1980: 10) used to construct the narrative shifted from the usual white-centric narrative of Hadrian as a central figure, and instead saw Septimius Severus as the main pivot for discussion.

As a result, the anti-racist approach that underpinned the *Archaeologies of Race* (2009) exhibit changed the narratological elements used by visitors to interpret the past. For instance, to follow Genette's narratological taxonomy (1972: 31), the *order* (Akimoto 2019: 344; Pavel 2004: 37;

Henderson 1983: 5; Genette 1972: 35) of the exhibit shifted from an arrangement around a singular white figure (Hadrian) to an individual whose identity is more complex (Severus). Furthermore, as the display centred on a multicultural view of the past, the diverse nature of the landmark's history was emphasised to facilitate a high *frequency* (Akimoto 2019: 344; Pavel 2004: 37) of importance on this aspect. In return, the *duration* (Pavel 2004: 37; Henderson 1983: 8) of these topics provided the foundation to challenge the cultural codes (Barthes 1974: 98) that usually govern what gets included in Roman display narratives.

Consequently, the narratological approaches to the *Archaeologies of Race* (2009) exhibit did not attempt to decolonise the display by co-production within a pre-set traditional framework. Instead, the curatorial team achieved a discourse that challenged outmoded narratives as its main purpose. A similar process was also observed in a few displays included in this thesis. The Yorkshire Museum's *Meet the People of Empire* permanent display has followed this blueprint. The gallery succeeds in the expression of a narrative that focuses on diversity to disrupt traditional discourse that supports exclusive accounts of the past.

Although on a much smaller scale, other Roman narratives that were included in this thesis have illustrated the implementation of this approach. The inclusion of slave chains and discussion of overlooked individuals in Roman society within Colchester Castle Museum is one example of this (Interviewee 26). Furthermore, the *Roman Dead* exhibit, although temporary, showcases a move towards a more critically conscious approach to the curation of display space by the Museum of London. The implicit inclusion of ethnic diversity expressed by 14 interviewees in their associated displays is not necessarily negative. This is supported as it emphasises that some effort, or recognition at least, has been made towards the depiction of a culturally divergent past.

In continuation of Annie Coombes statement made over 30 years ago, there is still a definite need for displays to not only display diversity but also be actively anti-racist (1988: 57). Although it is problematic that this statement still rings true today, progress is present as exemplified by the permanent Roman Gallery at the Yorkshire Museum and *Archaeologies of Race* exhibit. As clarified by Amy Lonetree, 'a decolonising museum practice must involve assisting our communities in addressing the legacies of historical unresolved grief' (2012: 5). Giblin et al. expand that this process includes the challenge of traditional processes inherent in narrative construction to empower the voices that are usually excluded (2019: 472). Due to the colonial foundations of museums, and institutional restrictions that affect display narratives, it is important to think about how, and if, museums can be authentically decolonised. As demonstrated, however, approaches that focus on anti-racism and anti-colonialism may be the most important aspect to reinstate within curatorial processes in the future. These processes are

transformative and require critical engagement with action that genuinely implements inclusive practices, alongside an awareness of their past uses.

9.2 Contemporary ideology and representations of ethnic diversity

9.2.1 Diversity schemes and their success

Robert Janes argued in 2009 that there had been a slowdown, and even reversal, of momentum for more socio-politically active institutions (2009: 13, 30-31). Janes illustrates a similar picture to Smith and Fouseki's conclusions that link the loss of diversity staff throughout the 2000s to the politics of recognition (2011: 104-105). This is not so clear cut, however, as there were attempts from the 1990s to mid-late 2000s to better diversify the workforce of British museums. A range of schemes that include positive-action schemes, for example, saw the percentage of minority ethnic groups in museum staff numbers almost treble (Davies and Shaw 2010: 160). Although positive, the original start point was critically low and the improved visibility of minority ethnic groups in museums was still below national averages (Davies and Shaw 2010: 161-162).

Furthermore, the increase in the presence of underrepresented identities occurred predominantly in front-of-house staff and education departments rather than managerial or collections based (Davies and Shaw 2020: 160). The loss of diversity staff illustrated by Smith and Fouseki (2011: 104-105) saw an ideological shift where the concept was no longer valued to manage a culturally divergent society. This resulted in reduced funds for museums to engage with diversification and outreach staff, followed by cuts to the front-of-house that better-represented minority ethnic groups. A real impact was, therefore, not made by these attempts as change failed to impact curatorial and management positions that would later survive cuts.

The failure to apply and continue methods of good practice used past displays within permanent narratives was represented in this thesis' database. The *Peopling of London's* temporary exhibit that included two black Roman soldiers was not, for example, incorporated into the Museum of London's permanent displays. The Eastbourne County Council's inclusive depiction of the local area's past in their *Eastbourne Ancestors* project is no longer an aspect of their contemporary displays (Interviewee 31). Even at the Yorkshire Museum, members of the public identified that visuals of the Roman period were predominantly white (Respondents 185 and 248). Furthermore, Interviewee 27 from the Cambridge Museum of Classical Archaeology also indicated a need for a more diversified workforce to better incorporate inclusivity in their museum.

More recently, there remain schemes that aim to increase the presence of minority ethnic groups in museums through staff and/or volunteers. Sophia Labadi has analysed the success of such

schemes through analyses of the In Touch Volunteer programme, based in Manchester, that trained individuals from underrepresented identities in the museum sector (2018: 100). This was done through a course to better employment statistics and increase the representation of traditionally excluded groups in museum workforces. Labadi expressed a nationwide issue through analysis of the programme, however, in that programmes have a disconnect between their aims to diversify workforces and the reality where people recruited are not from ethnic minority backgrounds (2018: 101). Failure to sustain or implement successful employment of underrepresented groups remains an issue in the UK's museum sector. This fact may also be linked to a present-day lack of socio-political engagement made by museums as it is seen to risk financial uncertainly if they do (2019b: 8).

Interviewee 1 from the Rijksmuseum van Oudheden also illustrated a recognised desire for the museum to diversify its audience in the Netherlands. In their interview, the participant from the Rijksmuseum van Oudheden stated how the left-wing governments wanted museums to attract new cultures, and this is reflected through an effort to diversify their visitor base and displays (Interviewee 1). The Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, however, still resembled the traditional approach to the curation of national museums, similar to that of the British Museum. The fundamental lack of change in the structure of institutions that curate the past and those that work in it, has seen stagnation in its display narratives. This happens to also be in line with the contemporary rise of the xenophobic, nationalist, right-wing, and populist movements seen, in part, as a reaction to insecurities caused by global financial crises and neoliberalism's displacement in such situations (Vieten and Poynting 2016: 535). This is particularly relevant amidst the Covid-19 pandemic that has caused mass financial uncertainty in Britain's museum sector. Similarly, a survey by the Netherlands Museums Association indicated that around 100 Dutch museums were in danger of permanent closure due to Covid-19 (Museum Vereniging 2020) and represents the impact of the pandemic on institutions across the world. Additionally, this has highlighted flaws in neoliberalism that fails to protect an increased number of individuals that need to be partly, or fully, dependable on the state.

9.2.2 National curricula and their influence on museum displays

Linked to governmental influences on museums was the use of the national curriculum, constructed by the UK government, in the majority of museums included in this thesis' research. Throughout the interviews with museum staff, 48% of participants discussed the national curriculum's influence upon their work, and how it must be used to promote relevancy. Furthermore, key differences were identified, in chapter six, between the British curricula and the Dutch counterpart, to reveal how Britain's Roman past is a much more integral part of British identity creation than in the Netherlands.

The interviewee from the Valkhof (Interviewee 2), for example, discussed how the Dutch public had little interest in their ancient past and related this to their forward-thinking mentality. This can be compared to the strikingly different approach seen in the establishment of Englishness, and Britishness, that requires reflections on the past to enforce identity during child and adult development (Yeandle 2008: 14). It is important to note that this process is utilised by both the political left and right and is not currently party specific. This is demonstrated with certain lessons from history to inform the desired characteristics of carefully curated perceptions of the present and future societal aims and characteristics (Kumar 2015: 214). This was widely used for example, in the Conservative's implementation of the heritage industry in the 1980s to cloud economic issues present in Britain (Hewison 1987: 9). The intentional entwinement of Britain's ancient period with modern identity is likely a factor in the negative reactions seen by members of the public towards critical engagement with depictions of the past.

Another possible reason for the consistent use of the UK's national curriculum in British displays of the past is the widespread reliance on the educative roles of museums that fosters a unified view of the Roman past. This, in turn, promotes the continuation of exclusive narratives through exhibits as they each conform to traditional depictions of the past to remain relevant, and comply with the curriculum. This may relate to the uneasiness felt by individuals on curatorial teams in their approaches that challenge anodyne versions of the past, as indicated by Interviewees 27 and 31. The portrayal of the Beachy Head Lady for example, and the awkwardness described to have occurred around the complexion in her facial reconstruction, is evidence of this point (Interviewee 31). In this case, the discomfort felt may have come from the homogeneity of the curatorial team present. It may also have originated from the assumption that the darker the skin choice for the Beachy Head Lady, the more likely the exhibit would face criticism from certain members of society. This did indeed occur, as indicated by Interviewee 31, and public comments that reacted to the Beachy Head Lady, seen in Appendix 13.

At this point, it is important to stress that the primary uses of a national curriculum are to shape and mould citizenship and ideology (Fozdar and Martin 2020: 373-375; Cantoni et al. 2017: 386; Crawford 1998: 265-266). A key example of this is the incorporation of the UK's Department for Education's use of the curriculum to get teachers to actively promote the British values of tolerance towards diversity and faith, and citizenship as discussed in chapter eight (Bhopal 2018: 70, 73). Within this framework, teachers are not only asked to aid in the construction of children's education but tasked to mould individuals through a vague, yet effective, idea of what it means to be British. The vagueness and resultant malleability of the concept of Britishness is guided, however, by outdated and exclusive narratives of whiteness and oppressive hegemonies. This is informed by the constructs of Britishness and Englishness that provide a traditional sense

of identity displaced from modern reality as it focuses on historic conceptions of the nation (Carter and Robertson 2016: 214; Smith 1999: 49).

An example of this process within British classrooms is the government's want for teachers to aid in the identification of extremism in children. This process uses perceptions of race based on fear, terrorism, and othering, as it is racial and cultural differences that do not correlate with 'British values' that are deemed threats (Bhopal 2018: 74-75). In schools, through education, there is, therefore, a form of policing of people's ideologies, behaviours, and identities that is based on favourable identity traits to comfort a fear of difference from the established norm.

Importantly, the characteristics that have been labelled dangerous are informed by anxieties that someone does not fit a safe and standardised mould. Since 9/11, the fear of extremism and terrorism has been capitalised on to form a politics of fear. In the discourse that follows, a belief that things are out of control perpetuates and reproduces a sense that constrains behaviour (Altheide 2006: 420; Ferraro 1995). Through this, fear has become an important aspect of elite strategies to maintain power (Tamatea 2011: 156-157) and involves the construction of the enemy who threatens society, usually depicted as culturally different from the norm. This can also be observed with a contemporary discourse by the British Prime Minister, Boris Johnson, who depicts Covid-19 as an invisible enemy through narratives reminiscent of wartime Britain.[50]

Consequently, this policing of identity has entered approaches to teaching in the UK through the national curriculum. Through the use of the same document to guide narratives, the ideological implications of reliance on the national curriculum have also entered museum spaces. The normalisation of politics of fear and its use in identity creation has, however, created a situation in which opposing narratives become seen as oppositional to a nation's character. Respondent 81's comment that museums should not engage with the liberal social engineering of their visitors, indicates this point. The whitewashed approach to the curation of Britain's past is too often perceived as the norm; any challenge to this is, however, seen as an affront.

Museums and heritage sites are, therefore, responsible for the ways in which the national curriculum is used in their institutions, as its connections with ideology and identity creation have long been established. This has been particularly highlighted in the case of history that remains one of many subjects relied upon to plant British values into the minds of the public (Asari et al.

---

[50] The adoption of military language by world leaders in reference to the Covid-19 pandemic has also been seen by other world leaders such as Emmanuel Macron and Donald Trump. This has been highlighted by British MP, Claudia Webbe in an article for The Independent: https://www.independent.co.uk/independentpremium/voices/coronavirus-war-ceasefire-un-military-spending-trump-boris-johnson-a9488031.html [Accessed 23/09/2020].

2008: 14). The type of history taught in Britain is, of course, heavily based on selective episodes of white success and does not represent the contributions minority ethnic groups make to society (Bhopal 2018: 77). This not only affects the historical use of the Roman period in contemporary society but also sees it implemented to support exclusive ideals. The same imperial discourses used to shape the study and reception of the Roman period is again relied upon to centre this romanticised ancient past to guide the future (Gardner 2017: 7-8; Smith 1999: 49; Anderson 1983: 19). This was particularly observed at the Burwell Museum with their positioning of the Roman period in its discourse. This was also seen in other institutions that used Roman history to contextualise a place's long-established past, such as the Museum of London, Roman Museum in Canterbury, and the Cambridge Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology. In these curated spaces ethnic diversity is not currently an integral aspect that holds importance, and this reflects how the Roman period is taught and displayed within this matrix that ignores minority demographics.

Furthermore, the national curriculum and ideologies that shape it to then mould others, affects the mindsets and expectations of museum visitors. Audiences already have a preconception of what the Roman period looks like, and this is entrenched through its use as an ancient anchor to British identity (Gardner 2017: 7). The notion that museums should remain objective, for example (Respondents 125, 136, and 138), supports the notion that audiences have preconceived ideas of what the Roman period should look like. This is likely based on traditional narratives, and contemporary alignment with these discourses can create relevancy between display and visitor as it justifies their worldviews. Alternatively, these ideals also affect people who do not visit museums and can explain two occurrences. Firstly, the exclusiveness of how Britain teaches and exhibits its history remains irrelevant to minority ethnic groups through its concentration on a predominantly whitewashed retelling of the past. This, in turn, partly explains the lack of visitors that associate with minority ethnic groups in this thesis' dataset. Secondly, individuals who strongly identify with traditional perceptions of the past also dissociate themselves from those museums that are seen to gradually distance themselves from imperial ideologies.

It is, however, difficult to identify how central the national curriculum is in why museums and heritage sites continue to rely on traditional narratives. As the museum sector in Britain is mainly occupied by individuals from majority demographics, large segments of workforces remain to be educated and moulded in a society that enforces the long-established favour of white individuals and histories. With, or without, the national curriculum, change is unlikely to occur if these patterns remain standardised. An insight into this may be observed in the fact that the interviewee from the Dartford Museum (Interviewee 28) indicated how the national curriculum is

not used to inform their displays. Nonetheless, their output is the same as other exhibits observed in this thesis that do not discuss ethnic diversity in their depiction of the ancient past. The ideologies that inform the national curriculum are so engrained in the mindset of majority demographics and museal processes, it affects the curation of spaces whether it is intentionally incorporated or not.

At this point, there are many intersections between the traditional roles of museums and their modern uses. Most of these are embedded in their educative functions that embody mainstream ideologies used to govern and influence populations. Just as early museums were built by imperial powers to define nations and mould citizens, modern galleries continue to do the same through the use of national curricula that exists for the same purpose. Those that do not align their displays with a national curriculum in this thesis were also found to emit outdated and exclusive narratives as process remain positioned in traditional curatorial techniques and processes.

9.2.3 Apprehension regarding challenge and change

This section examines the fear that is instilled in museums, their staff, and visitors through education and pervasive ideologies in Britain to challenge traditional narratives. This thesis found that only six (15%) interview participants explicitly stated that museums should challenge preconceptions which included stereotypical opinions on subjects such as race and ethnicity. A further participant from The Collection (Interviewee 10) also stated that a museum should not remain politically neutral. With the inclusion of the interviewee from The Collection, only seven individuals, in total, explicitly linked museums with a duty to become critically engaged with societal issues. This is a stark contrast to the 76% of questionnaire participants that agreed that stereotypical opinions such as racism should be challenged in museums and heritage sites (Table 18).

This raises questions as to why so few museum staff, as opposed to most of the public, did not emphasise the need for displays to be critically engaged with contemporary society. It may be the case that this requires institutions to do more than just challenge the traditional discourse, but also to confront the system from which they still benefit. Interviewee 26 who was associated with the Colchester Castle Museum, for example, stated how the discussion of concepts such as ethnicity instantly politicises displays. Whilst history exhibitions are inherently political due to their content (Robinson 2017; Sandell 2016; Tolia-Kelly 2011; Bennett 2005 [2018]; 1995; Hooper-Greenhill 1992), the discussion of concepts such as race and ethnicity were seen to be explicitly divisive as they challenge the norm. The issue then is not whether politics enters the

discourse of an institution's Roman galleries, but which stance the institution takes and how complicit they are in their support of outdated narratives.

As reflected by comments made by members of the public, traditional narratives are seen as factual accounts of history (Respondents 43, 118, 131, 168, 169, 173, 181, 182, and 244 in response to Question 9). This reflects the outmoded but widely held view that museums export factual knowledge that is solely produced by experts they employ (Sitzia 2018: 74). When a discourse disrupts this, however, negative reactions often surface. This has been illustrated by comments from the public that underline the idea that institutions should not engage with politics, not use modern morality to judge the past, and remain neutral, objective, and factual (Respondents 43, 118, 163, 169, and 244 in response to Question 9, and Respondents 4, 9, 11, 81, 124, 126, and 134 in response to Question 10).

Thanks to a long history of normalised depictions of the past, non-traditional discourses are quickly recognised. This noticeable step away from normality is also regularly contested through a direct challenge to the intentions of the curator. The participant from the Cambridge Museum of Classical Archaeology (Interviewee 27) further exemplified the awareness of potential backlashes to the discussion of certain topics. They stated that the concepts of ethnicity, race, and identity can quickly become confrontational issues online. As such, there is an awareness that challenging traditional narratives will likely be followed by negative attention. The drain on both emotions and time that such interactions have can prevent the inclusion of challenging narratives within history displays. Such an approach, however, fails to provide allyship to minority communities which require significant energy and effort (Ng, Ware, and Greenberg 2017: 142).

The stagnation seen in Roman displays only causes further cementation of systemic issues which may become more difficult to disrupt and challenge. The ability to fundamentally challenge outdated discourses may, however, be removed from a curator's control. An interviewee from the British Museum (Interviewee 9) expressed that their freedom to depict current social topics was limited due to the neutral stance of their institution. It was elaborated how the British Museum only engages with societal issues in a passive sense; topics are mentioned, and debates started but not engaged with. As the British Museum is state-owned and manifests a sense of Britishness (Watson 2019: 72), it is no surprise that it continues to toe a political line of conservatism and 'neutrality'.

This is also seen in other institutions, however, where traditional and ritualistic approaches to curation facilitate the perception of objective truth (Labadi 2018: 43). Sophia Labadi borrows from Bourdieu, Darbel, and Schnapper's concept of cultural capital (1991: 95-99) that sees interpretations of the past correlate with the majority held ideologies and values. Projects that

included the co-creation of knowledge between museums and immigrants were, therefore, seen to move away from conceptions of knowledge that limit the diversity of experiences. Through an interview with an artist involved in such a project at Manchester Museum, however, Labadi found that standout and innovative projects can still only marginally impact museums and their exclusive characteristics (2018: 48). Despite intentions, the perception of museums characterised by conservatism persists when issues of representation are not fully incorporated into an institution's processes.

As a result, institutions that continue to narrate similar discourses of neutrality, intentionally or not, become complicit in the perpetuation of the norm. This is dangerous within the contemporary political climate that has, since Brexit, seen prejudice and racist views in the UK become commonplace (Bhopal 2018: 12). Consequently, narratives that challenge ahistorical accounts of the past are likely to be recognised and criticised as they oppose a perceived truth. Conversely, this thesis found that most respondents were aware of these issues and supportive of institutions that critically engaged with this discourse. This was shown through the majority of questionnaire respondents (69.8%) that supported the view that institutions must challenge prejudice and be representative of the British population. This is reflective of a general increase in political consciousness in communities over the past two decades (Davis 2016: 36-37). Although Angela Davis discussed the rise of this awareness in America, Giblin et al. illustrate how this is also reflected in Britain and how individuals have increasingly begun to critically engage with its imperial past (2019: 472)

Roman display narratives that engage with diversity included in this research are a testament to this. The Yorkshire Museum's permanent Roman display gallery was curated to oppose traditional narratives, and to embrace diversity in its ancient past and present (Interviewee 35). The Museum of London's *Roman Dead* exhibition, although temporary, also demonstrated a desire to display diversity. The representation of a culturally divergent society was described by two interviewees to be essential within their context as an institution for London's population (Interviewees 36 and 37). Recognition of the need for inclusive discourses was also demonstrated by other interviewees. The interviewee from Butser Ancient Farm (Interviewee 24), for example, spoke of a desire to introduce more diverse narratives to better represent the ethnically diverse school groups they receive. This thesis has shown evidence that indicates a positive response to the diversity that now populates constituencies. Therefore, aspects of curation that need to be improved and challenged to engrain inclusivity into practice are known to curatorial teams. Whilst the means to amend these issues may not presently be accessible, the acknowledgement of a need to do better is welcome. The next, and most critical, step is sustained movement that solidifies these issues in future approaches to curation and reception of the Roman period.

9.3 Conclusion

Throughout this chapter, past and present ideologies have been shown to influence the progression of Roman display narratives into inclusive spaces. These discussions built on chapter eight's conclusion that white audiences were still the target for homogenous exhibits. As such, majority white audiences were seen to be accustomed to anodyne narratives that appeal to their demographic at the expense of minority populations (Vlachou 2019: 51). The first half of this chapter illustrated how the foundational roles that early museums were built to fulfil, still affect their capacity to fully embrace inclusivity and earn the public's trust, specifically minority ethnic groups. The inherently exclusive processes that occur within museums counteract their ability to be truly decolonised. Instead, anti-racist and anti-colonial approaches were argued to better represent how institutions can contribute to contemporary society, whilst also recognising and engaging with their colonial identities.

Ideology also remained an important concept throughout the second part of this chapter. Modern worldviews have generally remained stagnant for majority demographics, who are still comfortable with traditional depictions of the past. There has, however, been a recent notable rise in public critical engagement with identity politics, social justice, race, and representation. There has been a much more engaged approach to these societal issues than seen in the celebration of diversity experienced in multiculturalism. For instance, the 1990s and early 2000s did not see the British population engage with the concept of white privilege, institutional racism, and oppression like it presently does. There is hope, and this lies with the interviewees who have begun to make changes through the identification of where improvements can be made and the, albeit limited, production of inclusive narratives. This positive trajectory is seriously questioned, however, by the continuance of traditional approaches in the uses of museums, national curricula, and present-day implications of Covid-19, Brexit, and right-wing populism that acts as a contradictory force to liberally progressive change.

Furthermore, this thesis has revealed liberally progressive views shared by the public. Visitors to Roman displays expect a certain standard of representation from museums. This provides institutions with a responsibility to incorporate modern ethics into their work and be relevant for their diverse visitorship. As such, institutions can be understood as arenas, or battlefields, for ideologies and cultural representation, in which pressure has started to build for integral change (Cerejido 2018; Lakshmi 2010: 102; Herle 1997: 65). There is much to do, and institutions need to revolutionise themselves to facilitate inclusivity. The ideologies inherent in curatorial processes need to be engaged with and challenged, as their complicit participation in colonialism prevents authentic engagement with diverse audiences.

Chapter 10: Conclusions

This thesis centres on three research questions:

1) To what extent is ethnic diversity incorporated into Roman display narratives in the selected museums and heritage sites, and why?
2) What is the public opinion and expectation of inclusive narratives of ethnic diversity at the selected museums and heritage sites?
3) How do insights from questions one and two relate to social, ethical, and political issues that inhibit, but also call for, institutions transformation into inclusive spaces in the UK?

Overall, the issues addressed throughout this thesis present a familiar conclusion that institutions are at a crossroads. Akin to Roman archaeology as an academic discipline, depictions of the period have been too slow in their adoption of inclusive ethics into their practice. As arguments for more actively anti-colonial display spaces have progressed (discussed in chapter two), this thesis argues that Roman displays are predominantly stagnant in this respect. This reflects other observations of the UK's museum sector and leads to discussions that question whether institutions can ever become inclusive spaces. This work's novel contribution to the field of museum studies is, therefore, that it goes beyond the identification of issues and possible remedies, to ask whether museums can fully engage with them and change.

Furthermore, this research has produced a number of findings that correspond to a variety of different aspects of museum studies. For example, Dataset 1 reveals a variety of limitations and influences on the work of staff within museums. The acknowledgement of these factors allows better insight into curatorial processes within institutions that have experienced a complex expansion of roles. Simultaneously, the lack of resources and progression towards a more inclusive field is linked to the colonial character of museal practices, their reliance on an outdated national curriculum, and their position within a neoliberal state. Dataset 2 provides evidence of the complexities surrounding how museums fit into a modern society that is split between the support and comfort of outmoded narratives, and those that challenge these standpoints. Overall, this thesis acknowledges momentum towards more inclusive narratives across the museums included in this research. Progression is, however, inhibited by the worry of a backlash from their visitorship that prevents progression towards an inclusive agenda; this leads to a return to traditional discourses to steady what is already an unstable sector. This has been further heightened by the impact of Covid-19 that has seen cultural institutions across Britain suffer from a serious lack of funds and contemporary right-wing populism that has further contributed to social fractures.

10.1 Contributions to museum studies and Roman archaeology

This thesis contributes to an understudied research field that incorporates Roman studies, coloniality, and museology together (Polm 2014: 210-211). It is also understood to be the first substantial study that centres on the combination of these specific topics, particularly with a strong focus on exhibit displays, their narratives, and ideology. Subsequently, this research offers a unique insight through an already identified, yet underutilised, perspective on how the UK's contemporary and historical narratives intertwine to shape modern identity and representation.

The study of how minority groups are represented gained significant traction in academia after Edward Said's *Orientalism* (1978). Chapter five of this thesis has demonstrated that almost half a century of calls for representation remains to be suitably answered throughout the majority of British museums. Attempts have been made for depictions of the past to become inclusive but these have stayed at the margins of common practice and have not fundamentally impacted the structural inequalities and imperial roots of museums. This also corresponds with academic arguments that depict museums as particularly slow to react with ethical and moral calls for inclusivity (Abungu 2019: 66). Chapters eight and nine, alongside the two datasets collected and incorporated into this study, also support the already established reality that museums continue to function within coloniality (Oyedemi 2018: 3; Verdesio 2010: 350; Quijano 2007: 169).

A key contribution of this thesis to the field of museum studies and representation are two original datasets that still have the potential for further study. Analysis throughout this research also furthers the discussion of the perspectives held by a range of stakeholders in museum representation of ethnic minority groups and the UK's experience and use of its Roman past. Importantly, this thesis has taken this further and contributed to the relatively understudied topic of why Britain's museumscape is yet to genuinely incorporate inclusivity into their processes. As such, discussions that identified ideological restrictions placed on museums by the public, national curricula, and their foundational purposes as mouthpieces for colonial powers, lay bare issues that need to be challenged, acknowledged, and resolved for the field to progress.

Furthermore, chapters eight and nine demonstrate an increased momentum in the desire to implement critically aware display narratives, to depict a past that is representative of the UK's diverse society. This research provided examples of institutions that have curated exhibitions and/or singular display cases that either introduced the Roman period or centred it, within a critically aware discourse. Although representation of ethnic diversity remains too low, positive changes were identified (chapter five) and hints at a contemporary shift in curation that, if sustained, may eventually see a response to the 40+ years of calls for inclusivity. This will, of

course, be swayed by how the British museum sector reacts to the contradictory forces of economic difficulty that follows Covid-19, and engagement with social movements such as Black Lives Matter that promotes inclusivity; both are discussed later in this chapter.

In particular, the use of narratology as a guide to establishing what a display narrative communicates, and how it did so, has highlighted why certain displays were, or were not, successful in their effort to be inclusive. Out of Gérard Genette's taxonomy for narratological study, it was the aspect of frequency that proved most useful to judge how seriously and successfully a Roman display implemented inclusive change. As frequency relates to how often a topic, concept, time, event, or character occurs within a narrative (Akimoto 2019: 344; Pavel 2004 37; Genette 1972: 31), its use to examine museal discourse was valuable to find what topics were central to an exhibition. It was, for example, the frequency at which the Yorkshire Museum discussed the topic of diversity, movement of people, and different cultures in York's ancient past that promoted an inclusive narrative throughout. In reflection of this, the failure to do so by Bath's Roman Baths meant that when their display cases discussed the same concepts, the infrequency of the topic overall caused it to fade into the background.

Similarly, many interviewees indicated that their display spaces did include objects that could engage with ethnicity and diversity as concepts in their narratives, but these were not highlighted well enough to do so. The discussion of ethnicity, identity, and diversity expressed through the objects and stories known to museum staff need to be utilised, emphasised, and positioned prominently in display spaces. The positioning of the Ivory Bangle Lady and the Beachy Head Lady, at York and Eastbourne respectively, demonstrates the centredness of these examples of diversity to express it as a key theme. Furthermore, the centralisation of Septimius Severus and the concept of the Other in the *Archaeology of Race* temporary exhibit at Hadrian's Wall demonstrates that it does not have to be a physical display that centres an inclusive discourse in an exhibition.

The positioning of specific characters and concepts in exhibitions is also as important as the emphasis placed on Roman history in shaping British identity. The ancient period has intimate links with Britain's colonialism, as it was—and still is—deeply etched into the UK's imperial discourses and relationship with its past (Tolia-Kelly 2011: 71; Hingley 2006; Majeed 1999: 91; Vance 1997: 239-240). It is, therefore, significant that this thesis revealed the ways in which discourses associated with the depiction of the UK's Roman past have begun to change. Vitally, narratives have begun to distance themselves from traditional versions of Roman history that reflect strong colonial links within institutions that simultaneously possess imperial traits.

The timing of this study is also, therefore, relevant. This research has taken shape against a backdrop of social and political change that has highlighted a shift in ideological perspectives in the UK. Research began just under three months after the UK's vote to leave the European Union and was conducted throughout the increased divergence of views that followed. Significantly, there has been a rise in racial hate crime post-Brexit throughout British society, with the vote seen to legitimise the expression of such views publicly (Bhopal 2018: 12). This period has also coincided with the international rise of populism that has seen current UK Prime Minister, Boris Johnson, profit from this political shift in the UK, alongside the rise of post-truth and anti-intellectualism.

Subsequently, although this thesis expresses a somewhat hopeful and positive trajectory towards better representation in future exhibits of minority ethnic groups, the contemporary events just mentioned are likely to hinder this progression. The increased momentum in the desire to represent diversity as depicted in databases one and two of this thesis may remain just a desire. The implementation of inclusivity in museal practice has, for a long time, seemed just out of reach but not a goal that is too distant that it is unachievable. The successful attempts and positive steps towards better representation of minority ethnic groups in museum displays illustrate the attainable aspect of better museum practices and application. Not enough fundamental work has been carried out, however, to sustain a widespread and fundamental change. The work of Smith and Fouseki (2011) for example, illustrates how previous attempts fell to the wayside a decade ago. The current political and economic situation of Britain may see a repeat of this failure to sustain positive action.

The increased polarization of ideologies in modern British society has caused a situation that hinders progression towards a better appreciation of different cultures in museums. The rise of populism, neoliberalism, right-wing politics and anti-immigrational discourse has, however, sparked strong responses that oppose the continuation of outdated and imperial hegemonies. The recent worldwide spike in protests associated with the Black Lives Matter movement epitomises this and has continued to gain international importance and relevance, with a recent crescendo of global protests.

Positive attitudes and action towards the better representation of minority ethnic groups, and the rise in awareness of oppressive hegemonies throughout society, were alluded to in this thesis' Dataset 2. A predominately positive reaction to these topics was seen through the public questionnaires, and this encourages the view that change is wanted. It also welcomes the view that inclusive change in museums and heritage sites will not deter the main core of those who already constitute museum and heritage site visitors. This suggests that the concern over

whether a change to traditional displays may offend the public, as expressed by museum and heritage site staff in Dataset 1, may be unfounded for institutions that already rely on this audience for income.

Dataset 2 included replies from the public that bear a resemblance to the sorts of attitudes that make curatorial teams wary to implement change. These views included the opinion that display narratives should not be altered for the sake of political correctness and alignment with liberal values. It was demonstrated, therefore, that some members of the public see only bias, or negative bias at least, in the production of displays that incorporate aspects of social justice. This is opposed to their protection of already biased discourses that were sometimes perceived as objective, likely caused by the deep-rooted ideological beliefs tied to identity and education that shape their worldviews and what constitutes truth. The polarization of political, social, and ethical thoughts seen in Dataset 2 in particular, reflects the split seen in Britain between individuals that glorify its colonial past and those that challenge it (Giblin et al. 2019: 471-472). This thesis, therefore, succeeds in capturing an essential snapshot of how Roman museums have reacted, and continue to adapt, or not, to largescale societal change and division. It also illustrates, however, a much larger picture of the mood felt by the British public and museum staff towards efforts to better represent and include identities that have been marginalised throughout Western hegemonies. This valuable insight also comes at a vital moment where inclusivity work in museums and heritage sites may—once again—give way to the already established and traditional processes, in response to times that stress the current uncertainty that overshadows Britain's heritage sector.

10.1.1 Other approaches towards sustained inclusivity

In addition to the insights just discussed of how Roman display spaces can become inclusive, this thesis has highlighted other aspects that, if recognised and engaged with, may improve representation.

10.1.1.1 Make permanent what is temporary

As demonstrated by this thesis, discussions of the Roman period in Britain remain traditional in practice, and associated displays will remain exclusive without real change. This requires museums to authentically create and sustain efforts to be more inclusive. Whereas only one permanent Roman display in this study featured representations of minority ethnic groups as a central theme, at least two temporary exhibits since 1993 had done so.[51] The *Archaeology of*

[51] These two exhibits included the Museum of London Dockland's *Roman Dead* exhibit, and the Gallo-Romeins Museum *Timeless Beauty* exhibit.

Race temporary exhibit along Hadrian's Wall (2009), and the Museum of London's *Peopling of London* temporary exhibit just over 26 years ago (1993-1994), are also historic examples of important displays that incorporated representation and/or anti-racist narratives. The innovative perspectives used in these exhibits are still to be incorporated into contemporary museum galleries. Until successful initiatives that promote inclusivity are incorporated into both permanent curatorial processes, and central discourses on display at museums, progression will only be as temporary as the short-lived displays that host it. Similarly, the *Roman Dead* (2018) exhibit by the Museum of London examined diversity, a theme not engaged with by their permanent displays.

Further study is required on why it is generally only temporary displays that appear innovative, how this innovation is achieved, and why their successes remain on the periphery of fundamental museal approaches to curation. Temporary exhibitions are important but they do not change the overall structural inequalities and imperial foundations of museums. This needs to change through the sustained implementation of a better representation of diversity in permanent exhibitions. This can be achieved through an increased frequency in the discussion diversity within the exhibits, as discussed in section 10.1.

10.1.1.2 Overcome the uneasiness around difficult discourses

Furthermore, to the disparity seen between the creation of temporary and permanent spaces, curatorial teams need to address their uneasiness with the topics of ethnicity, diversity, and race. Interviewees demonstrated anxiety about bringing discussions of diversity to their constituents, particularly local museums that strongly relied on their local audiences, such as Burwell Museum. This nervousness was seen to relate to a fear that they may offend constituents through the display of new and modern discourses that challenge traditional narratives - with or without archaeology to support these claims. It is perhaps these worries that prevent the incorporation of inclusive concepts into permanent displays. Alternatively, it may be the impermanence of temporary exhibits that allows for the inclusion of these topics in ephemeral depictions of the past, as their transience may make foreseeable confrontation easier to manage.

To ingrain inclusivity into permanent Roman displays in museums and heritage sites, however, the same topics that curatorial teams engage within temporary displays need to be an aspect of permanent exhibit design and creation. The fear of change and possible confrontation prevents the incorporation of inclusive ethics into the curation process, even if the desire to do so is there. It is the finished article that counts in the reception of positive change to museal processes, and without it, minority ethnic groups will not be aware of the changes that may have been implemented into museal processes.

Also important, however, is the realisation that inclusive narratives do not need to be confrontational or polarising. While political, societal, and ethical views may be oppositional on matters of traditional histories and the challenge of them, Roman displays can incorporate subtle changes. For example, better visual representation for people of colour in images used to depict the Roman era may contribute more to an inclusive discourse than an African object in a Romano-British exhibit for example. This can be done subtly without statements that explicitly challenge and confront audiences about their use, ideas of, and relation to the past.

This does not mean, however, that confrontation is not important or needed. As Deniz Ünsal states,

> Often museums choose to celebrate diversity and avoid engaging with difficult questions about racism, discrimination or prejudice, [and other] issues that are globally impacting communities around the world … There might be several reasons to avoid or delay taking such a position, ranging from the practical to the financial. But it might also be the uncertainty around how to begin, or to frame, a new approach.
>
> (2019: 597)

Consequently, the desire to avoid difficult discussions and confrontation may be the fear that it will deter audiences. This ambiguity is understandable in a sector that currently struggles financially, however, museums and heritage sites have abstained from these discussions for too long. Although small-scale changes to how the Roman period is depicted can be helpful to initiate inclusive practices in museums, I believe that difficult conversations need to be engaged with. The history of museums as colonial mouthpieces and the continuance of this characteristic in their methods makes it imperative for them to do so. In addition to this, the increasingly polarised ideologies seen in society, that outdated displays contribute to, demonstrate the responsibility possessed by curatorial teams to finally engage with difficult discussions and the issues they have perpetuated.

10.1.1.3 Use the material and research available

Finally, and perhaps one of the most obvious approaches to the curation of inclusive spaces is to use modern research and material that already evidences diversity in the ancient period. Many interviewees in Dataset 1 acknowledged that ethnicity, diversity, and identity was implicitly discussed in their associated display spaces. Regularly, this reflected a situation where objects in permanent displays could be used to express the diverse nature of the Roman past but these themes were not emphasised. This was used as the main reason as to why current Roman

displays only depicted ethnicity and diversity implicitly. What this reveals, however, is that many museums and heritage sites already have items at their disposal to create an inclusive narrative.

Furthermore, this acknowledgement demonstrates the knowledge that these items could be used in this way by those who have the power to make changes. Where museums or heritage sites do not possess objects that can contribute directly to the discussion of diversity in the ancient period, contemporary research can instead be used. There is now a wealth of research that acknowledges and accepts as fact the diverse nature of Britain's Roman past. Even without a tombstone that explicitly details an immigrant's origin or name, for example, the fact that Britain's Roman population is known to have been diverse is a baseline that all depictions should use. To not do so prolongs the myth of a homogenous Roman history that contributes to harmful ideologies, and promotes a dogmatic truth that opposes modern research.

10.2 Wider implications of research

The misrepresentation, underrepresentation, and absence of representation of minority ethnic groups throughout the UK's museum sector, whilst critically examined by this thesis, would also provide the basis for fruitful further study. This thesis built upon and contributed to research that examines *why* progressive change to address this issue has remained disappointingly static and disproportionate to its need. Consequently, issues observed throughout this research include general obstacles faced by all curatorial teams throughout the heritage sector such as time, money, space and the availability of material (chapter five). These impediments to the curation process are important to note as tangible and applicable across the UK's museum sector. While these generic issues were identified and their importance expressed, this thesis placed more emphasis on the ideological foundations of museums and society that enforces the continuation of these issues, and exclusive displays.

It has repeatedly been signposted in this research that museums remain loyal to their foundational purposes; the most prominent of which is to be educative (Hooper-Greenhill 1994a: 3). As Tony Bennett expressed, this remains to place curatorial teams in a position of authority (Bennett 1995: 69) and, therefore, in possession of power over knowledge creation. These power relations need to be recognised and deconstructed to facilitate inclusivity. The question remains, however, whether museums can retain their identity, authority, and relevance in society if these principles are challenged and subsequently dissociated from their fabric. This is particularly highlighted in the direct effect the UK's national curriculum has on museum education.

Furthermore, this thesis has provided a nuanced discussion to reveal positive changes that see British museums building momentum in their critical engagement with representation. As

highlighted, the Yorkshire Museum has been the only example of this process in contemporary permanent Roman exhibits this thesis incorporated. Smaller, positive changes have also been evidenced by many other projects across the museum sector in the UK. An intent to create more representative discourses was also observed by many museum professionals throughout Dataset 1 who indicated a generally widespread recognition of the need to produce inclusive spaces.

As highlighted in chapter nine, however, current museal processes designed to incorporate an authentic engagement with inclusivity have been restrictive. These criticisms predominantly fallback on the view that approaches to curation, although they may include a range of voices, still occur within processes shaped and restricted by colonial foundations of the museum. This thesis, therefore, works towards further justifications for museums to revolutionise their core identities and processes to become more inclusive.

10.3 Recommendations for the field and future research

There is a need for further research into how radical trust, anti-racist, and decolonial processes can be incorporated into the creation of the past, and depictions of it. Museums are still, however, colonial constructs that continue to hold power over the distribution of knowledge. They cannot remain unchanged in the 21st century when individuals have begun to challenge imperial discourses, of which museums are a part. As such, there is a need for future research to broaden its horizons beyond the scope of museum studies that is centred within museal experiences. As museums remain constricted by their colonial foundations, innovative approaches are required to first understand how inclusivity is implemented into discussions of history, and whether this can be achieved within the limits of a museum.

These are important conversations to have with academics and museum professionals, as the UK is once again in a position that does not appear to support widespread inclusivity. The existence of a culturally diverse British public is not, however, fading. Instead, Britain continues to develop alongside its increasingly superdiverse populace (Musolff 2019: 257-258; Vertovec 2019: 126; 2007: 1025) and ensures that the need for more inclusivity in museum displays is also there to stay. Consequently, below are several recommendations for further research and questions that need to be asked of the museum sector. These will aid in the identification and implementation of effective action to realise where museums can better represent minority ethnic groups. Future research will also have to better recognise the limitations of museal efforts to be inclusive too, caused by their embodied purposes to define nations and shape identities.

10.3.1 Museums and national curricula

Education remains one of the core functions of museums and central to their identity as an institution for society. As such, they have been bestowed with an authority that positions them as educators. This has seen museum education take a top-down approach in which those that possess control of knowledge, and therefore power, curate worldviews that are then used to teach and shape the identities of visitors. This thesis found that there still exists a great reliance on this function and has resulted in the UK's national curriculum becoming central to a museum's curation process.

Consequently, museums across the UK routinely conform to the discussion of the Roman period through a narrative viewed through a document designed by the British government. This indicates how the state still has a significant influence on what museums depict. Issues are magnified, however, when the systemic racism present within the UK's national curriculum is highlighted (Bhopal 2018: 77; The Black Curriculum[52]). The recent Black Lives Matter movement has also placed a spotlight on the white-centric perspective the UK's education system espouses. Subsequently, it has become more obvious to society that museums and other institutions involved in the curation of history through reliance on traditional educational pedagogies are complicit in a wider context of coloniality.

The use and centralisation of the UK's national curriculum as the main source to create relevancy in museums, therefore, needs to be challenged. Research would be welcome on topics that examine whether museums need to rely on government documents to aid in the creation of relevant and educational experiences for modern audiences. This is a fundamental topic that needs to be better understood whilst museums remain a bastion for education, but also connected to a contemporary educative system that aims to shape citizens and ideologies. Without the dissolution of this relationship, it is difficult to see how exhibits will progress beyond their foundational purposes to shape and define cultural borders and nations through exclusive narratives of us and them.

Other key questions also deserve to be studied such as whether the national curriculum can be separated from governmental ideology in its application for museum education. Interviewee 35 from The Yorkshire Museum described the KS2 curriculum as flexible and, as emphasised by Interviewee 6, to include the topic of diversity. As such, it may be possible to use key themes from the curriculum to curate a display narrative without much reliance on its outdated framework. To do so, however, is reliant on a museum or heritage site's available resources. It

---

[52] https://www.theblackcurriculum.com/campaign-tbh365 (Accessed 15/09/2020).

remains questionable as to whether an institution on a restricted, or non-existent, budget with limitations on staff time, is able to plan and implement a programme that can delicately use national curricula to inform displays that is also separated from state-led ideas of the past?

Furthermore, as the concept of radical trust implies, a bottom-up approach to education in museums may be successful in the disruption of traditional power relations. These ideas need to be critically engaged with and tested, if possible, to understand how progressive approaches affect visitor numbers and the retention of funds from private and charitable funding bodies. In a neo-liberalised market, self-dependency is critical for institutions, particularly those that do not support, or use, documents, and ideologies in line with contemporary governments. Also, questions need to address whether government-owned national museums that attract a high number of visitors and house objects from many cultures can distance themselves from state-led ideologies. Their resistance towards calls for repatriation may also indicate the difficulty they have, and reluctance, to be progressive entities while still associated with governments and independent donors. In conclusion, the national curriculum's role in museology deserves further scrutiny. This needs a particular focus on how the ideologies used to construct it also enter museum spaces and its effect.

10.3.3 Other periods of British history

Britain has a complex history that includes many different cultures that have historically left their mark on contemporary society. The Anglo-Saxon, Viking, Victorian, and early modern periods of Britain are, for example, other eras that feature significantly in British history books. A reliance on Celtic histories is also of great importance to the identities of individuals throughout Britain, predominantly in Scotland. The same methodological and theoretical processes this thesis has taken would be beneficial for similar in-depth studies of the depiction of other periods in modern society. As discussed throughout this thesis, Britain's imperial uses of the Roman period have influenced its modern interpretation. Similar studies would show whether other periods that are routinely used to form an identity for the UK are likewise constructed with ideologically loaded and white-centric viewpoints.

10.3.4 Wales, Scotland, and Northern Ireland

Furthermore, the corpus of British museums that were included throughout this study was situated in the south and midlands of England. The Yorkshire Museum was the only UK institution included that extended beyond these two categories. A selection of museums from a wider geographic span would have been welcome to diversify locations and populations but was beyond the scope of this thesis. To do so would have incorporated visitors to British populations in places that may have different relationships with the Roman past and conceptions of national

identity. This can also be said for the inclusion of institutions from Wales, Scotland, and Northern Ireland. This thesis discussed how the Roman period has been entwined with conceptions of Britishness and Englishness, but it was not fully explored how this differs in the UK's constituents not situated in England. This would be a fruitful way to further build on the present research.

10.3.5 The Netherlands, Belgium, and other European countries

Four institutions were included in this study from outside of Britain. These included the Rijksmuseum Van Oudheden, the Valkhof, and the Thermenmuseum in the Netherlands, and the Gallo-Romeins Museum in Belgium. A single interview was conducted with a specialist at each Dutch institution (Interviewees 1, 2, and 3), whereas two interviewees were associated with the Gallo-Romeins Museum (Interviewees 4 and 5). This was not enough data to determine trends in Dutch and Belgian museal representations of the Roman period or ethnic minority groups. They did, however, provide opportunities to make limited comparisons and contextualise issues faced by British museums with similar circumstances on mainland Europe. As such, the inclusion of interviewees from the Netherlands and Belgium emphasises the possibility for similar studies to be conducted elsewhere. This would then create more comprehensive comparisons to be made across Europe, and countries that are currently starting to critically engage with their colonial past and present coloniality.

10.3.6 Momentum after Covid-19

Examples of positive action have been highlighted throughout this thesis, to show the building momentum for actively inclusive and anti-colonial narratives in museum displays. The advent of the 2020 Covid-19 pandemic has, however, alongside events such as Brexit and rise of populism and nationalism created questions over its continued trajectory. The UK's museum sector has, for example, had to remain in a complete shutdown during the lockdown period of the pandemic amidst a social climate that sees growth in socio-economic division (Vieten and Poynting 2016: 535). Covid-19, in particular, has, however, had many detrimental effects on British museums and their workforces, who among the already difficult situation to curate for a polarised public, have faced furlough and redundancies, alongside workers in many other sectors across the UK.

Although cultural institutions have been able to join the furlough scheme[53] implemented by the UK government, their already precarious funding has seen them struggled to keep museums financially afloat. In response to this, the British government have put together a 'world-leading £1.57 billion rescue package to weather the impact of coronavirus' (UK GOV, press release, 5 July

---

[53] A scheme where staff can be furloughed and 80% of their wages funded by the government.

2020).[54] This financial package has been created for Britain's museums, galleries, theatres, independent cinemas, heritage sites, and music venues. It includes a £1.15 billion support pot for English cultural institutions, of which £270 million is repayable finance and £880 million is grants. A further £100 million is destined for the support of national cultural institutions in England and the English Heritage Trust, and £120 million investment to restart construction on cultural infrastructure. The countries of Scotland, Wales, and Northern Ireland will receive £97 million, £59 million, and £33 million, respectively.

Although a large sum of money, these funds may be spread thinly across the arts and cultural sector as the impact of a prolonged lockdown will only increase the already unstable financial situation faced by the sector pre-Covid. The lack of visitors to bolster finances, also impacts neoliberal aims for museums to diversify funding, as grants, loans, and private funders may be the only options within an industry that is currently closed to a paying public. Difficulties identified in chapter six of this thesis, that relate to issues of funding, are again intensified by the dire situations in which institutions now find themselves. This process heightens the importance of questions on which museums will be granted funding, by whom, and why.

Furthermore, those that have been seen to be the first in the loss of jobs in museums appear to be front of house staff, and other lower scaled staff, who tend to embody the majority of an institution's diversity. Institutions that have already begun redundancy consultancy, at the time of writing, include the Tate, Victoria and Albert Museum, Birmingham Museums Trust, the National Trust, and the Yorkshire Museums Trust.[55] The situation at the Tate for example has been reported to be significantly bleak for lower-paid members of staff and will disproportionately affect BAME employees.[56] If this trend continues, which is likely, museums will take many strides backwards in the very limited steps they have already taken towards inclusivity. It appears that the structural issues perceived in museum management and processes that reflect the existence of colonial hegemonies will ensure that museums remain to be places of whiteness throughout these financially uncertain times.

Also, linked to discussions in chapter six is that pre-existing funding bodies such as the Arts Council England, Historic England, and the National Heritage Lottery Fund are in control of the distribution of the UK's rescue package. Although these institutions express inclusivity and

---

[54] UK's press release *£1.57 billion investment to protect Britain's world-class cultural, arts and heritage institutions* - https://www.gov.uk/government/news/157-billion-investment-to-protect-britains-world-class-cultural-arts-and-heritage-institutions (Accessed 03/08/2020).
[55] https://www.museumsassociation.org/museums-journal/news/2020/07/museum-and-heritage-sector-faces-more-redundancies/ (Accessed 15/09/2020).
[56] https://www.artnews.com/art-news/news/tate-job-redundancies-coronavirus-union-strikes-1202696706/ (Accessed 15/09/2020).

diversity as part of their principles and requirements for successful funding, the reliance on their funds has not previously resulted in authentic change that has facilitated inclusivity across British museums. Serious questions need to be asked of where the implementation of inclusivity sits amongst the deserving qualities used as criteria in appointing funds in the sector's recovery post-Covid. As such, the politics of representation that determine whether inclusive narratives are valued enough to be funded may reflect a negative pattern as seen post multiculturalism and financial crisis (Smith and Fouseki 2011: 101).

Attention is also turned to the possible fear over an institution's ability to actively participate in innovative narrative creation in a time where stability may not be attainable. This point has been discussed in-depth in chapter nine, with the competing ideologies seen in contemporary Britain (Bhopal 2020; Giblin et al. 2019) and fear to commit to non-anodyne discourses across the United Kingdom (Janes and Sandel 2019b: 8). Once again, a reliance on traditional narratives that foresee the appeasement of majority audiences may remain the norm as curators either do not want to engage in transformative change or feel restricted by resources and who they consider to be their audience. A Covid-19 backlash may, therefore, be seen across the museum sector that further inhibits progression towards critically conscious discourses that engage with the representation of minority ethnic groups.

This eventuality is further complicated by the recent surge in Black Lives Matter protests that reflects a public that has quickly begun to engage with critical analyses of the structural injustices that pervade society. It is hoped that an increasingly informed public may place further pressure on the museum sector to change, and on governments to embrace a more inclusive national identity that better suits their diverse populations. It is currently difficult, amidst the confusion of the Covid-19 pandemic, to predict what norm emerges from lockdown. There is evidence to suggest, however, that what may have passed as the norm pre-Covid, may not be as well-received after.

This eventuality will, of course, differ between countries and perhaps continents. Covid-19 has hit countries in different ways, with communities and governments responding to its existence independently. Similarly, the messages communicated from the Black Lives Matter movement have been received and acknowledged to varying degrees of authenticity. This is further complicated by the undercurrent of racial divisiveness that surfaced in Britain after its 2016 referendum to leave the European Union, a process which is due to be completed by the end of 2020.

As such, a backlash that opposes liberal calls for more inclusivity may occur post-Covid and have long-lasting effects. In other countries, momentum towards better representation through

museal discourse may be quickened when display spaces are permitted to reopen after government-led lockdowns. This may be the case in Belgium for example, who had begun to engage with decolonial and anti-racist change before the pandemic. This is exemplified by the recent revamp of the Royal Museum for Central Africa to deconstruct its overtly colonial and racist displays (Aydemir 2008: 77). This momentum has continued throughout the Covid-19 pandemic, highlighted, and motivated by the Black Lives Matter movement and saw statues of King Leopold II taken down. Furthermore, the present King of Belgium, Philippe, on the 60th anniversary of Congo's independence from Belgium, made a statement to President Félix Tshisekedi of the Democratic Republic of Congo. The open letter expressed regret over the acts of violence that had taken place in the name of Belgian colonialism. Although an official apology was not provided, this statement represented a break in the long-established taboo of discussing this topic, that again sees a progressive shift towards anti-colonial and anti-racist engagement with imperial pasts by European elites.

It will, therefore, be of interest to see how representation, decolonial, anti-colonial, and anti-racist attitudes are engaged within different countries post-Covid. The comparison between Belgium and Britain is but one pairing that may see further fruitful comparative studies. Nuances will have to be incorporated into these comparisons to accommodate the different levels of engagement that is expressed by different countries with inclusivity. As stated in chapter three, for example, Belgium's colonial museums were largely unchanged through the early decolonial movements after the disbandment of European empires. Likely, museums in other countries will also progress, or regress, in response to the representation of minority ethnic groups dependent on their current desire and ability to modernise.

The new wave of momentum needed to enforce continual change may not, however, be based within existent politics of representation in institutional or country-specific ideologies. Instead, to ensure national and worldwide change, museums need to remain responsive to their audiences, who are increasingly more critically aware. The swathes of activism that have been seen across the world throughout the Covid-19 Pandemic have seen growth in the power of the public voice. The Black Lives Matter movement is the most notable and although it started before the health pandemic, it has grown exponentially in the first half of 2020. The mass mobilisation that has been observed across the globe evidence the now recognised desire to challenge global hegemonies that stem from Europeanised colonialism.

Furthermore, whilst the Black Lives Matter organisation has an established structure, the global movement does not. The absence of a single leader in the worldwide protests embodies a collective aim that spans continents and displays a worldwide ideological shift. No longer will

traditional hegemonies of power and knowledge remain unchallenged. It is hoped that this mass support will continue, and that calls for ethical representations of ethnic minority groups will come to fruition. Through this, it is possible for existing calls for representation, that can be traced to over almost half a century ago (e.g. Said 1978), may finally achieve recognition through fundamental changes to museum processes.

Bibliography

First names of authors have been included throughout this bibliography in line with Zena Kamash's suggestion that such practice better exposes the balance of reading lists and bibliographies concerning gender and potentially race (*forthcoming*). Furthermore, where possible all authors have been included for better visibility of whose work has directly contributed to this thesis. Surnames are in bold to differentiate from forenames.

Classical Sources

Historia Augusta, *Volume I: Hadrian. Aelius. Antoninus Pius. Marcus Aurelius. L. Verus. Avidius Cassius. Commodus. Pertinax. Didius Julianus. Septimius Severus. Pescennius Niger. Clodius Albinus*. (tr.) D. Magie. Loeb Classical Library 139. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press. 1921.

Abdullah, Aminah, **Khadaroo**, Iqbal and **Napier**, Christopher J. (2018), 'Managing the Performance of Arts Organisations: Pursuing Heterogeneous Objectives in an Era of Austerity', *The British Accounting Review* 50, pp. 174-184.

Abiodun, Rowland (2001), 'African Aesthetics', *The Journal of Aesthetic Education* 35:4. pp. 15-23.

Abungu, George O. (2019), 'Museums: Geopolitics, Decolonisation, Globalisation and Migration', *Museum International* 71:1-2. pp. 62-71.

Acuff, Joni B. and **Evans**, Laura (eds.) (2014) *Multiculturalism in Art Museum Today*. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield.

