More than Treasure Hunting:
The Motivations and Practices of Metal Detectorists and their Attitudes to Landscape

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DECLARATION

I, Felicity Mary Beatrice Winkley confirm that the work presented in this thesis is my own. Where information has been derived from other sources, I confirm that this has been indicated in the thesis.

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ABSTRACT

This thesis aims to consider how attachment to landscape is generated, and investigates how this might be enacted via metal detecting, in order to better understand the attitudes of metal detectorists searching today.

Metal detecting is a unique way of experiencing the historic landscape, allowing amateurs to access heritage hands-on, locating and unearthing their own fragment of the archaeological record. With an estimated 15,000 people currently detecting in the UK, and 1,111,122 objects recorded to date on the Portable Antiquities Scheme (PAS) database, a huge expanse of England's historic places are being walked, searched and mapped. Using original quantitative and qualitative data, this study investigates the attitudes of metal-detector users in England and Wales in order to better understand what proportion feel attached to the landscape on which they detect, and what impact this attachment might have upon their feelings towards discovered objects, the historic past, and their general practice.

The popularity of metal detecting, along with the unique situation that this country's legislation accommodates it, demands the heritage sector moves toward creative decision-making and programming if it is to offer adequate protection to the archaeological resource whilst also engaging a community of interested participants. By using a range of methodologies, this thesis breaks new ground by demonstrating the sense of responsibility felt by detectorists towards their local landscapes, safeguarding them and maintaining an accurate record. The resultant PAS database has proven to be a valuable resource for both researchers and professionals, instigating 87 PhD theses and 15 major projects. This work would not have been possible without the cooperation of detectorists who, as a group, often feel marginalised and unappreciated. By contrast, data presented herein demonstrates that the conscientious detecting community is a constituency no less valid than the country's local history societies, and one with a significant contribution to make towards a more complete understanding of the English landscape.

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SECTION 1

INTRODUCTION, LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORKS

Chapter 1. Introduction

1.1. Introduction and Research Questions

It is almost fifty years since metal detecting first became popular in England, and today the hobby is still widely practised by a diverse community of an estimated 10-15,000 individuals (Barford 2006. Bland 2006. Thomas 2009b. Robbins 2014). On farmland or foreshore, with club fellows or alone, once a week or once a year, there are many different variables that can impact upon the metal detecting experience and the motivations behind it for the hobbyist; and yet, whether driven by a love of history or a desire for material gain, all detectorists enact their pastime on the historic environment, all are united by the omnipresence of landscape as a platform for action.

This platform is not static, however; it is not simply a painted backdrop and a rigid stage. Rather, landscape is at once facilitating and constraining, created and creating, in its dynamic relationship with human perception and intervention (Gosden and Head 1994. Bender 2002). Just as the potential perceived significance of landscape is in flux, so is the metal detectorist in motion. In order to metal detect, one needs to walk up and down. The landscapes the metal detectorists walk are at once both the contemporary landscapes they encounter in the here-and-now, with recognisable footpaths and landmarks, sights and sounds; and the populated landscapes of the past - signified by artefactual remains. In the search for these artefactual remains, many detectorists have needed to hone their understanding of the local landscapes, and accumulate a wealth of knowledge concerning the areas in which finds are likely to come up and what visual clues might suggest good conditions for turning up objects. For these searchers, the state of metal detecting is one that encourages an increased awareness of the environment, or immersion in landscape.

During an encounter with a found artefact or coin, which provides a direct tangible link to the presence of a person in the same spot so many years previously, this mergence is understandably heightened. However, the focus of this research is not centred upon one such moment in time but rather on the detectorists' overarching experience of landscape, their attitudes to it, and how this in turn impacts upon their approach to metal detecting, recording, and searching in future. In this sense, this thesis resists examining landscape experience as some kind of "'stocktaking" at points along the way', which Bender (2006, 306) notes is a common mistake, but rather orientates its interest upon the detectorists' 'ambulatory encounters', hoping to discover as accurately as possible the perceptions,

attitudes and meanings which unfold in the detectorists' lifeworld throughout the course of the activity.

In taking this phenomenological approach - which is defined as one that concentrates on consciousness and the objects of perception and experience - it is accepted that every relationship with landscape is one of active involvement: our environment dictates what we make of it, but likewise it is our personal consciousness that directs our perception and dictates our attitudes to what we encounter and how we react to it. Simply, as Relph (1970, 193) outlines, 'all knowledge proceeds from the world of experience and cannot be independent of that world'. Furthermore, the theoretical foundation of this research aligns with Relph's (1970, 193) assertion that:

> 'in any act of perception by man there is not simply an object or fact perceived, rather there is perceived an entire thematic field or structure consisting of all the possible intentions and meanings and former experiences associated with that act'.

The perceiver's attitudes towards landscape, their values and tastes, can therefore be understood to be a reflection of their agency; what Lowenthal describes as a 'personally apprehended milieu' (1967, 1). As such, it is conceivable that a study of any subject's attitudes to landscape reflects not only their multi-faceted perception of it, but also, by extension, the belief system that informs it.

With this in mind, this thesis breaks new ground by using landscape as the primary focus for both quantitative and qualitative data collection in order to gain new insights into the attitudes of metal detector users in England today. At its foundation is the theoretical question, **how do we generate attachment to landscape?** and, by association, **how do we articulate this?**

Accepting metal detecting as a unique method of interacting with the historic landscape, this thesis asks:

- **how do metal detectorists experience landscape?**
- **what proportion of detectorists feel attached to the land on which they detect regularly?**
- **to what extent does this attachment, or lack of it, impact upon their attitudes towards the archaeology of that place?**

It investigates the relationship between detectorists' attitudes and the construction of sense of place, and the role of archaeological objects as mediators in this paradigm, both

contributing to the detectorists' way of thinking about an historic locale, as well as themselves gaining import because of their role within a larger reconstructed whole. Thereafter, the data collected is used to examine more broadly the issues of conduct, conscientiousness and claim amongst detectorists, and enquire to what extent these are affected by attachment to a certain place.

Finally, in the context of literary evidence, the thesis assesses what the findings might mean for the future of protecting the country's portable heritage, and the voluntary recording of objects under the aegis of the Portable Antiquities Scheme.

1.2. Background to the Research

Historically, metal detectorists were met with disdain and distrust from the majority of professionals in the heritage sector, who feared the extent of the potential damage that could be wreaked upon the archaeological record if the hobby was not sufficiently contained. This culminated in a number of vitriolic public campaigns aimed at the hobbyists during the late 1970s and early 1980s. Since then, the change in 'treasure legislation', marked by the 1996 *Treasure Act*, and the formation of the Portable Antiquities Scheme (PAS), has gone some considerable way to forging bonds between professional archaeologists and amateur searchers. Recent research involving metal detectorists has been conducted into the relationship between them and archaeologists (Thomas 2009b) or, in association with the Portable Antiquities Scheme, investigated spatial patterning of their search areas (Robbins 2012). However, little meaningful research has been done into metal detectorists' attitudes to the landscapes they encounter. Such research has the potential to make a significant contribution to informing future heritage management decisions, both in terms of safeguarding the archaeological resource and ensuring the continuing good work of the PAS for years to come.

Metal detecting represents an entirely unique way of experiencing landscape. Like visiting an ancient monument, it is a way of accessing up-close the contemporary and the historic environment contemporaneously, even if the material remains of the historic are hidden below ground; like fishing, it is a way of going out in to the open air for a few hours, aspiring to a catch, but still enjoying the activity if nothing is hooked. Above all, it is the being outside which counts, the direct experience of the landscape, the opportunity for exercise, the chance perhaps to be alone. Of course it is accepted that not all metal detectorists feel this way, that this bucolic vision of a solitary, contemplative metal

detectorist is rose-tinted. Many detector-users may indeed be solely motivated by the search for valuable objects. However, underneath the feet of both the conscientious detectorist with an interest in his environment, and those of the treasure hunter who thinks little of his location, is stretched out the unifying platform of the landscape - a feature whose significance has been lost in the broad-brush approach to metal detecting reflected in publications from the last 20 years.

This thesis redresses this situation, by using quantitative and qualitative data collected on attitudes to landscape to create a hierarchy of detectorist profiles, and identify the links (if any) between these attitudes and metal detecting conduct in general. To examine links between attitudes to landscape and conduct, it is posited that those with a greater attachment to the landscapes upon which they search, where attachment was assumed to increase over length of time living in an area, and length of time searching it, would display more conscientiousness in recording and researching their finds, and be more inclined to contribute to the record by sharing their knowledge with the archaeological and wider heritage communities.

1.3. Structure of the Thesis

The thesis begins with a discussion of the history of the growth of metal detecting and the reaction from the heritage sector, as set out in **Chapter 2**, before examining the formation of the Portable Antiquities Scheme and its progress up to the present day. **Chapter 3** presents a definition of landscape, along with the five theoretical themes used to approach the generation of attachment: value; temporality; memory; perception; and experience. That chapter also discusses models for cognitively reconstructing an historic landscape and the importance of developing an authentic sense of place, all the while considering how this might mediate - or be mediated by - action in the physical environment. By seeking to analyse relationships between metal detectorists' attitudes and conduct, the cognitive-behaviouralist approach of this thesis required not only a sound methodological framework, but also one that was appropriate to the phenomenological underpinning of the research. As such, this thesis utilised literature review, questionnaire survey and go-along interviews to achieve crystallisation of the many facets available for interpretation - the aims and limitations of which are discussed in **Chapter 4.** The data from the questionnaire survey is presented and analysed in **Chapter 5**, and the go-along interviews in **Chapter 6**, in which a set of inductively-labelled coded categories is used to present a number of profiles and examine the value structures which inform detectorists'

motivations and practice**.** This data is used in **Chapter 7**, in the context of literary evidence, to explore the links between attachment to landscape and metal detecting conduct, as well as to assess the implications of the findings for the future protection of the country's portable heritage, and the ongoing effectiveness of the voluntary recording of objects under the aegis of the PAS.

Finally, **Chapter 8** draws together the historical evidence, theoretical arguments, qualitative and quantitative data findings to present the thesis, by suggesting that a significant proportion amongst the conscientious metal detecting community - through stewardship of their local landscapes, consistent surveying and searching over many years (even decades) - are making very real contributions to the recording and understanding of our heritage. At least 60 of these detectorists are currently self-recording their own finds, and those of others, upon the PAS database, at a time when the Scheme faces yet again the threat of budget cuts. In light of this enforced belt-tightening, and an increasing awareness of the potential benefits of crowd-sourcing and community engagement, rather than limiting metal detecting outreach to turns on excavation spoil heaps, the sector should be devising new ways in which to incorporate this enthusiastic community and the vast resource of specialised place-knowledge they have to offer. The term 'Treasure Hunter' is used in many quarters, as Ferguson (2013, 3) suggests, 'to generate the perception that metal detectorists search only for valuable objects to sell rather than pursuing an interest in, or contributing to, an understanding of the past'. By contrast, this thesis suggests that the motivations of the metal detecting community go far beyond a search for objects with monetary worth, and are intimately tied into their personal histories, their attitudes, and their experience of landscape; certainly, metal detecting is much more than treasure hunting.

Far from detracting from the historic environment, the conscientious metal detecting community, thanks to an often strong sense of place, along with a uniquely-cultivated value structure rooted in a protectiveness towards their local landscapes, are acting as stewards for later generations. Their regular presence has been found to be the most successful deterrent for nighthawks (illegal metal detectorists), whilst their discoveries often bring to light unknown archaeological sites or provide timely rescue for assemblages which would otherwise have been destroyed by plough or intensive crop-spray. The significance of this research will be to establish - through understanding how attachment to detecting landscape is generated and maintained - what percentage of the metal detecting community this sense of stewardship might apply to, what motivates them, and ultimately how the heritage sector might best work with them in future, for the benefit not just of the parties involved, but for the archaeological record.

Chapter 2. 'Pastfinding': The Growth of Metal Detecting and an Analysis of the Reactions from the Heritage Sector

2.1. The Emergence of Metal Detecting

The general public of Britain have long been hobbyists with an interest in the buried past. The Renaissance movement's devotion to the Classical Age gave way in the 17th and 18th centuries to an antiquarian passion amongst gentlemen hobbyists who later became, like John Aubrey and William Stukeley, England's first archaeologists. Amongst amateur searchers, fieldwalking and beachcombing were popular techniques practised for hundreds of years and were seemingly only deemed 'dangerous' by members of the archaeological profession once metal detecting technology was introduced to these more traditional methods of searching (Hobbs 2003).

Reports vary on the first development of the metal detector, but the earliest credit seems to have been awarded to the inventor of the telephone, Alexander Graham Bell (1847-1922). Following the assassination attempt on the United States' 20th president James A. Garfield in July 1881, in which the president was shot twice with a .44 caliber revolver (one bullet grazing his arm and the other lodging somewhere in his torso), Bell - amongst others of the day's great minds - was brought in to try and locate the bullet whilst the president was kept alive by various means (Bryson 2001, 82; Peskin 1978). Having quickly assembled a crude metal detector, or "induction balance" (no doubt based on the work of his colleague David Hughes), and using his recent telephone apparatus as a listening device, he scanned the president's torso but was unable to find the bullet - originally thought to be lodged near the liver but discovered after autopsy to have been behind the pancreas. Presenting afterwards to the American Association for the Advancement of Science, Bell postulated that he was unable to locate the bullet because it was too deep to have been registered by his detector, however reports also suggest that the effect Bell was hindered by the metal bed frame on which the president was lying during the examination, which meant that his first reaction on scanning the body was that it was utterly riddled with bullets (Bryson 2001, 83).

Nevertheless, by the early twentieth century, the technology at work behind the basic induction balance meter had been taken up by academics and inventors across the world, all attempting to fine-tune the ability to detect metal, or rather, exploring options for the creation of a device which upon emitting an electromagnetic field is able to analyse any distortion or change which signals the presence of metal in the search field. Writing from

Paris in 1919, Honoré's (1919, 395) report suggests this innovation took on added importance after World War I, saying:

> 'The location, in ground that has been fought over and subject to bombardment, of projectiles that have failed to explode, constitutes a very delicate problem, and one which must be disposed of before post-bellum agriculture can resume business at the old stand'.

Figure 1: Professor Guitton's 1919 "Alpha" detector (Honoré 1919, 416)

He describes the "Alpha" machine created by Professor Guitton, a physicist, and based upon Hughes' induction balance - the scientific fundament of which is identical to today's machines, although Guitton's detector has two 'heads' each with coils (instead of the one favoured by modern hand-held detectors) and the two heads working in union create the symmetrical electromagnetic field that a metallic signal disrupts, causing the telephone to give off sound (Honoré 1919). The machine (see Fig 1.) was extremely bulky, and required one operator to walk back and forward testing the ground, while an assistant followed behind carrying the box which contained the induction coil. There was no ability to distinguish between depth, and the machine also naturally relied upon the size of the object being detected: therefore a 10kg mass could be detected at 50cm depth, while a smaller fragment could be detected at 25cm, yet there was no distinguishing between the two (Honoré 1919). Lastly, Honoré (1919, 416) reflects that the operation of the detector is 'rather slow', being that it required about three hours to 'explore thoroughly the surface of one hectare (2 1/2 acres)', a time which would be considered a sprint by detectorists today!

Amongst detectorists, Gerhard Fisher is acknowledged as being the first to invent a hand-held metal detector, and at any rate he was certainly the first to receive a patent for one which was awarded in 1937 for his 'Metallascope', or M-Scope (Crisp 2012). Shortly before this, Fisher had moved from Germany to the USA, and founded Fisher Research Labs in California, a company which still produces commercial detectors today. The use of metal detectors in an archaeological context was first mentioned in R J C Atkinson's 1953 volume *Field Archaeology*, where it was recommended as a means of locating archaeological sites; however, it would not be until some ten years later that the general public *en masse* could first engage with this kind of technology for amateur artefact hunting (Addyman 2009). Crisp (2012, 6) credits this change to the invention of the transistor, which allowed detectors to have integrally fitted batteries, dramatically reducing the weight, and 'transforming' the machines.

For Fletcher (1978, 6), it was Twickenham-based manufacturer Michael Beach who introduced the British public to the possibilities of treasure hunting, by developing 'the first British-made metal detector suitable for amateur use' in the late 1960s, agreeing with Green and Gregory's estimate in 1978 that the hobby had been practised in Britain for around a decade (Green and Gregory 1978). Archival research by Thomas (2009b, 134) suggests that the Council of British Archaeology (CBA) was already concerned in 1969 by the threatened introduction of treasure hunting as a popular past-time, deeming this the result of American influence. Perhaps as a consequence of this, in the same year the CBA initiated a nationwide audit of the extent and impact of treasure hunting via their regional secretaries, the unpublished results of which indicated that most regions had suffered treasure hunting-related incidents (Thomas 2009b).

The basis of these concerns from archaeologists was the great potential for damage to the country's archaeological record, and consequently an irreplaceable loss of information, that was threatened by the increasingly numerous hobbyists taking to Britain's great outdoors armed with metal detectors. Probably the most widely practised and definitely the most widely recognised archaeological salvage technique is excavation, in which layers of a site are stripped away bit by bit, with objects and features recorded in such a way that the relationships between them can be interpreted at a later date. These relationships between features and items, and the environments in which they occur, are known as an object's archaeological context, a multifaceted piece of information which can only be recorded at the time of excavation and is thereafter lost forever. The loss of context when an object is irresponsibly metal-detected, dug directly out of the ground with no heed for its surroundings, is precisely what professional archaeologists found concerning when the

technology was first introduced, and why many are still uncomfortable with the hobby today. For Baker (1983, 75), for instance, detecting 'pursues one small class of object, scrambling any other evidence that happens to be in the way, after the fashion [...] of brain surgery conducted with a chain-saw'.

Second only to the potential loss of associated information, were concerns for the fate of the detected objects themselves which, once dug up, seemed likely to vanish into bags, boxes and tupperware, and be squirreled away in private collections along the length and breadth of Britain (Addyman and Brodie 2002). The only scant protection on offer to prevent this was the common law of Treasure Trove, an impotent legislation that at any rate was only invoked should the object in question be substantially made of gold or silver (Cookson 1992). Although the reformation of the ancient, likely Anglo-Saxon, law of Treasure Trove had been one of the CBA's founding aims when the inception of the Council was first mooted on the 4th May 1943, by the 1970s the legislation's deficiencies in protecting portable antiquities were made apparent than ever (Addyman 1995; Bland 1996; Palmer 1993). For Bland (1994, 81), Treasure Trove, was 'never intended as an antiquities law but was simply a mechanism for increasing royal revenue', and this was increasingly becoming a cause of consternation in light of the surging popularity of metal detecting. Indeed, Cookson (1992, 401) agrees, suggesting:

> 'Treasure Trove was conceived long before archaeology gave cultural value to old things, and considers valuables from an essentially financial perspective, not an artistic or historical one'.

Being common law, developed over years of judicial decision-making, the precise terms of Treasure Trove were never definitively laid out on paper, however, the three basic elements were as follows: the found object must be made of, or contain a 'substantial' amount of, gold or silver; have no known original owner (or heir); and have been buried with the original intention that it would be later recovered (known as *animus revertendi* or sometimes *animus recuperandi*) (Bland 1996; Palmer 1997; Sparrow 1982). It is plain to see, therefore, how these terms might have failed to provide adequate protection for Britain's portable antiquities; indeed, as Addyman (1995, 165) so succinctly puts it, 'most archaeological objects do not even pass the starting gate for treasure trove because they are not made of precious metal'. In the case, however, of objects qualifying on the grounds of their composition, a lengthy inquisition process was required, relying in the first instance on the finder delivering their presumed treasure to the British Museum, the police, or the coroner directly (although under the woolly terms of Treasure Trove, there was no statute to enforce this delivery)(Palmer 1997). Thereafter, once a potential treasure item was reported, the appropriate coroner was required to summon a jury and conduct an inquest to

determine whether or not the find qualified as Treasure. Under Treasure Trove at the time, this involved the task (mind-boggling in the case of portable antiquities) of ascertaining whether the original owner or heirs were traceable and if the find was buried with the intention of retrieving it later: *animus revertendi*.

The requirement of *animus revertendi* seems to have developed from the questionable presumption that buried precious objects were intended to be recovered, however, it became the most complicated characteristic to establish of a potential treasure object at inquest (Cookson 1992). For Bland (1996, 4):

> 'It was absurd to think that we could understand the motives that led their owners to bury objects such as gold torcs several thousand years ago and yet this was a question that regularly arose at treasure inquests'.

Individual objects, in particular, were unlikely to suggest *animus revertendi* but rather chance loss. One such of these was the Middleham Jewel (see Fig. 2) a remarkably fine Late Medieval gold amulet containing an enormous sapphire found alongside Middleham Castle by a detectorist in 1985; having been declared not Treasure Trove, the object went on sale and it was only when the purchaser applied for an export licence that a rescue campaign was initiated, raising the required sum of £2.5 million to keep the jewel in the country, at Yorkshire Museum (Addyman 1995; Cookson 1992). Another category of archaeological objects distinctly lacking in the required element of *animus revertendi* is those collected and buried as grave goods. The most frequently cited case in this instance is Sutton Hoo, the nationally famous Anglo-Saxon ship burial, which was only saved for the public benefit through the benevolence of the landowner, Mrs Pretty, who thankfully thought better of selling off the artefacts piece by piece, although this would have been quite within her legal rights should she have so wished (Addyman 1995; Bland 1996).

In this context, the development of metal-detecting technology in the early 1970s was, as Addyman and Brodie (2002, 179) suggest, 'an unmitigated and potentially overwhelming disaster'. With innovations such as the induction balance meter, which would allow the searcher to easily discriminate between ferrous and non-ferrous metals, and improvements to the potential sensitivity and depth ranges of the devices, metal-detectors were simultaneously becoming increasingly sophisticated and increasingly affordable (Fletcher 1978. Addyman 2009. Crisp 2012). The industry was booming, with pressure from the American import market causing competition between mail-order and high-street vendors in the UK (Fletcher 1978). With this in mind, in 1972, the Honorary Secretary of the CBA, Peter Fowler drafted a letter cited by Thomas (2009b, 142), stating: "We would urge that that a new legislation be extended in some form to cover portable antiquities, not least now

that deliberate exploitation of this lack of statutory protection is being organised'. Even those treasure finds that were being declared, such as the Aston Rowant coin hoard discovered in 1971, were suffering from ineptitudes borne from a lack of communication in local government; in this case, the Oxfordshire County Museum staff heard only of the find via the Coroner's inquest and were thereafter initially denied site access (Addyman 2009). In the same year, the formation of the charitable trust Rescue - The British Archaeological Trust (an organisation which still exists today: http://rescue-archaeology.org.uk) further attests to the swelling climate of concern amongst heritage professionals at the time.

Figure 2: The Middleham Jewel

Image courtesy of York Museums Trust :: http://yorkmuseumstrust.org.uk/ :: CC BY-SA 4.0

Shortly after this, the CBA and the Museums Association (MA) formed another body, the Treasure Hunting Working Party (THWP), which was a joint venture initiated around 1975 specifically to tackle the issue of metal detecting head-on (Thomas 2009b). The Government was slowly becoming receptive to these pressures, as demonstrated by the 1977 consultation document *Proposal to Amend the Laws relating to Ancient Monuments*, which garnered considerable support and led later to the clauses controlling metal-detector use on Scheduled Ancient Monuments and Areas of Archaeological Importance in the *Ancient Monuments and Archaeological Areas Act 1979*. This stated that it would be an offence both to use a metal detector on scheduled monuments without a licence issued by the Secretary of

State, and to remove from a scheduled monument any find discovered whilst detecting (Thackray 2001). However, it seemed the meteoric rise in the popularity of detecting could not be halted. The nationwide appeal, cultivated by increasing media coverage, had already seen the publication of an independent periodical *True Treasure Monthly* in 1973, and in August 1977 the first issue of *Treasure Hunting* was released, a magazine still gracing news-agent shelves today (Fletcher 1978; Thomas 2009b). Labelled 'Britain's fastest growing hobby', an increase of 100% a year since 1974 meant that by 1980 metal-detecting licences issued under the Wireless Telegraphy Act of 1949 numbered almost 130,000 (CBA 1980).

For a very few archaeologists, like Green and Gregory (1978, 161), the potential damage these huge numbers of amateur searchers posed to the archaeological record could 'only be minimized and regulated by the education of metal-detector users'. As such, an initiative was launched in Norfolk to increase communication between archaeologists (specifically the Norfolk Archaeological Rescue Group and the Norfolk Research Committee) and not just detectorists, but also local detector dealerships - another group previously demonized by some professional archaeologists (Green and Gregory 1978; Gregory 1986). The approach in East Anglia, which included finds recording initiatives and the publication of a guidance leaflet entitled *Archaeological Finds: Some Suggestions about the Use of Metal Detectors* (1978) was later rolled out to include Suffolk, and proved so successful it was to be instrumental in the formation of the Portable Antiquities Scheme some twenty years later (Green and Gregory 1978; Bland 2005a). For Green and Gregory (1978, 161), 'personal contact' was found to be 'the most effective way of promoting in the general public a proper respect for archaeological sites and finds', unfortunately they were among few professional archaeologists willing to initiate this.

Certainly for Fletcher, writing in 1978, the overriding response from museum professionals when visited by detectorists seeking an exchange of information about their finds was one of abuse, a reception based on the contemporary beliefs evidenced by the poster produced by the Council for Kentish Archaeology reproduced below (Fig. 3) (Fletcher 1978). Indeed, the damage inflicted by such campaigns on any possibility that the relationships between archaeologists and detectorists might ever be tempered should not be underestimated. Of the poster, Fletcher (1978, 15) writes: '[It] is the sort of thing one expects to see in Peking, but it is quite sickening to find such smears against innocent people plastered over the walls of Tunbridge Wells'! Trevor Austin (2009, 119), General Secretary of the NCMD, agrees that in the hobby's early days 'many museums would turn finders away', whilst those professionals like Tony Gregory and Kevin Leahy who were receptive to an exchange of

information between parties were highly unusual and seen as 'unorthodox collaborators' by their contemporaries.

Figure 3: Council for Kentish Archaeology poster (Fletcher 1978, 15)

2.2. The STOP Campaign and Beyond

This attitude that archaeologists working alongside metal detectorists were somehow colluding with the enemy to the detriment of the Nation's shared past was very much typical of the 'party line' being taken by the major national bodies towards the end of the 1970s, a way of thinking that culminated in the now notorious campaign: STOP. Supported by 32 organisations but formed of seven core members - the Association of County Archaeological Officers, the CBA, the MA, Rescue, the Standing Conference of Unit Managers, the Society of Museum Archaeologists (SMA) and the United Kingdom Institute for Conservation - Stop Taking Our Past (STOP) was a no-holds-barred assault on metal detecting, aiming to convince the general public of the irreparable damage the hobby could potentially inflict on the archaeological record (CBA 1980. Addyman and

Brodie 2002). Whilst the CBA-published (1980) campaign leaflet labelled detectorists as 'thoughtless', 'unscrupulous [...] pirates' with a sole aim to 'plunder [the] past under the guise of sport' and keep the spoils for themselves, it was keen to point out that by contrast:

> 'Archaeologists are not self-appointed custodians. Their training and their work is aimed towards producing a clearer picture of our past which can be passed on to everyone and handed down to future generations'.

Going on to endorse the technique of archaeological excavation as opposed to metal detecting, where 'digging irregular holes to grub out individual objects of metal may be compared to tearing illuminated capitals out of unique manuscripts', the campaign leaflet is quite transparent in its attempts to validate archaeologists' stewardship of the nation's shared past (CBA 1980). Whilst naturally, as Lowenthal (1998, 26) points out, 'stewardship is intrinsically possessive', it was undoubtedly as a result of this possessiveness, this denial of access to those wishing to find their own way to engage with the past, that the gulf between archaeologist and metal detectorist was widened in the first place (Chester-Kadwell 2004; Gregory 1986). As such, the terms set forth in the STOP campaign leaflet served to achieve not much more beyond ostracizing the detecting community still further, by confirming the academic elitism of the professional archaeologists at the expense of the engagement of the interested amateur (Thomas 2009a).

Now largely considered to have done more harm than good, the brutality of the campaign may even have boosted support for detectorists in some camps; certainly it caused detectorists themselves to feel the need to establish an organised opposition to the campaign and produce their own publicity, the result of which was the formation of the Detector Information Group (DIG). Comprised not only of detector users but also manufacturers and retailers, DIG was a formidable organisation whose commercial members were thought likely to have contributed considerable funding (Thomas 2009b). Adept at self-promotion DIG was well-poised to put a positive spin on the modifications in 1980 to the Wireless and Telegraphy Act which did away with the requirement of a licence to operate a metal detector, championing the change as a victory for individual freedoms (Thomas 2009b). For the CBA, the appeal was also worthy of some propaganda; in their case the abolition of metal detector licences meant that treasure hunters would no longer be able to use the respectability of Government licensing to legitimise their plundering of the shared archaeological resource (Thomas 2009b). Two years later, perhaps because DIG had so successfully highlighted the potential impact that could be achieved, the National Council of Metal Detecting (NCMD) was formed to provide an umbrella organisation to represent regional metal detecting clubs (Thomas 2009b).

Almost simultaneously in Parliament, real headway was being made for the first time in the reformation of the Treasure Trove law, with the introduction of the *Antiquities Bill* into the House of Lords in 1979. Introduced by Lord Abinger, and therefore sometimes known as the Abinger Bill, the legislation was drafted by the CBA's legal advisor Charles Sparrow who was close enough an acquaintance of Abinger to be able to convince him to support the paper (Thomas 2009b). The proposed act - to better protect portable antiquities - sought to remove the clause of *animus revertendi*, cover alloyed objects to which precious metals had been added, and also add protection to those objects associated with artefacts deemed treasure in their own right (Sparrow 1982). Unfortunately the Bill, a long time in the drafting, was dropped after its first reading, coinciding inopportunely with both the success of the *Ancient Monuments and Archaeological Areas Bill* (which may have been considered ample enough reform), and the fall of the Labour Government (Abinger 1981; Thomas 2009b). It was also mooted that the Bill failed to offer adequate protection to country landowners, a large number of whom were represented in the House of Lords (Bland 1996). In 1981 it was reintroduced with more gusto, with Sparrow (1982, 201) stating:

> 'The result now offered to Parliament is a plain measure, of economical ambitions and drafting. If it passed into law it would retain the best of the present doctrine of treasure trove and remove those defects which have excited the criticism of judges, academic writers and archaeologists'.

On its second attempt, under Conservative administration, the Bill did attain greater success and passed smoothly through the House of Lords, only to fail in the House of Commons (Bland 1996).

2.3. The Development of the Treasure Bill and the *Treasure Act* 1996

The next attempt at legislative reform via a new Bill was prompted in 1985 when a late Iron Age/ Roman temple site at Wanborough in Surrey first began to suffer the consequences of a systematic looting campaign (Bland 1996; Graham 2004). The site itself had first been discovered in 1969, but was not investigated until 1979 when a county archaeology team was able to conduct a trial excavation and some geophysical survey which unearthed a potential network of buildings; however, the progress of research was unfortunately halted, when further excavation was made impossible until the results of the trial excavation had been published in *Surrey Archaeological Collections* (Graham 2004). In the meantime, two metal detectorists found a number of handsome gold and silver coins near

to the site, dating to the Iron Age and Roman Republican era, and reported these immediately to Guildford Museum (Graham 2004). So far so good, and yet at the coroner's inquest in 1985 - an event which was widely publicised - the coroner detailed the exact findspot, prompting one of the most remarkable cases of targeted looting ever experienced on a British archaeological site (Graham 2004). As a result the estimated losses, somewhere between 9,000 and 20,000 coins, were vast; at one point, according to Graham (2004, 307), 'the police found up to 30 looters present digging at night and surrounded by a ring of dealers buying the coins as they came out of the ground'.

Gratifyingly, a number of arrests were subsequently made and the perpetrators prosecuted at Kingston Crown Court, however, the inadequacies of Treasure Trove ensured that although successful convictions were made under the Theft Act of 1968, the verdict was later reversed in the Court of Appeal (Ward 1992; Graham 2004). Being common law, Treasure Trove is non-statutory in nature and therefore contains no legislation with which to actually mount a prosecution in court; as such, the obligation to surrender a treasure find relies on the implication that the treasure is the property of the Crown and not the finder, thereby coming under the Theft Act (Ward 1992). In the case of Wanborough, success was granted in the Court of Appeal as the trial judge was found to have misdirected the jury in the original case, because it was impossible to prove the coins in this instance were actually Treasure Trove. At the crux of the matter was the interpretation of the site itself; mooted as being a Roman temple site, the coins were thought likely to have been votive offerings, and thus not deposited with an intention of later recovery (*animus revertendi*). As Graham (2004, 307-308) summarised, 'since it was impossible to be certain of the motives of the original depositors nearly 2000 years ago it was equally uncertain whether the coins were treasure trove and therefore Crown property'.

The case at Wanborough made it plain to see - if it had not been glaringly obvious beforehand - that the result of a coroner's inquest was an inappropriate method by which to safeguard the country's portable antiquities, particularly as a coroner's findings, being those of a Crown agent rather than a judge, are not even legally binding (Sparrow 1982). For the then President of the Surrey Archaeological Society, Rosamond Hanworth, along with her colleagues, in this instance the repeal was the straw that broke the camel's back. A campaign was initiated in which a team from the Surrey Archaeological Society secured the backing of the British Museum and a number of eminent numismatists to help draft a new Bill that would provide adequate protection for the country's small finds (Graham 2004). Legal expertise was provided by UCL's Professor Norman Palmer, whilst Lord Perth, an ex-Cabinet minister with an interest in the legislation governing the exportation of

antiquities, agreed to introduce the new bill into the House of Lords (Graham 2004. *The Telegraph* 2002). Lords Renfrew, Templeman and Renton also agreed to back the bill, which was doubtless responsible for providing the clout to ensure that the campaign could not be overlooked amongst the Civil Service (Graham 2004).

In 1993, one year after its formation, the Department of National Heritage took over responsibility for Treasure Trove from the Treasury ensuring that one controlling body was now overseeing all matters pertaining to archaeology, portable antiquities and treasure, a move thought to be a considerable help in the development of the Bill (Graham 2004. Bland 1996). Meanwhile in 1994, mindful of the Government's aversion to increasing public expenditure and aware that its terms represented a quite drastic reform, the Surrey Society's Treasure Bill was redrafted before it was introduced into the House of Lords as a Private Member's Bill by Lord Perth (Bland 1996; Graham 2004). Now described more as an 'evolution than a revolution in antiquities legislation', by Graham (2004, 311) this change may also have come as a response to the mounting objections to the design of the Bill, which principally came from three camps: metal detectorists, antiquities dealers and, perhaps surprisingly, archaeologists. As far as detectorists were concerned, the Bill was objectionable not because it was likely to harm their interests, but more because, having been drafted by archaeologists and developed as a response to the looting at Wanborough, it was distrusted out of sheer principle (Graham 2004). Nevertheless, the reaction from the NCMD proved to be instrumental in the redrafting of the Treasure Bill, as all of the concerns they listed in early 1995 later resulted in amendments to the Bill's terms (Bland 1996). As a direct response to the discussions between the NCMD and the Bill's sponsors, the Federation of Independent Detectorists (formerly the part of the Council with responsibility for individual members not affiliated with a regional club or society) split away from the NCMD to become an independent body, attesting that a significant proportion of detector users still objected to the change (Thomas 2009b). For antiquities dealers, the concerns were obvious: it was felt that the widening of the treasure criteria and the subsequent tightening of associated legislation might damage their commercial interests (Graham 2004); archaeologists, however, were more divided in their opinions. Whilst for some the Bill went too far - the widening of the treasure criteria essentially nationalizing whole new categories of object and therefore representing an attack on private property rights - for others, it was a soft option, rewarding finders and landowners alike, to champion financial value beyond the intrinsic worth of a small find's associated information and, at the same time, encourage the continuation of the hobby (Selkirk 1994; Schadla-Hall 2006).

Not without its critics then, the Perth Bill was duly introduced to the House of Lords, completing its passage on the 27th April 1992 (Bland 1994; Graham 2004). Unfortunately, entering the House of Commons as a Private Member's Bill, the Bill had no time made available for its debate, and could be rejected directly at any cry of 'objection', which happened frequently as a result of the Loyalist and Nationalist frictions amongst the Ulster MPs at the time (Bland 1996; Graham 2004). It was not until November 1995 that the Treasure Bill was granted a proper session for debate in the House, when Sir Anthony Grant MP agreed to use his place in the Private Member's ballot to introduce the Bill thereby guaranteeing it debating time and a decision by majority vote (Bland 1996. Graham 2004). In any case, after the six hours' worth of debate, a majority vote was not required: the Bill was passed with all-party support and no opposition, finally attaining Royal Assent on 4th July 1996, to 'abolish treasure trove and to make fresh provision in relation to treasure' (DCMS 2002, 55; Bland 1996; Graham 2004).

The new definition of treasure set out in 1996 covered the following:

- Any object at least 300 years old, other than a coin, found to contain at least ten per cent precious metal;
- All coins at least 300 years old from the same find which number, in the case of base metal coins, ten or more or, in the case of gold and silver ones, two or more;
- Any object of whatever composition found in the same place as, or that had previously been together with, another treasure find;
- Any object, not falling into the three categories above, that would previously have been treasure trove, namely modern coin hoards or similar displaying *animus revertendi* (Bland 1996. DCMS 2002).

It would not be until the 24th September 1997, however, that the *Treasure Act* would officially come into force, as much needed to be done in the meantime to support the additional provisions it outlined. The most pressing demand was the drafting of a *Code of Practice* to accompany the *Treasure Act* in order to provide guidelines to finders, museums, coroners and landowners, as well as the Secretary of State for dealing with the reporting and processing of treasure finds (DCMS 2002). This was to be developed in consultation with any interested parties and approved by Parliament after completion (Bland 1996). On 17 December 1996, 1,500 copies of the first draft of the Code were sent out to archaeological societies, museums, dealerships, detectorists and landowners for comment (Bland 1996). A response rate of around 17% comprised mostly metal detectorists although comments were also received from interested archaeologists and museums; these

were used to improve the clarity of the first draft and increase the emphasis on the role of local government, proposing, for example, that each coroner's district in England and Wales draw up its own procedure for the reporting and delivery of small finds (Bland 1996). The comments were doubtless invaluable also when it came to drafting the section on best practice for metal detectorists, which made a number of recommendations about conduct before, during and after searching for finds; among these were the suggestions that detector users join a recognised association, obtain relevant permissions prior to searching, and record as much details about their finds as possible (Bland 1996. DCMS 2002). It also pointed detectorists to the NCMD Code of Conduct, included in Appendix 1 (DCMS 2002). However, for all the rigour with which the new Act laid out guidance for every step of the treasure process, the finer points regarding the reporting of treasure finds were somewhat vague, for whilst it was clearly intended for this stage to be made as easy as possible, how the new mandate would actually be accommodated, be it by the local authority, the British Museum, or the coroner himself, remained uncertain. This was no doubt due, in part, to the planned development of an initiative for the voluntary recording of all finds (not just treasure) which, based upon the successes witnessed by such schemes in Norfolk and elsewhere, was hoped would provide the point of contact so badly needed (Bland 1996).