Adair, Joshua G., **Levin**, Amy K. (2020), *Museums, Sexuality, and Gender Activism*. London: Routledge.

Adams, Steven (2007), 'Sèvres Porcelain and the Articulation of Imperial Identity in Napoleonic France', *Journal of Design History* 20:3. pp. 183-204.

Ahmad, Shamsidar, **Abbas**, Mohamed Y., **Taib**, Mohd. Z. M., **Masri**, Mawar (2014), 'Museum Exhibition Design: Communication of Meaning and the Shaping of Knowledge', *Procedia – Social and Behavioural Sciences* 153. pp. 254-265.

Ahmed, Sara (2012), *On Being Included: Racism and Diversity in Institutional Life*. Durham: Duke University Press.

Ajzenstadt, Mimi and **Shapira**, Assaf (2012), 'The Socio-Legal Construction of Otherness Under a Neo-Liberal Regime: The Case of Foreign Workers in the Israeli Criminal Courts', *British Journal of Criminology* 52:4. pp. 685-704.

Akhtar, Salman (2014), 'The Mental Pain of Minorities', *British Journal of Psychotherapy* 30:2. pp. 136-153.

Akimoto, Taisuke (2019), 'Narrative Structure in the Mind: Translating Genette's Narrative Discourse Theory into a Cognitive System', *Cognitive Systems Research* 58. pp. 342-350.

Alcock, Antony (2000), *A History of the Protection of Regional Cultural Minorities in Europe: From the Edict of Nantes to the Present Day*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Aldrich, Daniel P. (2009), 'The 800-Pound *Gaijin* in the Room: Strategies and Tactics for Conducting Fieldwork in Japan and Abroad', *PS: Political Science & Politics* 42:2. pp. 299-303.

Aldrich, Robert (2010), 'Colonial Museums in a Postcolonial Europe' in D. Thomas (ed.) *Museums in Postcolonial Europe*. London: Routledge, pp. 12-31.

Alexander, Claire (2004), 'Imagining the Asian Gang: Ethnicity, Masculinity and Youth after "the Riots"', *Critical Social Policy* 24:4. pp. 526-549.

Ali, Suki (2008), 'Reading Racialized Bodies: Learning to See Difference' in H. Thomas and J. Ahmed (eds.) *Cultural Bodies*. Oxford: Blackwell. pp. 76-97.

Allason-Jones, Lindsay (2011), *Artefacts in Roman Britain: Their Purpose and Use*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Alloway, Lawrence (1996), 'The Great Curatorial Dim Out' in R. Greenberg, B. W. Ferguson and S. Nairne (eds) *Thinking About Exhibitions*. London: Routledge. pp. 221-230.

Alshenqeeti, Hamza (2014), 'Interviewing as a Data Collection Method: A Critical Review', *English Linguistics Research* 3:1. pp. 39-45.

Altheide, David L. (2006), 'Terrorism and the Politics of Fear', *Cultural Studies ↔ Critical Methodologies* 6:4. pp. 415-439.

Alvesson, Mats, **Hardy**, Cynthia and **Harley**, Bill (2008), 'Reflecting on Reflexivity: Reflexive Textual Practices in Organization and Management Theory', *Journal of Management Studies* 45:3. pp. 480-501.

Al-Yateem, Nabeel (2012), 'The Effect of Interview Recording on Quality of Data Obtained: A Methodological Reflection', *Nurse Researcher* 19:4. pp. 31-35.

Amanolahi, Sekandar (2005), 'A Note on Ethnicity and Ethnic Groups in Iran', *Iran & the Caucasus* 9:1. pp. 37-41.

Amin, Samir (1988), *Eurocentrism: Modernity, Religion, and Democracy. A Critique of Eurocentrism and Culturalism*. (tr.) R. Moore and J. Membrez. New York: Monthly Review Press. 2009.

d'Ancona, Matthew (2017), *Post-Truth: The New War on Truth and How to Fight Back*. London: Ebury Press.

Anderson, Benedict (1983), *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. London: Verso.

Anderson, Bridget (2013), *Us and Them? The Dangerous Politics of Immigration Control*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Anderson, Gail (2006), 'Museums and Relevancy', *Journal of Museum Education* 31:1. pp. 3-6.

---------- (ed.) (2004), *Reinventing the Museum: Historical and Contemporary Perspectives on the Paradigm Shift*. Walnut Creek: Alta Mira Press.

Anderson, Tom (2010), 'An Introduction to Art Education for Social Justice' in T. Anderson, D. Gussak, K.K. Hallmark, and A. Paul (eds) *Art Education for Social Justice*. Reston: National Art Education Association. pp. 2-13.

Anscombe, Gertrude E. M. (1963), *Intention*. 2nd ed. Oxford: Blackwell.

Anthias, Floya, **Yuval-Davis**, Nira, with **Cain**, Harriet (1992), *Racialized Boundaries: Race, Nation, Gender, Colour and Class and the Anti-Racist Struggle*. London and New York: Routledge.

Apfelbaum, Evan P., **Norton**, Michael I. and **Sommers**, Samuel R. (2012), 'Racial Color Blindness: Emergence, Practice, and Implication', *Association for Psychological Science* 21:3. pp. 205-209.

Appadurai, Arjun and **Breckenridge**, Carol A. (1992), 'Museums Are Good to Think: Heritage on View in India' in I. Karp and C.M. Kreamer (eds) *Museums and Communities: The Politics of Public Culture*. Washington DC: Smithsonian Institution Press. pp. 34-55.

Applebaum, Barbara (2010), *Being White, Being Good: White Complicity, White Moral Responsibility, and Social Justice Pedagogy*. Lanham: Lexington Books.

Apsel, Joyce and **Sodaro**, Amy (2019), *Museums and Sites of Persuasion: Politics, Memory and Human Rights*. London: Routledge.

Araujo, Ana L. (ed.) (2012), *Politics of Memory: Making Slavery Visible in the Public Space*. New York: Routledge.

Arts Council England (2018a), *Our National Portfolio, 2018-22: Museums Narrative.* Available at: https://www.artscouncil.org.uk. [Accessed 16/11/2018].

---------- (2018b), *Our Investment Narratives*. Available at: https://www.artscouncil.org.uk/national-portfolio-2018-22/narratives#section-2 [Accessed 16/11/2018].

---------- (2019), *Equality, Diversity and the Creative Case: A Data Report, 2017-2018*. Available at: https://www.artscouncil.org.uk/publication/equality-diversity-and-creative-case-data-report-2017-2018 [Accessed 15/04/2020].

---------- (2020), *Equality, Diversity and the Creative Case: A Data Report, 2018-2019*. Available at: https://www.artscouncil.org.uk/sites/default/files/download-file/ACE_DiversityReport_Final_03032020_0.pdf [Accessed 14/09/2020].

Asante, Molefi K. and **Ismail**, Shaza (2010), 'Rediscovering the "Lost Roman Caesar: Septimius Severus the African and Eurocentric Historiography', *Journal of Black Studies* 40:4. pp. 606-618.

Asari, Eva-Maria, **Halikiopoulou**, Daphne and **Mock**, Steven (2008), 'British National Identity and the Dilemmas of Multiculturalism', *Nationalism and Ethnic Politics* 14:1. pp. 1-28.

Ashcroft, Richard T., **Bevir**, Mark (2018), 'Multiculturalism in Contemporary Britain: Policy, Law and Theory', *Critical Review of International Social and Political Philosophy* 21:1. pp. 1-21.

Audience Agency (2018), *Museums Audience Report: November 2018*. Available: https://www.theaudienceagency.org/resources/museums-audience-report [Accessed 11/06/2020].

Aydemir, Murat (2008), 'Staging Colonialism: The Mise-En-Scène of the Africa Museum in Tervuren, Belgium' in M. Aydemir and A. Rotas (eds) *Migratory Settings*. Leiden: Brill. pp. 77-97.

Ayres, Philip (1997), Classical Culture and the Idea of Rome in Eighteenth-Century England. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Back, Les, **Keith**, Michael, **Khan**, Azra, **Shukra**, Kalbir, and **Solomos**, John (2002), 'New Labour's White Heart: Politics Multiculturalism and the Return of Assimilation', *The Political Quarterly* 73:4. pp. 445-454.

Bagwell, Sally, **Corry**, Dan and **Rotheroe**, Abigail (2015), 'The Future of Funding: Options for Heritage and Cultural Organisation', *Cultural Trends* 24:1: Election Special. pp. 28-33.

Bailey, Alison (2015), '"White Talk" as a Barrier to Understanding the Problem with Whiteness' in G. Yancy (ed.) *White Self-Critically Beyond Anti-Racism: How Does It Feel to Be a White Problem?* New York: Lexington Books. pp. 37-54.

Baker, Michael (2012), 'Modernity/Coloniality and Eurocentric Education: Towards a Post-Occidental Self-Understanding of the Present', *Policy Futures in Education* 10:1. pp. 4-22.

Bakhtin, Mikhail (1981), 'Discourse in the Novel' in M. Holquist (ed.) *The Dialogic Imagination: Four Essays by M. M. Bakhtin*. Austin: University of Texas Press. pp. 259-422.

Bal, Mieke (1991), *Reading 'Rembrandt': Beyond the Word-Image Opposition*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

---------- (1996), 'The Discourse of the Museum' in R. Greenberg, B.W. Ferguson, and S. Nairne (eds) *Thinking About Exhibitions*. London: Routledge. pp. 145-157.

---------- (2009), *Narratology: Introduction to the Theory of Narrative*. 3rd ed. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Banks, Patricia A. (2012), *Represent: Art and Identity Among the Black Upper-Middle Class*. London: Routledge.

---------- (2019), *Diversity and Philanthropy at African American Museums: Black Renaissance*. London: Routledge.

Barausse, Alberto, and **Luchese**, Terciane Â. (2018), 'Education, Ethnic Identity, and Memory in the Italian Ethnic Schools of South Rio Grande (1875-1902)', *Paedagogica Historica International Journal of the History of Education* 54:6. pp. 720-725.

Barret, John C. (1997), 'Romanization: A Critical Comment' in D. J. Mattingly (ed.) (1997), *Dialogues in Roman Imperialism: Power, Discourse and Discrepant Experience in the Roman Empire*, Journal of Roman Archaeology Supplementary Series 23. Portsmouth: Journal of Roman Archaeology. pp. 51-64.

Barringer Tim (1998), 'The South Kensington Museum and the Colonial Project' in: T. Barringer and T. Flynn, 1998 (ed.) *Colonialism and the Object: Empire, Material Culture and the Museum*. London and New York: Routledge. pp. 11-27.

Barthes, Roland (1957), *Mythologies*. (tr.) A. Lavers. New York: Noonday Press, 1972.

---------- (1974), *S/Z*. (tr.) R. Miller. Oxford: Blackwell, 1991.

Bawdon, Fiona (2019), 'Remember when "*Windrush*" was Still Just the Name of a Ship?' in D. Prabhat (ed.) *Citizenship in Times of Turmoil*. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar Publishing. pp. 173-197.

BBC, (2020a), *Coronovirus: National Trust Boss Denies Expert Job Cuts Would 'Dumb Down' Charity*. BBC, 22 August 2020. https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-53874268#:~:text=The%20National%20Trust's%20director%20general,and%20gardens%20during%20the%20pandemic. [Accessed 26/08/2020].

---------- (2020b), *Edward Colston: Bristol Slave Trader Statue 'Was an Affront'*. *BBC*, 8 June. https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-england-bristol-52962356 [Accessed 10/06/2020].

---------- (2020c), *Boris Johnson 'Cannot Believe' BBC Proms Decision*. BBC, 25 August. https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/entertainment-arts-53902065 [Accessed 28/08/2020].

de Beco, Gauthier (2014), ‘The Right to Inclusive Education According to Article 24 of the UN Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities: Background, Requirements and (Remaining) Questions’, *Netherlands Quarterly of Human Rights* 32:3. pp. 263-287.

Bennett, Tony (1988), ‘The Expeditionary Complex’, *New Formations* 4(Spring). pp. 73-99.

---------- (1995), *The Birth of the Museum*. London: Routledge.

---------- (2004), *Pasts Beyond Memory: Evolution, Museums, Colonialism*. London: Routledge.

---------- (2005), ‘Museums, Nations, Empires, Religions’ in T. Bennett (ed.) *Museums, Power, Knowledge: Selected Essays*. London: Routledge. 2018. pp. 78-97.

---------- (2006), ‘Exhibition, Difference and the Logic of Culture’ first published in: I. Karp, C. A. Kratz, L. Swaja, and T. Ybarra-Frausto (eds) (2006), *Museum Frictions: Public Culture/Global Transformations*. Durham: Duke University Press in T. Bennett (ed.) (2018), *Museums, Power, Knowledge*. London: Routledge. pp. 179-199.

---------- (2015), ‘Museums, Nations, Empires, Religions’ first published in: P. Aronsson and G. Elgenius (eds) *National Museums and Nation-building in Europe 1750-2010: Mobilization and Legitimacy, Continuity and Change*. London: Routledge. 66-86 in T. Bennett (ed.) (2018), *Museums, Power, Knowledge*. London: Routledge. pp. 78-97.

---------- (2018), ‘Introduction: Museums, Power, Knowledge’ in: T. Bennett, (ed.) *Museums, Power, Knowledge: Selected Essays*. London: Routledge. pp. 1-18.

Benson, Michaela, and **Lewis**, Chantelle (2019), ‘Brexit, British People of Colour in the EU-27 and Everyday Racism in Britain and Europe’, *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 42:13. pp. 2211-2228.

Berger, Stefan (2015), ‘National Museums in between Nationalism, Imperialism, and Regionalism, 1750-1914’ in: P. Aronsson and G. Elgenius (eds) *National Museums and Nation-Building in Europe 1750-2010: Mobilization and Legitimacy, Continuity and Change*. London: Routledge. pp. 13-33.

Bhabha, Homi K. (1994) *The Location of Culture*. London: Routledge.

Bhagat-Kennedy, Monika (2018), ‘Nation After World: Rethinking “The End of Postcolonial Theory”’, *Interventions* 20:3. pp. 335-344.

Bhagwati, Annette (2020), Representation of Culture(s): Articulations of the De/Post-Colonial at the Haus der Kulturen der Welt in Berlin in M. von Oswald and J. Tinius (eds) *Across Anthropology*. Leuven: Leuven University Press. pp. 338-360.

Bhopal, Raj S. (2004), ‘Glossary of Terms Relating to Ethnicity and Race: For Reflection and Debate’, *Journal of Epidemiology and Community Health* 58:6. pp. 441-445.

Bhopal, Kalwant (2018), *White Privilege: The Myth of a Post-Racial Society*. Bristol: Policy Press.

Binford, Lewis R. (1968), ‘Archaeological Perspectives’ in S. R. Binford and L. R. Binford (eds) *New Perspectives in Archaeology*. Chicago: Aldine. pp. 5-32.

Birley, Anthony (1971) *Septimius Severus: The African Emperor*. 1999. London and New York: Routledge.

Black, Jeremy (1997), ‘Gibbon and International Relations’ in: R. McKitterick and R. Quinault (eds) *Edward Gibbon an Empire*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. pp. 217-246.

Blakkisrud, Helge and **Kuziev**, Faruh (2019), ‘Museums, Memory and Meaning-Creation: (Re)Constructing the Tajik Nation’, *Nations and Nationalism* 25:3. pp. 997-1017.

de Block, Hugo (2019), ‘The Africa Museum of Tervuren, Belgium: The Reopening of “The Last Colonial Museum in the World”, Issues on Decolonization and Repatriation’, *Museum and Society* 17:2. pp. 272-281.

Bloembergen, Marieke (2006), *Colonial Spectacles: The Netherlands and the Dutch East Indies at the World Exhibitions, 1880-1931*. Singapore: Singapore University Press.

BMAG (2017), *The Past Is Now: The Exhibition is Open*. Blog. https://www.birminghammuseums.org.uk/blog/posts/the-past-is-now-the-exhibition-is-open [Accessed 10/02/2021].

Boast, Robin (2011), ‘Neocolonial Collaboration: Museum as Contact Zone Revisited’, *Museum Anthropology* 34:1. pp. 56-70.

van Bockhaven, Vicky (2019), ‘Decolonising the Royal Museum for Central Africa in Belgium’s Second Museum Age’, *Antiquity* 93:370. pp. 1082-1087.

Bonacchi, Chiara, **Altaweel**, Mark and **Krzyzanska**, Marta (2018), ‘The Heritage of Brexit: Roles of the Past in the Construction of Political Identities Through Social Media’, *Journal of Social Archaeology* 18:2. pp. 174-192.

Bonnett, Alastair (2000), *Anti-Racism*. 2005. London: Routledge.

Bonnett, Alastair and **Carrington**, Bruce (2000), ‘Fitting into Categories or Falling Between Them? Rethinking Ethnic Classification’, *British Journal of Sociology of Education* 21:4. pp. 487-500.

Booth, Elizabeth and **Powell**, Raymond (2016), ‘Museums: From Cabinets of Curiosity to Cultural Shopping Experiences’ in V. Katsoni and A. Stratigea (eds) *Tourism and Culture in the Age of Innovation*. New York: Springer. pp. 131-143.

Bourdieu, Pierre (1977), *Outline of a Theory of Practice* (tr.) R. Nice. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 2005.

---------- (2000), *Pascalian Meditations*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Bourdieu, Pierre, **Darbel**, Alain and **Schnapper**, Dominique (1991), *The Love of Art: European Art Museums and their Public*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Bourdieu, Pierre and **Wacquant**, Loïc (1992), *An Invitation to Reflexive Sociology*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Boykin, C. Malik, **Brown**, N. Derek, **Carter**, James, T., **Dukes**, Kristin, **Green**, Dorainne, J., **Harrison**, Timothy, **Hebl**, Mikki, **McCleary-Gaddy**, Asia, **Membere**, Ashley, **McJunkins**, Cordy, A., **Simmons**, Cortney, **Walker**, Sarah S., **Smith**, Alexis, N., **William**, Amber, D. (2020), ‘Anti-Racist Actions and Accountability: Not More Empty Promises’, *Equality, Diversity and Inclusion* 39:7. pp. 775-786.

Brahm Levey, Geoffrey (2007), ‘The Antidote of Multiculturalism’, *Griffith Review* 15. pp. 196-208.

Braithwaite, Gillian (1984), ‘Romano-British Face Pots and Head Pots’, *Britannia* 15. pp. 99-131.

Breton, Stéphane, **Coquet**, Michel, **Houseman**, Michael and **Schaeffer**, Jean-Marie (2006), *Qu’est-ce Qu-un Corps? Afrique du l’Quest, Europe Occidentale, Nouvelle-Guinée, Amazonie*. Paris: Éditions Flammarion Musée du quai Branly.

British Sociological Association (2017), *Statement of Ethical Practice*. Durham: BSA Publications.

Brophy, Sarah S. (2005), *Is Your Museum Grant-Ready? Assessing Your Organization’s Potential for Funding*. Oxford: AltaMira.

Broughall, Quentin J. (2014), 'Stones of Empire: Allusions to Ancient Rome in the Physical Fabric of the Victorian and Edwardian World', *New Voices in Classical Reception Studies* 9. pp. 1-18.

Brown, Karen (2019), 'Museums and Local Development: An Introduction to Museums, Sustainability and Well-Being', *Museum International* 71:3-4. pp. 1-13.

Brown, Michael F. (2009), 'Exhibiting Indigenous Heritage in the Age of Cultural Property' in J. Cuno (ed.) *Whose Culture? The Promise of Museums and the Debate over* Antiquities. Princeton: Princeton University Press. pp. 145-166.

Brubaker, Rogers (2009), 'Ethnicity, Race, and Nationalism', *Annual Review of Sociology* 35. pp. 21-42.

Burmeister, Stefan (2000), 'Archaeology and Migration: Approaches to an Archaeological Proof Migration', *Current Anthropology* 14:4. pp. 539-567.

Burton, Jonathan, **Nandi**, Alita and **Platt**, Lucinda (2010), 'Measuring Ethnicity: Challenges and Opportunities for Survey Research', *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 33:8. pp. 1332-1349.

Butler, Judith (1990), Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity. London: Routledge.

Butler, Sarah J. (2012), *Britain and Its Empire in the Shadow of Rome: The Reception of Rome in Socio-Political Debate from the 1850s to the 1920s*. London: Bloomsbury.

Butler, Shelley R. (2016), Contested Representations: Revisiting 'Into the Heart of Africa'. London: Routledge.

Callanan, Maureen A., **Legare**, Cristine H., **Sobel**, David M., *et. al*. (2020), 'Exploration, Explanation, and Parent-Child Interaction in Museums', *Monographs of the Society for Research in Child Development* 85:1. pp. 7-137.

Camden, William (1610), *Britannia, or a Chorographicall Description of the Most Flourishing Kingdomes, England, Scotland, and Ireland* (tr) P. Holland. London: Georgii Bishop and Ioannis Norton.

Cameron, David, (2011) *Speech at the Munich Security Conference*. 5th February. Retrieved March 25, 2020, from https://www.gov.uk/government/speeches/pms-speech-at-munich-security-conference.

Cameron, Fiona (2010), 'Introduction. In Hot Topics, Public Culture, Museums' in F. Cameron and L. Kelly (ed.) *Hot Topics, Public Culture, Museums.* Newcastle Upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing. pp. 1–15.

Cameron, Fiona (2011), 'From Mitigation to Creativity: The Agency of Museums and Science Centres and the Means to Govern Climate Change', *Museum & Society* 9:2. pp. 90-106.

Cantoni, Davide, **Chen**, Yuyu, **Yang**, David Y., **Yuchtman**, Noam, and **Zhang**, Y. Jane (2017) 'Curriculum and Ideology', *Journal of Political Economy* 125:2. pp. 338-392.

Capstick, Andrea and **Clegg**, David (2013), 'Behind the Stiff Upper Lip: War Narratives of Older Men with Dementia', *Journal of War and Culture Studies* 6:3. pp. 239-254.

Carbone, Fabio (2017), 'Post-multicultural Challenges for Cultural Heritage Managers and Museums in the Age of Migrations', *Museum Management and Curatorship* 34:1. pp. 2-23.

Carr, Gillian (2003) 'Creolisation, Pidginisation and the Interpretation of Unique Artefacts in Early Roman Britain'. in: G. Carr, E. Swift and J. Weekes (eds) *TRAC 2002: Proceedings of the*

Twelfth Annual Theoretical Archaeology Conference, Canterbury 2002. Oxford: Oxbow Books.

Carr, Margaret, **Clarkin-Phillips**, Jeanette, **Soutar**, Brenda, **Clayton**, Leanne, **Wipaki**, Miria, **Wipaki-Hawkins**, Rea, **Cowie**, Bronwen and **Gardner**, Shelley (2018), 'Young Children Visiting Museums: Exhibitions, Children and Teachers Co-author the Journey', *Children's Geographies* 16:5. pp. 558-570.

Carrington, Charles (1955), *Rudyard Kipling: His Life and Work*. London: Macmillan.

Cascio, Elio L., **Tacoma**, Laurens E. (2016), *The Impact of Mobility and Migration in the Roman Empire*. Leiden: Brill.

Castles, Stephen and **Miller**, Mark J. (2009), *The Age of Migration. International Population Movements in the Modern World*, 4th ed. Basingstoke: Palgrave.

Castro-Gómez, Santiago (2007), 'The Missing Chapter of Empire: Postmodern Reorganization of Coloniality and Post-Fordist Capatalism', *Cultural Studies* 21:2-3. pp. 428-448.

Carter, Tom and **Robertson**, Ian (2016), '"Distilling More than 2,000 Years of History into 161,000 Square Feet of Display Space": Limiting Britishness and the Failure to Create a Museum of British History', *Rural History* 27:2. pp. 213-237.

Cerejido, Elizabeth (2018), 'Museums as Battleground: Exile and Contested Cultural Representation in Miami's Cuban Museum'. in: M. Greet and G. M. Tarver (eds) *Art Museums of Latin America: Structuring Representation*. London: Routledge. pp. 205-218.

Chambers, Iain, **De Angelis**, Alessandra, **Ianniciello**, Celeste, **Orabona**, Mariangela, and **Quadraro**, Michaela (eds) (2014), *The Postcolonial Museum: The Arts of Memory and the Pressure of History*. London: Routledge.

Chandra, Kanchan (2006), 'What Is Ethnic Identity and Does it Matter?', *Annual Review of Political Science* 9:1. pp. 397-424.

Chenery, Carolyn, **Müldner**, Gundula, **Evans**, Jane, **Eckardt**, Hella, and **Lewis**, Mary (2010), 'Strontium and Stable Isotope Evidence for Diet and Mobility in Roman Gloucester, UK', *Journal of Archaeological Science* 37:1. pp. 150-163.

Chin, Christina (2013), 'Key Dimensions of a Multicultural Art Education Curriculum', *International Journal of Education & the Arts* 14:4. pp. 1-28.

Cheong, Pauline H., **Edwards**, Rosalind, **Goulbourne**, Harry, and **Solomos**, John (2007), 'Immigration, Social Cohesion and Social Capital: A Critical Review', *Critical Social Policy* 27:1. pp. 24-49.

Cieciuch, Jan and **Topolewska**, Ewa (2017), 'Circumplex of Identity Formation Modes: A Proposal for the Integration of Identity Constructs Developed in the Erikson-Marcia Tradition', *Self and Identity* 16:1. pp. 37-61.

Cixous, Hélène (1976), 'The Laugh of Medusa'. (tr.) K. Cohen and P. Cohen. *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 1:4. pp. 875-893.

Clark, Gillian (2004), *Christianity and Roman Society*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Clark, Kenneth B. (1963), *Prejudice and your child*. Boston: Beacon Press.

Clark, Kate (2014), 'Values-Based Heritage Management and the Heritage Lottery Fund in the UK', *The Journal of Preservation Technology* 45:2/3 *Special Issue on Values-Based Preservation*. pp. 65-71.

Clarke, David L. (1968), *Analytical Archaeology*. London: Methuen.

Clarke, John R. (2003), *Art in the Lives of Ordinary Romans: Visual Representation and Non-Elite Viewers in Italy, 100 B.C. – A.D. 315*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Classen, Constance and **Howes**, David (2006), 'The Museum as Sensescape: Western Sensibilities and Indigenous Artifacts' in E. Edwards, C. Gosden and R. Philips (eds) *Sensible Objects: Colonialism, Museums and Material Culture*'. Oxford: Berg. pp. 199-222.

Coffee, Kevin (2008), 'Cultural Inclusion, Exclusion and the Formative Roles of Museums', *Museum Management and Curatorship* 23:3. pp. 261-279.

Cohen, Anthony P. (1996), 'Personal Nationalism: A Scottish View of some Rites, Rights, and Wrongs', *American Ethnologist* 23:4. pp. 802-815.

Connerton, Paul (1989), *How Societies Remember*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Coleman, Laura-Edythe (2018), *Understanding and Implementing Inclusion in Museums*. London: Rowman and Littlefield.

Collicott, Sylvia L. (1994), 'The Peopling of London, London, November 93-May 94', *History Workshop* 38. pp. 261-263.

Collingwood, Robin G. (1932), *Roman Britain*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Collis, John (2003), The Celts: Origins, Myths and Inventions. Stroud: Tempus.

Colombo, Enzo (2015), 'Multiculturalisms: An Overview of Multicultural Debates in Western Societies', *Current Sociology Review* 63:6. pp. 800-824.

Commission for Racial Equality (1999), *The Leadership Challenge: Progress Report 1999*. London: Commission for Racial Equality.

Conkey, Margaret W. and **Spector**, Janet D. (1984), 'Archaeology and the study of gender', *Advances in Archaeological Method and Theory* 7. pp. 1-38.

Conkey, Margaret (1993) 'Making the connections: Feminist theory and archaeologies of gender'. in H. du Cros and L. Smith, (eds) *Women in archaeology: A feminist critique. Occasional Papers in Prehistory 23*. Canberra: Department of Prehistory, Research School of Pacific Studies, Australian National University. pp. 3-15.

---------- (2005), 'Dwelling at the Margins, Action at the Intersection? Feminist and Indigenous Archaeologies, *Archaeologies: Journal of the World Archaeological Congress* 1:1. pp. 9-59.

Conn, Steven (2010), *Do Museums Still Need Objects?* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Connerton, Paul (1989), *How Societies Remember.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Cool, Hilary (2002), 'An Overview of the Small finds from Catterick'. in P. Wilson (ed.) *Roman Catterick and its Hinterland. Excavations and Research 1958-1997*. York: Council for British Archaeology. pp. 24-43.

Coombes, Annie E. (1988), 'Museums and the Formation of National and Cultural Identities', *Oxford Art Journal*. 11(2). pp. 57-68.

Coombes, Annie E. and **Phillips**, Ruth B. (2020), 'Introduction: Museums in Transformation: Dynamics of Democratization and Decolonization'. in A. E. Coombes and R. B. Phillips (eds) *Museums Transformations: Decolonization and Democratization*. Hoboken: Wiley. xxv-lv.

Cooper, Frederick (1994), 'Conflict and Connection: Rethinking Colonial African History', *The American Historical Review* 99:5. pp. 1516-1545.

Cooremans, Brigitte (2008), 'The Roman Cemeteries of Tienen and Tongeren: Results from the Archaeobotanical Analysis of the Cremation Graves', *Vegetation History and Archaeobotany* 17. pp. 3-13.

Corbett, Steve (2016), 'The Social Consequences of Brexit for the UK and Europe: Euroscepticism, Populism, Nationalism, and Societal Division', *International Journal of Social Quality* 6:1. pp. 11-31.

Corinium Museum (2019), *Stone Age to Corinium*. Available at: https://coriniummuseum.org/support-us/stone-age-to-corinium/ [Accessed 21/03/2019].

Coulston, Jonathon C. N. (2004), 'Military Identity and Personal Self-Identity in the Roman Army'. in L. de Light, E. Hemelrijk, and H. W. Singor (eds) *Roman Rule and Civic Life: Local and Regional Perspectives*. Proceedings of the Fourth Workshop of the International Network Impact of Empire (Roman Empire, c. 200 B.C. – A.D. 476), Leiden, June, 25-28, 2003. Series: Impact of Empire Vol. 4. Leiden: Brill. pp. 133-152.

The Council for Museums, Archives, and Libraries (2000), *Renaissance in the Regions: A New Vision for England's Museums*. Available through: www.museumsassociation.org [Accessed 01/06/2020].

Council on Museums and Education in the Visual Arts, **Newsom**, Barbara Y., and **Silver** Adele Z. (1978), 'The Museum Volunteer'. in Council on Museums and Education in the Visual Arts, B. Y. Newsom, and A. Z. Silver (eds) *The Art Museum as Educators: A Collection of Studies as Guides to Practice and Policy*. Berkeley: University of California Press. pp. 242-258.

Cousins Julia (1994), '"But You Aren't Going to Change it All, Are You?" Refurbishment of the Pitt Rivers Museum', *Museum Management & Curatorship* 13:4. pp. 415-420.

Craggs, Ruth (2011), 'The Commonwealth Institute and the Commonwealth Arts Festival: Architecture, Performance and Multiculturalism in Late-Imperial London', *The London Journal* 36:3. pp. 247-268.

Crawford, Keith (1998), 'The Construction of the National Curriculum: An Ideological and Political Analysis', *Research Papers in Education* 13:3. pp. 261-276.

Creese, Gillian (2019), '"Where Are You From?" Racialization, Belonging and identity Among Second-Generation African-Canadians', *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 42:9. pp. 1476-1494.

du Cros, Hilary and **Smith**, Laurajane (eds) *Women in archaeology: A feminist critique*. Occasional Papers in Prehistory 23. Canberra: Department of Prehistory, Research School of Pacific Studies, Australian National University.

Cubitt, Geoffrey (2010), 'Lines of Resistance: Evoking and Configuring the Theme of Resistance in Museum Displays in Britain Around the Bicentenary of 1807', *Museums and Society* 8:3. pp. 143-164.

Culler, Jonathan (1980), 'Forward'. in G. Genette (1972), *Narrative Discourse: An Essay in Method*. (tr) J. E. Lewin (1980). New York: Cornell University Press. pp. 7-13.

Dainty, Andrew R. J., **Bagihole**, Barbara M., and **Neale**, Richard H. (1997), 'Analytical Strategies for Dealing with Qualitative Data in Construction Management Research' in P. Stephenson (ed.) *Proceedings 13th Annual Association of Researchers in Construction Management Conference*. Cambridge: King's College. pp. 491-500.

Datta, Ranjan (2018), 'Decolonizing Both Researcher and Research and its Effectiveness in Indigenous Research', *Research Ethics* 14:2. pp. 1-24.

Davies, Bronwyn and **Bansel**, Peter (2007), 'Neoliberalism and Education', *International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education* 20:3. pp. 247-259.

Davies, Maurice, **Shaw**, Lucy (2010), 'Measuring the Ethnic Diversity of the Museum Workforce and the Impact and Cost of Positive-action Training, with Particular Reference to the Diversify Scheme', *Cultural Trends* 19:3. pp. 147-179.

---------- (2012), *Diversify Destination Research: The Impact of the Diversify Scheme on Participant's Careers 1998-2011*. London: Museum Association.

---------- (2013), 'Diversifying the Museum Workforce: The Diversify Scheme and its Impact on Participants' Careers', *Museum Management and Curatorship* 28:2. pp. 172-192.

Davies, Sue M. (2010), 'The Co-production of Temporary Museum Exhibitions', *Museum Management and Curatorship*, 25:3. pp. 305-321.

Davis, Angela Y. (2016), *Freedom is a Constant Struggle: Ferguson, Palestine, and the Foundations of a Movement*. Chicago: Haymarket Books.

Department for Digital, Culture, Media and Sport (2007), *Regional Museums to Benefit from Three Year Government Funding Deal*. (Media release October 29). London: DCMS.

---------- (2013), *English Heritage New Model: Consultation*. December 2013. London: DCMS.

De Rijksoverheid voor Nederland (2019), *Hoe zit het vwo in elkaar?* https://www.rijksoverheid.nl/onderwerpen/voortgezet-onderwijs/vraag-en-antwoord/hoe-zit-het-vwo-in-elkaar?fbclid=IwAR2Cf_q6Y0fjRUoJmG4MpEPzx-DS9-77QEMBRq8MHneEo5SnJIv6Nd77xN8 [Accessed 29/05/2019].

Dei, George J. S. (2006), 'Introduction: Mapping the Terrain – Towards a New Politics of Resistance'. in G. J. S. Dei and A. Kempf (eds) *Anti-Colonialism and Education: The Politics of Resistance*. Rotterdam: Sense Publishers. pp. 1-24.

---------- (2016), 'Decolonizing the University: The Challenges and Possibilities of Inclusive Education', *Socialist Studies/Études Socialistes* 11:1. pp. 23-61.

Denzin, Norman and **Lincoln**, Yvonna S. (1994), 'Introduction: Entering the Field of Qualitative Research'. in N. Denzin and Y. Lincoln (eds) *Handbooks of Qualitative Research*. Thousand Oaks: Sage. pp. 1-17.

Department for Digital, Culture, Media and Sport, Home Office (2018), *Data Protection Act 2018*. Available at: https://www.gov.uk/government/collections/data-protection-act-2018 [Accessed 02/08/2018].

---------- (2019), *DCMS-Sponsored Museums and Galleries Annual Performance Indicators 2018/19*. Available at: https://www.gov.uk/government/statistics/sponsored-museums-and-galleries-annual-performance-indicators-201819 [Accessed 16/04/2020].

---------- (2019), *Sponsored Museums and Galleries Annual Performance Indicators 2017/2018*. UK Government.

Department for Education (2013a), *History programmes of study: key stages 1 and 2: National Curriculum in England*. UK Government.

---------- (2013b), *History programmes of study: key stage 3: National Curriculum in England*. UK Government.

---------- (2014a), *National Curriculum.* UK Government. https://www.gov.uk/government/collections/national-curriculum#programmes-of-study-by-subject [Accessed 28/11/2018].

---------- (2014b), *The Equality Act and Schools*. London: UK Government, Department for Education.

---------- (2015), *Schools Attendance and Absence*. https://www.gov.uk/school-attendance-absence/legal-action-to-enforce-school-attendance. Cited in K. Bhopal (2018) *White Privilege: The Myth of a Post-Racial Society*. Bristol: Policy Press.

---------- (2018), *Schools Pupils and their Characteristics 2018 – National Tables*. UK Government. https://www.gov.uk/government/statistics/schools-pupils-and-their-characteristics-january-2018 [Accessed 31/05/2019].

Derks, Ton and **Roymans**, Nico (ed.) (2009), *Ethnic Constructs in Antiquity: The Role of Power and Tradition*'. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press.

DiAngelo, Robin (2011), 'White Fragility', *International Journal of Critical Pedagogy* 3:3. pp. 54-70.

Díaz-Andreu, Margarita and **Lucy**, Sam (2005), 'Introduction'. in M. Díaz-Andreu, S. Lucy, S. Babić and D. N. Edwards. *The Archaeology of Identity: Approaches to Gender, Age, Status, Ethnicity and Religion*. London: Routledge. pp. 1-12.

Dibley, Lesley (2011), 'Analyzing Narrative Data Using McCormack's Lenses', *Nurse Researcher* 18:3. pp. 13-19.

Dietler, Michael (1994), '"Our Ancestors the Gauls": Archaeology, Ethnic Nationalism, and the Manipulation of Celtic identity in Modern Europe', *American Anthropologist* 96:3. pp. 584-605.

Ding, Iza and **Hlavac**, Marek (2017), '"Right" Choice: Restorative Nationalism and Right-Wing Populism in Central and Eastern Europe', *Chinese Political Science Review* 2. pp. 427-444.

Dixon, Carol A. (2016), 'The "Othering" of Africa and its Diasporas in Western Museum Practices'. Doctoral Thesis. The University of Sheffield.

Dmitriev, Sviatoslav (2009), '(Re-)constructing the Roman Empire: From 'Imperialism' to 'post-colonialism'. An Historical Approach to History and Historiography', *Annali della Scuola Normale Superiore di Pasa. Classe di Lettere e Filosofia*. Series 5 1:1 Lo Spzio e la cultura. pp. 123-164.

van Dommelen, Peter (2014), 'Moving on: Archaeological Perspectives on Mobility and Migration', *World Archaeology* 46. pp. 477-483.

Donington, Katie, **Hanley**, Ryan, and **Moody**, Jessica (2016), 'Introduction'. in K. Donington, R. Hanley, and J. Moody (eds) *Britain's History and Memory of Transatlantic Slavery: Local Nuances of a 'National Sin'*. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press.

Doppen, Frans H. (2000), 'Teaching and Learning Multiple Perspective: The Atomic Bomb', *The Social Studies* 91:4. pp. 159-169.

Dörnyei, Zoltan (2007), *Research Methods in Applied Linguistics: Quantitative Qualitative, and Mixed Methodologies*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Drost, Vincent (2018), 'Roman Numismatics Research Strategy' in E. Tilley (ed) *Old Collections, New Questions: Researching the Roman Collections of the Yorkshire Museum*. York: Yorkshire Museums Trust. pp. 87-109.

Duncan, Carol (1995), *Civilizing Rituals: Inside Public Art Museums*. London: Routledge.

Duncan, Carol and **Wallach**, Alan (1980), 'The Universal Survey Museum', *Art History* 3:4. pp. 448-469.

Dutta, Urmitapa (2016), 'Creating Inclusive Identity Narratives Through Participatory Action Research', *Journal of Community and Applied Social Psychology* 27. pp. 476-488.

Earle, Timothy, K. and **Preucel**, Robert W. (1987), 'Processual Archaeology and the Radical Critique'. in T. K. Earle, R. W. Preuvel, E. M. Brumfiel, C. Carr, W. F. Limp, C. Chippindale, A. Gilman, I. Hodder, G. A. Johnson, W. F. Keegan, A. B. Knapp, P. B. Potter Jr., N. Rolland, R. M. Rowlett, B. G. Trigger, and R. N. Zeitlin 'Processual Archaeology and the Radical Critique [and Comments and Reply]', *Current Anthropology* 28:4. pp. 501-538. 501-513.

Ebitz, David (2005), 'Qualifications and the Professional Preparation and Development of Art Museum Educators', *Studies in Art Education* 46:2. pp. 150-169.

Eckardt, Hella (2010a), *Roman Diasporas: Archaeological Approaches to Mobility and Diversity in the Roman Empire*. Cambridge: Journal of Roman Archaeology Issue 78 Supplementary Series.

---------- (2010b), 'A Long Way From Home: Diaspora Communities in Roman Britain' in H. Eckardt (ed.) *Roman Diasporas: Archaeological Approaches to Mobility and Diversity in the Roman Empire*. Portsmouth: Journal of Roman Archaeology. pp. 99-130.

---------- (2014), Objects and Identities: Roman Britain and the North-Western Provinces. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Eckardt, Hella, **Chenery**, Carolyn, **Booth**, Paul, **Evans**, Jane A., **Lamb**, Angela L., and **Müldner**, Gundula (2009), 'Oxygen and Strontium Isotope Evidence for Mobility in Roman Winchester', *Journal of Archaeological Science* 36:12. pp. 2816-2825.

Eckardt, Hella and **Müldner**, Gundula (2016) 'Mobility, Migration, and Diaspora in Roman Britain'. in M. Millett, L. Revell, and A. Moore (eds) *The Oxford Handbook of Roman Britain*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. pp. 203-223.

Eco, Umberto (1979), *A Theory of Semiotics*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Endacott, Jason and **Brooks**, Sarah (2013), 'An Updated Theoretical and Practical Model for Promoting Historical Empathy', *Social Studies Research and Practice* 8:1. pp. 41-58.

Endere, María L., **Chaparro**, María G., and **Conforti**, María E. (2018), 'Making Cultural Heritage Significant for the Public. The Role of Researchers in Encouraging Public Awareness and Local Pride', *Public Archaeology* 17:1. pp. 1-19.

Enwezor, Okwui (2003), 'The Postcolonial Constellation: Contemporary Art in a State of Permanent Transition', *Research in African Literatures* 34:4. pp. 57-82.

Erskine-Loftus, Pamela, **Hightower**, Victoria P., and **Al-Mulla**, Mariam I. (2019), Representing the Nation: Heritage, Museums, National Narratives and Identity in the Arab Gulf States. London: Routledge.

Esson, James and **Last**, Angela (2020), 'Anti-Racist Learning and Teaching in British Geography', *Area* 52. pp. 668-677.

European Union (2018), *Regulation (EU) 2016/679 (General Data Protection Regulation)*. Available at: https://gdpr-info.eu/ [Accessed 02/08/2018].

Everitt, Sian (2009), 'Renaissance Revelations: Hub Museums and Online Documentation', *Cultural Trends* 18:1. pp. 89-95.

Falk, John H. and **Dierking**, Lynn D. (2013), *The Museum Experienced Revisited*. London: Routledge, 2016.

Falk, Martin and **Katz-Gerro**, Tally (2016), 'Cultural Participation in Europe: Can We Identify Common Determinants?', *Journal of Cultural Economies* 40. pp. 127-162.

Fenton, Steve (2010) *Ethnicity*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Fernandez, Luis A. (2009), 'Being There: Thoughts on Anarchism and Participatory Observation'. in R. Amster, A. Deleon, L. A. Fernandez, A. J. Nocella, and D. Shannon (eds) *Contemporary Anarchist Studies*. London: Routledge. pp. 93-102.

Fichtenau, Heinrich (1991), *Living in the Tenth Century: Mentalities and Social Orders*. (tr) P. J. Geary. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Filippoupoliti, Anastasia and **Sylaiou**, Stella (2015), 'Editorial Note. Museum & Society Special Issue. Museum Education Today: Creative Synergies and Pedagogic Innovations in Multicultural Contexts', *Museum & Society* 13:2. pp. 119-122.

Fine, Ben (2012), 'Neo-Liberalism in Retrospect? It's Financialisation, Stupid'. in K-S. Chang, B. Fine, and L. Weiss (eds) *Developmental Politics in Transition*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan. pp. 59-60.

Fivush, Robyn (2010), 'Speaking Silence: The Social Construction of Silence in Autobiographical and Cultural Narratives', *Memory* 18:2. pp. 88-98.

Fleming, Stuart J. (1999), *Roman Glass: Reflections on Cultural Change*. Philadelphia: The University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology.

Fludernik, Monika (1996), *Towards a 'Natural' Narratology*. London: Routledge.

Ford, Robert and **Goodwin**, Matthew (2017), 'Britain After Brexit: A Nation Divided', *Journal of Democracy* 28:1. pp. 17-30.

Foucault, Michel (1969), *The Archaeology of Knowledge*. 2002. (tr) A. M. Sheridan Smith. London: Routledge

---------- (1973), *The Order of Things*. New York: Vintage Books.

---------- (1977a), Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison. London: Allen Lane.

---------- (1977b), 'The Political Function of the Intellectual', *Radical Philosophy* 17. pp. 12-14.

---------- (1978), 'Governmentality'. in G. Bruchell, C. Gordon, and P. Miller (eds), *The Foucault Effect. Studies in Governmentality*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. pp. 87-104.

---------- (1980), *Power/Knowledge*. Brighton: Harvester.

Fouseki, Kalliopi (2010), '"Community Voices, Curatorial Choices": Community Consultation for the 1807 Exhibitions'. *Museums and Society* 8:3. pp. 180-192.

Fozdar, Farida and **Martin**, Catherine A. (2020), 'Constructing the Postnational Citizen?: Civics and Citizenship Education in the Australian National Curriculum', *Journal of Curriculum Studies* 52:3. pp. 372-394.

Fraser, Nancy (2000), 'Rethinking Recognition', *New Left Review* 3. pp. 107-120.

---------- (2001), 'Recognition Without Ethics?', *Theory, Culture and Society* 18:2-3. pp. 21-42.

Freeman, Paul W. M. (1993), '"Romanisation" and Roman Material Culture', *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 6. pp. 438-445.

Freire, Paulo (1970), *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*. (tr) M. B. Ramos (2005) London: Continuum.

---------- (1974), *Education for Critical Consciousness*. (tr) M. B. Ramos (2005) London: Continuum.

Friend, Stephen F. (2010), ‘A Sense of Belonging: Religion and Identity in Yorkshire and Humber Fishing Communities, c.1815-1914’, *Unpublished PhD Thesis*. The University of Hull.

Frostick, Caroline, **Tong**, Jin, **Moore**, Derek, **Renton**, Adrian, and **Netuveli**, Gopalakrishnan (2018), ‘The Impact of Academies on School Connectedness, Future Aspirations and Mental Health in Adolescents from Areas of Deprivation in London’, *Pastoral Care in Education. An International Journal of Personal, Social and Emotional Development*’ 36:4. pp. 325-342.

Frug, Mary Joe (1993), *Postmodern Legal Feminism*. London: Routledge.

Frykman, Sue G. (2009), ‘Stories to Tell? Narrative Tools in Museum Education Texts’, *Educational Research* 51:3. pp. 299-319.

Fullerton, Don (1991), ‘On Justifications for Public Support of the Arts’, *Journal of Cultural Economics* 15:2. pp. 67-82.

Futrell, Alison (2006), *The Roman Games: Historical Sources in Translation*. Malden: Blackwell.

Gable, Eric (2006), ‘How We Study History Museums: Or Cultural Studies at Montiello’. in J. Marstine (ed.) *New Museum Theory and Practice: An Introduction*. Oxford: Blackwell. pp. 109-128.

Gage, John (1993), *Color and Culture: Practice and Meaning from Antiquity to Abstraction*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Gajewski, Agnes (2017), ‘Conceptualizing Professional Ethics in Inclusive Education’. in A. Gajewski (ed.) *Ethics, Equity, and Inclusive* Education. Bingley: Emerald Publishing. pp. 1-22.

Gale, Maggie B. and **Featherstone**, Ann (2011), ‘The Imperative of the Archive: Creative Archive Research’. in B. Kershaw (ed.) *Research Methods in Theatre and Performance*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press. pp. 17-40.

Gallas, Kristin L. and **DeWolf Perry**, James (eds.) (2015), *Interpreting Slavery at Museums and Historic Sites*. Lanham: Rowman and Littlefield.

Gandhi, Leela (2006), *Affective Communities: Anticolonial Thought, Fin-de-Siècle Radicalism, and the Politics of Friendship*. Durham: Duke University Press.

Gardner, Andrew (2013) ‘Thinking about Roman Imperialism: Postcolonialism, Globalisation and Beyond?’, *Britannia* 44. pp. 1-25.

---------- (2017), ‘Brexit, Boundaries and Imperial Identities: A Comparative View’, *Journal of Social Archaeology* 17:1. pp. 3-26.

Gardner, Andrew, **Herring**, Edward, and **Lomas**, Kathryn (2013), ‘Creating Ethnicities & Identities in the Roman World’. in A. Gardner, E. Herring and K. Lomas (eds.) *Creating Ethnicities & Identities in the Roman World*. London: Institute of Classical Studies, University of London.

Gauchat, Gordon W. (2012), ‘Politicization of Science in the Public Sphere: A Study of Public Trust in the United States, 1974 to 2010’, *American Sociological Review* 77. pp. 167-187.

Gazi, Andromache (2014), ‘Exhibition Ethics – An Overview of Major Issues’, *Journal of Conservation and Museum Studies* 12:1: 4. pp. 1-10.

Gemie, Sharif (2017), ‘Visions of Albion: Ancient Landscapes, Glastonbury and Alternative Forms of Nationalism’, *Nations and Nationalism* 23:2. pp. 327-345.

Genette, Gérard (1972), *Narrative Discourse: An Essay in Method*. (tr) J. E. Lewin (1980) New York: Cornell University Press.

---------- (1983), *Narrative Discourse Revisited*. (tr) J. E. Lewin (1988) New York: Cornell University Press.

Gergen, Kenneth (1991), *The Saturated Self Dilemmas of Identity in Contemporary Life*. New York: Basic Books.

Gero, Joan M. (1983), 'Gender Bias in Archaeology: A Cross-Cultural Perspective'. in D. Lacy, J. M. Gero, and M. L. Blakey (eds) *The Sociopolitics of Archaeology*. Amherst: University of Massachusetts. Department of Anthropology, Research Report No. 23. pp. 351-357.

---------- (1985), 'Socio-Politics and the Woman-at-Home Ideology', *American Antiquity* 50:2. pp. 342-350.

Giblin, John, **Ramos**, Imma, and **Grout**, Nikki (2019), 'Dismantling the Master's House', *Third Text* 33:4-5. pp. 471-486.

Gilroy, Paul (1992), 'The End of Antiracism' in J. Donald and A. Rattansi (eds) *Race, Culture and Difference*. London: Sage. pp. 49-61.

Gledhill, James (2017), 'Into the Past: Nationalism and Heritage in the Neoliberal Age', *Unpublished PhD Thesis*. The University of St Andrews.

Go, Julian (2013), 'For a Postcolonial Sociology', *Theory and Society* 42. pp. 25-35.

Goldhill, Simon (2011), *Victorian Culture and Classical Antiquity: Art, Opera, Fiction, and the Proclamation of Modernity*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Golding, Viv, **Walklate**, Jen (2019), *Museums and Communities: Diversity, Dialogue and Collaboration in an Age of Migrations*. Newcastle Upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing.

Goldstein, Paul S. (2005), *Andean Diaspora: The Tiwanaku Colonies and the Origins of South American Empire*. Tallahassee: University Press of Florida.

Gonzales, Elena (2019), *Exhibitions for Social Justice*. London: Routledge.

González, Jennifer A. (2008), Subject to Display: Reframing Race in Contemporary Installation Art. Boston: MIT Press.

Gonzalez Sanchez, Sergio (2016), (De-)Constructing Memories of Roman-'Barbarian' Interaction in North-Western Europe: 'Myths' and Academic Discourse in Dutch Archaeological Interpretation, *Unpublished PhD Thesis*. The University of Leicester.

Gopal, Priyamvada (2019), *Insurgent Empire: Anticolonial Resistance and British Dissent*. London: Verso.

Gordon, Jenny (2005), 'White on White: Researcher Reflexivity and the Logics of Privilege in White Schools Undertaking Reform', *The Urban Review* 37:4. pp. 279-302.

Gordon-Walker, Caitlin (2019), 'Unsettling Nature, Culture and History: Layers of Meaning and Conversation at the Royal BC Museum', *Museum and Society* 17:2. pp. 248-260.

Goswami, Jeanne (2018), 'The Museum as Unreliable Narrator: What We Can Learn from Nick Carraway', *International Journal of the Inclusive Museum* 11:1. pp. 1-11.

Gourievidis, Laurence (2014), *Museums and Migration*. London: Routledge.

Gran, Anne-Britt, **Vestberg**, Nina L., **Booth**, Peter, and **Ogundipe**, Anne (2018), 'A Digital Museum's Contribution to Diversity – A User Study', *Museum Management and Curatorship* 34:1. pp. 58-78.

Grande, Edgar, **Schwarzbözl**, Tobias, and **Fatke**, Matthias (2019), 'Politicizing Immigration in Western Europe', *Journal of European Public Policy* 26:10. pp. 1444-1463.

Gray, Mia and **Barford**, Anna (2018), 'The depths of the Cuts: The Uneven Geography of Local Government Austerity', *Cambridge Journal of Regions, Economy and Society*' 11. pp. 541-563.

Greenhalgh, Paul (1989), 'Education, Entertainment and Politics: Lessons from the Great International Exhibitions'. in P. Vergo (ed.) *The New Museology*. London: Reaktion Books. pp. 74-98.

Grew, Francis (2001), 'Representing *Londinium*: The Influence of Colonial and Post-Colonial Discourses'. in G. Davis, A. Gardner, K. Lockyear (eds) *TRAC 2000: Proceedings of the Tenth Annual Theoretical Roman Archaeology Conference, London 2000*. Oxford: Oxbow Books. pp. 12-24.

Grosfoguel, Ramón (2011), 'Decolonizing Post-Colonial Studies and Paradigms of Political-Economy: Transmodernity, Decolonial Thinking, and Global Coloniality', *Transmodernity: Journal of Peripheral Cultural Production of the Luso-Hispanic World* 1:1. pp. 1-37.

Grosvenor, Ian (2019), '"Can Art Save the World?" The Colonial Experience and Pedagogies of Display', *Paedagogica Historica: International Journal of the History of Education* 55:4. pp. 642-649.

Gubrium, Jaber F. and **Holstein**, James A. (eds.) (2002), *Handbook of Interview Research: Context and Method*. Thousand Oaks: Sage.

Guest, Greg, **Bunce**, Arwen, and **Johnson**, Laura (2006), 'How Many Interviews Are Enough? An Experiment with Data Saturations and Variability', *Field Methods* 18:1. pp. 59-82.

Guibernau, Montserrat (1996), Nationalism: The Nation-State and Nationalism in the Twentieth Century. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Habib, Sadia (2018), 'Fundamental British Values: Moving Towards Anti-Racist and Multicultural Education?' in A. Johnson, R. Joseph-Salisbury, and B. Kamunge (eds) *The Fire Now: Anti-Racist Scholarship in time of Explicit Racial Violence*. London: Zed. pp. 209-222.

Hage, Ghassan (1998), *White Nation: Fantasies of White Supremacy in a Multicultural Society*. Annandale: Pluto Press.

Hall, Stuart (1989), 'New Ethnicities'. In D. Morley and K-H. Chen (eds) 1996, *Stuart Hall: Critical Dialogues in Cultural Studies*. London: Routledge. pp. 442-451.

---------- (1990), 'The Whites of Their Eyes: Racist Ideologies and the Media'. in M. Alvarado and J. O. Thompson (eds), *The Media Reader*. London: British Film Institute. pp. 7-23.

---------- (1997a), 'The Spectacle of the "Other"' in S. Hall (ed.) *Representation: Cultural Representations and Signifying Practices*. London: Sage. pp. 223-290.

---------- (1997b), 'The Work of Representation'. in S. Hall (ed.), *Representation: Cultural Representations and Signifying Practices*. London: Sage. pp. 13-74.

Hamilakis, Yannis (1999), 'Stories from Exile: Fragments from the Cultural Biography of the Parthenon (or 'Elgin') Marbles', *World Archaeology* 31:2. pp. 303-320.

Hanscam, Emily (2019), 'Postnationalism and the Past: The Politics of Theory in Roman Archaeology', *Theoretical Roman Archaeology Journal* 2:1. pp. 1-14.

Hanscam, Emily and **Query**, Jonathan (2018), 'From TRAC to TRAJ: Widening Debates in Roman Archaeology', *Theoretical Roman Archaeology Journal* 1:1. pp. 1-6.

Harris, Roxy (2009), 'Black British, Brown British and British Cultural Studies', *Cultural Studies* 23. pp. 483-512.

Hartley, Elizabeth, **Hawkes**, Jane, **Henig**, Martin, **Mee**, Frances (eds) (2006), *Constantine the Great: York's Roman Emperor*. York: Yorkshire Museums and Gallery Trust.