2.4. In Pursuit of a Recording Scheme

A significant source of data utilised in the reformation of Treasure Trove and the later associated developments was the survey commissioned in November 1993 by English Heritage and the Council of British Archaeology, *Metal Detecting and Archaeology in England* (Dobinson and Denison 1995). The survey aimed to provide, for the first time ever, quantitative data that could be used in the debates surrounding metal detecting and its impact on the nation's heritage; seeking to quantify the damage to archaeological sites and excavations and assess the number of finds removed and/or recorded each year (Dobinson and Denison 1995). Showing a radical change in the CBA's direction from 15 years previously (as exemplified by the STOP campaign), the survey also intended to reflect the positive aspects of the hobby, using data on the impact of detectors on artefact recovery as part of archaeological fieldwork, and case studies of 'advances in knowledge derived from the use of metal detectors' (Dobinson and Denison 1995). Cataloguing, therefore, a wide range of ambitious if not unrealistic intentions, the survey consulted four main source-groups and the methodology used varied accordingly. The first group comprised professional archaeological organisations -museums, Sites and Monuments Records

(SMRs), archaeological field units and English Heritage Field Monument Wardens - and each of these was asked a different set of questions, as appropriate to the situation (Dobinson and Denison 1995). The second group contained representatives of the metal detecting hobby along with individual hobbyists themselves, although communication with the NCMD was strained, with formal cooperation seeming likely initially, only for permission to be withdrawn at the eleventh hour (Dobinson and Denison 1995). In any case, two questionnaires were issued - one to clubs, the other to individuals. Neither received an overwhelming response: only 69 individual detectorists returned completed questionnaires, whilst of 231 clubs contacted, the respondents numbered just 29 (Dobinson and Denison 1995). The last two sources consulted were informed individuals and publications.

The disparity between the two groups consulted seems likely to be the reason for the lack of cohesion in the final publication, in which the results obtained were discussed by theme, preventing a clarity that would enable the data to have been more widely disseminated. In its conclusions and recommendations the survey does regain some power, however the paucity of data to back-up some of the statements again unbalances the result. One such statement is: 'Metal detected finds account for perhaps a third of all casual archaeological finds recorded each year', a debatable assertion, particularly when only 13 of Dobinson and Denison's sample of 64 museums were able to report precise figures (Dobinson and Denison 1995). For the researchers, however, the support was evidenced by the vast numbers of metal detected finds going unreported, a fact that had already attained nationwide consensus. Although only the result of rough estimation, Dobinson and Denison's figures were compelling. From the 69 responses received from metal detectorists, the calculated average number of finds was 52; therefore, with the total number of active detector users being estimated at 30,000, the potential number of portable antiquities being found, with the associated information being irretrievably lost, could exceed 1,500,000 (DNH 1996).

Based upon only 69 responses and with no account for the timespan of this collection period - and even more unlikely in light of the Portable Antiquities Scheme recording their millionth find in 2014 - this calculation seems extremely simplistic. Nevertheless, this total sum proved useful in February 1996 when, to coincide with Sir Anthony Grant's reintroduction of the Treasure Bill, the Department of National Heritage (DNH) published *Portable Antiquities: A Discussion Document* requesting comments on the proposals therein for the recording of small finds falling outside the scope of the new Treasure terms (DNH 1996. Bland 2005a). Whilst recognising the huge loss of information resulting from

the metal detectorist-finds going unreported, the document went on to stress that its aims were 'not to criticise the finders of these objects but to highlight the weaknesses of the current recording arrangements' (DNH 1996). The document contained outline proposals for both a voluntary Code of Practice and a statutory requirement to record, asking of its respondents questions about the form of record or report required and the accessibility of the information recorded to whether the recording agencies should extend nationally or be developed locally (DNH 1996). The response from the majority of parties consulted was that a voluntary scheme should be introduced nationally alongside the modifications to the law of Treasure Trove, managed in much the same way as the system already operating in Norfolk (See above, p. 26. Bland 2005a). Consequently, in December 1996 the launch of the Portable Antiquities Scheme was announced, commissioned originally as a two-year pilot scheme to start in September 1997, but later rolled out until 01 April 2000, with the following aims:

> 'to advance our knowledge of the history and archaeology of England and Wales;
> to initiate a system for the recording of archaeological finds and to encourage and promote better recording practice by finders;
> to strengthen links between the detector users and archaeologists;
> to estimate how many objects are being found across England and Wales and what resources would be needed to record them.'
>
> (DCMS 2000, 6. See also DNH 1996).

In the first instance, six Finds Liaison Officer (FLO) posts were established in venues which had registered their interest for hosting the positions. These were: Kent County Council, Norfolk Museums and Archaeology Service, North Lincolnshire Museum, Liverpool Museum, Birmingham City Museum and Yorkshire Museum (Bland 2005b). With coordination from the newly-renamed DNH, now the Department for Culture, Media and Sport (DCMS), the pilot scheme proved a great success and 13,500 finds were recorded in the first year alone (Bland 2005b). The future of the Scheme, however, depended on the securement of further funding and, by association, the appointment of more FLOs.

2.5. The Portable Antiquities Scheme Today

2.5.1. Funding Challenges and Achieving National Coverage

At this stage, the DCMS declined to offer further direct funding, and an approach was made to the Heritage Lottery Fund (HLF) for support for the Scheme's expansion, in order

to gain more coverage across England and Wales. Roger Bland, PAS' Project Co-ordinator based at the British Museum, applied for an Outreach Officer post to be based with him to assist in raising the public profile of the organisation, whilst five other regional museums and authorities that had been unsuccessful initially in gaining FLO posts during the first wave of the pilot scheme were assisted in submitting bids independently to HLF for these (Bland 2005b). The outcome was a success: all of the applications were awarded funding initially for 18 months, and FLO positions were established at Somerset County Museums Service/ Dorset County Council, Winchester Museums Service, Northamptonshire County Council, Suffolk County Council Archaeological Service and Wales' National Museum and Gallery in Cardiff. This brought the FLO pilot placements from six to 11, and with the Project Co-ordinator and the Outreach Officer included brought total staff to 13 allowing the scheme to cover 'almost half' of England and Wales, going 'from strength to strength' (DCMS 2000, 3).

It was clear, however, that the Scheme's ambitions should not be halted there. Full national coverage was required, and for this Bland began work on a further bid to the HLF to facilitate a network of 36 Finds Liaison Officers: 27 full-time and nine part-time positions, bolstered by an expanded support team at the British Museum and several specialist Finds Advisers, whose purpose was to improve data quality by training the FLOs and checking their written records (Bland 2005b; DCMS 2000). If successful, stated DCMS: 'the project would build a wider appreciation of our heritage for future generations'; certainly the results of the pilot scheme's second year - which showed an increase in annually recorded finds from 13,500 to 20,687 - were a strong testimony to the potential impact of the expansion (2000, 48). Shortly after the publication of the annual report in which these impressive results were laid out, Bland submitted the first bid, but HLF halted any progress in September 2000, pending the results from an independently commissioned review of the pilot scheme conducted by Dr Gill Chitty for *Re:source* (Chitty 2001; Chitty and Edwards 2004). After reporting on her findings in January 2001, a revised version of the bid taking into account Chitty's suggestions was submitted in June 2001, a delay which threatened the funding of the existing posts, although HLF agreed to continue their support until September 2001, with DCMS matching this pledge on their funded placements (i.e. the initial six) (Bland 2005b). Contrary to expectations, the HLF proved uncertain about the long-term sustainability of the scheme and delayed making any decision on their pledge well into the beginning of 2002. Their lack of confidence meant that for a short while the DCMS was forced to consider ending the Scheme altogether, until forceful lobbying caused them to commit on 14 March 2002 to another year's funding for all staff members, just two weeks before funding was due to run out altogether (Bland

2005b)! On 28 April 2002, the HLF likewise found it was able to support the funding bid, and therefore a three-year period of national FLO coverage was secured (Bland 2005b).

Owing to the delay in decision making, it was not possible to recruit for the 33 new posts until 2003, when this was done in three stages, so that the Scheme reached its full size in December 2003. The HLF support was applied to the period April 2003- April 2006, but in its 2004 Spending Review the DCMS pledged to take over the full funding of the Scheme after the HLF deadline. For Bland, writing in 2005, this signified 'the culmination of eight years' work to establish this project [both] nationally on a long-term basis' and as 'an established part of the archaeological landscape', however it was not, unfortunately, to last (2005, 290). The DCMS did indeed take up the funding of the Scheme for the period 2006-2008, as sponsored by the Museums, Libraries and Archives Council (MLA) - however, the surety of the Scheme's foundations were to be threatened once again when in late 2007, the MLA suffered a grant reduction from the DCMS of 25% over three years, and consequently began to raise questions about the future provision for the PAS (Renfrew 2007).

By 2007, the Scheme was running an operation comprising a regional network of 39 full- and part-time Finds Liaison Officers, a central administrative unit of five based at the British Museum, and six specialist finds advisers. It had recently recorded its 300,000th find, and its network of finders with recorded objects had reached over 6,000 (Renfrew 2007). These statistics were happily broadcast by government ministers keen to chalk up a victory for public access to heritage; and yet despite announcing continued funding for the scheme at the launch of their latest annual report, by December 2007 the MLA's chief executive Roy Clare was forced to admit to the Scheme's advisory board that in fact the grant for 2008 would only be maintained at the previous year's level of provision, a freeze which in practical terms in fact amounted to a funding cut (Renfrew 2007). The operations for 2007 had been achieved with the MLA grant of £1.3 million; to deliver a comparable impact for 2008 in light of inflation, would have required a provision of £1.49 million, leaving Bland facing the prospect of cutting five out of fifty jobs at the Scheme (Current Archaeology 2008).

Reporting in its January/February 2008 edition, *British Archaeology* suggested that the MLA's motivation for the freeze was that the efficiency of the Scheme's 'backroom functions' - namely those conducted by the Central Unit headed by Bland at the British Museum - had been questioned, and that it was felt that these could be achieved more cheaply if they were delivered with a more corporate focus from within the MLA (British Archaeology 2008).

Roy Clare, cited by *Current Archaeology*, even had the temerity to suggest that the changes caused by these 'downstream effects', i.e. removing the Scheme's administration from the British Museum and lumping it in with regional centres - described as 'operational linkages' - might actually 'have the potential to strengthen the PAS overall' (Current Archaeology 2008). Predictably, these suggestions were met with resounding complaint from the heritage sector, whilst the PAS made it known that the Scheme would not survive any changes to the Central Unit or the provision of the specialist Finds Advisers, and the loss of any positions in the administration could in fact cause the entire Scheme to fold (British Archaeology 2008). External to the PAS itself, professionals and non-professionals alike rallied to pledge their support, and protest the proposed cuts. Coverage was widespread and high-profile, none more so than Renfrew's article in *The Guardian*, in which he criticised the duplicity of the DCMS and suggested that if the MLA was unfit to provide a safe and sustaining home for the Scheme then it ought to be relocated under the aegis of another institution, for example the British Museum (Renfrew 2007). The Ancient Coin Collectors Guild (ACCG) wrote to the Secretary of State but were disappointed by the response which confirmed their concerns on the funding freeze and the future administration of the scheme. The letter they received in reply stated that the 'MLA [would] consider options for future funding of the PAS in the context of the wider priorities for museum collections and public participation' which did nothing to counter Bland's suspicions that future development could see the loss of the PAS database - a move which would destroy the Scheme's main aim to create a valuable academic research tool from the nation's small finds, and consequently dilute the Scheme itself into nothing beyond a museum outreach scheme (ACCG 2008).

Figure 4: PAS funding sources 1997 - 2009 (Clark 2008, 11)

Protest culminated in a number of e-petitions issued electronically to the Prime Minister via the Number 10 website, the largest of which was Haughton's 'to preserve and invest in

the Portable Antiquities Scheme' which attracted 2080 signatories (Thomas 2009b). Another was initiated by the metal detecting community via the UK Detector Net (UKDN) website, achieving 556 signatures, and a group set up in parallel on Facebook was joined by around 700 members (Thomas 2009b). On 12th December 2007, Tim Loughton MP tabled an Early Day Motion, referenced by David Gill on his antiquities blog *Looting Matters*, stating:

> 'That this House recognises the great contribution of the Portable Antiquities Scheme (PAS) to transforming the archaeological map of Britain by proactively recording archaeological finds made by the public;
> celebrates the fact that in 10 years the scheme has recorded on its public database more than 300,000 archaeological finds, which would not have otherwise been reported, for the benefit of all;
> expresses concern at the likely impact of funding cuts proposed for the Museums, Libraries and Archives Council (MLA), following the recent Comprehensive Spending Review, on the PAS;
> and urges the Government to ensure that the scheme is at least able to maintain its current levels of activity and to consider urgently whether MLA offers the best home for the PAS or whether another body, such as the British Museum, would not be better placed to provide PAS with a long-term sustainable future.' (Gill 2008)

By January 2008, 128 Members of Parliament had signed the motion, and by its close, it had achieved 229 signatures, so that, according to Thomas, it was the '18th most popular EDM of the Parliamentary session (out of 2727 EDMs)' (2009b, 312).

Shortly thereafter, in September 2008, the MLA commissioned Review of the Portable Antiquities Scheme was published by Kate Clark (in conjunction with DCMS), in order to explore the various options available for activity and funding, and how best to deliver the Scheme in future to maximise on cost-efficiency and sustainability. Overall, Clark's conclusions were that the Scheme was hugely efficient in its delivery, and that a restoration in budget - namely an increase of 12%, or £165,000 - would re-establish operations at the required level (Clark 2008). This was the over-arching recommendation based on the review and, as Clark remarked, was the option 'favoured by everyone from finders to partners. 'No consultee' she said 'has suggested that the scheme is not needed, or that the aims could be delivered in an alternative way' (2008, 8). Buoyed by this data, and no doubt the accompanying pressure, the MLA announced in November 2008 that funding would be restored to previous levels for 2009-11 (DCMS 2009).

2.5.2. Measuring Impact: The Clark Report

Clark's report - in which she took evidence from core stakeholders in the Scheme, including not just the DCMS, MLA and British Museum, but also detectorists, metal detecting clubs and other organisations, PAS staff and the Portable Antiquities Advisory Group (PAAG) - was intended to not only review the funding structure of PAS and the necessity of future provisions, but also examine the Scheme's aims, and the deliveries of these in light of the Renaissance group's objectives for regional museums in order to make suggestions for improving future impact and perhaps identify other relevant sponsors external to MLA (Clark 2008). At the time of writing, (in an interesting update to the version set out by Bland in 2000, see p. 35), Clark (2008, 11) listed the PAS aims as follows:

- 'To advance knowledge of the history and archaeology of England and Wales by systematically recording archaeological objects found by the public;
- To raise awareness among the public of the educational value of archaeological finds in their context and facilitate research in them;
- To increase opportunities for active public involvement in archaeology and strengthen links between metal-detector users and archaeologists; and
- To encourage all those who find archaeological objects to make them available for recording and to promote best practice by finders.'

For her, these aims did not do justice to either the full extent of what the Scheme was actually doing on a daily basis, or the huge difference this activity was having on both the stakeholders and the wider public.

In answer to its first two aims of advancing knowledge and increasing research in the archaeology of England and Wales, Clark found that the 'virtual collection' of around 350,000 objects on the database was a remarkable resource, (despite some issues with functionality) and drew attention in particular to the 70,000 Roman coins recorded on the database at the time, which made it 'the largest publicly accessible Roman site find database in the world' (2008, 18). The usefulness of the database as a resource was highlighted at both anecdotal local level and on a larger geographical scale when Clark set out some of the insights provided by PAS data into the cultural archaeological map of England and Wales. For example, previous interpretations of the scant number of Byzantine coins in Britain had agreed that they must have been brought back to the country by tourists, and yet after the PAS recorded the discovery of many ordinary copper Byzantine coins in the South West, specialists were able to suggest it likely that during the 6th and even 7th centuries these areas were trading with the Eastern Mediterranean (Clark 2008, 19). From a wider perspective in the landscape, PAS data in Lincolnshire alone was found to have

identified 160 new sites, whilst work by Tom Brindle using assemblages of metal detector finds over larger geographical areas suggested that across England and Wales the total number of sites identified using PAS data might reach around 2,500 (Clark 2008; Brindle 2009). Indeed, the overall research potential of the data held on the PAS database was illustrated by Clark's findings that at the time it was being used by 'four major research projects, 19 PhDs and over 30 other academic dissertations' (2008, 19).

But the impact of the Scheme was not only measurable on academics and heritage professionals. During 2007, PAS reported the involvement of their FLOs and Finds Advisers in 1,749 events with an estimated reach of around 45,000 people. In the same year, the Scheme announced the launch of PASt Explorers (not to be confused with the newer initiative of the same name, for volunteer recorders, see 7.4. below) - an online resource for teachers, providing Key Stage 2 lesson plans and interactives including a day in the life of an FLO, a tour of an Anglo-Saxon village, and how to pack a rucksack for field work (http://www.pastexplorers.org.uk). PAS objects were used in numerous displays, both at a national level and arranged locally by metal detectorists. Most significantly, PAS Treasure finds were central to the British Museum exhibition *Buried Treasure: Finding our Past* which was on display there in London from November 2003 - March 2004, before being toured across the four collaborating museums: Cardiff, Manchester, Newcastle and Norwich. The exhibition aimed to improve public awareness of treasure, and the role of amateur finders, with the British Museum stating: 'Responsible metal detecting and reporting of finds has greatly enhanced our historical knowledge. It has enabled archaeologists to examine the context of finds as well as the finds themselves helping us to understand how they were used, their ritual or social significance and why they came to be at a particular site' (British Museum 2003). In coordination with the exhibition's display at the Hancock Museum in Newcastle in 2005, a one-day conference was held called *Buried Treasure: Building Bridges*; this was open to all, with the aim of facilitating discussion on how archaeologists and metal detectorists could best work together (Clark 2008).

Evidence of various well-established working relationships between detectorists and the Scheme was discovered by Clark during her review: the survey of PAS staff listed eight detecting clubs involved in fieldwork as well as 126 individual detectorists working on archaeological projects (2008, 20). Furthermore, 48 detectorists were found to be working on or have completed archaeology or museum courses at universities and colleges across the country (Clark 2008). At a recording level, the reach of the Scheme was proven by the number of finders who had put forward objects in 2007 - 6,830 - and the number of artefacts reported - 77,600 (Clark 2008). Clark also noted the impact of the Scheme upon

conduct amongst the metal detecting community, most notably the agreement and publication of the *Code of Practice for Responsible Metal Detecting in England and Wales* (Clark 2008). In case there were any suspicions amongst detractors that it was all very well to publish a code of conduct but this was not the same thing as actually seeing its terms implemented, Clark's review set out the increase in the number of finders recording detailed findspots, showing PAS suggestion in action: 'Over 90% of finders in 2007 recorded their finds to at least a six-figure National Grid Reference and almost half were recorded to at least eight figure' (2008, 21).

For Clark, it was clear not only that the achievements of the Scheme far outstripped PAS' initial aims, but that much of what they were delivering also fulfilled the objectives set out by the MLA's Renaissance in the Regions in 2001, as aims for all Museums and Galleries in the UK in the 21st century, in order to be considered for government funding, namely:

- 'to be an important resource and champion for learning and education;
- to promote access and inclusion – encouraging social inclusion and cultural diversity, acting as focal points for their local communities, and providing public spaces for dialogue and discussion about issues of contemporary significance;
- to contribute to economic regeneration in the regions;
- to collect, care for and interpret (on a foundation of research and scholarship) the material culture of the United Kingdom and use it to encourage inspiration and creativity;
- to ensure excellence and quality in the delivery of their core services.'

(MLA 2001, 21)

However, achieving this was not without issue. Across the board, Finds Liaison Officers were found to be suffering from an enormous workload and a great deal of stress - the rate of demand for services was increasing beyond the speed of expansion in the Scheme, on top of which FLOs were expected to contribute a large number of out-of-hours work in order to travel to club meetings and rallies to record objects in situ and reach those finders who would not travel to the museum or office where the FLO was based (Clark 2008). In addition, the target of increasing the standard of records meant that each find was taking longer to process. For Clark, the visible consequences of these high workloads were: 'delays in returning finds, high turnover of post-holders and the need for a greater investment in training' (2008, 27). She was keen to review whether, in light of these findings, there was sufficient balance within the Scheme between outreach and the creation of records for the database (Clark 2008). Whilst it was apparent that FLOs ought to be

able to record and return finds quickly to the finders in order to keep them engaged with the Scheme, she likewise felt that the demand for records would always be on the increase and the importance of outreach should not be underestimated. However, the feelings made known to her by some stakeholders were also taken into account, namely 'that recording should remain a priority for the scheme as outreach can be done by others' (2008, 27). (This point will be discussed further in 7.4., below).

For Clark it was clear that in order to reduce workloads and FLO stress, developments needed to be made in terms of the Scheme's capacity, however this, along with a number of her other recommendations, hinged unfortunately on questions of the allocation of future resources to the Scheme. Evidently this was felt by a number of the stakeholders consulted, for Clark (2008, 28) states: 'Over and over again people who responded to this review stressed that the scheme was excellent but there were significant concerns about resources'. The consequence of all of the budget squeezes was seen to be reflected in the detriment of regional coverage: low staffing levels and an associated lack of time per post meant that in areas where large distances needed to be travelled to reach club meetings and similar, there simply wasn't the manpower; likewise cuts to operational budgets meant that some FLOs who could potentially have undertaken outreach could not afford to travel to the location. The picture painted by Frances McIntosh, FLO for Cheshire, Greater Manchester and Merseyside was rather bleak, and went some way to explain Clark's assertion that PAS suffered a high turnover in FLOs:

> '"It is not just time it is money. Most FLOs are happy to put in unpaid hours to get work done but we are not really paid enough to be paying for our own petrol to get to places. If travel expenses remain low or the areas given to each FLO increases then much less will be reported as the FLO cannot get out there to report finds."'
>
> (2008, 28)

It was evident that commitment like this from the FLOs in their daily work was not unusual, and so it came as little surprise that Clark's conclusion was that at its current level the Portable Antiquities Scheme was delivering excellent value for money. For 'a core investment of £1.3 million per annum' said Clark (2008, 31),

> 'At its most basic, PAS has created a website which each year is used by nearly 250,000 individuals (who make 700,000 visits) each year; enables 7,000 members of the public to report finds, and delivers 1,700 events where 44,000 people have been able to find out about conservation, museums, archaeology.'

Indeed, in her recommendations, she was unable to identify a more cost-effective way of delivering an identical programme, nor to find a solution for providing the same services without the central arrangement of Finds Advisers or the same number of FLOs (Clark 2008). As terminating the PAS was not an option, and the Review could not identify a more cost-efficient way of delivering an identical Scheme, therefore, the conclusion was that delivery must remain the same, and adequate funding be restored, in order for suggested developments to be enacted, and future stability guaranteed (Clark 2008).

2.5.3. The PAS Database and Other Public Access Innovations

Amongst the key points of Clark's 2008 Review were: the potential contribution to heritage that could be made by the PAS' database, the importance of the database to underpin the delivery of the PAS' core aims, and the urgent need to safeguard the data and make budget provisions for its ongoing protection (2008, 35). The database was first floated online on the Portable Antiquities Scheme website in 2001, when under Richard Hobbs' direction the individual Microsoft Access databases maintained by each of the six regional FLOs in the pilot scheme were collated annually onto a central copy and then published online in a skeletal form for researchers to access (Pett 2010). The records comprising the database were extremely sparse, almost taking the form of an ancient paper card index listing a basic object type, description and spatial data along with an accompanying low-res image; indeed, the criticism they attracted in the 2001 Chitty review was a major influence behind the decision to set up the Finds Adviser posts shortly thereafter to improve record quality, and most importantly, consistency (Pett 2010). At the same time as these posts were created, Daniel Pett was recruited to join the Central Unit at the British Museum as the ICT Adviser and work was begun on developing a model for an online recording application in which finds were written up electronically in the first instance, and the records instantly joined the accessible database. According to Pett (2010, 1), 'the key concepts behind the development of the Scheme's database were:

- Open access to all
- Available 24 hours a day
- Provision of a mechanism for collection of data centrally
- Controlled terminology to standardise entries
- Ordnance Survey based spatial data
- Protection of all sensitive data and compliance with the 1996 Data Protection Act
- Publishing the data online, negation of the 2002 Freedom of Information Act'

Under Pett's supervision, this new version of the Scheme's database was launched for public access in April 2003 with great success. At a fundamental level, the central recording application facilitated an upward trend in the number of objects being recorded annually: In 1998, 4,558 finds were recorded by the six pilot scheme FLOs, by 2003 the database had caused this number to leap to an annual sum of 21,684 and by the time of the Clark review (2008) the number of finds added that year had reached 53,346 (Pett 2010; DCMS 2010). By making it easier for FLOs to record their finds and therefore facilitating the increase in records created per year, Pett had managed to decrease the cost of recording per find from £3.62 per record in 2003 to £0.84 in 2007 - although as he pointed out, the Finds Liaison Officers do a great deal of 'other work' beyond creating finds records and therefore the equation of costing each record by taking staff salary and dividing by number of finds does not give an entirely accurate impression (2010, 3).

Figure 5: The falling cost for recording items on the PAS database (Pett 2010, 3)

Moreover, the database's value for money had improved beyond the simple cost per record: upgrades to the record format and functionality of the collection had a huge impact upon its usefulness as a research tool. As Pett (2010, 3) reported some four years after its launch:

> 'The use of a centralised repository has allowed the Scheme to produce statistics on demand with regards to these data and it allows for monitoring of find spot precision and number of finds recorded per region/user/county/parish/type, via the creation of simple or extremely complex computational queries.'

The increasing precision in the geospatial data per find, and the facility to improve the grid references of the records at any time, was proving a robust response to any criticism about the provenance (or lack of it) of the objects, and ensuring that many researchers could validly make use of the data to answer their enquiries (Pett 2010). Outside of the academic community, some visitors to the database had complained about its impenetrability and this was one of the key factors behind a redesign in 2009-2010; by improving the search function, it was hoped that future users would have a better experience when trying to access the online records. The aim was achieved. Looking at the set of Scheme's data for

the following year, the figures do indeed show a marked improvement (although the author also accepts this is likely down to increased awareness of the resource, as well as its usability): in 2011, the PAS website attracted 463,160 unique visits, almost double those in 2008, see Table 1 (DCMS 2013).

	Clark report (data 2008)	PAS report (data 2011)
Number of objects recorded (during year)	53,346* **from PAS Annual Report 2008 (DCMS 2010)*	97,509
Number of objects recorded (cumulative)	350,000	810,000
Number of unique visits to the site	247,103	463,160
Research projects (cumulative)	53	313

Table 1: Table comparing PAS data, before and after website redesign 2009-2010

For Pett (2010, 11), 'the biggest challenge for the PAS (perhaps) is publicising the fact that the data exists, that anyone can use it and highlighting (particularly for under-graduate and post-graduate students) what needs to be studied'. One way in which the PAS has tried to tackle this obstacle has been by maintaining a consistent social media presence and extending reach to other potential user-communities who might not be aware of the material available. In this respect, it has been useful that the Scheme has been able to benefit from the visibility of its funding partners' websites, not least the British Museum, however PAS has also been innovative in its use of other less conventional platforms, such as Wikipedia and Flickr. By using Flickr to store images, the Scheme is able on the one hand to use the platform as a press storage area for high resolution images and save on the cost of storage elsewhere, whilst on the other hand contemporaneously encourage the appropriate re-use of the images on blogs and newspaper websites via a Creative Commons licence (Pett 2011).The success of this venture was demonstrated when in September 2009, during the initial furore surrounding the announcement of the discovery of the Staffordshire Hoard - the largest hoard of gold and silver Anglo-Saxon metalwork ever found (see 2.5.4) - initial photographs of the Hoard hosted online, like the one below, attracted over 1,000,000 views in 3 days (Pett 2011). Some months later when in July 2010 the Scheme formally announced the discovery of the Frome Hoard - a jar containing a collection of 52,503 Roman radiate coins - the PAS had arranged for the simultaneous launch of a corresponding Wikipedia encyclopedia entry, authored using facts and images supplied by themselves; this received 10,721 views in the first month (Pett 2011). For Pett

(2011, 11), 'by releasing much of the Scheme's social media friendly content under a Creative Commons Attribution licence, images and text have subsequently been disseminated into an arena that can reach new and wider audiences'; it also enabled the Scheme to ensure that images and information being disseminated via the press were correct.

Figure 6: Staffordshire Hoard - 'cheek piece, fittings and zoomorphic mount' - retrieved from the Scheme Flickr page under Creative Commons licence © Portable Antiquities Scheme

2.5.4. The Last Five Years: Headline Finds and the Need to Review the *Treasure Act*

Originally found on 5 July 2009, and not announced to the press until September 2009, the Staffordshire Hoard has been not only the biggest hoard of Anglo-Saxon metalwork ever found, but certainly the biggest treasure find put through under the Portable Antiquities Scheme to date. Unearthed in Hammerwich, Staffordshire, the hoard was discovered by Terry Herbert, a detectorist of 15 years who had already established a good relationship with his FLO via his club-membership with the Bloxwich Research and Metal Detecting Club (BBC News 2009. Leahy and Bland 2009). After discovering the first few objects in the ploughsoil, Herbert informed the local FLO Duncan Slarke who, together with Kevin Leahy the Anglo-Saxon Finds Adviser for the Scheme, was able to attend the site straight

away; geophysical survey was carried out across the exposed field, and an archaeological excavation conducted during which a total of 1,662 objects was recovered including 721 made of gold, 707 silver items, 73 copper alloy and 93 others (Leahy and Bland 2009). The hoard, containing almost entirely accessories and objects associated with war and no feminine objects at all, is extremely unusual, and although its location within Staffordshire - a central point in the Anglo-Saxon's military territory - did not puzzle the experts, the purpose of its deposition was unclear. An initial symposium was held at the British Museum in March 2010 at which 27 papers were delivered, ranging in theme from analysis of the various inscriptions, to the implication of the location and contents of the hoard for future research.

On 24 September 2009 the hoard was declared treasure and the initial announcement made by Birmingham Museum and Art Gallery. The public interest was immediate, and an unusual decision to put a selection of the objects on temporary display was greeted with an enthusiastic attendance - over 40,000 visited, and the museum was forced to extend its opening hours to accommodate them all (Leahy and Bland 2009). In November, after several days' discussion, the hoard was valued by the Treasure Valuation Committee, chaired by Professor Norman Palmer and taking into account four independent valuation papers written by four external consultants. Based on 'fair market value', despite the fact that such a collection of objects would never be sold on the open market in this fashion, the hoard was priced at £3,285,000 (BBC News 2009b). A widespread fundraising campaign was launched, headed by the Art Fund, in order to collect the sum required. Remarkably, over £900,000 was raised through public donations alone, coming in from as far as Japan and the USA and ranging from £1 to £100,000; the Art Fund itself offered £300,000 and Birmingham City Council and Stoke City Council both offered £100,000. In the end, however, it was a grant of £1,285,000 in March 2010 from the National Heritage Memorial Fund (NHMF) which was able to secure the hoard once and for all for Birmingham Museum and Potteries Museum, Stoke on Trent, and ensure it would remain on display close to the source of its discovery (NHMF 2010). Research into the hoard is still ongoing today - not least because the number of items it comprises has (until recently) continued to grow. After unpicking blocks of soil removed from the site in 2009, Birmingham Museum were finally able to put the number of objects in the initial collection as 3,500. In November 2012, work by Archaeology Warwickshire on the same field found an additional 91 items, 81 of which were declared treasure (Pidd 2013). This last selection was valued at an additional £57, 395 and again an appeal was made for public support; in the same month, Birmingham Museum and Art Gallery had already secured £700,000

towards a new gallery to be designed solely to house the Hoard on permanent display (Staffordshire Hoard Mercian Trail Partnership 2013).

Shortly after the revelation that the total amount required to save the Staffordshire Hoard had been raised, the Portable Antiquities Scheme announced the Frome Hoard, a discovery in April 2010 of a ceramic jar containing 52,203 Roman coins (all radiates except five silver denarii), weighing 160kg. The find was the second largest Roman coin hoard ever discovered, and its contents comprised 67 'contexts' of coins, spanning 40 years and the date range AD 250 - 290 (Moorhead et al. 2010). Once again the finder, Dave Crisp, was an experienced metal detectorist who had a history of recording his finds with the PAS, and once again, his discovery was reported before it was removed from the ground, ensuring that the excavation from the findspot could be supervised and properly recorded - indeed this was vital to the interpretation of the assemblage, for as the coins were removed layer by layer, the experts were able to ascertain that some of the latest in date had lain over halfway down inside the vessel and consequently all the coins must have been deposited in one single event (Moorhead et al. 2010). Valued at £320,250 a public appeal was again necessary to raise the capital required to secure the find for local display. Fortunately, once more the case attracted considerable public enthusiasm, with over 2,000 people attending a one-day showcase on 22 July 2010 to see it (PAS 2010). In March 2011, it was finally announced that a grant of £294,026 from the NHMF had been obtained, and the Frome Hoard would have a place in the permanent display of the Museum of Somerset, Taunton, after its reopening that summer (PAS 2011).

Headline-grabbing portable antiquity finds were not all to have happy endings, however. In September 2010, it was announced that a first century Roman cavalry parade helmet had been found by a father and son metal detector team near Crosby Garrett in Cumbria, although this narrative has since garnered considerable suspicion considering, as Gill describes, that 'the first photographs of the helmet appear in the hands of a woman with manicured fingernails and wearing a striped jumper' (2014, 53). Despite being considered exceptionally important by the archaeological community, the helmet was rapidly listed for auction at Christie's; owing to the fact it was not made of an adequate percentage of precious metal, the helmet had no legal safeguard, and the finder was free to sell it (Telegraph 2010. Gill 2010). The circumstances of the discovery were shrouded in mystery. It was only on 4 June 2011, when it was first delivered to Christie's that Sally Worrell, the Finds Adviser to the PAS for Roman and Iron Age artefacts, was able to first see the helmet. Christie's had commissioned a restoration of the 67 fragments, which Worrell requested be postponed until scientific examination of the artefact could be conducted,

however, this unfortunately fell on deaf ears. Luckily, on one of her two later visits to see the find, she was able to take along a research student from the Institute of Archaeology UCL and a portable X-Ray fluorescence spectrometer to analyse the metal in situ. The results showed the helmet's composition was extremely unusual, and the griffin at its crest almost unique: when it was new, the face of the helmet would have had a silver colour, and the head piece been almost yellow (Worrell et al. 2011). Meanwhile, it was not until 30 August 2011, some three months after the initial discovery, that PAS Finds Liaison Officers were taken by the finders to the site from which they apparently extracted the helmet, and shown an empty hole - questions were asked about why this had taken so long, but of course there was little that PAS or others could do about it (Gill 2010). On Thursday 7 October the helmet went on sale at Christie's with reportedly six bidders competing to win the lot, two in the room, three by phone, and one online - including a bidder from California thought to be representing the Getty Museum (McSmith 2010).

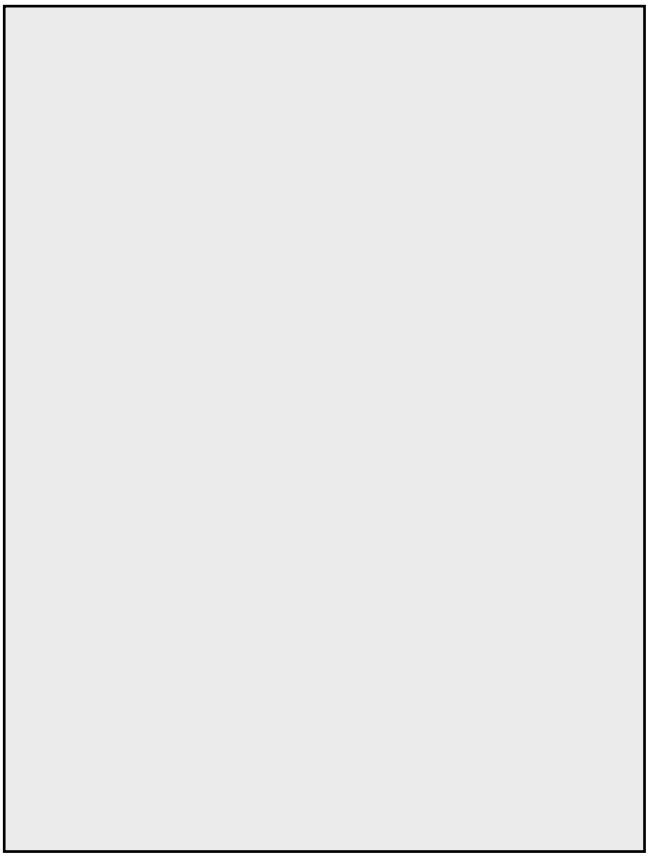

Figure 7: The reconstructed Crosby Garrett helmet on the cover of the Christie's sales catalogue

The Tullie House Museum, Carlisle, who dearly wanted to acquire the helmet and save it for display locally alongside other important finds at their collection near Hadrian's Wall, had an impressive £1.7 million raised with which to bid - thought to be some five times the value of the helmet (Gill 2010). However, they were not to succeed; the hammer fell on £2,281,250 bid by an anonymous buyer on the phone, a final sum that was around eight

times the helmet's estimated price (McSmith 2010). Because the buyer was anonymous and has chosen to remain so, the unique helmet has now been lost to the public view and its location is unknown - although it has since been on display twice, once at the Royal Academy's exhibition *Bronze*, and more recently at the Tullie House Museum from November 2013 - January 2014. Worrell was fortunately able to create a record of the find that appears alongside others on the PAS database (LANCUM-E48D73), however, for the most part, feelings amongst the academic community seem to parallel those of Gill (2010, 6) who has bewailed the implications of the Crosby Garrett case, and the lack of protection it was afforded by the *Treasure Act* 1996. For him:

> 'This significant find was removed from its archaeological context by unscientific methods in spite of the *Treasure Act* 1996 and the reporting procedures of PAS. The integrity of the find-spot has not been preserved and the subsequent recreation of the bronze fragments is open to question. Indeed the alleged finder was allowed to sell it without the possibility of archaeologists examining the object closely or the local archaeological collection being given the opportunity to acquire it. More significantly the heavy restoration may have damaged the helmet itself'.