Haverfield, Francis J. (1912), *The Romanization of Roman Britain*. 2nd ed. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Heidegger, Martin (1951), 'The Age of the World View'. *Measure* 2. (tr) M. Grene. pp. 269-284.

Heidelberg, Brea M. (2019), 'Evaluating Equity: Assessing Diversity Efforts Through a Social Justice Lens', *Cultural Trends* 28:5. pp. 391-403.

Hein, George E. (1998), *Learning in the Museum*. New York: Routledge.

Henderson, Brian (1983), 'Tense, Mood, and Voice in Film (Notes after Genette)', *Film Quarterly* 36:4. pp. 4-17.

Henig, Martin (1984), *Religion in Roman Britain*. London: B T Batsford Ltd.

Henningsen, Anne F. (2019.), 'Ethnographic Mannequins: Copying as Artefactualization of Human Difference'. in B. Brenna, H. D. Christensen, and O. Hamran (eds) *Museums as Cultures of Copies*. London and New York: Routledge. pp. 149-162.

Henshall, Kenneth (2008), *Folly and Fortune in Early British History: From Caesar to the Normans*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Heritage Eastbourne (2019), *Eastbourne Ancestors*. Available at: http://www.heritageeastbourne.co.uk/ancestors.aspx [Accessed 21/03/2016].

Heritage Fund (2019a), *What We Do*. Available at: https://www.heritagefund.org.uk/about/what-we-do [Accessed 21/03/2019].

---------- (2019b), *Stone Age to Corinium*. Available at: https://www.heritagefund.org.uk/our-work/stone-age-corinium-discover-archaeology-cotswolds [Accessed 21/03/2019].

Herle, Anita (1997), 'Museums, Politics and Representation', *Journal of Museum Ethnography* 9. pp. 65-78.

Hertel, Shareen, **Singer**, Matthew M., and **Van Cott**, Donna L. (2009), 'Field Research in Developing Countries: Hitting the Ground Running', *PS: Political Science & Politics* 42:2. pp. 305-310.

Hewison, Robert (1987), *The Heritage Industry: Britain in a Climate of Decline*. York: Methuen Publishing.

Hingley, Richard (1996), 'The "Legacy" of Rome: The Rise, Decline, and Fall of the Theory of Romanization'. in J. Webster and N. Cooper (1996), *Roman Imperialism: Post-colonial Perspectives*, Leicester Archaeology Monograph 3. Leicester: School of Archaeological Studies, University of Leicester. pp. 35-48.

---------- (2000), Roman Officers and English Gentlemen: The Imperial Origins of Roman Archaeology. London: Routledge.

---------- (2003), ‘Recreating Coherence Without Reinventing Romanization’, *Digressus* Supplement 1. pp. 111-191.

---------- (2005), Globalizing Roman Culture: Unity, Diversity and Empire. London: Routledge.

---------- (2006), ‘Projecting Empire: The Mapping of Roman Britain’, *Journal of Social Archaeology* 6:3. pp. 328-353.

---------- (2018), ‘Frontiers and Mobilities: The Frontiers of the Roman Empire and Europe’, *European Journal of Archaeology* 21:1. pp. 78-95.

Hodgson, Nick (2014), ‘The British Expedition of Septimius Severus’, *Britannia* 45. pp. 31-51.

Hofstadter, Richard (1963), *Anti-intellectualism in American Life*. 3rd print. New York: Vintage.

Holloway, Wendy and **Jefferson**, Tony (2000), *Doing Qualitative Research Differently*. London: Sage.

Holmes, Kirsten (1999), ‘Changing Times: Volunteering in the Heritage Sector 1984-1998’, *Voluntary Action* 1. pp. 21-35.

Holtorf, Cornelius, **Pantazatos**, Andreas, and **Scarre**, Geoffrey (eds) (2018), *Cultural Heritage, Ethics and Contemporary Migrations*. London: Routledge.

Holtschneider, K. Hannah (2014), *The Holocaust and Representations of Jews*. London: Routledge.

Hooper-Greenhill, Eilean (1991), *Museum and Gallery Education*. Leicester: Leicester University Press.

---------- (1992), *Museums and the Shaping of Knowledge*. London: Routledge.

---------- (1994a), *The Educational Role of the Museum*. London: Routledge.

---------- (1994b), *Museums and their Visitors*. London and New York: Routledge.

---------- (1994c), ‘Audiences: A Curatorial Dilemna’. in E. Hooper-Greenhill (ed.) *The Educational Roles of Museums*. 2nd ed. London and New York: Routledge. pp. 255-268.

---------- (1994d), ‘Education, Communication and Interpretation: Towards a Critical Pedagogy in Museums’. in E. Hooper-Greenhill (ed) *The Educational Roles of Museums*. 2nd ed. London and New York: Routledge. pp. 3-27.

---------- (2010), ‘Changing Values in the Art Museum: Rethinking Communication and Learning’, *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 6:1. pp. 9-31.

Hooper-Greenhill, Eilean, **Dodd**, Jocelyn, **Gibson**, Lisanne, **Phillips**, Martin, **Jones**, Ceri, and **Sullivan**, Emma (2004), *What Did You Learn at the Museum Today?* Leicester: RCMG.

---------- (2006), *What Did You Learn at the Museum Today? Second Study*. London/Leicester: MLA/RCMG.

Hooper-Greenhill, Eilean, **Phillips**, Martin, and **Woodham**, Anna (2009), ‘Museums, Schools and Geographies of Cultural Value’, *Cultural Trends* 18. pp. 149-183.

Hope, Valerie M. (2016), ‘Inscriptions and Identity’. in M. Millett, L. Revell, and A. Moore (eds) *The Oxford Handbook of Roman Britain*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. pp. 285-302.

Hudales, Jože (2007), ‘Museums “At the Heart of Community”: Local Museums in the Post-Socialist Period in Slovenia’, *Etnográfica* 11:2. pp. 421-439.

Hudson, Nicholas F. (2010), ‘Changing Places: The Archaeology of the Roman “Convivium”’, *American Journal of Archaeology* 114:4. pp. 663-695.

Hughes, J. Donald (2014), *Environmental Problems of the Greeks and Romans: Ecology in the Ancient Mediterranean*. 2nd ed. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.

Hunt, Lynn (1984), *Politics, Culture, and Class in the French Revolution*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Hurn, Brian J. and **Tomalin**, Barry (2013), *Cross-Cultural Communication: Theory and Practice*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Imrie, Alex (2018), 'Africanus Princeps? The Emperor Caracalla and the Question of His African Heritage', *Journal of Black Studies* 49:4. pp. 370-382.

Ingate, Jay (2019), *Water and Urbanism in Roman Britain: Hybridity and Identity*. Abingdon: Routledge.

Innocenti, Perla (2014), 'Introduction: Migrating Heritage – Experiences of Cultural Networks and Cultural Dialogue in Europe'. in P. Innocenti (ed.) *Migrating Heritage: Experiences of Cultural Networks and Cultural Dialogue in Europe*. Ashgate: Farnham. pp. 1-24.

Institute for Fiscal Studies (2017), *IFS Green Budget 2017*. Available at: https://ifs.org.uk/publication8879 (Accessed 08/05/2019).

Institute for Volunteering Research (2002), *Volunteers in the Cultural Sector*. London: Resource.

Isar, Yudhishthir R. (2006), 'Tropes of the "Intercultural": Multiple Perspectives'. (Keynote speech at 'When Culture Makes the Difference. The Heritage, Arts and Media in Multicultural Society', Genoa, 19-21 November). in N. Aalto and E. Reuter (eds) *Aspects of Intercultural Dialogue: Theory, Research, Applications*. Cologne: Saxa Verlag. pp. 13-25.

Israel, Jonathan I. (2016), 'The uses of myth and history in the ideological politics of the Dutch Golden Age'. in J. Fenoulhet and L. Gilbert (ed.) *Narratives of Low Countries History and Culture*. London: University College London Press. pp. 9-17.

Jacobs, Dirk (2004), 'Alive and Kicking? Multiculturalism in Flanders', *International Journal on Multicultural Societies* 6:2. pp. 280-299.

James, Simon (1999), The Atlantic Celts: Ancient People or Modern Invention? London: British Museum Press.

Jameson, Frederic (1991), *Postmodernism, Or the Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism*. Durham: Duke University Press.

Janes, Robert R. (2009), Museums in a Troubled World: Renewal, Irrelevance or Collapse. Abingdon and New York: Routledge.

---------- (2016), *Museums Without Borders*. London: Routledge.

Janes, Robert R. and **Sandell**, Richard (2019a), *Museum Activism*. London: Routledge.

---------- (2019b), 'Posterity Has Arrived: The Necessary Emergence of Museum Activism'. in R. R. Janes and R. Sandell (eds) *Museum Activism.* Abingdon and New York: Routledge. pp. 1-22.

Jankowska, Maria A. and **Marcum**, James W. (2010), 'Sustainability Challenge for Academic Libraries: Planning for the Future', *College & Research Libraries* 71:2. pp. 160–170.

Jenkins, Richard P. (1997), *Rethinking Ethnicity: Arguments and Explorations*. London: SAGE.

Jervis, Kathe (1996), '"How Come There Are No Brothers On That List?": Hearing the Hard Questions All Children Ask', *Harvard Educational Review* 66:3. pp. 546-576.

Johns, Catherine (1996), The Jewellery of Roman Britain: Celtic and Classical Traditions. London: Routledge.

Joldersma, Clarence (2001), 'The Tension Between Justice and Freedom in Paulo Freire's Epistemology', *The Journal of Educational Thought (JET) / Revue de la Pensée Éducative* 35:2. pp. 129-148.

DeJonckheere, Melissa and **Vaughn**, Lisa M. (2019), 'Semistructered Interviewing in Primary Care Research: A Balance of Relationship and Rigour', *Family Medicine and Community Health* 7:2. pp. 1-8.

Jones, Siân (1997), The Archaeology of Ethnicity: Constructing Identities in the Past and Present. London: Routledge.

Kadercan, Burak (2012), 'Military Competition and the Emergence of Nationalism: Putting the Logic of Political Survival into Historical Context', *International Studies Review* 14:3. pp. 401-428.

Kahn, Howard and **Garden**, Sally (1993), 'Job Attitudes and Occupational Stress in the United Kingdom Museum Sector. A Pilot Study', *Museum Management and Curatorship* 12. pp. 285-302.

Kalpokas, Ignas (2019), *A Political Theory of Post-Truth*. Cham: Palgrave Macmillan.

Kamash, Zena (*forthcoming*), 'Rebalancing Roman Archaeology: From Disciplinary Inertia to Decolonial and Inclusive Action', *Theoretical Roman Archaeology Journal*.

Kapoor, Ilan (2002), 'Capitalism, Culture, Agency: Dependency Versus Postcolonial Theory', *Third World Quarterly* 23:4. pp. 647-664.

Kassim, Sumaya (2017), 'The Museum Will Not be Decolonised', *Media Diversified*. 15th November. https://mediadiversified.org/2017/11/15/the-museum-will-not-be-decolonised/ [Accessed 10/02/2021].

Katz, James E. and **Halpern**, Daniel (2015), 'Can Virtual Museums Motivate Students? Toward a Constructivist Learning Approach', *Journal of Science Education and Technology* 24:6. pp. 776-788.

Kaufmann, Eric (2017), 'Complexity and Nationalism', *Nation and Nationalism* 23:1. pp. 6-25.

Kaya, Ayhan (2020), *Populism and Heritage in Europe: Lost in Diversity and Unity*. Abingdon: Routledge.

Kelly, Christopher, **Thonemann**, Peter, **Borg**, Barabara, **Hillner**, Julia, **Lavan**, Myles, **Morley**, Neville, **Mullen**, Alex, **Orlandi**, Silvia, **Pillinger**, Emily, **Prag**, Jonathan, **van der Blom**, Henriette, and **Whitton**, Christopher (2019), 'Gender Bias and the *Journal of Roman Studies*', *Journal of Roman Studies* 109. pp. 441-448.

Kember, David and **Wong**, Anthony (2000), 'Implications for Evaluation from a Study of Students' Perceptions of Good and Poor Teaching', *Higher Education* 40. pp. 69-97.

Kendall, Geraldine (2012), 'Closing Time', *Museums Journal* 112/07. pp. 22-27.

van Keuren, David K. (1984), 'Museums and Ideology: Augustus Pitt-Rivers, Anthropological Museums, and Social Change in Later Victorian Britain', *Victorian Studies* 28:1. pp. 171-189.

Kim, Henry S. (2007), 'Crossing Cultures: Redefining a University Museum', *Anthropology and Aesthetics* 52. pp. 44-50.

Kim, Junghwan, **You**, Jieun, and **Park**, Soo Y. (2016), 'Adult Learning for Social Change in Museums: An Exploration of Sociocultural Learning Approaches to Community Engagement', *Journal of Adult and Continuing Education* 22:2. pp. 184-198.

Kim, Jennifer Y-J., **Block**, Caryn J., and **Nguyen**, Duoc (2019), 'What's Visible is My Race, What's Invisible is My Contribution: Understanding the Effects of Race and Color-blind Racial Attitudes on the Perceived Impact of Microaggressions Toward Asians in the Workplace', *Journal of Vocational Behavior* 113. pp. 75-87.

Kim, Kim L. (1996), *Caged in Our Own Signs: A Book about Semiotics*. Norwood: Ablex Publishing Corporation.

Kinket, Barbara and **Verkuyten**, Maykel (1997), 'Levels of Ethnic Self-Identification and Social Context', *Social Psychology Quarterly* 60:4. pp. 338-354.

Kipling, Rudyard (1906), '*Puck of Pook's Hill*'. 1989. London: Macmillan.

Knapp, Thomas R. (1998), *Quantitative Nursing Research*. Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications.

Knell, Simon (2011), 'National Museums and the National Imagination'. in S. Knell, P. Aronsson, A. B. Amundsen, and A. Barnes (eds) *National Museums: New Studies from Around the World*. New York: Routledge. pp. 3-28.

Kowaleski-Wallace, Elizabeth (2006), *The British Slave Trade and Public Memory*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Krzyżanowski, Michal (2019), 'Brexit and the Imaginary of 'Crisis': A Discourse-Conceptual Analysis of European News Media', *Critical Discourse Studies* 16:4. pp. 465-490.

Kumar, Krishan (2015), *The Idea of Englishness: English Culture, National Identity and Social Thought*. London: Routledge.

Kundu, Rina and **Kalin**, Nadine M. (2015), 'Participating in the Neoliberal Art Museum', *Studies in Art Education* 57:1. pp. 39-52.

Kunst, Christiane (1995), 'William Camden's *Britannia*: History and Historiography'. in M. H. Crawford and C. R. Ligota (eds) *Ancient History and the Antiquarians: Essays in Memory of Arnaldo Momigliano*. London: Warburg Institute. pp. 117-131.

Kymlicka, Will (2015), 'Solidarity in Diverse Societies: Beyond Neoliberal Multiculturalism and Welfare Chauvinism', *Comparative Migration Studies* 3:17. pp. 1-19.

---------- (2019), 'The Rise and Fall of Multiculturalism? New Debates on Inclusion and Accommodation in Diverse Societies', *International Social Science Journal* 61. pp. 133-148. Reprinted from: *International Social Science Journal* 68. 2010. pp. 227-228.

Labadi, Sophia (2013), *UNESCO, Cultural Heritage, and Outstanding Universal Value: Value-based Analyses of the World Heritage and Intangible Cultural Heritage Conventions*. Lanham: AltaMira Press.

---------- (2018), *Museums, Immigrants, and Social Justice*. London: Routledge.

Lakshmi, Rama (2010), 'Musings on Museums', *India International Centre Quarterly* 37:1. pp. 102-117.

Leach, Stephany, **Eckardt**, Hella, **Chenery**, Carolyn, **Müldner**, Gundula, and **Lewis**, Mary E. (2010), 'A Lady of York: Migration, Ethnicity and Identity in Roman Britain', *Antiquity* 84. pp. 131-145.

Leach, Stephany, **Lewis**, Mary E., **Chenery**, Carolyn, **Müldner**, Gundula, and **Eckardt**, Hella (2009), 'Migration and Diversity in Roman Britain: A Multidisciplinary Approach to the

Identification of Immigrants in Roman York, England', *American Journal of Physical Anthropology* 140. pp. 546-561.

Lee, Othelia E-K. and **Priester**, Mary A. (2015), 'Increasing Awareness of Diversity Through Community Engagement and Films', *Journal of Social Work Education* 51:1. pp. 35-46.

Lee, Sangmi (2015), 'Question from the Field: Anthropological Self-Reflexivity Through the Eyes of Study Participants', *Anthropology in Action* 22:3. pp. 39-42.

Levine, Joseph M. (1987), Humanism and History: Origins of Modern English Historiography. London: Cornell University Press.

Levin, Amy K. (ed.) (2017), *Global Mobilities. Refugees, Exiles, and Immigration in Museums and Archives*. London: Routledge.

Lewis, Adam G. (2012), 'Ethics, Activism and the Anti-Colonial: Social Movement Research as Resistance', *Social Movement Studies* 11:2. pp. 227-240.

Lewis, Gail and **Neal**, Sarah (2005), 'Introduction: Contemporary Political Contexts, Changing Terrains and Revisited Discourses', *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 28:3. pp. 423-444.

Lewis, Mary, E. (2010), 'Life and Death in a Civitas Capital: Metabolic Disease and Trauma in the Children from Late Roman Dorchester, Dorset', *American Journal of Physical Anthropology* 142:3. pp. 405-416.

Liebow, Nabina and **Glazer**, Trip (2019), 'White Tears: Emotion Regulation and White Fragility', *Inquiry*. Online First DOI: 10.1080/0020714X.2019.1610048. pp. 1-21.

Lincolnshire County Council, (2019), *Detailed Business Case: Future of the Heritage Service*.

Liu, Xiaofeng S., **Loudermilk**, Brandon, and **Simpson**, Thomas (2014), 'Introduction to Sample size Choice for Confidence Intervals Based on t Statistics', *Measurement in Physical Education and Exercise Science* 18:2. pp. 91-100.

Liveley, Genevieve (2019), *Narratology*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Lomas, Kathryn (2013), 'Language, Identity, and Culture in Ancient Italy'. in A. Gardner, E. Herring, and K. Lomas (eds.) *Creating Ethnicities & Identities in the Roman World*. London: Institute of Classical Studies, University of London. pp. 71-92.

Lonetree, Amy (2012), *Decolonizing Museums: Representing Native America in National and Tribal Museum*. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press.

de Loney, Marguerite L. (2019), 'Agents of coloniality: Capitalism, the Market, and My Crisis with Archaeology', *Historical Archaeology* 53. pp. 686-701.

Lorde, Audre (1984), 'The Master's Tools Will Never Dismantle the Master's House'. in A. Lorde *Sister/Outsider*. 2019. London: Penguin. pp. 103-106.

Lucy, Sam (2005), 'Ethnic and Cultural Identities'. in M. Díaz-Andreu, S. Lucy, S. Babić, and D. N. Edwards (eds) *The Archaeology of Identity: Approaches to Gender, Age, Status, Ethnicity, and Religion*. London: Routledge. pp. 43-66.

Lynch, Bernadette (2011), *Whose cake is it anyway? A collaborative investigation into engagement and participation in 12 museums and galleries in the UK*. London: Paul Hamlyn Foundation.

Lynch, Bernadette T. and **Alberti**, Samuel J. M. M. (2010), 'Legacies of Prejudice: Racism, Co-Production and Radical Trust in the Museum', *Museum Management and Curatorship* 25:1. pp. 13-35.

Macdonald, Sharon (2016), ‘New Constellations of Difference in Europe’ 21st-Century Museumscape’, *Museum Anthropology* 39:1. pp. 4-19.

MacGregor, Neil (2009), ‘To Shape the Citizens of “That Great City, the World”’. In J. Cuno (ed.) *Whose Culture? The Promise of Museums and the Debate over Antiquities*’. Princeton: Princeton University Press. pp. 39-54.

Mackenzie, John M. (2009), *Museums and Empire: Natural History, Human Cultures and Colonial Identities*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.

Mackreth, Donald (2011), *Brooches in Late Iron Age and Roman Britain*. Oxford: Oxbow Books.

MacLeod, Roy (1998), ‘Postcolonialism and Museum Knowledge: Revisiting the Museums of the Pacific’, *Pacific Science* 52:4. pp. 308-318.

Maher, Jill K., **Clark**, John, **Motley**, Darlene G. (2011), ‘Measuring Museum Service Quality in Relationship to Visitor Membership: The Case of a Children’s Museum’, *Marketing Management* 13:2. pp. 29-42.

Majeed, Javed (1999), ‘Comparativism and References to Rome in British Imperial Attitudes to India’. in C. Edwards (ed.) *Roman Presences: Receptions of Rome in European Culture, 1789-1945*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. pp. 88-109.

Mandin, Jérémy (2014), ‘An Overview of Integration Policies in Belgium’, *INTERACT Research Report 2014/20*. pp. 1-18.

Marshall, Gill (2005), ‘The Purpose, Design and Administration of a Questionnaire for Data Collection’, *Radiography* 11. pp. 131-136.

Martin, Andy (2002), ‘The Impact of Free Entry to Museums’, *Cultural Trends* 47. pp. 3-12.

Mathur, Saloni (2007), *India by Design: Colonial History and Cultural Display*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Matthews, Graham, **Smith**, Yvonne, and **Knowles**, Gemma (2009), *Disaster Management in Archives, Libraries and Museums*. Farnham: Ashgate.

Mattingly, David J. (2004), ‘Being Roman: Expressing Identity in a Provincial Setting’, *Journal of Roman* Archaeology 17. pp. 5-25.

---------- (2007), An Imperial Possession: Britain in the Roman Empire, 54BC – AD 409. London: Penguin.

---------- (2013), Imperialism, Power, and Identity: Experiencing the Roman Empire. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Maturo, Fabrizio, **Migliori**, Stefania, and **Paolone**, Francesco (2019), ‘Nationality Board Diversity in Organizations: A Brief Review and Future Research Directions’. in C. Flaut, Š. Šošková-Mayerová and D. Flaut (eds) *Models and Theories in Social Systems* 179. pp. 59-76.

Mauss, Marcel (1935), ‘Techniques of the Body’. 1968. in M. Mauss. *Sociologie et Anthropologie*. 4th ed. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France. pp. 364-386.

---------- (1979), *Sociology and Psychology: Essays*. (tr) B. Brewster. London: Routledge.

Maybin, Janet (2001), ‘Language, Struggle and Voice: The Bakhtin/Volosinov Writings’. in M. Wetherell, S. Taylor and S. J. Yates (eds) *Discourse Theory and Practice: A Reader*. London: Sage. pp. 29-38.

McClellan, Andrew (1994), *Inventing the Louvre: Art, Politics, and the Origins of the Modern Museum in Eighteenth-Century Paris*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

McInerny, Jeremy (ed.) (2014), *A Companion to Ethnicity in the Ancient Mediterranean*. Chichester: Wiley.

McKernan, Amy (2020), '"A Little More Courageous": Cultural Recognition and Histories of Migration and Diversity at the Immigration Museum, Melbourne', *Museum Management and Curatorship* 35:1. pp. 2-14.

McLean, Fiona (1997), *Marketing the Museum*. London: Routledge.

McLeod, Corinna (2010), 'Negotiating a National Memory: The British Empire and Commonwealth Museum'. in D. Thomas (ed.) *Museums in Postcolonial Europe*. London: Routledge. pp. 32-40.

McLoughlin, Moira (2015), *Museums and the Representation of Native Canadians*. London: Routledge.

McPherson, Gayle (2006), 'Public Memories and Private Tastes: The Shifting Definitions of Museums and Their Visitors in the UK', *Museum Management and Curatorship* 21:1. pp. 44-57.

Mendoza, Neil (2017), *The Mendoza Review: An Independent Review of Museums in England*. Department for Digital, Culture, Media and Sport. Available at: https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/the-mendoza-review-an-independent-review-of-museums-in-england [Accessed 14/04/2020].

Merriman, Nick (1993), *The Peopling of London: Fifteen Thousand Years of Settlement from Overseas*. London: Museum of London.

Message, Kylie (2006), New Museums and the Making of Culture. Oxford: Berg.

---------- (2013), *Museums and Social Activism: Engaged Protest*. London: Routledge.

---------- (2017), *The Disobedient Museum: Writing at the Edge*. Abingdon: Routledge.

Michielin, Lucia, **O'Donnell**, K., and **Astolfi**, Martina (2019), 'Increasing International Perspectives in Theoretical Roman Archaeology', *Theoretical Roman Archaeology Journal* 2:1. pp. 1-7.

Miell, Dorothy and **Pike**, Graham (eds) (2007), *Exploring Psychological Research Methods*. Milton Keynes: The Open University Press.

Mignolo, Walter (2011a), The Darker Side of Western Modernity: Global Futures, Decolonial Options. Durham: Duke University Press.

---------- (2011b), 'Epistemic Disobedience and the Decolonial Option', *Transmodernity* 1:2. pp. 44-66.

---------- (2013), 'Geopolitics of Sensing and Knowing: On (De)Coloniality, Border Thinking, and Epistemic Disobedience', *Confere* 1:1. pp. 129-150.

Millett, Martin (1990), The Romanization of Britain: An Essay in Archaeological Interpretation. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

---------- (2012), 'What is Classical Archaeology? Roman Archaeology'. in S. E. Alcock and R. Osborne (eds.) *Classical Archaeology.* 2nd ed. Chichester: Blackwell Publishing Ltd. pp. 30-50.

Minott, Rachael (2019), 'The Past is Now: Confronting Museum's Complicity in Imperial Celebration', *Third Text* 33:4-5. pp. 559-574.

Montón-Subías, Sandra, and **Hernando**, Almudena (2018), 'Modern Colonialism, Eurocentrism and Historical Archaeology: Some Engendered Thoughts', *European Journal of Archaeology* 21:3. pp. 455-471.

Moreno, Martín, and **Benavides**, Martín (2019), 'Dynamics of Ethnic and Racial Self-Identification in Contemporary Peru', *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 42:10. pp. 1686-1707.

Morris, Michael (2016), 'Standard White: Dismantling White Normativity', *California Law Review* 104:4. pp. 949-978.

Morse, Nuala, and **Munro**, Ealasaid (2015), 'Museums' Community Engagement Schemes, Austerity and Practices of Care in Two Local Museum Services', *Social and Cultural Geography* 19:3. pp. 357-378.

Motta, Matthew (2018), 'The Dynamics and Political Implications of Anti-Intellectualism in the United States', *American Politics Research* 46:3. pp. 465-498.

Mulhearn, Deborah (2008), 'Joint Accounts', *Museum Studies* 108:9. pp. 22-25.

Müller-Funk, Wolfgang (2003), 'On a Narratology of Cultural and Collective Memory', *Journal of Narrative Theory* 33:2. pp. 207-227.

Munasinghe, Viranjini (2002), 'Nationalism in Hybrid Spaces: The Production of Impurity out of Purity', *American Ethnologist* 29:3. pp. 663-692.

Museum Vereniging (2020), *Zo'n Honderd Musea Worden Nog Altijd in Voortbestaan Bedreigd*, Museum Vereniging, 23rd July. https://www.museumvereniging.nl/zo-n-honderd-musea-worden-nog-altijd-in-voortbestaan-bedreigd [Accessed 26/10/2020].

Museums Association (2010) *Renaissance Survey.* London: Museums Association.

---------- (2013), Public Perceptions of – and Attitudes to – the Purposes of Museums in Society: A Report Prepared by Britain Thinks for Museums Association. London: Museums Association.

---------- (2018) *Museums in the UK 2018 Report*. London: Museums Association.

Musolff, Andreas (2019), 'Hostility Towards Immigrants' Languages in Britain: A Backlash Against "Super-Diversity"?', *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development* 40:3. pp. 257-266.

Mutibwa, Daniel H., **Hess**, Alison, and **Jackson**, Tom (2020), 'Strokes of Serendipity: Community Co-Curation and Engagement with Digital Heritage', *Convergence: The International Journal of Research into New Media Technologies* 26:1. pp. 157-177.

National Endowment for the Arts (2008), *2008 Survey of Public Participation in the Arts*. Washington: National Endowment for the Arts.

Nederhof, Anton J. (1985), 'Methods of Coping with Social Desirability Bias: A Review', *European Journal of Social Psychology* 15. pp. 263-280.

Netzer, Nancy (2014), 'Displaying Roman Britain in the British Museum'. in L. R. Brody and G. L. Hoffman (eds) *Roman in the Provinces. Art on the Periphery of Empire*. Chestnut Hill: McMullen Museum of Art. pp. 195-214.

Ng, Wendy, **Ware**, Syrus M., and **Greenberg**, Alyssa (2017), 'Activating Diversity and Inclusion: A Blueprint for Museum Educators as Allies and Change Makers', *Journal of Museum Education* 42:2. pp. 142-154.

Ngwena, Charles G. (2013), 'Human Right to Inclusive Education. Exploring a Double Discourse of Inclusive Education Using South Africa as a Case Study', *Netherlands Quarterly of Human Rights* 31:4. pp. 473-504.

Nieguth, Tim, and **Raney**, Tracey (2017), 'Nation-building and Canada's National Symbolic Order, 1993-2015', *Nations and Nationalism* 23:1. pp. 87-108.

Nightingale, Eithne, and **Sandell**, Richard (2012), 'Introduction'. in R. Sandell and E. Nightingale (eds) *Museums, Equality and Social Justice*. Abingdon: Routledge. pp. 1-10.

Noy, David (2010), 'Epigraphic Evidence for Immigrants at Rome and in Roman Britain'. in H. Eckhardt (ed.) *Roman Diasporas: Archaeological Approaches to Mobility and Diversity in the Roman Empire*. JRA Supplementary Series 78. Portsmouth: Journal of Roman Archaeology. pp. 13-26.

Office for National Statistics (2011a), *KS201EW – Ethnic Group: Grimsby Built-up Area*. Available at: https://www.nomisweb.co.uk/reports/localarea?compare=E34004917 [Accessed 13/10/2020].

---------- (2011b), *KS201EW – Ethnic Group: Burwell Ward (as of 2011)*. Available at: https://www.nomisweb.co.uk/reports/localarea?compare=E05002717 [Accessed 17/07/2019].

---------- (2011c), *KS102EW – Age Structure: Burwell Ward (as of 2011)*. Available at: https://www.nomisweb.co.uk/reports/localarea?compare=E05002717 [Accessed 17/07/2019].

---------- (2011d), *KS201EW – Ethnic Group: Mildenhall Built-Up Area Sub Division*. Available at: https://www.nomisweb.co.uk/reports/localarea?compare=E35001252 [Accessed 17/07/2019].

---------- (2011e), *KS102EW – Age Structure: Mildenhall Built-Up Area Sub Division*. Available at: https://www.nomisweb.co.uk/reports/localarea?compare=E35001252 [Accessed 17/07/2019].

---------- (2011f), *KS201EW – Ethnic Group: Chichester Local Authority*. Available at: https://www.nomisweb.co.uk/reports/localarea?compare=E07000225 [Accessible 17/07/2019].

---------- (2011g), *KS102EW – Age Structure: Chichester Local Authority*. Available at: https://www.nomisweb.co.uk/reports/localarea?compare=E07000225 [Accessed 17/07/1029].

---------- (2012), 'Ethnicity and National Identity in England and Wales: 2011'. Available: https://www.ons.gov.uk/peoplepopulationandcommunity/culturalidentity/ethnicity/publications [Accessed 16/07/2017].

---------- (2018a), *Population of England and Wales*. Available at: https://www.ethnicity-facts-figures.service.gov.uk/uk-population-by-ethnicity/national-and-regional-populations/population-of-england-and-wales/latest#by-ethnicity [Accessed 17/07/2019].

---------- (2018b), *Overview of the UK Population: November 2018*. Available at: https://www.ons.gov.uk/peoplepopulationandcommunity/populationandmigration/populationestimates/articles/overviewoftheukpopulation/november2018 [Accessed 17/07/2017].

Oliete-Aldea, Elena (2015), *Hybrid Heritage on Screen: The 'Raj Revival' in the Thatcher Era*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Onciul, Bryony (2017), Museums, Heritage and Indigenous Voice: Decolonising Engagement. London: Routledge.

Onnekink, David, and **Rommelse**, Gijs (2019), *The Dutch in the Early Modern World: A History of a Global Power*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Oppenheim, Abraham N. (1992), *Questionnaire Design, Interviewing and Attitude Measurement*. 2nd ed. London: Continuum.

O'Reilly, Michelle, and **Parker**, Nicola (2012), 'Unsatisfactory Saturation: A Critical Exploration of the Notion of Saturated Sample Sizes in Qualitative Research', *Qualitative Research* 13:2. pp. 190-197.

Orser Jr, Charles E. (1996), A Historical Archaeology of the Modern World. New York: Springer.

---------- (2012), 'An Archaeology of Eurocentrism', *American Antiquity* 77:4. pp. 737-755.

Ottaway, Patrick (2013), *Roman Yorkshire: People, Culture and Landscape*. Pickering: Blackthorn Press.

---------- (2018), 'A Research Plan for the Roman Archaeology Collection' in E. Tilley (ed) *Old Collections, New Questions: Researching the Roman Collections of the Yorkshire Museum*. York: Yorkshire Museums Trust. pp. 69-86.

van Oyen, Astrid, and **Pitts**, Martin (2017), 'What Did Objects Do in the Roman World? Beyond Representation'. in A. van Oyen and M. Pitts (eds) *Materialising Roman Histories*. Oxford: Oxbow Books. pp. 3-19.

Oyedemi, Toks (2018), '(De)coloniality and South African Academe', *Critical Studies in Education* 61:4. pp. 1-17.

Paddon, Hannah (2014), *Redisplaying Museum Collections: Contemporary Displays and Interpretation in British Museums*. Farnham: Ashgate.

Pagis, Michal (2009), 'Embodied Self-Reflexivity', *Social Psychology Quarterly* 72:3. pp. 265-283.

Painter, Desmond (2015), 'Postcolonial Theory'. in I. Parker (ed.) *Handbook of Critical Psychology*. pp. 366-375.

Parameshwaran Meenakshi, and **Engzell**, Per (2015), 'Ethnicity in England: What Parents' Country of Birth Can and Can't Tell Us about Their Children's Ethnic Identification', *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 41:3. pp. 399-424.

Parasram, Ajay (2019), 'Pathological White Fragility and the Canadian Nation', *Studies in Political Economy* 100:2. pp. 194-207.

Parekh, Bhikhu (2000), *The Future of Multi-Ethnic Britain: Report of the Commission on the Future of Multi-Ethnic Britain*. London: The Runnymede Trust/Profile Books.

Paulhus, Delroy L. (1984), 'Two-Component Models of Socially Desirable Responding', *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 46:3. pp. 598-609.

Păunescu, Andrei (2014), 'Interview: Essence, Appearance and The Reporter's Task Code', *Contemporary Readings in Law and Social Justice* 6:1. pp. 600-608.

Pavel, Thomas G. (2004), 'Literary Narratives'. In: M. Bal (ed.). *Narrative Theory: Major Issues in Narrative Theory*. London: Routledge. pp. 25-41.

Pearson, Lucy (2013), *The Making of Modern Children's Literature in Britain: Publishing and Criticism in the 1960s and 1970s*. London: Routledge.

Pennick Morgan, Faith (2018), *Dress and Personal Appearance in Late Antiquity: The Clothing of the Middle and Lower Classes*. Leiden: Brill.

Pérez, Laura E. (2010), '"Enrique Dussel's *Etica de la liberación*, U.S. Women of Color Decolonizing Practices, and Coalitionary Politics Amidst Difference"', *Qui Parle: Critical Humanities and Social Sciences* 18:2. pp. 121-146.

Petersen, Anne R. (2014), 'Mining the Museum in an Age of Migration'. in I. Chambers, A. De Angelis, C. Ianniciello, and M. Orabona (eds) (2016), *The Postcolonial Museum: The Arts of Memory and the Pressures of History*. Oxon: Routledge. pp. 125-136.

Phillips, Martin, **Woodham**, Anna, and **Hooper-Greenhill**, Eilean (2015), 'Foucault and Museum Geographies: A Case Study of the English "Renaissance in the Regions"', *Social and Cultural Geography* 16:7. pp. 730-763.

Phinney, Jean S. (1996), 'Understanding Ethnic Diversity: The Role of Ethnic Identity', *American Behavioral Scientist* 40. pp. 143-52.

Pitcher, Ben (2019), 'Racism and Brexit: Notes Towards an Antiracist Populism', *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 42:14. pp. 2490-2509.

Pitt Rivers, Augustus H. L. F. (1891), 'Typological Museums, as Exemplified by the Pitt River Museum at Oxford, and his Provincial Museum at Farnham', *Journal of the Society of Arts* 40. pp. 115-122.

Pitts, Martin and **Versluys**, Miguel J. (eds) (2015), *Globalisation and the Roman World: World History, Connectivity and Material Culture*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Polm, Martjn (2016), 'Museum Representation of Roman Britain and Roman London: A Post-Colonial Perspective', *Britannia* 47. pp. 209-241.

Popoveniuc, Bogdan (2014), 'Self Reflexivity. The Ultimate End of Knowledge', *Procedia – Social and Behavioral Sciences* 163. pp. 204-213.

Porsché, Yannik (2018), *Public Representations of Immigrants in Museums*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Prabhat, Devyani (2019), 'The Blurred Lines of British Citizenship and Immigration Control: The Ordinary and the Exceptional'. in D. Prabhat (ed.) *Citizenship in Time of Turmoil?* Cheltenham: Edward Elgar Publishing. pp. 198-216.

Preston, Claire (2000), 'In the Wilderness of Forms: Ideas and Things in Thomas Browne's Cabinets of Curiosity'. in N. Rhodes and J. Sawday (eds) (2005), *The Renaissance Computer: Knowledge Technology in the First Age of Print*. pp. 167-180.

Preziosi, Donald (2011), 'Myths of Nationality'. in S. Knell, P. Aronsson, and A. B. Amundsen (eds) *National Museums: New Studies from Around the World*. New York: Routledge. pp. 55-66.

Proctor, Lauren (2014), *DUR-16C89F: A Roman Coin Hoard*. Web page available at: https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/637965 [Accessed 01/03/2021].

Prothero, Donald R., and **Schoch**, Robert M. (2002) *Horns, Tusks, and Flippers: The Evolution of Hoofed Mammals*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.

Quijano, Aníbal (2007), 'Coloniality and Modernity/Rationality', *Cultural Studies* 21:2-3 Globalization and the De-Colonial Option. pp. 168-178.

Randall, Donna M. and **Fernandes**, Maria F. (1991), 'The Social Desirability Response Bias in Ethics Research', *Journal of Business Ethics* 10. pp. 805-817.

Ravelli, Louise (2006), *Museum Text: Communication Frameworks*. Abingdon: Routledge.

Ravitch, Diane (1990), *Multiculturalism: E Pluribus Plures*. London: Polity Press.

Rawson, Beryl (2007), 'Banquets in Ancient Rome: Participation, Presentation and Perception' in D. E. Kirkby and T. Luckins (eds) *Dining on Turtles: Food Feasts and Drinking in History*. London: Palgrave Macmillan. pp. 15-32.

Raz, Joseph (2017), 'Intention and Value', *Philosophical Explorations* 20: S2. pp. 109-126.

Reilly, Jo (2010), 'Oral History, Learning and the Heritage Lottery Fund: Tips for a Good Application', *Oral History* 38:2. pp. 102-105.

Renaissance Review Advisory Group (2009), *Renaissance in the Regions: Realising the Vision*. London: MLA.

Renan, Ernest (1882), 'What is a Nation? (Qu'est-ce Qu'une Nation?, 1882)'. in M. F. N Gigliolo (ed.) *What Is a Nation? and Other Political* Writings. (tr) M. F. N. Giglioli (2018) New York: Columbia University Press. pp. 247-263.

Revell, Louise (2016), *Ways of Being Roman: Discourses of Identity in the Roman West*. Oxford: Oxbow Books.

Rex, Bethany (2018), Local Authority Museums After the Cuts: A Study of Other-then-Public Forms of Management. PhD Thesis. Newcastle University.

---------- (2020a), 'Which Museums to Fund? Examining Local Government Decision-making in Austerity', *Local Government Studies* 46:2. pp. 186-205.

---------- (2020b), 'Public Museums in a Time of Crisis: The Case of Museum Asset Transfer', *Journal of Community Archaeology and Heritage* 7:2. pp. 77-92.

Rich, Paul B. (1990), *Race and Empire in British Politics*. 2nd ed. Cambridge: University of Cambridge Press.

Rigney, Daniel (1991), 'Three Kinds of Anti-intellectualism: Rethinking Hofstadter', *Sociological Inquiry* 61. pp. 434-451.

Robert, Nicole (2014), 'Getting Intersectional in Museums', *Museums and Social Issues* 9:1. pp. 24-33.

Robertson, Jennifer (2002), 'Reflexivity Redux: A Pithy Polemic on "Positionality"', *Anthropological Quarterly* 75:4. pp. 785-792.

Robinson, Helena (2017), 'Is Cultural Democracy Possible in a Museum? Critical Reflections on Indigenous Engagement in the Development of the Exhibition Encounters: Revealing Stories of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Objects from the British Museum', *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 23:9. pp. 860-874.

Rochford, Jessie S. (2017), 'Art Therapy and Art Museum Education: A Visitor-Focused Collaboration', *Journal of the American Art Therapy Association* 34:4. pp. 209-214.

Rockett, William (1995), 'The Structural Plan of Camden's Britannia', *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 26:4. pp. 829-841.

Roppola, Tiina (2012), *Designing for the Museum Visitor Experience*. New York: Routledge.

Ross, Claire (2012), 'Social Media for Digital Humanities and Community Engagement'. in C. Warwick, M. Terras and J. Nyhan (eds) *Digital Humanities in Practice*. London: Facet Publishing. pp. 23-46.

Ross, Max (2004), 'Interpreting the New Museology', *Museums and Society* 2:2. pp. 84-103.

Roymans, Nico (2004), *Ethnic Identity and Imperial Power: The Batavians in the Early Roman Empire*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press.

Roymans, Nico, **Creemers**, Guido, and **Scheers**, Simone (eds) (2012), *Late Iron Age Gold Hoards from the Low Countries and the Caesarian Conquest of Northern Gaul*. Amsterdam and Tongeren: Amsterdam University Press and Gallo-Roman Museum Tongeren.

The Runnymede Trust (2000), *The Future of Multi-Ethnic Britain: Report of the Commission on the Future of Multi-Ethnic Britain*. London: Profile Books.

---------- (2020), *The Colour of Money: How Racial Inequalities Obstruct a Fair and Resilient Economy*. London: Runnymede Trust.

Russell, Miles (2018), 'Facing Up to Constantine: Reassessing the Stonegate Monumental Head from York', *Britannia* 49. pp. 211-224.

Ryan, Marie-Laure (2005), 'Media and Narrative'. in D. Herman, M. Jahn, and M-L. Ryan (eds) *The Routledge Encyclopaedia of Narrative Theory*. London: Routledge. pp. 288-292.

Ryan, Marie-Laure and **van Alphen**, Ernst (1993), 'Narratology'. in I. R. Makaryk (ed.) *Encyclopaedia of Contemporary Literary Theory. Approaches, Scholars, Terms*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press. pp. 110-116.

Saatcioglu, Bige and **Ozanne**, Julie L. (2013), 'Moral Habitus and Status Negotiation in a Marginalized Working-Class Neighbourhood', *Journal of Consumer Research* 40:4. pp. 692-710.

Sahgal, Gita (2002), 'Blair's Jihad, Blunkett's Crusade: The Battle for the Hearts and Minds of Britain's Muslims', *Radical Philosophy* 112(March/April). pp. 2-5.

Said, Edward (1978), *Orientalism*. 2003. London: Penguin.

Salter, Colin (2013), *Whiteness and Social Change: Remnant Colonialisms and White Civility in Australia and Canada*. Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing.

Samuel, Raphael (1998), 'Epical History: The Idea of Nation'. in A. Light (ed.) *Island Stories: Unravelling Britain*. Theatres of Memory 2. pp. 3-20.

Sandell, Richard (2000), 'The Strategic Significance of Workforce Diversity in Museums', *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 6:3. pp. 213-230.

---------- (2003), 'Social Inclusion, the Museum and the Dynamics of Sectoral Change', *Museum and Society* 1:1. pp. 45-62.

---------- (2007), *Museums, Prejudice and the Refraining of Difference*. London: Routledge.

---------- (2012), 'Museums and the Human rights Frame' in R. Sandell and E. Nightingale (eds) *Museums, Equality and Social Justice*. London: Routledge.

---------- (2016), *Museums, Moralities and Human Rights*. London: Routledge.

Sandell, Richard, **Dodd**, Jocelyn, and **Garland**-**Thomson**, Rosemarie (eds) (2010), *Re-Presenting Disability: Activism and Agency in the Museum*. London: Routledge.

Sarup, Madan (1996), *Identity, Culture and the Postmodern World*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

Saukkonen, Pasi (2013), 'Multiculturalism and Cultural Policy in Northern Europe', *Nordisk kulturpolitisk tidsskrift* 16. pp. 178-200.

Saussure, Ferdinand de (1916), *Course in General Linguistics*. (tr) W. Baskins (1974). London: Fontana.

Savani, Giacomo (2019), 'An Elusive Legacy: The Rediscovery of Roman Baths in Eighteenth-Century Britain', *Britannia* 50. pp. 13-48.

Scholten, Peter and **Holzhacker**, Ronald (2009), 'Bonding, Bridging and Ethnic Minorities in the Netherlands: Changing Discourses in a Changing Nation', *Nations and Nationalism* 15:1. pp. 81-100.

Schortman, Edward (2017), 'Conclusion: Identity, Networks, and Ethnicity'. in B. J. Beyyette and L. J. LeCount (eds) *"The Only True People"*. Boulder: University of Colorado Press.

Schuch, Johanna C., **Harden**, Susan B., **Bostick**, Kamille, and **Smith**, Heather A. (2018), 'Museums Engaging Diverse Millennials in Community Dialogue', *Museums and Social Issues* 13:2. pp. 58-77.

Scott, Carol A. (2016), *Museums and Public Value: Creating Sustainable Futures*. London: Routledge.

Scott, Eleanor (1997), 'Introduction: On the Incompleteness of Archaeological Narratives'. in J. Moore and E. Scott (eds) *Invisible People and Processes: Writing Gender and Childhood into European Archaeology*. London and New York: Leicester University Press. pp. 1-14.

Scully, Richard (2012), *British Images of Germany: Admiration, Antagonism and Ambivalence, 1860-1914*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Selwood, Sara (2002), 'The Politics of Data Collection: Gathering, Analysing and Using Data about the Subsidised Cultural Sector in England', *Cultural Trends* 12:47. pp. 13-84.

Serrell, Beverly (1996), *Exhibiting Labels: An Interpretive Approach*. Lanham: AltaMira Press.

Sian, Katy P. (2019), *Navigating Institutional Racism in British Universities*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Siapkas, Johannes and **Sjögren**, Lena (2014), *Displaying the Ideals of antiquity: The Petrified Gaze*. New York: Routledge.

Silverman, Lois H. (2010), *The Social Work of Museum*. Abingdon: Routledge.

Silverstone, Roger (1989), 'Heritage as Media: Some Implications for Research'. in D. Uzzell (ed.) *Heritage Interpretation, vol 2: The Visitor Experience*. London: Frances Pinter. pp. 138-148.

Simon, Bernd, **Reininger**, Klaus M., **Schaefer**, Christoph D., **Zitzmann**, Steffen, and **Krys**, Sabrina (2019), 'Politicization as an Antecedent of Polarization: Evidence from Two Different Political and National Contexts', *British Journal of Social Psychology* 58. pp. 769-785.

Simon, Patrick (2012), 'Collecting Ethnic Statistics in Europe: A Review', *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 35:8. pp. 1366-1391.

Simpson, Moira G. (2001), *Making Representations: Museums in the Post-Colonial Era*. London: Routledge.

Singer, Eleanor and **Couper**, Mick P. (2017), 'Some Methodological Uses of Responses to Open Questions and Other Verbatim Comments in Quantitative Surveys', *Methods, Data, Analyses* 11:2. pp. 115-134.

Sitzia, Emilie (2018), 'The Ignorant Art Museum: Beyond Meaning-Making', *International Journal of Lifelong Education* 37:1. pp. 73-87.

van Slooten, Sarike (2018), ‘Old Territories, New Societies: An Exploration on Inclusiveness within Dutch National Museum Representation’, *The International Journal of the Inclusive Museum* 11:4. pp. 37-51.

Smiles, Sam and **Moser**, Stephanie (2005), ‘Introduction: The Image in Question’. in S. Moser and S. Smiles (eds) *Envisioning the Past. Archaeology and the Image*. London: Wiley-Blackwell. pp. 1-12.

Smith, Anthony D. (1999), ‘History and Modernity: Reflections on the Theory of Nationalism’. in D. Boswell and J. Evans (eds) *Representing the Nation: A Reader – Histories, Heritage, Museums*. London: Routledge.

---------- (2001), *Nationalism: Theory, Ideology, History*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Smith, Laurajane (2010), ‘”Man’s Inhumanity to Man” and Other Platitudes of Avoidance and Misrecognition: An Analysis of Visitor Responses to Exhibitions Marking the 1807 Bicentenary’, *Museums and Society* 8:3. pp. 193-214.

Smith, Laurajane, **Cubitt**, Geoff, **Fouseki**, Kalliopi, and **Wilson**, Ross (eds) (2011), *Representing Enslavement and Abolition in Museums: Ambiguous Engagements*. New York: Routledge.

Smith, Laurajane, **Cubitt**, Geoffrey, and **Waterton**, Emma (2010), ‘Guest Editorial: Museums and the Bicentenary of the Abolition of the British Slave Trade’, *Museums and Society* 8:3. pp. 122-127.

Smith, Laurajane and **Fouseki**, Kalliopi (2011), ‘The Role of Museums as ‘Places of Social Justice’: Community Consultation and the 1807 Bicentenary’. in L. Smith, G. Cubitt, R. Wilson, and K. Fouseki (eds) *Representing Enslavement and Abolition in Museums: Ambiguous Engagements*. London: Routledge. pp. 97-115.

Smith, Laurajane and **Waterton**, Emma (2009), *Heritage, Communities and Archaeology*. London: Bloomsbury.

Smith, Reginald A. (1922), *A Guide to the Antiquities of Roman Britain in the Department of British and Mediaeval Antiquities*. London: British Museum.

Smithsonian Institution and **Smithsonian Institution Office of Policy and Analysis**, (2004), *Results of the 2004 Smithsonian-wide Survey of Museum Visitors*. Washington: Smithsonian Institution, Office of Policy and Analysis.

Smørdal, Ole, **Stuedahl**, Dagny, and **Sem**, Idunn (2014), ‘Experimental Zones: Two Cases of Exploring Frames of Participation in a Dialogic Museum’, *Digital Creativity* 25:3. pp. 224-232.

Sodaro, Amy (2018), *Exhibiting Atrocity: Memorial Museums and the Politics of Past Violence*. Rutgers University Press: New Brunswick.

Sommer, Barbara W. (2015), *Practicing Oral History in Historical Organizations*. Abingdon: Left Coast Press.

Song, Lulu, **Golinkoff**, Roberta M., **Stuehling**, Amara, **Resnick**, Ilyse, **Mahajan**, Neha, **Hirsh-Pasek**, Kathy, and **Thompson**, Nora (2017), ‘Parent’s and Expert’s Awareness of Learning Opportunities in Children’s Museum Exhibits’, *Journal of Applied Developmental Psychology* 49. pp. 39-45.

Song, Miri (2003), *Choosing Ethnic Identity*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Sorensen, Colin (1989), ‘Theme Parks and Time Machines’. in P. Vergo (ed) *The New Museology*. London: Reaktion. pp. 60-73.

Spalek, Basia (2018), *Communities, Identities and Crime*. Bristol: The Policy Press.

Spivak, Gayatri C. (1988), 'Can the Subaltern Speak?' in C. Nelson and L. Grossberg (eds) *Marxism and the Interpretation of Culture*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press. pp. 271-313.

Spradley, Kelly (2001), 'Small finds: Problems and Possibilities' in G. Davies, A. Gardner, and K Lockyear (eds) *TRAC 2000: Proceedings of the Tenth Annual Theoretical Roman Archaeology Conference, London 2000*. Oxford: Oxbow Books.

Squire, Vicki (2005), '"Integration with Diversity in Modern Britain": New Labour on Nationality, Immigration and Asylum', *Journal of Political Ideologies* 10:1. pp. 51-74.

Srinivasan, Ramesh, **Becvar**, Katherine M., **Boast**, Robin, and **Enote**, Jim (2010), 'Diverse Knowledges and Contact Zones Within the Digital Museum', *Science, Technology, and Human Values* 35:5. pp. 35-768.

Stawarska, Beata (2015), *Saussure's Philosophy of Language as Phenomenology: Undoing the Doctrine of the Course in General Linguistics*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Stoner, Jo (2019), *The Cultural Lives of Domestic Objects in Late Antiquity*'. Leiden: Brill.

Stovel, Emily M. (2013), 'Concepts of Ethnicity and Culture in Andean Archaeology', *Latin American Antiquity* 24:1. pp. 3-20.

Strathern, Andrew J. (1996), *Body Thoughts*. Michigan: University of Michigan Press.

Strong, Roy (2012), Visions of England: Or Why We Still Dream of a Place in the Country. London: Vintage.

Stuedahl, Dagny (2011), 'Social Media and Community Involvement in Museums', *Nordisk Museologi* 1. pp. 3-14.

Sunstein, Cass R. (2001), 'On Academic Fads and Fashions', *Michigan Law Review* 99:6. pp. 1251-1264.

Swan, Vivien G. (1992), 'Legio VI and its Men: African Legionaries in Britain', *Journal of Roman Pottery Studies* 5. pp. 1-33.

---------- (1999), 'The Twentieth Legion and the History of the Antonine Wall Reconsidered', *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland* 129. pp. 399-480.

Swan, Vivien G. and **Monaghan**, Jason (1993), 'Head-Pots: A North African Tradition in Roman York', *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal* 65. pp. 21-38.

Sweet, Jonathan and **Kelly**, Meghan (2018), Museum Development and Cultural Representation: Developing the Kelabit Highlands Community Museum. London: Routledge.

Sweetman, Paul (2003), 'Twenty-first Century Dis-ease? Habitual Reflexivity or the Reflexive Habitus', *Sociological Review* 51:4. pp. 528-549.

Swift, Ellen V. (2003), 'Transformations in Meaning: Amber and Glass Beads Across the Roman Frontier', in G. Carr, E. V. Swift, and J. Weekes (eds) *TRAC 2002: Proceedings of the Twelfth Annual Theoretical Roman Archaeology Conference, Kent 2002*. *Theoretical Roman Archaeology Conference 2002.* Oxford: Oxbow Books. pp. 48-57.

---------- (2008), *Roman Dress Accessories*. Buckinghamshire: Shire Publications.

---------- (2012), 'Object Biography, Re-Use and Recycling in the Late to Post-Roman Transition Period and Beyond: Rings Made from Romano-British Bracelets', *Britannia*. pp. 167-215.

---------- (2017), *Roman Artefacts and Society: Design, Behaviour, and Experience*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

---------- (2019), 'Re-Evaluating the Quoit Brooch Style: Economic and Cultural Transformations in 5th Century AD, with an Updated Catalogue of Known Quoit Brooch Style Artefacts', *Medieval Archaeology*. pp. 1-55.

Swift, Ellen, **Stoner**, Jo, and **Pudsey**, April (*forthcoming*), *A Social Archaeology of Roman and Late Antique Egypt: Artefacts of Everyday Life*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Tamatea, Laurence (2011), 'Ajeg Bali Discourse: Globalisation, Fear and Othering – Online', *Asian Ethnicity* 12:2. pp. 155-177.

Taylor, Anne-Christine (2020), 'On Decolonising Anthropological Museums: Curators Need to Take "Indigenous" Forms of Knowledge More Seriously' in M. von Oswald and J. Tinius (eds) *Across Anthropology*. Leuven: Leuven University Press. pp. 97-104.

Taylor, Charles (1992), *Multiculturalism and 'The Politics of Recognition'*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Terrenato, Nicola (1998), 'The Romanization of Italy: Global Acculturation or Cultural Bricolage?'. in C. Forcey, J. Hawthorne and R. Witcher (eds) *TRAC 97: Proceedings of the Seventh Annual Theoretical Roman Archaeology Conference, Nottingham 1997*. Oxford: Oxbow Books. pp. 20-27.

Tetlie, Odette (2018), 'Process Daram and Co-creation: Democratic Participation in Museum Education', *Applied Theatre Research* 6:2. pp. 167-179.

van Thienen, Vince and **Lycke**, Sylvia (2017), 'From Commodity to Singularity: The Production of Crossbow Brooches and the Rise of the Late Roman Military Elite', *Journal of Archaeological Science* 82. pp. 50-61.

Thomas, Dominic (2010), 'Museums in Postcolonial Europe: An Introduction'. in D. Thomas (ed.) *Museums in Postcolonial Europe*. London Routledge. pp. 1-11.

Thomas, Peter D. G. (2003), *George III: King and Politicians 1760-1770*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.

Thomlinson, Natalie (2016), *Race, Ethnicity and the Women's Movement in England, 1968-1993*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Throsby, David (2010), *The Economics of Cultural Policy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Tlostanova, Madina V. (2019), 'The Postcolonial Condition, the Decolonial Option and the Post-Socialist Intervention' in M. Albrecht (ed.) Postcolonialism Cross-Examined: Multidirectional Perspectives on Imperial and Colonial Pasts and the New colonial Present. London: Routledge. pp. 165-178.

Tlostanova, Madina V. and **Mignolo**, Walter (2012), *Learning to Unlearn: Decolonial Reflections from Eurasia and the Americas*. Columbus: Ohio State University Press.

Todd, Malcolm (2004), 'The Rediscovery of Roman Britain'. in M. Todd (ed.) *A Companion to Roman Britain*. Oxford: Blackwell. pp. 443-459.

Todorov, Tzvetan (1969), *Grammaire du Décaméron*. The Hague: Mouton.

Tolia-Kelly, Divya P. (2010), *Landscape, Race and Memory: Material Ecologies of Citizenship*. Farnham: Ashgate Publishing Limited.

---------- (2011), 'Narrating the Postcolonial Landscape: Archaeologies of Race at Hadrian's Wall', *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographical Society*, 36:1. pp. 71-88.

---------- (2016), ‘*Feeling* and *Being* at the (Postcolonial) Museum: Presencing the Affective Politics of ‘Race’ and Culture’, *Sociology* 50:5. pp. 896-912.

Tolia-Kelly, Divya P. and **Raymond**, Rosanna (2020), ‘Decolonising Museum Cultures: An Artic and a Geographer in Collaboration’, *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 45:1. pp. 2-17.

Toolan, Michael J. (1988), Narrative: A Critical Linguistic Introduction. London: Routledge.

Topaz, Chad M., **Klingenberg**, Bernhard, **Turek**, Daniel, **Heggeseth**, Brianna, **Harris**, Pamela E., **Blackwood**, Julie C., **Chavoya**, C. Ondine, **Nelson**, Steven, and **Murphy** Kevin M (2019), ‘Diversity of Artists in Major U.S. Museums’, *PLoS ONE* 14:3. pp. 1-15.

Townley, Greg, **Kloos**, Bret, **Green**, Eric P., and **Franco**, Margarita M. (2010), ‘Reconcilable Differences? Human Diversity, Cultural Relativity, and Sense of Community’, *Journal of Community Psychology* 47. pp. 69-85.

Tran, Lynn U. (2008), ‘The Work of Science Museum Educators’, *Museum Management and Curatorship* 23:2. pp. 135-153.

Tummala-Narra, Pratyusha (2020), ‘The Fear of Immigrants’, *Psychoanalytic Psychology* 37:1. pp. 50-61.

Tuval, Rebecca (2017), ‘In Defense of Transracialism’, *Hypatia: A Journal of Feminist Philosophy* 32:2. pp. 263-278.

UK Government (2019), *Types of School*. UK Government. https://www.gov.uk/types-of-school/academies [Accessed 31/05/2019].

Ülvay, Gülcan F. and **Özkul**, Ali E. (2017), ‘Museum Education’s Contribution to Multicultural Education’, *International Journal of Economic Perspectives* 11:1. pp. 639-652.

Umaña-Taylor, Adriana J., **Bhanot**, Ruchi, and **Shin** Nana (2009), ‘Ethnic Identity Formation during Adolescence: The Critical Role of Families’, *Journal of Family Issues* 27:3. pp. 390-414.

UNESCO (2013), *Managing Cultural World Heritage*. Paris: United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization.

United Nations (2007), *Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities. Article 24 – Education*.

Ünsal, Deniz (2019), ‘Positioning Museums Politically for Social Justice’, *Museum Management and Curatorship* 34:6. pp. 595-607.

Uppin, Helene and **Timoštšuk**, Inge (2019), ‘”We’ll Be Back by Christmas” – Developing Historical Empathy During a Museum Activity’, *Journal of Museum Education* 44:3. pp. 310-324.

Urciuoli, Bonnie (2018), ‘The irony of Diversity Numbers’, *Signs and Society* 6:1. pp. 88-110.

Usher, Robin and **Edwards**, Richard (1994), *Postmodernism and Education*. London: Routledge.

Valdeón, Roberto A. (2015), ‘Colonial Museums in the US (Un)translated’, *Language and Intercultural Communication* 15:3. pp. 362-375.

Valluvan, Sivamohan and **Kalra**, Virinder S. (2019), ‘Racial Nationalisms: Brexit, Borders and Little Englander Contradictions’, *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 42:14. pp. 2393-2412.

Vamanu, Iulian (2020), ‘Indigenous Museum Curatorship in the United States and Canada Roles and Responsibilities’, *LIBRI* 70:1. pp. 65-79.

Vance, Norman (1997), *The Victorians and Ancient Rome*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Vanderspoel, John (2005), 'Male Deities in Northern Roman Britain: Patterns and Perspectives', *Religious Studies and Theology* 24:1. pp. 33-59.

Vangoidsenhoven, Guido and **Pilet**, Jean-Benoit (2015), 'The Politicisation of Immigration in Belgium'. in W. Van Der Brug, G. D'Amato, J. Berkhout, and D. Ruedin (eds) *The Politicisation of Migration*. Abingdon: Routledge.

Varutti, Marzia (2017), 'Materializing the Past: Mannequins, History and Memory in Museums. Insights from the Northern European and East-Asian Contexts', *Journal Nordic Museology / Nordisk Museologi* 1. pp. 5-20.

Varvin, Sverre (2017), 'Our Relations to Refugees: Between Compassion and Dehumanization', *The American Journal of Psychoanalysis* 77:4. pp. 359-377.

Vasta, Ellie (2007), 'From Ethnic Minorities to Ethnic Majority Policy: Multiculturalism and the Shift to Assimilationism in the Netherlands', *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 30:5. pp. 713-740.

Vawda, Shahid (2019), 'Museums and the Epistemology of Injustice: From Colonialism to Decoloniality', *Museum International* 71:1-2. pp. 72-79.

Verdery, Katherine (1996), 'Whither Nation and Nationalism'. in G. Balakrishnan (ed.) *Mapping the Nation*. London: Verso. pp. 226-34.

Verdesio, Gustavo (2010), 'Invisible at a Glance: Indigenous Culture of the Past, Ruins, Archaeological Sites and Our Regimes of Visibility'. in J. Hell and A. Schönle (eds) *Ruins of Modernity*. Durham: Duke University Press. pp. 339-353.

Vergo, Peter (ed.) (1989), *The New Museology*. London: Reaktion Books.

Vertovec, Steven (2007), 'Super-Diversity and its Implications', *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 30:6. pp. 1024-1054.

---------- (2009), *Transnationalism*. London: Routledge.

---------- (2010), 'Towards Post-Multiculturalism? Changing Communities, Conditions and Contexts of Diversity', *International Social Science Journal* 61. pp. 83-95.

---------- (2019), 'Talking Around Super-Diversity', *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 42:1. pp. 125-139.

Vickers, Edward (2008), 'Re-writing Museums in Taiwan'. in F. Shih, S. Thompson, and P-F. Tremlett (eds) *Re-writing Culture in Taiwan*. London: Routledge. pp. 69-101.

Vieten, Ulrike M. and **Poynting**, Scott (2016), 'Contemporary Far-Right Racist Populism in Europe', *Journal of Intercultural Studies* 37:6. pp. 533-540.

Vlachou, Maria (2019), 'Dividing Issues and Mission-Driven Activism: Museum Responses to Migration Policies and the Refugee Crisis'. in R. R. Janes and R. Sandell (eds) *Museum Activism.* Abingdon and New York: Routledge. pp. 47-57.

van der Vlies, Tina (2016), 'Multidirectional War Narratives in History Textbooks', *Paedagogica Historica* 52:3. pp. 300-314.

Wajid, Sara and **Minott**, Rachael (2019), 'Detoxing and Decolonising Museums' in R. R. Janes and R. Sandell (eds) *Museum Activism*. London: Routledge. pp. 25-35.

Walker, Janiece L. (2012), 'The Use of Saturation in Qualitative Research', *Canadian Journal of Cardiovascular Nursing* 22:2. pp. 37-46.

Walsh, David (2019), The Cult of Mithras in Late Antiquity: Development, Decline, and Demise ca. A.D. 270-430. Leiden: Brill.

Wang, Yiwen, **Stash**, Natalia, **Sambeek**, Rody, **Schuurmans**, Yuri, **Aroyo**, Lora, **Schreiber**, Guus, and **Gorgels**, Peter (2005), 'Cultivating Personalized Museum Tours Online and On-Site', *Interdisciplinary Science Reviews* 34:2-3. pp. 139-153.

Warwick, Roger (1968), 'The Skeletal Remains.' in L. P. Wenham (ed.) *The Romano-British Cemetery at Trentholme Drive, York*. Ministry of Public Building and Works Archaeological Reports No. 5. London: Her Majesty's Stationary Office. pp. 11-176.

Watson, Patty J., **LeBlanc**, Steven A., and **Redman**, Charles L. (1971), *Explanation in Archaeology: An Explicitly Scientific Approach*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Watson, Sheila (2007a), 'Introduction to Part One'. in S. Watson (ed.) *Museums and their Communities*. Abingdon: Routledge. pp. 27-32.

---------- (2007b), 'Introduction to Part Four'. in S. Watson (ed.) *Museums and their Communities*. Abingdon: Routledge. pp. 375-378.

---------- (2019), 'The British Museum and the Royal Academy; Cultural Politics and the Nation State in the Eighteenth Century', *Museum and Society* 17:1. pp. 66-82.

Webster, Jane (1997), 'A Negotiated Syncretism: Readings on the Development of Romano-Celtic Religion'. in D. Mattingly (ed.) *Dialogues in Roman Imperialism: Power, Discourse and Discrepant Experience in the Roman Empire*. Portsmouth: R.I., *Journal of Roman Archaeology* Supplementary Series 23. pp. 165-184.

---------- (2001), 'Creolizing the Roman Provinces', *American Journal of Archaeology* 105. pp. 209-225.

---------- (2003), 'Art As Resistance and Negotiation'. in S. Scott and J. Webster (eds) *Roman Imperialism and Provincial Britain*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. pp. 24-51.

Webster, Steven W. and **Abramowitz**, Alan I. (2017), 'The Ideological Foundations of Affective Polarization in the U.S. Electorate', *American Politics Research* 45. pp. 621-647.

Wegner, Eldon L. (1975), 'The Concept of Alienation: A Critique and Some Suggestions for a Context Specific Approach', *The Pacific Sociological Review* 18:2. pp. 171-193.

Weil, Stephen E. (1999), 'From Being Something to be Being for Somebody: The Ongoing Transformation of the American Museum', *America's Museums* 128. pp. 229-258.

---------- (2003), *Making Museums Matter*. Washington D.C.: Smithsonian Books.

Weinstein, Helen (2012), 'Going Local', *Museums Journal* 112:02. pp. 22-27.

Whitehead, Christopher, **Eckersley**, Susannah, **Lloyd**, Katherine, and **Mason**, Rhiannon (2015), *Museums, Migration and Identity in Europe: Peoples, Places and Identities*. London: Routledge.

Wikström, Peter (2016), 'No One is "Pro-Politically Correct": Positive Construals of Political Correctness in Twitter Conversations', *Nordic Journal of English Studies* 15:2. pp. 159-170.

Williams, Brackette F. (1989), 'A Class Ace: Anthropology and the Race to Nation Across Ethnic Terrain', *Annual Review of Anthropology* 18. pp. 401-444.

Wilson, David M. (1989), *The British Museum: Purpose and Politics*. London: British Museum Publications.

Wilson, Richard A. (1997), *Human Rights, Culture and Context: Anthropological Perspectives*. London: Pluto.

Wilson, Ross (2010), ‘Rethinking 1807: Museums, Knowledge and Expertise’, *Museum and Society* 8:3. pp. 165-179.

Wolf, Werner (2004), ‘”Cross the Border – Close that Gap”: Towards an Intermedial Narratology’, *European Journal of English Studies* 8:1. pp. 81-103.

---------- (2011), ‘Narratological and Media(lity): The Transmedial Expansion of a Literary Discipline and Possible Consequence’. in G. Olson (ed.) *Current Trends in Narratology*. Berlin: De Gruyter.

Wong, Kit M. and **Piscitelli**, Barbara A. (2019), ‘Children’s Voices: What do Young Children Say about Museums in Hong Kong?’, *Museum Management and Curatorship* 34:4. pp. 419-432.

Wood, Elizabeth and **Cole**, Sarah A. (2019), ‘Growing An Activist Museum Professional’. in R. R. Janes and R. Sandell (eds) *Museum Activism.* Abingdon and New York: Routledge. pp. 36-46.

Wood, Rachel L. (2016), ‘Late Romano-British Pottery Production in Context: The Crambeck Ware Industry and its Landscape Setting’. Doctoral Thesis. The University of York.

Woods, Megan, **Paulus**, Trena, **Atkins**, David P., and **Macklin**, Rob (2016), ‘Advancing Qualitative Research Using Qualitative Data Analysis Software (QDAS)? Reviewing Potential Versus Practice in Published Studies Using ATLAS.ti and NVIVO, 1994-2013’, *Social Science Computer Review* 34:5. pp. 597-617.

Woodward, Simon (2012), ‘Funding Museum Agendas: Challenges and Opportunities’, *Managing Leisure* 17:1. pp. 14-28.

Worley, Claire (2005), ‘”It’s Not About Race. It’s About the Community”: New Labour and “Community Cohesion”’, *Critical Social Policy* 25:4. pp. 483-496.

Worrell, Sally (2006), ‘II. Finds Reported Under the Portable Antiquities Scheme’, *Britannia* 37. pp. 429-466.

Wouters, Barbora, **Devos**, Yannick, **Vrydaghs**, Luc, **Ball**, Terry, **De Winter**, Natasja, and **Reygel**, Patrick (2019), ‘An Integrated Micromorphological and Phytolith Study of Urban Soils and Sediments from the Gallo-Roman Town Atuatuca Tungrorum, Belgium’, *Geoarchaeology* 34. pp. 448-466.

Yeandle, Peter (2008), ‘Englishness in Retrospect: Rewriting the National Past for the Children of the English Working Classes, c. 1880-1919', *Studies in Ethnicity and Nationalism* 6:2. pp. 9-26.

Yeats, William B. (1903), *Ideas of Good and Evil*. London: A.H. Bullen.

Yeo, Richard (2003), ‘Encyclopaedia Collectors: Ephraim Chambers and Sir Hans Sloane’. in R. G. W. Anderson, M. L. Caygill, A. G. MacGregor and L. Syson (eds) *Enlightening the British: Knowledge, Discovery and the Museum in the Eighteenth Century*. London: British Museum Press. pp. 29-36.

Young, Kathleen M. and **Leinhardt**, Gaea (1998), ‘Wildflowers, Sheep, and Democracy: The Role of analogy in the Teaching and Learning of History’. in M. Carretero and J. Voss (eds) *Learning and Reasoning in History. International Review of History Education Volume 2*. Abingdon: RoutledgeFalmer. pp. 154-198.

Young, Lola (2002), 'Rethinking Heritage: Cultural Policy and Inclusion'. in R. Sandell (ed.) *Museums, Society, Inequality*. London: Routledge. pp. 203-212.

Zagefka, Hanna (2008), 'The Concept of Ethnicity in Social Psychological Research: Definitional Issues', *International Journal of Intercultural Relations* 33. pp. 228-241.

Zavala, Miguel (2013), 'What do We Mean by Decolonizing Research Strategies? Lessons from Decolonizing Indigenous Research Projects in New Zealand and Latin America', *Decolonization: Indigeneity, Education & Society* 2:1. pp. 55-71.

Zhang, Carol X., **Xiao**, Honggen, **Morgan**, Nigel, and **Ly**, Tuan P. (2018), 'Politics of Memories: Identity Construction in Museums', *Annals of Tourism Research* 73. pp. 116-130.

Zytaruk, Maria (2011), 'Cabinets of Curiosities and the Organization of Knowledge' *University of Toronto Quarterly* 80:1. pp. 1-23.

Abbreviations

BAME	-	Black, Asian, and Minority Ethnic
BMAG	-	Birmingham Museum and Art Gallery
BME	-	Black and Minority Ethnic
DCMS	-	Department for Digital, Culture, Media and Sport
KS1	-	Key Stage One
KS2	-	Key Stage Two
KS3	-	Key Stage Three
NHLF	-	National Heritage Lottery Fund
ONS	-	Office of National Statistics
RIB	-	Roman Inscriptions of Britain

Appendix

Appendix 1: Dataset 1 - Interview Question Sheet

Questions/topics to discuss with museum specialists/archaeologists

1. Do your Roman displays explicitly portray ethnic diversity and/or identity within the Roman period?
    a. If yes –
        i. How do you express this type of research? (Through what materials and research? E.g. pottery, jewellery, bioarchaeological data, burial finds, epigraphy).
        ii. Is ethnic diversity/identity an important aspect to include within Roman displays?
    b. If no –
        i. Is this due to the lack of research upon the subject?
        ii. Is there less importance placed on this subject than others included within the display?
        iii. Are you considering including this within your displays in the future?

2.
    a. Is the curation process free?
        i. How much freedom do you possess in choosing what goes on display and the messages exhibitions express?
    b. Are there any outside influences and/or restraints on the curation process?
        i. Are there any outside influences such as government, public voice or other researchers?
        ii. How much weight do these other opinions hold?

3. Is there outside pressure to depict different identities? (In terms of depicting modern day ethnicities through the representation of the Roman period).
    a. Is ethnicity relatable to the Roman period?
    b. Can we use ethnicity to depict the Romans accurately?

4. The process from archaeology to a museum/heritage display.
    a. Do you pick and choose relevant research for your exhibition in mind, or do you specifically ask researchers to research a topic which you want to display?

    b. How much, modern ongoing research is displayed within the museum? Or, is it more of an overview of what the research is telling us?
    c. How long does it generally take for an item to go from excavation to being displayed?

5. In what ways do you attempt to keep the public constantly aware of contemporary research? Particularly with permanent displays.
    a. Do you use social media for this?
    b. Do you take advantage of interactive screens which can be updated and reinvented depending on research for certain displays?
    c. Are display descriptions changed regularly?
    d. Use of temporary exhibitions.

6. How long should a permanent exhibition last?

Appendix 2: Dataset 1 - Interview and additional conversation order, location, and dates

Interview number	Location	Date
1	Rijksmuseum van Oudheden	03/05/2017
2	The Valkhof	04/05/2017
3	Thermenmuseum	08/05/2017
4	Gallo-Romeins Museum	09/05/2017
5	Gallo-Romeins Museum	09/05/2017
6	The Corinium	03/08/2017
7	The Corinium	03/08/2017
8	British Museum	09/08/2017
9	British Museum	21/08/2017
10	The Collection	06/09/2017
11	The Roman Museum	29/09/2017
12	English Heritage South East	21/11/2017
13	Welwyn Roman Bath	16/01/2018
14	Welwyn Roman Bath	16/01/2018
15	Burwell Museum	30/01/2018
16	Cambridge Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology	07/02/2018
17	Verulamium	12/02/2018
18	Mildenhall Museum	13/02/2018
19	Sittingbourne Heritage Museum	17/02/2018
20	Sittingbourne Heritage Museum	17/02/2018
21	Maidstone Museum	26/02/2018
22	Maidstone Museum	26/02/2018
23	Fishbourne Roman Palace	05/03/2018
24	Butser Ancient Farm	06/03/2018
25	Bath’s Roman Bath	13/03/2018
26	Colchester Castle Museum	03/04/2018
27	Cambridge Museum of Classical Archaeology	04/04/2018
28	Dartford Museum	06/04/2018
29	Dover Museum and Bronze Age Boat	20/04/2018
30	The Seaside Museum	02/05/2018
31	Eastbourne County Council	11/05/2018

32	Museum of London	13/06/2018
33	The Novium	28/02/2018
34	Colchester Castle Museum	14/06/2018
35	The Yorkshire Museum	05/07/2018
36	Museum of London	22/08/2018
37	Museum of London	22/08/2018
38	The Roman Museum	07/09/2018
Additional conversation number	**Location**	**Date**
39	Verulamium	12/02/2018
40	Mildenhall Museum	13/02/2018

Table 31: Interview and additional conversation order, location, and dates

Appendix 3: Dataset 1 and 2 - List of institutions and their details that were included in the research

Museum	Information	Location	No. of interviews	No. of supplementary conversations	No. of questionnaires
British Museum	A state-owned national institution with an international collection and visitor base. The museum was established by an Act of Parliament in 1753 and currently governed by the British Museum Act of 1963, and operates 'at arm's length from government, but accountable to parliament'. Collections house an encyclopaedic collection of archaeological and anthropological artefacts from many periods, regions, and cultures. Galleries within are curated by paid staff. The information was gained through https://www.britishmuseum.org/ [Accessed 13/04/2020]	London (UK capital city)	2		
Burwell Museum and Windmill	A local museum that focuses on historic life in Burwell with a predominant focus on rural living due to it housed in historic farm buildings. Exhibits house objects of archaeological and anthropological intrigue to the area, agricultural equipment and machinery, heritage vehicles, reconstructed buildings and rooms, images, and local oral histories. Burwell Museum was established in 1992, partly due to a	Burwell (UK village)	1		

Museum	Information	Location	No. of interviews	No. of supplementary conversations	No. of questionnaires
	ten-year funding project, by Burwell Museum Trust that is a local charity run by volunteers. The museum is also run solely by volunteers. The information was gained through http://burwellmuseum.org.uk/ [Accessed 13/04/2020]				
Butser Ancient Farm	Butser Ancient Farm is a not-for-profit Community Interest Company that focuses on education and research. The site consists of re-constructed buildings from archaeological excavations, where theories, building techniques, and ways of living are tested. Periods cover the British Stone Age to the Anglo-Saxon period. Established in 1974, Butser is an experimental archaeological site that works with charities, academics, universities, archaeological units. Both paid and volunteer staff are involved in Butser's daily operations. The information was gained through https://butserancientfarm.co.uk/ [Accessed 13/04/2020]	Chalton (UK village)	1		

Museum	Information	Location	No. of interviews	No. of supplementary conversations	No. of questionnaires
Colchester Castle Museum	Colchester Castle became a museum of archaeology in 1860 and is run by Colchester and Ipswich Museums, a part of the local council. The building is a Norman keep from 1076 and continues to be a locally-focused archaeology museum, with Roman building remains accessible below. The museum is run by paid staff. The information was gained through https://colchester.cimuseums.org.uk/ [Accessed 13/04/2020]	Colchester (UK town)	2		
Corinium Museum	Corinium Museum is part of The Cotswold Museum Service that is managed by Sports and Leisure Management Ltd. The collections and buildings are further owned by Cotswold District Council. The museum possesses a collection of local archaeology, social, and rural history. The museum was opened in 1856 and run by paid staff. The information was gained through https://coriniummuseum.org/ [Accessed 13/04/2020]	Cirencester (UK town)	2		

Museum	Information	Location	No. of interviews	No. of supplementary conversations	No. of questionnaires
Dartford Central Library and Museum	Dartford Museum is a resource provided by Dartford Borough Council and housed in the same building as the council-owned library. The museum dates to around the late-18th century and encompasses a one-roomed site that focuses on local archaeology and social history in chronological order from its ancient past. The museum is run by paid staff. The information was gained through https://www.dartford.gov.uk/by-category/leisure-and-culture2/museums-and-galleries [Accessed 13/04/2020]	Dartford (UK town)	1		
Dover Museum and Bronze Age Boat Gallery	Dover Museum was founded in 1836, rehoused in 1991 to its current location, and council-owned. The museum includes archaeological objects, graphics, and models to retell Dover's local history and development that originates in the Stone Age. The museum is run by paid staff. The information was gained through https://www.dovermuseum.co.uk/Home.aspx [Accessed 13/04/2020]	Dover (UK town)	1		

Museum	Information	Location	No. of interviews	No. of supplementary conversations	No. of questionnaires
English Heritage South East	English Heritage South East is the regional sector of a national, registered charity that manages, owns, and liaises with private owners of historic sites. The organisation began in 1882 as part of the UK government's Office of Works department. Recently in 2015, English Heritage transferred from a governmental institution to a charitable trust. The organisation is run by paid staff. The information was gained through https://english-heritage.org.uk/ [Accessed 13/04/2020]	Dover (UK town)	1		
Fishbourne Roman Palace and Gardens	Fishbourne Roman Palace is a Roman heritage site that expresses local Roman history through Roman remains, a reconstructed garden, and archaeological objects. The site was first systematically excavated in 1960 and currently owned by Sussex Archaeological Society, a registered charity. Paid staff run operations at Fishbourne Roman Palace. The information was gained through https://sussexpast.co.uk/properties-to-discover/fishbourne-roman-palace [Accessed 13/04/2020]	Fishbourne (UK village)	1		17

Museum	Information	Location	No. of interviews	No. of supplementary conversations	No. of questionnaires
Friends of Canterbury Archaeological Trust	Founded in 1984, the Friends of Canterbury Archaeological Trust supports the work of Canterbury Archaeological Trust. The information was gained through http://www.canterburytrust.co.uk/fcat/index.html# [Accessed 13/04/2020]	Canterbury (UK city)			3
Gallo-Romeins Museum	The Gallo-Romeins Museum is of national importance and run by the parliament and government of the Flemish region of Belgium (Flanders). Established in 1954, the museum houses archaeological and anthropological material that relates to the region's history from prehistory to the early Middle Ages. The museum is run by paid staff. The information was gained through https://www.galloromeinsmuseum.be/ [Accessed 13/04/2020]	Tongeren (Belgian city)	2		
Heritage Eastbourne (Eastbourne County Council)	Heritage Eastbourne is part of Eastbourne County Council and produces heritage projects and exhibitions. Although the organisation does not presently own a stand-alone museum, it has a two-year exhibit within a temporary museum space. The exhibition depicts local	Eastbourne (UK town)	1		

Museum	Information	Location	No. of interviews	No. of supplementary conversations	No. of questionnaires
	history from pre-history to the present day through archaeology. The organisation is run by paid staff. The information was gained through https://www.visiteastbourne.com/heritage [Accessed 13/04/2020]				
Maidstone Museum	Maidstone Museum is a local council-owned museum, with collections that resemble smaller versions of national and international institutions. Exhibitions consist of archaeological and paleontological remains and objects, artwork, military memorabilia, clothes, and domestic objects. The museum depicts various periods, regions, and cultures through archaeology and natural history from prehistory to modern-day. The museum was established in 1858 and is run by paid staff. The information was gained through https://museum.maidstone.gov.uk/ [Accessed 13/04/2020]	Maidstone (UK town)	2		33

Museum	Information	Location	No. of interviews	No. of supplementary conversations	No. of questionnaires
Mildenhall and District Museum	Mildenhall and District Museum is a local museum run by the Museum Society, a registered charity that was formed between two local groups in 1999. The museum was established in 1951 albeit in a different location. The institution is managed by volunteers and exhibits historical and social histories of the local vicinity through archaeology, military memorabilia, and photographic evidence. The information was gained through https://mildenhallmuseum.co.uk/ [Accessed 13/04/2020]	Mildenhall (UK village)	1	1	
Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology	The Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology is a university-owned museum, and part of Cambridge University since 1884. Objects of archaeological and anthropological significance are housed in the museum's collections, that represent many cultures, regions, and periods that range from almost two million years ago to the present. Staff are paid and include academics that promote the institution's research agendas. The information was gained through https://maa.cam.ac.uk/ [Accessed 13/04/2020]	Cambridge (UK city)	1		63

Museum	Information	Location	No. of interviews	No. of supplementary conversations	No. of questionnaires
Museum of Classical Archaeology	The Museum of Classical Archaeology is a university-owned museum, supported by the University of Cambridge. The museum's main collection consists of casts of classical statues. It was founded in 1884 and houses archaeological objects from the classical period. Furthermore, the museum is used to support study, teaching, and research. The museum is run by paid staff and directed by a lecturer at the University of Cambridge. The information was gained through https://www.classics.cam.ac.uk/museum [Accessed 13/04/2020]	Cambridge (UK city)	1		
Museum of London	The Museum of London is a charitable organisation, with a board of governors appointed to represent the funding authorities of the Corporation of London, the Greater London Council, and the Greater London Authority. The government's interest in the museum was transferred to the Greater London Authority in 2009. The museum's permanent galleries use archaeology, art, and anthropological items to depict the history of London and its residents from prehistory to modern-day. Originally opened 1826 at the then Guildhall Museum,	London (UK capital city)	3		

Museum	Information	Location	No. of interviews	No. of supplementary conversations	No. of questionnaires
	the museum is currently managed by paid staff amidst a move to its new site in Smithfield General Market. The information was gained through https://www.museumoflondon.org.uk/museum-london [Accessed 13/04/2020]				
Rijksmuseum van Oudheden	The Rijksmuseum van Oudheden is a government-owned, national archaeological museum with international importance, with close ties to the University of Leiden. Collections include archaeological remains that depict Egypt, classical antiquity, the ancient Near East, and Dutch history from prehistory to the middle ages. The museum's collection started in 1744 and is currently managed by paid staff. The information was gained through https://www.rmo.nl/ [Accessed 13/04/2020]	Leiden (Dutch city)	1		
Roman Museum	Canterbury's Roman Museum is run by Canterbury Council and depicts the Roman history of Canterbury through archaeology and reconstructions. The site also comprises of an open villa excavation	Canterbury (UK city)	2		69

Museum	Information	Location	No. of interviews	No. of supplementary conversations	No. of questionnaires
	that comprises of a mosaic and hypocaust system. The museum was established in 1961 and managed by paid staff. The information was gained through https://canterburymuseums.co.uk/romanmuseum/ [Accessed 13/04/2020]				
Seaside Museum	The Seaside Museum is a local museum that depicts historical and social history through archaeological objects, art, and photographs. The institution's collection dates to 1932, and the museum was first established in 1996 whilst funded by Canterbury City Council. In 2015, Herne Bay Museum Trust took over the management of the museum and is run by volunteers. The information was gained through http://theseasidemuseumhernebay.org/ [Accessed 13/04/2020]	Herne Bay (UK town)	1		
Sittingbourne Heritage Museum	Sittingbourne Heritage Museum is a small, volunteer-led institution, and a registered charity, established in 1999. The museum depicts	Sittingbourne (UK town)	2		

Museum	Information	Location	No. of interviews	No. of supplementary conversations	No. of questionnaires
	local history through archaeological objects, alongside more recent social history. The information was gained through http://www.sittingbourne-museum.co.uk/ [Accessed 13/04/2020]				
The Collection	The Collection is the county museum for Lincolnshire, opened in 2005. The museum is managed by the Lincolnshire County Council in partnership with the City of Lincoln Council, Art Council England, The British Museum, the Art Fund. The institution is further supported by the Friends of Lincoln Museums and Art Gallery, the Usher Trust, and Helsam Trust. Collections include archaeological objects that span the history of Lincoln and the local region from prehistory to the Medieval period. The museum is run by paid staff. The information was gained through https://www.thecollectionmuseum.com/ [Accessed 13/04/2020]	Lincoln (UK city)	1		
The Novium	The Novium Museum is a local council-owned museum, opened in 2012 but has origins in the 19thc century. Exhibits include	Chichester (UK city)	1		

Museum	Information	Location	No. of interviews	No. of supplementary conversations	No. of questionnaires
	archaeological remains, objects, and artwork that depicts Chichester's heritage, art, and social history. The museum is run by paid staff. The information was gained through https://www.thenovium.org/article/27191/Home [Accessed 13/04/2020]				
The Roman Baths	The Roman Baths located in Bath, are run by the Heritage Services section of the Bath and North East Somerset Council. The museum and heritage site encompasses archaeological remains and objects that depict the Roman past of Bath. The site is managed by paid staff. The information was gained through https://www.romanbaths.co.uk/ [Accessed 13/04/2020]	Bath (UK city)	1		
Thermenmuseum	The Thermenmuseum is a local-authority owned museum and heritage site. The institution manages and presents the regions Roman history through archaeological objects and preserved Roman bath. The museum was opened in 1977 and currently run by paid staff.	Heerlen (Dutch city)	1		

Museum	Information	Location	No. of interviews	No. of supplementary conversations	No. of questionnaires
	The information was gained through https://www.thermenmuseum.nl/ [Accessed 13/04/2020]				
Valkhof Museum	The Valkhof Museum is a local-government owned institution that opened in 1999. The museum is both an archaeology museum and art gallery, therefore, it depicts predominantly Roman archaeology and modern art. The Valkhof Museum also manages archaeology from the Gelderland region. The museum is managed by paid staff. The information was gained through https://www.museumhetvalkhof.nl/ [Accessed 13/04/2020]	Nijmegen (Dutch city)	1		
Verulamium Museum	Verulamium Museum is led by St Albans Museums and Galleries Trust that is a registered charity, alongside St Albans City and District Council. The museum depicts the Roman history of St Albans through archaeology, established following excavations in the 1930s. The museum is managed by paid staff.	St Albans (UK city)	1	1	

Museum	Information	Location	No. of interviews	No. of supplementary conversations	No. of questionnaires
	The information was gained through https://www.stalbansmuseums.org.uk/ [Accessed 13/04/2020]				
Welwyn Roman Bath	Welwyn Roman Bath is a local heritage site and Roman exhibit. The site is managed by Welwyn Hatfield Borough Council and established after excavations in the 1960s and 1970s. The site is managed by paid staff. The information was gained through https://www.welhat.gov.uk/article/723/Welwyn-Roman-Baths [Accessed 13/04/2020]	Welwyn (UK village)	2		
Yorkshire Museum	The Yorkshire Museum was founded in the 1830s and houses archaeological, geological, and natural history artefacts ran by the City of York Council. The museum remains to manage the same artefacts, and curate displays that relate to the history of the region. Management was, however, transferred to the Yorkshire Museums Trust, an independent charity, in 2002. The museum is managed by paid staff.	York (UK city)	1		70

Museum	Information	Location	No. of interviews	No. of supplementary conversations	No. of questionnaires
	The information was gained through https://www.yorkshiremuseum.org.uk/ [Accessed 13/04/2020]				

Table 32: Museums and heritage sites included in this thesis

Appendix 4: Dataset 2 - Questionnaire sheet

By completing this survey and returning it, you are providing consent for Karl Goodwin to include the answers provided within his PhD research. Please refer to the information sheet before filling out this survey.

1) Expectations of museums dealing with history

Do museums/heritage sites have a duty to represent everyone in modern society?	Yes/No
Are you concerned with how many identities/ethnicities are represented within history displays?	Yes/No
Should museums challenge stereotypical opinions such as racism and sexism?	Yes/No

2) Personal experiences

Do you feel as though your own ethnic identity is included within museum and heritage displays?	Yes/No
If not, do you think they should attempt to?	Yes/No
Please expand:	
Are you interested by discussions concerning identity and ethnicity of people in ancient periods such as the Roman era?	Yes/No
Are you interested by discussions concerning identity and ethnicity in modern societies?	Yes/No

3) Questions specifically relating to depictions of the Roman Period

Is it important for Roman period depictions to show the make-up of Roman society? (e.g. demographics, ethnicities, races, identities, cultures, and religions of people).	Yes/No
Is it important for the Roman period to be explained in ways which can reflect modern society and debate? (e.g. looking at contemporary topics such as body image through an ancient perspective).	Yes/No
Space to expand upon answer:	
Do you think depictions of history are politically influenced by modern views?	Yes/No
Space to expand upon answer:	

4) Optional section – participant details / demographics

Age:	Nationality:
Ethnicity:	

Appendix 5: Dataset 1 - Participant Information sheet[57]

Project Title - Ancient Culture and Modern Ethnicity: Exploring the Politics Behind Recreations of Roman Cultural Identity in Museums and Heritage Displays.

I have contacted you previous to our meeting. The purpose of this meeting is to discuss my research in relation to your work at the museum/heritage site. I would like to discuss the extent in which ethnicity is included within your Roman history displays and exhibitions, and the reasoning behind the decision to include it, or why it has been omitted.

The duration of this meeting is dependent upon the time available within your schedule, I would not expect a meeting to last more than two hours.

Participation is completely voluntary, and my invitation to have a meeting can be declined at any point. Also, for research purposes I would like to take notes during the meeting. I would use the notes to go over the conversation, possibly quote within my thesis, or paraphrase ideas and points to then place within my research.

If you have any questions please contact me at kag28@kent.ac.uk.

Kind regards,

Karl Goodwin

PhD candidate

Graduate Teaching Assistant

University of Kent

SECL

[57] The title of the project has, since the creation of this document, changed.

Appendix 6: Dataset 1 - Consent form[58]

CONSENT FORM

Working Title of project: Ancient Culture and Modern Ethnicity: Exploring the Politics Behind Recreations of Roman Cultural Identity in Museums and Heritage Displays.

Name of investigator: Karl Goodwin

Please initial box

1. I confirm I have read and understand the information sheet dated… (version…) for the above study. I have had the opportunity to consider the information, ask questions and have had these answered satisfactorily. ☐

2. I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time without giving any reason. *(Insert contact number here of lead researcher/member of research team, as appropriate).* ☐

3. I understand that my responses may be used within Karl Goodwin's research project. This will take place through paraphrasing what has been gained from the meeting. ☐

4. I agree to take part in the above research project. ☐

5. I agree for Karl Goodwin to use my name within his research and thesis. ☐

________________	________________	________________
Name of participant	Date	Signature
Name of person taking consent *(if different from lead researcher)* *To be signed and dated in presence of the participant*	Date	Signature
Lead researcher	Date	Signature

Copies:

When completed: 1 for participant; 1 for researcher site file; 1 (original) to be kept in main file

[58] The title of the project has, since the creation of this document, changed.

Appendix 7: Dataset 2 - Participant information sheet

Survey Information Sheet

Ancient Culture and Modern Ethnicity: Exploring the Politics Behind Recreations of Roman Cultural Identity in Museums and Heritage Displays

The purpose of this survey is to gauge visitor expectation concerning the expression of ethnicity and identity in Roman exhibitions. The questions seek to record two main points:

- Visitor expectations concerning the inclusion of modern concepts within Roman history displays.
- Audience reactions to the inclusion or absence of certain demographics relating to their own experiences.

The data collected from these surveys will be used to gain an insight of the role politics may play within displays of the Roman period. The information gained will be compiled with research conducted from a wide selection of museums from The Netherlands, UK, and Belgium to observe how modern concepts influence history galleries.

Participation within this study and completion of surveys is voluntary, and all replies anonymous.

Quotes and/or paraphrases of answers may be used within the resulting thesis for this project.

Thank you.

Karl Goodwin

University of Kent | SECL | Classical and Archaeological Studies

PhD Candidate | Graduate Teaching Assistant

Appendix 8: Excerpt of an email exchange supplied by Interviewee 34

The exert details an email chain which discusses the possible inclusion of the term 'Celts' in their exhibition. Sections in brown and square brackets are interpolations made by the participant themselves. The participant stated how the emails are quoted verbatim with no attempt to correct the grammar or spelling.

Names throughout the document have been changed to remain anonymous. The name Steve represents the interview participant.

Monday 28 February 2011

I give here the text of an email I sent Harry [the project manager for the Colchester Castle Museum redisplay programme] about the castle redisplay last Thursday:

Dear Harry

I have copied this to various interested parties in the hope of eliciting their views on this interesting and important topic.

Thank you for inviting comments on your excellent documents for the Heritage Lottery bid. I can now understand why you have been so busy for the last year or so. I was glad that you took heed of what little I had written in my documents on the Iron Age and Roman components of the displays.

All three documents look fine, and I only have significant comment to make on one aspect of the Design Report, the question of the Celts.

A consensus has emerged among archaeologists over the last twenty years that the population of ancient Britain was not Celtic. In view of this, to talk of the Celts in the new galleries might be seriously mistaken. We have an ethical duty to impart knowledge that is sound, and we run the risk of making ourselves look old-fashioned and out of touch if we help to perpetuate a discredited misconception.

Please bear in mind that the National Curriculum does not actually mention the Celts in Britain, and that they only surface in the ancillary document called Schemes of Work. But that is no excuse or valid reason for us knowingly disseminating information we know to be wrong.

I know that the National Curriculum is being revised now, and I gather that archaeological bodies have made representations to the Department of Education about the Celtic question.

I can only applaud the practice of our Learning Officer, Nicola. Like me, she encourages people to call the population of Britain in antiquity the Britons. And she is right. Sometimes of course she adds, 'You may know them as Celts'.

Maybe the new galleries can have a major text panel addressing the question of ethnicity. Certainly your smashing Design Report might certainly be all the better for distancing itself from the Celts, and for explaining why. Please bear in mind that the document might be read by someone at the Heritage Lottery who is conversant with current thinking about the Celts.

Thank you for reading this.

Best wishes

At work this morning Harry told me he had come round to my way of thinking about the Celts, and told me so in person. That was a great relief because that might have been a resignation issue for me if my advice had been disregarded. I had two really supportive emails from colleagues Lucy [the conservator] and Nicola [one of the education team].

Dear All

I completely support Steve's comments. I also think the term 'Celts' is very misleading- It is an 18th century invention and presents a sense of collective identity in Britain, which again is a more modern concept.

This is a great opportunity to demonstrate that pre-historic Britain was ethically (sic) mixed and home to multiple people, that the Britons comprised many tribal identities – like today! A major text panel addressing the question of ethnicity is a really great idea.

Best Wishes

Lucy

And

Dear all

I have been talking with Steve about the term Celt.

The term Celt is **not** the correct name for the people who lived in Britain at the time of the Roman invasion.

To allow our story tours to be historically correct we need to introduce the Celts as: Iron Age Britons also known as the Celts or Celts who were the Iron Age Britons.

I will leave it to you how you decide to word it to fit in with your tour.

The term Celt is used in the schemes of work, which are produced by the Department of Education for teachers to use. We must remember the National Curriculum was not written by Archaeologists, and the Curriculum changed about 20 years ago to the syllabus we have today, the term Celt was the common name.

We all need to make sure we use both terms, which are correct, and in line with the interpretation in the castle, in line with the curriculum and what is being taught in schools. We do not want to confuse the children but make sure we are educating them correctly.

Any question come and have a chat.

Nicola

Learning Officer

[Redacted] Anyhow, it looks like I have won this one, and that – for once – knowledge and scholarship have triumphed. When I discussed it with Harry months ago he said the Celts had to stay because they were in the National Curriculum and one of our major sources of income was school parties keen to learn about them. The word dishonest comes to mind.

Appendix 9: Dataset 2 - List of self-defined nationalities provided by questionnaire participants

Nationality	Distribution	Percentage	Nationality	Distribution	Percentage
British	142	55.69%	Bulgaria	1	0.39%
English	21	8.24%	Saxon British	1	0.39%
(blank)	12	4.71%	British / Irish	1	0.39%
American	8	3.14%	US	1	0.39%
French	7	2.75%	Netherlands	1	0.39%
UK	6	2.35%	Argentinian	1	0.39%
Italian	4	1.57%	Greek	1	0.39%
Brazilian	3	1.18%	English / Kentish	1	0.39%
English / British	3	1.18%	British White	1	0.39%
Australian	3	1.18%	Portuguese	1	0.39%
Spanish	3	1.18%	British / World	1	0.39%
Romanian	2	0.78%	White British	1	0.39%
Polish	2	0.78%	Swiss	1	0.39%
Brit	2	0.78%	Czech	1	0.39%
German	2	0.78%	Norwegian	1	0.39%
Belgium	2	0.78%	Cornish	1	0.39%
British / Australian	2	0.78%	Japanese	1	0.39%
Welsh	2	0.78%	Columbian	1	0.39%
USA	2	0.78%	Australia	1	0.39%
British Empire	1	0.39%	Chinese	1	0.39%
Ukrainian	1	0.39%	Canadian	1	0.39%
Panamanian	1	0.39%	English / Welsh / Irish and others	1	0.39%
Slovak	1	0.39%	European	1	0.39%
			Total	**255**	**100.00%**

Table 33: Self-defined nationalities of questionnaire participants

Appendix 10: Dataset 2 - List of nationalities used in Figure 21

Nationalities used for figure 5	Frequency
UK	180
USA	11
French	7
Australian	4
Italian	4
Brazilian	3
Spanish	3
Belgium	2
German	2
Polish	2
Romanian	2
Argentinian	1
Bulgaria	1
Canadian	1
Chinese	1
Columbian	1
Czech	1
Greek	1
Japanese	1
Netherlands	1
Norwegian	1
Panamanian	1
Portuguese	1
Slovak	1
Swiss	1
Ukrainian	1
Nationalities not used for figure 5	**Frequency**
(blank)	12
British / Australian	2
British / Irish	1
British / World	1

British Empire	1
English / Welsh / Irish and others	1
European	1
Saxon British	1

Table 34: Nationalities used for Figure 21

Appendix 11: Dataset 2 - Comments made in Question 9's expansion field

ID#	Question 9 Expansion space
2	We should always look at ourselves thru history - it made us
8	In terms of comparison then yes but only if that is a specific topic area that needs addressing and who knows what our time is now to make comparison?
9	Migrant workers are not a new idea. Invasion and slavery should also be covered.
10	Links societies together, history often repeats itself
11	Comparisons should be made e.g. Romans brought in experts to build skills and trade that were not available in the native population
12	As always in history this has been an issue. Victorians had to look certain way etc.
18	As long as differences are highlighted
22	Simpler / Relatable
23	Relatable and easy to interpret
26	Case for all periods, Romans used other as reflection
27	Relatable, it needs to be honest and realistic
40	Keep as context
43	Shouldn't be reinvented
45	Can be very relevant to today
46	Shows relevance
52	Can learn a lot
53	Can be parallel
64	Good to make connections relevant for people
67	Shows differences and impacts today
69	Can draw similarities
72	For people to understand
81	Gender, ethnicity, race and sexual identities are great ways to engage the public in history and with Museum displays. However, it is not the job of museums to engage in promoting politically correct views or engaging in liberal social engineering.
83	Ancient Roman society (pre-Christian) can appear familiar, but also 'other'. We believe slavery is just plain wrong, yet while it was practised by Rome (and elsewhere) it was devoid of any racial qualification: a black work colleague found this surprising, as her precepts were based on more recent history. So while Romans were snobbish regarding the inferiority of other cultures, like Athens or Sparta before them, race itself appears to be very low to non-existent, when one might have supposed the opposite. The most quoted example, of course, is L. Septimius Severus.
84	We have to. Societies should learn from the past
89	Form links, see differences and similarities

91	Easier to contextualise
92	Shows progression
93	To show commonalities
96	See how things change
97	Not so dissimilar
98	Not so dissimilar
99	Relatable
113	Snapshot of period
114	To make relatable to younger people
118	Ancient history should never be twisted to be relatable
119	It's important to know the different perspectives of people not in contemporary society so we can see how these views have come about.
120	To a certain extent is important to understand what humanity has done and what it is therefore capable of doing again, however there is a risk of obscuring the identity of the ancient Roman civilisation when explaining it as a lens for modern society
122	Provides cultural contrast between the past and the present
123	By comparing to modern society, it provides perspectives which is important when learning about ancient cultures.
124	It makes them more human and relatable in a modern context
125	The western world is deeply influenced by the Romans. I think most of our taboos were initially Romans.
126	Because it allows people to relate to the past better.
127	Helps us understand how attitudes have evolved/stayed the same (e.g. 'fear of the East' present in The Aeneid - Dido representing Cleopatra is still an issue in modern society).
129	We cannot fully understand the ancient perspective as nobody is around we can only speculate.
131	Unless the topic was relevant to them we shouldn't try to force modern views into the societal make-up of the day
132	It will then be easier to understand the Roman world better
133	It will allow people to interact with the Roman era in a way they understand.
135	It brings to light areas of ancient society which can make it more relatable to a modern audience on top of this, it creates a window into the everyday life of the Romans.
136	So that a modern audience will be able to empathise
137	It makes the study relevant and applicable in modern day instead of just looking at old bits of pottery for the sake of it.
138	The more accurate info on Roman stuff, the better.
140	Understandable if relatable
141	Used to be unrelatable when was a kid. Brought up Caerleon's old display
142	It’s important for younger people will make it relatable to them.

145	Can make more interesting relatable
148	Most important thing learn about how things done in past
153	Relate / compare
154	Make comparison
156	Doesn't have to reflect modern society
157	Relatable
158	Relatable
163	Can be confusing when comparing
165	It can allow us to compare the way in which certain important topics were dealt with in both eras
166	Everything that is in the past has shaped everything that is in the now.
168	To be accurate and factual, as per the time period - not modern sensibilities.
169	Up to a point. It's easy to edit history to suit our present values.
170	for sure, especially understanding when female sexual oppression and other forms of oppression came into being and why. I am only interested in discussions of history when they are inclusive and challenge.
172	(Can't say no as don't think it’s a bad idea - so long as 'yes' doesn't imply definite agreement) Ancient perspective could be easily misinterpreted when referring to contemporary topics, particularly if contemporary ideas are still under debate. Placing contemporary ideas in an explanation of ancient perspective could damage modern opinion of ancient perspective (e.g. identifying asexual/nonbinary traits where they might not have been acknowledged).
173	Yes, we can understand ourselves a bit better if we look at past societies, but we should be wary of implanting contemporary views/ideas on the past of course.
176	This alludes to the question of how much we as a society should be able to learn lessons from the past. I am not convinced that this is necessarily a straight forward process, even if it is preferable. Certainly, making the past relevant is more likely to attract contemporary audiences.
177	I think it can be interesting to do so, but do not consider it a requirement
178	I think for everyday people who don't regularly attend museums, the Roman period can often be quite hard to understand. I think if people can compare something they understand in the modern age to something in the Roman period it might help them learn more about the period.
181	Museums should accurately reflect the facts as best as they are known. They should not bend to modern 'unacceptable' thoughts and opinions
182	I think museums should just present the facts and there is no need to impose modern morality
183	Important? Maybe not as modern society might not always be a good comparison, however, t is useful for museum displays in order to communicate interpretation
185	I think it could be interesting, rather than specifically being important!
190	More relevant
191	Comparisons

193	Helpful, continuation
195	Like connections
196	Understand in its own context, shouldn't make comparisons
216	Like exhibit way it is - already shows good diversity
217	I feel it helps people in modern society to understand and learn more by relating it to scenarios they know.
222	To allow everyone to see themselves reflected, such as friends who we expect to see.
228	Relatable
230	To be understandable
231	To be understandable
243	There to represent what was and what can be. Matter of opinion what you go there for.
244	History is history, and whether people like or dislike the way ancient society lived, it shouldn't ever be changed to suit modern perceptions.
247	It is important for people who do not study (read) history to be able to understand and learn as much as possible from museum visits.
248	For many, the more relatable an exhibit is, the more they will feel associated with it, be interested and hence learn.

Table 35: Comments from the Question 9 expansion field

Appendix 12: Dataset 2 - Comments made in Question 10's expansion field

ID#	Question 10 Expansion space
1	Not usually influenced significantly. No reason for influence. UK has to accept and acknowledge some colonial policies which seemed appropriate at the time may be viewed differently today and this principle applies in other areas too.
2	We should always look at ourselves thru history - it made us
4	I think that we should understand history as it was and be less judgemental on the basis of current ideology.
7	Yes - how we interpret history - relate to own experiences
8	Politics dictate historic learning in education
9	This is not great, history should be thought of in terms of period views.
10	If linked to modern views, people are more likely to visit, however this shouldn't be the case
11	But should not be so. That was then this is now. You cannot judge the past by today's standards
12	As we can't go back in time personally we only have our ways and what is written by others who could be bias.
15	Most people have no idea of their own ancestry
31	Always are
34	In some yes
39	Inevitably
52	Should learn from past
55	Is now increasingly
64	Can't help but look from modern perspective
67	and religion
69	Think everyone has put own spin on things
75	Compared to yes in degrees
80	Definitely
81	Every period views history through the lens of its own preoccupations and this is unavoidable. The danger of this, if taken to extremes is distortion and anachronism. There are many recent examples of past figures being judged by current ethical standards rather than that of their own time. This has the risk of rewriting history and erasing aspects we do not approve of. An example is the Cecil Rhodes controversy at Oxford. We must always remember that our moral views are just as liable to be superseded as those of our predecessors.
83	…but with a qualification. It depends on the why the politics has been introduced, is it an effort to put the past into context (explaining Roman 'otherness'), or simply trying to appear 'right

	on' [Raise Right Fist Here] or to generate publicity? In other words, is the cart before the horse?
84	Don't know, hope not
86	Perhaps
89	Indirectly
96	Absolutely
97	Unavoidable
98	Not avoidable
104	Depends on the narrator
106	Unintentional
107	Unintentionally
109	Sometimes
113	Bound to be - not a value statement
114	Suppose must be, not clearly aware of
117	This is not good necessarily as it can make the facts biased to another point of view
118	No, not good. Propaganda etc. glorified reduces true events
119	It's not great as it could defer from the actual history.
120	Ideally, history should be objective, however, this is impossible
124	It taints the past to fit modern perspectives.
125	History should never be explained in a biased way
126	This is not good as we should see history as it was, not in a way to benefit politics.
128	Victorian views
129	This is not good
131	Again, it depends, some things from today aren't relevant to back them.
132	Its not truthful to the past
133	No, it's not good, it makes what was and whilst it can be more engaging to show a comparison we have evolved/changed since then.
134	No, because you can't really project modern-day views and ideas into another historical period which didn't have these views
135	It creates a bias and doesn't allow people to form their own opinions on how people were treated
136	It is bad causes a biased depictions
137	Yes, this is shown particularly in [undeciphered] this when people want to be backed by those that have succeeded in the past, therefore giving their cause more legitimacy
138	It is bad. History should be taught objectively, free from political influence
140	Different insights such as religion. Depends who wrote and who they were
141	Depends who wrote that version of history

142	Writer will be influenced by own views. A religious person may leave certain stuff out for example
150	Very much so
151	All history can't/shouldn't change it
155	Depicted by what happened then
156	Told by winners
159	?
163	Used to be
164	In Spain Franco explicitly influenced history displays
165	Events may be told/skewed depending on the views of the group depicting history
166	People can choose to see what they want with some things in life to suit their own beliefs and opinions.
168	I hope not! History doesn't change- politics does.
169	We tend to focus on those parts of our history that mirror intervals of our present times.
170	Yes not only modern but imperial phallic old assholes on power trips.
172	Depictions of history are politically influenced and depictions of history are influenced by modern views.
173	Unfortunately inevitable, and gives an odd view of the past at times, but can also provide insight if carefully done. What is historical study for? To accurately reconstruct the past? To help us understand the present? Or bit of both? The two are not easily compatible.
174	The lack of criticism evident, for example regarding the way that displays are acquired, or of British methods overseas in general, is an example of how the narrative is politically-influenced, but this seems to be more in keeping with out-dated imperialist views, which in theory should be less palatable today.
175	I don't know
176	Obviously! Politics determines what funding is available and, usually, what agendas are pushed
177	I think its subconscious if nothing else; we interpret info but only in terms of our own experiences
178	Absolutely! We can try and label something a particular way based on standards we already understand. For example, I'm sure how we display objects in the Imperial War Museum is based are upon modern understanding of who were our 'enemies'.
179	TV programmes showing things wrong
181	Of course, but they shouldn't be. Our own environment, and that of historians influences the way we interpret facts and draw conclusions. This should probably be highlighted in museum displays.
183	Archaeological/Historical interpretation has always been influenced by current events and shifted during the 20th century to reflect these over time.
191	Writers of history always have bias

195	Like to hope curators are impartial
208	A lot of propaganda
209	Probably in subtle ways
210	Obviously
217	It depends on the museum and curators interest and input as to how the piece is shown, aka how it is influenced.
219	Not necessary a bad thing
222	They change as theories and views are reflected and altered
228	God yeh
232	Definitely
237	Definitely
239	Always
242	Not sure if should be
244	History could have been influenced by political views over many years and we may never know
247	Don't really pay much attention to this
248	I think that it is inevitable if those developing and viewing the depictions do not take the time and make the mental space to think outside of their current context. We all naturally seek alignment with our own norms and tend to see/read things through that filter.
250	I think it works both ways… modern views are influenced by history and also the depiction of history is influenced by modern views.
253	Negative views talked through life, school, parents, influence views from early age
255	I also believe that, at least in England, the teaching of history in schools focuses too much on parts of history that make Britain look good.