The Crosby Garrett helmet highlighted what had been obvious for several years - that a review of the *Treasure Act* was overdue - but the question remained in what way should the terms be adapted? For Barford (2010, 21), 'It is clear that the criterion adopted should be that of archaeological and cultural significance rather than one based as at present on precious metal content'. Moreover, an extension of the definition of treasure would not require new legislation being passed, only an order in council to extend the terminology, however how could the protection of finds like the Crosby Garrett helmet be guaranteed in future (Renfrew 2010)? It would obviously not be possible to add single base-metal finds to the legislation, these being far too numerous and for the most part not of great individual significance, and so something more holistic would be required. For Renfrew, 'there could be a case for introducing a threshold in terms of "importance". But it is not clear how "importance" could be defined - a monetary threshold (for example 'objects exceeding (say) £1,000 in commercial value') would present practical problems' (2010, 28). He goes on to ask how one would propose to value the object, and more importantly how would the finder be supposed to know this on first unearthing it? He stressed the importance that any future change to the Treasure legislation be made with the support of the 'legitimate metal-detecting fraternity', and was keen to remind us that currently finds are regularly reported to the *Treasure Act* so the system must be working well so far (2010, 28). For Moshenska (2010, 26), likewise, we should not lose sight of the fact that the PAS is a voluntary recording scheme and, moreover, figures show it is one that is working; not

only is it a pragmatic, 'harm reduction' approach to protecting our heritage, but 'given the growing body of research based on PAS databases it is clear that engaging with metal detecting can go beyond the harm reduction to form a positive and productive strand within general archaeology'.

It is clear a more pragmatic approach like this is what will be required as the Portable Antiquities Scheme approaches the end of its second decade. Headline-grabbing hoards apparently encourage unhelpful and ill-thought opinions from those both within heritage and without it. After the Staffordshire Hoard discovery, *The Guardian* printed an opinion piece on Terry Herbert, stating 'He is a metal detectorist, and they are generally people for whom dreams of sudden wealth are all that sustain them in their dreary and normally unrewarding hobby'; it went on to suggest that the Hoard would trigger 'a modern gold rush in which thousands of disappointed lottery players will be beep-beeping all over the countryside' (Chancellor 2009). Such commentary, typical of Moshenska's (2010, 27) 'doom-mongers wringing their hands at [...] metal detectorists proletarian insurgency' is not only inappropriate, it is also inaccurate: of course many detectorists dream of making incredible finds, but those motivated by wealth would not find themselves 'sustained' by the hobby for very long. Instead, we should look at the positives: cases like the Staffordshire and Frome Hoards make it plain to see that PAS outreach is a success - in both instances the finders notified the scheme in a timely fashion, so Finds Liaison Offices and professional archaeologists were able to attend at the removal and salvage the maximum potential information for all to share and enjoy. The pressing issue now is to tighten the loopholes in the current legislation, and ensure that unique finds like the Crosby Garrett helmet are not allowed to slip through the net in the future. Such future-proofing will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 7.

Further to this, though, it should be understood that these remarkable treasure discoveries are very far removed from the regular encounters of most metal detectorists, and that these every-day experiences need attention as equally as the occasional and the specific. The Portable Antiquities Scheme has achieved a great deal in bringing archaeologists and metal detectorists together, but more work is required to improve out understanding of the attitudes of the metal detecting community, as this chapter has shown. The negative publicity campaigns of the 1970s and '80s (see 2.2. above) caused damage whose impact is still felt today, but a greater awareness of the motivations at work for conscientious metal detectorists should go some way to bridging the gap between amateur and professional. To this end, this thesis offer new insights, by approaching the issue from the perspective of landscape, as a unifying factor at work in every metal detecting experience.

Chapter 3. 'On the Map': Metal-detecting and Landscape

Writing in 1975, British geographer Jay Appleton bewailed the 'theoretical vacuum' in which attempts were being made to evaluate landscape, in particular its aesthetic appeal (Appleton 1975). This absence of an adequate theoretical foundation was forcing his colleagues to adhere stalwartly to an empirical methodology, leaving little room for the creativity and imagination required to capably approach the vast subject of landscape, and 'breathe life' into it; indeed, he warned, 'when the old-fashioned, subjective appraisal of artistic, sensitive man is snuffed out, we have no flame left to set anything on fire' (1975, 123). Today, almost forty years on, the scarcity of landscape theory has been corrected somewhat - thanks in no small part to the increasingly inter-disciplinary approach of many landscape studies - and Appleton's sentiments appear to have been taken on board; as Barrett (1999, 24) suggests, 'to understand landscape is to live within it and to "look about oneself"'. Most researchers now assume that an empirical methodology needs to be applied alongside a strong theoretical framework and an acceptance that landscape phenomena such as sense of place will always be, in some respects, subjective (Johnson 2007).

The following chapter will outline a number of different theoretical perspectives that can be used to approach landscape and clarify our understanding of how attachment to landscape might be generated, namely: value; temporality; memory; perception; and experience. It will then discuss 'sense of place' and the reconstruction of the historic landscape, before considering how all of these themes might be expressed through the quantitative and qualitative data of this study, and the hierarchy of ideas therein. To facilitate this, however, we must first consider what is meant when we use the term 'landscape'.

3.1. What is 'Landscape'?

According to Bender (2006, 307), the word 'landscape' owes its origins to an Anglo-Saxon word which corresponded to the German *Landschaft*, denoting a patch of cultivated land or estate. However, this fell out of use and was replaced in the sixteenth century by the Middle Dutch *lantscap* which denoted a picture of natural scenery, the birth of landscape painting being homologous with the origin of a word that has ever since held connotations of a specific way of viewing the world, and even a specific way of orientating ourselves as viewers of it. To Hirsch, 'the painterly origin of the landscape concept is significant', as the

adoption of the word into general use was because viewers came to recognise as 'landscape' that which reminded them of a painted version, which in turn had ramifications for what would later be considered aesthetically worthy of this description (1995, 2). Furthermore, for Hirsch, the term carries with it invisible divisions, entailing:

> 'a relationship between the "foreground" and "background" of social life. This, after all, is what is achieved in the idealized world of the painted representation; the painted picture allows us to discern this within the painting itself and/or in the relationship between the viewer of the painting and the painted representation.' (1995, 3).

Figure 8: Jacob van Ruisdael, *Landscape with Waterfall* **(c. 1660)**

Cosgrove's (1984, 269) definition of landscape also homes in on this sense that the view offered to the observer is somehow restricted, stating:

> 'Landscape is a social and cultural product, a way of seeing projected onto the land and having its own techniques and compositional forms; a restrictive way of seeing that diminishes alternative modes of experiencing our relations with nature'.

For Cosgrove, this is very much a Westernized way of looking about oneself, a gaze which Bender (2006, 309) agrees, 'whether it be at home, looking out over a "fine prospect", or abroad, encroaching upon other people's places and understandings, is a colonizing gaze'.

Cresswell (2004, 11) shares the opinion that the concept of landscape requires the beholder to be outside of it - saying 'We do not live in landscapes - we look at them'; indeed he uses this as the main differentiator between landscape and place, saying 'places are very much things to be inside of' (2004, 10). As far as this thesis is concerned, however, there can be no such duality between landscape and place, understanding it would be impossible for one to be in place, without a landscape to be placed within.

Likewise Ingold rejects totally the division between inner and outer worlds, between mind and matter, in favour of understanding landscape by immersion within it, enacted through being and doing (1993). For him, a view of landscape 'supposing you are standing outdoors, [...] is what you see all around: a contoured and textured surface replete with diverse objects - living and non-living, natural and artificial' (1993, 154). Whilst landscape is not nature, it is also not human as opposed to nature, rather - being dwelled in - it is with us, not against us; 'through living in it', states Ingold, 'the landscape becomes a part of us, just as we are a part of it' (1993, 154). This context-dependent dynamic of being-in-the-world is something Bender draws upon also, suggesting 'human interventions are done not so much to the landscape as with the landscape, and what is done affects what can be done' (2002, S103); likewise for Gosden and Head, 'landscapes are both created and creating' (1994, 114) (see 3.6).

In contrast to Ingold's rejection of a dichotomous approach to being-in-the-landscape, for Tuan it is the very act of human cognition which transforms environment, 'a given, a piece of reality that is simply there', into landscape, which is 'an achievement of the mature mind' (1979, 90 and 100). Perception is one of the themes that will be considered in more depth later (see 3.5) but certainly, for some scholars - and the researcher would agree - it is absolutely fundamental in defining landscape as an entity. For Tuan (1974, 114), therefore, perception explains why there are some envrionments-turned-landscapes which persistently appeal across generations, some 'ideal places', like the seashore, the valley and the island. Lowenthal (1978) brings this to bear in his, perhaps questionable, assertion that this enduring attachment relates to an inherited perception - usually attributed to primordial experience. Meinig (1979) felt that our understanding could benefit from imagining the experience of a 'small but varied company' sent to a viewing platform, with each party perceiving the landscape on the horizon through one of ten different lenses:

- Nature
- Habitat
- Artefact
- System

- Problem
- Wealth
- Ideology
- History
- Place
- Aesthetic

Whilst this approach was insightful at a basic level about the range of potential perceptive systems at work behind landscape experience, the nature of the exercise meant that Meinig's distinctions were so rigidly enforced that there was little room for cross-over in between, each group being granted only one narrow angle through which to encounter landscape. We are therefore left unconvinced that forcibly dividing a complex entity into component parts can increase our understanding of it, where landscape experience is concerned. Indeed, the obstacles encountered here are paralleled by those issues met during attempts to compartmentalise the ways in which landscape is valued (see Fig. 9).

It is appreciated then, as Lowenthal states, that 'landscapes themselves are myriad, non-discrete, and constantly altering, both in their components and in their appearance' (1978, 375), and moreover that this volatility means, as Bender warns us, that 'landscapes refuse to be disciplined; they make a mockery of the oppositions that we create between time (history) and space (geography) or between nature (science) and culture (anthropology)' (2002, S106). However, in an effort to do justice to the arguments laid out so far, this study will use a definition after Holtorf and Williams (2006, 235), namely: 'by landscape we refer to the inhabited or perceived environments of human communities in the past and present incorporating both natural and artificial elements'.

3.2. *Value* of Landscape

In order to best consider how attachment to landscape might be generated, it would seem sensible to first reflect on value: what it means, how it is constructed, and how, therefore, a landscape might come to be valued. For Hitlin and Piliavin (2004, 359), although a value could be taken to mean anything from a moral obligation to an attraction or a goal, amongst the most effective definitions is that put forward by Kluckhohn (1951, 395):

> 'a value is a conception, explicit or implicit, distinctive of an individual or characteristic of a group, of the desirable, which influences the selection from available modes, means and ends of action'.

The two salient points in this definition are the concept of the desirable and the influence upon action. A value is that conception which we use to exert preference when faced with a selection; later expanded upon by Rokeach (1973) and cited by Clement and Cheng (2011, 395) as:

> 'an enduring belief that a specific mode of conduct or end-state of existence is personally or socially preferable to an opposite or converse mode of conduct or end-state of existence'.

Values can be seen to refer to life goals and, by association, the modes of conduct that promote these goals, therefore guiding perception, evaluation and behaviour (Bergman 1998).

Brown and Weber (2012) would have us divide values further into those that are 'held' and those that are 'assigned', whereby held values are generic, enduring principles that are considered important by people, for example those which dictate behaviour or conduct, whilst assigned values are more specific in focus and it is these that would be at work behind the preference of one object relative to others (Brown and Weber 2012). Perhaps more usefully, Bergman (1998, 86) suggests a distinction between '*ideal*' and '*real*' values, saying:

> 'for instance, "hard work for its own sake" might be a shared, yet ideal value, while "work for sufficient monetary compensation" might be a more salient and influential value in day-to-day work activity'.

In either case, it is widely agreed that one of the main features of values as acquired behaviour dispositions is that they are relatively stable and, as Clement and Cheng suggest, are 'unlikely to change unless under extreme duress' (2011, 395; Bergman 1998; Rokeach 1973). The structuralist argument would suggest that these stable values (often shared by groups, cultures or organisations), consequently give rise to object-specific attitudes - i.e. behavioural dispositions arise from social structure (Bergman 1998). However, critics would argue that this approach is too deterministic, and fails to account for observations that individuals may hold several incompatible values, or indeed some attitudes not accounted for by their values (Bergman 1998). As such, a formal cognitive hierarchy with beliefs at the bottom, values in the middle and attitudes at the top, may have its limitations; nevertheless, by understanding the roles of attitudes as individual cognitive and affective evaluations of an object by an agent, and a value as an array of these (often held by a group of agents), it is possible to use either attitudes to examine values, or values to examine attitudes, accepting - as discussed - that both are dynamic, and each has the potential to change the other.

But what of the processes at work behind the formation of value? Burgess and Gold (1982, 5) set out two contrasting theoretical approaches:

> 'One view sees value as an absolute quality, resting on the assumption that worth is intrinsic to the entity itself independently of the context on which it is found. The other view sees value as a relative quality assigned to an entity on the basis of comparative assessment against other entities and dependent upon the context in which it is found.'

Today it must be clear that the second approach is valid - value, like 'status', is not intrinsic but rather is entirely bestowed - and nowhere is this made more plain than in consideration of value associated with landscape or place, whereby value is fixed according to the extent to which a place fulfills certain criteria of need or preference in the agent who experiences it. As such, value - like the attitudes it gives rise to - oscillates according to taste and judgement amongst different people, communities, societies and even over time, and these are further factors to take into account with any consideration of value and its attribution. Different parties will have different agendas, various requirements to fulfill. A local council trying to create new homes for as many people as possible will likely place a very different kind of value upon a landscape to the local wildlife trust or similar, for example, and yet fifty years later these priorities might shift or even reverse, depending upon a potential increasing value attributed to that which is in scarcer supply: housing or endangered birds. As Bergman (1998, 90) suggests, there can be no prescriptive hierarchy for values, attitudes and opinions, instead:

> 'their relationships are extremely complex due to ambiguity and change in the environment, dynamically changing and adaptive cognitive processes within individuals as well as idiosyncratic variations on an individual level'.

As Brown and Weber (2012, 316-317) explain, 'the values that humans associate with place are central to individual and collective decisions about appropriate and desirable land use at multiple scales'. Their research into how place values changed between 2004 and 2010 in an Australian island community - carried out using public participatory geographic information systems (PPGIS) - used a typology of thirteen values developed some years prior as part of a local forestry planning process. These were: aesthetic, recreation, economic, wilderness, biological, heritage, future, learning (knowledge), intrinsic, therapeutic, life sustaining and spiritual (see Fig 9). Although it is too comprehensive for the purposes of this research, and undeniably it is approaching the issue from a geographical focus, this typology is nevertheless a useful indicator of the range of values,

both held and assigned, that can be encountered when thinking about landscape. Only aesthetic value will be taken forward for further discussion (3.2.1.) but biographical value will be added further (3.2.2).

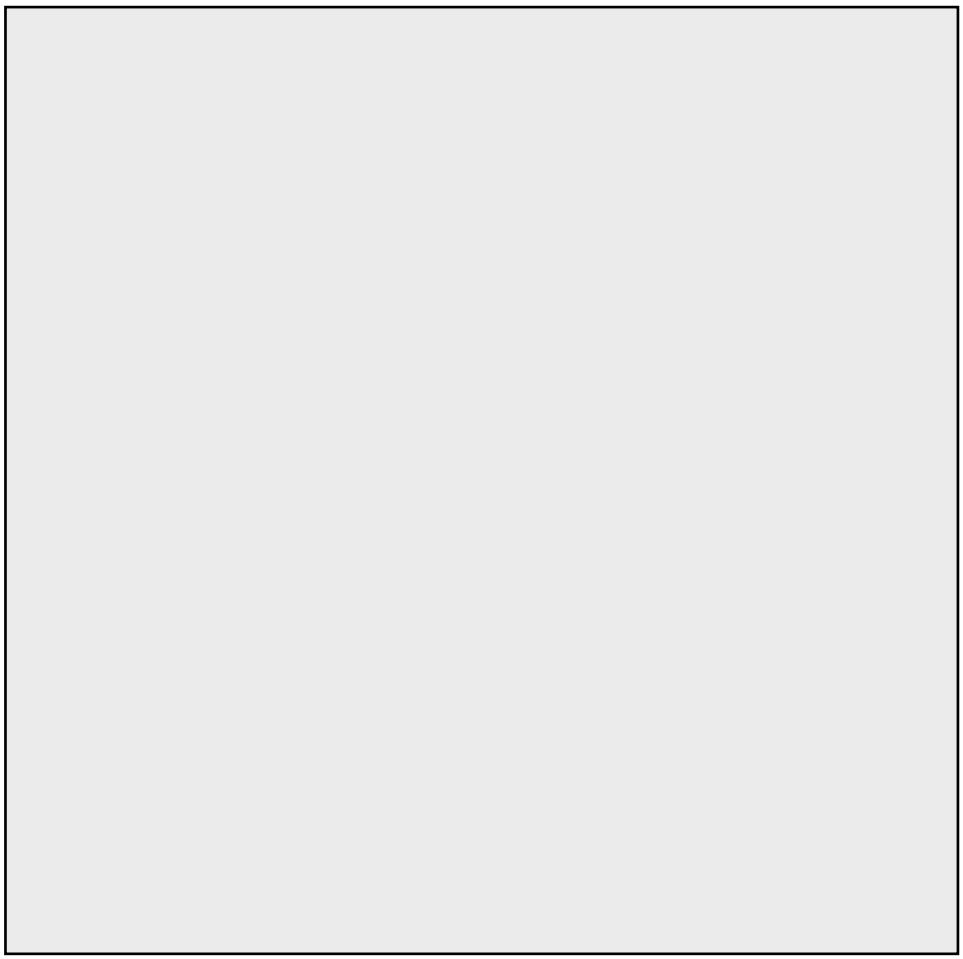

Figure 9: Typology of landscape values (Brown and Weber 2012, 318)

3.2.1. Aesthetic Value

The results of Brown and Weber's studies in 2004 and 2010 showed that not only was there relatively little change in ranking of landscape values within a six year period on Kangaroo Island, Southern Australia, but that the number one ranked value remained the same in both surveys - aesthetic value. Given the relatively frequent oscillations encountered in what might be considered 'popular' taste, one might assume that aesthetic appeal would be the most fickle, and yet where landscape is concerned, there is no denying that some overlying aesthetic preferences do prevail over time.

To return to the discussion of the origin of the term landscape after the Dutch painting tradition, for Punter (1982, 101) this provides 'a significant link with the conventional

aesthetic. Landscape excludes "figures", activities and social setting, and emphasises rural ("natural") beauty'. An extension from this could be the acceptance into everyday vocabulary of the word 'picturesque', which was outlined first by William Gilpin in 1768 and later developed in his extended works, in which he detailed landscape views whose composition and form matched the aesthetic criteria established in landscape painting (Johnson and Pitzl 1981). For Lowenthal (1978, 395), however, this is the root cause of the issues that face us today when trying to better understand landscape value, because 'we still tend to consider scenery a detached object to be appreciated like a painting'. He suggests that our entire concept of landscape appraisal stems from what he describes as 'pictorial inheritance', meaning that 'landscapes are frequently appreciated less for their environmental attributes than as artistic compositions' (1978, 395).

This 'inheritance' suggests that generally speaking, aesthetic preferences may be assumed to be held values - shared across communities and translated through enduring cultural principles. This is corroborated by the large number of research studies into public preferences, conducted in response to an increasing policy focus on landscape and the built environment, which show a marked consistency in results (Burton 2012). Burton's (2012, 52) compilation of recent studies showed that 'preferred landscapes are generally: natural, verdant, forested, traditionally cultural, mixed order/disorder, half-open, and contain water'. Conversely, enclosed landscapes, urban or industrial agricultural settings, or those lacking natural elements were amongst those which people most disliked (Burton 2012). It could be noted that discussions of landscape aesthetic might be limited by approaching the issue from a Western perspective, for example - in their study of attitudes towards landscapes amongst 525 university students, equally balanced amongst Black, Hispanic and White ethnic/racial groups, Virden and Walker found that forests were perceived to be more threatening for Hispanic Americans, African Americans, and women, and less threatening for European Americans and men (Virden and Walker, 1999). The authors speculate that this could be due to a number of socio/cultural factors including mythologies, a greater unease in general than in the White community, and not least the fact that both the Black and Hispanic populations experienced less outdoor time during their upbringing than the Whites, raising the question of 'how relative deficiency or profusion of outdoor experience during youth may impact the environmental attitudes and meanings held by adults' (1999, 233). Burton (2012, 52) proposes that on the contrary, in terms of his set of compiled preferences, including semi-open, verdant landscapes with water, 'these preferences are not limited to particular environmental and cultural upbringings [...but] are the result of perceptual and judgmental mechanisms which are shared by all humans. In support of this suggestion, Yu's research using photographs of

landscapes to compare responses between twenty-eight Chinese sub-groups and Western design experts found marked similarities in preferences between the populations, especially those of correlating educational levels (Yu 1995).

However, this clearly cannot always be expected to be the case, as noted by Virden and Walker (1999), and cultural perspectives will still create some differences in preferences - the oilfields of Texas, for example, were seen by the native Apache and Cherokee as foul-smelling blights on the landscape, and yet to Rockefeller and the founders of Standard Oil they were attractive promises of riches, but here there is obviously more than an aesthetic principle at work. While he disputes that aesthetic principles can be used solely to explain landscape tastes, Lowenthal (1978, 377) nevertheless accepts that the scenic character of a landscape, as opposed to its potential utility, will have the broadest appeal: 'Relatively few people prize any particular locale for its economic, recreational or ecological resources', he states, 'but as a beautiful or evocative scene it may matter to millions'. The question is, however, to what extent is this useful if these millions are unable to effectively describe what it is they find so attractive about the view? For Johnson and Pitzl (1981, 213), 'narrative descriptions of visual impressions present significant communication problems'. They liken any attempt to describe a landscape view to a symphony where only one instrument can play at a time - because the narrator can only proceed in a sequence of words, he or she cannot draw attention to multiple aspects, whether holistic or particular, at any one time and therefore cannot convey the whole sense nor do it justice (Johnson and Pitzl 1981). The methodological implications of this issue are discussed in Chapter 4.4.

For Appleton, any attempt whatsoever to describe beauty in the landscape is futile, not so much because of potential communication issues, but because 'beauty' in an aesthetic sense is simply inadequate for describing landscape value, as it must comply with an idea of 'beauty' encountered elsewhere, and therefore have commonality within a sphere much wider than simply landscape alone (1996). He remarks (1996, 14-15), 'as long as we have to ask "what is beauty in landscape?" there is a presupposition that it must be the same as beauty in sculpture or in dancing, otherwise we should not describe it by the same word'; rather he would prefer the question re-phrased as "What is the source of that pleasure which we derive from the contemplation of landscape?", the asking of which will enable us 'to postulate that it may be different from the source of pleasure to be derived from any other experience'. If we subscribe to Appleton's thinking then, the enjoyment of a pleasing landscape view cannot ever be critiqued as a purely aesthetic response, but rather must be considered as the reflection of a number of simultaneous reactions to a combination of sensory stimuli encountered as part of the unique experience of being in the landscape.

3.2.2 Biographical Value and Locality

Although memory as embodied in, or evoked by, landscape will be discussed later in more detail (See below, 3.4.), it is essential to mention at this stage in connection with the generation of value. For Lowenthal (1982, 74), it is expressed quite simply: 'any valued landscape is *ipso facto* memorable'. A reversed paradigm can also be observed, however, in which memories of a landscape can be seen to generate a value of it, thus presenting, as Strang (1999, 206) describes: 'a dynamic interaction between the individual, the socio-cultural environment and the land itself'. The longer people remain in a landscape, accumulating memories of it, and reinvesting value back into it, the more it is observable how concepts can become interwoven and attachment generated. Canter, as cited by Lee (1982, 162), has stated that:

> "There is growing awareness that one of the most significant properties of a place is its direct personal relevance to the person... in other words, the degree to which, if at all, the conceptualisation which a person holds of himself overlaps with the conceptual system he has of the place."

For Burgess and Gold (1982, 1), the generation of attachment and value to a locality is due to the intimate connection between biographies and environments, 'for, regardless of circumstance and position, individuals emerge to hold and create their own landscapes'. This is what makes the difference between space and place - people are 'place-makers', creating place by attaching meanings and values to what is otherwise simply space (Brown and Weber 2012. See below, 3.7).

These personal histories and successions invested in landscapes, also serve to provide a reassuring and reaffirming sense of continuity, another highly-valued quality, defined by Lowenthal (1982, 79) as 'the sense of unbroken succession often visible in storied locales'. Indeed, the combination of these factors would seem to ensure that locality will always be important, despite our ever-increasing mobility (Lee 1982). For Relph (1976, 31), it stands to reason that attachment to place will increase over the length of time lived there, the implication being that:

> 'as the residents' attachment becomes more pronounced, their home area of place changes its character for them, both because of improving geographical and social knowledge and especially because of a growing intensity of involvement and commitment.'

3.3. *Temporality* of Landscape

The interweaving of biography and landscape to create a continuous, embedded life story, or 'storied' location, can be approached from the angle developed by Bender, via Ingold and others, as the temporality of landscape (Hicks and McAtackney 2007). As the setting for numerous continuous processes, past and present, people and places, the temporal landscape is self-creating and self-fulfilling and can only be understood when recognized as such. Ingold (1993, 172) would have us 'move beyond the division that has afflicted most inquiries up to now, between the "scientific" study of an atemporalized nature, and the "humanistic" study of a dematerialized history'; that is, in order to discover meaning in the landscape from a dwelling perspective we must appreciate that the process of dwelling is temporal and therefore recognise the temporality of landscape itself. This can be facilitated by accepting what Ingold (1993) comes to term as 'taskscape', a self-creating, temporal pattern of socio-cultural activities that is to dwelling what landscape is to land.
For Barrett (1999, 24), taskscape:

> 'seems to recognise the creation of the landscape as it was occupied, a creation that was drawn out through time in such a way that our understanding of it cannot be expressed in one moment, but must trace the threads of movement and the temporal rhythms played out as people traversed the land'.

These 'temporal rhythms' of social formations and dispersals, movements and workings, can only be appreciated when we acknowledge the temporality of landscape, instead of viewing it simply as a platform for action or a sequence of spaces and, moreover, this will not be achieved if we attempt to maintain objectivity (Barrett, 1999). Likewise for Bender (2002, S103): 'landscapes and time can never be "out there": they are always subjective'; for her the momentum of landscape is comparable to the momentum of time, 'landscape is time materializing: landscapes, like time, never stand still'.

Understood as a temporal process then, we can nevertheless simplify matters for ourselves by inserting - not divisions, necessarily - but little stops along the way, flagging the temporal past in the landscape as 'memory', and perhaps the potential temporal future as 'perception'. As for the present, being-in-the-world, we can flag that as 'experience' and come to that last of all.

3.4. *Memory* of Landscape

> *'Memory is like patches of sunlight in an overcast valley, shifting with the movement of the clouds. Now and then the light will fall on a particular point in time, illuminating it for a moment before the wind seals up the gap, and the world is in shadows again.'*
>
> Tan Twan Eng (2012)

Nowhere are the temporal qualities of landscape made plainer to see than in the inherent role of memory in any experience of being in place: 'Landscapes have an experienced representational value' suggest Rishbeth and Powell (2013, 162), 'standing as reminders of past places, people, or cultural values'. The evocation of social memory provided by certain landscapes is almost a taskscape of remembering, memories are triggered by the enactment of everyday routines and rituals at certain locations and across pathways (Holtorf and Williams 2006). Indeed, the act of remembering in the landscape is a type of experience in its own right, it can be facilitated or subdued by certain stimuli and filtered by the agency of the individual so that past recollections merge with contemporary impressions. For Ittelson et al. (1975, 204) this is, on occasion, the 'dominant mode' of environmental experience - 'returning to a childhood home as an adult', for example, 'brings back vivid associations; each room possesses myriad clues to forgotten events, and the smells alone seem to bring back entire years of experience'.

Even paintings of landscapes can have this effect. By enabling us to compare our responses with those of past observers, by 'selecting and crystallizing, highlighting some features and shadowing others, [works of art] resemble landscapes of memory more than those of actuality' according to Lowenthal and Prince (1975, 126). Landscapes can also be used to generate a prospective memory, through which the construction of monuments, graveyards, landscape gardens and so on, can determine how remembering will occur in the future. However, Holtorf and Williams (2006, 238) are at pains to point out that the kind of looking back prompted by landscape, monumental or otherwise, 'is not necessarily about accurately recalling past events as truthfully as possible: it is rather about making meaningful statements about the past in the given cultural context of a present as well as evoking aspirations for the future'. Just so, Lowenthal (1975, 24) would emphasise that 'the place of the past in any landscape is as much the product of present interest as of past history', using today's tastes for nostalgia to present to us the bias with which we cherry-pick which aspects of the past to commemorate.

The relatively recent phenomenon of the creation of memorial books - a custom established by migrant peoples to document the destruction of their homelands, for example East European Jewish Holocaust survivors, or Palestinian refugees from the State of Israel - allows us to witness this curation of landscape memory in action. Although these volumes comprise material that facilitates more a reconstruction than an accurate representation, relying on sketched 'memory maps' and perhaps not even first but second-hand recollections, nevertheless they provide a reference point on which to anchor a collective memory, a symbolic topology, or what Slyomovics describes as 'the current sense of what the past was like' (1998, 7). The production, for these volumes, of hand-drawn maps in particular - using data from compiled oral histories of the long-lost place - results in the penning of multi-authored 'folk maps', 'each black line' of which, suggests Slyomovics (1998, 7), 'must bear the burden of its cartographer's passionate attachment to what has been remembered'.

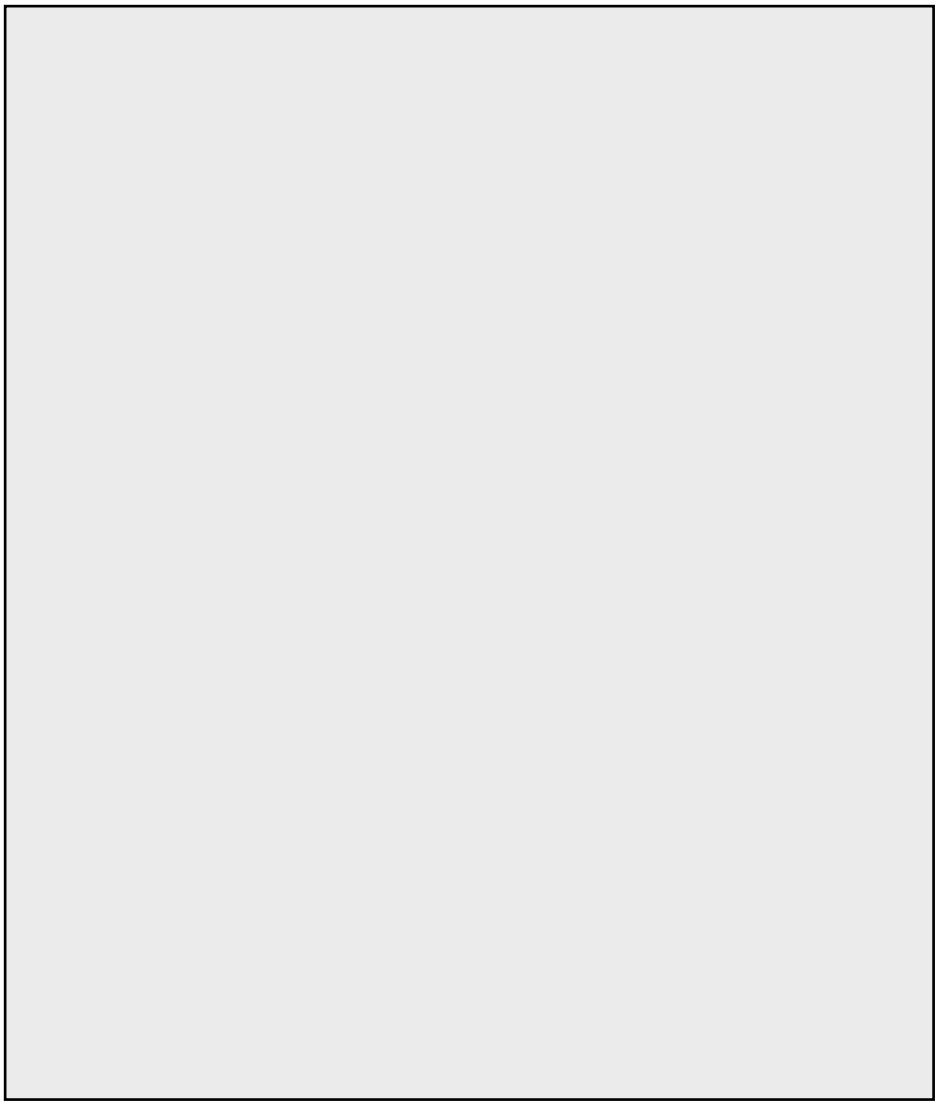

Figure 10: Memory map of Salamah. The caption reads
"Salamah in the year 1948 as remembered by some of its people" (Slyomovics 1998, 8)

Although the motivations behind the refugee communities' desire to create these memory books is understandable, this yearning to re-encounter past places is not unique to migrants or the victims of conflict. Nostalgia is a universal experience, bound as it is to the inevitable temporality of the landscape and the prompted recollections of any emotionally significant place. As Casey (2000, 201) suggests, 'it is not accidental that "nostalgia" and "homesickness" are still regarded as synonyms in current English dictionaries, and that one and the same German word, *Heimweh*, means both at once'. And yet in many ways the experience of nostalgia is a more positive one than that of what might be described as homesickness, combining restorative qualities with reflective ones - embracing remembrance but simultaneously engaging with an ongoing emotional experience, whose temporal layers of memory rebuilds the past at the same time (Rishbeth and Powell 2013). For Rishbeth and Powell (2013, 163) this is reflected in the popular use of the phrase 'the story so far', which implies not only a looking back, but also a continuing process and potential horizons.

The same is true of the 'remembering' experience in general; in contrast to basic recognition (remembering in the presence of the object), the act of remembering via recall (in the absence of the object) in the landscape is an act which creates memories at the time of its occurrence, thus enabling memories themselves to change according to the time of their summoning and therefore causing their relative values to vary as well (Casey 2000). Indeed, memory - as an essential factor of perception (See below, 3.5.) - is ever-present, and always ongoing; as Casey (2000, xix) states: 'Memory itself is already in the advance position. Not only because remembering is at all times presupposed, but also because it is always at work'. It is useful, therefore, to try and divide into three basic modes the different types of memory triggered by landscape experience: the first is mnemonic memory, recognition prompted by a visual stimulus in the landscape; the second is embodied memory, where the immersive quality of place fully engages the senses to evoke memories beyond those that can be summoned solely by looking at a photograph; the third is performative memory, whereby physical action in the landscape is the integral component in connecting with the past (Rishbeth and Powell 2013).

Moreover, for Casey (2000, 198) 'landscape contributes to place's memorial evocativeness in three primary ways: by its variegation, its sustaining character, and its expressiveness'. Variegations, obtrusions in to the lifeworld, give pause to us otherwise gliding through free space, offering us memorial prompts via 'something to grasp at the most basic level of sensory awareness' (2000, 198). The sustaining character of landscape, meanwhile, provides

a cohesive foundation upon which stocks of memories can be built up, whilst its expressiveness, the emotionality of landscape, provides suggestive stimulation for all manner of remembering (Casey 2000). As such, Casey (2000, 200) states: 'The memorability of place amounts to more than what the recollection of place can yield; it is the source as well as the reinforced product of experiences of being-in-place'.

Figure 11: An aerial view of the Avebury monumental landscape © English Heritage

For Holtorf and Williams (2006, 241), monuments - like the landscape at Avebury (Fig. 11), for example - should not only be called landmarks, but also 'time-marks', because of their ability to connect the living community with their ancestors even, as in the case of disused churches for example, when populations have moved elsewhere. For Bell (1997, 813), this is attributable to the fact that 'places are, in a word, personed - even when there is no one there'. He uses ghosts to help describe the phenomenological experience of the environment mediated by the 'social relations of memory, and the memory of social relations', an extension of the idea already discussed that the continuity of biographies embedded in the landscape can create a highly-valued, 'storied' place (1997, 816; Lowenthal 1978). For Ingold (1993, 152), this is simply a natural extension of the dwelling process, so that 'the landscape constitutes an enduring record of - and testimony to - the lives and works of past generations who have dwelt within it, and in so doing, have left there something of themselves'. The permanent memorial presented by the landscape therefore means that any perception of it constitutes an act of remembrance, so that 'remembering

is not so much a matter of calling up an internal image, stored in the mind, as of engaging perceptually with an environment that is itself pregnant with the past' (1993, 152-153).

3.5. *Perception* of Landscape

Whilst memory is the essential driving force behind any perceptual engagement, for Ingold (2010, S122) the two are indivisible; he cites: "'Inside me", confessed Saint Augustine, 'in the vast cloisters of my memory... are the sky, the earth and the sea, ready at my summons, together with everything that I have ever perceived in them by my senses'". The memories accrued throughout a lifetime are not only expansive, they are also multisensory and the same is true for the perceptual process. The sea, for example, stimulates us with its sound and smell, as well as sight, allowing us to appreciate the multisensory involvement of what we understand perception to be. This is supported by Allport's (1955, 14) definition, set out in his work on the subject some years ago. For him, perception:

> 'has something to do with our awareness of the objects or conditions about us. It is dependent to a large extent upon the impressions these objects make upon our senses. It is the way things look to us, or the way they sound, feel, taste, or smell. But perception also involves, to some degree, an understanding awareness, a "meaning" or a "recognition" of these objects'.

Behaviourists would argue that the perceptual process can be understood to fit a stimulus-response model, whereby these sensory impressions Allport describes would become signals for the receipt, or lack of receipt, of a reinforcer within the perceiver and, by extension, cause a response via movement, action or otherwise (Seamon 1979). This approach, in which only observable behaviours are scrutinised, comes at the cost of all the internal experiential processes discussed so far in this paper - which are discarded by behaviourists as being too personally subjective to accurately study - and is therefore at odds with the cognitive psychological approach advocated herein (Ballesteros 1994). Cognitive scientists, explains Ballesteros (1994, 2), 'try to understand the nature of the mental representations that underly perception and other cognitive processes that support our interactions with the external world'. As Campos et al. (2012, 760) describe, 'the perception process itself is influenced by many cultural, experience-based and individual factors that underlie interpretation', and it is these factors, mediated by the perceiver's cognitive and emotional responses, that are so valuable for any research into attitudes to landscape preferences and similar. For them, 'Landscape perception refers to the cognitive aspects of the reception of visual stimuli and an implicit categorization underlying people's

interpretation of the environment', and though this thesis would disagree that the stimuli in particular need be defined as visual only, in all other respects their description is pertinent (2012, 760). Whilst Ballesteros (1994, 3) agrees that most of a person's perceptive encounters with the environment are conducted visually, 'nevertheless', she states, 'other perceptual modalities such as audition and touch are also very important in our daily relationship with the outside world'.