Table 36: Comments from the Question 10 expansion field

Appendix 13: Comments from a Mail Online article that concern the Beachy Head Lady

(https://www.dailymail.co.uk/sciencetech/article-2551513/Pictured-The-1-800-year-old-face-Beachy-Head-Lady-revealed-time-thanks-3D-scanning.html)

Joe, Ohio, 5 years ago

Those doing the theorizing don't seem very bright. Not one theory that she might have been a slave? Did Romans or Britons customarily marry outside their race at the time? Would an official or anyone of standing not try to marry advantageously? Political correctness seems to be harming objective scholarship and sensible reasoning.

Rumpole, Somewhere in Asia, 5 years ago

Indeed. Slave was my first thought, too. Seems more plausible than wife or mistress of a high-ranking official or a "merchant", particularly as they believe she grew up in the area in which her skeleton was found.

Cuddles Kovinsky, Holland Park London, United Kingdom, 5 years ago

I think she might be related to my housekeeper Shaquinta.

PJ, The EU, United Kingdom, 5 years ago

Maybe she opened the first corner shop in Britain?

Twenty10, UK, 5 years ago

One wonders if there's a teeny bit of political correctness going on here?

We_are_all_doomed, London, Algeria, 5 years ago

Looks like an illegal who swam from France to me.

Threbit, Toronto, Canada, 5 years ago

The PC brigade at work here. Experts? My foot.

TheLWord, Toronto, Canada, 5 years ago

She probably arrived in the British Isles to collect benefits at the taxpayers expense.

Jack Sprat, London, 5 years ago

She may also have been a slave

Disturbia, Rotterdam Netherlands, Netherlands, 5 years ago

She doesn’t look English to me

Running dog, Berkshire, United Kingdom, 5 years ago

Her relatives are still claiming welfare benefits for her.

Appendix 14: Dataset 1 - Detailed write-ups of interviews

Interviewee 1 – Rijksmuseum Van Oudheden – 03/05/2017

The interview started with the statement by Interviewee 1 that the Rijksmuseum Van Oudheden permanent Roman display is 20 years old, that it has gradually, and increasingly, become outdated. As described by the participant, the acknowledgement of this has culminated in the creation of a new exhibit for next year (at the time of the interview) titled 'Netherlands in the Roman Times'.

The focus of the new exhibition was emphasised as a move away from past exhibits that predominantly focus upon objects and their beauty. The new exhibit was instead described to focus on the culture behind the objects. This was stated by the participant as an aim to put the Romans into a context within the Netherlands, and focus on relationships and interactions between tribes themselves, and the Romans more broadly. The displays were said to involve modern archaeological topics, not only because they are academically current, but because they reflect current concerns of the public within the Netherlands and beyond.

The interviewee then stated that thanks to the national aspect and perspective of the museum, it possesses a responsibility to tell the national story of archaeology within the country. The participant concluded that this narrative means that the artefacts and research considered to be of national importance will be chosen for inclusion in the new display. The participant stated that a permanent display has a life of around 20 years, and as such, the new exhibit is expected to last two decades. To keep it up to date, the interviewee indicated that audio guides will be used as the main facilitator to do so, as this does not require physical changes to galleries. Interactive screens were said to be avoided within the museum, to contrast with how much time people spend looking at screens in the modern era. The interviewee stated that world history is at the fingertips of the public on a screen, and, therefore, once a visitor steps into the museum they should be immersed in history and archaeology, and the artefacts and stories that go with them.

The participant then explained that the process of designing a new exhibit at the Rijksmuseum Van Oudheden allows a curator a lot of freedom. The curatorial team was described as being free to do as they wish. The museum’s curators also discuss their ideas with other staff members and colleagues from other museums and also test these out in certain temporary exhibitions to receive public feedback. The interviewee then followed this up through the statement that public feedback is important as it is the public that pays the museum’s bills. To this end, the participant stated that the Dutch public is generally interested in the Roman period, but even more so with their heritage.

Archaeologists were said to be involved in the museum's curation process, but their role is primarily to discover and submit material. In the participant's opinion, archaeologists are not great communicators; this was placed in contrast to museums who were described as great communicators of history and information. It was further stated that most archaeology was currently conducted by individuals and independent bureaus, and this was said to possibly mean that their communication only goes as far as monographs and open days. It was also stated that archaeologists may have different opinions to museum curators, and this is not ignored in the process form from archaeology to the exhibition.

The government was also described as included within the development of an exhibition at the Rijksmuseum van Oudheden. It was described that the state uses funds to keep and maintain artefacts at the museum, and the state, therefore, provides funding for the museum. This culminates in the state having a say, if they desire, in what is displayed. This is done so through contracts which are signed every four years by The Minister of Culture who oversees this process.

In this process, the interviewee stated that right-wing governments do not have much of an active role within cultural policies. They were instead described as having an interest in balancing the books. The participant stated that more left-leaning governments do have an active role; this role focuses on attracting new cultures into museums, both as visitors and through displays and, therefore, they are included in museum narratives.

At the end of the interview, the participant stated that the museum was able to be quite adaptable to include new and important finds as and when they are discovered. The interviewee detailed that the museum could display new and important discoveries that have national importance within one month, and that this process is possible due to the money the museum has available to spend on such a process.

Interviewee 2 – The Valkhof - 04/05/2017

The interview started with a brief overview of the museum and its Roman displays. It was stated that the permanent exhibition was currently 18 years old, and because of this, the museum and the curatorial team had a desire to change. This was underlined by the statement that a permanent exhibit, as outlined by the interviewee, should only last 10 years unchanged. This would allow exhibitions to keep up with the fast pace of archaeological knowledge, and the archaeological theories involved. Therefore, the participant indicated that was there is a plan to create a new exhibition in waiting for the Valkhof; however, this had been halted by a lack of funding.

This turned the interviewee onto the topic of money. It was stated that funds came from the local council, however, this sum of money is only enough to maintain the museum and 'get by'. Other funds were announced to come from loans and their paying public. Due to this, the museum tried to appeal to the public, both local and otherwise. To this, the interviewee then indicated that there is not much interest around Nijmegen and the Netherlands more generally relating to history past WWII and, therefore, few were interested in the Roman period.

This was expanded on by the participant. They stated that the disinterest in the Dutch ancient period was perhaps associated with the Dutch national curriculum, the Dutch ethos of being forward-looking, or the government's disinterested in the period. The participant then stated that right-leaning governments in the Netherlands do not take much interest in the output of museums. Furthermore, the left-leaning government in the local council also had little interest and input into what history is displayed at the Valkhof. In reaction to this, the interviewee stated they face a challenge to get people interested in history with an outdated permanent exhibition. An approach that the interviewee favours to do address this is through educational trips with schools. This approach also sees efforts reach many individuals as this demographic group totals 15-20% of all the museums customers and consumers. Educational groups that visit the museum were stated to range from 6-25 years of age.

Another approach to this end, as detailed by the interviewee, is through certain events hosted by the museum; however, this was also stated to be negatively affected by a lack of interest. The final strategy to gain interest amongst their audiences in the Roman period is through temporary exhibitions. This was stated to be a way to attract people back to the museum, as well as bring recent research to light. The most recent temporary exhibition was about gladiators – a topic considered to usually attract large visitor numbers. It was shared, however, that this did not happen, with only half of the expected numbers coming to see it. This was explained to be possibly caused by a lack of marketing. It was announced that the Valkhof only had three people that contribute to the museum's marketing, and not all were full-time staff.

The participant then reflected on a more successful exhibition. This was considered to also be increasingly modern compared to previous exhibitions and concerned the depiction of the Batavians. This topic was also described, however, as low in the awareness of the local population. The modernity of the display was considered to stem from its approach to relations, interactions between cultures and people, and the telling of stories – particularly from a bottom-up perspective. This aspect is what the curatorial team plan to include within the next permanent exhibitions at the museum. This sort of storytelling was announced to bring people closer to history, make it increasingly relevant, and can include popular topics discussed within contemporary society.

The interviewee then briefly mentioned that one of the main issues with the Batavian exhibition, and others, is their male-dominated appearance and narrative. This was then followed up by a statement that, although this is negative, we know a lot less about women within history.

The participant then discussed the freedoms enjoyed by the curatorial team. The interviewee stated that they were unconstrained by what the museum can do, with the only caveat being that the museum's funds allow it. The curatorial team were stated to include different groups in the curatorial process at the museum, such as archaeologists, art historians, historians, locals, and others in the field of archaeology and curatorship. At this point, a special mention was made of the discussions the curatorial team has with the educational department at the museum, which consists of three individuals. Designers and architects were also consulted in the curatorial process.

This then turned to the material used in exhibitions. It was stated that the museum possesses all archaeological material found in the Gelderland province of the Netherlands, and has enough to express modern concerns, including ethnicity. It was announced that it is necessary to have artefacts that can tell the desired stories through exhibits, and the items selected depend on their relevance to this. This was then countered by a statement that standout and pretty objects will always have to be included to attract customers. The interviewee saw nothing wrong with just showing 'pretty' items because of their beauty.

As for new archaeological finds in the region, the interviewee stated that if the museum wanted to display them, it would be difficult to do so. This was based on the interviewee's opinion that the Valkhof's current Roman exhibits are stiff and cannot be easily changed or adapted.

The design and technology used in displays were then introduced by the interviewee as an important factor that the Valkhof needs to improve. The participant liked the idea of having striking quotes from ancient authors on the wall, to immerse the visitor in history. Such changes the interviewee believes, would turn the museum into a living space, and show how local inhabitants used to be described and labelled in an attempt to show how images change.

The use of interactive screens was also a communicative approach that was high on the participant's list for the Valkhof. It was stated that interactive screens were something the museum lacks and is needed for the museum to become modernised. Interactive screens were seen as a facilitator and a positive, rather than negative, addition to museum displays. The interview then carried on as the interviewee and I walked around the museum's Roman displays. The museum was described as including materials and opportunities to advance storytelling, in order to further delve into topics such as ethnic diversity. The museum was considered to not have managed to do this much at the time of interview. Many objects were described as out of

context and without description, which reduces what can be gained from them. There were also missed opportunities indicated by the participant, such as the use of helmets made from horsehair, which could expand into a very interesting narrative. Another, final example, was an example of a lead coffin on display, which was accompanied by a facial reconstruction. This was stated to not, however, provide any context or information into the female's story, who it belonged to, its relevance to the period and, region, or the research that had contributed to its display.

Interviewee 3 – Thermenmuseum - 08/05/2017

The interview started with a brief history of the museum. It was stated that the main feature of the museum, the Roman baths, were excavated in the 1940s. The participant then indicated that it was only in 1977 that the museum was installed to house the archaeological site. Within the new museum, the Roman characteristic of the town’s ancient past was stated to have been emphasised. These displays were stated to display the area’s historic inhabitants as 'Romans from Rome', however, and not the range of identities that would have lived in Roman Limburg. It was indicated that this discourse began to change around 5 years ago.

The main reason why the museum remained stagnant until recently was emphasised to be the poor economic situation of the area. Heerlan was indicated to have been hit hard by the Netherlands’ economic depression and led to mass-unemployment. This issue was stated to then get worse through the development of a huge drug problem in Heerlan. Therefore, the participant explained, Heerlan as a town had a lack of tourism. It was also indicated that the Dutch state failed to provide funds to Heerlen’s heritage institutions, as it determined economic and social reform as a more important aspect to be funded. The interviewee then stated that this saw the museum’s prominence fade and it was eventually missed off the map for visitors which is still used by modern tourists in the region.

It was then highlighted that the Thermenmuseum received a low number of visitors with a figure of only around 12,000 a year. The participant then stated that in response to this, the museum and government have current plans to construct a new exhibition around the Roman remains that include a complete rebuild of the museum and surrounding area. Within this plan, a centre is planned that facilitates modern research and, thus, the Roman Museum will become an archaeology museum within an archaeological centre.

In reflection of the museum's recent actions to modernise its displays, the interviewee referred to its permanent gallery that was set up in 2012 to display the Roman impact on native locals.

This exhibit was described to depict a shift from a display that narrativised ancient individuals as people culturally from Rome to individuals specific to the range of cultures found in Roman Limburg. The interviewee stated that the curatorial team wanted to show the story of Roman Limburg through its archaeology. This was, according to the participant, not too hard as the region's ancient history and archaeological evidence is rich. However, the museum was said to face an issue where local knowledge of Heerlen's Roman history is quite poor. The displays, therefore, had to create relevancy and interest, and could not rely on an already established interest in the Roman period which is usually present in other places. The current exhibit at the museum was stated to do this, and said to avoid traditional narrative (such as the view that the town's ancient past was inhabited by Romans that reflected a culture similar to that seen in Rome) and instead replaced these alongside local finds and stories. The lack of interactive media and material was stated to be noticeable, however, and was due to the lack of budget for the redisplay.

It was expressed that ethnic diversity was not prominent within the permanent exhibition's narratives and this is reflected throughout the museum. The identity of local indigenous peoples was a topic emphasised to have been displayed, however. The lack of ethnicity featured in the museum was suggested to be likely caused by the time of the display's creation, budget, research, and lack of importance placed on the concept when curatorial teams planned exhibits. The lack of ethnic diversity included in the museum's narratives was also indicated to be caused by the attention of the museum's discourse on the well-preserved Roman remains and how they functioned rather than the individuals that inhabited and used them.

The interviewee then turned to another temporary exhibition at the museum. This display was described to illustrate the process archaeology takes from excavation to research and then into museums. The exhibit was stated to concern itself with the expression of contemporary research and approaches in the field of archaeology. Furthermore, the inclusion of staff members and specialists in the display's narration, through videos, was said to represent the range of people that were involved in its curation.

In addition to the changes made in the permanent exhibit, previously mentioned, the interviewee stated how the content and information used to narrate the area's Roman remains needed to be modernised. The present walkway over the remains at the museum was stated to only provide a birds-eye view of the remains with additional information included to elaborate on its structure. The interviewee emphasised the vast amount of information that has been gained through research on these remains that can connect the Roman period with contemporary topics and thought – this was not capitalised on. A specific aspect that was stated to be further expanded on in research was the interaction between locals and soldiers inside and out of the Roman baths. It

was highlighted that this is a big part of Limburg's Roman history and, therefore, merits inclusion in future displays. Here, the interviewee stated a desire to have future exhibits feature a display where visitors can be actively engaged and become knowledgeable of contemporary research into the Roman period and research processes associated with it.

The participant then stated that the Thermenmuseum is an accessible museum and invites researchers to use its equipment and objects. Specialists, academics, and students were stated to have extensively used the museum's archive for research. This is an aspect that the museum was specifically said to encourage. If good research comes from this process, it was stated that the museum could then have a quick turnaround to include it in their displays.

As for the longevity of an exhibition, the participant stated that it depends on the story that is being narrativised and the ways in which it is expressed. It was stated that the story of the baths at Heerlan could for example easily last 10 years. The participant emphasised that this timeframe could even be extended to forever if technology, research, and interaction between the museum and its visitors were continuously updated. The way information is communicated was the main aspect, as highlighted by the participant, that undermines an exhibition's longevity. Alongside the permanent displays, the participant also indicated that it is also good to have at least one newly curated temporary exhibition a year.

Attention then turned to the freedoms enjoyed by the museum's staff. It was stated that besides the lack of funding experienced at the institution, the government, as with other museums, did not interfere with the actual content of the museum. This level of freedom was also extended to curators and archaeologists at the museum as there was stated to not be many. This was stated to have resulted in the development of trust between research and display teams involved in curation.

As for technology used in the museum such as screens, the participant advocated their inclusion. Screens were stated to successfully translate knowledge better than signs and panels, and also create a more interactive atmosphere. The gangway over the Roman baths, for example, was referenced to emphasise how screens, installed 4 years ago, can make a big improvement to outdated display spaces.

In the future, it was stated that the museum wanted to expand and become a beacon for the town - similar to the Gallo-Romeins Museum in Tongeren. The interview ended with the statement that the best way to protect archaeology and Roman remains is to spread awareness of it and make people proud of it.

Interviewees 4 and 5 – Gallo Romeins Museum - 09/05/2017

The interview started with both participants providing a contextualisation of the museum. It was stated that the museum was founded in 1954 in one building. This quickly expanded to the size it is today and concluded with the final construction of buildings in 2009. The Gallo Romeins Museum was said to be situated within a town that considers its ancient history to be its heritage. This view is personified by the statue of Ambiorix (co-ruler of the Eburone tribe of Gallia Belgica) located in the town square.

The museum was described to be funded by the government. Both left and right-leaning governments were stated to have similar levels of involvement. It was indicated that state influence usually only concerns itself with visitor numbers. An example provided of an initiative implemented to sustain a high number of visitors was the €1 entry fee, which was brought in and later kept by the Flemish government.

It was shared that since the museum opened, it has become one of two major archaeological museums in Belgium, the other being in Brussels. Perhaps due to this, it was indicated that the museum finds itself in the top 10 museums within Belgium and is of national importance. Its position as one of only two archaeology museums of national importance in this top ten was suggested by both interviewees to be perhaps due to the general lack of emphasis on history, compared to art, in Belgium.

Nonetheless, it was indicated that the museum still brought in 100,000-150,000 visitors a year. 30,000 of these were said to be school children and groups. This high number was suggested to be helped by advertising on TV and radio both locally and nationally. Another reason given was that the museum tries to create connections with the present day. Both participants indicated that this was something they tried in 2009 with permanent exhibits. This was stated to not have succeeded as well as they had hoped, however. Also indicated at this point by the participants was the museum's lack of emphasis on the integration of different identities. This was linked to the lack of emphasis this subject receives in the region, in comparison to other social topics.

This statement was indicated to be a reason behind the lack of ethnic diversity within the museum's permanent exhibitions. The other reason for this was the age of exhibitions, with a particular focus on the Roman exhibit. The Roman displays were 8 years old, and this was stated to be apparent in the research used in their curated depictions of the past. Terms such as hybridisation and the mixing of culture were stated to be used alongside Romanisation and said to exemplify the climate and research agendas of the time. Issues with the term Romanisation, for example, are understood, however, it remains an accessible word to use. Participant 4 hoped

the other objects in their displays will demonstrate any intricacies of the period that are not emphasised by display boards and plaques.

Complexities of the period were stated to focus on Roman Tongeren and, therefore, deal with a Provincial capital. This subject, it was explained, allowed content that depicted a wealthy demographic group and limited the display and discussion of local ethnicities. This meant the exhibit expressed a homogenous core with little discussion of different foreign and native ethnicities in the area's ancient past. Evident Roman influences on the area were considered to be depicted appropriately. Due to this narrative, the staff at the museum were said to have questioned changing the museum's current name to indicate the museum's focus on local, rather than Roman, ethnicities. This was stated to perhaps better represent the museum's narrative of a predominantly homogenous population in the Roman period but was ultimately rejected.

The topic then turned briefly to the future. The exhibition was indicated to have a planned update in 2023. This new exhibition was stated by both participants as an attempt to associate historical topics with modern society. This was further clarified as a desire to better address a broader array of topics and contemporary thought. At the time of its planned change, the participants indicated that the existent permanent exhibit would be around 15 years old. The new displays were described as curated to provide visitors with material to reflect upon, rather than to teach what is right or wrong. New themes that were targeted in the new display's creation were stated to already be present within the museum's temporary exhibitions. It was then indicated that the museum's temporary spaces tended to contain more innovative displays, that were described as fresher and modern. The 'Timeless Beauty' exhibition exhibited at the time of the interview was emphasised as an example of what they meant. In this exhibit, it was stated that it included ideas that relate to both the classical period and contemporary thought, to provide links between them. The communicative techniques used in the exhibit were also celebrated as they were highlighted to show successful innovative techniques such as photography, sculpture, speeches, and dance.

These innovative approaches were considered to depict the freedoms possessed by the museum's curators and directors in how the museum ran and looked. It was further indicated, however, that more individuals were involved in the curation process and included designers, educators, and other coordinators. The collaboration of many different people and departments was said to contribute to the implementation of modern technology used in exhibits, such as screens which the curatorial team looks on favourably. Screens were here described to be able to express a lot of information, and alongside images can aid imagination and interpretation. It was also noted, regarding the prehistory exhibit, how screens can and do, express up-to-date research. New research and evidence that is depicted through new objects were, however,

considered to take a little longer to be included in exhibits than that expressed on screens. This was due to exhibits and displays generally needing time to be planned, developed, and be installed. Despite this, however, new research is definitely included and said to be evidenced by a coin collection in the Roman exhibit that uses very recent research, partly conducted by a member of staff at the museum.

One of the main criticisms of Interviewee 4 towards the museum's Roman displays was how some themes fail to be impactful. An example given was the presence of cultural and technological breakthroughs throughout history that are represented by enlarged archaeological replicas of finds that indicate critical steps in technological and cultural advancement. This is routinely missed by visitors and was stated to possibly be improved through a more obvious approach for audiences.

Interviewee 5 then left the interview. The interview continued with Interviewee 4 and took place in the museum's exhibit.

It was indicated how knowledge of different cultures in the period was expressed through terms such as hybrid cultures, hybridisation, assimilation, and so on. Romanisation was also shown to be included. This was indicated as showing how the exhibit is slightly outdated. Furthermore, it was expressed how there was little emphasis on modern concepts to explain the Roman period, such as ethnicity, identity, gender, individual stories, diversity, and interaction between cultures. As such, the museum's Roman exhibits focused predominantly on Romans and natives within Tongeren, particularly through societal elites. This was suggested to fit in with the 'Romanisation' idea that flowed throughout the descriptions, as the elite material best fits an approach that looks at societal change from the top down.

The exhibit's sections that examine the mix of cultures in the region were shown to include religious objects. These were used by Interviewee 4 to depict the contemporary hybrid of ideas but identified as doing so through a processual/structural point of view.

The participant then went on to highlight a few issues they had with the current display. Within the exhibition, it was indicated that Tongeren's ancient prosperity was dependent upon farming. These farmers were described as 'gentlemen farmers' with villas, and the absence of the lower classes involved was noted. Another issue was shown by one display that discussed farmers from the northern region and discussed sites that are more native in style, character, and societal system. It was indicated that these concepts were not really emphasised to allow proper discussion of the diversity in the region. Finally, the last statement made by the participant was that the depiction of the Germanic border by the museum was emphasised too much as a

barrier. It was indicated that both cultures were more fluid than depicted and that this should have been emphasised.

Interviewee 6 – Corinium Museum - 03/08/2017

The participant firstly stated that the museum's permanent Roman displays were created in 2004 and are, therefore, 13 years old at the time of interview. The interviewee also remarked that the current displays have since been rearranged on various occasions. This reconfiguration was indicated to have involved the inclusion of additional modern finds and research, and the movement of certain information boards and items. It was indicated that the museum's permanent displays are, however, quite static. When asked how long a permanent exhibition would ideally last, the participant stated 5 years, but this is also dependent on the subject's research speed and conservation techniques.

The Roman exhibition at the Corinium Museum was described as focusing on the life and town of ancient Cirencester and includes information on local finds, settlements, and villas. Due to the size and wealth of Roman Cirencester, however, the participant stated that there was an abundance of high-status items on show within the museum and not much that represents the poorer segments of society. Some of the items that the participant emphasised that were on display in the museum, included the two tombstones for Sextus Valerius Genalis and Dannicus, stamps on building material, and mosaics that the museum had acquired.

Each of these items were stated to have a lot of links with the concepts of ethnicity and identity. The stamps in the building material show, for example, insignias that reveal identity through building material and work. The mosaics were emphasised to clearly express beliefs, cultural references, and religion. The mosaics at the museum were described as very high status and, therefore, said to show not only how the wealthy decorated their homes, but also what they wanted to express through these objects. The concentric circular design of the mosaics and hare design within the mosaic was described as a design specific to Britain. This was stated to potentially express, therefore, a British ethnicity and culture that has also been combined with a Roman identity.

The tombstones were then described by the interviewee as offering the most discussion relating to ethnicity and identity. The participant explained that the inscriptions on the tombstones state the locations and origins of the riders, their units, and regiments. These details were said to explicitly express the identity, origin, and even ethnicity of the soldiers they were dedicated to. The interviewee then emphasised a heightened interest in the names, hairstyles, and even

decoration of the horses on the tombstones that could allow further analysis into the ethnicity of these two people through their depiction. These tombstones were described, however, to only have one plaque each associated with them that served only to translate the inscriptions. It was stated that this did not help to show what the tombstones could offer, particularly about ethnicity and identity.

The participant stated that the museum organises workshops for school groups. These were said to fit in with the national curriculum, and especially KS2 that discussed diversity in the Roman Empire. Diversity and ethnicity were indicated to be shown through various objects and themes such as tombstones, trade, and dress during these workshops at the museum.

Interviewee 7 – Corinium Museum - 03/08/2017

The interview started with the participant stating that the museum's permanent exhibition was currently 14 years-old and that they are stuck with it for now. The participant expressed a preference for the exhibition to be updated; however, it was indicated that the next 2 years were focused on the outdated prehistory exhibit that the museum had acquired funding to renew and develop. The interviewee stated that the renovated displays will lead to the Roman exhibits. To illustrate this in the new displays, the participant stated that the museum planned to use a case to depict a chronological line of artefacts leading to the Roman period. This would show cultural changes leading up to the Roman period. It was also planned that a case would be built into a wall to showcase pottery, to again show variances across time and cultures via archaeological material. At the end of these displays, two tombstones will be repositioned on a wall with a projection over them to show how they would have looked in the Roman period (with colour).

Within the main, current Roman exhibition spaces at the museum, the participant stated that the objects on display definitively express ethnicity. The epigraphical evidence from tombstones on display was used to evidence this point. This statement was quickly followed, however, by another that the museum did not explicitly make connections between their objects on show and ethnicity and identity. It was highlighted that there were no panels in the museum that specifically stated or pointed towards how objects depict ethnic diversity. The participant emphasised their awareness of this and desire to make changes, however, the prehistory displays were again indicated to come first. To explore and express ethnicity in the museum is something the participant wanted to do in the future, and they highlighted objects in the museum's possession that could be used to explicitly depict ethnic diversity. These included an array of religious objects, of which the participant had specific knowledge, that could express the mixing of culture, ethnicities, and other ideas.

The participant then stated that although the museum does not explicitly discuss advanced topics such as ethnicity within its display, there were ways of doing so. The boards and plaques could be used to discuss complex topics in exhibits, however, it was emphasised that museums cannot use too many words on panels and boards as people will not read all the information. It was emphasised by the interviewee, at this point, that this should not be used as an excuse to exclude complex topics from a museum's narrative, particularly as some individuals who have advanced knowledge of the Roman period would be interested, and they visit to seek this information out. A further problem identified was that knowledge included in displays must not be too advanced as all members of the public should be able to understand it. The final point made was that displays need to include complex issues via their material and boards for one-day visitors, as well as locals who may visit numerous times.

The participant stated that museums generally don't define the key topics, phrases, and terminology they used to depict historic periods in exhibitions. The interviewee emphasised that this is partly because of the limited number of words an exhibition can use on its walls, panels, and boards. It was indicated that using space to define keywords, for example, would drastically limit the word count available for the description of past lives and objects.

The participant stated that the museum's staff have freedom over what is selected for display and how it is presented. What is depicted was motivated by the staff's own interests and research, as well as educational curriculums. Money was, however, described as a constant issue with smaller museums, influencing what goes on display and how it is displayed. It was described that the government's KS2 curriculum does therefore influence displays, but that this also benefits the museum. The participant then highlighted that the funding to improve the museum's pre-Roman displays was received through applications that saw the museum cater to the KS2 curriculum. It was indicated that KS2 also happens to include diversity.

Further influences on what is placed on display were described as the importance of an item, research, and funding. The interviewee highlighted the museum's temporary exhibition space that can be used for modern and temporary exhibitions and highlighted that one was recently organised in collaboration with the British Museum. It was stated, however, that this space is generally used for commercial purposes to aid the museum's finances. To get new acquisitions into the museum is regularly slow, however, and changes are usually small-scale.

Modern research was described as incorporated into the museum through avenues outside of the permanent exhibitions. It was stated by the participant that the museum puts on conferences and lectures, for example, and that these showcase modern research from academics and archaeological societies, such as Cotswold Archaeology. Another way the museum involves and

includes modern research, as described by the interviewee, was through blogs that could be found on the museum's website, that are regularly updated by researchers. Academics were also invited and welcomed by the museum to research objects in the collection. In particular, the interviewee stated an interest in the current rise of bioarchaeological research and its contributions to academia - particularly the expression of various theories such as ethnicity within museums. Cirencester was described as having archaeology that allows the exploration of its Roman cemeteries, and both high and low-status inhabitants. The participant here stated that there was a lot of potential for further bioarchaeological work, which if done, would reveal data linked with identity and migration during the region's Roman period. Finally, when asked how long an exhibition should last, the participant stated that 10 years was appropriate at the moment, but this should become shorter as advanced techniques in research and conservation develop. The interviewee stated that in reality, permanent exhibitions would currently have to last for at least 20 years, due to the lack of funding and time needed to continuously alter a permanent exhibit.

Interviewee 8 – British Museum - 09/08/2017

When asked whether the British Museum's Roman galleries that Interviewee 8 was associated with[59] depicted ethnicity, they responded they did. The participant explained that the concept of ethnicity was included within the permanent exhibition, however, not pointed out. To clarify, the participant stated that if each board and plaque were read by visitors then ethnic diversity, as expressed by the museum's objects, would be quite obvious. This was particularly demonstrated to be the case for the diversity of the Roman Empire as reflected through artefacts from different locations and cultures.

The interviewee indicated that ethnic diversity may not have been explicitly emphasised throughout the museum's current displays because of their age. Gallery 70 was illustrated, for example, to have been furnished in the mid-1990s. At this time, it was highlighted that the discussion of ethnicity was not a key focus for museums. Despite this, however, the interviewee indicated that the information written on boards and plaques in the Roman galleries, as well as the objects used, remained valid for modern displays. It was stated that the way in which the gallery was presented, designed, and lack of technology/expression of modern research was what made the gallery seem outdated, not the content.

---

[59] These do not include the Roman Britain Gallery at the British Museum.

The participant then returned to the topic of object plaques and display boards. It was stated that a limit was placed on how much was written on display plaques and boards at the British Museum. This was indicated to seriously limit the expression of what an item, or display case, could potentially convey. Furthermore, it was stressed that the British Museum, as a whole, lacked in its ability to expand on items in its displays and this contributed to why the museum appears static. Since the creation of Gallery 70, however, the participant noted that various objects and displays had been added. The interviewee used the display case of mummy masks and Palmyrene sculptures that showed the faces of ancient people within the Roman Empire as an example. It was reemphasised, however, that the museum remains slow at refurbishing and updating its permanent galleries.

The interviewee then stated that curators at the British Museum were repeatedly asked why the museum could not rotate objects they possess in their displays. The participant stated that money and time both hindered this process and the resultant expense would make these sorts of changes impractical. The act of planning, conservation checks, movement of objects, and other tasks that would be needed to rotate objects were highlighted to contribute to this. This eventuality was indicated to have resulted in long term stagnation of the museum's permanent exhibitions.

In relation to the British Museum's Roman galleries, this issue was emphasised to have caused a gap of around 20-25 years in the incorporation of object research, other archaeological finds, and information that was missing from the current permanent exhibits. The participant stated that the museum did engage with modern research and public engagement in their new galleries, however. Examples provided by the interviewee included the Sutton Hoo Gallery and the digital scan of a mummy in an Egyptian Gallery. The main output for modern research was highlighted to be the many temporary displays the museum puts on.

The recipient then turned their attention to Gallery 69 (Greek and Roman Life) that observes daily life in the ancient period. It was stated that this gallery appeared very outdated, but was described as still possessing valid discussion points, items, and cases that looked at different demographics such as women and children. This gallery was expressed to be very thematic and was indicated to be innovative in the way that it achieves great visitor interaction - specifically with school groups.

The participant stated that archaeological finds and modern concepts were quickly implemented in temporary displays compared to their slow incorporation into permanent galleries. This was explained to be because temporary exhibits are regularly created by museum staff and focus on different periods and themes. The example provided to illustrate this point was a travelling

exhibition that looked at the wider Roman Empire. It explored ways in which Roman culture had been worked into existing material evidence and its influence on native societies. This exhibition was depicted to express ideas of ethnicity, diversity, culture, culture mixing, the movement of ideas and culture, and other modern themes within contemporary research.

Furthermore, modern research was also expressed to be shared by the British Museum through lectures, conferences, publications, but most regularly on blogs. The interviewee illustrated their point by the museum's communication of its recent research on Parthenon statues that rediscovered the paints used to colour them that had been washed or rubbed off.[60] This example was expressed to highlight how modern research is included in the British Museum's outputs, albeit predominantly through temporary displays, travelling exhibits, and blog posts.

As a result of the work that goes into these temporary and travelling exhibitions, the interviewee stated that attention had been taken away from permanent exhibitions. This occurrence was stated to likely change, however, as it was emphasised that the new director of the British Museum wanted to refocus efforts away from external projects and back into the museum's permanent exhibits. The participant indicated that the museum's director had aimed for the institution's galleries to be modernised and updated within 20-25 years.

This directive was stated to likely involve new technology, digital displays, and interactive exhibitions that use contemporary research and increasingly modern topics. In connection with the digital aspects of these plans, the participant identified that the British Museum had a department for digital and interactive displays. As such, the museum was said to now aim for an increased amount of innovative technology in their galleries, despite the museum being regularly depicted as old fashioned. The Sutton Hoo exhibit was again used to exemplify what a new exhibition could include and how modern they could be. This example was also used to indicate the museum's want to distance itself from its stereotypical trait as old-fashioned and traditional.

The Cypriot exhibition, also redone 3-4 years ago, was also used, in conjunction with the Sutton Hoo Gallery, to express how free the museum's curatorial teams were. In the case of the Cypriot Gallery, it was stated that the exhibit's modern feel was, however, hard to pinpoint. According to the interviewee, the reason for this was the layout of the gallery which differs from others as it blocks standardised visitor pathways and forces audiences to engage with the display. Both the Sutton Hoo and Cypriot exhibits were described as new, but vastly different from one another.

---

[60] https://blog.britishmuseum.org/paint-and-the-parthenon-conservation-of-ancient-greek-sculpture/#:~:text=The%20Museum%20first%20discovered%20traces,smallest%20remnants%20of%20Egyptian%20blue [Accessed 16/09/2020].

This was stated to contribute to the possibility for a diverse range of display styles throughout the museum, a characteristic indicated to not typically be associated with the British Museum.

There were restrictions to the curation process, however, and these were stated to come from certain departments in the museum that can inadvertently limit the use and expression of modern research in displays. The director, for example, was indicated to have an input, and so too the departments that manage labels and exhibitions. Other departments were stated to possibly halt some creative ideas from happening for various reasons. The example given was an interactive experience that was not permitted as people in wheelchairs would not be able to take part and said to perpetuate inequality.

Departments were also depicted to aid in the sharing of modern research and themes. This was aimed at areas of the museum that developed alternate approaches to the sharing of information. For example, an audio guide was stated to be in production that allows curators to include themselves in the museum's discourse to discuss stand-out objects. It was stated that audio guides were a beneficial approach as they facilitate the description of an object to include between 500-600 words, rather than the 40-50 words permitted on plaques.

The preconception that the British Museum is an outdated institution was then returned to. It was indicated to have been predominantly based on preconceived ideas rather than what the museum actively does. It was highlighted that British constituents, in particular, focus on a colonial approach to the museum's perception. The participant then stated that because of this, the British public harness notions of coloniality in the back of their minds when in the British Museum and, consequently, feel a sort of guilt that affects their opinion on the museum. Despite this, the participant concluded that the British Museum is very innovative. The participant re-emphasised the technology that is used to research archaeological objects and the past, its pioneering temporary and travelling exhibits, its steps towards accessible digital information, engagement through social media, its schedule of workshops, and its visitor interaction. The only aspect of the British Museum that was singled out to be neglected was the permanent galleries.

The interviewee was then asked how long a permanent gallery should last. The participant replied that there was not an answer to such a question. It was stated, however, that it would be difficult to keep an exhibit current as they are in danger of becoming outdated every 2-3 years.

The last question of the interview asked why the Roman galleries at the British Museum, predominantly Gallery 70, mainly focused on material associated with high-status individuals. The participant replied that poorer groups in ancient society left less material. It was also stated that the museum possesses so much unique and stand-out items that many of them cannot be left in storage. This interviewee then repeated the point that the public state it is a shame that many

items are left in stores and used this to illustrate that standout items must be displayed. It was emphasised that there was not enough room in the museum's Roman galleries to display all the items currently kept in storage. This was followed by the statement, however, that many items thought to be in storage are not. Instead, they had been loaned out to other museums around the world to be exhibited for other audiences.

Interviewee 9 – British Museum - 21/08/2017

Interviewee 9's interview related to the British Museum's Roman Britain Gallery rather than the Classical galleries predominantly discussed by Interviewee 8. The participant first indicated that they had conducted a few small changes to the display panels in the Roman Britain Gallery, but these had not yet been implemented. It was expressed that the interviewee would have liked to make more changes to the gallery, such as the display of objects that depict gender that would have updated the gallery and made it less static.

The British Museum was described to not possess much material, particularly on show, that specifically looks at daily life. This was stated to be partially influenced by the UK's Treasure Act that sees the British Museum process artefacts deemed to be treasure. This was emphasised to create a situation where the museum possesses many items considered as treasure rather than mundane items. Furthermore, it was stated that because archaeology is largely done through independent organisations, new artefacts will usually be gained through purchases and also affects the disparity seen between the high amounts of objects that do not link to everyday experiences. The museum was, however, indicated to be active in its research of daily life. This was emphasised to be linked with the Museum of London, however, and creates a situation where most research focuses on London and not elsewhere.

The interviewee then indicated the static characteristic of the Roman Britain Gallery was principally due to the British Museum's slowness to change and update its galleries. The Roman Britain Gallery was stated to have been installed in the 1980s with only a few alterations having affected it since. These changes were stated to be linked to new and important archaeological finds. As such, the Roman Britain Gallery was indicated to be around 20-30 years old and this was the same age range the interviewee stated how long an exhibition will last at the museum.

The static characteristic of the Roman Britain Gallery was also indicated to affect how certain objects were represented. The participant used the example of how the gallery displayed tombstones to illustrate their point, that were accompanied by panels which translated the inscriptions and came across as a little old fashioned. The interviewee highlighted that the

museum did have optional audio guides, however, that could be used to better the interpretation of tombstones, but the display alone did not divulge into their usefulness to depict the era. The participant stated that recent and complex research could enter the museum's displays through various kinds of communicative techniques that would modernise displays and provide better links between ancient artefacts, past individuals, and modern concepts. Digital formats were predominantly mentioned to fulfil this role, which the museum already uses, such as online data and interpretation of finds that is free and breaks down some financial boundaries of academia.

The interviewee then stated that an example of good contemporary research by the museum, and how it works alongside other institutions was the 'Empire of Faith' project. This was conducted by the British Museum, Ashmolean, and the University of Oxford and highlights how modern research, that the British Museum was involved in, could be made accessible and public.

The topic then returned to the use and creation of audio guides. They were explained to be written out by curators and supported by modern research. It was stated that the British Museum had recently pushed for the implementation of high quality and contemporary research within its archaeological and anthropological outputs. This sort of research was indicated to impact displays but depended on the relevant curator, results, and opportunities to implement change.

Interviewee 9 then discussed the Medals and Coins Department at the British Museum to contextualise other aspects of the institution's representation of diversity. It was emphasised that its latest exhibit on coin hoards used anthropological research to study the social aspects and histories of deposits. The exhibit also included money from the museum's African exhibit that was used to express the multi-disciplinary research that goes into displays, but also how daily life is, and can be, included in displays. The coin hoard exhibit was also explained to depict hoarding cultures from Bronze Age Britain and the Roman period. This aspect was noted to display a 'native' tradition that stayed with people from Britain and survived throughout the Roman period and was stated to, therefore, express evidence for ethnicities within Britain though the continuance of this cultural act.

It was indicated that because of the slow increase in the archaeological material possessed by the British Museum, new galleries, particularly in the Coin and Medals Department will be updated through a new interpretation of objects rather than new items. The LGBTQ+ temporary exhibit that was contemporary to the interview was here used to provide a good example of this process. The exhibit did not include new archaeological objects but instead used new interpretation of the same objects. This was used to evidence ways in which the museum could create an exhibition that responds to current social conversations with present collections.

The freedom to express current social topics at the British Museum was indicated, however, to be limited. The participant stated that the museum possessed a neutral stance throughout its galleries and was emphasised to possibly result in the starting of debates without active engagement. This was an aspect that Interviewee 9 stated could change and indicated that this could occur in the Asian departments at the museum that was stated to currently be more involved in the daily life of Asians and their cultures. Other factors that limited the freedom of curatorial teams was stated to be the time scales in which exhibitions needed to be developed, the growth in tasks that curators now possessed, the commercial support of exhibits, and needed to renovate display spaces. The interviewee ended with the statement that the freedom to curate without restrictions was greater for permanent curators than those that were not.

Interviewee 10 – The Collection – 06/09/2017

The interview started with a discussion of Question 1 on the question sheet, *Do your Roman displays explicitly portray ethnic diversity/identity within the Roman period?* The participant stated that The Collection did not deal with the topics of ethnicity as much as it could or should. A reason given for this was the object-based displays used to narrate the Roman period. This aspect was emphasised to cause an issue as the institution was emphasised to not possess many objects that could be related to research on ethnicity. The participant also asserted that the museum did not have objects that explicitly dealt with ethnicity and this caused difficulties with the concept's incorporation into its narratives. It was further stated, that if the museum owned a display like the Ivory Bangle Lady exhibit at the Yorkshire Museum, then ethnicity would have been easier to incorporate into the museum's discourse. The interviewee then indicated that the British Museum has a lot of material that originates from Roman Lincoln such as tombstones, and these could have been used for the incorporation of ethnicity if it had them at their disposal.

The participant was clear, however, that new research into various objects brings with it the opportunity to construct different narratives which can include new topics and concepts. The interviewee highlighted isotopic analysis as a research method that could help the museum incorporate discussions of ethnicity into its displays. It was stated that isotopic analysis as a research method has recently gained popularity in archaeology and provides an abundance of new information on many different theories within archaeology, including ethnicity. Furthermore, isotopic analysis is a well-known approach to study the past and its innovative methodology is matched by its accessibility for audiences who now understand the process and results. As such, it was indicated that if The Collection's displays could be redone, then isotopic analysis would be a likely contender for inclusion due to its potential contribution to narratives.

It was stated by the participant that the current Roman exhibits at the museum were overshadowed by a military theme. It was made clear by the participant that attempts had been made to steer away from this eventuality, however, Lincoln's historic links with the Roman army and its veterans have meant it must be included. It was indicated that the inclusion of the Roman military is also expected generally by audiences because of the Roman army's inclusion in the teaching of the period's history. To expand beyond traditional displays of the military, the Roman army had been used as a gateway to further explore other aspects of Roman life.

The participant then highlighted the fixity of The Collection's display space, however, and noted ways in which it limits the inclusion of modern research and concepts. The 10-year-old exhibit was stated to be quite modern in its layout, but its design, although new, offers little opportunity to change and adapt the information it expresses and narratives it contributes to. It was acknowledged that a lot of money would be needed to refurbish the Roman exhibit at the museum if items and/or topics needed to be swapped around or replaced.

Attention then turned to the museum's labels. The captions were stated to generally match those used elsewhere in British museums, however, some strayed from the norm. The display of Gaius' tombstone (a Roman soldier) was used as an example of this as it had a very long (compared to others) description to accompany the object. This was stated to allow interested audiences to seek a lot more information about the artefact, and the research that has gone into the tombstone, to be extracted if desired. The inclusion of longer panels than usual is also used elsewhere in the museum and is aimed at the most interested of visitors.

Various objects were said to be displayed throughout the museum's Roman exhibits and included many small finds, tombstones, trade items, and coins. Religion was emphasised by the participant to have provided some discourse into ancient ethnicity, to which, an inscription for a Romano-Celtic God was used as an example of culture-mixing. This cultural concept was indicated to have been expressed elsewhere in the museum's Roman displays and heavily reliant on the topic of religion.

To improve upon its current state, the interviewee shared their interest in the attainment of a further two cases to display modern archaeological research and finds. These were suggested to perhaps be used as temporary exhibition spaces which the museum currently lacks.

The interview then returned to the topic of ethnicity. The participant stated that a museum should be open when it discusses topics such as ethnicity. The interviewee clarified that a museum should be honest and not pretend to know everything about a topic. It was further stated that museums were, for the past 30 years, seen as the embodiment of all knowledge and this has caused visitors to take their word for gospel. The interviewee expressed that people now

view museums with less authority, but this should not be feared as it helps with discussion and engagement. The interviewee stated that museums should not attempt to remain neutral. It was indicated that neutrality no longer washes with modern audiences. The participant depicted the public as curious and not afraid to question museums, and it was suggested that a part of a museum's duty is to express opinions with the intention that they will be discussed and challenged. This topic was summed up by the interviewee through the statement that archaeological and historical narratives in and of themselves are an interpretation of the past and, therefore, include many different opinions.

Despite earlier comments about particular restrictions on the curatorial process based on the static design of The Collection's exhibits, curatorial teams were stated to possess a lot of freedom in what they wanted to display. It was expressed that there was autonomy over what items can be used in display spaces, and this was helped by the richness of objects and archaeological knowledge that relates to Lincoln. It was emphasised that there was no real influence from any political party or organisation and that whilst the council did have the authority to overrule a display in the museum, it was very unlikely. Limitations of time upon the museum's workforce was mentioned at this point, however, to illustrate a restraint on curatorial processes. This stemmed from the participant's comments of how, like in many other museums, curators were expected to do more than just keep an exhibition updated, interesting, and relevant. Instead, possessed many responsibilities such as admin that takes time away from the core duties associated with curation.

Concerning time, the participant suggested that a sizeable archaeological project would probably take around five years to go from excavation to museum display. It was emphasised that this could be sped up and short-circuited with the inclusion of local finds in a display case at the museum specifically used to depict recent finds. The interviewee's final point was that interaction between the museum and its public also takes place outside of the institution's walls through blogs and social media. It was, however, emphasised that the museum was very 'hit and miss' with this approach and consistency.

Interviewee 11 – Roman Museum - 29/09/2017

In response to whether the participant thought that the Roman Museum in Canterbury included discussions of ethnicity or identity, the interviewee stated they did not think the museum explicitly expressed ethnicity. It was said that the museum failed to examine the make-up of Canterbury's Roman population. It was further indicated that the museum did possess objects that could touch upon the concept of ethnicity and interactions between different cultures. The

participant provided the example of the Dea Nutrix, other religious items, and ancient Pudding Pan pots that demonstrated international trade. It was again emphasised that despite owning these objects, ethnicity was not discussed by the museum.

It was then indicated by the participant that the Roman Museum utilises an object-based approach that is thematic throughout its depiction of the past. This was emphasised to aid education but inhibit analysis as items were said to be largely explained but not discussed. This lack of elaboration was caused by the fact that the museum had changed little since its creation. Furthermore, it was stated that the lack of space for a temporary exhibit within the museum had also meant that the museum was static. Despite this, it was stated that new items were nonetheless incorporated into its displays, such as the Bridge Helmet. It was again highlighted, however, that the information provided on these items was also descriptive and fell short of wider discussions on context and use. With further research into the museum's items, the interviewee did state that more results could be incorporated into the museum's displays through temporary events. These events constituted temporary exhibitions that do not take place in the Roman Museum, being held instead at the council's other local museum, The Beaney.

The use of The Beaney to display temporary exhibits demonstrated temporary displays did occur, but away from the Roman museum. It was hoped that this brought new faces into the Roman Museum, however, as The Beaney was said to receive a higher number of visitors. New research that would prompt a temporary display and associated events was stated to originate from researchers working outside of the museum, such as the University of Kent. Kent Archaeological Trust was also highlighted to be involved with the museum and its events. They were also indicated to provide the Roman Museum with archaeological items that can be placed on display.

The interviewee then emphasised that the recent closures of other museums run by Canterbury City Council had resulted in The Beaney and Roman Museum becoming the only remaining museums. Although this was indicated to be a problematic situation, it was stated that in theory, it allowed for an increasingly concentrated effort on the curation of the two museums that remain. In accordance, the participant asserted that they were sure either museum will, at some point, be updated in regard to the implementation of discussions about identity and ethnicity. The difficultly of including these topics, especially without objects that can be used to lead the discussion in a display was, however, emphasised.

In answer to how long a permanent display should last, the interviewee stated generally they should change every five years. The participant further clarified that ideally, a display would be subject to small changes continuously to keep it updated and fresh. It was stated that the

museum's curatorial team were not pressured or coerced into discussing certain topics. Time was, however, stated to be a significant restriction on the freedom of curatorial staff and others that work in the museum.

It was then stated that the time for an object to be included in an exhibit after excavation differs depending on the type of object, research, and importance placed on its inclusion. It was expressed that if an item crucial to Canterbury's Roman past was found, the museum could have it on display within a year and a half. The participant provided an example of this with the acquisition and display of the Bridge helmet. The process to acquire smaller finds was, however, explained to be more difficult than large, important, and expensive objects. This was caused by the value of smaller items being under that needed for the museum to be able to apply for external funding to support their acquisition. It was highlighted that the museum's connection with Kent Archaeological Trust can help with this issue, however, as their good relationship has meant items can be provided quickly for display.

Interviewee 12 – English Heritage South East (Roman sites – Dover Castle, Lullingstone Villa, and Roman Richborough) – 21/11/2017

As English Heritage South East takes care of multiple sites, the interviewee first discussed Lullingstone Villa and then Richborough in relation to the interview questions. As such, the Roman displays at Lullingstone Villa were stated to be relatively new as it was installed in 2008. Before 2008, the site's dilapidated state was highlighted, and described by the interviewee as a 'hole in the ground'. It was indicated that because of this, the site was considered to be of little importance. Lullingstone Villa was further described to have a strong religious aspect to its display that can depict identity.

It was stated by the participant that curators at English Heritage are not solely in charge of what is displayed. Curators are part of a larger team that includes a building curator, conservators, interpreters, educators, marketing staff, historians, and head curators. It was emphasised that the interpreters have some specialist knowledge in modern museum display themes. Historians, on the other hand, were said to look at the history of the site and emerging research that could contribute to display narratives.

The participant then stated that Lullingstone Villa had been subject to a lot of research. In relation to ethnicity, the interviewee stated that this concept was discussed at the site through two busts. One of these busts is thought to represent Publius Helvius Pertinax; a governor of Britannia between AD 185-186 and emperor for three months in AD 193. Pertinax was stated to

have reigned for 83 days before being murdered by his soldiers. The other bust has been identified as a representation of Publis Helvius Successus, the father of Pertinax. Ethnicity was described as discussed through these two busts, particularly in their member events, but not through display narratives. It was added that it was difficult to discuss identity and ethnicity in great depth at heritage sites due to the lack of supporting evidence.

The new displays at Lullingstone Villa were stated to have been heavily funded and would, therefore, not change any time soon. This was meant that new knowledge about the site would have to be incorporated through different means. Members' events were one such occasion highlighted by the interviewee and emphasised to be where new, modern knowledge was brought to the attention of the public. Social media was also indicated as a channel via which new research was shared with English Heritage's audiences.

The participant emphasised that the remains of skeletons found at Lullingstone Villa may, at some point, be subject to DNA testing. This was stated as a potential way to provide English Heritage with extra information for inclusion within the villa's displays, particularly, as indicated by the participant, concerning identity. The inclusion of new research into already established sites was highlighted, and that Lullingstone Villa, in particular, would not be changed for some time.

The participant then discussed the other site under their remit in the South East: Richborough Roman Fort. The interviewee stated that little research had been conducted into the objects at Richborough. It was indicated that a PhD student at the University of Kent was currently involved in a project that aimed to clarify and examine the typology and narrative of the site through small finds. In addition to this student, the participant indicated another possible use of DNA testing on remains to better understand the site and its inhabitants. This possibility was, however, remote as the historic nature of the site's excavation and storage issues have contributed to some evidence being lost. In relation to this point and DNA testing, the participant indicated that they referred specifically to the remains of a family unearthed from a particular pit at the site.

The participant then stated that the history of Roman Richborough was uncertain, and that funding for the site's renovation was similarly ambiguous. The future display of the site was dependent upon how modern research views Richborough's past. It was stated that objects would be used for display purposes, as it provided more value for the public. The participant again emphasised that research at the site had been a long-term issue that had continued to affect Richborough's reception and display narrative.

The interviewee then stated that English Heritage has a set way of displaying its objects and narratives, which is overseen by the organisation's head curators. As a result, it was indicated

that this could sometimes limit the possibilities of how information may be displayed. If ethnicity were to be displayed at English Heritage sites, it was emphasised that it would have to be done through an object-led approach. As a result of the objects available to English Heritage South East's curatorial team, they are limited in their ability to create narratives that discuss ethnicity because their objects would not be able to support such a discourse.

On this topic, the participant stated that difficulties existed with ways in which information can be portrayed, particularly with the discussions of how people and ideas move around and pass through Richborough. In particular, the interviewee highlighted that it was difficult to exhibit the movement of peoples and ideas through the history of a site. They particularly indicated problems in identifying what or who moved, and how. Furthermore, it was emphasised that certain themes and topics must be included. At Richborough these were considered to be globalised views of the site that consider where it is placed, and its function. A final set of difficulties were also stated to be the level of security available at the Richborough site, a lack of community engagement, and lack of funds.

I then asked the interviewee for how long a permanent exhibition should last. It was stated that English Heritage does large display projects, and whilst this results in significant changes to their displays, they are only 'few and far between' at the same site. This answer was then followed with the point that English Heritage conducts large projects among many sites and most of these span different societies and periods. The example given by the interviewee to illustrate this was the Henry VIII exhibition at the Great Tower that was intended to be a 6-month exhibition. Instead, the display has been installed for 14 years. It was announced that, due to the cost of upkeep, maintenance, and funds needed to change the display at the Great Tower, it would not be changed any time soon.

I then asked Question 1 of the Interview Question Sheet that seeks to understand whether ethnicity and/or identity were included in English Heritage South East's displays. The participant replied that ethnicity was not included in English Heritage's South East's contemporary Roman displays. It was stated that there was not enough research or evidence to support its inclusion. The participant also stated that the English Heritage South East do not own many Roman sites, which limits their ability to discuss ethnicity within the Roman period. The concept was also emphasised to not have been a focus in the past. After this, the participant stated that English Heritage owns many historical buildings and continues to research the large amount of material it has accumulated. As such, it was stated that the items used to display the past in English Heritage South East's displays are usually already owned by them, but the information is dependent on research.

Interviewee 13 – Welwyn Roman Bath - 16/01/2018

The participant stated that the site of the Roman bath, that is now on display, was excavated in the 1960s and early 1970s. It was stated that the baths took one season to excavate in 1969. The funds to do so came from county and local councils. The original displays were stated to discuss ways in which the ancient site functioned. Since these initial displays, the participant indicated that the site has been developed to increase space. It was emphasised that since its creation the exhibition has been changed to adhere to the UK's educational curriculum. Early displays at Welwyn were indicated to depict aspects of the Roman baths that interested local inhabitants; the display has changed in reflection of these.

Most of the research on the baths at Welwyn was said to have originated from the initial excavations of the site and a student university thesis. The thesis aimed to find a typology for the archaeological site but did not succeed in doing so. It was stated that the bath site is hard to place within the context of other Roman baths within the country.

The participant then stated that the Romans, other cultural groups, and individuals from the period were greatly misrepresented, particularly in the minds of the public. The interviewee then emphasised that archaeology does not always tell you the culture of an individual. Most of the archaeological material found at Welwyn Roman Bath was indicted to have been local. The exhibit was described as discussing the topics of international trade, diet, domestic objects, jewellery, daily activities. Furthermore, it included a skeleton described to 'just lay there' to attract individuals rather than providing specific information.

The participant did not understand the modern concept of ethnicity when the topic arose. After attempts were made to offer a definition (in line with the definition used to guide this research; see chapter one), the interviewee continued to have difficulties with the concept. As such, the interview was ended as it could no longer examine the inclusion or exclusion of ethnicity in the Roman exhibit.

Interviewee 14 – Welwyn Roman Bath - 16/01/2018

Interviewee 14 initially stated that the displays at Welwyn Roman Bath were quite static and do not often change. The latest installation at the site's displays was said to have occurred in 2014, during which cases were adapted and the work funded by a grant. The participant added that the heritage site was currently looking to alter certain aspects of Welwyn Roman Bath's display again, but this was dependent on the availability of time and money. The participant indicated that the

museum's narrative about the Roman period regularly changed, however, through continuous changes to activities the museum develops for its public.

The interviewee stated that they would never do anything to prohibit the display and discussion of ethnicity and diversity. They emphasised that they were aware, however, that the museum's current narratives had to be object-led. This led to the statement that the Roman display's narrative was limited by the items the museum possessed and the level of research that has gone into their archive. The interviewee highlighted, nonetheless, that identity was depicted through the objects on show in the museum's displays. Examples included domestic items and jewellery. The museum was indicated to have attempted to keep up with contemporary trends within their display narratives.

In terms of ethnicity, the interviewee stressed that local ethnicity is touched upon by the museum's Roman displays through the discussion of movement, food, and other objects it houses. The participant stated that this was achieved through the connection between the people who lived in the Roman period and the archaeological record of Welwyn's vicinity. It was emphasised by the interviewee that these links were important to the role of museums in developing displays that challenge outdated perceptions of the Roman period. The participant then emphasised that the museum's staff can curate displays to argue this point, as they possess the freedom to do so.

It was stated that the curation process at Welwyn Roman Bath was predominantly controlled by the in-house curator. It was also emphasised that other individuals were included in Welwyn's Roman Bath's curatorial process, such as the museum manager, the lead archaeologist that originally excavated the Roman site, and the local archaeological society. It was also indicated that outside influences, such as from school programmes and the national curriculum, also influenced display narratives. Schools were particularly influential as the participant felt that their displays must justify school visits. It was stated that the wants of contemporary visitors to Welwyn Roman Bath greatly varied, ranging from fun to educational with different levels of knowledge and expectations to be catered for. It was highlighted that the displays at Welwyn Roman Bath manage to encourage discussions and questions amongst its visitors and that this was a sign of successful curation on their part.

The interviewee then discussed how long a permanent display should last. The participant stated that Welwyn Roman Bath typically prefers to have two temporary exhibitions a year. As for the permanent exhibition, it was emphasised to be hard to put a time on how long they should exist. It was stressed that permanent displays should be frequently, yet gradually, altered. At the time of the meeting, it was noted that the museum had thought to change all of their displays, but

available space limited their plans. Consequently, the interviewee indicated that Welwyn Roman Bath had inquired into the installation of more digital displays and character stories within its display spaces.

The interviewee then discussed the process of how objects had become available to the museum. It was highlighted that all archaeology in the area was conducted by independent organisations. Finds would, however, be brought to the attention of the council who decided whether to accept objects into their care. If accepted, it was stated it would be some time before the archive with newly excavated items would become available for the museum. The time this process takes was emphasised to depend on the archaeological site, availability and speed of research, and other processes that become involved in this process.

The interviewee then stated that Welwyn Roman Bath updates their audiences on new research through social media, press releases, books, and online PDFs. The activities that were run by the institution were again highlighted to share new and relevant information and research to the public.

Interviewee 15 – Burwell Museum and Windmill – 30/01/2018

The interviewee first answered Question 1 of the questionnaire sheet, 'Do your Roman displays explicitly portray ethnic diversity/identity within the Roman period?'. The participant stated that the Burwell Museum and Windmill did not depict ethnicity or identity in its Roman period display. Several reasons for this were indicated, such as the limited material available to the museum dating to the Roman period. Another cause was that the museum only possessed pottery from the Roman period to accompany any narrative they curate about the period. Furthermore, it was stated by the participant that research into Burwell's Roman past was 'not exactly strong', although the prominence of pottery production in the area is known to be significant.

The interviewee indicated that visitors to the museum know what to expect from Burwell's displays. It was further indicated that the museum was run by volunteers, and both the workforce and audience are locals. It was stated that consequently, the audience expects the museum to represent themselves. As such, any large discussion on ethnicity and identity was emphasised as unrelated to the predominantly white, middle-to-late aged demography of Burwell. Furthermore, the museum was described to highlight local identity and heritage. The participant stated that, because of this, the museum's narrative is restricted in that it cannot discuss identity without support and evidence from local archaeology. In addition, it was

explained that the Roman display, and that of the Anglo-Saxon period, at Burwell was there to represent how long activity had occurred in the area, rather than an exploration of those that lived in the area.

The restrictions placed on Burwell's Roman displays were also exacerbated, according to the interviewee, by the object-led approach practised by the museum. It was stated that objects were needed to tell a story, which limited the range of narratives available to the curation team due to the museum's lack of resources. The participant then indicated that the museum's visitors and constituents would be quick to notice the politically correct aspect of a display that discussed ethnicity and diversity if it were not supported by local archaeology.

The interview then turned to the freedoms possessed by the curatorial team at the museum. It was emphasised that the curator at the museum and heritage site oversaw this curatorial process. It was emphasised, however, that the museum is heavily involved with local participation. Therefore, residents from the village of Burwell had a large say in the choice of topics and how they were displayed. The fact that locals were involved in the running of the museum was again stressed to strengthen this point. Further limitations on the curatorial team's freedom was the limited space in the museum's exhibit dedicated to the Roman period and the economic situation of the institution. Overall, however, the interviewee stated the government had no influence on proceedings at Burwell.

I then asked the participant about any external pressure to examine identity. The interviewee replied that there were no pressures to discuss identity in their associated displays. Burwell's predominantly white and middle-to-late aged demographic was again emphasised as not placing pressure on the curation of narratives to discuss modern concerns such as identity and ethnicity. It was then stated that villages local to Burwell consider nearby Cambridge as a distant world, particularly in relation to its diverse demographic and ideologies. Thus, Burwell and its museum were emphasised to want to keep itself apart from a 'Cambridge' identity and university discussions that include topics of identity.

After this, the interviewee indicated that the museum did not really engage with the public to share new research, but did with information about exhibits at the institution. It was then indicated that certain events such as 'Tea and Talks' were used by the museum to share modern research with its audience. In addition, the interviewee stated that the museum was currently trying to invite people from Cambridge to give presentations.

The interviewee then answered the last question on the questionnaire sheet about how long a permanent exhibition should last. The participant stated that in an ideal world, a permanent

exhibition would last up to 10 years. This was then followed by the statement that Burwell's current displays were 25 years old and continue to appear unchanged since their creation.

Interviewee 16 – Cambridge Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology - 07/02/2018

The interviewee initially stated that the Cambridge Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology did not centre on the depiction of the Roman period. Instead, the Roman archaeology included in the museum's displays related to the ancient history of Cambridge and its local vicinity. The exhibit that did include discussions of Roman Cambridge was, however, modernised in 2012. The interviewee reflected on the decision to include modern research in this exhibit, contemporary to the time of its installation, through research found in papers from the Theoretical Roman Archaeology Conference (published as TRAC Proceedings and, more recently, TRAJ). These contemporary discussions included the topics of globalisation and standardised cultural indicators across the Roman Empire, both stated to be included in the museum's Roman displays.

When asked whether the museum's contemporary Roman exhibit addressed ethnicity and/or identity, the interviewee stated that the answer was closer to 'no', as whilst these topics were included, they were not explicit. This was mainly due to the museum's Roman narrative not focused on a full exploration of the ancient period but instead used to illustrate a recognisable period for Cambridge's long history. As such, the exhibit presented the Roman period as an important part of Cambridge's story that brought change. The display was described as not specifically observing ethnicity or the cultures of individuals in close detail, but instead offering a broader view of the past. The exhibit was, however, stated to successfully direct attention towards certain cultural trends seen within the Roman period that allowed global contextualisation, and showed cultural links with other parts of the world.

One such example of this was indicated to be the inclusion of a case that displayed Samian pottery. The display included pottery from all over the Roman Empire and sought to highlight trade connections, stylistic preferences, empire-wide standardisation, and different levels of quality. The interviewee was, however, unsure if these concepts were successfully communicated to audiences who may not understand the display and its purpose. The participant nonetheless liked the case and its potential and wanted to move cases around in the space as an attempt to bring the Samian display to the attention of more visitors.

The interviewee then talked about other challenges faced during the curation of displays, including the implementation of new and complex theories. The primary issues described were

the exhibit's fixed narrative that outlined broader changes in Cambridge's past. It was indicated, however, that modern research was still gradually brought into the display. This was described as a difficult process, though, requiring consideration of children and visitors from older generations. These difficulties included deciding how long or complex text plaques should be, how radical a new concept may be, and the curatorial decisions needed to navigate these issues. The interviewee, at this point, explained that children will understand what a diverse community comprises, but a simple mirror comparison between modern diversity with its ancient counterpart is not accurate. The participant stated that although diversity in the Roman period was stated to be similar in many ways, it was also vastly different and should be treated like such. The interviewee stated that they were aware that saying an ancient society reflects our own is, in a way, assimilating cultures which museums should not do.

Ideas that are incorporated into Cambridge's displays were described to gradually include research and information which focuses on children, women, gender, and other demographic groups previously underrepresented. This approach was described to gradually build upon recent displays, research, and items in their displays that were male-dominated. The addition of these ideas was again described as difficult, however, due to the items at their disposal. This issue was caused by the museum's traditional object-led approach to curation and it cannot, therefore, include information on ethnicity or diversity if objects that can relate to it are not also displayed. The interviewee mentioned that if the museum had something which could be associated with Severus Septimius, for example, then they may be able to bring in the question of his identity and, therefore, wider research questions on ethnicity. It was also emphasised that certain items must stay within the museum's Roman display because they are used for educational purposes and this can prevent desired changes to the exhibition.

Concerning external influences from councils and the public, the interviewee stated that there was little pressure to include ethnicity in their displays. There was, however, pressure for exhibits to generally be dictated by wider discussions held by the public. The main pressure to include theories like identity was described to come from the museum and its current staff. The participant stated that as a university museum, it has a role to challenge stereotypes about the Roman period. Thanks to this identity and close university links, new research is used to challenge outdated views of the Roman period, something which is embraced rather than rejected as may occur in other museums.

The interview participant also indicated that the curatorial team possess quite a lot of freedom at the museum. The curators led small teams of a few people to aid in the creation of exhibits. This process was described as heavily reliant on collections managers because of their subject-specific knowledge of the museum's objects.

I then asked whether the institution's title as an anthropology museum meant that anthropology was always included within the museum's archaeology displays. The interviewee replied that there was no pressure to do so, although they remarked it was nice when archaeology and anthropology were connected. In relation to this statement, the participant explained that, because of the anthropological aspect of the museum, the curatorial teams often had opportunities and resources to combine archaeology with anthropology. An example was provided that a temporary archaeological exhibit on prehistory included a priest's outfit to highlight questions that concerned shamanism.

The interviewee then stated that new research is a prerogative for the museum, and this was encouraged through the museum's links with the University of Cambridge. Curators were stated to take part in research and publishing through the curation and study of objects, and postgraduate students may supply contemporary research through their studies. All of this was stated to be potentially reflected by its exhibits. It was stated that new research could find itself in a case specifically kept for that purpose, which is changed 2-3 times a year. The research, in this case, was stated to perhaps take a couple of years to then make it into the permanent displays throughout the museum. Other ways the museum was described as keeping people up to date on recent research were the exhibitions themselves, events, specific case rotations, and the fact the museum is research-intensive.

When asked how long a permanent display should last for, the participant stated it should ideally be a maximum of 10 years if the resources were available. Realistically, however, the interviewee indicated that permanent exhibits could be in situ for 30 years due to restrictions on funding, time, and the available workforce.

Interviewee 17 – Verulamium Museum - 12/02/2018

The interviewee began the interview with the statement that the Verulamium Museum had not greatly changed since the 1980s through the attainment of items from discoveries and large excavations. It was indicated that this had resulted in the exhibitions remaining relatively unchanged for almost 40 years. It was emphasised that there had, however, been smaller changes throughout the museum's displays in relation to its plaques, boards, and screens.

In response as to whether the museum discussed ethnicity and identity, the interviewee provided a two-pronged answer. Firstly, it was stated that the museum did not explicitly express ethnicity. This was then followed by an emphasis on the view that the museum did include identity. It was expressed that the museum's displays looked at the difference between the Romans and local

natives in the ancient period. To do this, it was indicated that the museum's exhibits use archaeology from the surrounding district that is known to have good Roman archaeology. This led the participant to state that parts of the present collection likely remained unarchived and may, therefore, imply that some objects that could be used to discuss identity and/or ethnicity are unknown to the curatorial team.

The participant then went on to discuss ways in which the museum used themes to explore different aspects of Roman life. This approach was expressed to facilitate the discussion of identity and culture. The trade theme was highlighted to specifically include identity, and it was emphasised that it could be used to discuss ethnicity too. The participant then indicated that the museum lies on Watling Street that connected with London in the Roman period and would have, therefore, brought in people, cultures, items, trade, and other cultural indicators. This was an aspect that the interviewee said would be included if the museum got updated and could bring in the discussion of ethnicity.

This was then followed by the statement that the museum's layout would ideally change in any new development. The interviewee expressed a want for less permanent display cases with the inclusion of more temporary exhibits that could be rotated. This was indicated to provide the museum's display spaces with a sense of flexibility. It was stated that as it stood, the museum did not include any space for temporary exhibits. Instead, it was pointed out that the institution only had one display case that could be argued to be temporary. This case was placed in the entrance of the museum and changed occasionally. Elsewhere, Verulamium was stated to use space in its lecture theatre, when not in use, to sometimes facilitate make-shift temporary exhibitions.

An example of such a display was the 2002, recent discovery of two burials by a local metal detectorist. The burial was indicated to confirm a long-standing view that British natives were buried just after the Roman period, that demonstrated the continuation of daily life after the Romans left Britain. It was stated that within these burials, objects dating to the mid-2nd c. were found, and this demonstrated the continuation of daily activities and life after the Roman occupation. This display, information, and research that was once deemed new, was now incorporated within the museum. This example was indicated to express how new research could enter display narratives. Another example of the incorporation of new research into the museum's display narratives was Verulamium's discussion of the local area's Iron Age history.

The participant then returned to the layout of the museum. It was expressed that the museum's design was influenced by the UK's national curriculum. Each theme on show at the Verulamium Museum was stated to easily engage KS2 students. It was, again, highlighted that identity was not emphasised a lot, but this linked to the age of the children that came to learn at the museum and

the complexity of the topic. It was then emphasised that without new research into ethnicity, it would still remain important enough to be included in future renovations. This topic sparked the participant to mention that the museum's display of Regina, a slave who married a Syrian trader who had made money in the north of Britain, was accompanied by a touch screen that could be used to discuss ethnicity.

The interviewee then stated the difficulties faced by the museum that could hinder the discussion of identity and ethnicity in its Roman displays. One such difficulty was that St Albans had not been occupied by the Roman military. The army was stated to be a great and easy way for museums to incorporate discussions about identity through the diverse characteristic of its soldiers. Another difficulty expressed by the interviewee was that archaeology available to the museum did not represent any specific individuals like Regina. This prohibited the production of narratives around specific people that could examine identity and ethnicity to reflect the whole.

Furthermore, the object-led approach of the museum was stated to have limited the material used for displays and what could be expressed through museum narratives. This was followed by a statement that the objects at the museum's disposal could, however, be approached from a different angle to better include identity. It was mentioned that certain objects in the museum's possession could have been used to discuss identity, however, changing research has ruled this out. The interviewee gave the example of Germanic brooches that were originally thought to represent the invading forces of mainland Europe. It was stated that this interpretation of the objects was now seen to be flawed and cannot, therefore, be included in the displays.

The interview then turned to the curatorial processes at the museum and the display of objects from excavations. The time and approach to obtain new items to display was emphasised to vary. It was also explained to depend on the impressiveness of the find/s, who had excavated or detected them, and cooperation with the museum. It was stated that an impressive find would presumably be gained and displayed quicker than one that is not. The participant provided the example of a gold coin hoard that was placed on display one year after it had been examined by the British Museum. Generally, however, the participant stressed that Verulamium's processes to install new objects were slow.

The interviewee then explained that the curatorial team at Verulamium was unrestrained. It was indicated that the council did not influence the museum's displays and its discourses, despite being council-owned. It was emphasised that the museum did not possess or depict anything that would concern local government. It was thought, by the participant, that a big enough disconnect between the Roman period and modern society had developed and, therefore, claims such as 'Roman St Albans was European' would not offend or cause concern with anybody. This

disconnect was described to provide the curatorial team with the freedom to discuss what they wanted to. The national curriculum was, however, stated to influence the museum's narrative, as well as a lack of resources such as employees and money. Besides these, the museum was depicted to not be greatly affected by modern discussions. The participant emphasised that museums were still creators and producers of knowledge.

When asked how the museum kept the public aware of modern research and/or excavations, the interviewee stated that this is seldom done. When it was, however, social media is usually the vehicle for communication. Blogs were also indicated to have been used by museum staff but generally discussed the day-to-day activities at the museum rather than the expression of relevant research or facts about the Roman period. Even if staff did know of recent excavations, for example, it was explained that information is usually kept from the public to protect the site. It was stated that this could be done with a bit more tact, however, and if done so would likely create a better exchange of information between the museum, its public, local archaeological groups and units. The museum's two lecture theatres/teaching rooms were here revealed to also be places where relevant research was shared with the public. Furthermore, educational classes were stated to be regularly seen inside the museum.

In response to how long a permanent exhibit should last, the participant replied that, ideally, an exhibition at the Verulamium Museum should last around 5 years unchanged. Throughout this period, permanent galleries would stay relevant through the change of themes that would continually take place throughout the exhibit every six-month. This type of approach at Verulamium was indicated, if implemented, to create a completely new display every five years.

The last statement by the participant was that they did not know if the public had any preconceptions about the museum and what it may discuss. The interviewee then noted that school groups can be knowledgeable before visits as the curriculum already provides content for them. It was suggested that people probably thought the museum was generally about the Roman period and objects, rather than the themes the displays utilise to narrate the period.

Interviewee 18 – Mildenhall Museum – 13/02/2018

The museum was described to have received a substantial revamp around 4 years ago (at time of interview) in 2012/2013. The Roman exhibition was, therefore, described as relatively new. In the permanent Roman Gallery, the standout display was indicated to be a replica of the Mildenhall Treasure. The actual Mildenhall Treasure was described to be housed at the British Museum, and that Mildenhall Museum would not be able to display the treasure because of security and

insurance reasons. The replica of the Mildenhall Treasure was explained to have been locally funded by individuals and businesses.

Elsewhere, the gallery was stated to contain pots, jewellery, replica clothes, coins, and craft tools for wool work described to be the occupation of locals. These objects were also alongside recent finds from local detectorists and included brooches, bracelets, rings, and other discoveries. In the museum's Roman displays, there were display panels and plaques that were indicated to discuss identity such as with jewellery explained to show the continuation and development of styles from the Iron Age to the Roman period. Another example provided was the archaeological find of Samian pottery, from France, in a burial that had the remains of a woman from Barton Mills (nearby location) that also evidenced discussions of culture through its objects.

Consequently, the Roman exhibition at Mildenhall was expressed to contain archaeological items that were found in a local vicinity that appears to be abundant with Roman material. Elsewhere in the museum, the participant signposted the Anglo-Saxon burial on display that included oxygen isotope analysis. This was used to indicate the museum's ability to incorporate new research into its galleries. Furthermore, this type of research was emphasised to aid discussions of ethnicity and identity – albeit not about the Roman period.

When directly asked whether their Roman exhibit looked at ethnicity and/or identity, the interviewee stated it did not. It was further clarified that the museum looked at artefacts more so than individuals they may be associated with. It was explained that Roman objects were primarily used to illustrate the period and that this approach had not included looking at individuals.

The participant then went on to state that if the museum were to look at the individual and ethnicity, it would delve a little further into comparisons betweens generic Romans and native inhabitants of the region. It was expressed that the permanent Roman exhibition did not quite tackle the differences between Romans and locals due to a few reasons. These included a lack of knowledge about local research on ethnicity by the curatorial team, and a similar shortage of excavated burials to study bones and so on to act as a gateway to discuss ethnicity and identity.

The interviewee then stated that overall, the museum's narrative focused on Mildenhall's ancient local population and would not, therefore, examine ethnicity and diversity if the museum lacks items to support this. It was emphasised that if the museum had items such as coins from mints elsewhere in the empire or pots from around the world, then there would have been a discussion of identity, trade, ethnicity, and movement of people and ideas. The museum was emphasised to follow an object-led approach that was indicated to possibly limit the curatorial team's ability to discuss ethnicity. To expand, the interviewee indicated that the museum's available objects could be used to explore the ancient identities of the local region, but descriptions may become

stretched if the same items were used to place Mildenhall into wider contexts. Consequently, it was stated that the museum preferred to express ways in which local individuals from the Roman period lived, rather than placing them within wider topics. At this point, the participant mentioned that, in a sense, the museum did look at the ethnicity of individuals in the local region, but no further.

The object-led approach used at the museum was also indicated to cause difficulties for the curation team when available objects failed to depict narratives that could introduce topics of identity, ethnicity, and diversity. The participant used the transitional period between the Roman and Saxon eras to explain this point. It was indicated that the lack of objects from this phase meant it was difficult for the museum to form an exhibit on it. The participant expanded on this and revealed that there was some evidence of Christianity within the late Roman period in the region, but local excavation had not gone quite far enough to shed substantial light on this subject to warrant its use in a display to discuss ethnicity in the transitional period.

The participant then stated that the curation process at the museum was predominantly reliant on one individual (the curator) alongside the museum's trustees. It was emphasised that the museum is volunteer ran and that most of these individuals were retired. As such, it was expressed that most of the people who volunteered at the museum had a say in what gets displayed and how funds are sourced and spent. The archaeological explanations throughout the museum were, however, indicated to have been the responsibility of the curator.

The interviewee then stated that there was no real pressure from the public to depict anything in particular. As such, the museum was described to set its own agendas. Within this process, new research was indicated to enforce some pressure on what is shown as the displays were aimed to be relevant. It was indicated that the main pressure from the public, however, came from individuals that donated or lent items who expected their contributions to be displayed.

The interviewee then considered whether ethnicity was a concept that could be made relatable for discussions of the Roman period. It was stated that ethnicity was a tricky theme to include within exhibits as it was difficult to link specific objects to the concept. The participant used the example of a USB stick and stated that it would be tough for example, to link this item with the ethnicity of an individual from the modern era. After this, the interviewee identified that the museum's local outlook inhibited the inclusion of ethnicity in Mildenhall Museum's Roman displays. It was indicated to be easier to do so, however, if finds from further afield were used as these could specifically identify diverse populations. The modern demographic of Mildenhall was also stated to influence the museum's lack of ethnic diversity in its displays. It was stated that in

London, for example, there exists a diverse population who have a stake in what is expressed through their museums; this was explained to not be the case with Mildenhall.

The participant then changed the topic to state how new research and finds were attempted to be included in the museum's displays when possible. This was made possible, and noticeably so, in the recent revamp of the Roman exhibit. It was emphasised that the museum's displays included newly found objects such as those found by a detectorist and the Lakenheath Warrior burial that was on a longterm loan. The interviewee clarified that new material was attempted to be included in the museum's displays. It was indicated that there were difficulties, however, with the incorporation of new information in already set exhibits, particularly when they are new.

The process from archaeology to display was depicted to be dependent on many variables. These were expressed to include whether new research is needed to be conducted on the find/s, whether the find is important enough to the museum for it to be put on display, how much time staff have, and whether there is appropriate space to include new items.

As for keeping the public updated about modern research, the interviewee indicated that the museum used social media, predominantly Facebook, for this. Social media was indicated to have been run by only one or two volunteers as many were indicated to not be tech-savvy due to their age. It was also emphasised that a temporary exhibition case was available to the curatorial team at the museum and is used to exhibit new research and finds. The updateable screens in the museum were also pointed out (none in the Roman exhibition, however), and the fact that one or two of them were interactive and updateable. As well as these technologies, display descriptions can, according to the participant, be regularly changed if needed; this was opposed to panels that could not be changed so easily. Furthermore, local societies were indicated to conduct lectures within the community room at the museum and these were said to bring the expression of new research with them.

Lastly, the interviewee was asked how long a permanent museum display should last. The participant replied that permanent exhibits should last at least 10 years. Within that time, a few changes could also be included but themes should be able to last a decade.

Interviewees 19 and 20 – Sittingbourne Heritage Museum - 17/02/2018

The interview started with the participants stating that the Sittingbourne Heritage Museum was established in 1999 and focuses on local people and history. The museum was described as small and looks at WWI and WWII, as well as other periods in modern history, with a single case containing ancient to prehistoric items. The interviewees then stated that the museum was

started with a local councillor's private collection that was donated for display. This process of acquisition was described as ongoing, with all items within the museum donated by locals.

When asked whether the museum discussed ethnicity or identity, both participants stated that whilst they liked to think it did, it probably did not. There were several reasons given as to why ethnicity was not included within the museum's displays, the first being the narrative of the museum itself. The museum was said to focus on a very localised area, and it was explained that this prevents the incorporation of wider ethnicities into the museum's displays. Another aspect that was highlighted by both participants was the lack of importance placed upon ethnicity and identity by the museum's volunteers. Finally, ancient ethnicity and identity, in particular, were indicated to be difficult to display for Sittingbourne Heritage Museum as it lacked objects from the Roman period. Other eras were mentioned to have items, possessed by the museum, that address identity, but for the Roman period, the participants emphasised the lack of resources at their disposal. These resources included money, donated items, and space to be able to accept further donations. It was mentioned that identity was touched upon throughout the museum due to the heritage aspect of the Sittingbourne Heritage Museum's remit. Both interviewees expressed a desire to move the museum to a bigger building, to allow for increased and improved storage and display space. The lack of funding was indicated to be the main thing preventing this. However, they did mention that the museum was seeking other ways to fulfil this desire with the money they had.

The participants discussed another difficulty faced by the museum and its staff - the range of individuals who make up their local audience. It was expressed that the museum's visitors range from school children to older members of society, some of whom also used to volunteer at the museum. Due to the visits of school children, the interviewees stated that the museum's layout represented in some ways the curriculum, particularly with WWI and WWII cases. The final challenge faced by the museum and its staff, as stated by the participants, was the 'very object-led' approach practised in the museum's curation process. Many of the museum's displays were described as including many items with information that was largely descriptive. This was explained to be due to a lack of research into most of the institution's collection.

This then led the participants to state that displays were influenced by the public, as the museum tried to be responsive to their interests. The museum had planned to produce a survey for visitors to complete to be better at responding to what their public wanted. They stated that the museum had previously changed certain items in response to the public's opinion but had not yet conducted a survey that explicitly sought public thought.

Both participants then discussed that the volunteers, who ran the museum, generally had as much freedom as time, money, and space allow in the curation process. The museum was described as privately led, and thanks to this, the council did not interfere. When asked whether there were any pressures from the public to include ethnicity and identity, the participants stated there was not. The interviewees then proceeded to state that the volunteers at the museum had discussed how they may expand the representation of locals in their displays and include Eastern European heritage to link with their modern constituents. The participants stated that when using ethnicity to depict the Romans, museums are probably putting a modern twist onto the period. This was followed with a counterpoint that modern research had caused us to know increasingly more about who ancient individuals were, and this could help create individual narratives in museums.

The interviewees discussed that the process from archaeology to display could be very quick in their museum. This was described as item specific, however. It was again emphasised that all items in the museum were donated, so there was no need to wait for items to go through post-excavation analysis. As such, if something came into the museum, it would be possible to place it on display the same day if desired.

To keep the public informed of new research, events, and items, the Sittingbourne Heritage Museum was described to utilise various channels of communication. The museum had monthly lectures, member newsletters, and there was also a quarterly journal. Furthermore, the museum made use of local newspapers, local radio stations, and social media (more so, it was highlighted, when a younger person volunteered at the museum). It was here the participants stated that the museum was linked to the Wheels of Time project in association with other museums in Kent.

The interview ended with the question of how long a permanent display should last. Interviewee 19 stated that a permanent exhibition should change at least every 5 years. Interviewee 20 contrarily replied that some items would have to stay on display permanently due to their use by the museum and importance to Sittingbourne's heritage. Interviewee 20 also stated that displays should be continuously changed gradually to stay fresh, even if main themes remain 'set'.

Interviewee 21 – Maidstone Museum - 26/02/2018

The interview started with the participant stating that the permanent archaeology exhibition at the Maidstone Museum was 35 years old and ordered chronologically. The display had not changed, however, with the exhibition described as being in 'stasis'. It was indicated that there used to be more Roman material on display at the museum, however, this was replaced with

cabinet of curiosity-type cases, currently positioned centrally in the room. These cases include objects from different periods and are used in outreach projects and participation. The current exhibit was explained to be included in a planned 20-year project to modernise the exhibition in 2020. The interview stated that it would be interesting to see how the museum will bring in ancient material to relate to Maidstone's history, heritage, and modern population in the new displays.

The current archaeology exhibition was described as not having any explicit or coherent narrative. This was due to various issues such as the age of the current exhibit, the themes used to express the period, and the material on show; this was linked to the interviewee’s view that the museum did not express ethnicity.

It was indicated that local excavations had uncovered new material that may be able to be used in future displays in order to discuss ethnicity, such as the burials discovered across the road from the museum. These new objects would allow the museum to associate the Roman archaeology with contemporary Maidstone and potentially discuss identity and ethnicity.

The interviewee then stated that the museum is included within a KS2 project that also involves Professor Hella Eckardt at Reading University and the Corinium Museum, amongst others. This project was highlighted as looking at the identity and ethnicity of the Roman period, and those who lived within it. The individuals involved in this project at the museum had hoped to express these themes through grave goods, and replica skeletons. However, the board for the project had asked Maidstone Museum to express ethnicity through isotopic analysis, a task which may be hard for the institution because of the absence of suitable material in its collection. It may have to, therefore, use other examples to bring in topics that discuss diversity, identity, and ethnicity.

When considering how museums can display ethnicity and diversity, the participant stated that the only solid evidence which can be used to express and showcase an ethnically diverse public in the Roman period is epigraphy and isotopic analysis - neither of which Maidstone Museum possesses for the Roman period. Otherwise, it was noted that material objects can show identity. However, these are generally 'outward' expressions via objects, that may not represent the true ethnic identity of the person as the object could be misleading.

The interviewee then stated that the Maidstone Museum used to have four specialist curators that provided in-house expertise. These positions had since been removed, however, and the interviewee explained this meant that specialist topics or information for an exhibition, for example, now needed to be provided externally which had an associated cost. As for the objects available at the museum, the participant stated that only 4% of their holdings are on display. It was further added that there is a need for objects within the catalogue to be re-audited and

revisited to further the knowledge of these objects and, by extension, the Roman period; these could then contribute to display narratives. It was also stated that issues with the re-display of items for the Roman period came from limitations such as financial constraints, time available to current museum staff, and the number of staff at the organisation.

The interviewee then discussed the museum's links to schools. It was stated that the museum has certain outreach projects, such as workshops, that are attended by school groups. It was brought to my attention, however, that only one such workshop concerns the Roman period; furthermore, this is on the military. In addition, the Roman workshop was stated to not run all year round, and the participant stated that the Egyptian workshops at the museum get more attention and are held more regularly.

Ethnicity was however described as explicitly discussed with school groups in their workshops, as the museum addressed ethnicity in its Egyptian exhibition of Ta-Kush. Ta-Kush was described as a mummy whose coffin records that her father was Nubian. This exhibition was said to have been curated at a time of great discussion over the darkness of ancient Egyptian skin tone. Therefore, the curatorial team had a very modern discussion about identity, ethnicity, and appearance, when interpreting their evidence (which includes facial reconstruction) for the display Ta-Kush.

In addition, the participant stated that the museum had a temporary exhibition space, which generally changed every 2-3 months. The temporary exhibitions were predominantly focused on art installations and local, modern history, rather than more historical periods such as Roman. The participant stated that an archaeology exhibition had been held before, but that they could recall only one or two archaeology displays installed in the museum's temporary space.

The interviewee then stated that there was an idea in planning, however, in which the museum wanted to curate their own exhibitions for the temporary space, instead of buying in displays from other museums like the V&A. This was stated to likely change the topics, material, and perspectives regularly seen in the museum's temporary displays; however, it did imply an extra workload for its current staff. The museum was also described as looking favourably on the inclusion of visitors within their future temporary exhibitions. In reference to this, the participant brought up the 'The Past Is Now' exhibition from Birmingham where, according to the participant, it appeared as though the public were greatly incorporated into the exhibit's displays.

The interviewee then ended with a statement that museums should challenge preconceived ideas and that this is their purpose.

Interviewee 22 – Maidstone Museum - 26/02/2018

Participant 22 provided an edited questionnaire sheet before the interview occurred; as such this appendix includes the edited questionnaire sheet that answers each question, and also includes detailed notes from the interview that took place at Maidstone Museum on 26th February 2018. Interviewee 22's responses have been coloured blue.

Questions/topics to discuss with museum specialists/archaeologists

1) Do your Roman displays explicitly portray ethnic diversity and/or identity within the Roman period?

   The display in Maidstone Museum is longstanding and ethnic diversity is not directly explored in the exhibition. The exhibition concentrates on material culture divided up according to topics Fashion, Trade & Crafts, Road & Towns and Roman Kent in general.

   a. If yes –

      i. How do you express this type of research? (Through what materials and research? E.g. pottery, jewellery, bioarchaeological data, burial finds, epigraphy).

      ii. Is ethnic diversity/identity an important aspect to include within Roman displays?

   b. If no –

      i. Is this due to the lack of research upon the subject?

         The exhibition has been in place for many years (30 or so) and ethnic diversity was not a fashionable topic when the exhibition was put together. In addition, it is limited by the space and case type available.

      ii. Is there less importance placed on this subject than others included within the display?

         Ethnic diversity is not included within the Roman display, but is referred to in the Anglo-Saxon display

      iii. Are you considering including this within your displays in the future?

         Yes, if and when a re-display becomes possible.

2)

   a. Is the curation process free?

      The Public Programming Manager and Exhibition Officer in liaison with the Collections team [are responsible for the curation process].

      i. How much freedom do you possess in choosing what goes on display and the messages exhibitions express?

Freedom of interpretation is limited by capacity to research and fund a new exhibition.

b. Are there any outside influences and/or restraints on the curation process?

   i. Are there any outside influences such as government, public voice or other researchers?

   Outside influences can provide inspiration and be a source of funding streams, but do not have direct influence on the development of exhibitions.

   ii. How much weight do these other opinions hold?

   The authorial voice of the Collections Team and Exhibition's Officer is the deciding factor. Opinions of others are useful as a source of inspiration and potential discussion points. Debate can be a feature of the gallery.

3) Is there outside pressure to depict different identities? (In terms of depicting modern day ethnicities through the representation of the Roman period).

   The Museum is of course keen to respond to current concerns and research developments and funding streams may be dependent on engaging with certain agendas.

   a. Is ethnicity relatable to the Roman period?

   That is a philosophical question. How do you define ethnicity? Do you correlate it with race or cultural affiliation? How do you know how people defined themselves in the past and are identities necessarily constant over time?

   b. Can we use ethnicity to depict the Romans accurately?

   That again is a topic for discussion. We can demonstrate that diversity of identity and origin was part of the Roman World.

4) The process from archaeology to a museum/heritage display.

   a. Do you pick and choose relevant research for your exhibition in mind, or do you specifically ask researchers to research a topic which you want to display?

   This question and the others regarding exhibitions are best elaborated on by [redacted]. The recent development of the Ancient Lives Exhibition was developed with the audience in mind. Audience research and audience development plans feed into this process – who are our core audience? What might they be interested in and relate to? What do we have in the collection which may relate to those themes? What research can be done to find out more and help inform the display. The Collections Manager [redacted] has led on the research side making links with external experts and commissioned research as part of the exhibition development.

   b. How much modern ongoing research is displayed within the museum? Or is it more of an overview of what the research is telling us?

The majority of our exhibitions have been up for a while now. The Museum generally aims to provide an overview of current knowledge with pointers to what is currently being researched and tries to encourage further exploration by the audience.

c. How long does it generally take for an item to go from excavation to being displayed?

It can take decades and the majority of items are never displayed.

5) In what ways do you attempt to keep the public constantly aware of contemporary research? Particularly with permanent displays.

It is very difficult to do as once an exhibition has been put up the focus moves to another part of the collection, but small temporary displays of newly acquired material are sometimes put on and small thematic displays are also sometimes created, although this has not been the case with the Roman Collection for a long time.

a. Do you use social media for this?

Social media is used to highlight current work and research visits using the collection, but there has not been a particular focus on the Roman Collection recently.

b. Do you take advantage of interactive screens which can be updated and reinvented depending on research for certain displays?

We do not currently have interactive screens in the archaeology gallery. Active research by Museum staff is generally not carried out unless in the context of a re-display or enquiry.

c. Are display descriptions changed regularly?

No, we do not have the capacity or budget to do this.

d. Use of temporary exhibitions.

Temporary exhibitions tend to be arts based or based around more recent social history and rarely feature the archaeology collection.

6) How long should a permanent exhibition last?

Currently the life of a permanent gallery is between 10 to 15 years.

Interviewee 22 and I then conducted an interview in person during which they expanded upon their answers already given.

In relation to Question 1, I asked about the display of identity. The participant stated that identity was not really touched upon by the Roman cases at the Maidstone Museum. They then

proceeded to state that identity is included in the museum's Anglo-Saxon display, so the museum does include such ideas in its narratives as a whole.

The interviewee also explained that the public had not yet received a survey about what they would like to see exhibited. It was then emphasised that other members of the museum team do however hold consultation meetings which can cover such topics. The participant used this example to reflect on how the public can influence displays.

The participant then indicated that another influence upon the museum's displays was the school curriculum, particularly that of Key Stage 2 (KS2). The participant stated that displays needed to be relatable to KS2. This was described as potentially beneficial for curators and the museum, beyond the obvious advantage that it can be used to bring in school groups, attention, and money. The participant stated that if you can translate complex ideas simply enough so school children can understand them, then it will also work for adult non-specialists too. It was stated that specialists generally want something more complex, however, catering to specialists does not allow the museum to relate to the most amount of people. The interviewee also emphasised that individuals with different lived experiences expect different content from museums; for example, some army veterans want more items related to their regiments, however other visitors would not be able to relate as much.

The participant also clarified their answer to Question 6 further and stated that in an ideal world, a permanent exhibition would last for about 7-10 years, before being changed.

The interviewee emphasised that the museum is very object-based, and this approach can be limiting when the curatorial team tries to discuss, introduce, and incorporate complex themes such as ethnicity into their displays. The participant highlighted that cultural identifiers can be expressed through their displays and collections, but some identifiers are harder to use than others. The museum's 'Ancient Lives' approach (Egypt display) to curation, in which contemporary discussions were observed, was said to have resulted in their incorporation where possible. This is something the participant would like the museum to replicate in its new displays.

The participant noted that some exhibitions in other museums use themes to organise displays, such as farming or women, rather than periods. These themes were said by the interviewee to direct discussions that may benefit the museum, but also highlighted possible limitations in their expressive capabilities. It was highlighted that a themed approach can be good for a temporary exhibition, however, as it was stated to allow curators to 'prod' the public, ask certain questions, and show things in a different light.

Another difficulty stated by the participant was finding objects that had sufficient research already associated with them, to then incorporate into research themes and stories in displays. Themes and narratives of objects were described as the hook that gained the interest of visitors. The participant then indicated that it was important to make these narratives flexible and not too narrow in focus.

The participant also referred to the museum's object catalogue, stating that much of it needed revision. The documentation of many items was described as in need of further research or archiving, as objects could not be displayed without any information or research associated with them. This was difficult for the museum because of the loss of specialist curators and their knowledge. In particular, the interviewee stated that a problem with the museum's store and archive were the archival entries, or in some cases absence of entries, of early museum collections. These items needed more research as they did not have any associated context. This was described as problematic if the museum later chose to display these objects.

The interviewee then said that, due to the nature of curation, some people will always object to a display, regardless of the choices made. They emphasised that museums have a part to play in challenging preconceptions. It was highlighted that it was not a museum's role to directly challenge everything on purpose, but rather they should show the items and research about them. Curation is an interpretive practice, and it was explained that because of this it could incite opposing opinions. The participant saw archaeology as a puzzle, that is used to figure out the past and rearrange ideas based on it. Objects were described as possessing a quality that lets people talk about the unknown.

Interviewee 23 – Fishbourne Roman Palace - 05/03/2018

The interviewee began the conversation with the statement that Fishbourne Roman Palace had not really changed for 50 years. The main reason for this was described as the high cost of redisplaying the heritage site and museum's collections. It was emphasised that there have been advances in knowledge, particularly about the transition from Iron Age to Roman, since the display was installed, but such research is not included. The participant indicated that there had been some small changes to the Roman displays since its initial installation, including the display of a skeleton within a case. The interviewee highlighted, however, that the display case with the remains in seemed 'a little chucked in'; it did not match, or follow on from, the rest of the display which was thematic and about the history of Fishbourne Roman Villa as a site, rather than the individuals that lived, worked, or used the site.

It was stated that Fishbourne had received £10,000 around 10 years prior to the interview, but this mostly went on capital works such as the outside buildings at the site, where the archaeological stores and labs are located. This was indicated to allow tours of the store, which was a large part of how the museum expressed the past and the objects it possessed. The tours given by staff at the museum were considered an integral part of the expression of modern research within the museum. The tours of the store and their archaeological remains, it was mentioned, also included discussions of ethnicity and identity, particularly when questions about who built the villa are raised. The tours also included ideas and modern research, which the museum staff use to keep informed on recent developments. It was thought by the participant that it was easier to communicate relevant, modern research to the public through tours rather than interpretation boards. This was due to the concept that being told complex ideas and information verbally is easier to digest than by reading museum boards.

At this point, the interviewee mentioned that the social media presence for the heritage site is lacking, and that relevant, modern research is not expressed through this medium. Modern research done by individuals who have visited Fishbourne to research an object or speak to the staff was, however, kept at Fishbourne for use by the site. This means that there is a collection of ongoing modern research disposable to the museum and all members of staff. It was stated that there was currently research conducted at, and about, the site, and, therefore, some smaller spaces in the collections building were used as temporary exhibitions. At the time of the interview, there was a small exhibition on the 'Chicken Project' by Bournemouth University.

When asked how long a permanent exhibition should last, the interviewee said they should get 20 years out of an individual display. It was explained as dependant on the content of the displays, however, and that most changes would generally be based on modernising the appearance of an exhibition rather than the content in Fishbourne's case. This was explained to be because the site is dedicated to a specific heritage site, and the information about this is relatively fixed.

At this point, the participant stated that the main visitors to the museum were school children, of which they received around 25,000 a year.

When asked whether the museum expresses ethnicity and identity, the interviewee stated that they did not think it was included. The interviewee supported this answer with the statement that there was not much information on, for example, the movement of people and their origins. The reasons for this, as emphasised by the participant, included the fact that the archaeological site of Fishbourne had only uncovered 4 skeletons. Furthermore, two of these skeletons have had no tests conducted to reveal further detail about their ethnicity or identity. It was, therefore,

difficult, according to the interviewee, to associate ethnicity with the objects the site has within its stores. The participant also raised the question of whether a skeleton can actually tell a visitor more about ethnicity than other material, like pots. It was highlighted that a skeleton may be able to express the movement of people, but it was questioned whether this would really depict ethnicity. The participant also questioned whether the movement of people or ideas was more important.

Attention then turned to the narrative of Fishbourne Roman Villa in general. It was stated that the site is about Fishbourne itself, its history, structure, who the villa may have belonged to, physical remains such as the mosaics, and comparisons that can be made with the Italian world. The participant stated that the debate of ethnicity, and the movement of people and ideas, was currently very popular, however, it may not be a priority topic in the future. The interviewee also stated that the movement of people and ideas would not be a particular priority if the museum were to be redisplayed soon. This was supported by the statement that the museum had to tackle the archaeology of the site and there were limitations on how much could be expressed through this perspective.

I prompted the interviewee to discuss the object-led approach that would be used to display such a perspective. The participant did not consider the object-led approach used for the site's Roman displays to be limiting. The participant stated that the stories told within the museum were research-led, and this research originated from items which came from the site and were, therefore, kept at Fishbourne. It was emphasised that this meant the objects, research, and historical narratives used at the site would always be associated with each other. The participant saw no limit to what could be displayed through this process because the stories told would always come from items accessible to the museum.

The topic changed to the preconceptions of audiences when entering Fishbourne Roman Villa, in relation to whether they might expect to see a display narrative inclusive of ethnic diversity. The participant stated it was dependent on which preconceptions were challenged, and how this would be done. The participant stated that if a black individual were found to be buried at Fishbourne than ethnicity would become a valuable aspect to include in the display. To challenge the stereotypical view that the Roman period was white for example was described as healthy. It was also indicated that museums must provide narratives that are easily understood by the public. The interviewee considered that as money came from the public it was undesirable to alienate them from the museum and/or site due to the inclusion of strong political viewpoints in a display narrative.

The interviewee also discussed the freedoms experienced at Fishbourne Roman Villa. They stated that the curatorial role was 'pretty autonomous'. The structure of events and other activities at the site was made by the curatorial and education team. It was here emphasised that these processes were influenced by the UK's curriculum and contemporary themes found within public debate, as well as by themes encouraged by other media such as TV.

It was again emphasised by the participant that the museum's narrative was also driven by contemporary research, however, they were currently considering whether this should be changed. Rather than researchers driving content and ideas, museums would drive research by seeking new knowledge on a particular object, collection, or theme, for example. When considering whether there were pressures on the heritage site from the public, the interviewee stated they had received no complaints from the public about the expression of identities and ethnicity within Fishbourne's displays.

The interviewee then discussed the process from excavation to the display of particular material and associated narratives at the heritage site. They stated that this process could be quick, although the resultant display would not be particularly in-depth. The interviewee indicated that there was a recent discoveries cabinet containing post-1960s finds (it was emphasised that the display was nonetheless not very modern). However, as with the skeleton discussed earlier, it was described as unrelated to the rest of the permanent Roman display.

To communicate information, it was stated that Fishbourne relied on methods other than displays to express modern research. This was accomplished, as previously mentioned, primarily through the store tours. Both the interviewee and heritage site as a whole place importance on research, and often invite people to Fishbourne to research their objects. This work was emphasised as ultimately being published in academia, which it was hoped would eventually make aspects of Fishbourne better known. The conservator was also described as good at sharing information with staff and visitors (the conservation room featured a large, accessible window through which the public could look).

The interview ended with the participant discussing issues surrounding the way Fishbourne could be communicated to the public. The interviewee indicated that there was a significant interpretive issue when getting the public to correlate maps/models to standing archaeology. The villa was shown in displays to originally have been a massive site, however, the archaeology on show at the museum was more like a floor plan with mosaics. As such the interviewee indicated that it could be hard to envision the full size and structure of the villa through the remains. Guides were, therefore, emphasised to be essential in communicating this knowledge to visitors.

Archaeological remains, specifically the mosaics at the site, were also considered by the participant as hard to effectively communicate their interpretation to the audience. It was stated that some museums, including Fishbourne in the past, displayed mosaics on the walls, which was of course out of context. In contrast, Bignor was given as an example of a heritage site in Britain that displayed mosaics as they would be experienced in the past (i.e. underfoot). The site's lack of extant walls was also described by the interviewee as an obstacle to effectively represent the original villa site.

Interviewee 24 – Butser Ancient Farm - 06/03/2018

When asked whether Butser Ancient Farm displayed ethnicity and/or identity, the participant stated that there was not a lot of interpretational material on display at the site. Instead, Butser Ancient Farm was explained to be an experiential site, rather than a traditional museum or heritage site. Butser's reconstructions of Iron Age, Roman, and Saxon period buildings were established to take precedence alongside the running of their Iron Age farm. They stated that perhaps due to the lack of boards usually seen in museums, or the type of activities people are doing (ancient crafts for example), the limited amount of boards that are used for display purposes do not receive much attention.

The Roman villa was the only Roman reconstruction at Butser, and the board that is associated with the building did not address ethnicity or identity. The participant elaborated on this and indicated that there was no discussion or depiction of individuals who were not white. The board also failed to mention the obvious divisions of status between the individuals that would have inhabited and worked at the buildings discussed at Butser. This was an aspect that the participant wanted to incorporate into future redisplays.

The interviewee was asked if ethnicity and identity were important concepts to include in Butser's displays of the Roman past. They replied that as the Roman aspect of the site is based on a Romano-British villa, it is historically unlikely that there would have been any significant ethnic diversity. It was stated that native British inhabitants most likely worked at the villa the reconstruction is based on, and these individuals would probably have been enslaved or paid workers. Additionally, the participant highlighted that no bodies had been excavated from the site of the original villa to provide a possibility of DNA testing which would allow a discussion of diversity. This was then followed by the statement that Lankhills, a cemetery in Winchester around 20 miles away that dated to the Roman period, did provide evidence for a lot of people who came from abroad. Some estimations from research into Lankhills indicated that Winchester and its surrounding area might have been very diverse, but data is inconclusive.

In response to Question 2 that asks about the freedom possessed by Butser's curatorial team, the participant emphasised that Butser Ancient Farm does not yet have exhibitions. This was followed by the statement that there have been talks about the site doing so in the future. It was also remarked that the curatorial team at Butser was currently looking to update existing interpretation boards. These redisplays were stated to be based on contemporary research into occupational spaces by one of Butser Ancient Farm's staff. Any curation process at Butser was stated to be completely autonomous as the site was not run by a governing body. Two individuals were indicated to be responsible for display design and the incorporation of new research into displays and interpretations.

The interviewee then emphasised that no pressure was placed on Butser Ancient Farm to specifically discuss and depict different identities. They did indicate, however, that the general discussion held by contemporary societies does, inevitably, influence the archaeologists and curators involved in display creations. The UK's national curriculum was revealed to not have much of an influence on the displays at Butser Ancient Farm. Certain parts of the curriculum, such as the discussion of migration, were only talked about if brought up in conversations during a workshop, talk, or guide.

The demography of the people who visit Butser Ancient Farm was described as very diverse. The site's main visitors were indicated to be school groups that come from different religious schools, areas, towns, cities, backgrounds, and ethnicities. The participant here verbally wondered whether ethnicity should be included at the site to reflect the diversity of its contemporary visitors.

The participant stated that objects used in displays and modern research conducted by its staff may inspire activities or conversations to occur at Butser. As such, it was highlighted that the information and topics expressed by staff on their tours, and other conversations with visitors, was free and could greatly vary. It was emphasised, however, that not much modern research is expressed throughout these tours and conversations. The staff were indicated to have a lot to do that caused staff-led research to be slow. To integrate a new discovery into Butser's displays was indicated to be a very quick process, however, with replicas of objects able to be replicated within two weeks if necessary.

The participant then stated that displays at Butser Ancient Farm did not really share modern research through its social media and wider activities. What is expressed through these channels, however, were subjects that interested its public. An example of this was the site's blog, with one post in particular about Butser's sheep and lambs garnering a lot of interest. Facebook was also

emphasised to be used for this end too, with workshops occasionally used to express modern research.

The participant then highlighted the absence of screens at Butser Ancient Farm, and that they did have one, but this received a mixed response. They stated that Butser, as a site, is experiential and displays that include screens may limit this experience. It was emphasised by the participant, however, that they would like the implementation of a temporary exhibition space at the site as it could be useful.

Lastly, the interview ended on the question of how long a permanent display should last. As Butser had no display cases, however, the question was directed at the building reconstructions that, as stated, may be considered Butser's 'objects'. It was indicated that the displays at Butser could last as long as they remain structurally sound and secure.

Interviewee 25 – Roman Baths at Bath - 13/03/2018

The interviewee initially stated that the modern concept of ethnicity is likely different from the Roman concept of ways in which people identified as different. Ethnicity, as it is presently known, was stated to be influenced by recent concepts such as race, that the Romans were not concerned with. It was indicated that the identity of an individual in the Roman period most probably concerned what tribe a person was from, rather than race, ethnicity, or skin colour. Although skin colour was identified as a probable defining trait in the ancient period, it would likely be secondary.

The interviewee then stated that when the Roman period is considered, people run the risk of placing modern concepts onto the past. The participant evidenced their point through the use of the word 'black'. The term was described as a phrase used in many different contexts. It was explained that 'black' may be used to indicate somebody with black skin, but it has increasingly become a blanket term to mean non-white. The participant continued to state that the Romans were in contact with people of black origin through the size of its empire and breadth of trade routes. Septimius Severus was highlighted as an example of a significant person in the Roman period with African origins and commonly described as black. The participant, however, stated that their opinion is that Severus should be described as Berber, not necessarily black.

When asked whether the displays at the Roman Baths expressed ethnicity and identity, the interviewee provided many examples of where they felt the museum did this. Ethnicity was emphasised to have been faced by visitors each time they encountered certain individuals from the Roman period. The example provided was the remains of a male, whose skeleton had been

used for isotopic analysis and facial reconstruction. This individual's DNA showed Syrian (Dacian) ancestry, and their isotopes expressed that they spent their childhood in modern-day Syria, or somewhere similar. This information was included in the museum's permanent display that included the facial reconstruction that expressed the physical appearance of a male from the Syrian/Mediterranean region.

Furthermore, the interviewee stated that Bath's Roman Bath contained a lot of epigraphic evidence from tombstones and altars that indicated individuals that had come to Britain from other parts of the Roman Empire. Epigraphic evidence was also highlighted to provide information about the Roman army, names, tribes, and occupation. The example given was a male described as a traveller who came from Trier with an inscription that expressed their worship of gods associated with the Trier region. It was further indicated that the museum employed costumed actors to interact with guests, that centred themselves on individuals found in the region's epigraphic record. This was emphasised to extend the interpretation and expression of ancient Romans for audiences.

Another example of ways in which ethnic diversity was depicted at Bath was the projection of two men, used to represent daily life at the ancient site. Although both individuals were white, they conversed in modern Greek, which was stated to express the different ethnicities and identities that would have used the Roman baths. This was not a planned aspect of the display, however, and only occurred because of the people the agency chose to take part in its filming.

Attention then turned to a projection of female bathers, installed a year prior to the interview. This projection, like its male counterpart, was used to express what happened in the other gendered space of the ancient baths. This film was explained to again be an all-white cast. The participant here stated that the public did not comment a lot about the museum, but one comment at least had highlighted the use of an all-white cast of females and, therefore, lack of diversity. It was noted by the interviewee, however, that the planned drawing of this particular film did include a black individual. The actors chosen by the filming company were, however, all white. This part of the process was highlighted to have not been in the hands of the museum, particularly as they did not explicitly request the presence of a black female. It was noted that one of the females included in the filming of this projection was eastern European (Romanian). This was used to exemplify the presence of diversity in the projection, but it was confessed that this had not translated as a visually recognisable aspect. The participant then noted that the museum previously had two mannequins, both white, but these had been removed as they were outdated.

The interviewee then stated that Bath had no pressures placed on it to display ethnic diversity. The government was described to have some interest in what the museum does, but most of this curiosity arises from their desire for the museum to make money. Other pressures stemmed from the museum sector and specialists, but this was emphasised to not be enough to dictate what goes on display. Most pressures came from the public. The interviewee reflected on the fact that at least one person had complained about the lack of diversity at the heritage site, but more had complained about the amount of nudity included in the museum's projections. In particular, it was indicated that more complaints were made about female than male nudity, and this was considered as an interesting case study in how the bodies of both sexes were received.

I then asked the interviewee ways in which modern research is included in permanent displays. It was stated that modern research was currently involved in the research of the bath's court and exercise spaces at the site. This research was not yet on display, however, as it was intended to be included in new exhibits to be opened in the following year. The participant remarked, however, that excavation of these areas was still on-going so the research eventually included will be up to date.

The curation process was, at this point, indicated to be autonomous at Bath. Curatorial teams needed to follow guidance strategies, however, this is an internal document and again reflects no overarching influences from elsewhere. The whole site was stated to be of archaeological importance, however, and as such, archaeology was an essential part of its displays. It was emphasised that the museum used to focus on different eras of Bath's past, however, this has shifted to an exclusive focus on the Roman period. One outcome is that curators can better focus on what can be used to interpret the site.

Through the curation process, it was expressed that the curatorial team attempts to communicate information relating to the Roman period, other than the bath itself. This technique was described as creating interpretive strands that can be built upon to introduce concepts into their Roman displays. An example provided was the inclusion of an altar, previously mentioned to depict a male from Trier that is also associated with the objects on display. To further this, the participant emphasised that information was communicated to audiences through a range of techniques that include audio guides, film, and costumed reenactment. This array of communicative techniques was highlighted to respond to the diverse array of visitors the Roman Baths receives.

Members of the public were also indicated to be included in the museum's curation process, particularly when working through ideas such as structural changes and restorations. These

meetings take the form of a consultation group that sits two or three times a year and provides insight into ideas that interest the public.