And so the agent in the landscape experiences a jumble of sensory stimuli, perceived and processed internally alongside an ever-ongoing record of remembering, and against a complex system of held and assigned values (Brown and Weber 2012). For Lowenthal (1967, 1), this can neatly be surmised as a 'personally apprehended milieu', whilst Wapner et al. (1975, 1) refer also to the agency of wants experienced at the time of the perception process, suggesting 'the construal of phenomena depends heavily on the values and needs of perceivers'. At a basic level, this can be understood in terms of the infant learning how to experience movement in the landscape around himself: by crawling, pushing and pulling, he is able to attribute primitive meaning to the space he encounters, so that consequently as Beck describes, 'as meaning is acquired, it clothes the perceptual world' (1967, 20).

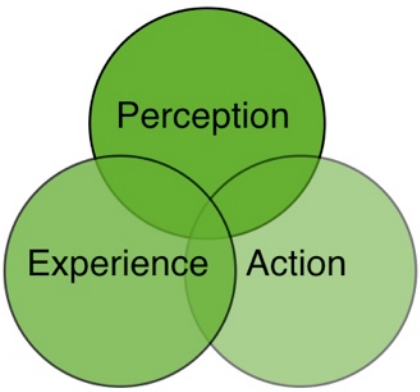

Figure 12: Basic environmental perception paradigm, after Lowenthal (1967)

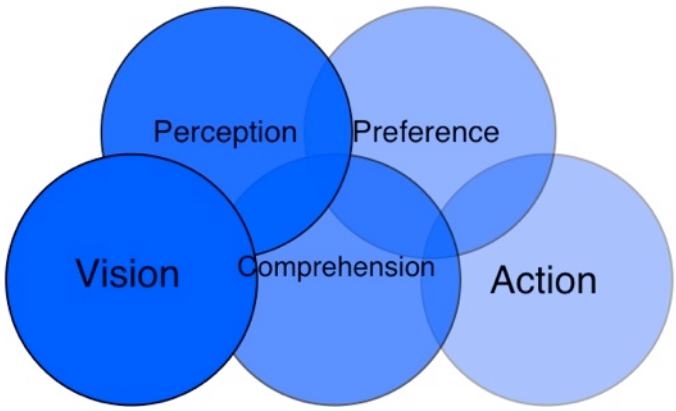

Figure 13: Extended environmental perception paradigm, after Punter (1982)

Lowenthal (1967) divides his universe of study into three interrelated realms: the nature of the environment, what is thought and felt about the environment, and how this mediates action or behaviour in the environment. This can be expressed as a simple paradigm of environmental perception as follows: perception - experience - action (see above Fig. 12). For Punter (1982, 102), the perception paradigm should '[embrace] the mechanics of how we perceive landscape and the links between vision, perception, comprehension, preference and action' (see above Fig. 13). He is concerned primarily with the physical environment as the external stimulus to the observer, and sight as the predominant sense that responds to this, but distinguishes also, within the overarching title of perception, between the distinct processes of perception (the direct sensory experience), cognition (the way this is understood and learnt from), and evaluation (the way these factors combine to produce preference).

By exposing the composite elements of the perceptual process, namely cognition/comprehension and evaluation/preference as the mediators between the sensory experience and the resultant action, we are able to appreciate clearly how the perceiver's individual requirements and value-systems will affect the overall perception. The limitless possibilities of this process create amongst landscape encounters a 'plurality of place' on any number of different scales so that, according to Bender (2002, 107):

> 'Being Jewish or coloured, being a woman, being young or old, rich or poor, may assume significance in one context but not another. [...] And the moment or context will be both particular - dependent on the time of day, the company one is in, the memories evoked - and generally dependent upon things happening off-scene'.

For Appleton (1996), any experience of an immediate environmental situation will be mediated by the subject's perception of hazards, prospects or refuges in the landscape, which will be present at different levels of symbolism and will require comprehension and evaluation prior to action being taken. Taking a 'hazard', for example, this may mean 'on the one hand, a crocodile, a bush fire or a human enemy or, on the other, simply a feeling of exposure to an unidentifiable or even an imaginary and perhaps non-existent threat' (1996, 74). Clearly, however, perception is bound up in experience of the landscape and the two cannot be easily separated when they occur contemporaneously, as they must. Ingold (2010, S125), in his phenomenological approach to understanding environment and the 'weather-world', proposes that: 'the ground is perceived kinaesthetically, in movement. If we say of the ground of a hill that it 'rises up'; this is not because the ground itself is on the move but because we feel its contours in our own bodily exercise'. Tilley (1994, 10) also

subscribes to this view that the body is the cornerstone for perceptive consciousness of the environment, being the filter as it were for both knowledge of, and expression in, the landscape. Likewise, in his seminal work on the matter, Merleau-Ponty (1962, 303) states:

> 'Any perception of a thing, a shape or a size as real, any perceptual constancy refers back to the positing of a world and of a system of experience in which my body is inescapably linked with phenomena.'

Figure 14: Basic contact and the awareness continuum (Seamon 1979, 115)

For Seamon (1979, 115), the instantaneous person-world continuum, in which no division can exist between the body and an encounter with environment, can be described as a perceptual base-level of basic contact, a 'preconscious attention which, like movement, arises from the body'. Moments of conscious perceptual awareness arising from this can be described as an encounter, for example watching or noticing something, but beneath all on the 'awareness continuum', runs a wavelike structure of basic contact, 'always extending outwards some amount of prereflective attention' (Fig. 14. 1979, 115). Casey (1996, 17) agrees with this concept of a primary, underlying layer of perception that exists separately from a pointillistic sensory response system, proposing that if we agree with Husserl and Merleau-Ponty that perception is 'primary' then it must convey more than simply information about the surfaces of what we encounter, rather 'there must be an ingredient in perception from the start, a conveyance of what being in place is all about'.

3.6. *Experience* of Landscape

Just as personal agency exercised via perception endows the landscape with a plurality of place, so the same is true of experience, as might be expected given that experience and perception occur at the same time in encountering landscape (indeed, one cannot experience without perceiving).

For Johnson and Pitzl (1981, 212):

> 'landscape as a human experience rather than as a part of an objective world gains meaning through the intentionality of individuals who endow the same landscape with a plurality of meanings depending on time, culture and personal experiences'.

This concept, in which significance is granted to individuals as the active creators of the meaning structures they encounter, perceive and experience in the landscape, was developed by Giddens as Structuration Theory (1981). As Appleton (1996, 151) suggests, at face value there can be no fundamental difference between different individuals' encounter with the same landscape, 'between the perception of the foxhunter, the deer-stalker, the mountaineer, the fell-walker, the poet, the painter'; and yet, 'there may be differences in the "intensity" and "refinement" of their activities, in the practical application of their energies to material ends, and in the intimacy of the connection between their behaviour and their environment'. This is precisely what structuration theory would have us recognise, namely, as Bender (2006, 306) puts it, that 'at the same time that we are caught up in a world not of our own making we are also, through our own thoughts and actions, creating and changing the socio-political and economic structures'. These structures are both the enablers, and constrainers, of agency: as life is lived, the temporal rhythms of being-in-the-world continue, the landscape is endowed with meaning. 'There is no one-way causal arrow', states Bender (2006, 306), 'life and landscape are always in the process of becoming'.

One of the earliest champions of this approach to being-in-the-world was Heidegger, whose volume *Being and Time* attempted to explore embodied experience (Heidegger 1962). Originally published in 1927, the work - although rejecting many of his teacher, Edmund Husserl's founding principles - was still nevertheless inherently phenomenological in its aim for a more interpretive study, where the priority was a thorough understanding of what it meant to be a human individual, inescapably positioned in the historical-cultural world (Ashworth 2003). The resultant concept of 'Lifeworld', first coined by Husserl in 1936 perhaps in response to this challenge, is a denotation of this experience of the lived world; lifeworld, although not necessarily divisible into them, contains fractions or features which enable experience to be interpreted and analysed, for example: spatiality, temporality, embodiment, among others (Ashworth 2003; Kvale 2007). These are explored further in the methodology (see Chapter 4.4.), but we can appreciate their usefulness in any study of the experience of landscape. The application of an inherently phenomenological approach is to prioritise being-in-the-landscape and, by so doing, to understand, as Relph suggests:

> 'man and nature as a single structure or system, unified in its reference to man's needs, intentions, and existence. Man's relationship with the world is understood not merely as a cognitive relationship, but as something with permeates man's whole being.' (1970, 197).

3.7. Sense of Place and Generation of Attachment to Landscape

The sum of the factors discussed so far is the acknowledgement of what has come to be described as sense of place: a permeation of being by environment and landscape alike, in which - after Heidegger's dwelling - the experience of being in the world, mediated via perception with all that this has come to entail (memory, value and consequently preference), is reflected back on the landscape by the experiencer in a symbiosis of being-in-place and place-making (Bender 2002; Brown and Weber 2012; Ingold 2010). For Casey (1996, 18), 'there is no knowing or sensing a place except by being in that place, and to be in a place is to be in a position to perceive it'. Consequently, knowledge of place does not proceed subsequently from perception, but is an ingredient in it, contributing to the primary, ongoing, synaesthetic perception of the environment (what Seamon described as basic contact) (Seamon 1979; Casey 1996). This knowledge of the places in which we organise our experience of the world - how we orient ourselves and differentiate the environments in which to enact our daily encounters - is a fundamental, if mostly subconscious, aspect of existence (Relph 1976). As Relph (1976, 1) puts it: 'To be human is to live in a world that is filled with significant places: to be human is to have and to know your place'.

The greater the depths of this knowledge of place, the more profoundly one may experience the true identity of it - knowing it for what it is - a key contributing factor to achieving an authentic sense of place (Relph 1976). It is only via this unselfconscious and unguarded experience of being in the landscape that an authentic attitude can be achieved, by which we understand an authentic attitude to mean, as Relph (1976, 64) suggests, 'a direct and genuine experience of the entire complex of the identity of places' (See Fig. 15). Beyond this, he states, 'An authentic sense of place is above all that of being inside and belonging to your place both as an individual and as a member of a community and to know this without reflecting upon it' (1976, 65). This idea of unconscious similarities being drawn between an individual and a place - incorporating cognitions about landscape in to how they define themselves - was later developed as 'place identity' by Proshansky et al. (1983, 57) who defined the term as the 'physical world socialization of the self'. Scannell

and Gifford (2010, 3) suggest that this formation process is comparable to that behind the development of social identity, adding furthermore that 'salient features of a place that make it unique (e.g. architecture, historical monuments, a cultural community) can be attached to one's self-concept, fulfilling a process described as 'place-related distinctiveness'.

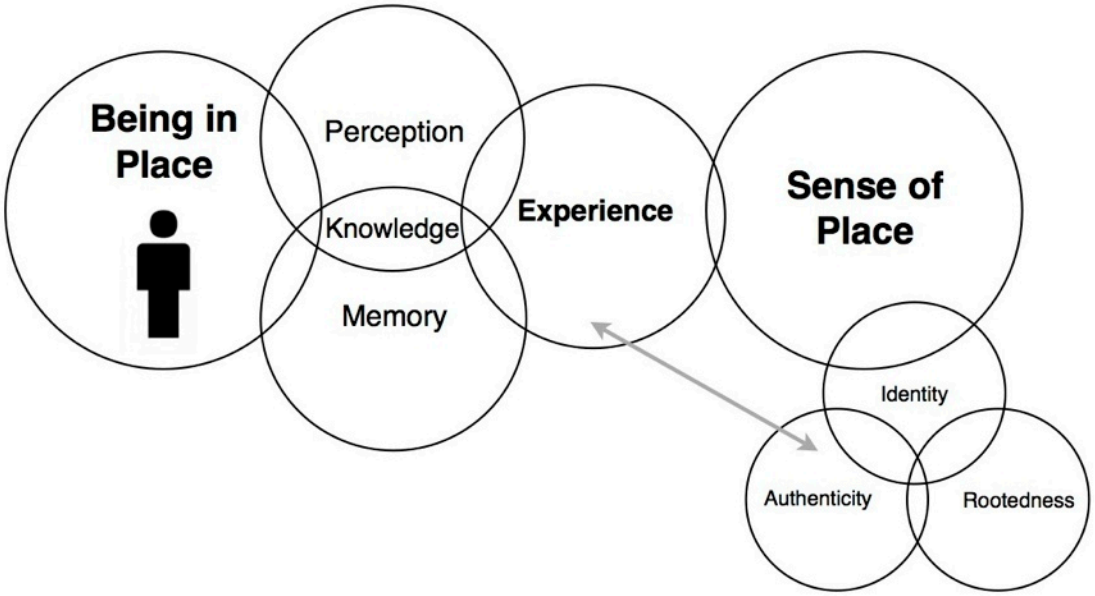

Figure 15: Basic paradigm of sense of place towards generating attachment

It is hoped that this emphasis on the association between increasing knowledge of place and increasing investment in it goes some way towards supporting what many humanistic geographers understand, namely that where a sense of place starts, place attachment naturally follows. Amongst many phenomenologists, the home place is the ultimate amongst the authentically experienced, and therefore amongst the most obvious situations in which a sense of place is generated and an intimate attachment to landscape is felt (Bachelard 1958; Creswell 2004; Seamon 1979). For Cresswell (2004, 24) 'home is an exemplary kind of place where people feel a sense of attachment and rootedness. Home, more than anywhere else, is seen as a center of meaning and a field of care'. Home is a pivot, a point at which people can locate themselves in the world, an environment which offers refuge and encourages rest; in this most unique of places, knowledge is provoked, developed and reinvested - reinforcing ideas of self and community identities (Godkin 1980). 'It appears that peoples sense of both personal and cultural identity is intimately bound up with place identity' suggests Buttimer (1980, 167), and as such, 'loss of home or "losing one's place" may often trigger an identity crisis'. The memory books discussed earlier (see above, 3.4. Fig 10) were proof of the emotional impact suffered as the result of

displacement from a homeland and beyond this the high emotional investment that is involved in what Scannell and Gifford (2010, 3) describe as 'person-place bonding' - typified by the title of Tuan's (1974) seminal work, *Topophilia*. The emotional response to home, the archetypal Jungian shelter, is furthermore a universally acknowledged construct in the human psyche (Manzo 2005). Bachelard (1958) built upon this foundation in his exploration of experiencing a homestead which, although more interior-focussed than this thesis, can nevertheless be readily applied to the wider place in which a home is situated. In anticipation of the ease imagined upon Tuan's tropical islands, or Appleton's refuges, Bachelard draws our attention to the parallels drawn between the human experience of the home and the shelter provided to the animal by the nest; using Jean Caubère's poem *Le nid tiède* (The warm nest) as an example, he presents a common primitive instinct at work to find well-being in sanctuary (Appleton 1996; Tuan 1967; Bachelard 1958). For him (1958, 7):

> 'When we dream of the house we were born in, in the utmost depths of revery, we participate in this original warmth, in this well-tempered matter of the material paradise. This is the environment in which the protective beings live.'

However, it is important to avoid becoming too fixated on the idea of the home, at the risk of overlooking the nuances of place experience encountered away from it - not least by nomadic or migrant peoples, for whom homes can be moved around with them, or constructed anew at each settlement (Manzo 2005). From a cognitive psychological perspective, closeness to place is facilitated by the memories and meanings that individuals use to make a locale important, to create place meaning. This is particularly true in places where personal milestones or events of personal growth occur, and these are not always necessarily the home but instead could be any one of the various significant locales encountered in the lifeworld (Scannell and Gifford 2010; Manzo 2005). One of the examples set forth in Manzo's (2005, 74) research into emotional relationships with place was that of a participant who was particularly attached to her local launderette, saying: "I adore going to mine because I enjoy doing the laundry. It is something I can accomplish [...] I like to create a home sort of feeling for myself, and the laundromat is a place where I have figured out how to do that". Such was the strength of her attachment to this particular place that even after moving apartments she preferred to travel the extra distance to return to the original launderette instead of attending a more local one, saying "I like it better, I feel comfortable there" (Manzo 2005, 75). For Manzo (2005, 82), this example was typical of the results, which demonstrated that under a more localised-focus, places selected by the respondents tended to prompt 'feelings of enclosure, safety, warmth and imagination', whilst larger-scale places such as entire cities or nations tended to have

provided significant experiences 'of discovery and learning' - as with the participant for whom Israel was special, because it was where he first came out as a gay man.

From the local launderette to Israel, from fostering a quotidian sense of ease and comfort, supporting a weekly routine and adding to an impression of home, to providing the setting for a significant life-changing event or milestone, Manzo's research aptly sets out for us the vast differences in scale that can be witnessed when considering attachment to place (2005). A person's sense of place comprises a network of myriad threads, some thicker and some thinner than others, some straight lines and others taking a more tangled route, some firmly tied with double knots, others more flimsily looped and apt to unwork themselves over time. Jorgensen and Stedman (2001, 233) cite Ryden's (1993, 37-38) definition, that place 'is much more than a point in space [...] but takes in the meanings which people assign to that landscape through the process of living in it', adding that sense of place, therefore 'is not imbued in the physical setting itself, but resides in human interpretations of the setting'.

The investment of time, energy, movement and cognitive factors (such as local knowledge, memory and rootedness) expended by conscientious and long-active metal detectorists produces a strong attachment to sites and a uniquely acquired knowledge-resource, so that the metal detecting community - for whom landscape has not only recreational but historical and intellectual importance - are a fitting example of the symbiosis at work in producing a sense of place. Through the unearthing of buried artefacts, detectorists are producing links between their own experienced version of the landscape in which they are searching, and their perceived version of how it was experienced in the past, in a very unique type of place-making.

3.8. Applying Theory to Method: Phenomenology in Practice

In order to effectively explore the attitudes at work behind these complex experiences of place, it was vital that the research methods for data collection and analysis be sympathetic to the phenomenological approach and incorporate many of the theoretical perspectives outlined above. The thesis methodology is set out in full in Chapter 4 (see p. 81) but, as noted in the introduction, data collection and analysis took place via two strands: the first used an online-hosted questionnaire survey to gather quantitative data, the second saw the researcher conduct conversational 'go-along' interviews to glean qualitative insights.

For many reasons, the questionnaire survey (reproduced in Appendix 1, see p. 249), may appear at first glance to include a number of questions not immediately relatable to landscape and, by association, some of the theory discussed above. This is primarily due to the fact that, in the first instance, the questionnaire was always intended as a vehicle to collect quantitative, classificatory data in order to answer some of the larger-scale research questions relating to metal detecting conduct, as well as to enable the qualitative interview data to be situated within a context of the wider metal detecting population. These intentions are visible, for example, in Section A of the questionnaire (see 5.2.1). Beyond this reason, however, there were other key considerations to take into account, including question format, length and complexity, as well as the length of the questionnaire itself (see 4.3.). Lastly, as this chapter has illustrated, it is worth bearing in mind that for a truly phenomenological approach, experience cannot be taken out of place any more than place can be taken out of experience: questions such as 'how often do you go metal detecting?' are just as much asking 'how often do you go out into the landscape?', a question whose answer has obvious relevance for the study.

The questionnaire Section D: 'Your favourite findspot' (see 5.2.4.) asked questions which clearly focussed on the detectorists' perception of landscape, as discussed above (see 3.5.). By asking respondents to consider their favourite findspot (D1), describe it, and rank factors in order of importance at this favourite place (D2), data was collected about the respondents' stimuli, their comprehension of these and their personal preferences. Data on the translation of these into attitudes and even action, were then collected via Questions D3 A-D, which asked respondents to state levels of agreement to several statements, and Question D4, discussing whether or not respondents felt protective about their findspots and had ever actively defended the place. The sum total of these responses can therefore be taken to reflect what a respondent particularly values about their detecting landscape, although, as discussed in 3.2., the network of factors involved in value (and associated preferences) is diffuse. Section E of the questionnaire prioritised the experience of detecting itself, asking questions more directly about practice and conduct; however, these nevertheless are able to produce useful data on approaches to landscape - in particular, how respondents record their object findspots (E2) and, importantly, their ability to recall/ visualise these in their mind's eye (E3). As above (see 3.4.), memory plays a key role in the perceptive encounter of landscape and it was therefore important to gather data on detectorists' recall or reconstructive abilities.

The go-along interviews (for details, see 4.4.) were clearly the primary opportunity for the researcher to put the phenomenological approach in to physical practice, by going out in to

the landscape with the interviewees and collecting data on their attitudes whilst located in the very place being discussed. The theoretical benefits of this encounter are plain - the visual and memorial prompts for conversation, the neutralising of the interviewer/ interviewee positionality, the authenticity of the encounter - and yet it would be key to ensure that this was also best-served by the method of analysis. As such, during the transcription process, a codebook was created using inductively-labelled categories, i.e. ideas that arose naturally from the dialogue (see 6.2.), that was later used to analyse the interview responses, arranged into three distinct themes, A: Personal, B: Landscape and C: Hobby.

Within Theme B, the role of the theoretical perspectives discussed above, their contribution to experience of landscape and therefore how attachment to landscape might be generated, are made plain. Labels B1 (Scenic View/ Encounter) and B2 (Wildlife) relate to the interviewees' value of landscape: in the case of the former it is the aesthetic value of the place, whilst the latter captures what Brown and Weber (2012, 318) define as 'Biological' value, in the table referenced above (Fig. 9, p. 59). Biographical value, discussed in section 3.2.2., is captured in labels B6 (Local Knowledge) and B8 (Home Attachment), although these can further be seen to feed directly into both memory and the associated perceptive encounter of a place. The sum total of the interviewees' valuing of a place results in attitudes, and in some cases actions, defined as B7 (Territoriality/ Protectiveness). The wider perceptive encounter of the interviewees, and therefore how they might generate and mediate attachment to landscape, is captured using labels B4 (Projection/ Imagination) and B5 (Mapping/ Visualisation), as well as B9 (Folklore); categories within which there is a further clear link to memory, and often the biographical and temporal value of a number of years spent living in the area.

The temporality of landscape, discussed in 3.3., is captured by category B3 (Seasonality), but also - from the more physical, experiential perspective, in the 'Personal' theme label A7 (Temporality/ Losing Yourself). Whilst B3 was used to quantify respondent's reflections upon their awareness of the passing of time as mediated by the landscape - the changing of seasons, the resultant activity in the farming calendar and their access to the fields - A7 related to the physical experience of time in themselves, most often by losing track of it, so great was their absorption in searching (see 6.3.1.). This interplay between the label themes A and B are a reminder that - as the methodology needed to take in to account - despite requiring distinct labelled categories in order to facilitate analysis, these attitudes do not operate distinctly from one another, but make up part of an intricate perceptive whole; just so, although Theme B related to conversational subjects that had direct relevance to the

interviewee's experience of Landscape, in fact A and C cannot be divorced from it. Theme A brings together personal attitudes and preferences about detecting (including the physicality of the landscape experience), whilst Theme C includes subjects of conversation relating directly to the practice of metal detecting itself, which naturally includes attitudes about landscape, including responsibility, search technique and the relationship with the landowner.

Each of the five perspectives set out above, used to approach our understanding of landscape encounter and attachment - value, temporality, memory, perception and experience - can be found interwoven amongst the questionnaire data and, more plainly, the interview methodology and analysis. The result of this is to arrive at a greater understanding of detectorists' sense of place, and this is what the following chapters hope to achieve.

SECTION 2

RESEARCH METHODS, DATA COLLECTION AND ANALYSIS

Chapter 4. Research Methods

4.1. Introduction

The principal aim of this study is to gather data on metal detector users' attitudes to landscape. In this context attitudes are defined according to Gold (1980, 23), as 'learned predisposition[s] to respond in a consistently favourable or unfavourable manner with respect to a given object, person or spatial environment'. More specifically, within the potential myriad attitudes that might be encountered, this research seeks to draw down and discover what proportion of detectorists have some nature of attachment to the landscape on which they detect regularly, and how this attachment is generated and sustained. From this the thesis goes on to explore potential links between strong attachment to landscape and conscientiousness towards detecting and recording found objects.

It feels appropriate when considering landscape that attachment is defined on one hand as 'a fastening', and on the other as an 'affection or regard (for)'; indeed the term 'attachment' has been chosen for this study deliberately because of its slight ambiguity, and its ability to encompass a complex range of emotional/ and cognitive responses beyond, for example, a verb such as 'like'. For the purposes of the research, 'attachment' therefore conjures adequately a sense of knowledge of, and respect for, landscape, combined with varying degrees of territoriality or protectiveness. In this respect, we could say - after Seamon (1979, 99) - that attachment suggests a 'tendency towards mergence' with the landscape, i.e. there is an increased awareness of the environment, and the boundary between person and world is lessened. This is in direct opposition to a person who at any one perceptual moment is 'directing his attention inwardly' and is therefore oblivious to the landscape - displaying a 'tendency towards separateness', according to Seamon (1979, 99), i.e. 'is separate (in terms of awareness) from the world at hand'.

Clearly, therefore, the overarching methodological approach for the study was a phenomenological one whereby, after Tilley (1994, 11), it was acknowledged that the key issue was 'the manner in which people experience and understand the world' and further that, as Kusenbach (2003, 455) asserts, 'our experience of the environment is fundamentally based on the coordinates of our living body, giving "place" primacy over "space"'. Likewise, it is accepted that the research, as such, required what Tilley (1994, 11) describes as 'a continuous dialectic between ideas and empirical data', but provided this was achieved, it was felt there should be no reason why a phenomenological method would prevent the researcher from achieving a sophisticated and robust analysis (Kusenbach

2003). Indeed, subscribing to Triandis' proposal that attitudes comprise three elements, an affective aspect, a cognitive aspect and a behavioural one, by studying detectorists' attitudes it was hoped the study would draw together their motivational and emotional reactions to landscape along with the associated behavioural responses via quantitative and qualitative data collection and interpretation, and thus achieve a level of triangulation that would facilitate empirical enquiry (Triandis 1971; Gold 1980).

4.2. Methodologies and Limitations

The complexity of the cognitive-behaviouralist approach means that in order to fulfill its aims, the study relied upon the collection of a reliable and suitably in-depth data set, something that could only be achieved via a multi-method approach. Triangulation, the application of this, has been described above as a successful strategy for ensuring the validity of the research claims because the combination of methods facilitate a more effective assessment of the data and reduces the risk of generating erroneous data by a single-method approach (Hammersley 1990). However, as Denzin and Lincoln (2000, 6) point out, qualitative research should always be inherently multi-method, 'privileg[ing] no single methodological practice over another'. Indeed triangulation, when used, should be accepted as an alternative to validation, providing instead a collage of multiple perspectives for observation. In this light, Richardson's (2000) proposal of 'crystallization' as a term rather than triangulation, would seem an effective metaphor to represent the reflection and refraction of alternative interpretations. For proponents such as Janesick (2000, 393), this method can facilitate a deep understanding of respondents' experience, as it 'recognizes the many facets of any given approach to the social world as a fact of life'.

In this vein, therefore, this study has used the following research methods: literature review, questionnaire survey, and go-along lifeworld interviews, whereby lifeworld is defined after Husserl as the parameter within, or the horizon against, which experience occurs (see sections 4.4. here, and above section 3.6.) (Husserl, 1970; Ashworth, 2003). Of the last two, the questionnaire survey was used to provide the quantitative data for the study, whilst the interview data made up the majority of the qualitative information collected. It was anticipated that this use of various methods to collect and analyse the research data would minimise the effects of any potential limitations from which the study might have suffered had it relied on only one approach. One key benefit of the phenomenological approach is that it permits a level of reflexivity during the research process, so that the 'positionality' or agency of the researcher need not be an obstacle, but can simply be acknowledged and

accommodated; the researcher being allowed, as Kusenbach (2003, 458) suggests, to 'locate themselves within the context of their research and writing'. Likewise the flexibility of the approach was vital for drawing out the best possible quality of data on metal detectorists' attitudes, as the subjects were being asked to explain quite complex ideas about their perception of the environment and were, for the most part, thought to be unused to expressing these. By using a questionnaire survey with various different question types, therefore, or conducting an informal go-along interview over several hours (accompanying the interviewee in the car or on foot, see 4.4. below), the researcher intended to collect a sufficient quantity of responses from which it would be possible to extrapolate the respondent's attitudes to landscape accurately.

4.3. The Questionnaire Survey

The questionnaire for the study was designed through various drafts using both a word-processed version and an online alternative hosted by *Opinio,* a web-based programme which allows the researcher to author and distribute surveys. It was decided that the online-hosted version would be promoted by the researcher via email and online metal detecting forums and would be relied upon to collect the majority of the responses for the study. Hosting the questionnaire online offered the following key methodological benefits:

a) the researcher was not required to be present to administer questionnaires;
b) the respondents could be located anywhere in the country;
c) the respondents could complete the questionnaire in their own homes;
d) the respondents could complete the questionnaire at any time of day;
e) the respondents could complete the questionnaire at their own pace;
f) more than one respondent could complete the questionnaire at any one time.

The cumulative effect of these benefits is that a questionnaire hosted online can attract a far higher number of responses than one which is issued in person by a researcher or team of researchers. The use of *Opinio* or other questionnaire softwares also ensures the data are instantly collated, securing the data and protecting respondent anonymity (where applicable), and does not require transcribing from hard copies into an electronic data-set. Consequently, these web-based tools streamline the survey process from beginning to end, allowing the research to be conducted with greater efficiency. In compliance with the code of ethics set out by the UCL Research Ethics Committee, the questionnaire survey issued did not collect respondents' names, and *Opinio* ensured that this anonymity was protected throughout, issuing instead a unique six digit reference number for each respondent.

It was intended that the online questionnaire would take in the region of five minutes to complete. During development, the questionnaire was designed to ensure that respondents:

- were guided into providing useful information;
- understood the questions as the researcher intended;
- had access to the information required by the researcher; and
- were willing to give the required information to the researcher.

A cover sheet on the questionnaire carefully defined the topic in order to familiarise respondents with what information would be required (Foddy 1993). Broad terms were avoided - e.g. instead of 'where?', respondents were asked 'in what area, and county?' - and response frameworks were provided where appropriate, to ensure that questions were easily understood and would provide comparable answers across the data set. The paper-issue version of questionnaire is included as Appendix 1 (see p. 249).

As mentioned above, it was assumed that the target audience was not necessarily familiar with expressing complex attitudes about metal detecting and landscape, so the questionnaire used a combination of question types to facilitate this, including open- and closed-answer questions, degrees of agreement and rating scales. Although the variability amongst open-answer questions makes them difficult to analyse, particularly on a comparable level across the data-set, for Foddy (1993, 132), 'answers to open questions allow complex motivational influences and frames of reference to be identified', making them very useful in gauging respondent attitudes to the topic. In the case of this research study, the questionnaire used some open-answer options as stand-alone questions - for example, 'what is your favourite find?' - but also some as sub-questions to clarify respondent answers; 'Do you attend metal detecting rallies?' was a closed, yes/no question, accompanied with a free-text box for an open-answer: 'Why?'. By offering respondents the opportunity to provide free text answers and develop their responses, aside from the achieving the research aims directly, it was also intended that the detectorists should feel engaged and sufficiently involved, by having a chance to express themselves more fully. As one respondent replied, *Thanks for the opportunity to comment. Responsible detectorists need a voice* (R 418619). (Hereafter, direct quotes from the questionnaire and interviews will be displayed in italics, followed by a respondent reference in brackets: R followed by a six digit number, in the case of the questionnaires, or bold letter, in the case of the interviews).

Rating scales and degrees of agreement, whereby statements were qualified using a numerical scale and associated evaluative standards, enabled the strength of feeling of individuals to be measured with a view to the collation of a more sensitive data set but without forcing complicated questions upon the respondents. As Foddy (1993, 153)

suggested, 'working with non-dichotomous variables is a step toward greater precision which in turn allows the formulation and testing of more complex hypotheses'. To a similar end, ranking scales were also used to find out the relative importance of different elements to respondents; however, these were comparably few questions as it is accepted that this method has been criticised for failing to provide comparable data on the subjective importance of each item to each respondent (Foddy 1993).

The questionnaire was piloted using both the web-hosted version and the issue of paper copies to the Thames and Field Metal Detecting Club in Kent, in March 2011. Their feedback was largely positive, but suggestions for additions or slight amendments to the questionnaire were implemented to develop the final draft to be issued in the main study. It became clear that the questionnaire took longer than the anticipated five minutes to complete, but the respondents did not seem to feel it was onerous, so the final version was not shortened for fear of losing useful information.

The issue period of the finalised questionnaire was intended to run from 1st August - 1st November 2011, but was actually initiated on 29th July 2011 to coincide with the online project Day of Archaeology 2011 (www.dayofarchaeology.com), launched alongside the CBA's Festival of Archaeology. On this site, a blog post was written by the researcher titled Detectorists and Statistics, or Why There's More Maths in Archaeology Than You'd Think, referring to the ambition to collect 1,000 questionnaire responses and providing a link to the survey hosting. The comments this blog-post received provided a striking indication of the reaction the research would trigger across the community in general in the ensuing months, particularly amongst the online forum audience. As discussed (in Chapter 2, above) the enmity between heritage professionals and the metal detecting community during the 1970s and 80s has left an unfortunate legacy that is still remembered by many metal detector users today, and is typified by a lasting unfavourable impression of the academic archaeological community amongst some. As such, the following comment to the blog post was not unexpected, and not atypical of some of the responses later encountered:

> "Archaeologists majority are middle to upper class, went to public,private school have or had professionaly employed parents,, Some even have double barrelled names Llike farquharesn-smithe n such. While majority of snotty nosed metal detectorists did real jobs of work like Ex miners, or skilled trades men, But unfotunaltly dont pronounce there H's in there speech so are looked down upon by the PHD waving colllege uni chavs with disgust and annoyance that a lo life pleb with a metal detector has the nerve to show an interest in local historic sites and artefacts and acheave an

> enviable success rate in unearthing artefacts of genuine interests, instead of walls, bits of roof tile some useless peice of broken piss pot or a darker patch of soul where a wooden post once stood. Hence the two shall never mix,,,,,[...]"
>
> (Exactly as appeared online, 24 August 2011 16:35)

However, it must be noted that for every reaction received like this, there was a similar number of detectorists who were extremely encouraging of the research and who not only wanted to participate personally, but even wanted their entire club to take part, as demonstrated by this response:

> "thx for the info sheets i shall distribute them among my members this week [...] and i hope to have some quality replies to help you on your research, keep up the good work and keep the barriers coming down."
>
> (Exactly as appeared online, 25 October 2011 09:56)

The online data collection ended on 1st November 2011. After the closure, at a meeting with the researcher on Saturday 19th November, board members of the National Council for Metal Detecting (NCMD) requested that the questionnaire be reopened for a period to enable more of their members to take part in the study as they had not previously promoted it amongst themselves, despite having been contacted directly in advance of the survey. In response to their request the questionnaire was reopened online for a month, although this attracted no extra responses. Consequently, after the final closure, the total number of responses was 505. This data set enabled frequency tables to be analysed and discussed at a 5% confidence level for statistical analysis, an entirely appropriate level for the nature of the study. The results of the questionnaire are discussed in Chapter 5, below.

4.4. The Go-Along *Lifeworld* Interviews

In contrast to the quantitative focus of the questionnaire survey, the interviews were intended to collate a reliable set of qualitative data through which lens another facet of the research questions could be interpreted. In order to better understand, as Kvale (2007, 10) puts it, the 'themes of the lived daily world from the subjects' own perspectives', the interviews were semi-structured and conversational in nature, and conducted within a phenomenological, 'lifeworld' framework. 'Lifeworld', is an existential-phenomenological concept first coined by Edmund Husserl (1859-1938) and, put simply, denotes a person's experience of any event or feature of their lived world. For Ashworth (2003) it can be described in terms of, although not necessarily divisible into, seven 'fractions', the essential

features of universal human experience which allow the lifeworld to be described as an empirical structure. These are:

A) Selfhood
B) Sociality
C) Embodiment
D) Temporality
E) Spatiality
F) Project
G) Discourse

By using this theoretical framework to conduct the semi-structured interviews, it was intended that the qualitative research would be firmly grounded in seeking to understand the respondents' experience of landscape, and the negotiation of this via metal detecting. As per Husserl, it should have been possible to analyse respondents' experiencing-in-general, if it were taken into account that consciousness is an intentional state, insofar as to have awareness (*Noesis*) is necessarily to be aware of something (the *Noema*) (Ashworth, 2003). In terms of landscape experience, therefore, we can use Husserl's *Noema* to refer to landscape, 'that which is experienced, [...] the object-correlate' according to Idhe (1977, 43), whilst the *Noesis* is 'the way in which the what is experienced', the very act of experiencing landscape.

In order to effectively gather this kind of data it was necessary, as Kvale (2007, 12) suggests, to '[encourage] the subjects to describe as precisely as possible what they experience and feel, and how they act' in the landscape. Consequently, each interview except one (which will be explained in the analysis later in the thesis, see section 6.1.) was conducted as a 'go-along' whereby, as the name suggests, the researcher accompanied the interviewee on a journey through their usual metal detecting landscapes. The go-along has long been accepted as a useful and valid research method amongst social scientists, psychologists, ethnographers, geographers and others for, as Carpiano (2009, 264) explains:

> 'From the perspectives of [...] contemporary theoretical orientations the go-along is consistent with interactionist and phenomenological concerns for studying direct and indirect social experiences as much as the creation and maintenance of inter-subjectivity'.

The walking go-along in particular, a 'mobile method' as opposed to a 'sedentary method in motion' like being driven in car for example, has been found to be particularly advantageous, suggest Evans and Jones (2011, 850), owing to its 'capacity to access people's attitudes and knowledge about the surrounding environment'. 'Indeed', they continue, 'it seems intuitively sensible for researchers to ask interviewees to talk about the places that

they are interested in while they are in that place' (2011, 849). By holding these conversations while travelling on foot, rather than in a car, literal barriers are removed as well as metaphorical - there is not even the obstruction of a windscreen between respondent and landscape.

In the case of this research, the go-along method was extremely important in providing a platform to facilitate the respondents' expression of complex, and often previously unexpressed, attitudes to landscape. By conducting the interviews out in the open air, and experiencing vistas and views that the interviewees usually encountered on their own, the researcher was able to rely upon the landscape to offer conversational prompts in a way that the researcher could not have managed alone. At the same time, it meant that the researcher was able to experience first-hand the type of landscape the interviewee was used to detecting in, and provided an opportunity to take photographs as a record.

The interviewee was also encouraged to bring any relevant photographs, maps or objects that they felt would help them during our conversation, as these would provide further prompts to direct the interview. As Sørensen (2009, 176) suggests:

> 'the interviews should aim to become dynamic, for the interaction between the interviewer and the interviewee to become collaborative, and for objects to become mediators of meanings and important signifiers in their own right'.

Members of the metal detecting community are not exceptional in finding it a daunting task to talk about their emotional responses and attitudes to landscape, and it was vital for the researcher to make this as easy as possible. Indeed, as discussed in 3.2.1. (above), there will always be limitations to communication about landscape (as with any other kind of experience), as the act of experiencing is multi-sensory, and yet in trying to detail one's encounter, it is only possible to describe one thing at a time (Johnson and Pitzl 1981). Hitchings and Jones (2004, 8), during the progress of their research into attitudes towards living with plants, encountered for themselves the obstacle of a verbal reticence amongst their respondents, namely because, as they discovered, 'talking about plants is not always so easy'. However - having accepted that this situation could be resolved if they improved the form through which the information was elicited - they found, upon taking respondents outside for a conversation, that 'walking in place triggered conversations and insights which a sterile interview room might well have neglected' (2004, 9).