The participant then discussed the process that objects take from excavation to display. Firstly, the museum was stated to have conducted portable fluorescence analysis of stone they have in their store in conjunction with Bournemouth University. This project aimed to examine links between raw material used in the Roman period to their sources. Results from this research were stated to have been shared via newsletters, a research seminar, a film on their website, and a display during science week. Furthermore, engagement came from the funding of a PhD position at Bournemouth University to conduct the research. Another example of the process from excavation to display was the inclusion of Roman curse tablets owned by the museum. These objects were stated to have been excavated in the 1970s and 1980s, and subsequently placed on display. In 2014, they were admitted onto the UNESCO Memory of the World list, and this helped them to be redisplayed alongside research associated with them. These examples were highlighted to demonstrate that the routes to display taken by newly found objects or information can vary in time and approaches taken to them.

The interviewee then turned to how long a permanent display should last. It was stated that the answer to this question predominantly depended on the communication media used and how outdated it may appear. It was indicated that when modern communication technology is included in a display, there needs to be a year-by-year plan of how to improve it because of the fast pace of technological advances. It was emphasised that after about 10 years, an exhibition starts to look outdated and will need to be refurbished.

The current permanent exhibition at Bath was emphasised to date back to 2008. These displays were part of a seven-year-long programme in which roughly £1,000,000 was put into displays each year. The project had since stopped, however, the interviewee indicated that the same amount of money was still put into the museum each year.

The participant then discussed the influence that school groups have on their permanent displays. It was stated that Bath's Roman Baths has to respond to the school curriculum. In addition, the heritage site was also said to influence the curriculum itself. The participant gave the example of the Cambridge Latin Course that has a section on Roman baths that was co-written by staff at the heritage site. It was also highlighted that the site could be used for many subjects in the curriculum spanning from history to maths. It was emphasised, however, that schools do not seem to do too much cross-curriculum activity at the museum.

The interview then ended with the discussion of the curation team's museological processes. It was stated that there was no temporary exhibition space at the baths, but many objects are

loaned out. As such, many objects not on display at Bath's Roman Baths, but owned by the institution, were included in other museums. Furthermore, Bath was also emphasised to supply funds for museum-quality cases so smaller museums can also have their objects on display. It was then stated that the institution's curatorial team was comfortable with the object-led approach used throughout their permanent Roman displays. This was thanks to the collections required to discuss the heritage site based in Bath's possession already and, therefore, the museum has no immediate limitations on what objects it can and cannot use in its displays.

Interviewee 26 – Colchester Castle Museum - 03/04/2018

The interview started with the participant stating that the current permanent displays at Colchester Castle Museum were created in 2014. Alongside this, it was indicated that the museum had temporary display cases that were changed every six months. The temporary display cases were used to connect with the public of Colchester and will likely not associate with the Roman period. It was also explained that the Colchester Council which owned Colchester Castle Museum, also owns other museums that also contain temporary displays that have the same goal. Consequently, the local authority was stated to curate six individual temporary displays per year.

The participant walked around the Colchester Castle Museum's Roman exhibits to discuss relevant points before a more formal interview occurred. The museum's depiction of the ancient period started with a brief discussion of the Bronze Age and Iron Age which led to the Roman period displays that were the main focus of the upper floor.

The museum's galleries were described to be set out chronologically to provide context for different periods, with the Roman exhibits depicted through a thematic approach. The narrative of Colchester's Roman displays were stated to focus on the interaction between natives and Romans in Colchester. The interviewee emphasised that narratives were based on the ideas of one or two individuals involved in the curatorial process, rather than a large group, which was likely similar to other museums.

The interviewee indicated two tombstones as demonstrating an accessible way to communicate the past to the public. They were stated to depict individuals from the Roman military, one was said to portray a typical Roman, while the other depicted a cavalryman seen to be riding over a 'Celt' described to be dressed like an individual from Gaul. The participant here stated that the display of these tombstones evidenced that depictions of identity and ethnicity were present at Colchester Castle Museum; however, also acknowledged that these concepts were not made

explicit. It was emphasised that only individuals who had particular interests in the topics of the Roman period, identity, and ethnicity would pick up on these themes in their displays.

Other cases at Colchester were revealed to contain items that remain unique to Colchester, such as the 'Child's Grave'. Again, it was stated that identity is indicated in these displays as they show uniqueness and discuss individuals, but this, again, had not been made explicit for visitors. It was stated that the items and display aids included within the ‘Child’s Grave’ exhibit, just like others that can depict ethnicity and identity in the Roman period, were not developed enough to do so.

The participant then discussed the Boudicca section of the museum. They pointed out that it included many different communication methods, such as audio-visual technologies in the form of projections and videos, an interactive display that asked the audience a question and a screen that showed the tally of answers, as well as the presence of museum staff who can discuss topics with visitors. The closed question included in this exhibit was accompanied by yes/no buttons and asked whether Boudicca was right to revolt against the Romans. At this point, the interviewee stated that they wondered how much the exhibit and question actually engaged the public. Whilst some people may seriously think about the question, others, in particular children, may just enjoy pushing buttons on a display.

The interviewee explained that the Fenwick Treasure was also included in this exhibition space because it dated to the period of the revolt. The Fenwick Treasure was thought to represent objects which originally belonged to a man and women (presumably), and possibly a child. Items in the collection were also linked to objects found at other archaeological sites such as Pompeii (this is noted in the display) and based on archaeologist Nina Crummy's work. This research included concepts such as social mobility and identity, but was stated not to have been made clear by the exhibit’s narrative – it was instead used as an example to highlight the use of modern research in the museum’s exhibits.

In the room next to the Boudicca exhibit, the participant brought attention to some chains presumed to have been used on enslaved individuals. This case and associated interpretive board were stated to be able to go more in-depth than it presently did. It was stated by the interviewee that items within museums, such as these chains, were generally out of context. Next to the chains, the participant indicated a range of images that depicted individuals dressed as people from the Roman period (a woman, child, gladiator trainer etc.); each image had an associated voice recording that described who they were, and what they did. Each was also shown to have a replica item in front of them associated with their life. This display was described as key to the museum and important in expressing a narrative that tried to find the individual within history.

The display on trade in the same room was here indicted to be a typical display case that you find in nearly every Roman exhibit of a similar age. It was described as showing objects alongside information of where they came from but was considered to be limited in the information it expressed. Next to this case, the participant indicated the pottery display case and stated that it was quite interesting as it fits directly into the narrative of Colchester's Roman history as an important place for pottery production. Therefore, this case was indicated to bring together ideas from all over the museum, but also Colchester locally. It also reflected the previous curator's research interest in pottery.

The interview then continued in a private room and followed the set list of questions.

The participant first stated that there were preconceived ideas concerning Romans being white and that this may be due to Victorian depictions. It was emphasised that Britain still had a legacy from the Victorian period that has influenced ways in which individuals think about the past.

The participant also stated that the curators at Colchester had specialisms, but specialist jobs had also reduced in museums nationally. It was then added that there is no active research being incorporated into the curator's role at Colchester and meant that if research was needed, it had to be done in the curator's own time.

The participant then indicated that the biggest audience at Colchester were school groups. Due to this, the national curriculum was emphasised as a necessary influence on the curatorial process, as it had to be included in display narratives. In particular, exhibits had to consider how teachers taught students and the language they used, in order for material and descriptions to be understandable and relatable for schoolchildren and teachers. An example of this was the description of individuals from the Iron Age within the Roman period as 'Celts', rather than native Britons, by most teachers and students; this was described as a problematic title in academia. It was also stated that the museum had to prioritise school groups as this was their largest source of income.

The interviewee then reflected on their earlier statement that the displays at Colchester Castle Museum were predominantly curated by one or two individuals. It was emphasised it is better to curate in groups – as the curatorial team now did. The participant then stated that the curatorial team had to develop boards and plaques that would interest the public, and this meant they should not overwhelm visitors with detail on each object and theme.

In reply to Question 1 of whether the museum's Roman displays discussed ethnicity and identity, the interviewee stated that the museum did express ethnicity in the modern sense of the word, but did so in a limited way. The participant reflected on their earlier statement regarding the

display of the two tombstones that implicitly concerned ethnicity. It was indicated that there were also human remains that expressed ancient people in the museum's Roman displays, as well as facial reconstruction. It was added that these displays should include a public warning that human remains were displayed, which was currently not the case.

The participant stated that the concept of identity was an important aspect for museums to address. It was emphasised that museums and archaeology looked at who people were, and whilst this would have been important when the display at Colchester was installed, the topic and its importance may be viewed in a different light today. The Lex Tumulus display, and discussion of whether the associated individual from the archaeological record was an Iron Age chief, was the example given to illustrate that identity was on the minds of the curators that previously curated their displays.

The participant then replied to Question 2 of the interview that concerned freedom. They stated that curators were responsible for displays at Colchester, however, they again emphasised the absence of specialist roles within the curatorial team for chronological periods, although there were specialised roles in aspects such as education. The current permanent display was described to have involved curators and museum directors. Current exhibitions on the other hand were emphasised to involve more people, such as designers. The museum's marketing team were also considered important to this process as they aid in the setting up and advertising of displays.

When asked if Colchester had received any complaints about the lack of diversity in the museum, the participant stated they were not aware of any. When asked whether ethnicity can be used to depict the Roman period, the participant answered that it could. The interviewee then stated that the curatorial process is about the curation of a narrative that equates to 'getting to know' the Romans; which the concept of ethnicity could facilitate.

When asked how long a permanent exhibition should last, the participant stated that there were both practical and academic answers to this question. An exhibition redisplay was indicated to be a huge cost to museums, a problem exacerbated as available funding for museums continues to be reduced. The current exhibition at Colchester was emphasised to likely remain in situ for 20 years in total. This was due to the amount spent on it in 2014, the time it required to develop and install it, and the costs of a new redisplay. For practical reasons, the interviewee stated that 10-15 years was how long a permanent display should last, even though the Colchester display would likely be in place for a longer period of time. The length of time a display will last was also said to be affected by the local council at Colchester, as the decision to redisplay, or not, was indicated sometimes to have been made individuals outside of the museum.

The interviewee then provided an example of how archaeological finds become part of the museum's displays. The Fenwick Treasure was used for this example, as it first went through the Portable Antiquities Scheme, before being selected to be displayed for a number of reasons. These included the hope it would attract more visitors who wanted to see Roman treasure and local finds, and that high visitor numbers would also please the local government. In total, the process from archaeological discovery to display was stated to take several years if display space is available. It was explained that this could often be difficult due to the static nature of Colchester's displays and limitations on space. Furthermore, the participant stated that redisplays usually contain fewer items, an eventuality they indicated generally went against most people's expectations.

The participant then described how digital technology allowed visitors to experience history, narratives, and information in different ways. This, the participant explained, meant different communication technologies were used in the museum's display spaces to discuss the objects in their collection. They liked to use handling sessions to get people engaged with items, as this was stated to move people away from the standard pedagogical approach generally experienced in museums. The interviewee then emphasised the institution's use of digital tablets, which were predominantly seen as a positive addition. They were described to show a range of information from each period on display at the museum, and also involved VR views of the castle. When relating to the Roman objects and period, the tablets were stated to provide further information; for example, the previously mentioned tombstones could be seen with their originally painted appearance.

The interviewee also stated that people were interested in whether an item had been found from a local context. The participant explained that they had noticed this whilst running a stand within a local shopping centre. As reported, people were not interested until they were told that the items on show were from somewhere local. It was indicated that local history seemed to engage people, whereas general history did so at a lesser degree. It was also stated that thematic narratives allowed individuals to look at individual lives, and this combined with the wider chronological context used at Colchester Museum was a good way to ground this information.

Interviewee 27 – The Cambridge Museum of Classical Archaeology - 04/04/2018

The interviewee stated that the Cambridge Museum of Classical Archaeology was the smallest university museum at Cambridge with a footfall of 15,000 people a year. The museum was created in 1884 and formally separated from the university in 1912. It was, however, still greatly

involved in the Classics department at the University of Cambridge. The participant went as far as to say that the museum was perhaps the most embedded museum within a department at the university. It was stated that all the casts present in their exhibits were from the Fitzwilliam Museum, with the building purposely built for the collection. Furthermore, it was emphasised that the museum's cast collection was not taken as seriously as other collections owned by the university. This was due to the opinion that statue casts are not as important as authentically real statues. This was said to have caused a knock-on effect that has resulted in the museum modernising particularly slowly with both its physical appearance and admin.

The participant was aware of flaws in the labels used by the museum but emphasised that it is a massive undertaking to change them all and there has not been enough time to devote to this. Information on the casts presented throughout the museum, and knowledge of the Roman and Greek periods, was stated to be best gotten from the museum's staff rather than associated plaques and boards. It was further stated that everybody on the desk at the museum had a PhD, or was working towards one, and were, therefore, qualified academically to impart knowledge.

The museum was indicated to have a temporary exhibition space, and this usually involved someone other than the participant installing the display. The Cambridge Museum of Classical Archaeology was also stated to run events for Cambridge University.

When asked whether the museum's Roman displays expressed ethnicity, the participant replied 'no'. Ethnicity was stated to be something the museum did not explicitly explore through its exhibits or online. The current displays were detailed to be structured chronologically and caused narratives to be about art progression and supported by outdated descriptions. Despite the traditional approaches seen inside the museum, the interviewee then turned to discuss actions the museum took outside of its displays that championed diversity and inclusivity. The museum was stated to have a Change Makers Group that works to increase the visibility of inclusivity and diversity in the museum's collections and staff. It was emphasised that this did not mean, however, that contents of the museum will definitely change. Despite this, identity, equality, and diversity were stated to be aimed for in future infrastructures of the museum and its displays. The inclusion of diversity at the museum was evidenced by the Queer Antiquities Trail for LGBTQ+ month. Issues with this were also highlighted, however, as it was only a temporary aspect and, as stated by the interviewee, may seem to treat the topic as a throwaway subject. It was stated that similar themes also get tackled in other events outside the physical museum, but again these were one-off events that should not be treat as such.

It was indicated that a complete renovation of the museum to alter its narrative would involve a lot of logistics because of the material displayed by the museum and the building it is in. This was

described to be a very difficult process that was made worse by the lack of staff available to enact and research new displays. It was acknowledged that staff were not paid for their research that may end up in the museum's exhibits.

The participant then stated that museums should challenge the public. The interviewee wanted to inform and educate visitors, particularly around the topics of race, ethnicity, and equality. It was emphasised that these were 'hot topics' that quickly become confrontational. Therefore, tackling these issues in museum displays comes with a risk. It was expressed that the inclusion of these concepts would have to be intricately planned as they challenge preconceived ideas and result with segments of the public not happy with their inclusion. This was followed up by a statement that, as a university museum, the museum must inform the public with information gained through academic research that includes these topics. One example of where these preconceived ideas could be tackled, outside of the museum, was stated to be Twitter. Emphasis was placed, however, on how interactions on social media can routinely become personal and confrontational.

The interviewee then stated that the curatorial team possessed quite a lot of freedom. Physical and logistical restraints were indicated to prevent full freedom, however, as previously mentioned. As a result of these restrictions, it was explained that the museum's communicative techniques generally focus on personalised services. As such, members of staff were indicated to sit on the front desk to encourage the public to ask them questions and also host large drop-in events and create spaces for children. The museum was said to encourage increased levels of personal and interactive engagement with its audiences rather than aim for higher visitor numbers. Furthermore, although the museum did not particularly contain archaeology, new display boards can have quite a fast turnover to improve displays. To do so, however, staff would have to be research topics outside of their working hours for free.

School groups were emphasised as a prominent demographic in the museum's visitorship. It was stated that the secondary schools the museum received were not as diverse as primary school groups that visit. Primary school visits were indicated to be difficult to facilitate because of the nudity on display through the museum's displays. The diversity of visiting school groups was stated to place weight on the concept of diversity and heightened its prominence on the museum's agenda. The representation of diversity was stated to be poor within the field of classics and caused by socio-political views and demographics of those that have previously studied it. This was stated to have contributed to a lack of experience possessed by the museum's staff when dealing with diverse crowds. It was further indicated that this causes some difficulties with answering questions that may get asked and better answered through a more diverse workforce.

The interviewee then stated that because of this, external pressure to include topics such as identity and ethnicity did come from the public. This was exemplified by discussions of identity that have become more common and noticeable in the public sphere. The participant emphasised the increase in public calls and concern for the better inclusivity within museum workforces; an aspect the participant stated would have a positive impact on future displays.

When asked how long a permanent exhibition should last, the participant stated it was dependent on the objects possessed by the museum. The Cambridge Museum of Classical Archaeology was stated to have remained predominantly unchanged since the early 80s. This was stated to be caused by the logistics needed to move or change the objects possessed by the museum. The time it would take to change labels was also provided as a reason for the staticity of the museum's galleries. It was added that the labels, although not as modern and expressive as the participant would like, are more informative than they were, as they were around 10 years old. The labels, although newer than the exhibit's layout, were still desired to be changed. Overall, the participant stated that 10 years seems a good time to reassess a display space but resources limit what can be done.

The interviewee then stated that other avenues to express modern research were accessible at the museum, and include personal engagement over the front desk, tours, questions and answers, events, and festivals. It was emphasised, however, that current research is difficult to include in the museum's narrative. It was expressed that the boards and plaques at the museum did not contain questions for the public to engage with. The participant highlighted the work of Nina Simon and how museum boards do not regularly express what the public wants them to. The interviewee expressed that visitors require a form of agency when it comes to interaction between themselves and museums. This has created difficulties for curatorial teams, however, as museums were expressed to need a structured narrative to be able to express information.

Furthermore, the participant stated that the museum would rather have people engaged with the objects on show than description boards. Boards were stated to limit how much attention audiences pay to the casts as they walk around and can hinder the statues from being admired and perceived from many angles. Boards were stated to provide context, but the casts were stated to be the museum's main objects and need to be engaged with. It was added that students know what to do with text, but not objects, and this interested the participant.

Lastly, it was stated that the museum receives many school visits to observe the Greek statue casts on show, but not many for the Roman casts. The participant thought this was due to the ancient Greeks studied as an alien society in Britain's national curriculum which linked with ways in which the Greek statue casts are represented. This was in contrast to the Roman period that is

taught through a local context in British schools. The statues within the museum represent the Romans and their culture from an Italian and classical perspective, not Romano-British and, therefore, the elite Romans on show are not relatable to KS2 students and education.

Interviewee 28 – Dartford Borough Museum - 06/04/2018

The Dartford Borough Museum was indicated by the participant to consist of one room attached to the local library, both under the local council's remit. It was further indicated that the museum was run by one individual. The museum consisted of 12 cases along the edge of the room's walls with three cases in the middle, a coffin that contains infant remains (Roman), and a mock 1940s shop. Two of the cases along the wall were dedicated to the Roman period, one is kitchen themed and the other contained small finds owned by the museum. The museum was indicated to previously have had 3 cases dedicated to the Roman period, but recent structural work at the museum resulted in the removal of one. At the time of this building work, displays were moved but not renovated or changed. It was then emphasised that the museum's displays had not really changed since the mid-1980s. The participant then ended their description of the museum with the statement that the council holds quite a lot of items in stores from many periods and includes objects from two Roman villas sites. Most of the objects on display were local.

The participant stated that the museum did not discuss identity or ethnicity in its displays. The labels that accompanied displays had been retyped, but not developed since their installation. It was indicated that if the labels were retyped again, however, they would likely mention the term 'Romano-British' that is not mentioned in the museum's depiction of the period.

The participant then stated that the lack of identity and ethnicity in the museum's Roman displays was caused by numerous reasons. The primary reasons were time constraints on the sole member of staff at the museum that had inhibited research on the museum's objects. Another reason was the museum's general lack of themes and topics discussed by displays. The kitchen display was indicated to depict diet but had more it could contribute to. The interviewee then stated that the museum did not possess objects and research that could be used to include the concepts of ethnicity and identity. The interviewee stated that material culture did not genuinely show ethnicity or identity but instead had the ability to contribute to discussions of trade and imports.

It was expressed that there was not much influence from outside the museum to depict the topics of ethnicity and identity. The sole employee at the museum was announced to have almost complete control over displays. The participant stated that there was, however, limited

influence from the council leader about the museum's output. The council were indicated to have a say, but this did not include political concerns or what should be exhibited.

The museum was said to receive school groups; however, the schools were more interested in Dartford's recent past than its ancient history. The participant did not feel as though the museum possessed any items that could contribute to discussions of Dartford's local development in the ancient period. As such, the museum did not bring Roman items to school groups, and in return, schools did not ask about the Roman period. Furthermore, the museum was stated to be paid for by the council. Dartford borough Museum was, therefore, indicated to not rely on school groups for income. Consequently, the curatorial team did not adhere to the national curriculum as there was no need to because school groups did not use the museum to learn about the Roman period.

The participant stated that some people have come in and spoken about certain displays that have altered the participant's mind-set, but these discussions had not influenced displays or boards. The most common complaint from visitors was indicated to be the expectation to see displays about certain aspects of Dartford that are not included – usually modern history.

The interviewee then stated that the Romans and Romano-British people must have been aware of their own identity and differences between people. The way in which ancient individuals saw identity in the past was expressed to be different from how the concept is seen now. The participant stated that academics do not really know how the Romans viewed North Africa for example. As for ethnicity, the interviewee stated that there was movement between people and cultures and that people did seem to try and appear increasingly Roman.

The participant then stated that the museum's ability to place newly found objects on display was quite 'non-existent'. The displays were again stated to have remained unchanged since the 1980s. When the museum acquired new objects, they may be placed into a temporary exhibit that is occasionally used for new items. The museum did not take many items in at the time of the interview, and this was described to limit the availability of new objects available for the curatorial team to display. This eventuality was partly caused by the lack of storage space.

Furthermore, the museum did not have staff able to conduct research, paid or voluntarily. If new information was wanted by the museum, then the museum's sole employee would have to do it themselves. This process was identified as the case with temporary displays, none of which had depicted the Roman period. The temporary exhibitions at Dartford Museum were indicated to predominantly concern modern and social histories. Subsequently, the interviewee indicated that the museum did not keep the public aware of modern research.

The social media side of the museum's function was also stated to be 'lacking somewhat', and the only social media platform used was Facebook. The museum was indicated to be gradually digitalising its objects, albeit very slowly. This slowness was used to characterise the museum's temporary exhibits. The current temporary display case had been curated in December 2016 and only planned to exist for four months.

It was stated that the museum's displays should be refreshed at some point, but small museums were indicated to always have long term displays, particularly if they depict one particular site. The participant stated that five years was a good time to refresh displays within an institution the same size as Dartford Borough Museum.

The interviewee stated that the object-led approach, used at Dartford Museum, could be limiting if displays need to be attached to history and research. In regard to the Roman period, the participant expressed a worry that locals would not be prepared for displays that discussed complex concepts. Due to the museum's focus on local history, however, the interviewee stated that the museum could express localised versions of history with various finds from different sites and excavations. It was indicated, however, to be difficult for displays to successfully communicate ideas to the public. The interviewee was aware that the Roman period is more complicated than what the museum's display expressed. However, the difficulty to express intricate concepts was avoided at Dartford Museum as they have been left out.

Interviewee 29 – Dover Museum and Bronze Age Boat Exhibition - 20/04/2018

It was initially expressed that the curatorial team consults the designer on what is wanted to be displayed during the curation process. The present permanent Roman displays were curated with accuracy in mind, and the participant used the inclusion of black soldiers in the museum's miniature model of Claudius entering Britain to exemplify this. It was expressed that the inclusion of the two people of colour in the model did was not based on research, but common sense. This was caused by the presence of elephants that most likely came from somewhere where individuals had darker skin. It was then stated that museums should be authorities on historical displays and, therefore, accuracy is of high importance.

It was revealed that Dover Museum had received no complaints that concerned the display of identity and ethnicity. The participant stated that the museum's Roman displays did include discussions of identity and ethnicity, but not explicitly. The interviewee indicated that if the Roman exhibition were to be redone, then it would likely be done the same as it presently was. In

regard to public comments, it was explained that a member of the public had questioned the presence of blue tattoos on a mannequin of a British native. This had encouraged the curatorial team to do some research to evidence its inclusion.

It was then indicated that similar to other museums, the Dover Museum and its staff were subject to various limitations such as the amount of time permitted to make changes. This was indicated to possibly lead to future issues as specialists will not be able to focus on specific topics due to other responsibilities that museum workers have to fulfil. The interviewee warned of a situation where museums may lose their expertise if this trend continued. The Dover Museum's curatorial team was stated to include three individuals that were predominantly in charge of what goes on display and its upkeep. One individual in this team was indicated to be senior but said to have increasingly less to do with the museum as their position intersects with duties associated with the local council.

Despite the connection between the Dover Museum, its curatorial team, and the local council, it was stated that the local government did not affect the museum's curation process. The museum was expressed to self-censor its displays, and this act was described to reflect what is popular at the time of curation. As such, topics such as identity and social history were, for example, said to have been looked at by the curatorial teams but not in regard to their Roman displays. The example provided was a display that examined the mining history of Dover and its local area, and represented pockets of miners from Yorkshire, Wales and Scotland who created atomised populations in south-east Kent. The exhibit was reported to have explicitly discussed the area's ethnicity. This display had been designed for the Kent Mining Museum; a museum planned but not yet materialised.[61]

Another example of a display that was stated to have discussed ethnicity was an exhibition that concerned the Royal Marines and Deal bombing. This project was indicated to have demonstrated the self-censorship previously mentioned by the participant on issues that concerned the inclusion and description of the IRA and its bombing. It was expressed that if the exhibit was to be done again, it would likely have a different narrative due to the IRA bombings happening longer ago than when the display was initially curated. In relation to the discussion of Kent's past, censorship, ethnicity, and sensitivity, the participant noted that the museum's curatorial team must consider the offence factor that comes with the discussion of such topics. As Dover Museum was part of the local government, a need to steer clear of causing offence was indicated as necessary. This was emphasised by the fact that it was the public's taxes that pay for

[61] See details of the Kent Mining Museum on its webpage: https://www.betteshanger-park.co.uk/kent-mining-museum/the-museum/ [Accessed 17/11/2020].

the museum's displays and they do complain when something is wrong. The interviewee then stated that the museum had dealt with the topic of immigration, migration, and the holocaust before in relation to local history that can be defined as tricky topics to present.

As Dover is situated close to the British/French border, the museum had French translations of information on its display boards. This was also stated to represent Dover and the museum's relationship with the channel and the fact that the border has been fluid throughout history.

The interviewee also emphasised the museum's relationship with local people and groups. Finds from metal detectorists were included in the museum's displays, and this had contributed to the establishment of close relationships. The museum was stated to have access to all finds found on land associated with Dover Council, and these objects will be archived. It was emphasised, however, that the museum is not always aware of recently found archaeology, and this could disrupt the museum's ability to include new finds into its displays. As a result, this process is not smooth, and the Dover Museum only rarely includes contemporary discoveries through its narratives.

The current Roman exhibit was indicated to be 25 years old and ready for a change. The Bronze Age Dover Boat exhibition, also in the museum, was stated to also be 20 years old, but still seen as innovative through its presentation of information. It was indicated that the main Roman exhibit should already have been renovated but a lack of money had prevented this. In addition to these displays and other permanent spaces, the museum was said to have temporary exhibits once a year. This upkeep was linked, however, to when the museum had more staff. Still, the temporary exhibition was indicated to be thought of, and decided upon, yearly, and fairly reactive to the ideas and interests of its visitors.

This brought the participant onto the topic of curation. The curatorial process at the Dover Museum was described to start with a story that can then be connected to objects. It was stated, however, that it could be difficult to find objects that match desired narratives. As a result, the current Roman exhibit was described as heavily reliant on graphics. Another cause was the want of objects that other organisations and museums currently had and, therefore, inaccessible. The participant saw no issue with displays not being able to use objects, however, as the story was emphasised to be the main aspect of a display. In addition to objects, chronological narratives were also indicated to benefit the communication of information between museum and visitors.

It was then noted that the objects, possessed by the museum, belonged to the people of Dover and not the museum. The participant stated that museums should not hoard items or keep them hidden away for safekeeping. Furthermore, the museum was indicated to regularly include the name of donors, archaeologists, and metal detectorists on plaques next to donated objects; this

process was emphasised to be important. Furthermore, to do so was stated to better incorporate and situate the museum as an integral part of Dover, and this was evidenced through the support of the museum by local detectorists amidst fears of significant cuts.

The Dover Boat exhibition was used by the participant to evidence this community and audience centred approach. The displays in the current Bronze Age Boat exhibit was stated to have been developed through public engagement projects through questionnaires. The answers to these questionnaires were used to decide upon the topics discussed in the display's narrative.

Interviewee 30 – The Seaside Museum - 02/05/2018

The interviewee initially stated that the Seaside Museum was taken over from the council three years ago and run by a team of volunteers. The museum presently had one Roman display case that focused on the site of Reculver. The case was said to describe Reculver and the function that it originally held, with pointers to other local forts in Kent. The case contained local finds with superficial information about the items. The interviewee stated that the display case used to have a plaque stamped by the *Cohors I Baetasiorum*[62] that had since gone missing, which the museum was currently looking for (there are three known, with the other two in Edinburgh). The participant stated that there were plans to move the Roman case to create a walk-in display about the period. The plans for this new display would keep the existent Reculver display case, but additionally include a Roman legionary who spoke about what it's like to be a Roman soldier. This renovation was explained as beginning a month from the interview.

The interviewee thought museums worked best when telling human stories and that this was because they permit the public to identify with individuals from the past. The participant highlighted that in a museum, a story should tell the narrative of past lives, with objects used to connect these stories to the present and provide visual aid, attraction, and credence. To evidence this, the participant highlighted the fossil of the first known horse in Britain, owned by the museum, and how on its own it did not interest many of the public. Once the story was described and its connection to the evolution of horses was explained, however, the interviewee stated that it instantly sparked an interest. The participant then linked this to a Roman object in the museum, a Roman model/figurine that was used as a doorstop at Reculver. It was also

[62] The *Cohors I Baetasiorum* were a military cohort that likely built a fort at Reculver, near Herne Bay, after they had been stationed at Maryport in Cumbria.

highlighted here that an ancient object does not have to have an ancient story to explain its history and biography.

When asked whether the Seaside Museum discussed ethnicity and identity in its Roman display cases, the interviewee responded with 'no'. This was due to a lack of research on the topic, as well as the low importance placed on it within the museum and past staff. The participant here highlighted that they would like to include identity and ethnicity within future displays at the museum. It was elaborated that there were good links between Herne Bay and the *Cohors I Baetasiorum* who were stationed at Reculver, and this provided a Roman past and story that could address identity and ethnicity in the period. The participant then elaborated on the sort of story that could be told about the *Cohors I Baetasiorum*; that they moved from the Antonine Wall to Reculver and its soldiers came from all over the empire. The three *Cohors I Baetasiorum* plaques were described as objects that directly relate to this story, and this was used to emphasise the museum's want for them. Another example of how the interviewee and museum could introduce identity and ethnicity into their Roman displays was stated to be through the Pudding Pan Project, that would bring in stories about the trade from Southern France.

The participant stated that in general, when they said 'Roman citizens' the interviewee means a diverse population. Due to what society is accustomed to, however, the interviewee highlighted that the public did not always associate a Roman citizen with someone who was not white.

In relation to the representation of Herne Bay's population and minority groups, the participant stated that the Museums Association did highlight the need for museums to represent their local communities. It was emphasised that the population of Herne Bay was not characteristically diverse, although there were people in Herne Bay that had come from various places around the world. These individuals were stated to not be represented by the museum's displays. To try and involve diverse demographics into narratives, the participant emphasised that they had searched for local heroes such as veterans and footballers who were from minority demographics such as black individuals and people from the LGBTQ+ community. The participant stated that they were keen to bring these stories to the museum and its local community.

In relation to the community aspect of museums, the participant stated that it was interesting that they could be owned by the government and then later given away. This was indicated to mean that museums can go from having a socialist function to a capitalist approach in which they had to make money.

School groups were not emphasised to be the main source of income for the museum. The participant stated that the museum did not have to receive school groups as such, but rather the museum chose to do so. The individual who was in charge of education and outreach at the

museum was stated to be an ex-teacher and, therefore, well-positioned to communicate and arrange sessions or educational boxes for school groups.

The participant then emphasised that the museum regularly applied for grants. It was stated when the museum did so, there were questions about how the museum reached out to minority groups within the community. To this, the participant acknowledged that the museum was forced to say that it did not. It was then highlighted that the museum still received the funding after admitting this fact. The museum was stated not to target demographic groups, but that if it were located in London, then they would be forced to target specific groups of people.

The participant also stated that the museum was asked in funding applications, whether their public needed a museum. This was indicated to be a difficult question to answer, but it was decided that the public did need a museum as it was part of their educational process. Another question that was said to appear on funding forms was whether the public wanted the museum. It was stated that many individuals probably did not think about a want for a museum, however, certain exhibitions did attract large numbers of visitors, such as the current Dam Busters exhibition.

Narratives within the museum were stated to be linked to Herne Bay; the interviewee stated that museum staff had to check if the items on display can and do link with their locality. The interviewee stated that the Head of Collections had a lot of say on what is displayed. There was also a display group that had since disbanded, although another was indicated to possibly be formed soon.

The interviewee then stated that a museum display should consistently be in the process of revitalisation. It was emphasised that importance should be placed on different aspects that come up, for example, in political discourse. The participant here stated that a permanent exhibition should be permanent but needed to be constantly checked to ensure it remained relevant. The museum's temporary exhibitions were stated to generally last around 8 weeks, and this meant they installed around 6 different ones a year. The temporary exhibitions were described to be focused on local and modern history, but they could depict ancient periods if they wanted to; the display of the horse fossil was used to evidence this point.

The interview then ended with the statement that the only real pressure to depict ethnicity and diversity had been from forms the museum needed to complete for the government. It was emphasised, however, that issues such as the Windrush Scandal showed political concerns that related not only to the government but also to the public in general, influences who museums also need to be relevant for.

Interviewee 31 – Eastbourne County Council – 11/05/2018

The participant stated that since the Eastbourne Ancestors project, the council had changed focus and returned to a more local perspective for its heritage projects. The interviewee then stated that causing public offence was a difficult topic within the heritage sector because curators wanted to challenge preconceived ideas of the past. However, as displays explored people's heritage, identity, and history, there was also a need to avoid explicitly offending this audience. The interviewee indicated comments on a Daily Mail article about the Beachy Head Lady that demonstrated the preconceived ideas that needed to be challenged. These comments also demonstrated the extreme views expressed in protest of the narratives that challenge preconceived conceptions of the past. To demonstrate Eastbourne County Council's willingness to previously engage in this, the interviewee stated that the council took part in the Black & British project involving David Olusoga. This was said to have involved the installation of plaques around Eastbourne, and these were mainly embraced by the public.

When asked whether Eastbourne County Council had displays that discussed ethnicity and/or identity in the Roman period, the participant responded that Eastbourne used to have a permanent museum, but this no longer exists and they currently utilised temporary exhibitions that approximately last for a year. These exhibitions were able, as explained by the participant, to explicitly express ethnicity due to the objects the curatorial team have access to in their collection. It was stated to be important for exhibits to discuss the ethnicity and diversity of the past as it reflects fact. Past exhibitions organised by Eastbourne County Council were said to have utilised evidence that concerned ethnicity and research to support this had been conducted.

The Beachy Head Lady refers to the remains of an individual and was used by the participant to show archaeology in their ownership that had been used to discuss ethnicity. The results of the scientific analysis of the Beachy Head Lady were stated to be a surprise during the Ancestors Project, a venture by the council that attempted to retell the individual stories of those who once lived within the local area. The Beachy Head Lady's information within the resultant exhibition in 2014 was emphasised as completely new research with a lot of it based on analysis of a skull. The participant stated that there was currently an ongoing project to investigate the Beachy Head Lady's DNA as part of the Ancient Origins Project. It was explained that less research could be done on the associated burial context, however, as it had been lost. As such, the participant stated that certain information, such as her social status, was very challenging to find. The participant also stated that there was no pressure from the rest of the council to curate certain narratives.

The interviewee stated that the audiences who regularly attend local exhibitions within Eastbourne were generally white, middle class, and middle to old aged. The interviewee stated this meant the Ancient Ancestors project was, therefore, a good way to engage with the wider community of Eastbourne who did not represent their usual visitor demographic groups. The exhibition that accompanied the Ancestor's Project was described to be about the stories of those who lived in the past. The exhibition did not receive any complaints.

The interviewee emphasised that ethnicity within the Roman period had to be an important topic for discussion in history displays. It was remarked by the participant that they hoped more smaller museums and heritage sites find objects that can be used to depict ethnicity and utilise this narrative more. This would bring topics like ethnicity to wider audiences in certain localities. Within the context of Eastbourne, described as not a significant settlement in the Roman period, the Beachy Head Lady was an outlier in terms of current research on the area's past.

It was then indicated that curators must be careful when comparisons were made between Britain's Roman and modern periods. This was particularly emphasised in connection with the concept of ethnicity as both societies dealt with identity and ethnicity differently. The participant emphasised that Mary Beard, for example, indicated that skin colour did not seem to matter within the Roman period, whereas race is currently an important topic.

When asked who was responsible for the curatorial process at Eastbourne County Council, the participant stated that it was solely the Heritage Team. The council were said to have never told this team to create a particular project or exhibit. The main aim of the Heritage Team at Eastbourne was to try and represent the whole community whilst remaining factual in their narratives. This was also said to relate to the object-led approach in the council's museum displays and the fact they cannot express information without objects; this was followed by the caveat that narratives could be accessed through many other means, however.

Other people who may become involved in the curatorial process, were stated to include line managers in particular if an aspect of a display was considered controversial for example, and the team wanted feedback; the interviewee emphasised however that all risks taken were calculated ones. The interviewee then stated that an issue with risk-taking at museums was that curators could be nervous about causing offence or controversy. An example provided by the participant, which was described as awkward, was choosing how black the Beachy Head Lady should be in her reconstruction.

The interviewee stated that the council had extensive stores of archaeology originating from the 1950s. Modern research was included in most new exhibitions, and the Council was active in a project to re-examine histories and their collections. It was emphasised that people liked to see

research and science evidence contexts within museums and that there is now a public interest in the depiction of research methods.

The interviewee stated that the length of time to get objects from regional archaeological excavations into displays depended on who excavated the material. If the council excavated themselves, it was stated that the objects could be on display within a year. Alternatively, if it were a commercial archaeological unit, it could take between 3-5 years, and even up to 30. Regarding the council's collections, it was stated that the council were recruiting a collections manager to go through the accumulated backlog of material more successfully.

In relation to how the council kept their public up-to-date with archaeological news and research, the participant said they would love to have interchangeable displays and communicative techniques to keep the public constantly aware of new research. It was indicated that this could be achieved through talks, and the public could be kept involved more generally by providing feedback. The interviewee stated that the council needed to present itself as active and, therefore, displays should be changed regularly. The use of temporary exhibitions was described as powerful because they communicate well with the local community and visitors from further afield. The participant also stated, however, that when travelling themself, they most liked it when local museums focused on the local inhabitants, as this is what they want to discover about different locations rather than exhibitions about others.

When asked how long an exhibition should last, the participant replied, 'how long is a piece of string'. The answer depended on the pace of archaeology at the time, recent finds and discoveries, and the research that had been done or needs to be completed.

Interviewee 32 - Museum of London – 13/06/2018

The interviewee first indicated that the Museum of London was half funded by the council. The current permanent Roman Gallery was then described to have been opened in 1996 after two years of planning. The gallery was planned to be updated more recently but this has been delayed due to the Museum of London's imminent move to West Smithfield. The Museum of London's current Roman Gallery was described as a period gallery, ordered by distinct displays and parts that focus on different themes such as religion, the home, and trade. The interviewee indicated that this was the best way to tell a story; and in particular, those that concern the history of a city as is intended by the museum. A thematic approach was also emphasised to be relevant for temporary galleries.

In response to Question 1 of the questionnaire *Do your Roman displays explicitly portray ethnic diversity/identity within the Roman period?* ', it was stated that ethnicity was not addressed by the museum's permanent Roman Gallery. It was remarked, that when the gallery was in its planning stages, the most popular trend in archaeology was feminism and the inclusion of women in historic narratives. Consequently, the Roman display was indicated to include discussions of identity, however, it was stated to not be a concept that is very 'in your face' throughout the exhibit. It was also stated that DNA and isotopic analysis were not popular forms of research when the current Roman Gallery was planned due to cost. The lack of these forms of research to extrapolate information from the Museum of London's archives was another reason stated to have attributed to the absence of ethnicity as a descriptor used in the Roman exhibit.

In comparison, the participant identified ways in which the *Roman Dead* exhibition (a temporary exhibition at the Museum of London's Dockland Museum) had incorporated ethnicity into its narrative. This exhibit was indicated to demonstrate the Museum of London's contemporary use of ethnicity into its modern displays. It was also expressed to demonstrate the museum's ability to incorporate new research into the curation of Roman pasts. Due to the wealth of knowledge that has been, and can be, gained from new scientific research methods (DNA and isotopic analysis), the interviewee expressed that bioarchaeologists had begun to work alongside curators at the museum.

The interviewee then indicated that after the initial trend in archaeology that saw feminist approaches take prominence, attention turned to ethnic diversity and lack of representation for black and other minority groups throughout history. These topics were indicated to have become more relevant for the museum, particularly through the diversity of school groups that visit the museum. It was highlighted, however, that the current Roman Gallery did not involve the presence of black people in its display or discussion of ancient Britain. It was indicated that no tangible evidence was present to create links between the museum's Roman display and black histories throughout the curation process. It was also stated that the curatorial team had not actively looked for this type of evidence throughout the curation process. It was clarified that it is difficult to include topics in displays without evidence and objects to support conversation.

The complexity of ethnicity as a concept was also indicated to be an obstacle for curatorial teams. It was emphasised that panels needed to be easily interpretable and this made the inclusion of ethnicity difficult as its complexity needs to be expressed on panels and item plaques that have limited wordcounts (panels are limited to 150 words and item plaques to 50 words at the museum). The difficulties met by these challenges also merged with the fixed nature of the museum's current Roman Gallery that cost £440,000 to create and would cost a lot more to redo.

Despite the challenges of cost and fixedness of the current Roman Gallery at the Museum of London, the interviewee stated that the museum had managed to introduce ideas of diversity into its displays. This had reportedly been achieved through mediums other than traditional communication techniques seen in exhibits and included spoken poetry and reenactors. It was clarified that actors were each given a character to enact and represented different strata of Roman society, one being a black individual. It was indicated that the use of actors was particularly successful for engagement with primary school groups.

The interviewee was then asked how they would define ethnicity within the confines of a Roman museum exhibit. It was stated that the concept would be defined as simply as possible such as different races. The definition and expression of ethnicity were stated to essentially be dependent on the evidence possessed by the museum. The participant here indicated, however, that archaeological objects cannot, for sure, be relied upon to fathom an individual's ethnicity. Despite this, the interviewee criticised the current Roman exhibition for its lack of in-depth discussion on ways in which the objects on show connect with identity.

It was then indicated that curators do have certain specialisms that provide expertise for display narratives. It was stated that it was sometimes difficult to select items to put on display. The objects that are chosen were said to be dependent on desired narratives, but this relationship could be reversed to place more emphasis on the object rather than narratives. The *Roman Dead* exhibit currently on display at the Museum of London Docklands exhibit was used as an example of this as it centred on a newly found sarcophagus.

The curation of a display was depicted to include a mix of these approaches, as the curatorial team had stories they wanted to express but also objects they desire to include. The participant then said they had not found the traditional object-led approach to museology that difficult. The curation of a narrative was, however, stated to be difficult without an object to evidence and support it. A point of interest for the participant was that modern display had started to use fewer objects in their displays that relate to the points they had previously just made.

In response to who was responsible for Roman displays at the Museum of London, it was stated that the curator and exhibit designer who, at the time, happened to have a degree in Classics had been involved in the current display. This was then compared with modern-day curation processes that involve a lot more people from different departments. The interviewee emphasised their concern that the role of the curator in museums has lost some of its authority. It was stated for example, that just as much emphasis, if not more, had been placed on different departments in modern institutions such as education within curation processes that had previously relied heavily on curators alone.

It was indicated that the participant had felt no outside pressure to increase the level of ethnic diversity in its displays. A teacher was indicated to have mentioned the lack of black people in the museum's exhibitions, however, so their absence had been noticed. Again, the participant emphasised the lack of evidence to support their inclusion within the current Roman display installed in 1996. Present-day museums were indicated, however, to have increasingly included diversity as a topic in their display narratives and has seen it become more commonplace. It was emphasised that the representation of diversity in Roman displays still, however, remained difficult. Nonetheless, it indicated that it was more possible to now discuss ethnicity in displays than it had been before.

I then asked about school groups and the influences they imparted on the museum's Roman displays. The museum was said to receive a lot of school groups and because of this, the museum does need to include a number of cases that comply with the UK's national curriculum. It was stated that because of this, the curriculum did, to a large extent, impact display curation. The central raised part of the current Roman Gallery, for example, was indicated to be designed with school groups and children in mind.

To follow on, I asked about the processes involved in the Museum of London's curation processes. It was expressed that the museum had a lot of objects at its disposal thanks to its in-house stores. Furthermore, the museum used to have an archaeological unit, but this split from the institution six years prior to the interview due to funding cuts. In terms of the time it took to place newly excavated material on display, this could be extremely fast. As an example, the participant stated that a sarcophagus had been brought into the museum and its contents analysed live on air. This demonstrated the museum's flexibility with the installation of objects prior, during, or after research had been conducted on it. It was stated that research on other objects, such as skeletons, were also published in newspapers and academic journals. As such, modern concepts such as ethnicity could be expressed through research and communicated with the public via various channels. A breadth of mediums was then exemplified and included newspapers, academic journals, conferences, magazines, talks, blogs, and social media.

The interviewee discussed how long displays should last. It was stated that temporary exhibits are usually open for around six months at a time. The most popular temporary exhibits at the Museum of London were said to include ones about a Tudor Hoard, the archaeology of the Great Fire of London, and the reconstruction of a Roman High Street. The latter had included the reconstruction of houses based on excavations in London and was described as innovative Permanent displays, on the other hand, were indicated to be planned to last around 10-15 years. The final case in the current permanent gallery, 22 years old at the time of the interview, was supposed to be temporary. The museum was described to have received a selection of good

objects, however, and these took up the temporary exhibit space to become a permanent feature. There was a temporary space outside the Roman display space, but this was indicated to not be subject-specific – it currently had a display about the fatberg found in London's sewers.

After the interview took place, the interviewee committed time to a small tour of the Roman Gallery. The participant expressed that a large mural in the Roman exhibits depicted two black soldiers. It was also indicated that the gallery's touch screen included objects found outside of Roman London to try and depict as many people as possible. To do so, was regularly done through models and images rather than objects, however. Models were used to depict life in Roman London and based on archaeological research.

Interviewee 33 - The Novium - 28/02/2018

The participant initially stated that the Novium's ground floor was dedicated to the Roman period as it contained displays that relate to the era and remains of a Roman bathhouse. The exhibit was indicated to have been renovated in August 2016 and curated to correspond with feedback the museum gained from its visitors about their interests on Roman Chichester. The staff at the museum were also emphasised to have wanted the display updated.

In response to whether the Novium's Roman displays included discussions of ethnicity, diversity, and identity, the participant stated that ethnicity was not present. It was highlighted that the Roman excavations of Chichester, that had supplied the museum with objects, occurred in the 1960s and 1970s. Besides contemporary write-ups to the excavations, there was indicated to have been little research on these excavations and the objects found.

The participant elaborated on a plan for the museum to install an Anglo-Saxon exhibit in 2019 that utilises osteology and new research on the area's archaeology. Although not a depiction of the Roman period, the planned exhibit was highlighted to demonstrate the museum's ability to include new research in its displays. Such a display was emphasised to be possible for the Roman period, although the interviewee indicated that research on Chichester's Roman burials may not have been possible at present. Preliminary research was indicated to have occurred on these remains, however.

The present Roman exhibition was described to contain little information about culture. This was described to be caused by the lack of archaeological evidence available to curators that allow detailed discussion of concepts such as culture and ethnicity. It was further emphasised that The Novium's Roman displays lacked discussion about ancient persons, and instead focused on the history of Roman Chichester as a collective rather than the lives of individuals. This was also

reported to have been caused by the lack of research available to the museum, particularly on the local excavations of Roman burials.

Furthermore, staff were indicated to be restricted in the time they could denote to research and the curation of new displays. The lack of archaeological knowledge of the region was again emphasised to contribute to this eventuality. This was described to limit what curators could include in displays, particularly information that was not already incorporated into the museum's Roman narratives. It was also highlighted that the museum had suffered from funding cuts. This had resulted in less staff that each possessed more responsibilities and meant that traditional curatorial roles became diluted by other activities such as administration. This was evidenced by the museum assistant's role that also included tasks associated with an education officer.

I then asked the participant what items they would choose to depict ethnicity in a Roman display if they were to do so. The interviewee stated they would pick burials and then elaborate on the lives of people through the research of remains and objects. The difficulty involved in the translation of research an ethnicity in the Roman period for audiences was emphasised, particularly without 'the whole works', clarified as human remains and their grave goods. The availability of such material was said to allow for narratives on ethnicity to have higher levels of credence as it would demonstrate how archaeology had been used to interpret the past. The interviewee stated that osteology and other forms of scientific research were the most successful research methodologies to provide credence for displays. This was stated to be the case as audiences were described to better trust scientific forms of research over others.

In relation to the display of ethnicity and diversity, the participant indicated that no outside pressures coerced the inclusion of these concepts. Chichester's population was indicated to be quite homogenous and so too were the town's council members. This characteristic had contributed to the lack of importance placed on ethnicity and diversity as concepts in the area and, therefore, pressure to include it. Furthermore, it was also expressed that ethnicity had only really become a hot topic that should be included within museums quite recently.

Those included in The Novium's curatorial team were stated to be the museum assistant, the collections manager, district archaeologist, and freelance exhibition officers. The small size of this team was indicated to provide a lot of individual freedom for each person. The museum did need the council to sign-off aspects of the curation process, however, but these requests did not go into much detail about the content of displays. The council did not, therefore, have much influence on the museum's depictions of the past.

The participant then indicated that while the curatorial team was predominantly free to curate as they please, the time archaeological material is made available to them can be long. The Shipham

Excavation was used as an example. It was stated to have been excavated in 2005 but displayed 11 years later in 2016. This process was indicated to possibly be quicker at times if the museum emphasised a want for certain objects. Otherwise, it was indicated that archaeological finds generally sat in a box for a while before being placed on display.

It was then emphasised that the new manager at the museum wanted the museum to install a temporary exhibition programme that constantly changes. Consequently, the museum had made alterations to its temporary exhibition space, to make it fit for purpose and flexible. The exhibit currently on display in this space was described to last for three months and then change. New topics were also brought to the public's attention through these temporary displays. Furthermore, if new research was described as pertinent to the museum's activities, the museum was described to host press releases. Also, an information board is on display at the museum and includes contemporary research on the museum and its objects; this was described to be updated monthly. The museum also used its website and social media to share research. The local archaeology group was also supposed to update the research board, but this is usually done in quarterly instalments rather than every month.

I then asked the participant to elaborate on any influence on the museum's displays caused by the national curriculum. The interviewee emphasised the museum's free admittance. School groups were, therefore, stated to not pay entry and placed less importance on an adherence to the curriculum than if they did. The curriculum still influenced displays, however, as the museum was indicated to attempt a balance between, the curation of blockbuster exhibitions with others that are aimed at school groups. In addition, the museum put on workshops for children, had a designated learning space, and supervised handling sessions that could cater to the curriculum.

The interviewee reflected on the museum's lack of staff employed to focus on any specific part of history. A need for staff to possess a broad range of skills and knowledge was emphasised and stated to be caused by cuts. Curators, for example, were said to do more than what was expected of a traditional curatorship role and if a specialist was needed then the museum's contacts were relied upon.

The participant then answered the question, 'How long should a permanent exhibition last?'. It was stated that such displays should not be permanent. At the museum, top floor exhibits were indicated to last between 3-6 months, with others usually between 12 and 18 months. The participant stated that permanent displays should be reviewed every two years due to the pace of archaeological research.

The museum was then described to challenge the public's view of Roman Chichester. It was indicated that the curatorial team were careful to not call Roman Chichester a fort for example.

This view was said to stem from past research that has since been challenged. The current displays, therefore, omitted connections between Roman Chichester and forts to encourage a counter interpretation. The participant indicated that visitors still inquired as to why traditional interpretations are not included, following which the staff then have to argue the museum's viewpoint.

Interviewee 34 – Colchester Castle Museum - 14/06/2018

The interviewee initially stated that museums have an ethical duty to impart sound knowledge. This was indicated to not always be possible, however, with an example of how the inclusion of the national curriculum inhibited this duty at Colchester Castle Museum in 2011. The participant provided an email exchange and section of a diary (Appendix 8) that illustrated tensions between the museum's curatorial team and education department in regard to the terminology used in a display. The exchange revolved around the possible inclusion of the word 'Celts' in the museum's displays and was described by the interviewee to be outdated. This worried the participant as they thought a museum should be up-to-date with research and terminology.

The museum's curator desired to include a panel that addressed the topic of ethnicity in the Roman Empire, particularly the use of the term 'Celts'. It was stated that the current conservator supported this suggestion as the panel would portray a diverse population of ancient Britain. The education officer was also stated to agree but had reservations on the absence of the term 'Celts' in the museum's panels. They argued that its necessity within a Roman display stemmed from the term's use within the curriculum and way teachers communicate the past to students. The participant elaborated that this reasoning also relied on the reality that school groups were a major source of income for the museum. Despite protests by the curator, the term 'Celts' was stated to have been included in the museum's new galleries and panels; an eventuality that, according to the participant, failed to express the true reality of the ancient past.

This occasion was described to highlight how the reliance on the national curriculum, in particular, was an outside pressure that forced the museum to create a narrative that was not in line with current knowledge. The interviewee then claimed that scholarship was, and continues to be, in retreat within museums. This was described to be the case as individuals that wrote the curriculum were not specialists in Roman history, yet they force topics and terms to be included within displays because of museum links with education. It was further indicated that the curatorial team at the museum also proposed an Iron Age exhibit panel to explicitly challenge the view that Britons were 'Celts'. The argument relied on the lack of evidence that demonstrates a homogenous culture across Europe. This panel did not make it into the museum's galleries.

When asked whether there had been a complaint made concerning ethnicity and/or identity at the museum, the interviewee stated that there had been one complaint that concerned a medieval Jewish coin hoard. The complaint highlighted that the original plaque was stereotypical as it associated Jews with money. The display was indicated to have changed in response.

The interviewee then highlighted that ethnicity did not really feature within the galleries at Colchester Castle Museum. Ethnic terms like 'Romans', 'Saxons', and 'Sarmatians' were indicated, however, to be included in display narratives. The participant elaborated on Britain's use of ethnic terms and suggested that the UK is lucky, in that the topic of ethnic demographics was not a matter of huge political debate in Britain compared to other areas such as Israel and Italy. It was stated people in the UK perceive history and different ethnicities from various periods as stages of the countries past. These different cultures such as the Romans, Saxons, and Vikings were all seen to contribute to the development of modern Britain and identity. It was emphasised that the different ethnicities that historically came to the UK was not seen as a talking point that strongly relates to people's identities.

To reflect these different stages of development in Britain's past, the concepts of migration and identity were included in the museum's displays. This was indicated to be a present feature in a photo of a 5thc woman that is exhibited in the museum. Research had shown that this woman had facial features that relate to 'Eurasian/Hun' characteristics. The interviewee also highlighted that the movement of these cultures to Britain had also been evidenced by historical texts. The participant exemplified this point and indicated that Bede mentioned Huns as an ethnic group in Britain at the end of the Roman period. The interviewee indicated that the museum was able to display local finds that aligned with this knowledge as they knew about the excavation. The individual's remain could not be included, however, as they were still being researched. A photo of the excavation with an information board was instead placed on display. This example was also used to evidence that an object may not be needed to express ethnicity within an exhibition.

It was stated that attaining objects from excavations to then put on show did not have to be a long period of time but this can vary. A range of factors was indicated to affect this process, and they included the museum's relationship with local archaeological units, and whether local units affiliated with councils, institutions, or were independent. The participant then indicated that the increasing lack of subject specialists at museums would stretch the relationships between institutions and archaeological units.

The participant then returned to the depiction of ethnicity. They stated that ethnicity was an abstract concept and as such, it is difficult to find artefacts that successfully express it. Exhibits that depicted Roman pottery and Bronze Age metalwork were stated to function differently to

those that depict concepts of identity and ethnicity. Text was described as better suited in displays that depicted complex concepts whilst objects best represent those that expressed typologies and types. It was explained that ethnicity was not discussed by the curatorial team throughout the planning of the latest exhibits at the museum, however. This was announced to be a shame as Colchester was indicated to be clearly diverse and, therefore, an important topic for the town.