Hitchings and Jones (2004, 10) also draw our attention to the positive impact that the go-along methodology can have on redressing the power dynamic at work in the usual,

structured interviewer/interviewee relationship. They found, for example, that the dynamic during structured interviews conducted inside meant that respondents not only had 'a certain set of expectations of what might be asked of them' but also 'wanted to give the right sort of answer and the most interesting information' - which was not, in fact, what they as researchers were interested in, seeking as they were the everyday attitudes experienced during a lived encounter with plants. Once outside, however, and conducting walking, conversational interviews, Hitchings and Jones (2004, 10) found 'a different relationship emerged and the richness of [the respondents'] relationship with plants was more clearly enacted', the result of which was that they as researchers were taken 'closer to the ways in which people encountered plants in practice'.

For the current research project, the question of removing any perceived hierarchies and establishing a sensitive and trusting relationship between interviewer and respondent was particularly important. As discussed above (p. 85) in response to the questionnaire survey, any contemporary study between metal detecting and archaeological or heritage professionals will doubtless still feel the repercussions of the anti-detecting campaign waged during the years preceding the change in treasure legislation marked by the *Treasure Act* in 1996 and the introduction of the Portable Antiquities Scheme, namely a lasting attitude of suspicion and occasionally still enmity. Clearly this impression was not shared by those detectorists interviewed for the purpose of this research, all of whom were keen to participate and many of whom were selected because of the contribution they have made to the Portable Antiquities Scheme and other research through their approach to detecting and recording. However, it was nevertheless still important to try and remove, as thoroughly as possible, the dynamic of 'academic' on one side and 'research subject' on the other, in order to encourage expression of the most authentic responses to the landscape.

In this respect, the go-along method proved particularly useful; indeed it was the only way to proceed effectively. Owing to the locations in which the interviews were to take place - i.e. in landscapes nominated for the purpose by the detectorists - the structure of most of the meetings was such that the researcher and interviewee would drive into the countryside, and stop and walk around the area, before then getting back in to the car and driving on to another location, or indeed somewhere to have lunch or a tea break! The informality of this was effective at encouraging conversation, and removing a self-consciousness often present in the interviewee at the outset. Furthermore, by spending a significant amount of time in the car, driving between different locales, the interviewee was put into the position of 'tour guide' which, as noted by Carpiano (2009, 267), 'helps to reduce typical power dynamics that exist between the interviewer and interviewee'. This is supported by the

transcripts of a number of the interviews, including, for example, Interviewee (**K**) who states during one section in the car:

> *I'd just like you to see the landscape - it's landscape that you're interested in. You'll see there's a beautiful little landscape in here.* (**K**)(Direct quotation, as per explanation p. 84).

As a method, the go-along lends itself to any kind of interview structure, from open-ended to semi-structured - but for the purposes of this study, the researcher attended each interview with a short list of prepared questions which not only ensured the consistent capture of some details essential for the purposes of triangulation, but also provided some signposts with which to bring the conversation back on track if it had wandered or hit a lull during the walk. By loosely directing the discussion, rather than conducting a structured interview, the study resembled an everyday conversation but maintained its purpose; interviewees were directed towards certain subjects without having their opinions influenced (Kvale, 2007). This approach was intended to put the subjects at ease and make them more likely to disclose accurate descriptions of their lived world.

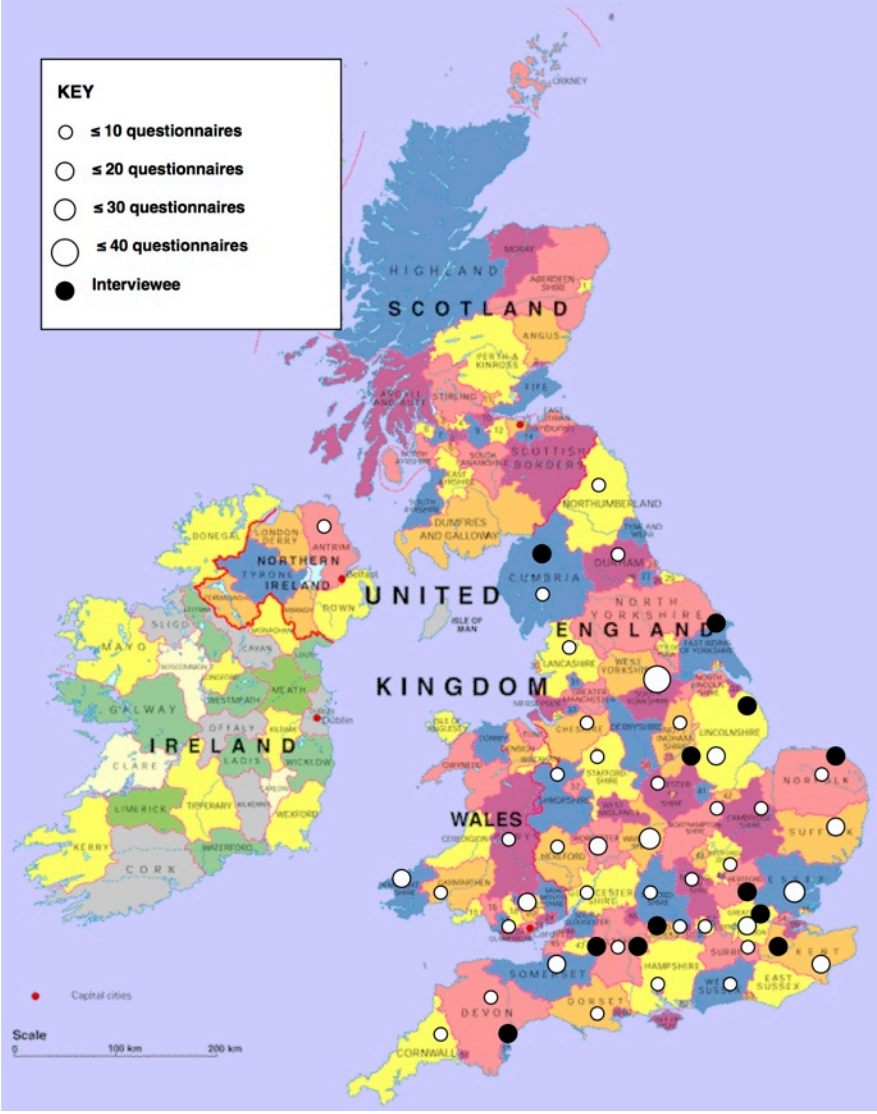

Figure 16: Map representing distribution of interviewees and questionnaire respondents

It was intended that the conversational interviews would be conducted between the summer of 2012 and the summer of 2013, with around 20 individual respondents based across England and Wales (see Fig. 16, above) - the countries covered by the PAS' network of Finds Liaison Officers. A shortlist of potential interviewees was compiled based upon geographical dispersion, variety amongst detecting landscapes, and to what extent the candidates might prove willing to converse on the research subject. In the event, interviews took a long time to arrange, because of the difficulties in coordinating the schedules of the respondents and the interviewer, along with the farming calendar and therefore the opportunity to get onto the relevant land. The interviews were also extremely time-consuming by their nature, as the researcher was required to travel long distances, and once there the go-along interview took on average four hours, but in some instances longer, to conduct. The final cut-off date was set for September 2014, by which time 12 interviews had been completed, as follows:

Interview	Date	Location
A	16 June 2012	Thwing, Yorkshire
B	19 July 2012	Binham, Norfolk
C	17 November 2012	Wapping, London
D	10 December 2012	Cleethorpes, Lincs.
E	17 December 2012	Thatcham, Berks.
F	25 February 2013	Grateley, Hampshire
G	13 May 2013	Melton Mowbray, Leics.
H	20 May 2013	Frome, Somerset
I	22 June 2013	Swanley, Kent
J	31 January 2014	Carlisle, Cumbria
K	9 May 2014	Torquay, Devon
L	8 August 2014	St Albans, Herts. (*conducted at UCL)*

Table 2: Table detailing the date and location of the twelve go-along interviews

As the interviews were intended to be conversational in nature, and not rigorously structured, a basic methodology for conversation analysis was followed in order to process the resulting data. As per Have (1999, 48), the methodology was as follows:

1. [Make] recordings of natural interaction;

2. [Transcribe] the tapes, in whole or in part;
3. [Analyse] selected episodes;
4. [Report] the research.

Conversation analysis (CA) is well-suited to the experience-based, lifeworld approach of the qualitative data collection, as it is an inherently emic process, i.e. one in which the research is centred *within* a particular community in order to discover those behaviours that are a social reality (Have, 1999). For Have (1999, 38):

> 'CA studies are (transcripts of) recording of episodes of naturally occurring interaction. They are, then, to be considered as specimens of their kind, and not, in a factist vein, as either statements about (as 'testimonies') or reflections of (as 'indexes') a reality "out there"'.

Likewise, a lifeworld-based (see definition, p. 82) approach can escape concerns of both subjectivity and objectivity, the former since the lifeworld relates to actuality and the latter because it reflects the actuality as perceived by the subject (Ashworth 2003).

Interview A was used to pilot the study, and took place on the 16 June 2012 in Yorkshire. Several questions were compiled for this in order to direct the conversation (as noted above) and to take advantage of the opportunity to assess whether more or less questions would be required across the full set of interviews. The interview was also used to pilot the recording and transcription process of the conversation in order to observe any problems arising from it. Overall, the method was found to be practical and effective. Although conducting the go-along interview across agricultural landscapes resulted in an audio quality that meant the recording was quite difficult to transcribe (with issues such as the respondent moving a distance from the microphone, or the wind interfering with the audio capture), nevertheless it was felt that the quality of the sound was not too great an obstacle. It was certainly not felt to warrant investing in more advanced recording equipment with a stand-alone microphone, as this would not only have proved too much to carry but also resulted in the researcher proffering an imposing device at odds with the aim to put the interviewee at ease. During the pilot interview, six audio recordings totalling one hour and 57 minutes of conversation were collected, which was to prove shorter than the interviews later conducted, however this can be attributed to both the researcher developing the technique, and the fact that the interviewee was very effusive and did not require much encouragement before starting to describe their responses to the landscape and detecting on it. Transcribing the interview was straightforward, aside from the audio issues mentioned, and provided the researcher an opportunity to familiarise with the data and highlight interesting points during the process. Photographs were taken at relevant points

during the go-along, and these were used as reference during the transcription of the interview.

In total, the twelve interviews yielded recordings whose total length was 23 hours and 46 minutes. These were transcribed in full by the researcher. The coding strategy and inductive analysis is discussed alongside the resultant interview data in Chapter 6, below (p. 128).

Figure 17: An interviewee metal detecting, January 2013

Chapter 5. Detecting Today: Results of the Questionnaire Survey

5.1. Introduction

The methodological aims of the questionnaire survey of metal detector-users have been set out in Chapter 4 (above, p. 81), and several of the limitations discussed therein. The issue of the questionnaire over the summer and autumn months of 2011 was online-hosted in the most part but in some instances paper copies of the questionnaire were issued upon request. This printed version is reproduced in Appendix 1 (see p. 249). Contact was predominantly initiated with detectorists via club chairpersons, located using the lists of metal detecting clubs found online via the National Council of Metal Detecting (NCMD) (www.ncmd.co.uk) and Federation of Independent Detectorists (FID) (http://fid.newbury.net) websites. The club chairperson was sent an e-mail in the first instance, introducing the subject of the research and enquiring as to whether the club would like to participate; in most instances, the chairperson agreed simply to circulate the link amongst a mailing list of members and encourage them to take part, however some clubs preferred to complete the paper version of the questionnaire at a club meeting and return them *en-masse* by post. In order to make contact with individual detectorists not necessarily affiliated with either organisation or any local club, online forums were also used as a way of alerting independent detector-users to the questionnaire. Although there were often a number of suspicious, and occasionally rude, responses to these forum posts, these were not unexpected, and for the most part once respondents had completed the questionnaire they were able to leave positive feedback which often encouraged other forum-users to participate.

In total the questionnaire received 505 responses, with club members representing 85 different organisations. At the time of analysis (March 2012) a list of metal detecting clubs currently active in the UK comprised 248 different organisations, see Appendix 2 (p. 256). This was compiled from those listed on the NCMD and FID websites (which numbered 222) and a further 26 clubs mentioned in questionnaire responses that did not appear on either site's glossary. Given Dobinson and Denison's (1995, 2) figure in 1994 of 231 active clubs and, more recently, Thomas' (2009b, 204) estimate of between 202 and 173, the former using the NCMD and FID website listings and the latter using PAS data provided in 2006, this figure seems plausible. Based upon a total of 248, return from 85 clubs represents a response rate of 34%, an increase on Dobinson and Denison's (12.5%) and Thomas' (26.2%). This does not take into account that contact was only initiated with clubs

in England and Wales (see p. 90-91), whilst the club list represents organisations across the UK; reducing this list accordingly would raise the response rate further.

The results of the questionnaire survey are presented and analysed below. As discussed in Chapter 4 (see above, p. 84), direct quotes from both questionnaire and interview respondents will be reproduced in italics, followed by a respondent reference in brackets. In the case of the questionnaire respondents, this will take the form of the letter R followed by a six digit reference number allocated by *Opinio*, for example (R 426912); for respondents from the go-along interviews it will be a letter between A and L in bold, for example (**L**), or a capital and lower case, in the case of an interview with two respondents, where the first name initial was used to differentiate between the two, for example (**Bc**) and (**Bs**).

5.2. Analysis of the Questionnaire Survey

5.2.1. Section A: Classificatory Data

Chart 1: Gender of questionnaire respondents (n=366)

The majority of respondents to the questionnaire were male, making up 92% of the sample whilst female respondents represented 8% of the data set. This response was to be expected, as metal detecting has long been a male-dominated hobby. At Thames and Field

Metal Detecting Club, surveyed for the pilot study, 85.7% of the responding members were male, with women representing 14.3%. Interviewee (**L**) who manages a club of 130 members, stated:

> *we've got it must be about twenty women, girls in the club now, as I say women. So it's not just an all male domain* (**L**)

However, although an improvement on the number at Thames and Field, this only reflects a female quotient of 15.3%. The evidence suggests that, as reflected by the questionnaire response, even at a club level, women are often outnumbered substantially by men.
The issue of the questionnaire online, or via post to the relevant participating metal detecting clubs, supports furthermore that this gender bias is an accurate representation of the survey population, rather than any bias on the part of the researcher who did not conduct the survey in person.

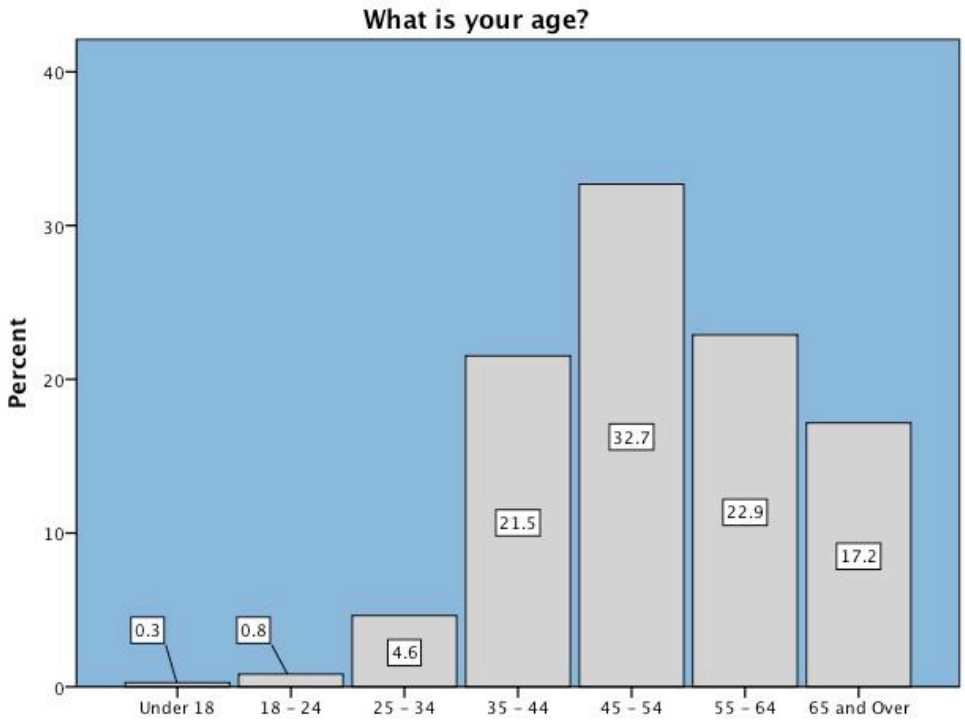

Chart 2: Age grouping of questionnaire respondents (n=367)

The largest number of questionnaire respondents fell into the age bracket of 45-54 years old (32.7%) with the second and third largest groups being 55-64 (22.9%) and 35-44 (21.5%) respectively (see Chart 2). The over 65 age bracket represented more respondents (17.2%) than the three youngest age groups combined, a total of 5.7% of respondents. This indicates that despite concerns among the heritage sector of the increasing popularity of metal detecting, it is not a hobby that is rapidly being taken up by young people. Rather,

it appeals to an older group of hobbyists who, once they have taken it up, are likely to practise it for a long period of time. Unsurprisingly, cross-tabulation of the results of respondent age groups with the length of time the respondent has detected, indicate that the oldest amongst the sample have detected for the longest.

In response to the question, 'Are you a member of a metal detecting club?', 75.2% of the sample were club members whilst 24.8% preferred to detect independently (Chart 3). Those respondents who were club members at the time of the survey belonged to a total of 85 different organisations, recorded in red in Appendix 2 (p. 256). As has been previously discussed, the 85 clubs would seem to represent in the region of 35% of the current active clubs in the UK.

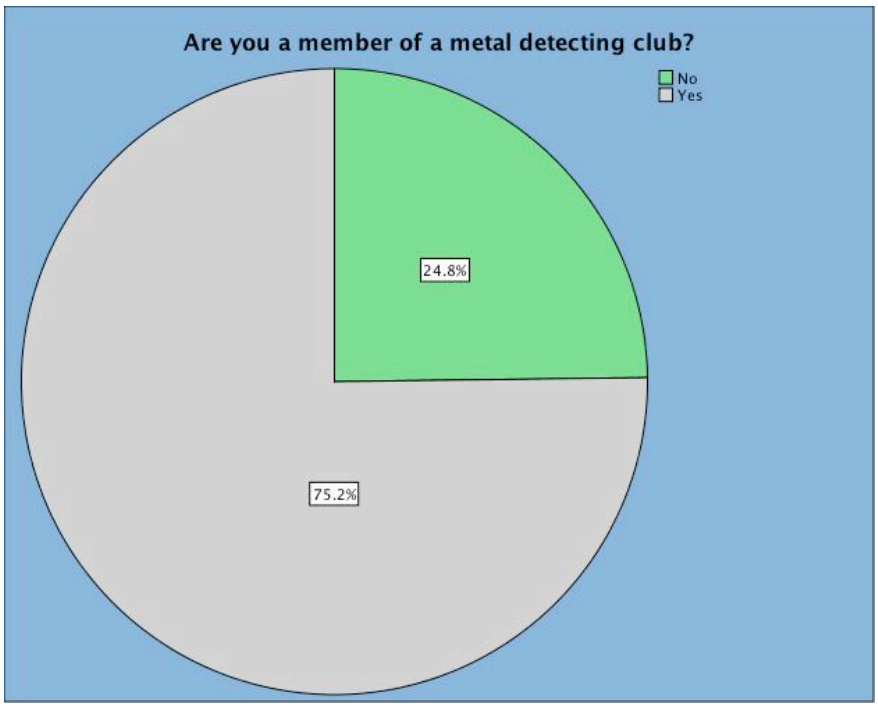

Chart 3: Club membership status of questionnaire respondents (n=367)

Where the independent detecting response is concerned, this frequency has particular ramifications for the study, as it indicates one in four detector users practise the hobby for reasons other than the social aspect (which many club members profess to enjoy). It will be important, therefore, to test the hypothesis that these detectorists are motivated far more by an enjoyment of the landscape and solitary recreational aspect of detecting, than perhaps affects those who are members of metal detecting clubs. Cross-tabulation with the question 'Do you attend metal detecting rallies?' shows, interestingly, that 59.5% of the sample who are not members of metal detecting clubs, do in fact attend rallies - a response

slightly at odds with the impression that independent detectorists are motivated by other factors beyond the social aspect. However, an examination of the free text responses revealing why these detectorists have attended rallies shows a number of other incentives including purchasing a new detector (Respondent 413149), fitting in some detecting whilst visiting family elsewhere in the country (Respondent 418151), and supporting the charity involved (Respondent 420075). Furthermore, the majority of the text responses reveal that the principal motivating factor affecting rally attendance is the opportunity to detect on new land without having to worry about obtaining the relevant permissions (e.g. Respondents 413484, 413503, 418444, 418490). In this sense, therefore, landscape is still a key factor in determining detectorists' behaviour. Rally attendance is discussed further in 5.2.2 below.

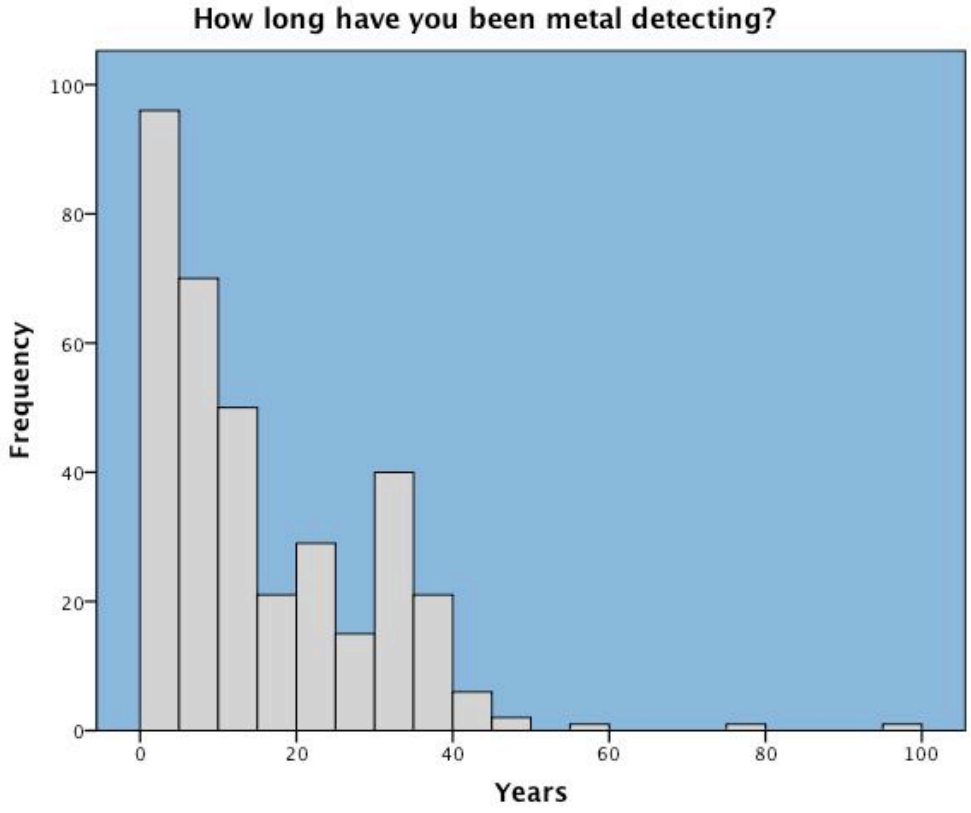

Chart 4: Years questionnaire respondents have detected (n=360)

The survey questionnaire asked respondents how long they had metal detected (Chart 4) and how long they had been a member of their current metal detecting club (Table 3); both questions allowed free-text answers, accommodating an input of any numeric data. Consequently, the response to both questions was fairly broad in extent, as a result of which the median has been used to highlight the central value in each case (Hammond and

McCullagh 1978). This approach has been favoured above use of the arithmetical mean, as the mean could easily be skewed by extreme answers in each case. The median value for the length of time that respondents had metal detected was 10 years; this is supported by the histogram above, which shows peaks between 0-5 years and another again at 30-35 years. Considerably less, the median value for the length of time that respondents had belonged to their current metal detecting club was 2 years. This data suggests that whilst most metal detector users have practised the hobby for a number of years, their membership status of various clubs is likely to fluctuate, or indeed take a while to become established. There are a number of reasons this might be the case, including the fact that there is often a waiting list to join popular metal detecting clubs whilst some, such as the Society of Thames Mudlarks, require a person to be known to have detected conscientiously for several years before they are invited to join (I. Smith, pers comm. 17 November 2012).

	Years
Length of time respondents have metal detected (Median)	10
Length of time respondents have been a club member (Median)	2

Table 3: Table representing the median number of years respondents have detected and been club members (n=360)

Those respondents who did belong to metal detecting clubs were asked whether their club had a 'relationship' with the Portable Antiquities Scheme's local Finds Liaison Officer (FLO). This was thought to be an effective way of wording the enquiry as there could be considerable variation amongst the arrangement between local FLO and metal detecting club which may not have been covered by a more specific question to do with attendance at club meetings or similar. The response was largely positive, with 81% of respondent club members reporting that the club was in communication with the Finds Liaison Officer (Chart 5). For those where a relationship with the FLO was established, the experience was evidently mutually beneficial as one respondent from South Ribble metal detecting club wrote:

> *Are [sic] F L O attends every club metting [sic] (held every month) and is well respected and is very helpfull [sic]* (R 414476).

In some instances, such as Adam Daubney at the Lincoln Historical Search Society, the local FLO has even reportedly been appointed as the Club President (R 420778).

For the 19.0% of respondents who answered in the negative - that their club did not have a relationship with the Finds Liaison Officer - the reasons supplied suggest that in most

cases there was initially a relationship established, but this collapsed after some disagreement or other. Respondent 421877 stated that:

> *There was some problems with the finds liaison office [sic] and a couple of the clubs members over the reporting of a find. I am not sure of the details, but the club then voted not to have her attend our meeting. I would however prefer she attended* (R 421877)

Further responses illustrate that in several cases, a disagreement has been used by club administration as a scapegoat to dissolve the relationship with the Portable Antiquities Scheme where desired, as in the case of one respondent, who stated:

> *We used to, but shortly after we had a new FLO, there was a disagreement about an article she claimed was treasure. The Committee, a hard core of which never wanted an FLO in the first place, used this as an excuse to not allow her at meetings* (R 421595)

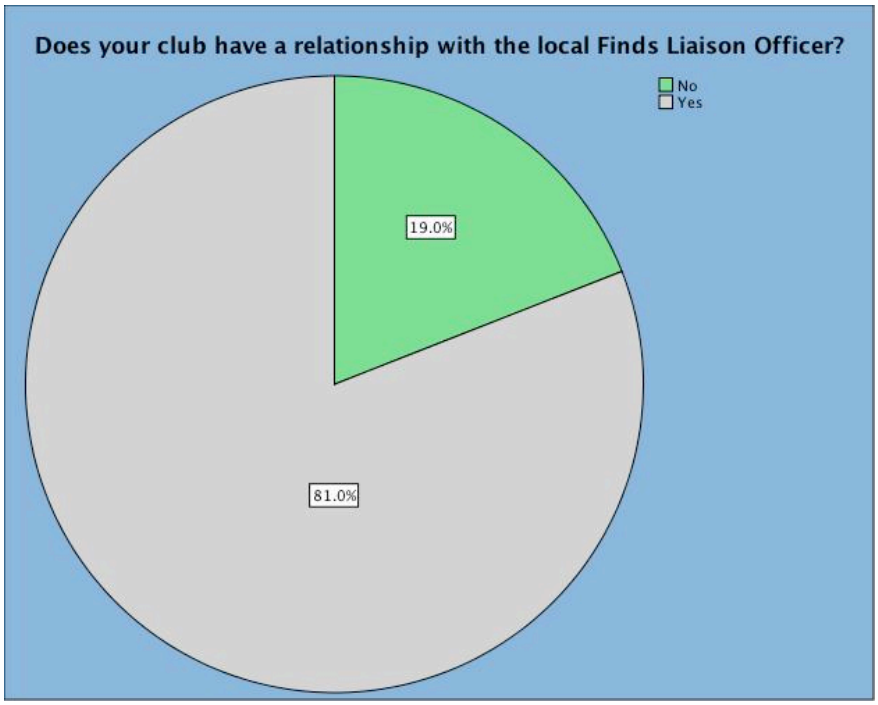

Chart 5: Respondent clubs that have a relationship with the local FLO (n=352)

In light of these findings, however, it is important to bear in mind that the establishment of a relationship between metal detecting club and FLO does not necessarily mean that each member of the club is recording with the Portable Antiquities Scheme (PAS); just as a lack of a club-relationship with the FLO, or even a lack of club membership, does not necessarily mean that an individual is failing to record their finds, as the following data shows. Having specified that this could be either on their own or at club meetings, respondents were asked 'Do you record with the PAS?'; 87.5% said they did, whilst 12.5% didn't (Chart 6). This is an extremely positive response, and one that professionals should welcome, given that recording with the Scheme is voluntary.

On a more focussed level, of those respondents who were not members of a metal detecting club, only one in four among them did not record with the Portable Antiquities Scheme (24.7%), meaning the remaining 75.3% of respondents must have initiated contact with the FLO of their own accord, as typified by Respondent 426912, who stated:

I'm not in a club but do have a very good relationship with the local FLO :) (R 426912)

This result is a strong testament to the success of PAS outreach initiatives to date and a reminder to heritage policy-makers that an important proportion of the conscientious detecting community are independent of any metal detecting clubs. However, that 75.3% of independent searchers are recording with the PAS should not solely be attributed to the success of the Scheme, but also to the particular motivations and dedication demonstrated by those detectorists who do not belong to a metal detecting club, as evidenced by the interviewees (n=12), eight of whom are not club members (see 6.3.1.). Concerning those detectorists who reported belonging to a metal detecting club, of those whose club had a relationship with the local FLO, there were nevertheless a small sample who did not record their finds (7.40%). Conversely, of those detectorists whose club did not have regular contact with the FLO, a large portion (64.2%) still managed to record their finds with the Scheme.

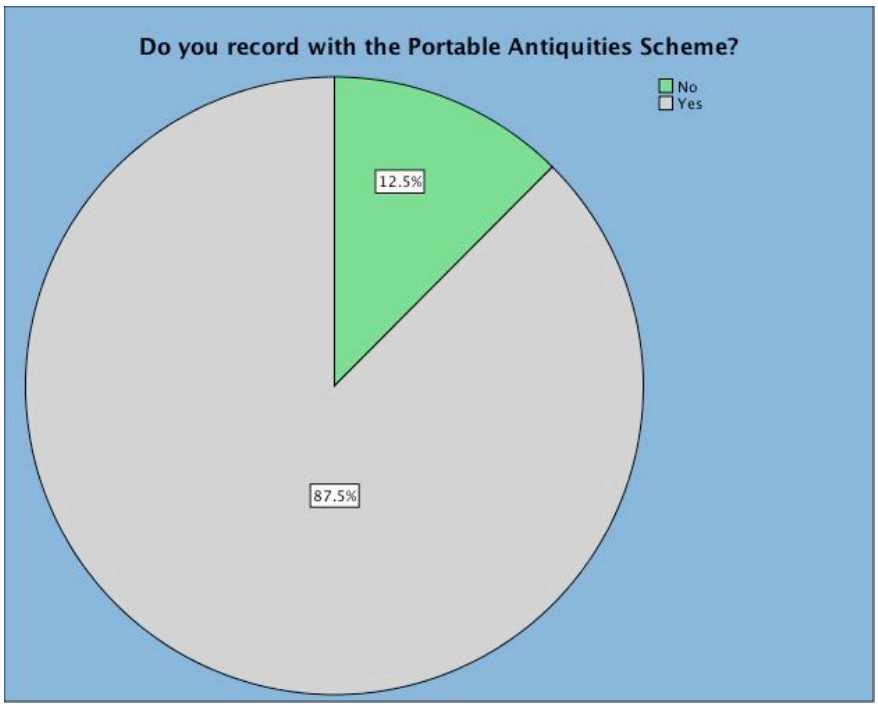

Chart 6: Respondents that record with the PAS (n=361)

Recording with other forums also proved popular - whereby the word 'forum' was intended to cover any alternative platform with which a record could be made, rather than specifically an internet forum (Chart 7). One in three respondents (31.8%) recorded their

finds somewhere other than with the Portable Antiquities Scheme, and responses listed a number of different potential catalogues, including UK Detector Net (UKDN); the UK Detector Finds Database (UKDFD); the Federation of Independent Detectorists (FID) and individual club forums. Some respondents also used specialised artefact databases like the Celtic Coin Index (in the case of R 418258) and the Fitzwilliam Museum's Sylloge of Coins of the British Isles (also known as the Early Medieval Coinage database, or EMC) (R 421307). The variety amongst the different potential catalogues for the recording of detected objects, along with the myriad different motivations listed by respondents relating to these records, only goes to support the fact that metal detecting in the UK today is a very diverse hobby, and can mean very different things to different people.

Respondent Club Membership Status	Proportion of total sample	Proportion of club-member sample	Doesn't record with PAS	Does record with PAS	Total
Not a member of club	24.80%	-	24.70%	75.30%	100%
Member of club without FLO presence	75.20%	19%	35.80%	64.20%	100%
Member of club with FLO presence		81%	7.40%	92.60%	100%

Table 4: Table representing the organisation of respondents recording with the PAS (n=361)

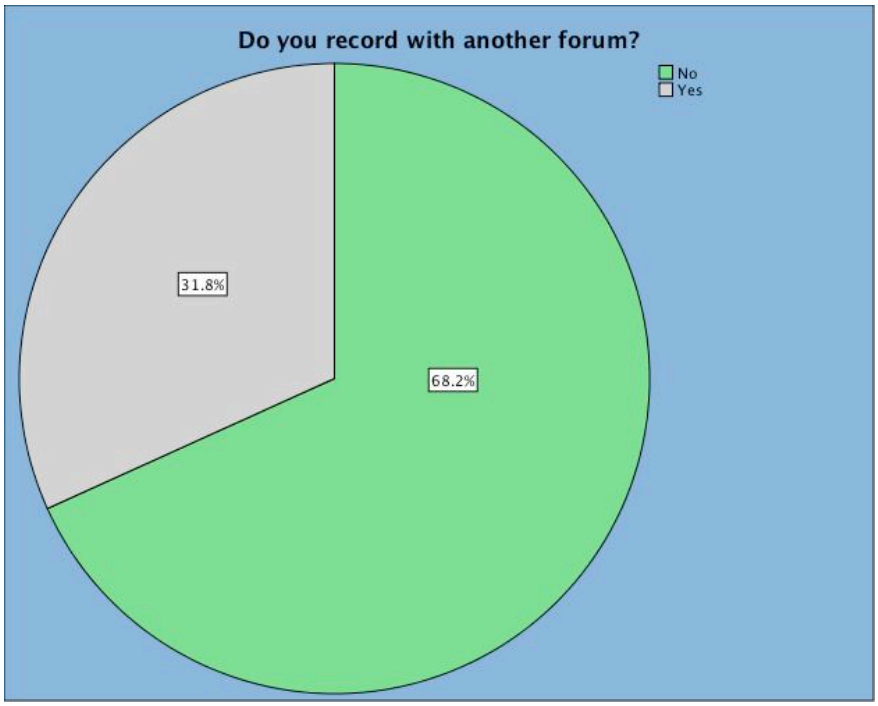

Chart 7: Respondents that record with an alternative forum (n=362)

5.2.2. Section B: 'When do you detect?'

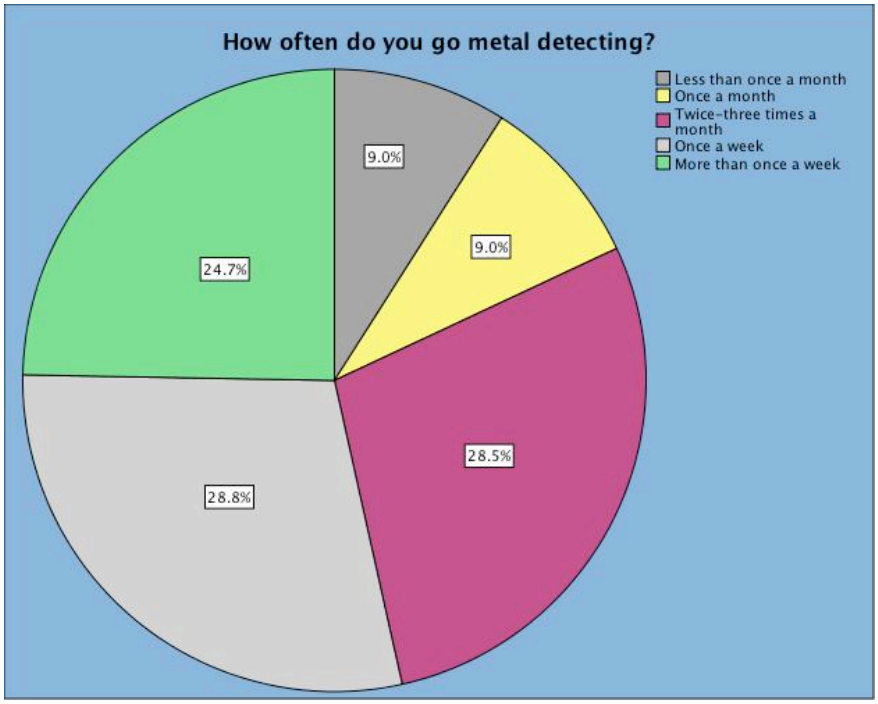

Chart 8: How often respondents go metal detecting (n=344)

When asked how often, on average, they go metal detecting, the majority of respondents reported detecting once a week (28.8%), although this was closely followed by twice-three times a month (28.5%) and more than once a week (24.7%)(Chart 8). With over half of the respondents going out detecting at least once a week, if not more, it is plain that for the majority of the community, metal detecting is a hobby that demands considerable time commitment. Indeed, only one in ten respondents reported detecting once a month (9.0%) or less (9.0%). The time invested by detectorists to the hobby suggests, for many, metal detecting is typical of what Stebbins (2001) has described as 'serious leisure' - a complex pastime with sufficient complexity as to encourage the practitioner to commit considerable time and resources over a long period, throughout which the reward is increasing satisfaction; this is discussed in more detail in Chapter 7, below.

Like most hobbies, metal detecting is practised most often at the weekends, and it is likely that many of the sample therefore try and get out at least once every weekend if possible unless other engagements obstruct this. However, as reflected by the data in Chart 2, a considerable proportion of the metal detecting community is of retirement age, and can detect during the week. Interviewee (**L**), for example, belongs to a metal detecting club who regularly detect together on a Thursday. Nevertheless, there was little correlation between age group and the frequency of metal detecting, with each age group fairly evenly spread between the most popular of the responses (twice-three times a month or more). At

odds with our expectation that the retired members of the metal detecting community would have the most time available to metal detect, within the group who reported detecting more than once a week, the largest proportion comprised individuals aged 35-44 (32.0%), see Table 5.

	Less than once a month	Once a month	Twice-three times a month	Once a week	More than once a week	Total	n=
Under 18	100.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%	1
18-24	0.0%	0.0%	33.3%	66.7%	0.0%	100.0%	3
25-34	6.3%	0.0%	37.5%	43.8%	12.5%	100.0%	16
35-44	4.0%	16.0%	25.3%	22.7%	32.0%	100.0%	75
45-54	12.8%	9.2%	28.4%	28.4%	21.1%	100.0%	109
55-64	8.8%	3.8%	27.5%	35.0%	25.0%	100.0%	80
Over 65	8.3%	10.0%	31.7%	23.3%	26.7%	100.0%	60

Table 5: Table representing the age of respondents against how often they metal detect (n=344)

Further cross-tabulation reveals that how regularly the respondent detected could be loosely linked to whether or not they belonged to a metal detecting club (see Table 6). Whilst one might have assumed that club commitments (such as the desire to find new objects for a forthcoming club meeting) might have been a motivation to go out searching, the largest portion of respondents who reported detecting more than once a week was amongst non-club members, reflecting a response of 30.4% as opposed to 23.0% amongst club members. Of those respondents who detected more than once a week, 28.2% were not a member of a metal detecting club, compared to 71.8% who were, a proportion that outweighs just slightly that which applies to the total sample. Amongst club members, the

most common response was detecting twice to three times a month, at 33.6%, showing the impact of the frequency of searching from the non-club members, as per the results displayed in Chart 8 above, where twice to three times a month made up 28.5% of responses overall. One interpretation for these findings could be that, without club commitments such as traveling to and attending meetings, independent detectorists have additional time available to search. Another could be that those detectorists who do not belong to a club derive, by necessity, more individual/personal rewards from the experience of detecting and are consequently, more motivated to do it. The motivations of the respondent metal detectorists, both independent and club members, are discussed in more detail in Chapter 6.3.1, below.

		Less than once a month	Once a month	Twice-three times a month	Once a week	More than once a week	Total
NOT member of a metal detecting club		**45.2%**	**35.5%**	**9.2%**	**21.2%**	**28.2%**	
	%within not a club member	*17.7%*	*13.9%*	*11.4%*	*26.6%*	*30.4%*	*100.0%*
MEMBER of a metal detecting club		**54.8%**	**64.5%**	**90.8%**	**78.8%**	**71.8%**	
	%within club member	*6.4%*	*7.5%*	*33.6%*	*29.4%*	*23.0%*	*100.0%*
		100.0%	**100.0%**	**100.0%**	**100.0%**	**100.0%**	

Table 6: Table representing the cross-tabulation of respondents' club membership against how often they metal detect (n=344)

A substantial 74.4% of the metal detectorists sampled reported to attend metal detecting rallies (Chart 9). This is a cause for concern, as whilst many metal detector users purport to dislike rallies, only 25.6% of the sample said they did not attend. One limitation to this question might be how the respondents defined 'rallies' on the completion of the questionnaire, and this could have been better clarified at the time of data collection. For many detectorists, a large-scale commercial rally is seen to be very different to a club-hosted rally (or 'club dig') that may only comprise a few detectorists, although for an archaeologist they may be equally abhorrent. An example of this is given by Respondent 413726 who despite answering 'No', stated he attends club digs:

> *I attend our own club digs. I have tried 2 rallies but detecting along with several hundred other people is not my idea of fun.* (R 413726)

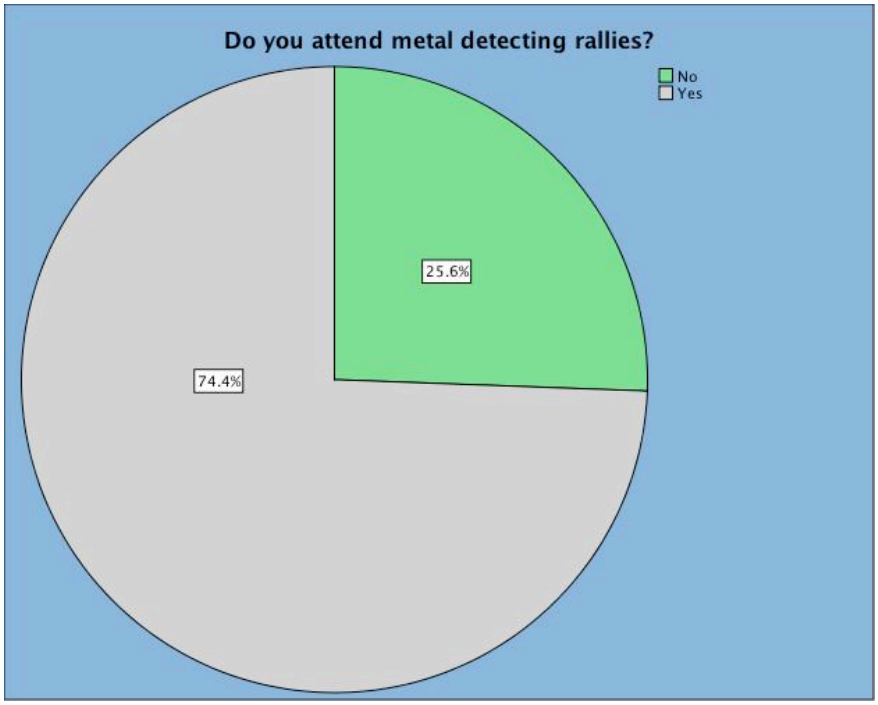

Chart 9: How many respondents attend metal detecting rallies (n=344)

Of those who reported that they did not attend metal detecting rallies, the majority were club members (63.6%), suggesting a number of interpretations linked to the benefits of club membership, namely that club members do not need to attend rallies in order to socialise with other detectorists as they gain this from club meetings, nor do they need to attend in order to access detecting lands, as they may have club lands upon which to search. This is supported by the fact that, as discussed in 5.2.1. above, over half of the independent detectorists in the sample (59.5%) did attend metal detecting rallies.

	Proportion of total sample		**Independent detectorist n=79**	**Club Member n=265**	**Total n=344**
DOES NOT attend metal detecting rallies	25.6%		**40.5%**	**21.1%**	
		%within does not attend	*36.4%*	*63.6%*	*100.0%*
DOES attend metal detecting rallies	74.4%		**59.5%**	**78.9%**	
		%within does attend	*23.0%*	*77.0%*	*100.0%*
	100.0%		**100.0%**	**100.0%**	

Table 7: Table representing the cross-tabulation of club membership status of respondents attending metal detecting rallies (n=344)

For those respondents who attend metal detecting rallies, the main motivation appears to be the access to new land, which brings with it the opportunity of detecting a different assemblage of objects. For respondents who find it difficult to obtain permission to detect (R 418129), or for those whose land is under crop during the Summer (R 419854), rallies offer hassle-free access to a different landscape, and as one detectorist suggested, *its [sic] always nice to detect on land previously unavailable to me* (R 413484).

As previously discussed, the social aspect was also part of the appeal; like Respondent 421468, for whom the main reason for attending a metal detecting rally was

> *Alcohol lots of it and roughing it in a tent making sure i come home dirty and with a worse back tha [sic] i went* (R 421468).

However, for some, this description seems typical of why many of the respondents are put off from attending rallies - the majority of whom seemed to prefer an individual approach to detecting. As one respondent put it:

> [Rallies are] *Just not for me, prefer to detect alone on my own patch. Dont [sic] find them relaxing* (R 418425).

There was also a considerable response against the potential lawlessness of rally attendees from the more conscientious questionnaire respondents. Many cited a lack of respect for the landscape and the finds (R 418441) and an interest only in the value of objects (R 433288) amongst other rally-goers as a reason to dissuade them from attending. For Respondent 414455:

> *Rallies attract bad sorts who have no intention of declaring finds to the landowner. Only a small percentage though....but its [sic] enough to put me off* (R 414455)

The potential of metal detecting rallies to attract those with criminal intentions is discussed in more detail in Chapter 7.7.2. (see p. 215), in particular the fact that these events provide an opportunity for illegally-recovered artefacts to be assigned a new, legal, provenance, particularly when FLO presence is limited or indeed absent altogether. In light of the responses to this question though, it is notable that many detectorists are not only aware of these practices, but demonstrably against them - and for some, this means boycotting rallies altogether. This evidence supports the wider findings of the questionnaire, that the majority of respondents felt a duty to detect responsibly, (see Chart 19, p. 123) as well as reporting a sense of protectiveness towards the detecting landscape (see Chart 15, p. 118). This protectiveness, as well as territoriality, amongst metal detectorists, is explored further using responses from the go-along interviewees in Chapter 7, below.

5.2.3. Section C: 'Where do you detect?'

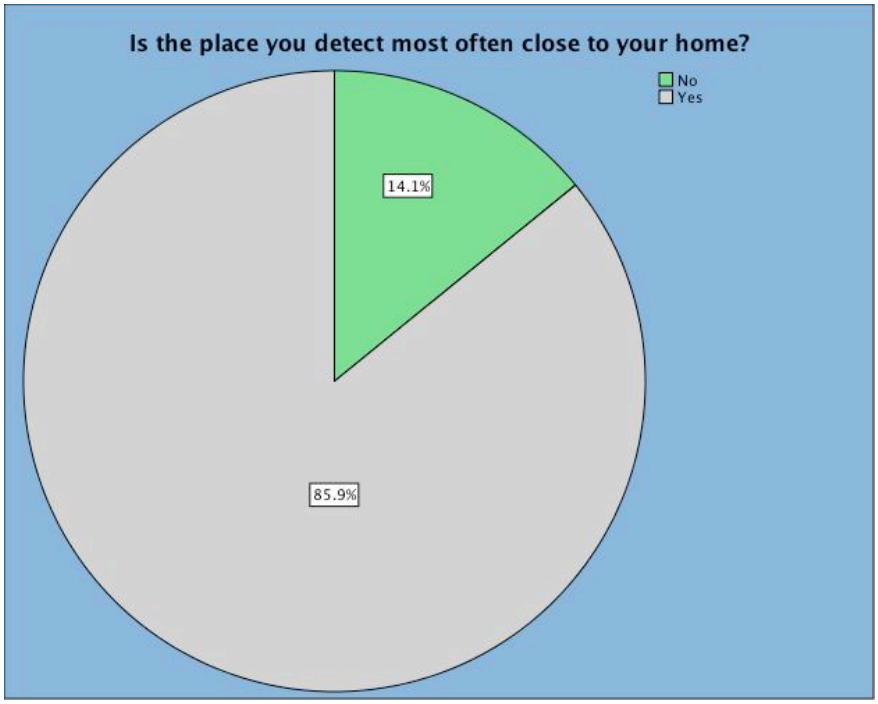

Chart 10: How many respondents detect close to their home (n=340)

Metal detecting is clearly, where possible, most usually conducted on land local to the hobbyist, as evidenced by the figure that 85.9% of the questionnaire respondents detect close to their home (Chart 10). The geographical distribution of where the respondents detect most often is represented below (Figure 17). Despite the evidence that the respondents detect close to home, the question 'In which county and area do you detect most often?' was thought to be more useful than a question asking where respondents live; the question itself was structured for free text responses in order to allow respondents to describe where they detected at a level acceptable to them, whilst also providing flexibility for those who detected in more than one county.

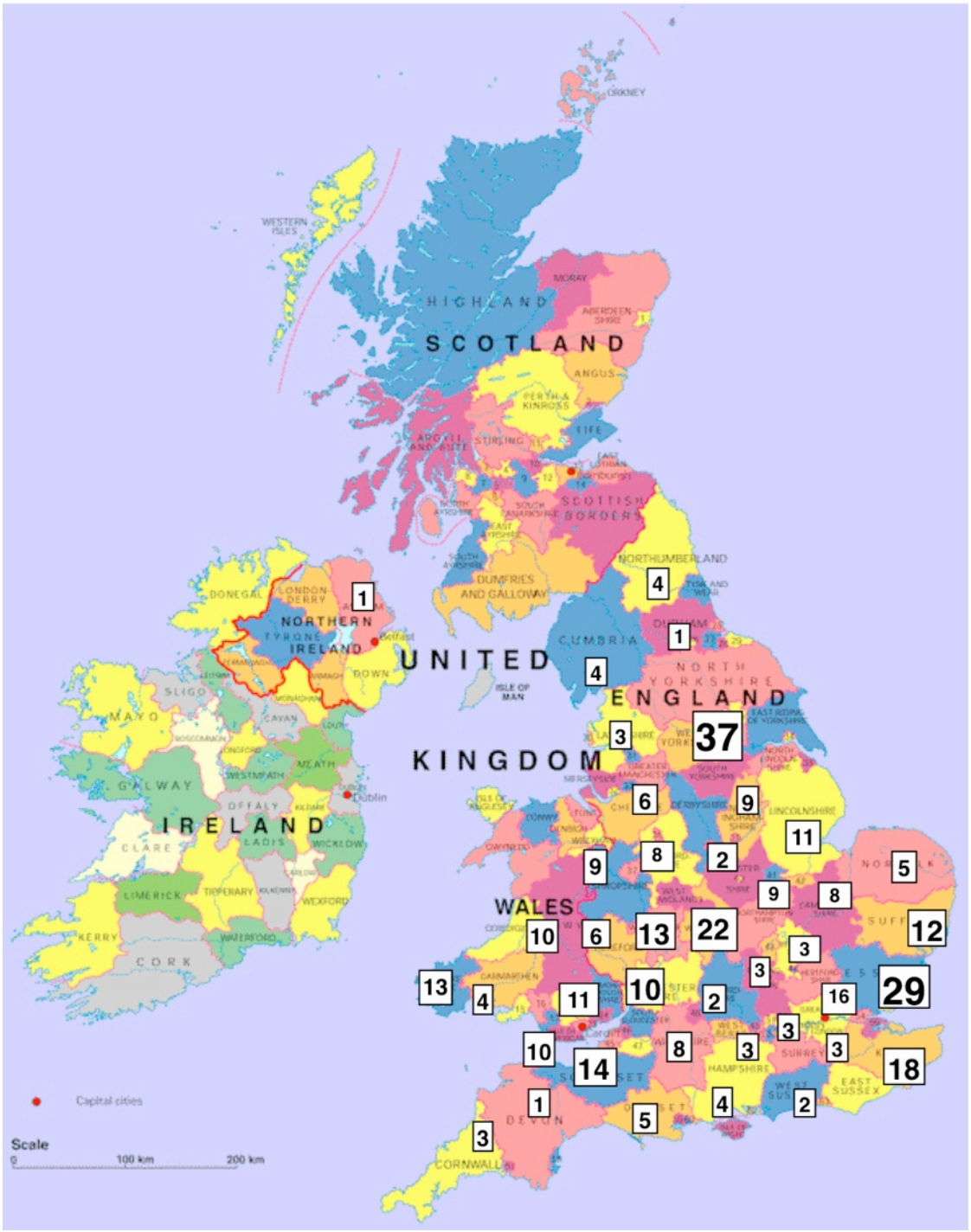

Figure 18: Map representing number and geographical distribution of respondents (n=345)

The respondents are fairly evenly distributed across England and Wales, indicating that the approach to the issue of the questionnaire via online-hosting was successful in reaching a diverse spread of the target population. Concentrations of respondents occur in Yorkshire, Essex and the Midlands, which supports existing knowledge of the particular popularity of detecting in these areas. These figures are reflected by a map of the respondent metal

detecting clubs (Figure 18), which shows a number of clubs in these areas, particularly Yorkshire.

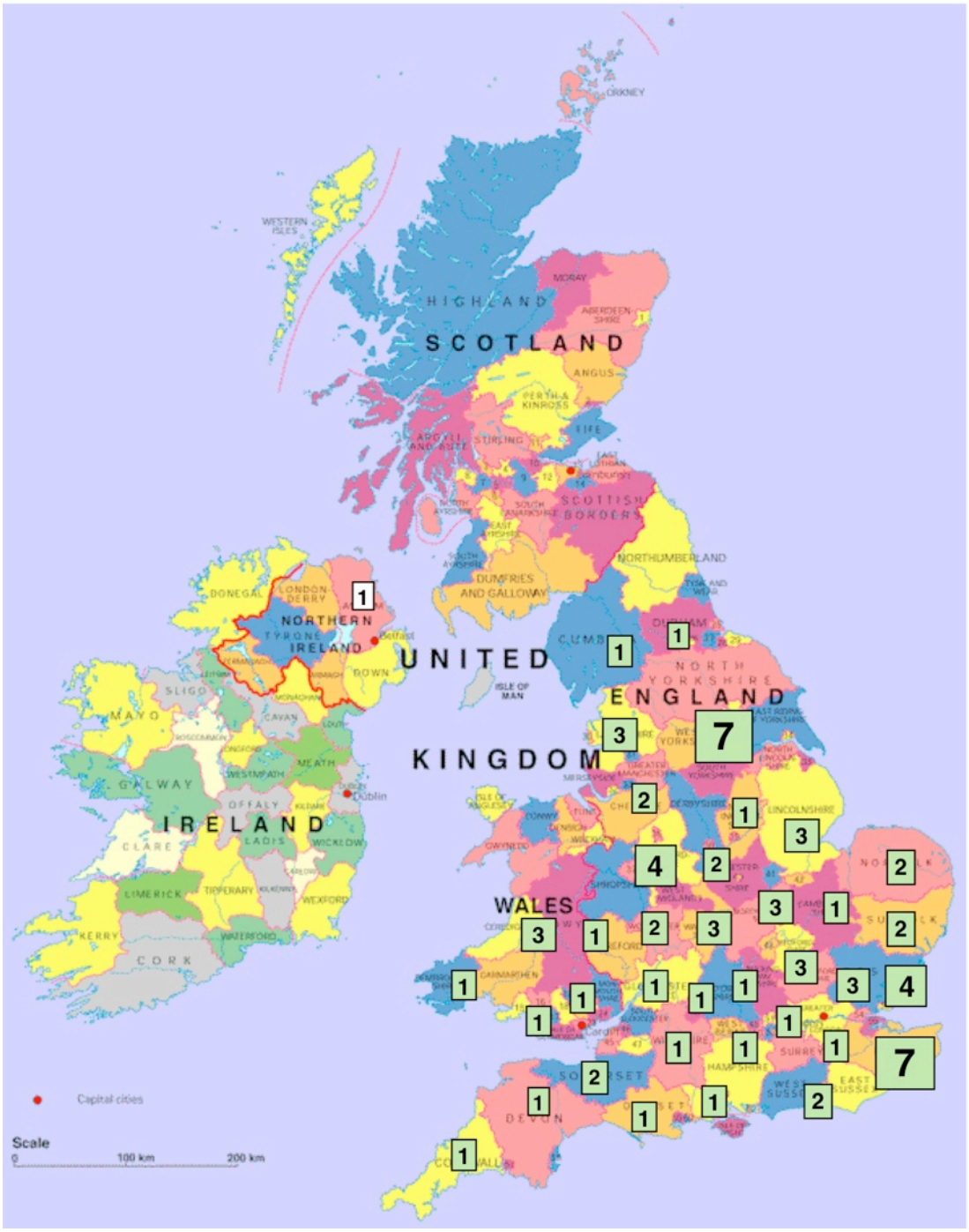

Figure 19: Map representing number and geographical distribution of respondent metal detecting clubs

In response to the question 'Thinking of the land on which you detect most often, how did you obtain permission from the landowner?', respondents were able to choose more than one option. The majority of respondents had obtained the relevant permissions from the landowner by themselves, either for the exclusive right to detect (47.2%) or non-exclusive right to detect (13.2%)(Table 8). 12.9% of respondents reported that their friend had

obtained the permission from the landowner, whilst a further 12.3% of respondents detected most often on lands owned by their metal detecting club. 'Club-owned' was perhaps poorly-worded, but reflected how many detectorists are apt to describe land where their club has obtained permissions for all members to detect; indeed many detectorists, whether obtaining permission themselves or otherwise describe refer to their land as if owning it. 'Permission via club' would have been an improvement, as the statement was clearly confusing. The 'other' option to this question received 14.4% of responses, amongst which several of the free-text replies indicated that the respondent's metal detecting club had obtained the permission for club-members to go on the land. Other responses within this free-text option included situations such as detecting rallies, land without owners, beaches, the Thames foreshore (requiring a PLA permit), and the land being owned by the respondent themselves or a family member.

Thinking of the land on which you detect most often, how did you obtain permission from the landowner? (Respondents were able to select more than one)		
Option	**Frequency**	**Percentage**
Obtained permission myself (exclusive)	226	47.2%
Obtained permission myself (non-exclusive)	63	13.2%
A friend obtained permission	62	12.9%
The land is owned by my club	59	12.3%
Other	69	14.4%
Total no. responses	479	100.0%

Table 8: Table representing how respondents obtained permission from the landowner to detect (n=340)

5.2.4. Section D: 'Your favourite findspot'

In response to the question 'Do you have a favourite findspot?', only 38.8% of the sample responded that they did (Chart 11). It had been expected that the balance would be slightly closer to a 50/50 split, or even that the majority of the sample would have a favourite spot, in that it was felt if detectorists reported attachment to their detecting landscape then it would be more likely for this attachment to relate to a specific, significant locale, where particular perceptive encounters would have the potential to mediate a stronger sense of place. However, given the evidence that came to light through the rest of the questionnaire, it is clear that the metal detecting community often has a number of areas where they

detect, alone, with club members, or as part of rallies, and have a number of different motivations and expectations depending upon the specific place and the nature of the visit. This is reflected in the response rate regarding a favourite spot. Unsurprisingly, of those respondents who did not profess to have a favourite findspot, 76.4% of them also attend metal detecting rallies, suggesting that for this group of people, detecting provides much more than a solitary past-time in which to enjoy the landscape among other things. It is noted, however, that amongst the 38.8% of respondents who said they *did* have a favourite findspot, a similar proportion of 74.4% also attend metal detecting rallies, see Table 9, below. More thought will have to be given to the implications of this and, it is clear, to future approaches to metal detecting rallies in general (see 7.7.2., p. 215). Finally, amongst the quarter of the survey population who do not attend metal detecting rallies, the response rate for the question was closer to what had initially been expected, namely that 59.2% reported having a favourite findspot. This would perhaps suggest that these respondents - more conscientious, and seeking solitude or peace in a detecting experience as opposed to social interactions - are more likely to invest in the kind of place experience that would generate attachment to a favourite locale.

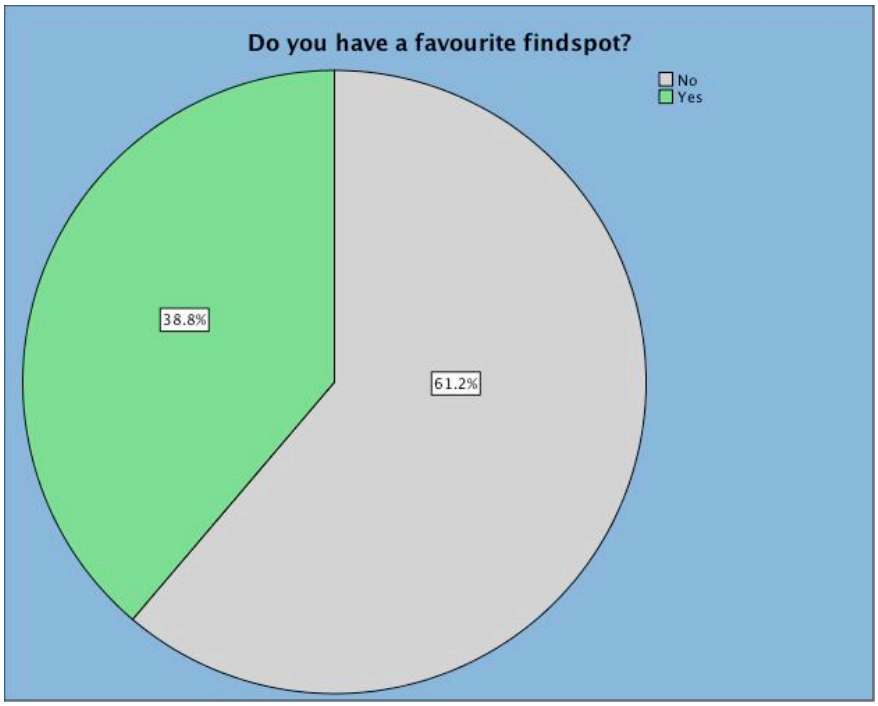

Chart 11: How many respondents have a favourite findspot (n=312)

For those who reported having a favourite findspot, the landscape obviously plays a key role in their response, providing anything from a certain type of crop that facilitates comfortable detecting, to beautiful views experienced whilst out searching. The former is reported by Respondent 422460 whose favourite spot boasts a *Good spread of dates of finds.*

Exclusive permission. Maize stubble (easy detecting), he even noted having *Made a project of researching the farm history, each find adds to this* (R 422460). Evidence from the interview data (see Chapter 6.3.3.) supports this suggestion, that in generating an attachment to landscape, or indeed developing a 'favourite' place, research can act as a valuable conduit, through which the detectorist's increasing knowledge of an area allows them to experience a locale more authentically and therefore with a greater sense of place.

	Proportion of total sample		YES Favourite Findspot	NO Favourite Findspot	Total n=312
DOES NOT attend metal detecting rallies	25.6%		**25.6%**	**23.6%**	
		%within does not attend	*59.2%*	*40.8%*	*100.0%*
DOES attend metal detecting rallies	74.4%		**74.4%**	**76.4%**	
		%within does attend	*38.1%*	*61.9%*	*100.0%*
	100.0%		**100.0%**	**100.0%**	

Table 9: Table representing the cross-tabulation of respondents with a favourite findspot to those attending metal detecting rallies (n=312)

Beautiful views were a priority for (R 419003), whose favourite detecting landscape *has Beautiful and extensive rolling hills and it is where I have found the majority of my stuff.* Indeed, for some detector users, this aesthetic appeal outweighs even the find-rate of a certain area, as with (R 418204), whose favourite spot on the Norfolk/Suffolk border near Thetford Forest has:

> *Loads of wildlife, great surroundings, even if the find rate is terrible. 1 find = 20 hours.* (R 418204)

But the role of landscape goes beyond an attractive view, in so far as it can have an actual physical impact on metal detecting just like any other hobby practised outdoors; indeed as Appleton would suggest, it is the very nature of this involvement that facilitates an aesthetic experience of the landscape (Appleton 1996). As with any outdoor past-time, the pleasure derived from the activity is dependent on a number of external environmental and geographical factors, from weather to the ease of terrain, as well as an internal response to them. The physicality of the landscape experience in a favourite findspot is supported by text responses like those of Respondent 418145, who wrote:

> *SOUTH FACEING [sic] HILLS, SUN ON YOUR BACK, WARM WINDS, AND FINDING SOME NIC [sic] FINDS, WHAT MORE CAN I SAY.* (R 418145)

A final aspect through which the landscape can influence a choice of favourite findspot would seem to be the extent to which it facilitates the reconstruction of a conceptual historic landscape by the searcher. For many detectorists, this reconstruction of a buried past is fundamental to the pleasure derived from metal detecting altogether, and applies to objects as well as landscape (See 5.2.5.). As far as a visualisation of the ancient landscape is concerned, the role of this in determining a favourite findspot is aptly captured by Respondent 419854, who stated:

> *The area is fascinating and the finds I have recovered have enabled me to build a "picture" of what was going on over the centuries in this area.* (R 419854)

This capacity to imagine in the mind's eye a picture of the historic landscape, and populate it using discovered objects, is discussed in more detail later, both in terms of the detectorists' ability to visualise a certain findspot (see Chart 17), and the role of imagining and visualisation in generating attachment to landscape amongst the interviewees (Chapter 6.3.2.).

The complexity and subjectivity of what makes up a favourite findspot is testified by the response to question D2 which asked respondents to rate from 1 to 6, where 1 is the most important and 6 is the least important, the following elements in the order of importance to a favourite findspot: Easy access, exclusive permission to detect, a good relationship with the landowner, high-quality finds, privacy, and attractive landscape. By a large margin, the factor prioritised by most respondents was a good relationship with the landowner, which was rated number one by 59% of the sample (Table 10, below). Understandably permission from landowners is a fundamental issue to detectorists, as without permission they have no access to land on which to go out and search. Reports also suggested that this permission is becoming increasingly difficult to obtain, not only because the popularity of detecting means there is a lot of competition in rural areas, but also because of landowners' distrust of the metal-detecting community as a whole. Additional evidence from the go-along interviews furthermore suggested that for many farmers, a key concern was that any significant find made by the detectorist might result in an archaeological excavation which would cause a huge practical and financial disruption. This was not just a concern for the farming community; in one case, (Interviewee D), it was a residential developer who was reticent to allow detecting in case something was found that would impact on his potential profit. The challenge of finding permission today is further evidenced by the response to the question on rally attendance (see 5.2.2.) which showed that for many detectorists, metal detecting rallies are the only means by which they can find land on which to detect at all. Interestingly, having a good relationship with the landowner

does not necessarily mean having exclusive permission to detect, which was of middling importance to all the respondents; indeed it was rated sixth as often as it was rated first (21.9% and 21.3% respectively) but was rated at the other positions almost equally, leaving it in third position overall. This supports the earlier finding that only 47% of the sample had obtained permission from the landowner to detect exclusively (see above 5.2.3.).

From 1-6, where 1 is the most important and 6 is the least important please rate the following in the order of importance in your favourite findspot				
Findspot attribute	**Ranking**	Frequency of Number 1 rating	Frequency of Number 6 rating	**Average rating**
Good relationship with landowner	**1**	59%	8.40%	**1.9**
High quality finds	**2**	25.20%	9.70%	**2.95**
Exclusive permission to detect	**3**	21.30%	21.90%	**3.47**
Easy access	**4**	14.80%	18.40%	**3.61**
Attractive landscape	**5**	11.90%	21.30%	**3.73**
Privacy	**6**	11.90%	24.20%	**4.01**

Table 10: Table representing how respondents ranked the importance of different findspot attributes (n=312)

Unsurprisingly - being ostensibly the end 'goal' of metal detecting - in second place after a good relationship with the landowner, high quality finds were the next most important aspect of a favourite findspot, being rated number one by 25.2% of the sample. However, there was only a small margin separating this from the middle few aspects, namely: exclusive permission, easy access to the area, and an attractive landscape. According to the respondents, these three were of fairly equal importance in a good spot, as there was little to separate them in the rankings and they all scored an average rating between 3 and 4. Evidently none of them is vital to the way the location, and the relationship with the landowner of that place, is valued by the detectorist. Privacy was overwhelmingly the least important factor of all, and was voted sixth by 24.2% of respondents.

The importance rating of landscape as fifth amongst other factors in a favourite findspot may suggest that, rather than being unimportant, it could simply be taken for granted amongst the milieu of other variables. Of those who did rank the attractiveness of the landscape as the most important factor in deciding a favourite findspot, the response to the

question 'Do you have a favourite findspot?' was closer to the 50/50 balance posited earlier (see p. 112), but nevertheless still showed a majority vote for 'No' with a response of 56.8%, with 43.2% answering 'Yes'. Prioritising landscape aesthetics does not necessarily therefore lead to developing a 'favourite' findspot in isolation, just as having a favourite findspot does not mean that attractive landscape is a priority. The generation of attachment to place amongst detectorists is clearly the summation of a number of attitudes to a range of other contributing factors as well.

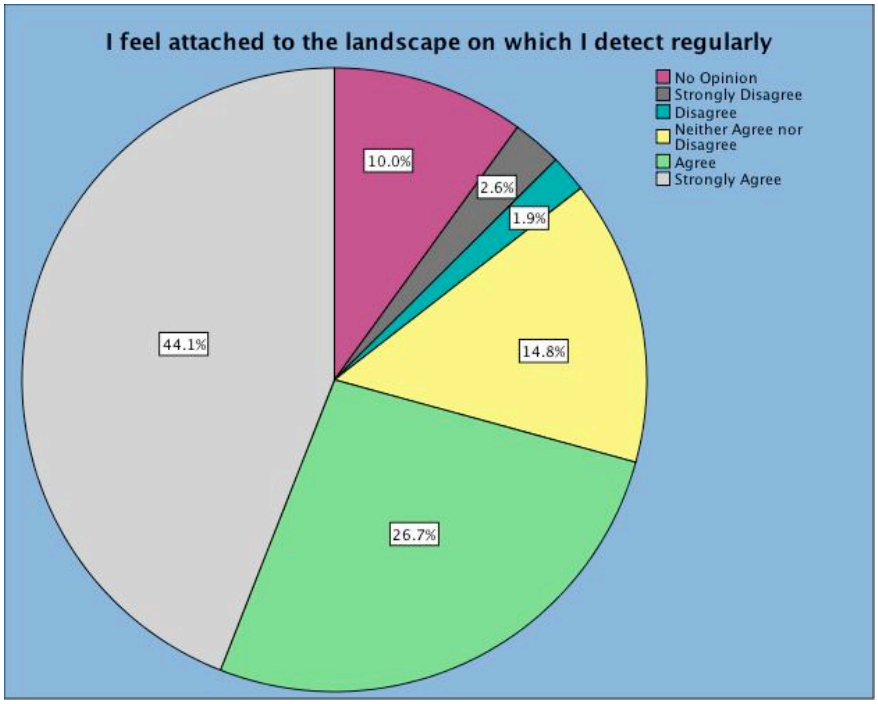

Chart 12: How many respondents agreed with the statement:
'I feel attached to the landscape on which I detect regularly' (n=312)

Although an attractive landscape was ranked only fifth most important out of six findspot attributes, 70% of respondents either agreed, or strongly agreed, that they are attached to the landscape on which they detect most often (Chart 12). The cause of this attachment is evidently one beyond whether or not this environment is simply attractive, or indeed whether it is a specific favourite place, but rather, as has been mentioned already, one generated from the experience of a combination of factors, including find-rate and perceived quality of these finds, the relationship with the landowner along with the ease of access and the quality of the terrain, and, finally, the extent to which a searcher is able to reconstruct a sense of the historic landscape. In support of the importance of the sense of a landscape's history to the metal detector users, 87.5% of the sample agreed, or strongly agreed that they had a sense of the history of the landscape on which they detected regularly (Chart 13). Beyond this, an even greater sum of respondents, 88.1% agreed, or

strongly agreed, that it was important to them to *understand* the history of the landscape (Chart 14).

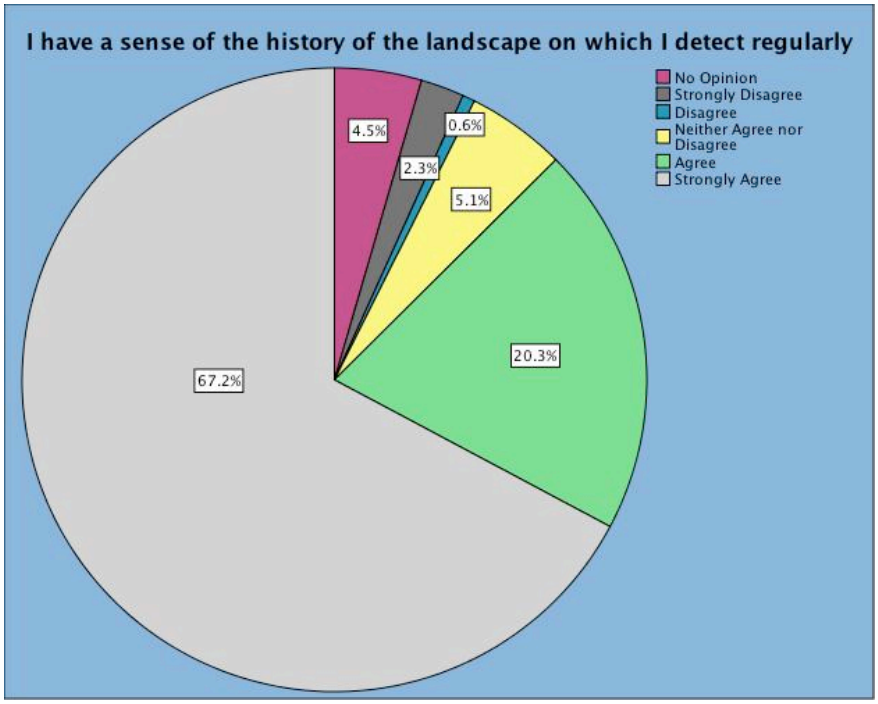

Chart 13: How many respondents agreed with the statement:
'I have a sense of the history of the landscape on which I detect regularly' (n=311)

A large proportion of respondents (81%) also agreed that they were protective of the landscape on which they detect regularly (Chart 15), indicating that an aspect of this attachment to landscape may translate into a sense of territoriality and protectiveness. Considering how challenging it can be for a detectorist to obtain permission to detect on certain lands, as discussed previously, along with developing a relationship with the relevant landowner, it is unsurprising that detectorists are protective of a patch they have obtained permission for and do not wish to share the finds therein, besides which anybody detecting on this land without permission (known as nighthawks, see Chapter 7.6.1) would be breaking the law. As discussed later using evidence from the go-along interviews, a further reason why many conscientious detectorists are protective over their land is that nighthawks, plainly, do not record the objects they find, and crucially it is the loss of this information that detectorists so strongly resent, when they have invested so much time in developing a clear record of the archaeological activity in an area (see Chapter 6.3.2., below).