The interviewee then expressed that not enough time was provided to staff for the development of new research into objects, concepts, and ancient periods. What the curatorial team knew at the time of the display's curation was what ended up in the museum's exhibit. This did include up-to-date research, however, such as unpublished reports given to the museum through goodwill. Modern research was announced to have been important for the curatorial team to ensure that displays were up to date. This was described as a challenge for the curatorial team, however, as modern research provides curators with a range of opinions, they could incorporate into display narratives. The participant identified the coin hoard in the museum's Roman display as an example of this, because it lacked information that they now thought should have been included. Displays were needed to be clear and definite, and it would have been unfair, according to the participant, to be faced with a mass of information with some of it being uncertain. The interviewee stated that museums should be authoritative, and this may result in some research left out of certain display narratives.

The participant then turned to the topic of DNA analysis and defined it as a new method that can invite museums to join in with big discussions such as migration. It was then described how the museum's display of Boudicca represents ways in which museums can engage with and start discussions. It was indicated that Boudicca had been described as an ethnic cleanser, but not stated as such in the gallery that includes a discussion of her. The exhibit did, however, invite visitors to discuss who Boudicca was and curators had been proactive to encourage this through the terminology and interaction associated with this narrative. To do so, the display introduced ideas that left it to the audience to decide whether Boudica was justified to do what she did.

I then asked the interviewee how long a permanent display should last. The participant stated that a permanent exhibit should be designed to last until the museum has enough money to change it. As such, it was indicated that permanent displays should be installed with the expectation they may last for a very long time. When permanent displays are changed, the interviewee suggested that key aspects would typically stay the same, both objects and subjects.

If the participant were included in a future re-display of Colchester Castle Museum's Roman exhibits, they would choose to include ethnic diversity and not shy away from the politicisation of

the narrative. It was then highlighted that many curatorial teams evade the discussion of ethnicity. Museums were obliged, according to the interviewee, however, to challenge views and be political. The participant said the malignancy that surrounds concepts like ethnicity scares curators away from its incorporation into display narratives.

The interviewee stated that material culture, and what the participant called ethnic badges, have been published on and demonstrates that ancient individuals did want to be seen as 'British/native' in the Roman period. This, according to the participant, was evidenced by the continuation of roundhouses near Hadrian's Wall and Roman London as it expresses different ethnicities that were projecting their cultural believes and cohabitating. The names of individuals on gravestones and pottery were also indicated to provide curatorial teams with an opportunity to examine ethnicity in displays. The discussion of such examples was indicated to have been possible at the Colchester Castle Museum and prompted the participant to state they would do so if they were to curate another permanent gallery. The participant reflected on the permanent Roman galleries at the museum and expressed that they wished more had been included about Boudicca, ethnicity, and her desire to remove a Roman presence from the region. The participant admitted that the topic of ethnicity was never addressed implicitly, or explicitly in displays at Colchester Castle Museum. It was further indicated that the inclusion of ethnicity would be possible in the display if the individual that heads the curatorial processes wanted to. The curatorial team was expressed to have freedom in what they do, and had no pressure to include certain topics, yet those in power could, if they desired to, influence proceedings.

I finally asked the interviewee how ethnicity may be depicted in Roman displays. The interviewee stated that the Romans used genocide as a part of their imperial policy. The interviewee evidenced this through the example of ancient Alexandria that saw Greeks vs Jews and other tensions between ethnicities across the Empire. The participant stated that these examples show a specific example of how ethnicity could be used to depict the Roman period. This argument was then furthered by the statement that Romans knew they presided over a myriad of cultures.

It was stressed that museums had gradually begun to discuss ethnicity, chiefly to celebrate diversity. The interviewee reflected this view to museums and 1930's fascism that saw display narratives order ethnicities. These types of narratives were said to still exist, as museums have not collectively changed displays or approaches to curation. The participant indicated that to actively incorporate ethnicity into a display was to take part within a 'divider topic'. If the participant were to exhibit ethnicity, they would associate it with modern concepts of identity. Other curators were indicated to perhaps not discuss ethnicity and relate it to modern concepts, however, as the Roman period could be seen as too distant to make these types of connections. The absence of ethnicity in Colchester Castle Museum's displays was summed up to be a shame.

Interviewee 35 – Yorkshire Museum - 05/07/2018

The interviewee first discussed the Yorkshire Museum and its Roman displays whilst we both walked around the exhibits. The participant stated that the Yorkshire Museum was the 3rd oldest purpose-built museum in the UK and had changed hands quite a few times. They stated that the museum was initially owned by the York Philosophical Society but then changed hands with the council multiple times during the 1960s-1980s. In 2002, the museum became part of the York Museums Trust, a charity which aims to curate and care for York's historical buildings and museums. It was stated that the Yorkshire Museum received 118,000 visitors last year, the 2nd most it has had in a year.

The museum's galleries were then said to have been refurbished in 2009/2010. There were also plans to change the Roman galleries again within two years. The current permanent Roman exhibition was titled the 'People of the Empire' and said to contain the Ivory Bangle Lady, alongside other skeletal remains, and material culture. The research for the exhibition and the viewpoint it used to discuss the Roman period was described to stem from research conducted at the University of Reading. The research and gallery were explained to examine York's place within the Roman Empire and the Empire in the Classical world.

The first part of this exhibit was stated to portray Rome's Imperial presence in York, including the military, the Roman conquest, and establishment of a Roman landscape in the area. The next section, in the same gallery, concerned the ancient people of York. The Ivory Bangle and skeletons/skulls of other individuals included in the exhibit were all stated to have been excavated from York. In this section of the display, everyday life was described to have been explored and concerned the jobs, cultural practices, and other aspects of people's lives. After this section, the participant detailed how the museum looked at space within York and includes information about burials and Eastern goddesses.

The Late Roman Gallery that followed on from this was indicated by the participant to include the head of Constantine, a mosaic, objects and information on life in late-Roman York, and the changes from the earlier period through materials that relate to dress such as jewellery, and other objects such as pottery. This gallery was described as an attempt to show the complexity of the 4th-century Roman environment through the material. Diversity of belief was also emphasised to have been present in the latter part of the museum's Roman displays.

The narrative strategy for the Yorkshire Museum's Roman galleries was stated to aim text at smart KS2 students. The panels were described as thematic and to contain less than 80 words

each, alongside labels that relate to objects and themes. The interviewee stated that the museum also had 'Digging Deeper' boards for individuals who wanted to learn more. The interviewee then emphasised that the display provided different ways of accessing information such as video content and other interactive activities.

The participant here stated that they could not think of any complaints received by the museum from the public that concerned the display of ethnicity or diversity. The interviewee then indicated again that the museum is run by a trust, and this meant that the Yorkshire Museum is free from some restrictions that could stem from government involvement.

The interview then took place in an office and concentrated on the questionnaire sheet previously provided to the participant. This began with the interviewee stating that the future exhibition that was planned for the Roman displays looked at York as a city and its diverse make-up. It was stated that it would explicitly try and include the 'invisible people' within regular historical narratives. The participant highlighted that one strand to be included was 'how do we know what we know?'. As such, the interviewee indicated that the display will explicitly address how knowledge was transferred from excavation and literature to display.

The participant stated that there were grey areas of knowledge, that if emphasised can attract visitors. It was stressed, by the interviewee, that museums should challenge and engage with education. It was highlighted that an exhibition should not just be facts. The interviewee here questioned whether a museum should act as an authority on everything, and stated they were not too intimidated to say, 'we don't know'. The participant used a coin hoard on display at the Yorkshire Museum to exemplify the implementation of a grey area of knowledge to engage visitors. The hoard dated to the reign of Constantine, and concerned big questions about who buried it and why. The participant emphasised that these were the answers the museum did not know for definite and could raise to engage with their audience.

When asked whether the Yorkshire Museum’s Roman displays discussed ethnicity, identity, and diversity, the participant stated ‘yes’. The Ivory Bangle Lady and the 'Meet the People of Empire' videos were indicated by the participant as two examples of many ways that this was done explicitly. The 'Meet the People' project was described to express research that combined material culture with bioarchaeology. The purpose of this was to show that Roman York was not populated by a stereotypical demographic group of white European males. The interviewee also highlighted the inclusion of Septimius Severus in the display and other archaeological items such as pottery with different influences from Africa and religions that evidence diversity.

At this point, the interviewee indicated that the museum’s displays only currently dealt with the top strata of society. It was described that this was only a subset of society, and even though it is

still diverse ethnically it is not in relation to class and wealth. It was emphasised that the poorer echelons of society did not have materials that survived in archaeological records as well as other wealthier levels of society.

It was expressed that when the gallery was created, certain objects were brought to groups of people in York to bring in specialist opinions of how objects where used. For example, it was described that items connected with hairstyles were taken to modern-day hairdressers to determine how they may have been used; similarly, other items were also taken to butchers. This process was emphasised to make connections with the public of York and brought in the interests and knowledge of a range of individuals. It was also indicated to have engaged with people who may not have usually participated in museum activities in general.

Before the interviewee turned to Question 2 of the interview question sheet, they stated that it was desirable to show the diversity of the Roman period. It was emphasised that this process should not be done to reflect the modern, although there was a fine balance where displays should be relatable to modern audiences and society.

In response to Question 2 on the question sheet, the participant stated they had a lot of freedom in the curation process. It was emphasised that types of audience will inform each display, and this is helped by Audience Finder.[63] The type of exhibition that will be curated was also stated to relate to who they may be intended for, or what the exhibition aims to discuss. The participant emphasised that there will be limitations to the curation process when it comes to money and time. It was highlighted that other individuals that are also concerned with the galleries are more interested in the project management side of the process and not the content. It was emphasised how the museum trusts the experts that contribute to display narratives. It was then stated that the audiences that visit the Yorkshire Museum were overwhelmingly visitors from outside of York and usually from the north of England.

The interviewee stated that there was no outside pressure to include ethnicity in the museum's displays. It was indicated, however, that the Arts Council had introduced diversity as a requirement in their applications for displays. It was expressed that the Yorkshire Museum was committed to this aim in both displays and workforce. It was reemphasised that there was no pressure on *how* to display identity and ethnicity.

---

[63] Audience Finder is a free national audience data and development tool that enables cultural organisations to understand, compare, and apply audience insight.

It was then stated that ethnicity, as a concept, is relatable to the museum's visitors. This was indicated to be a positive, although care was taken in how to treat the concept, particularly with the distinctions of scientific facts and material culture. This statement was clarified further as the participant stated that scientific archaeology can sometimes look more like a discussion of race. The interview said that despite this, ethnicity should not be avoided. The participant said they were keen to include complex concepts in exhibitions.

The interviewee then stated that a permanent exhibition should be made to last around 5 years. They felt that 10 years was too long as research moves quickly, and the needs of the audience too. The interviewee stated that the museum utilises talks and programming (curator talks) to communicate new research, knowledge, and complex ideas to its public. The museum was said to host the Yorkshire Philosophical Society lectures that are well attended, and its online collections are up to date with links to associated research papers with particular items. Blogs were also used, as well as social media and YouTube. The participant also explained that the museum sent staff to other museums to find and develop research and to visit other exhibitions.

The museum was stated to have an archaeological store for York and North Yorkshire. It was explained that the museum could use any of these items if it wants and receives new items regularly. Other museums were indicated to work with the Yorkshire Museum and its collection of material.

Schools were also stated by the participant to work with the museum's collections. The museum was said to run a lot of workshops that relate to the Roman period. The interviewee again emphasised that the KS2 curriculum was considered throughout the curation process at the museum. In respect to this, the participant described the curriculum as quite loose, which was positive as it permits curatorial teams to have a flexible interpretation of its incorporation into displays. It was emphasised that the curriculum is not, however, a factor that overrides other curatorial decisions, as the museum's galleries are more research- than curriculum-led. In relation to this, the participant stated that the loss of specialisms seen across the museum sector was not so much of an issue at Yorkshire Museum. Three members of staff at the museum were indicated to have an archaeology background whilst another had a classics background. It was also stated that the museum has an education team.

It was then indicated that displays will define terms to help with interpretation and understanding. The participant said that some topics were difficult when constrained by the object-led approach. One aspect that the participant mentioned was to distance narrative from the male and whitewashed displays generally seen elsewhere. It was stated that ethnicity is a challenge to display, however, the Yorkshire Museum does explicitly tackle this issue and will

continue to do so. It was expressed that one way to do this is to avoid token cases and be inclusive of all identities within the fabric of society, rather than displaying one-off cases of slaves or people from other countries.

The museum was indicated to not have a temporary exhibition space. If the museum did, the interviewee stated they would use it to broaden their approach and further challenge perceptions of the Roman world. The new exhibition was announced to currently be in the planning stages, with a flexible display space included to present new research.

Interviewee 36 and Interviewee 37 – Museum of London - 22/08/2018

Both participants stated that the Museum of London's temporary *Roman Dead* exhibition did not use ethnicity as a descriptive or interpretive concept within its narrative. The display was expressed, by both, to discuss the Roman period through biological, forensic, and anthropological research. Due to the scientific basis of the discourse and the material used, ethnicity was steered away from. A key factor as to why ethnicity was not expressed, as elaborated by both interviewees, was because of the 'origin vs ethnicity' relationship being too complex for it to be adequately explained in the display if both concepts were included. Research for the exhibit was conducted with scientific rather than cultural interpretation to evidence migration and ancestry but not ethnicity. It was further noted that ethnicity was purposely not included at all in the exhibition. Furthermore, the participants indicated that the inclusion of ancestry in the Roman Dead exhibit was also not part of the exhibit's design plan and only included as an extra descriptor when research had already been done. It was emphasised that ancestry, when included, was done so in an intrinsic manner as it should never be a token topic.

It was then highlighted that the museum's audience expects displays to discuss ethnicity because they will be aware of the topic and likely be thinking about it. Ethnicity was described by both participants to remain a difficult topic to communicate through a display, particularly as London's demographic includes many different ethnic groups it needs to engage with. Furthermore, the limited word space permitted for captions and display boards also curbed the curatorial team's ability to fully unpack and express the concept. There was a danger that was stated to be linked with the discussion of ethnicity in a Roman exhibit as it may be understood as a modern concept that has been projected onto the ancient past. For these reasons, the concept of ethnicity was omitted from the museum's *Roman Dead* exhibit.

Despite the absence of ethnic diversity used as a descriptor in the *Roman Dead* exhibit, the museum's marketing and publicity adverts were indicated to do so in a broad sense. The adverts

were expressed by both participants to promote the exhibition as it is demonstrating London's diverse past that has been built through conquest and migration. The main poster had included the image of a black woman that furthered this message. The wording used on the adverts were said to broadly reflect the diversity of ancient and modern London.

The participants then stated that the new permanent Roman galleries, to be installed once the museum has changed location, would look at modern trends such as diversity. It was expressed that audiences were open to discussions of these concepts as they regularly feature in public life and are, therefore, expected to be seen in museums that also address these conversations.

Interviewee 37 then indicated they had previously been asked to write a KS2 textbook that included diversity. This was used to evidence the expectation that audiences will be familiar with ancient periods being discussed through modern topics. Older textbooks about the Roman period were also indicated to be whitewashed. These homogenous interpretations of the Roman past were thought to have changed due to the introduction of newer theories that have progressed research on diverse pasts and are now a major topic.

In response to whether the curation process is free at the Museum of London, both participants stated that it was. The exhibition planning stage was, however, emphasised to be limited by time and the fact that the museum's display spaces were quite static; these were defined as general restraints. Another typical restraint to the curation process was that objects needed to be suitable for display. Broken and very incomplete skeletons were, therefore, not included in the recent *Roman Dead* exhibit and limited the material that the curators could use. The participants were, however, influenced by various factors such as past exhibits, and the Crime Museum's displays in particular that similarly to theirs depicted life and death. It was also emphasised that individuals in high positions at the Museum of London did have the power to interfere with curatorial processes, but rarely did.

Due to the general limitations of time available to curatorial teams, the *Roman Dead* exhibition was indicated to serve as a good example of the museum's wealth of material. The lack of time granted to the curatorial team meant new objects and research could not be brought to the new exhibit. Time restraints were consequently, reemphasised as a major hindrance to curatorial teams in general.

Both participants agreed that it would be hard for a story to be shown in a museum without the inclusion of objects to support narratives. It was stated to sometimes be difficult to link specific concepts, such as ethnicity, with history if there is no physical object or obvious link to make connections. It was emphasised that visitors to museums desire authenticity through the inclusion of historical objects. Within the *Roman Dead* exhibition, the curatorial team stated a

need to discuss funerals for example, and this demonstrated to them the difficulty to create an informative narrative on a subject that lacks physical evidence to create direct links. The topic still needed to be included, however, and this was emphasised to show the need for some topics to be included even without a range of objects that can relate to it.

The availability of items was partly stated to connect with The Museum of London's good relationships with the Museum of London Archaeology and other archaeological units. Pre-Construct Archaeology was, for example, stated to have excavated the sarcophagus that became the main item in the *Roman Dead* exhibition. This object was said to have been found in 2017 and perhaps due to the museum's good relationship with organisations, it only took a year for it to be displayed. Companies were said to trust the Museum of London with their objects and how the museum displays them which aids the curatorial process. The participants both stated that it is important to maintain trust with archaeological units as the construction of a display demonstrates how museums are trusted to handle objects and research produced by other people.

Research was also carried out by staff at the museum. Both participants indicated that this meant modern research could be included in Roman displays as supporting evidence can be created in-house. Interviewee 36 stated that they, for example, had a specialism and whilst this is relied upon, they have also developed many more because of the range of responsibilities associated with their role. These have grown over the years and indicated to have been caused by cutbacks that have limited the number of specialisms at museums. Despite fewer specialists now at the museum, however, the institution was still expected to have the same level of research impact and authority as before. As such, the interviewees argued that curators need to be nimble with specialisms and knowledge. It was further emphasised by both participants that a general loss of specialisms had also been seen in archaeology units and universities, and this had caused individuals to develop broad interest fields rather than narrow. Linked to the previous point that expectations are still the same at the museum despite the loss of staff and specialisms, it has developed a situation where curators are now responsible for other tasks, roles, and jobs in areas such as learning and education.

The key stage curriculum was emphasised, by both participants, to always be a part of the development of exhibitions. The *Roman Dead* exhibition was stated to include discussion of diversity that is part of the national curriculum's topics for the teaching of the Roman period. The museum was lucky, however, as the ability to do so predominantly came via funding from the Roman Society. Curators were stated to always have to work with their museum's learning departments, that were indicated to have grown at the Museum of London whilst other positions had lessened. This was indicated by both interviewees to have been caused by the growth in the

importance placed upon museum education. Both participants agreed that schools liked the *Roman Dead* exhibition because it contained STEM and the Roman era.

The participants then stated that there was a general increase in expectation from the public for the museum to include discussions of ethnicity and identity in their displays. Topics such as diversity, identity and ethnicity were emphasised to be in the news and, therefore, explicitly present within society. The participants considered it to be odd if future exhibitions at the Museum of London excluded these modern concepts due to the museum's location in London. On top of this, museums were described as possessing a social remit that they should aim to fill to reflect social trends and concerns. In reflection of this, the participants referred to the *Roman Dead* exhibit. It was stated that the temporary display included modern concerns and ethics associated with the display of human remains. It was emphasised that the curatorial team for the *Roman Dead* exhibit recognised the ethical impacts and policies concerning displays of human remains and that this was an important issue within the museum, which is very involved with these ethical matters. It was emphasised by both interviewees that information cannot just be displayed for its own sake; instead, it must be considered why an object or set of human remains wanted for display, how this may affect visitors, and whether an alternative may be better.

In the recent *Roman Dead* exhibit, the participants explained that there were also concerns over the display of skeletal remains of children and babies. It was stated that visitors could choose whether to view these displays within the museum, and comments by the public indicated that adults found the exhibition a safe space to discuss death in the museum; it was, therefore, indicated that the *Roman Dead* exhibit had become a platform for sensitive issues. The concern that surrounds death, infant remains, and their display in an exhibit was also linked with the view that it is hard to create a family exhibition based on death. The participants stated that the *Roman Dead* exhibit was, therefore, innovative as it managed to create a family exhibit on the topic of death.

The participants then discussed another expectation and pressure placed on curatorial teams by the public, concerning their trust in modern research. It was emphasised by the participants that basic scientific research was more easily accepted by their audiences than interpretive theories concerning objects. The Museum of London's blog was here highlighted as it discussed the scientific processes behind research at the museum. The videos and demonstrations of these research methods in exhibits were also highlighted to reveal the scientific research practices behind museum narratives of the Roman period. It was further stated by both interviewees that ancestry, shown through scientific research, was difficult to disprove whereas interpretive hypotheses can be more easily challenged. An example given of this was the 'German Man' who is included in the *Roman Dead* exhibit, was once thought to be German due to the objects he was

found with, however, science showed this was not, in fact, the case. It was also emphasised by both participants that it is important to show audiences how narratives were researched.

A difficulty with museum displays, as stated by the participants, was the complex topics that needed to be discussed in a simple accessible format, without it appearing 'dumbed down'. It was emphasised that there was a fine line between exhibiting for a KS2 group that visit for a learning purpose, for example, and an exhibition for adults.

In response to how long a permanent exhibition should last, both participants agreed that 10 years was an ideal length of time for a permanent exhibition. After a decade displays need to change, however, as the participants stated, most displays are in place for longer than 10 years. A part of the problem for static displays at the Museum of London was explained to be the inflexibility of the spaces they are installed in and, therefore, design changes to buildings and rooms are essential. The participants stated that the Museum of London's new permanent Roman Gallery had been discussed in preliminary planning sessions that questioned the possible use of digital captions to provide ease and access in the updating of its narrative. The aim of the new exhibit was stated to be a display that is sympathetic to its visitors; this was not thought to be possible if galleries are outdated.

Curatorial decisions and approaches to how a display expresses itself were difficult for the Museum of London, however, due to its international audience. This difficulty was highlighted to be increasingly present in the museum's permanent, compared to temporary, exhibitions, as international visitors are more likely to visit the Museum of London's main site, rather than temporary exhibitions at the Docklands. Accessibility was, therefore, explained to be a key aspect for curatorial teams, although every exhibition will be approached differently. A temporary exhibition, on the other hand, was agreed by both to generally last around 6 months at the museum.

Interviewee 38 - The Roman Museum - 07/09/2018

To begin the interview, the participant explained a plan for the update of the Roman Museum's current displays.

The participant stated that the museum planned to provide the *Iron Age* room with an increased 'native' perspective on the transition period between the Iron Age and Roman era. The current display was described by the interviewee to have too much focus on the Roman perspective, indicated by a quote from Strabo on the exhibit's wall. It was described that the perspective currently used to define the ancient period was passive as it did not deal with life in the past. In

the updated room, the participant said the museum would keep most of the objects currently on display, but the interpretations would change with new research included.

It was explained that the updated displays would still include a soldier mannequin, already present in the museum's Iron Age room, situated at the beginning of the museum. The mannequin was described as 'not white' and was used to depict a soldier of possible Germanic identity. The current display was described by the interviewee to lack real links with concepts such as the army, and this may be due to the lack of specialisms within the museum's staff. The new displays were indicated to bring the museum increasingly up-to-date on wider socio-political concerns such as the ethics integral to the curatorial process concerning the display of bodies; the Museum of London's museal practice was here indicated to illustrate this point.

Attention then turned to the Roman Museum's *Market Gallery*. This display depicts a replica market scene with stalls and market sellers with objects displayed as goods for sale. The interviewee stated that the room failed to discuss who was selling the wares. The mannequins within the display were also stated as failing to represent the people who would be present at a Roman market, and the participant wanted to ensure the new display rectified this. The redisplay was described to include sellers from diverse backgrounds, with more information on what is sold, from where, those selling, and the cultures this brings together. Until then, space was indicated to remain static.

The participant explained that the museum did not contain much information within its displays. This was described to be ultimately due to the lack of interpretation on the museum's information boards and labels; this was also linked, by the interviewee, to the lack of specialists at the museum. The museum was here stated not to show the diversity of the Roman period, a point that the participant said they had made clear in meetings at the museum and local council.

The interviewee described the museum's display as 'watered down'. This was linked to the notion that it had to be suitable for children, something which the interviewee explained had resulted, for example, in the avoidance of the term 'slavery'. Instead, labels used the word 'servants'.

The interview then turned to discuss the museum's Saturnalia display, which was explained to be quite new and demonstrated the inclusion of new research and objects. The case was stated to still lack a Romano-British perspective by the interviewee, being described as being more from a Roman point of view. The museum had a display case on religious cult that was, according to the participant, the best aspect of the museum that touched upon Romano-British culture. The small scale of this section was identified by the participant compared to the rest of the museum.

After the discussion of the Religious Cult section of the museum, the interviewee addressed the section of the Roman Museum that discussed everyday life and death in the Roman period. The exhibit was stated to include objects that could effectively delve into an aspect of the Roman period, although the participant stated that the text needed to be updated. The interviewee described this section of the museum as lacking in analysis of objects and, therefore, it neglects to provide visitors with information. The aim of the exhibit was, the participant explained, to tell audiences what *is* and *is not* known about Roman Canterbury. As the participant stated, the museum did not tell a story and was described to better reflect a museum where objects have been thrown into a room without much context.

The participant then discussed what they described as the main attraction of the museum - the Roman mosaic uncovered by the Blitz in World War 2. The display included the mosaic floors and hypocaust system of a Roman building but was described by the participant as poorly presented. The display was described as not discussing who would have lived in the building, or those who would have been involved in its daily life. It was admitted by the interviewee that this would be a difficult task but described as necessary.

In response to whether the Roman Museum depicted and discussed ethnicity or identity, the participant answered that the museum did not display ethnicity explicitly, and only showed it implicitly. The interviewee stated that there had been a lack of research that utilised ethnicity as a concept to discuss the Roman period, however, this has now changed. As a result, the participant stated that ethnicity and identity will be featured in new exhibitions.

It was stated that modern concepts crept into the museum's Roman displays over time and had influenced the portrayal and perception of a display. An example provided by the participant included colonialism, and how the Roman period saw a different type of colonialism in comparison to the association most people have with the term and the British Empire.

The participant stated that a permanent display should not last longer than 5 years, as by this time new scholarship would need to be incorporated into displays.

The interview then ended with a brief example of how the UK's national curriculum was not a significant part of the museum's curatorial process. It was stated that education did not determine what is displayed in the Roman Museum, but that the museum's displays nonetheless did need to reinforce their educational role. An example was the provision of educational workshops and activities at the museum that focused on aspects of the Roman past, such as the army, despite not being a strong focus within the museum's displays.

The participant then stated that the term 'Celt', which was used in the national curriculum, would be dropped from the museum's future displays.

Additional Conversation 1 – Verulamium – 12/02/2018

I asked this participant questions that related to the public's expectations of Verulamium.

The participant got the impression that most visitors expected to see a traditional Roman museum and to essentially see Roman objects. It was clarified that this was caused by many visitors ignoring the museum's tagline as a museum showing day-to-day Roman life. The public was emphasised to expect common topics usually associated with the Roman period such as the army, the Boudican Revolt, and general fighting between natives and invaders. It was emphasised that people had a preconceived idea of who the Romans were usually linked to the main protagonists of the era. Some groups were also indicated to expect more interactive screens and, therefore, increasingly modern forms of communication than what is on offer. Once individuals were inside the museum, however, it was explained that they soon realise the institution's aims and come away with ideas about day to day life in the Roman period.

Additional conversation 2 – Mildenhall Museum – 13/02/2018

When Interviewee 18 at Mildenhall Museum stated their answer in response to how long a permanent display should last, they invited another member of staff to also answer. This volunteer stated that a permanent exhibition should be able to last indefinitely as implied by the word 'permanent'.

Appendix 15: Dataset 2 - Spreadsheet of questionnaire responses

Key: 1 = No | 2 = Yes

ID#	Q1	Q2	Q3	Q4	Q5	Q5 Expansion field	Q6	Q7	Q8	Q9	Q9 Expansion field	Q10	Q10 Expansion field	Age	Nationality	Ethnicity
1	2			2			2	2	2			1	Not usually influenced significantly. No reason for influence. UK has to accept and acknowledge some colonial policies which seemed appropriate at the time may be viewed differently today and this principle applies in other areas too.		British	White
2	2	2	2	2			2	2	2	2	We should always look at ourselves thru history - it made us	2	We should always look at ourselves thru history - it made us	65	UK	White British
3	1	1	1	2	1		2	1	2	1		1		65	British	British
4	2	1	2	2			2	2	2	1		2	I think that we should understand history as it was and be less judgemental on the basis of current ideology.	65	British	
5	2	2	2	2	2		2	2	2	2		2		65	British	Caucasian
6	1	1	2	2			2	2	2	1		1		57	Australian	British / European

7	1	1	2	1	1	Not relevant	1	1	2	1		2	Yes - how we interpret history - relate to own experiences		British	English
8	1	1	2	1	1	Not relevant, its about presentation of history and what they believed.	2	2	2	2	In terms of comparison then yes but only if that is a specific topic area that needs addressing and who knows what our time is now to make comparison?	2	Politics dictate historic learning in education		British	White
9	1	1	1	2			2	1	2	2	Migrant workers are not a new idea. Invasion and slavery should also be covered.	2	This is not great, history should be thought of in terms of period views.	39	British	White
10	1	1	2	2			2	1	2	2	Links societies together, history often repeats itself	2	If linked to modern views, people are more likely to visit, however this shouldn't be the case	33	British	White British
11	1	2	1	2			2	1	2	2	Comparisons should be made e.g. Romans brought in experts to build skills and trade that were not available in the native population	2	But should not be so. That was then this is now. You cannot judge the past by today's standards	73	English	English
12	2	1	2	2			2	2	2	2	As always in history this has	2	As we can't go back in time personally we only	47		British White

											been an issue. Victorians had to look certain way etc.		have our ways and what is written by others who could be bias.			
13	2	1	2	2			1	2	2	2		1				
14	1	1	2	2			1	2	2	1		2		29	British	Caucasian
15	2	2	2	2	1		2	2	2	2		2	Most people have no idea of their own ancestry	73	British	White
16	2	2	2				2	2	2	2		2		69	British	White
17	2	1	1	1	1	Too much focus in made nowadays of ethnic importance - acceptance / acknowledgement not enforcement.	1	1	2	2		2		69	British	British
18	1	1	1	1	1		2	2	2	2	As long as differences are highlighted	1		56	UK	White Caucasian
19	1		1	1	1		2	2	2	1		2		45	Panamanian	
20	2	1	1	2			1	1	2	1		2		63	British	
21	1	1	2	2			2	2	2	1		2		23	British	White
22	2	2	1	2			2	2	2	2	Simpler / Relatable	2		18	American	White
23	2	2	1	2			2	2	2	2	Relatable and easy to interpret	2				
24	1	1	2	2			2	2	2	2		2		30	German	German
25	1	1	1				2	2	2	1		2		57	British	White
26	2	2	2	2			2	2	2	2	Case for all periods, Romans	2		51	UK	White British

											used other as reflection					
27	2		2	2			2	2	2	2	Relatable, it needs to be honest and realistic	2		28	British / Australian	British
28	2	2	2	1	1		2	2	2	2		2		38	Italian	Mixed / White Asian
29	2	1	2	1	2		2	2	2	2		2		24	British	White British
30	2	1	2	1	2		2	2	2	2		2		41	American	Hispanic / Latino
31	2		2	2			2	2	2	2		2	Always are	32	British	White British
32	2		2	2					2	2		2		30	British	White British
33	2	1	2	2			2	2	2	2		1		22	British	White British
34	2		2	2			2	2	2				In some yes	38	English	White
35	2	2		2			2	2	2			2		26	French	White
36	2	2	1	2			2	2	2	2		2		23	Slovak	White European
37	1	2	2	2			2	2	2	2		2		67	British	White British
38	2	2	1	2			1	2	2	2		2		49	English	English
39		1	2	2			2	2	2	2		2	Inevitably	69	British	White Caucasian
40	1	2	2	2			2	2	2	1	Keep as context	2		31	English	White
41	2	2	2	2			2	2	2	2		2		28	USA	White Caucasian
42	2	2	2	1	2		2	2	2	2		2		24	USA	Hispanic
43	2	2	2	2			2	2	2	1	Shouldn't be reinvented	2		30	British	White British
44	2	2	2	2			2	2	2	2		2		26	Australian	White
45	1	1	2				2	2	2	2	Can be very relevant to today	2		45	Romanian	Human
46	1	1	2				2	2	2	2	Shows relevance	2		45	Romanian	Human
47	2	1	2	2			2	2	2	2		2		26	UK	British

48	2	1	2	2			2	2	2	2		2		22	French	French
49	2	1	2	2			2	2	2	2		2		25	British	White British
50	1	1	1	2			2	2	2	2		2		35	Columbian	
51	2		2	2				2	2	2		1		57	Brit	White
52	2	1	1	2			2	2	2	2	Can learn a lot	2	Should learn from past	51	Brit	White
53	1	1	2	2			2	2	2	2	Can be parallel	2		35	British	Caucasian
54	2	2	2	2			2	2	2	2		2		26	Greek	Caucasian
55	2	1	2	2			2	2	2	2		2	Is now increasingly	50	English	Normal
56	2	2		2			2	2	2	2		2		25	Italian	Italian
57	2	1	2	2			2	2	2	2		1		27	Argentinian	Don't have one
58	2	2	2	1	2		2	2	2	2		2		19	Swiss	
59	2	1	2	2			2	2	2	2		2		21	German	White
60	1	1	2	2			2	2	2	2		2		25	British	White British
61	2	1	2	2			2	2	2	2		2		24	British	White British
62		1	2	2			2	2	2	2		2		18	Belgium	Belgian
63		1	2	2			2	2	2	2		2		54	Belgium	Belgian
64	2	2	2	2			2	2	2	2	Good to make connections relevant for people	2	Can't help but look from modern perspective	50	British	White
65	1	2	1	2			2	2	2	1		2		25	Spanish	White
66	1	1	2	2			2	2	2	1		2		33	American	White
67	2		2	2			2	2	2	2	Shows differences and impacts today	2	and religion	36	English / British	English
68	2		2	2			2	2	2	2		2		38	English / British	English
69	2	1	2	2			2	2	2	2	Can draw similarities	2	Think everyone has put own spin on things	30	British	White
70	2	1	2	2			2	2	2			2		22	Polish	White

71	2	1	2	2			2	2	2	1		2		29	Japanese	Asian
72	2	2	2	1	2	Tricky because a lot of different ethnicities	2	2	2	2	For people to understand	2		22	British	White Asian
73	2	2	2	1	2		2	2	2	1		2		29	British	White British
74	2	2	2	1	2		2	2	2	2		2		30	French	White Caribbean
75	2	1	2	2			2	2	2	2		2	Compared to yes in degrees	60	British	White
76	1	2	2	2			2	2	2	1		2		23	British	White British
77	1	1	2	2			2	2	2	1		2		23	British	White British
78	2	1	2	2			2	2	2	2		2		66	American	White Caucasian
79	2	1	2	2			1	2	2	2		2		43	American	Caucasian
80	2	2	2	2			2	2	2	2		2	Definitely	44	Czech	White / Non-UK / Other
81	1	1	1	2			2	2	2	2	Gender, ethnicity, race and sexual identities are great ways to engage the public in history and with Museum displays. However, it is not the job of museums to engage in promoting politically correct views or engaging in liberal social engineering.	2	Every period views history through the lens of its own preoccupations and this is unavoidable. The danger of this, if taken to extremes is distortion and anachronism. There are many recent examples of past figures being judged by current ethical standards rather than that of their own time. This has the risk of rewriting history and erasing aspects we do not approve of. An	64	British	White British

													example is the Cecil Rhodes controversy at Oxford. We must always remember that our moral views are just as liable to be superseded as those of our predecessors.			
82	2	2	2	2			2	2	2	2		2		80	European	White
83	1	1	2	2			2	1	2	2	Ancient Roman society (pre-Christian) can appear familiar, but also 'other'. We believe slavery is just plain wrong, yet while it was practised by Rome (and elsewhere) it was devoid of any racial qualification: a black work colleague found this surprising, as her precepts were based on more recent history. So while Romans were snobbish regarding the inferiority of other cultures, like	2	…but with a qualification. It depends on the why the politics has been introduced, is it an effort to put the past into context (explaining Roman 'otherness'), or simply trying to appear 'right on' [Raise Right Fist Here] or to generate publicity? In other words, is the cart before the horse?	58	British	White British

											Athens or Sparta before them, race itself appears to be very low to non-existent, when one might have supposed the opposite. The most quoted example, of course, is L. Septimius Severus.					
84	2	1	2	2			2	2	2	2	We have to. Societies should learn from the past		Don't know, hope not	61	British / World	Multicultural
85	2	2	1	2			1	1	2	2		1				
86	2	1	1	2			1	1	2	1		2	Perhaps		British	
87	2	1	1	2			1	1	2	1		1			British	
88	1	1	2	2			2	2	2	2		2		59	British	
89	2	1	2	2			2	2	2	2	Form links, see differences and similarities	2	Indirectly	52	British	White European
90	1	1	2	1	1	More interested in history	2	1	2	1		2		66	British	British
91		1		2			1	1	2	2	Easier to contextualise	2		26	British	White British
92	2	2	2	2			2	2	2	2	Shows progression	2		52	British	White British
93	2	2	2	2			2	2	2	2	To show commonalities	2		52	British	White British

94	2	1	2	2			1	1	2	2		1				
95	2	1	1	2			1	1	2	1		1				
96	1	1	2	2			2	1	2	2	See how things change	2	Absolutely	60	British	White
97	2	1	2	2			2	2	2		Not so dissimilar	2	Unavoidable		British	Human
98	2	1	2	2			2	2	2		Not so dissimilar	2	Not avoidable	43	British	Human
99	2	1	2	2			2	2	2	2	Relatable	1		62	British	Caucasian
100	2	1	2	2			1	2	2	2		2		49	British	White British
101	2	1	2				1	1	2	1		1		51	Polish	White
102	2	1	2	2			2	2	2	2		2			Portuguese	White European
103	1	1	2	2			2	2	2	2		1		32	British	British
104	1	1	2	1		Not negative, museums are for history	2	2	2	1			Depends on the narrator	41		White British
105	2		1	1	2		2	2	2	2		2		32	Ukrainian	Ukrainian
106	2	2	2	2			1	2	2	2		2	Unintentional	67	British	White British
107	2	2	2	2			1	2	2	2		2	Unintentionally	67	British	White British
108	2	1	1				2	1	2	2		1		57	British	British White
109	2	1	2	2			2	2	2	2		2	Sometimes	19	British	White British
110	2	1	2	2			2	2	2	2		2		43	British	White
111	2	2	2	1		Everyone would be difficult	2	2	2	2		2		44	British	White British
112	2	1	2	2			2	1	2	1		2			English / Kentish	White British
113	1	1	1	2			2	2	1	1	Snapshot of period	2	Bound to be - not a value statement		British	British White
114	2	2	2	2			1	2	2	2	To make relatable to younger people	2	Suppose must be, not clearly aware of	79	British	British

115	2	1	2	1		History should be depicted, not modern	2	2	2	2		2		31	British	White
116	2	1	2	1			2	2	2	2		1		31	British	White
117	2		2	2			2	2	2	2		2	This is not good necessarily as it can make the facts biased to another point of view			
118	2	1	2	2			2	2	2	1	Ancient history should never be twisted to be relatable	2	No, not good. Propaganda etc. glorified reduces true events	19		White
119	2	1	2	2			2	2	2	2	It's important to know the different perspectives of people not in contemporary society so we can see how these views have came about.	2	It's not great as it could defer from the actual history.	18	British	British White
120	1	1	1	2			2	1	2	1	To a certain extent is important to understand what humanity has done and what it is therefore capable of doing again, however there is a risk of obscuring the identity of the	2	Ideally, history should be objective, however, this is impossible	19	British	Human

											ancient Roman civilisation when explaining it as a lens for modern society					
121	2	1	2	2			2	2	2	2		2		20	British	White British
122	2	1	2	2			2	2	2	2	Provides cultural contrast between the past and the present			18	British	White
123	2	1	2	2			2	2	2	2	By comparing to modern society, it provides perspectives which is important when learning about ancient cultures.	2		19	British	White
124	1	1	2	2			2	1	2	2	It makes them more human and relatable in a modern context	2	It taints the past to fit modern perspectives.	18		White British
125	2	2	2	2			2	2	2	2	The western world is deeply influenced by the Romans. I think most of our taboos were initially Romans.	2	History should never be explained in a biased way	19	French	Mediterranean
126	2	1	2	2			2	2	2	2	Because it allows people to relate to the past better.	2	This is not good as we should see history as it was, not in a way to benefit politics.	18	British	White British

127	1	1	2	2			2	2	2	2	Helps us understand how attitudes have evolved/stayed the same (e.g. 'fear of the East' present in The Aeneid - Dido representing Cleopatra is still an issue in modern society).	2				
128	2	2	2	2			2	1	2	2		2	Victorian views	18	White British	White British
129	2	1	2	2			2	2	2	1	We cannot fully understand the ancient perspective as nobody is around we can only speculate.	2	This is not good	19	British	White
130	1	1	2	1	2		2	2	2	1		2				
131	2	1	1	2			2	2	2	1	Unless the topic was relevant to them we shouldn't try to force modern views into the societal make-up of the day	2	Again, it depends, some things from today aren't relevant to back then.	18	British	White British
132	2	1	2	2			2	2	2	2	It will then be easier to understand the	2	Its not truthful to the past	21	British	White

											Roman world better					
133	2	1	2	2			2	1	2	2	It will allow people to interact with the Roman era in a way they understand.	2	No, it's not good, it makes what was and whilst it can be more engaging to show a comparison we have evolved/changed since then.	20	British	White
134	2	2	2	2			2	2	2	2		2	No, because you can't really project modern-day views and ideas into another historical period which didn't have these views	18	British	White
135	2	2	2	2			2	2	2	2	It brings to light areas of ancient society which can make it more relatable to a modern audience on top of this, it creates a window into the everyday life of the Romans.	2	It creates a bias and doesn't allow people to form their own opinions on how people were treated	19	British	White British
136	1	2	2	2			2	2	2	2	So that a modern audience will be able to empathise	2	It is bad, causes a biased depictions	18	British	White British
137	2	1	2	2			2	2	2	2	It makes the study relevant and applicable in modern day instead of just	2	Yes, this is shown particularly in [undeciphered] this when people want to be backed by those that	19	English	White British

											looking at old bits of pottery for the sake of it.		have succeeded in the past, therefore giving their cause more legitimacy			
138	1	1	2	2		I am a white European, and displays of white European heritage are very common in Europe. I care more about accuracy and authenticity than representation.	1	1	2	2	The more accurate info on Roman stuff, the better.	2	It is bad. History should be taught objectively, free from political influence	19	British	White
139	2	2	2	2			2	2	2	2		2		31	British	White
140	2	1	2	2			2	2	2	2	Understandable if relatable	2	Different insights such as religion. Depends who wrote and who they were	75	English	English
141	2	2	2	2			2	2	2	2	Used to be unrelatable when was a kid. Brought up Caerleon's old display	2	Depends who wrote that version of history	75	English	English
142	2	2	2	2			2	2	2	2	Its important for younger people will make it relatable to them.	2	Writer will be influenced by own views. A religious person may leave certain stuff out for example	69	English	White
143	2	1	2	2			2	2	2	2		1			Welsh	Welsh
144	2	1	2	2			2	2	2	2		1			Welsh	Welsh

145	1	1	1	2			2	1	2	2	Can make more interesting relatable	2		55	English	White English
146	1	1	1	2			2	1	2	2		2		53	English	White English
147	1	2	2	2			2	2	2	2		2		33	British	White British
148	1	1	1	1	1		2	2	2	1	Most important thing learn about how things done in past	1		38	British	White Male
149	1	1	1	2			2	2	2	1		1		34	British	White British
150	2	1	2	1	2	Germans are very misrepresented	2	2	2	2		2	Very much so		British / Australian	Australian
151	2	1	1	2			1	1	2	2		1	All history can't/shouldn't change it	60	British	White
152	2	1	2	2			2	2	2	2		2		28	British	White
153	2	1	1	2			2	2	2	2	Relate / compare	1		23	British	White
154	2	1	1	2			2	2	2	2	Make comparison	2		23	British	White
155	2	1	1	2			1	1	2			1	Depicted by what happened then	65	British	White British
156	2	1	2	2			2	2	2	1	Doesn't have to reflect modern society	2	Told by winners	46	English / British	Caucasian
157	2	1	2	2			2	2	2	2	Relatable	2		22	Saxon British	White
158	2	1	2	2			2	2	2	2	Relatable	2		21	English	White British
159	2	1	2	2			1	1	2	2				55	British	
160	1	1	1	2			2	1	2			2		52	British White	
161	1	2		2			2	2	2	1		1		65	British	White
162	1	2		2			2	2	2	1		1		71	British	White

163	2		2	2			2	2	2	1	Can be confusing when comparing	1	Used to be	31	Italian	White other
164	2		2	1	1	Nice to see history from different place	2	2	2	2		1	In Spain Franco explicitly influenced history displays	33	Spanish	White other
165	2	2	2	2			2	2	2	2	It can allow us to compare the way in which certain important topics were dealt with in both eras	2	Events may be told/skewed depending on the views of the group depicting history	19	British	White
166	2	1	2	2			2	2	2	2	Everything that is in the past has shaped everything that is in the now.	2	People can choose to see what they want with some things in life to suit their own beliefs and opinions.	51	British	British
167	2	1	2	2			2	2	2	2		2		20	British	Caucasian
168	1	2	1	1	1	Museums are there to accurately represent times past - not re-write historical events and change facts.	2	2	2	1	To be accurate and factual, as per the time period - not modern sensibilities.	1	I hope not! History doesn't change- politics does.	50	English / Welsh / Irish and others	English / Welsh / Irish and Others / White
169	2	2	2	2			2	2	2		Up to a point. It's easy to edit history to suit our present values.	2	We tend to focus on those parts of our history that mirror intervals of our present times.	65	British	Celtic
170	2	2	2	1		I feel the current narrative of a singular trajectory of history and	2	2	2	2	for sure, especially understanding when female		Yes not only modern but imperial phallic old assholes on power trips.	24	British	Guatemalan

						heritage is entirely one dimensional and in no way sufficient in its representation. If this be the case of presenting my personal ethnic identity, then I desire not to be represented by this narrative.					sexual oppression and other forms of oppression came into being and why. I am only interested in discussions of history when they are inclusive and challenge.					
171	2	1	2	2			2	2	2	2		1		43	British	Me
172	1	1	2	2			2	2	2	2	(Can't say no as don't think it’s a bad idea - so long as 'yes' doesn't imply definite agreement) Ancient perspective could be easily misinterpreted when referring to contemporary topics, particularly if contemporary ideas are still under debate. Placing contemporary ideas in an explanation of	2	Depictions of history are politically influenced and depictions of history are influenced by modern views.	32	British	White / Irish

											ancient perspective could damage modern opinion of ancient perspective (e.g. identifying asexual/nonbinary traits where they might not have been acknowledged).					
173	1	1	2	1	1	The duty of museums is to display objects in their accurate historical / archaeological context to give the viewer a sense of their history and meaning. The ethnicity of those represented should be historically accurate.	2	2	2	2	Yes, we can understand ourselves a bit better if we look at past societies, but we should be wary of implanting contemporary views/ideas on the past of course.	2	Unfortunately inevitable, and gives an odd view of the past at times, but can also provide insight if carefully done. What is historical study for? To accurately reconstruct the past? To help us understand the present? Or bit of both? The two are not easily compatible.	41	British / Irish	Irish
174	1	2	2	1	2	There is little representation of south Asian/other non-white diaspora (and their contributions) in	2	2	2	1		2	The lack of criticism evident, for example regarding the way that displays are acquired, or of British methods overseas in general, is an example of how the	33	British	Pakistani

						the UK in museum displays – this promotes a narrow interpretation of the makeup of historical societies. It implies that racial diversity is a relatively new development, which in turn could reinforce the idea that these groups are recent arrivals and have little claim to the country in which they reside.							narrative is politically-influenced, but this seems to be more in keeping with out-dated imperialist views, which in theory should be less palatable today.			
175	2	2	2	2			2	2	2	2			I don't know	40	British	White
176	2	2	2	2		I am white… (Yes, I am well-represented)	2	2	2		This alludes to the question of how much we as a society should be able to learn lessons from the past. I am not convinced that this is necessarily a straight forward process, even if it is preferable.	2	Obviously! Politics determines what funding is available and, usually, what agendas are pushed	32	British	White

											Certainly, making the past relevant is more likely to attract contemporary audiences.					
177	2	1	2	2		They already do, so…	1	2	2	1	I think it can be interesting to do so, but do not consider it a requirement	2	I think its subconscious if nothing else; we interpret info but only in terms of our own experiences	38	British	White
178	2	2	2	2			2	2	2	2	I think for everyday people who don't regularly attend museums, the Roman period can often be quite hard to understand. I think if people can compare something they understand in the modern age to something in the Roman period it might help them learn more about the period.	2	Absolutely! We can try and label something a particular way based on standards we already understand. For example, I'm sure how we display objects in the Imperial War Museum is based are upon modern understanding of who were our 'enemies'.	25	British	White
179	2	1	2	2			1	1	2	2		2	TV programmes showing things wrong	38	British	White
180	2	1	1	2			2	2	2			2		37	UK	White

181	1	1	1	2	1	Museums should present the facts, and allow people to draw their own conclusions, admittedly with guidance from the museum	2	2	2	1	Museums should accurately reflect the facts as best as they are known. They should not bend to modern 'unacceptable' thoughts and opinions	2	Of course, but they shouldn't be. Our own environment, and that of historians influences the way we interpret facts and draw conclusions. This should probably be highlighted in museum displays.	25	British Empire	White
182	1	1	2	2			2	1	2	1	I think museums should just present the facts and there is no need to impose modern morality	2		25	Cornish	White
183	1	2	2	2			2	2	2	1	Important? Maybe not as modern society might not always be a good comparison, however, it is useful for museum displays in order to communicate interpretation	2	Archaeological/Historical interpretation has always been influenced by current events and shifted during the 20th century to reflect these over time.	31	British	White
184	2	2	2	2			2	2	2	2		2		33	British	White
185	2	2		2			2	2	2	2	I think it could be interesting, rather than specifically being important!	2		43	British	White

186	2	2		1	1	Locality perspective	2	2	2	2		2		32	Chinese	Chinese
187	2	1	2					2	2	2		1		63	British	Caucasian / White
188	2	2	2	2			2	2	2	2		2		24	Spanish	
189	2	1	2	2			2	2	2	1		2		55	US	White
190	2	1	2	2			2	2	2	2	More relevant	2		44	British	White British
191	1	1	1	2			2	2	2	2	Comparisons	2	Writers of history always have bias	46	British	White European
192	2	1	2	2			2	2	2	2		2		18	English	White
193		1	2	2			2	2	2	2	Helpful, continuation	2		21	British	White British
194	2	2	2	2			2	2	2	2		2		47	Italian	Caucasian
195	2	1	2	1	1	Own country does that	2	2	2	2	Like connections	1	Like to hope curators are impartial	37	Australia	Caucasian
196	2	1	2	2			2	2	2	1	Understand in its own context, shouldn't make comparisons	2		20	British	White British
197	1	1	2	2			2	2	2	1		2			British	White
198	1	1	2	2			2	2	2	1		2			British	White
199	1	2	2	2			2	2	2	2		2		40	Canadian	White
200	2	1	1	2			2	1	2	2		2		46	British	White British
201	2						2	2	2	2		2		31	Brazilian	Brazilian Native / Portuguese
202	1	1		2			2	2	2	2		1		23	English	
203	1	1		2			2	2	2	2		1		25	English	
204	2	2	2	2			2	2	2	2		2		21	British	Atheist
205	1	1	2	2			2	2	2	2		2		22	British	Atheist
206	2	1	2	2			1	1	2	2		2		62	British	White

207	2	1	2	2			1	1	2	1		1		58	English	Yorkshire
208	2	1	2	2			2	2	2	2		2	A lot of propaganda	37	British	White British
209	2	1	2	2			2	2	2	2		2	Probably in subtle ways	35	British	White
210	1	1	2	2			1	1	2	2		2	Obviously	30	American	White
211	2	1	2	2			2	2	2	2		2		29	British	British
212	2	1	2	2			2	2	2	2		2		58	British	British
213	2	1	2	1	2		2	2	2	2		2		29	Brazilian	Native American / Black Mixed
214	2	1	2	1	2		2	2	2	2		2		23	Brazilian	Native American / Black Mixed
215	2	1	2	2			2	2	2	2		2		35	British	British
216	1	1		2			2	2	2	2	Like exhibit way it is - already shows good diversity	2		64	American	Caucasian
217	1	1	1	2			2	2	2	2	I feel it helps people in modern society to understand and learn more by relating it to scenarios they know.	2	It depends on the museum and curators interest and input as to how the piece is shown, aka how it is influenced.	25	British	White
218	2	1	2	2			2	2	2	2		1		57	British	White
219	2	2	2	2			2	2	2	2		2	Not necessary a bad thing	27	British	British
220	1	1	2	2			2	2	2	2		2		30	Norwegian	White
221	2	2	2	2			2	2	2	2		2		22	British	White British
222	2	2	2	2			2	2	2	2	To allow everyone to see themselves reflected, such as	2	They change as theories and views are reflected and altered	22	British	White

											friends who we expect to see.					
223	1	1	2	2			2	1	2	1		2		63	British	White / Anglo-Saxon
224	2	2	2	2			2	2	2	2		2		60	British	English / Caucasian
225	2	1	2	2			2	2	2	2		2		24	Bulgaria	White
226	2	1	2			Yes and no - for example, Afro-Latina not all the time	2	2	2	2		2		38	American	Afro-Latina
227	2	2	1	2			2	1	2	2		2		19	French	White European
228	2	1	1	2			2	2	2	2	Relatable	2	God yeh	60	British	White / Anglo-Saxon
229	2	1	2	2			2	2	2	2		2		24	English	White
230	2	2	2	2			2	2	2	2	To be understandable	2		22	British	White British
231	2	2	2	2			2	2	2	2	To be understandable	2		24	British	White British
232	1	2	2	2			2	2	2	2		2	Definitely	21	British	White
233	2	2	2	2			2	2	2	2		2		40	UK	White British
234	2	2	2	2			2	2	2	2		2		29	French	Caucasian
235	2	2	2	1	2		2	2	2	2		2		27	French	Black / Arabic
236	2	1	2	2			2	2	2	2		2		19	English	White
237	1	1	2	2			2	2	2	2		2	Definitely	22	British	White
238	2	1	2	2			2	2	2	1		2		53	English	White
239	1	1	2	2			2	2	2	2		2	Always	22	British	White
240	2	1	1	2			1	1	2	2				70	British	White European
241	2	1	1	1	1		1	1	2	2				58	Australian	White Australian

242	2	2	2	2			2	2	2	2		2	Not sure if should be		English	White
243	1	2		2			2	2	2		There to represent what was and what can be. Matter of opinion what you go there for.	2		17	Netherlands	European
244	1	1	1	2			2	1	2	1	History is history, and whether people like or dislike the way ancient society lived, it shouldn't ever be changed to suit modern perceptions.	1	History could have been influenced by political views over many years and we may never know	54	British	White British
245	2	1	2	2			2	1	2	2		1			British	White British
246	2	1	2	2			2	2	2	2		2		60	English	White British
247	2	1	2	2			1	1	2	2	It is important for people who do not study (read) history to be able to understand and learn as much as possible from museum visits.		Don’t really pay much attention to this	52	British	White British
248	2	1	2	2			2	2	2	2	For many, the more relatable an exhibit is, the more they will feel associated with it, be	2	I think that it is inevitable if those developing and viewing the depictions do not take the time and make the mental space to think outside of their	51	British	English

											interested and hence learn.		current context. We all naturally seek alignment with our own norms and tend to see/read things through that filter.			
249	1	1	1	2			2	2	2	2		2		51	British	English
250	2	2	2	2			2	2	2	2		2	I think it works both ways… modern views are influenced by history and also the depiction of history is influenced by modern views.	34	British	Caucasian
251	2	1	1	2					2	2		1		85	British	White
252	2	1	1	2					2	2		1		76	British	White
253	2	1	2	2			2	2	2	2		2	Negative views talked through life, school, parents, influence views from early age	50	British	White
254	1	2	2	2			2	2	2	2		2		76	British	White
255	2	2	2	2			2	2	2	2		2	I also believe that, at least in England, the teaching of history in schools focuses too much on parts of history that make Britain look good.	32	British	White British

Table 37: Spreadsheet of questionnaire results for Dataset 1