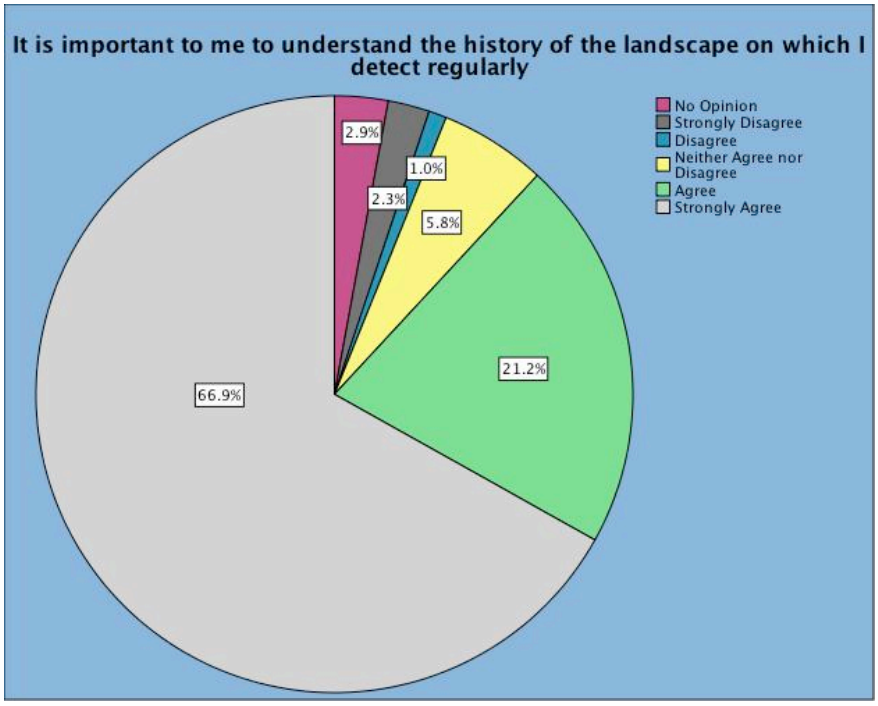

Chart 14: How many respondents agreed with the statement: 'It is important to me to understand the history of the landscape on which I detect regularly' (n=308)

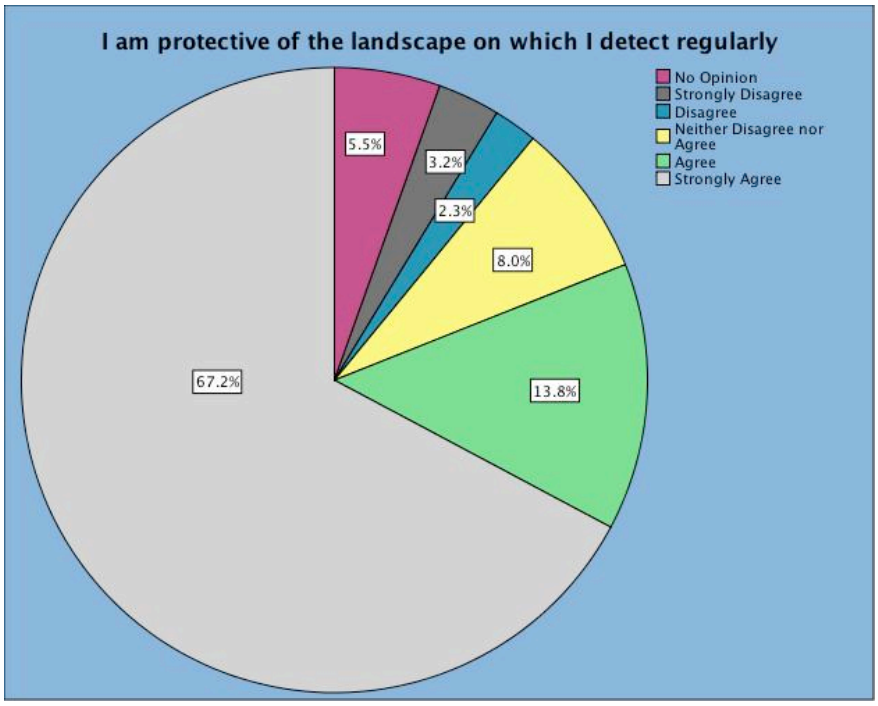

Chart 15: How many respondents agreed with the statement: 'I am protective of the landscape on which I detect regularly' (n=311)

Despite 81% of respondents agreeing they felt protective of the land on which they detect regularly, reassuringly only 17.7% reported ever having had to actively protect it from other people. Of these, the majority of text responses clarified that this protection pertained to the ejection of nighthawks from the land, nighthawks being those who metal detect without the permission of landowners and illegally remove antiquities from the ground, usually to sell, a practice known itself as nighthawking (Oxford Archaeology 2009. See Chapter 7.6.1.). There is a strong feeling amongst conscientious metal detectorists against those people who damage the reputation of the hobby, particularly nighthawks; as one respondent wrote, *they are a curse to the hobby, destructive of our heritage, and only ever have self interest in the selling value* (R 419855). It has been noted many times, in the Oxford Archaeology survey and elsewhere, that reputable metal detectorists are an excellent deterrent to nighthawks on the land, and this is supported by the text responses to the questionnaire. Land which is regularly detected upon is less likely to be a draw to a criminal element, not only because of the danger of being caught, but also because of the increased likelihood that metal detecting finds will already have been discovered. Metal detectorists regularly visiting certain locales to search provide 'eyes and ears' in the field for farmers who have far too much land to be able to watch over it all, and will quickly recognise anyone detecting without the permission to be there. The benefit to the landscape of stewardship from conscientious detector users (examined more fully below, in Chapter 7.1.) is testified by statements like the following from Respondent 418237:

> *All of my permissions probably over 600 acres at present are visited daily or twice daily by myself, at all hours of the day and night, i have had to physically remove nighthawkers and day hawkers on numerous occasions and now used [sic] night vision scope to stop intruders working in total darkness.* (R 418237)

5.2.5. Section E: 'Recording and metal detecting conduct'

Metal detecting conduct was the subject of the final section of the questionnaire, and the one prone to the most limitations. It has been proven in numerous studies that the relationship between what respondents say they do and they way in which they actually behave are frequently at odds, and nowhere is this more apparent than in questions pertaining to codes of conduct whereby the respondent is unlikely to admit to bad behaviour (Foddy 1993). Therefore, it was accepted that the questions 'Are you familiar with the NCMD Code of Conduct?' and 'Do you abide by it?' were likely to receive positive responses, even if the respondents frequently flout this code; nevertheless, it was felt important to include these questions. It was decided that the Code of Conduct referred

to would be that designed by the National Council of Metal Detecting (see Appendix 2), as this was thought to be a simpler and more recognisable Code than the DCMS alternative, the Code of Practice for Responsible Metal Detecting in England and Wales. As predicted, an overwhelming majority of respondents (98.3%) said they were familiar with the NCMD Code of Conduct, however, the fact that 1.7% reported that they didn't suggests that there is an element of truth in the findings and that the result does not merely represent every respondent answering 'Yes'. The result was mirrored in the response to the associate question 'Do you abide by it?' which also received 98.3% in the affirmative, and 1.7% negative (Chart 16).

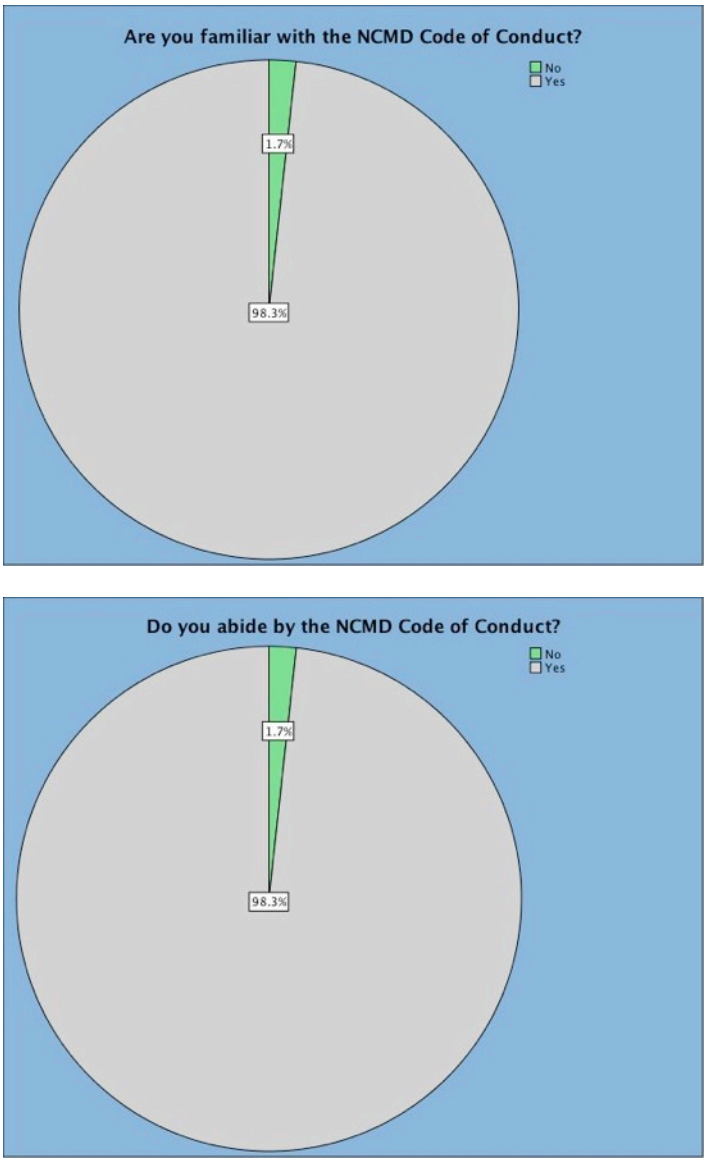

Chart 16: How many respondents were familiar with the NCMD Code of Conduct and how many abided by it (n=289)

Method of Recording	Absolute Frequency (n=)	Relative Frequency by Choice
Don't Record	17	4.6%
GPS	106	28.6%
On a Map / Atlas	175	47.1%
'Other'	73	19.7%
Total	371	100.0%

Table 11: Table representing how respondents record their object findspots (n=288)

'Other' Methods of Recording	Frequency
Google Earth	18
With Finds Liaison Officer (FLO)	12
Personal database	8
Finds diary	7
Notebook	5
UKDFD (UK Detector Finds Database)	4
Mapping/ Grid Referencing Website, e.g. *Wheresthepath*	4
Record with club	2
Memory / 'In my head'	3
At rally	1
Card index	1

Table 12: Table detailing frequency of different free text responses under 'Other' recording category (n=65)

In keeping with the response to the questions on conduct, only 4.6% of the sample reported not recording their object findspots, with the remaining 94.1% using a variety of methods to keep a note of object locations (respondents were allowed to choose more than one option)(Table 11). On a map or an atlas was the most popular, with 47.1% of the response, whilst a significant proportion were also using GPS (Global Positioning System) to log grid references of finds (28.6%). Amongst the free text responses detailing the different methods logged under 'Other', *Google Earth* was most popular. Recalling the fact that 81% of the survey respondents agreed they felt protective of the landscape on which they detect regularly, some free text responses indicated that those amongst the sample

who do not record their object findspots might do this to assuage security concerns. Five respondents noted that they record finds only to parish level, with some of these (n=2) adding that this was to protect the site location. As one stated:

> *If I record accurately on an internet database the land I detect on will be visited by night hawkers, so I just record the parish mainly.* (R 414823)

The respondents were next asked how clearly they could recall a findspot for a particular object on a scale of 1 to 10, with '1' being not at all clearly and '10' extremely clearly. At metal detecting rallies or club meetings when asked to record the location of object findspots, detectorists normally have a very good memory of where finds have come up, and this is likely to relate to the reconstruction of the historic landscape that 87.5% of the sample agree is important to have a sense of. Indeed, in response to this question, only 5.9% of respondents ranked their ability to visualise a findspot location at point 5 on the scale or below. Conversely, over 80% of respondents ranked their ability to visualise a findspot location at 8 or above. 39.2% of respondents indicated point '10' on the scale, suggesting they could recall or visualise a findspot for a particular object 'extremely clearly' (Chart 17). This ability to clearly visualise in the mind's eye the location at which a particular object was found contributes both to the imagining of the populated ancient landscape and, in turn, the generation of attachment to place - through the act of remembering as well as the creation of new knowledge.

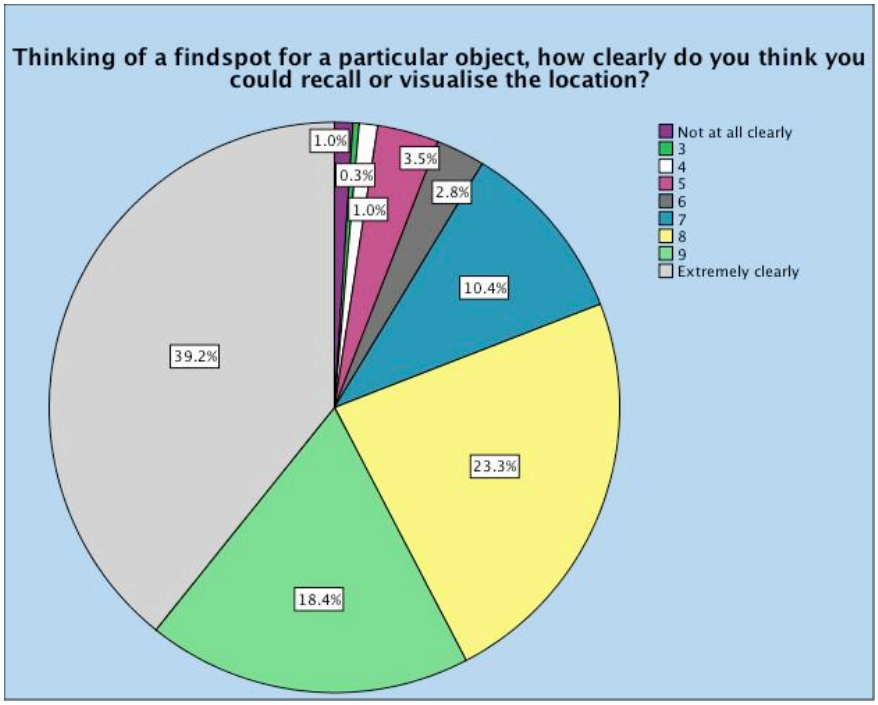

Chart 17: How clearly respondents felt they could recall or visualise an object findspot, where 1 is 'Not at all clearly' and 10 is 'Extremely clearly' (n=288)

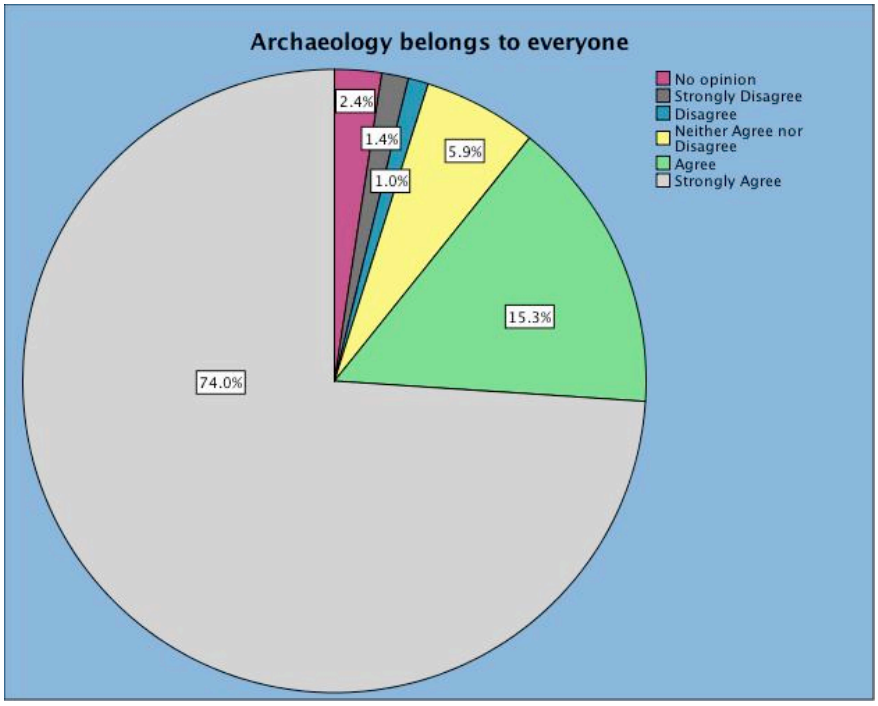

Chart 18: How many respondents agreed with the statement: 'Archaeology belongs to everyone' (n=288)

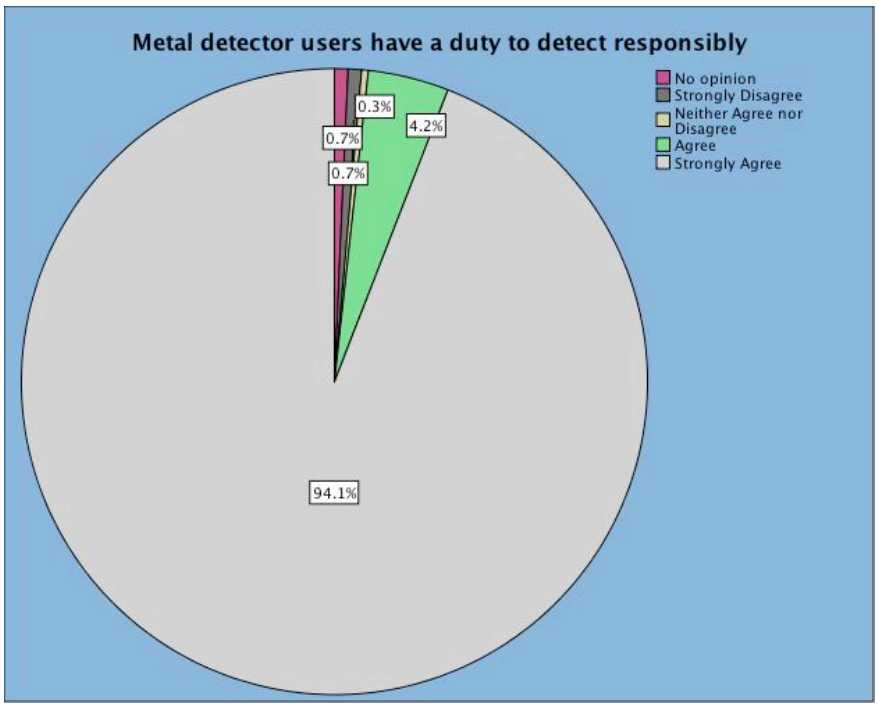

Chart 19: How many respondents agreed with the statement: 'Metal detector users have a duty to detect responsibly' (n=288)

The metal detector-users were then asked a number of questions asking for degrees of agreement to statements relating broadly to metal detecting and heritage issues, the first of

which was 'Archaeology belongs to everyone'. Despite, or perhaps even because of, past and present contention between archaeologists and metal detector users, the latter feel that they are as entitled to accessing the buried past as professional archaeologists, and this is likely the motivation behind the response rate of 89.3% of the sample agreeing, or strongly agreeing with the statement (Chart 18). However, critics of metal detecting would argue that by retrieving portable antiquities from the ground and storing them in their homes, instead of improving accessibility to archaeology, detectorists are actually denying the general public their shared heritage. Whilst several respondents (2.4%) disagreed with the statement, and a greater proportion neither agreed nor disagreed (5.9%), a larger majority agreed with the second statement, namely 'Metal detector users have a duty to detect responsibly'. In this case, 98.3% respondents agreed, with 94.1% of those strongly agreeing (Chart 19).

Lastly the metal detector users were asked to what extent they agreed with the statement: 'Recording with the Portable Antiquities Scheme fulfills this duty to detect responsibly'. The strength of feeling in response to this statement was slightly less than with the previous statements, but was still largely in agreement with 58.0% of respondents strongly agreeing, and 19.8% agreeing (Chart 20). However, 4.5% of respondent disagreed with the statement, and 2.1% strongly disagreed. The motivation behind some of these responses was accounted for in the comment section at the end of the questionnaire, in which several detectorists flagged that the question was not worded with sufficient scope or explanation. Indeed, their comments suggest that for many amongst the detecting community, there is a very communicable conscientious that they apply to all aspects of their detecting practice. For example, one respondent wrote:

> *WRT Q29, I found this question difficult to give a meaningful answer to. Responsible detecting doesn't end with PAS recording, but encompasses respect for the environment, the landowner and ones [sic] role in protecting our historical heritage.* (R 430018)

Likewise, another suggested:

> *With regard to the statemant [sic] "Recording with the Portable Antiquities Scheme fulfills this duty to detect responsibly" I have selected that I strongly disagree. There is so much more to resposible [sic] detecting than recording with the PAS. This one process cannot be the only requirement to fullfill [sic] responsible detecting. Gaining permission properly, taking care of the land you detect on and following the code of conduct are just some of the other reasons that should be taken into concideration [sic] when asking how responsible detecting should be fullfilled [sic].* (R 421303)

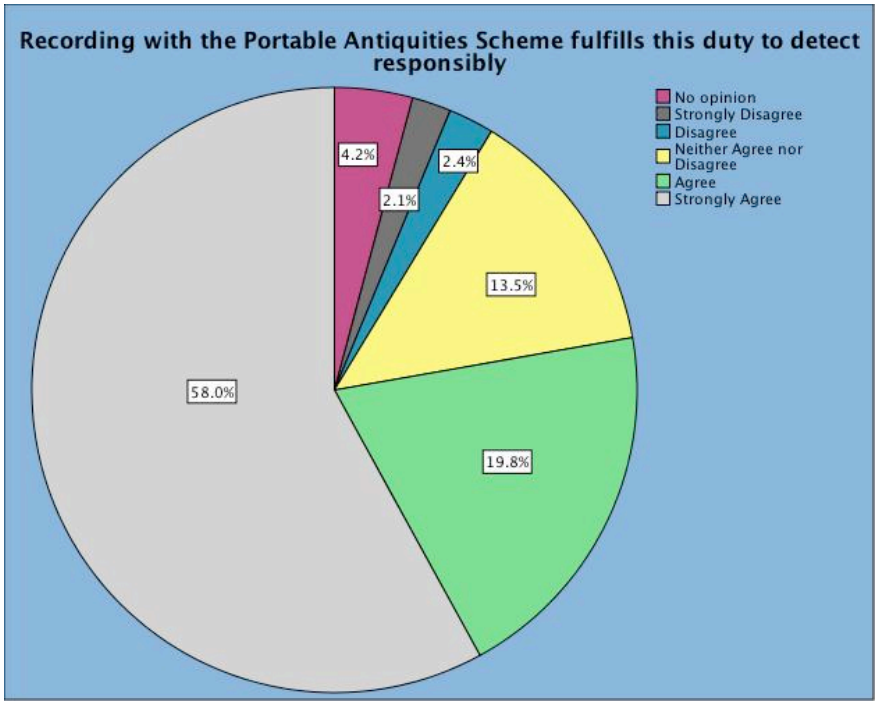

Chart 20: How many respondents agreed with the statement:

'Recording with the Portable Antiquities Scheme fulfills this duty to detect responsibly' (n=288)

The detectorists were then asked to rate from 1 to 5, where 1 is the most important and 5 is the least important, the following attributes in the order of importance in a find: Information it contains about the past, attractiveness, monetary value, collectable value, and condition / state of repair. Overwhelmingly, information an object contains about the past was ranked the most important - with 83.7% of respondents giving it the number 1 position, so that its average rating was 1.37 (Table 13). Of these respondents, 91.2% agreed or strongly agreed with the statement 'It is important for me to understand the history of the landscape on which I detect regularly' (See Chart 14). The motivations of metal detectorists is explored in more detail in the analysis of the go-along interview data, in particular the inductively-coded results in Theme A: Personal (see 6.3.1.), however the quantifiable data from the questionnaire survey demonstrates unambiguously that for the majority of the detecting community (83.7%), the information about the past contained in an archaeological object is the most important factor, and far outweighs its monetary value.

From 1-5, where 1 is the most important and 5 is the least important, please rate the following, in the order of importance in a find:				
Find attribute	**Ranking**	Frequency of Number 1 rating	Frequency of Number 5 rating	**Average rating**
Information it contains about the past	**1**	83.70%	5.30%	**1.37**
Condition	**2**	13.80%	9.90%	**2.52**
Attractiveness	**3**	9.50%	12.40%	**3.06**
Collectable value	**4**	7.40%	18.70%	**3.57**
Monetary value	**5**	6.40%	96.60%	**4.34**

Table 13: Table representing how respondents ranked the importance of find attributes (n=283)

This finding is supported by free text responses to the question at the end of the survey, 'Thinking about your favourite find, what is it, and why is it your favourite?'. Respondent 422622's answer reveals that it is not necessarily the most valuable or attractive objects that are the favourites, but those containing historical information and linking to the local area. He wrote:

> *My favourite find is a 16th-17th century Lead token. Like it because of it simplicty [sic] and that local Estate owners used them as a form of local currency.* (R 422622)

The local connection was also important to another detectorist, who answered:

> *A gold ring from the middle Bronze Age - it represents a piece of history from my very doorstep, as I found it on my own farm. The rarity of such a find also makes it attractive. The biggest reason, however, is the question it poses - why was it in that location, how did it come to be there and most importantly, who did it belong to?* (R 420768)

5.3. Conclusion

Both the questionnaire results and interview data support the finding that for the detecting community, a deep sense of satisfaction is derived from researching their discovered objects as well as finding them in the first place. The search for information and meaning about the past is a significant part of the quest. However, the objects provide that missing haptic link - through discovering a find and holding it, the act of imagining is enhanced and a direct contact with the past is made. As Respondent 433288 described of his 13-14th century lead seal:

starts with a martlet then a cross then legand reads S MARGAROT for a woman at this time margarot was a woman of some importance or thought she was, who was this person were did she live what was her life like what was she doing in that field to lose her seal or was it discarded after her passing To me holding that seal is a link with the past a real person who lived a life about which we may never know anthing [sic], but through reading books and research papers etc may have some insight into the times and possible life she lived. (R 433288)

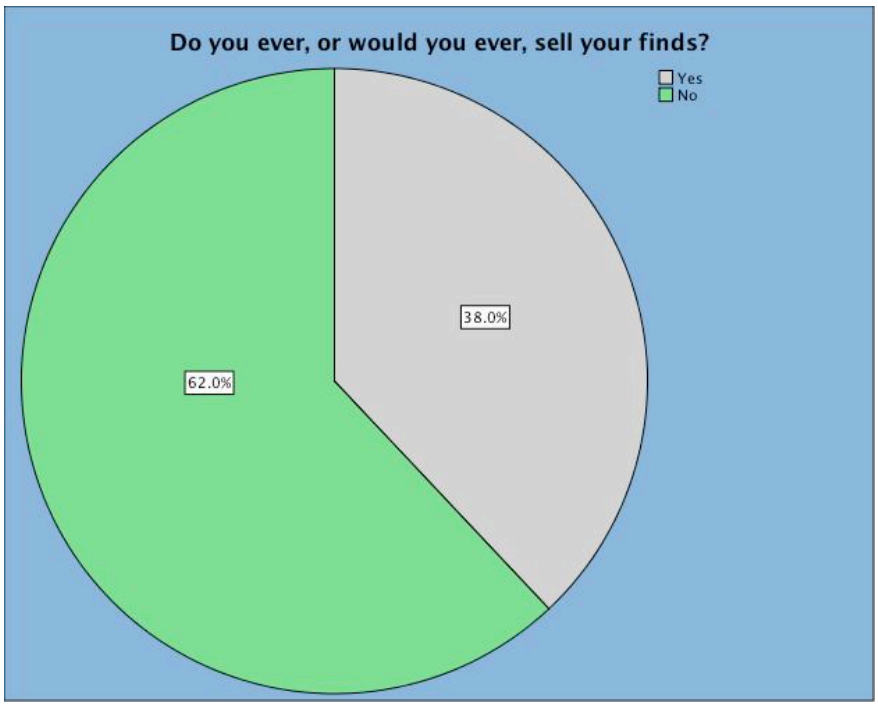

Chart 21: How many respondents ever, or would ever, sell their finds (n=279)

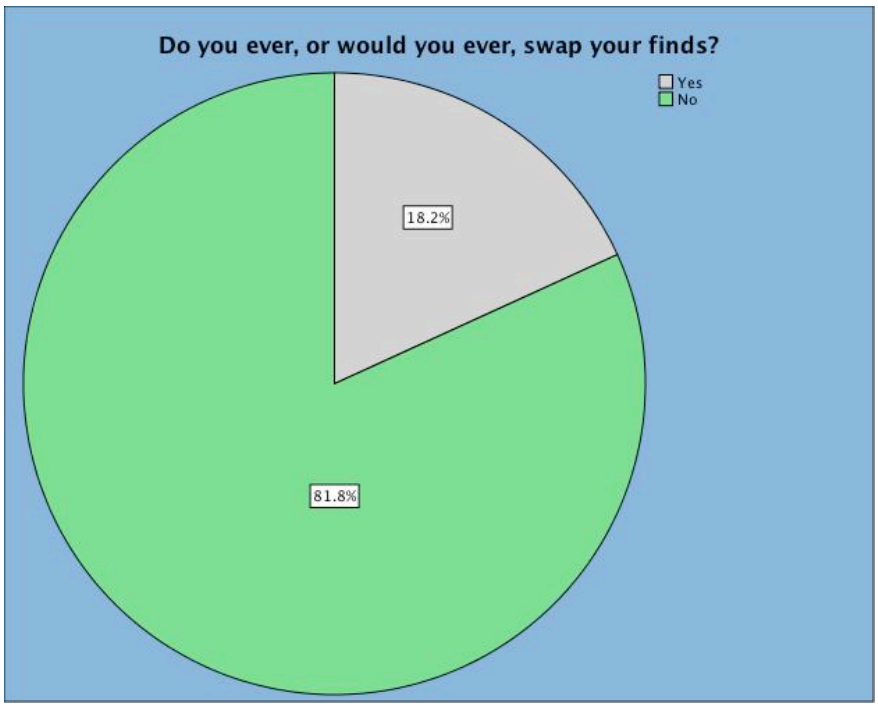

Chart 22: How many respondents ever, or would ever, swap their finds (n=275)

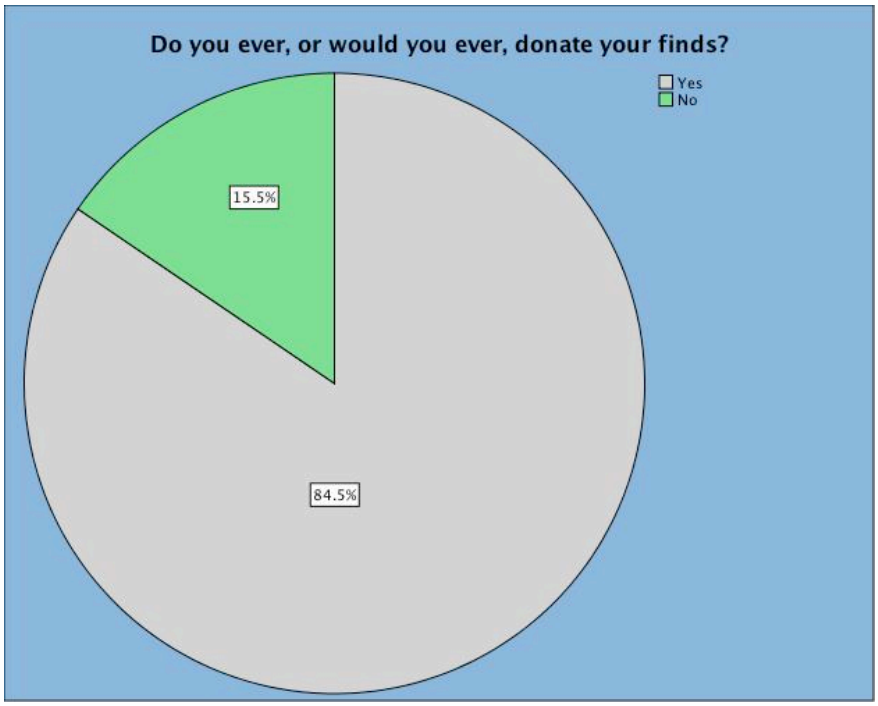

Chart 23: How many respondents ever, or would ever, donate their finds (n=284)

The result from the rating scale - where monetary value was consistently voted the least important aspect of a find, being voted fifth by 96.6% of the sample - was supported by the finding that only 38% of respondents reported that they ever, or would ever, sell their finds and even fewer (18.2%) reported that they ever, or would ever, swap their finds (Charts 21 and 22). In contrast to this, and further proving that conscientious detectorists are not necessarily motivated by the monetary value of the portable antiquities they find, 84.5% of respondents reported that they donate, or would consider, donating their objects (Chart 23).

The overarching impression from the questionnaire results, therefore, is one of a community conscientious about the value of the historic information contained within the objects they find, committed to detecting responsibly and setting a good example in order to deflect the negative impact of nighthawkers. Most importantly, a significant proportion are motivated not by monetary value and a desire to keep their finds behind closed doors, but instead to develop positive relationships with landowners and club members, and contribute to local knowledge through donating finds and working alongside the PAS. The quantitative data herein will be examined in further detail in light of the results from the go-along lifeworld interviews discussed in the next chapter, before the implications of the findings are covered in Chapter 7.

Chapter 6. In the Landscape:
The Go-Along Interviews and Qualitative Data Analysis

6.1. Participants

As discussed in Chapter 4, above (p. 81), to facilitate triangulation and enhance the answering of the core research questions, qualitative data was collected via twelve go-along conversational interviews conducted between June 2012 and August 2014. Respondents were largely those known by PAS Finds Liaison Officers (n=10) and suggested to the researcher, although several were contacts already known to the researcher and put forward for the process (n=2). In both instances, the participants were selected with a view to enhancing the potential generalisation of the study by collecting data from:

a) respondents providing a wide geographical dispersion across England;

b) respondents who searched on a variety of landscape types (pasture, arable, foreshore etc);

c) respondents demonstrating a variety of approaches to recording finds and interacting with landscape.

Figure 20: Map representing geographical distribution of go-along interviewees

Respondents were contacted in the first instance via email and invited to participate in an interview about metal detector users and how they feel about the landscapes on which they detect. It was suggested that this interview would take place on some of their favourite sites to search, and would take the form of a general, unstructured conversation about detecting and recording, with the researcher also taking photographs. In total 16 interviewees were contacted: one was unable to be reached; one refused to participate for fear of upsetting the landowner of his detecting areas; two further wanted to participate but were unable to for logistical reasons (moving house, and work schedule); and the remaining twelve were willing to take part. This was felt to be a good response. Of these - eleven were enthusiastic about the opportunity to show the researcher around their detecting landscapes. The final respondent (Interviewee L), however, did not wish to take the researcher on to his sites, and suggested instead that the interview take place at University College London (UCL), using Google Earth satellite imaging, which naturally had some methodological implications (see discussion below).

The interviews were staggered over a two year period and arranged to accommodate the researcher's schedule as well as the detectorists'. The farming calendar was particularly relevant for some interviewees for whom there was a concern about the ability to show the researcher detecting land if it was under crop, although, by contrast, others were keen on meeting at this time of year, as it meant the interview occurred during a period when detecting would have been impossible and they therefore would not be missing a day's searching. In the event of each of the interviews - with the exception of C, being on the Thames foreshore, and L taking place at UCL - the researcher and respondent met at a pre-agreed location in proximity to the detecting land, and the respondent then took on the role of guide: driving the researcher, sometimes across multiple detecting sites, and offering commentary, stopping at relevant locales. This informal and largely unstructured approach succeeded in both putting the respondent at ease and encouraging the expression of naturally occurring ideas which has proven beneficial to the study. This method, however, has also had obvious consequences in that the character of each encounter was determined very much by the personality of the interviewee, individual time constraints, individual openness, and the manner in which they had decided to approach the request of the researcher. As a result the interviews - which took place at rural and semi-rural locations around England (see Fig. 20) - varied widely in length and content. All conversation was recorded digitally - comprising multiple tracks, often broken up by either lapses in to 'small talk' or practical events (for example getting in or out of the car). Having added these individual tracks together for each interviewee, a summary of total audio times is provided below (see Table 14).

Interview	Location	Audio Length (HH:MM:SS)	Notes
A	Thwing, Yorkshire	02:09:06	Pilot study
B	Binham, Norfolk	02:22:40	
C	Wapping, London	01:46:34	
D	Cleethorpes, Lincs.	01:29:48	Time constraint: long journey
E	Thatcham, Berks.	00:43:55	Only one site being discussed
F	Grateley, Hampshire	01:13:17	
G	Melton Mowbray, Leics.	02:17:19	
H	Frome, Somerset	00:20:44	Only two audio tracks: technical failure
I	Swanley, Kent	03:24:46	Long: chatty respondents, multiple locales, home visit to see maps etc.
J	Carlisle, Cumbria	02:38:29	
K	Torquay, Devon	03:04:06	
L	St Albans, Herts.*	02:16:09	*Interview conducted at UCL

Table 14: Table detailing the location and audio-length of the twelve go-along interviews

Interviews B, C and I took place with pairs of respondents which accounts to some extent for the length of audio in those instances, as they contain the opinions of two interviewees rather than just one. Interview C was with two detectorists who search on the Thames foreshore where, because of the nature of the environment and the hazards such as the incoming tide, searchers prefer to go out in pairs. In the case of B and I, the interviewees were married couples who had been detecting together over many years and were extremely enthusiastic to discuss the hobby and show the researcher their local sites. In all three instances, the transcription took into account which of the respondents was speaking, but in terms of the coded analysis, the two voices were analysed as one count - i.e. no additional weighting was applied on the basis of there being two interviewees (see 6.2.). In any case, when it came to interviewing the couples, as the meeting had been arranged with the husband and (in both cases) he went detecting more frequently, as well as perhaps for deferential reasons, the husband tended to be treated as the 'principal'

interviewee, with the wife in more of a 'supporting role', so his is the more prevalent voice in the transcript.

Because of the conversational, semi-structured nature of the interviews, very few classificatory questions were asked, but all respondents were asked what date they started detecting; whether they were members of a metal detecting club; and establishing questions about how they recorded their finds. In most instances, this information arose organically and did not need to be prompted by the researcher. An infographic containing a brief synopsis of this classificatory data is provided below, together with 'at-a-glance' observations from the data which provide a background to their approach (Fig. 21).

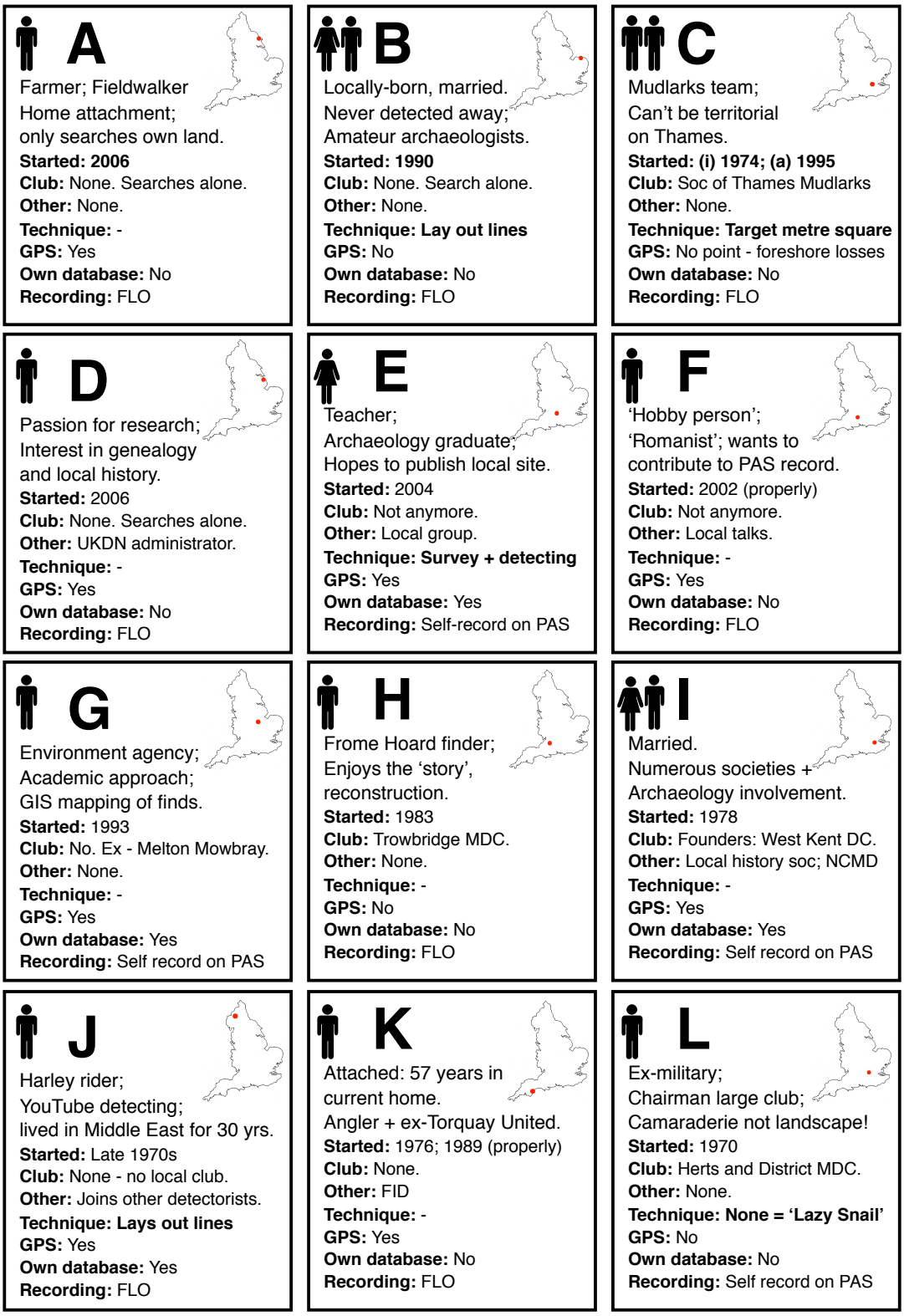

Figure 21: Classificatory data and supporting comments on the twelve go-along interviewees

6.2. Inductive Analysis and Coding Strategy

In total 23 hours and 46 minutes of audio was recorded and transcribed verbatim, and in full, by the researcher. As per Wengraf, a process of 'creative transcribing' was employed, whereby key anecdotes were highlighted, and broad themes identified and notated at the same time as transcription occurred (2001). For Wengraf (2001, 210), this approach subsumes 'the inevitable "drudgery" of transcribing' into a 'highly creative one-shot activity' - the equivalent of the researcher interviewing themselves during the experience of transcription. He furthermore cites Glaser's insistence that constantly stopping to memo, ensures that 'the "frontier of the analyst's thinking" [is captured] as he goes through his data, codes, sorts, or writes' (2001, 211. Glaser 1978, 83). The resultant 'memo trail' left by the researcher during transcription was expanded and finessed during a process of reading and re-reading, during which key themes began to present themselves inductively in - as noted by Carsten et al (2010, 548) - 'a manner consistent with a grounded theory approach'. In this way, the researcher was able to compile, update and repeatedly refine a categorisation system, or codebook, in order to observe patterns using summary labels with an indigenous quality, as opposed to attempting to explain the observed phenomena using a deductive framework based on pre-existing categories (Bendassolli 2013).

The resulting codebook contained 34 categories, split into three distinct themes:
Theme A – Personal: includes subjects of conversation through which the interviewee expresses personal attitudes and preferences about metal detecting (including motivations and responses)
Theme B – Landscape: includes subjects of conversation with direct relevance to landscape experience, through which the interviewee's attitude to landscape may be gleaned
Theme C – Hobby: includes subjects of conversation with specific relevance to metal detecting and the interviewee's approach to the practice of the hobby itself (as distinct from the more inherently personal reflections included in Theme A).

Having clarified the approach to the data using these three themes, the researcher then proceeded to assign labelled categories to naturally occurring topics within the conversation until no more categories were required. It was deemed prudent to err on the side of caution and create a significant number of categories, rather than to create too few with the result that different experiences detailed in the interviews might be erroneously combined together under one label. As such, the intent was to meet Guba's two criteria for judging categories: 'internal homogeneity', which dictates that all the data within a certain category fit together in a meaningful way, and 'external homogeneity', by which it is

abundantly clear how the individual categories differ and there is no confusion about which category certain observations should be assigned to (Guba 1978. Patton 1990). On stepping back and attempting to test the completeness of the category system, it was also necessary to have confidence that the category system was not only inclusive (that is, no data was left unassignable) but also plausible and that, combined, the individual categories offered the opportunity to create a complete picture (Guba 1978. Patton 1990).

Having created 34 labels to account for the observations in the data, these labels were then used to code all of the interview transcripts (see Tables 15, 16 and 17 for categories and definitions). In principle, coding occurred at paragraph level to safeguard, as per Carsten et al. (2010, 549) 'against over-inflation of code frequencies by ensuring that repeated themes emerging from a respondent's answer to a single question are not coded more than once'. It should be noted, however, that there were two obstacles to the enforcement of this, in a strict sense of what might be understood by 'paragraph' and why professional judgement was required on the part of the researcher. First, because the interviews were only loosely structured and the researcher tried to keep questions to a minimum and encourage free, unchecked speech on the part of the interviewee, the transcripts did not take on an observable question-and-answer pattern to allow straightforward identifications of 'answers'. Secondly, owing to the nature of the conversational speech, almost always occurring while driving or walking, much of the conversation did not organise itself into distinct paragraphs.

Weighting was applied during the coding process, described above, in order to prioritise direct statements made by the interviewees over inferred meaning as judged by the researcher when applying the labels. In the event - very few 'indirect' labels were applied, as the researcher was extremely conscious to avoid creating phenomena not actually observable in the data. Nevertheless, the exercise proved useful for providing the opportunity for the researcher to apply differentiation between one respondent making an effusive direct statement, and another implying a weaker version of a similar sentiment; indeed, had the weighting not been applied in this way, patterns emerging from the data might have been overlooked or even ignored. In practice, the weighting scheme was deliberately kept extremely simple and appropriate, with a value of 2 applied to every direct statement, and a value of 1 applied to each indirect one. As mentioned, these values were selected simply to prioritise direct statements and therefore to provide a more accurate hierarchy of attitudes, rather than to provide any ground for quantification (i.e. to suggest that the former is twice as significant as the latter). Once coded, the values of direct and indirect statements were added to give each category a total value which reflected the

frequency of its occurrence across the twelve combined interviews. At this stage it was also noted how many of the respondents had made mention of the specific labelled category in their interview. This value was then able to be taken into account at the stage of creating a hierarchy of categories, at which point - in the event of two categories sharing a tied value - the number of interviewees could be used to decide which category ought to have priority ranking.

Theme A: Personal		
A1	Being Outside	Individual responds positively to basic experience of being outdoors/ in open air
A2	Relaxation/ Catharsis	Individual responds positively to relaxing or stress-relieving experience
A3	Solitude	Individual responds positively to opportunity for solitude
A4	Love of History	Individual reports love of history, often since childhood
A5	Further Education in Archaeology	Individual reports either existing or contemplated further education in Archaeology
A6	The 'Buzz'	Individual reports strong stimulus experienced from detecting, often in abstract metaphors i.e. 'buzz' or 'addiction'
A7	Temporality/ Losing Yourself	Individual responds positively to temporal diversion
A8	Fun	Individual describes basic enjoyment
A9	Legacy	Individual reflects on what will be handed-down, i.e. information
A10	Quest	Individual responds positively to the experience of searching
A11	Community	Individual describes community involvement
A12	Exercise	Individual responds positively to opportunity for exercise

Table 15: Table detailing coding categories and definitions for Theme A: Personal

Theme B: Landscape		
B1	Scenic View/ Encounter	Individual responds positively to view/ horizon, often in abstract terms i.e. 'lovely'
B2	Wildlife	Individual responds positively to opportunity to encounter wildlife
B3	Seasonality	Individual reports experience of seasonality, often the farming calendar
B4	Projection/ Imagination	Individual describes an imaginative experience, often projecting a perceived narrative
B5	Mapping/ Visualisation	Individual describes mental map of landscape including visualisation of ancient site or activity
B6	Local Knowledge	Individual demonstrates acquired local knowledge of area
B7	Territoriality/ Protectiveness	Individual demonstrates protectiveness of detecting land
B8	Home Attachment	Individual demonstrates affection for home area
B9	Folklore	Individual narrates stories of local area, often with mythic quality

Table 16: Table detailing coding categories and definitions for Theme B: Landscape

Theme C: Hobby		
C1	Landowner Relationship	Individual describes relationship with landowner
C2	Age of Finds	Individual describes age of metal detecting finds
C3	Condition of Finds	Individual describes condition of metal detecting finds
C4	Haptic Encounter	Individual describes sensory experience of touching find(s)
C5	Value of Finds (inc. Treasure)	Individual describes value of metal detecting finds
C6	Methodical Search Technique	Individual describes personal, methodical search technique
C7	Recording and Databasing	Individual describes recording and databasing metal detecting finds
C8	Researching	Individual describes researching metal detecting finds
C9	Responsibility	Individual describes responsibility of detectorists (often self) to behave correctly
C10	Nighthawks	Individual describes experience of Nighthawking
C11	Angling	Individual reports on angling
C12	Archaeology Participation	Individual reports on participation in archaeological projects
C13	Fieldwalking	Individual reports on fieldwalking

Table 17: Table detailing coding categories and definitions for Theme C: Hobby

		Direct (weight *n.* 2)	Indirect (weight *n.* 1)	Total	Interviewees (/12)
Theme A: Personal					
A1	Being Outside	11	1	**23**	6
A2	Relaxation/ Catharsis	12	2	**26**	7
A3	Solitude	3	4	**10**	5
A4	Love of History	12	3	**25**	7
A5	Further Education in	2	1	**5**	3
A6	The 'Buzz'	13	4	**30**	10
A7	Temporality/ Losing Yourself	2	1	**5**	3
A8	Fun	15	3	**33**	7
A9	Legacy	5	3	**13**	5
A10	Quest	17	4	**38**	11
A11	Community	17	5	**39**	9
A12	Exercise	2	0	**4**	2
Theme B: Landscape					
B1	Scenic View/ Encounter	26	6	**58**	7
B2	Wildlife	7	2	**16**	6
B3	Seasonality	15	0	**30**	8
B4	Projection/ Imagination	19	3	**41**	9
B5	Mapping/ Visualisation	18	2	**38**	7
B6	Local Knowledge	33	11	**77**	10
B7	Territoriality/ Protectiveness	17	1	**35**	6
B8	Home Attachment	13	3	**29**	5
B9	Folklore	4	0	**8**	3
Theme C: Hobby					
C1	Landowner Relationship	31	2	**64**	9
C2	Age of Finds	7	1	**15**	5
C3	Condition of Finds	8	1	**17**	5
C4	Haptic Encounter	5	0	**10**	5
C5	Value of Finds (inc. Treasure)	8	0	**16**	6
C6	Methodical Search Technique	5	0	**10**	5
C7	Recording and Databasing	37	3	**77**	12
C8	Researching	36	6	**78**	12
C9	Responsibility	15	9	**39**	10
C10	Nighthawks	17	0	**34**	10
C11	Angling	7	0	**14**	3
C12	Archaeology Participation	30	4	**64**	10
C13	Fieldwalking	7	0	**14**	4

Table 18: Table detailing frequencies of direct and indirect references to coded categories

RANK			Weighted value	Interviewees (/12)
	Theme A: Personal			
1	**A11**	Community	**39**	9
2	**A10**	Quest	**38**	11
3	**A8**	Fun	**33**	7
4	**A6**	The 'Buzz'	**30**	10
5	**A2**	Relaxation/ Catharsis	**26**	7
6	**A4**	Love of History	**25**	7
7	**A1**	Being Outside	**23**	6
8	**A9**	Legacy	**13**	5
9	**A3**	Solitude	**10**	5
10 - 10	**A7**	Temporality/ Losing Yourself	**5**	3
10 - 10	**A5**	Further Education in Archaeology	**5**	3
11	**A12**	Exercise	**4**	2
	Theme B: Landscape			
1	**B6**	Local Knowledge	**77**	10
2	**B1**	Scenic View/ Encounter	**58**	7
3	**B4**	Projection/ Imagination	**41**	9
4	**B5**	Mapping/ Visualisation	**38**	7
5	**B7**	Territoriality/ Protectiveness	**35**	6
6	**B3**	Seasonality	**30**	8
7	**B8**	Home Attachment	**29**	5
8	**B2**	Wildlife	**16**	6
9	**B9**	Folklore	**8**	3
	Theme C: Hobby			
1	**C8**	Researching	**78**	12
2	**C7**	Recording and Databasing	**77**	12
3	**C12**	Archaeology Participation	**64**	10
4	**C1**	Landowner Relationship	**64**	9
5	**C9**	Responsibility	**39**	10
6	**C10**	Nighthawks	**34**	10
7	**C3**	Condition of Finds	**17**	5
9	**C5**	Value of Finds (inc. Treasure)	**16**	6
8	**C2**	Age of Finds	**15**	5
10	**C13**	Fieldwalking	**14**	4
11	**C11**	Angling	**14**	3
12 - 12	**C4**	Haptic Encounter	**10**	5
12 - 12	**C6**	Methodical Search Technique	**10**	5

Table 19: Table detailing hierarchy of coded categories, ranked by total weighted value

6.3. Thematic Results

The frequencies of the direct and indirect mentions of the coded categories are set out in Table 18. Table 19 then arranges the categories in to a hierarchy based on the total relative value. It is clear from this hierarchy that whilst some of the categories were truly of shared importance across all the interviewees - for example, C8 (Researching) and C7 (Recording and Databasing) - and this is reflected in their values, other categories were mentioned by fewer respondents but took on a heightened importance which meant an increased number of mentions and therefore an increased value - for example B1 (Scenic Encounter), was only referred to by seven interviewees, but those seven made frequent direct references to it. The quality of the inductive label categories is attested to by the fact that each category appeared in more than one interview, the category with the fewest - A12 (Exercise) - having been mentioned by two respondents. The results will now be discussed in more detail, and by theme. As explained above, (p. 95), interview respondents will be identified by a bold letter in brackets, for example (**A**); this distinguishes them from the coding themes which are un-bracketed, in plain text, and followed by a number, for example A6. For orientation, each interview theme is marked in bold when it is first mentioned in the text. In the case of an interview with two respondents, an extra initial was used during transcription to differentiate between the two respondents, and this is applied in the text, for example (**Bc**) and (**Bs**).

6.3.1. Theme A: Personal

As should be expected from interviewing a number of passionate hobbyists, the overriding attitude expressed by the respondents was a great sense of enjoyment of detecting, and an enjoyment that, rather than eroding with the years, is strengthened by the passage of time, as testified by five of the twelve interviewees who commenced detecting during the 1970s. At the heart of this enjoyment is the specific pleasure in searching-for-an-unknown-something, or 'Quest' as it has been labelled: a desire to fill a gap, to complete a collection, to solve a riddle. **A10 (Quest)** was referred to in eleven of the twelve interviews, the most of any other category in Theme A, and typical reflections included statements like:

> *Because you never know what you're going to come up with. I mean, yeah, you can figure out the history of a place - you know like research, and chat to the farmers and the old guys - it's, you know what's gone on roughly, but it's not until you actually get out there and start detecting and start finding things that you can actually picture what went on and where.* (**J**)

For interviewee (**I**), it was:

> *the same inquisitive thing that got me into being a biologist. As a kid I'd always got my nose in a rock-pool. Always very nosey and inquisitive and it always fascinated me the fact that you could find a bit of kit that could detect something invisible, say, on a bit of beach or something like that!* (**I**)

This sense of empowerment from detecting something hidden below ground, and the desire to figure out 'what went on and where', was summarised by (**A**) as *"the thrill of the chase"*. Ten of the interviewees referred to a similar but distinct reaction, which in some instances can be thought of as the consequence, or culmination, of A10 (Quest), **A6 (The 'Buzz')**. The 'Buzz' label was appropriated directly from Interview C and later this exact wording was repeated by four others, but can be understood as the thrill experienced by the detectorists upon finding something - the reward after the enactment of Quest! As Interviewee **C(i)** put it:

> *before decimalization you used to get the old pennies and when you were little, you'd get a folder with all the dates and you'd push them in and fill up the folder. It's a bit like that. So with the cufflinks, over the course of time you'll see a lot of them, and you see the same design, but all of a sudden there's a new design, you get that buzz, filling that gap, another piece of the jigsaw, and it's that - for me, it is.* (**C(i)**)

The same respondent continued:

> *Once you've had the first find, you're really hooked then. Once you've had it out of the field or the mud, that's it, you're hooked for life.* (**C(i)**)

This idea of being 'hooked' on the stimulation encountered at the successful climax of quest - the discovery of a find - is something that a number of interviewees agreed upon, using words like 'addicted' (**J**) and 'obsessed' (**G**). Indeed the narcotic metaphor was continued by one respondent who, in reference to a particular object, said:

> *When I found that gold Saxon brooch, I was literally on a high for weeks - that's all I could think about - I was just showing everybody the photograph.* (**B(c)**)

For others though, the quest concerned something slightly more thoughtful - a search for answers in the landscape, the reasons for the finds being encountered, or the landscape being found as it was:

> *I think, just being at the site, I just want to know what was going on up there. [...] I think the respect for the site. And certainly knowing that the bodies of babies were taken there - they didn't necessarily live there - I haven't found much evidence for occupation.* (**E**)

Things like this, you wonder why does the hedge line do a zig-zag like that? That's the thing you obsess about. (**G**)

While questing and the 'buzz' of a positive result provide obvious motivations for the detectorists, there was also the need to create category label **A8 (Fun)** - an acknowledgement of several direct statements made across the course of the interviews, to try and explain to the researcher that detecting, at its bare bones, was also 'just' fun - as if trying to remind the academic that some things can also be enjoyed for enjoyment's sake alone:

I'm just loving it. I just have a great time (**J**)

Underpinning the enjoyment aspect for many of the detectorists interviewed, however, was a sense of being involved in a community: whether this was experienced through the camaraderie of the metal detecting club, or the interest of local people at a historical society event. As somewhat of a surprise, therefore, **A11 (Community)** came out as top ranked amongst the Theme A categories, suggesting that although fewer interviewees referenced it than for example A10 (Quest), those to whom community was important, made more frequent direct references. As visible from the classificatory data (see Fig. 21, p. 133) eight of the interviewees don't attend metal detecting clubs, some having never been involved (**A**), and some having left either because of time constraints (**G**) or in response to negative behaviour of other members (**F**), and yet the sense of community was still felt. One who had left a club having been Chairman there for some years, reflected:

I've made some wonderful really good friends there who I'm still friends with now, there was a spectrum down to the stereotypical ones, and you know, there were issues with people sort of not being totally straight about other people's sites, and I thought just leave all this rubbish behind. I know exactly what I'm in it for. But I've still got some very good friends that I met from those days now. So as I move towards retirement I quite fancy being in a club again, because of the social side, you know. (**G**)

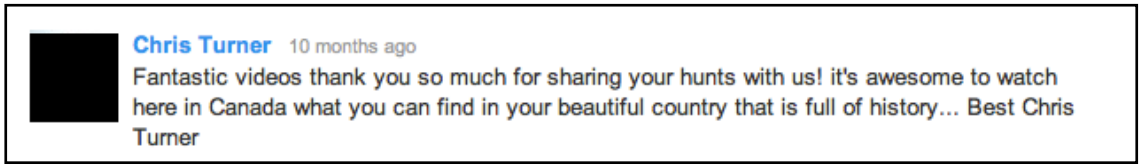

Figure 22: Comment on one of Interviewee (J)'s *YouTube* videos

For (**J**) in rural Carlisle, there was no option of joining a local metal detecting club as there are none nearby, but he participates in occasional weekend searches with a club over the

border in Scotland. He also engages with a virtual metal detecting community on *YouTube* by filming and uploading videos of his days out, on a channel which at the time of writing has 1,580 subscribers and has received 279,058 views. His viewers range from the Scottish friends he occasionally searches with, to an international audience which enjoys the chance to experience British detecting as spectators and he derives a great sense of satisfaction from the fact that something he set up initially to send videos to his friends abroad has achieved such a following. For many of the interviewees, the community involvement described in category A11 includes a participatory element: one in which the detectorists attend events in order to engage with interested members of the public and show their finds, whilst sharing some of their discoveries from the local area. Examples of these events given in the interviews include talks to local history societies, museum friends associations, and other community groups as well as putting up display stands at agricultural shows and ploughing matches (Fig. 23).

Figure 23: Club display stand at North Kent ploughing match September 2013
© West Kent Detector Club

The importance of this sharing of knowledge, the communication of information which has been acquired almost solely by the individual, is further explored by category **A9 (Legacy)**. Five of the respondents made eight separate references which showed a

concern for the legacy of their searching, and how the information they had acquired would be handed down. For some, this concern was a practical one:

> *Of course there's always the problem - what are you going to do with all this information?* (**I(g)**)
> *And all the objects!* (**I(l)**)
> *And one of our members has packed up from the club, he's got really old now, he's been very active, he's got a load of stuff, a lot of stuff he has donated in the past anyway - to the Surrey Archaeological Society and the British Museum and things but he's still got a lot of material which we take out to displays and things, and the museums don't want to take it on locally.* (**I(g)**)

For other interviewees, the issue was more abstract, linked to the continuity of the narrative they have created about the landscape, through searching for objects, extracting them and creating in turn a new material legacy through the creation of records:

> *I want to know what's happened on my land. [...] I want somebody in twenty, thirty years time when I'm dead and buried, to be able to look back on something and say: 'That's interesting'. Rather than twenty or thirty years time, go over to that field over there, where metal detectorists - I don't know what fields they'll go in, but say that field over there, that's bare now, somebody could go up there and find absolutely nothing, but they know there's something been there, but they don't know where they've been, or what's come off it, and it's lost.* (**A**)

On reflecting about the future, there was even an acknowledgment that it was positive for some finds to be left below ground. For example, one respondent said:

> *But I wouldn't find a thing here now because I've been over this so many times, and he'd never ever plough it again. Which is nice in a way because things are tucked away safely there for the future.* (**G**)

A number of interviewees demonstrated a very vocal passion for both history and archaeology, as revealed by categories **A4 (Love of History)** and **A5 (Further Education in Archaeology)**. While fewer among them reported considering any formal education in archaeology - although one interviewee had recently completed a BA degree in which the thesis was written on her detecting site - seven of the twelve described their love of history as a major motivation for their taking up the hobby in the first place and this label was ranked sixth out of the twelve different observations in Theme A. In particular, Roman Britain seemed to have left a lasting impression on the interviewees, incubating from something taught initially in Primary School to a lifelong passion, as in the following examples:

> *I've always been interested in history and archaeology. I was born and brought up in St Albans so I think I've got Roman blood in me!* (**E**)

My big passion is Romano-British history so I'm interested in it. I'm waiting for - Cunliffe wrote a series on the Danebury environment, about the Iron Age excavations, which are the green ones, and I bought them cheap. And I am waiting for the orange ones, on the Roman occupation. When they come down, it will be about 30 or 40 quid. I can't wait to get my hands on them! I actually emailed Barry Cunliffe about the site and he sent a lovely email back... (**F**)

This is back to school really. Part of my history I did enjoy was Roman history - I think because we were given a project at school and that project was an empty exercise book of which you then filled in various headings like Roman Army, Roman Coins, Roman Food, Roman this Roman that! We got through it and then we had to fill in, work from the index and fill it in ourselves, and that research gave me always an interest in the Romans and I still have an interest in the Romans. (**L**)

Perhaps it is the longevity of this attachment to British history which makes the metal detecting hobby so diverting for the respondents - a link back to the historic past, which creates the sense of relaxation and catharsis that was reported by seven of the interviewees; on the other hand it may simply be that, like many hobbies practised, detecting offers an enjoyable diversion from the pressures of modern working life. Labelled **A2 (Relaxation/Catharsis)**, two respondents reflected upon their extremely stressful jobs as key factors behind why they enjoyed detecting so much, one for why he took it up in the first place (**L**) and the other for why he continued to do it (**G**):

"I was very much military at the time, so this was a totally relaxing, get away from it all, and immerse yourself in something totally different. And that was totally different.
[...] I think if you have an intensive job, whatever it is, that now and again you need to totally switch off. [...] Quality time for yourself, in whatever you want to do." (**L**)

"Well the coming out is a big part of it. Once I've retired I might not be so obsessed with it, because it's a de-stresser after work. I've got a stressful job. [...] And there's the therapeutic relaxation side to it. It's the perfect hobby. It de-stresses you, you unwind." (**G**)

As (**G**) states, 'the coming out is a big part of it': the refreshing encounter of landscape is inextricably linked to the relaxing qualities of the detecting practice. This is further emphasised by a comment made by (**C(i)**) on the Thames foreshore, where he reflected upon the experience of searching at a level sunk down below the public footfall. The foreshore, he said, is *like a little haven. All the hustle and bustle, you can see them walking over London Bridge, but it's like another little world.* (Fig. 24).

Figure 24: Interview C: the Thames foreshore November 2012

The calming qualities of a day's detecting might also be influenced by the remaining four of the categories, very much related in describing the respondents' experience of the outdoors: **A1 (Being Outside)**, **A3 (Solitude)**, **A7 (Temporality**), and **A12 (Exercise)** which appear in the frequency ranking in that order. As with A8 (Fun), the disarming simplicity of label A1 (Being Outside) was an indigenous construct, based upon direct statements from the interviewees who regularly referred to simply the experience of being out of the house:

> *It's not just the finds and doing the metal detecting, it's going out, being out in the fields, because I've always loved the landscape anyway, just generally, regardless of what I'm finding in it. The opportunity to get out and about.* (**D**)

Five of the interviewees also suggested that the solitude offered by the hobby was a positive factor for them. Just as Edensor reflects upon the arguments of the Romantics, that 'the countryside must be experienced in "unmediated" fashion if the walker is to discover revelation in nature and the self' (an authentic encounter of landscape, as discussed in Chapter 3, above), so the independent detectorists find pleasure in an opportunity to be alone (2000, 89). Of the twelve interviews, three took place with pairs who usually search together; of the remaining nine, seven were not members of metal detecting clubs, preferring to search by themselves for the most part. As (**D**) put it:

I don't do the club thing. I never have. I just, tend to, go out on my own (and again that's probably from my upbringing on the farm, I've spent a lot of time walking up and down on my own) (**D**)

(**J**) stated:

I'm quite happy just to go out and do it on my own. Especially early mornings in the summer, as I say - it's peaceful, it's quiet, and you know - you're just out there. (**J**)

Just being 'out there' is very suggestive of a meditative, relaxing experience, and an opportunity for private reflection, as one would might expect to gain from several hours spent in rural landscape with no company. Indeed, this can be linked with A7 (Temporality), in so far as several of the respondents proceeded to describe a tendency to become so removed from the bodily concerns of their usual 9-to-5 routine, as to practically lose themselves altogether:

But this is an amazing place, you can lose yourself, if you're on your own nobody can see you - (**G**)

The time just goes. I mean, I've seen me out - because in the summer it'll get dark here about 10 o'clock ish at night and I've seen me out at 10 o'clock and the phone's going "Well, where are you?" "Oh, I'm coming home early tonight" "It's 10 o' bloody clock! Get home!" And it just goes! (**J**)

This ability to 'lose' oneself during an encounter is typical of the optimal experience Csikszentmihalyi (2008) describes as 'flow', discussed in more detail in Chapter 7, below (see p. 190).

Lastly - at the lowest position in the hierarchy - two of the respondents stated that an aspect they were able to glean from detecting was exercise, and this is worth bearing in mind in any consideration of the physical experience of metal detecting in landscape. For many participants, detecting - along with all its other appeals - offers the simple opportunity to walk Britain's countryside, and the equipment it requires necessitates a certain level of fitness. Whilst some metal detector users may feel like their searching is making a positive contribution to heritage, 'volunteers' as (**L**) remarked -

"So I'm really an ambassador for metal detecting, anti nighthawking, pro archaeology, and feel that we're doing something useful towards - I mean you've got all these, 40 odd volunteers every Sunday going out and finding things"

- others may also feel that a reason to continue to do it is simply to benefit from the exercise and keep fit while having fun. These motivations will be considered in more detail in the discussion of the interviewee profiles, see 6.4. below (p. 179).

Theme A: Personal		
A1	Being Outside	We love being outside, fresh air. We do walk, even when we're not detecting. (**B(c)**)
A2	Relaxation/ Catharsis	And you're not thinking about anything, you know. There's no..- You haven't got problems. You're just going along and sweeping, and digging, and making videos - and you know, it's just great! (**J**)
A3	Solitude	I'm quite happy on my tod, mooching about, and logging stuff (**A**)
A4	Love of History	The passion and love of history - why I keep doing it, keep doing whole cold days. Avoiding the conflict with family as much as I can. (**F**)
A5	Further Education in Archaeology	I'm trying to make sense of what's going on up there. And also for selfish reasons, that if I'm going to do this MA on the finds I need to have recorded what's actually come up. (**E**)
A6	The 'Buzz'	And just occasionally you think 'I'm not finding anything' and then a real surprise, a real shock and you find something. I mean imagine what you feel when you break a piece of earth open and there's a gold coin there! It's only happened to me twice but ... - that wakes you up! (**G**)
A7	Temporality/ Losing Yourself	There's a chap in our club he's married with children, he was out - his wife was telling me - he went out one morning and came back half eight at night, and I would never do that. [...] I think there's been plenty of divorces and separations through detecting and people getting obsessed with it! (**F**)
A8	Fun	I've always been a hobby person - having one hobby that I enjoy, the enjoyment aspect (**F**)
A9	Legacy	And it adds a piece of my story, the story of my life, because if I spend ten years walking a particular field on a particular farm, that's just as much my life as it is the person who lived there! Really. When you think about it. (**H**)
A10	Quest	I say 'in every field, there is a hammered silver coin. And when you find that hammered silver coin, there's another one there'. Because it means there is something there. It might take you a long time to find it, but there is something there. (**H**)
A11	Community	In the 70s and 80s and early 90s there was so many people doing it that at the end of the day, you'd meet up and go to the pub or the cafe and get your little finds tin out and see what you'd got, and compare your finds. So you'd learn not just from the stuff that you had, but also other people's stuff (**C(i)**)
A12	Exercise	The pleasure of walking in the English countryside, keeping fit to a certain extent. (**H**)

Table 20: Sample quotes for Theme A: Personal

6.3.2. Theme B: Landscape

> *"You know your own landscape don't you?"* (**A**)

The highest ranking category in Theme B was **B6 (Local Knowledge)** - a classification that was applied every time an interviewee made a statement that demonstrated a specific piece of knowledge about the local area. Professional judgement was applied to ensure that this category wasn't over-saturated: basic geographic information, for example, was not counted, but rather, statements were required to demonstrate an insight specifically related to or borne out of detecting practice, often feeding back in to the interviewee's interpretation of the site. As a result, the Local Knowledge label occurred in ten of the twelve interviews. Many of the observations seem to have come as the result of discussion with the landowner or other locals, but have been classified as B6 (Local Knowledge) rather than C8 (Research) in order to make a clear distinction between this knowledge acquired at a personal level through living in the area and/or a specific personal relationship, and that information freely available to a wider community should they wish to discover it (e.g. regional record offices, aerial photography). For example, a number of the respondents remarked on information gleaned from specific conversations, such as this one describing insights from a discussion with a landowner:

> *He's about 60 now, but when he was about 12 there was a spring here in this corner, and it was piped away to a culvert in the main road - I suppose it was causing a bit of a nuisance - and they put it in a four inch pipe, but about two months later they had to change it for a six inch pipe because it was so abundant. And I feel this is the reason for this site being here. The Romans always prefer springs rather than streams, because they may have been polluted.* (**K**)

A third category should also be noted at this stage, namely **B9 (Folklore)**, which describes statements of a more mythic quality or even referring to the supernatural, made by three of the interviewees - again often a report of information passed along or an inherited local narrative which contributed to the overall impression of the landscape, but not its actual historical record, for example: *There's a secret tunnel that runs between Frank's Hall and the pub in the village* (**I(g)**).

Returning to B6 (Local Knowledge), just as (**K**) demonstrates clearly how this local knowledge has fed into his interpretation of why his discovered Roman site exists, other respondents revealed how local knowledge had prompted them to search specific areas, often to find that the archaeology was not where it was purported to be:

Behind that wood there, there's a Roman watchtower. We've detected that a few times but we've never had anything off it. Personally I think it's actually in the wood, and that's why. (**B(c)**)

Now rumour had it - Richard was telling me - that when they built, when the original owners built these barns, there were apparently circles in the ground. But that's only hearsay, there's nothing that's - they didn't take photographs, there's no proof of it if you like. (**J**)

In some cases, the local knowledge was expressed in the form of observations of the local physical landscape at a more focused site level - often reflecting experience acquired by the interviewee after many years searching in the same area. For example - regarding the Thames foreshore:

The spots that we don't do, either it's because they've been disturbed in Victorian times, some areas there's just no layers there, and others it's not worth doing- [...] A lot of good spots are by the stairs, because of people coming in and out of the city, and they drop a coin, or a button falls off... they're always the most full and then as you come away you get less and less. (**C(i)**)

Or the reason behind archaeologists' failure to locate coins on a dig the detectorists were assisting with:

Because we see the colour - and your soil as well, knowing your soil. We spend a lot of time looking for metal in soil and they spend a long time looking for pot in soil. So they'll pick out the minutest bit of pot but they'll miss a Roman coin that's that big, it's weird! (**I(l)**)

These narratives support the view that there are therefore two fundamental dimensions to the construction of the local knowledge - a physically-located knowledge based on tangible experience of the local substrate, and a more narrative knowledge based upon information gleaned from relationships with the local community. The unique position of the detectorists to acquire this resource through their individual permissions to search specific landscapes and the opportunity this presents for exchange between the detectorists and other interested parties, is illustrated by another anecdote from the Thames:

At one point, when we were on the Tower foreshore, we got to know the Beefeaters quite well, because they were walking by every day. And we gave them a couple of our cannon balls, because they're all ex-army, so they had these cannonballs in their mess. And then one of them, the next day, he was on that antarctic vessel and he was really into knots, so he made us these key-rings out of knots! (**C(i)**)

Another category in which the interviewees revealed - and more explicitly - a sense that they were in a privileged position by going on to specific landscapes was, interestingly, **B1**

(Scenic View/ Encounter). One remarked, in a particularly attractive field looking over the River Dart, (Fig. 25):

> *But isn't it wonderful? Do you know I feel so privileged to be able to wander around these fields! I do really! I can't tell people how lovely it is of them to allow me to do it!* (**K**)

Likewise, for (**G**), there was a sense that the individual permission on to the landscape was a unique advantage:

> *To get to [the site], I go up here and it's like a secret little road, nobody else knows about it, and it's the most beautiful little country lane. So that's the nice side of it. You get to places nobody else ever goes.* (**G**)

For some, the view plays an important role, even affecting their interpretation of the site:

> *Really I do love coming up - just the view and everything* (**E**)

> *Up here is one of my favourite fields, for the view. That's where we have our sandwiches. [...] I think a lot of why we find some sites is because we like the view and so did they* (**B(c)**)

For (**J**) in particular, though, the aesthetic experience is bound up in the visible greenness, a quality which he missed while working abroad for an extended period:

> *One of the things that I enjoy about doing this is that I do get out to see the countryside, and green things. As I say, 30-odd years in the desert waking up to sand every morning - then you come home and you go 'Look at that! It's green!' And it is good.* (**J**)

Figure 25: Interview K: field overlooking the River Dart May 2014

Nine interviewees, a larger number than those who described the appeal of a scenic view or horizon, made statements that were categorised under **B4 (Projection/ Imagination)** which we have defined as the description of an imaginative experience - often projecting a perceived narrative, in their interpretation of a site or its material record. Evidently, therefore, for some of the detectorists, the potential for imagination in a landscape is not automatically bound up in one that would not necessarily be deemed as attractive. Indeed, perhaps it may even be easier to project an idea of what might have been taking place historically, if one is not being distracted by the present-day appreciation of a view. The answer may lie in the type of imagining that is taking place. For some of the interviewees, it was a very humanistic, even sentimental type of projection - often triggered by the detected find, and divorced from the landscape itself:

> *When you find something - you find a nice Roman coin, and you think that was the price of someone's supper, did they go hungry that day when they lost that one single individual siliqua or denarius or whatever the case may be. Did they go hungry that day? Or did they have more? Or did they lose the lot?* (**H**)

> *I don't know if they did it in their days, but if I want something I go to the local machinery manufacturer, or if I want some spanner to mend something, I go buy some bolts, I go buy this, I go buy that. Right? This bloke probably had a load of little kiddies that wanted feeding, right? He had to make that. Or he had to make them arrowheads, to go and kill something. So he could feed his family.* (**A**)

By contrast, the projection by other respondents was very much located in the place being encountered at the time, drawing back from the physical encounter of the landscape in the present day and imagining if and how this might have been experienced in the historic past:

> *It's probably what attracted them to this site, these sort of springs. I should imagine Spring Pond would have been on a bit smaller scale a millennia ago...* (**F**)

> *But really where we do detect has everything to do with the woods I think. [...] And I think there's every possibility they lived? - we have ideas of Iron Age roundhouses down in one of the fields from some resistivity we did, but it's on sand and it's incredibly difficult to dig it because you can't see anything!* (**I(l)**)

In between these two poles is an imaginative process through which a link is created between a material object encountered in the present, and the landscape of the past in which the object was lost:

> *You can imagine back - when you get a piece of Medieval - the old boats, people unloading the ships.* (**C(i)**)

Distinct from this type of imaginative experience is another which occurs in the interviewee's mind's-eye but is characterised by the description of some kind of mental-mapping process which the respondent uses to visualise an ancient site or activity therein. This has been labelled as **B5 (Mapping/ Visualisation)**. Although, in some instances, it was difficult to decide - between B4 and B5 - which code should be applied to a respondent's statement and therefore these categories struggled occasionally to meet the requirement for external homogeneity discussed above, nevertheless it was felt important to maintain a separation in the codebook (Guba 1978). For example, both of the statements below were made by Interviewee (**A**), and both have been prompted by the discovery of flint artefacts, but they are describing the formation of two very different kinds of mental concept:

> *So Joe Bloggs might have lived here, he might have [...] needed arrowheads, and the person who might have lived over there, he might have got arrowheads* = B4

> *If you walk up and down you can then start to build up a picture: if there's a concentration there they've been doing something there.* = B5

Whilst nine interviewees described attitudes that were classified as B4, only seven made statements that were labelled B5. One of the key factors of this category was the respondents' ability to remember a findspot of a particular object, to visualise it in the landscape and/or mark it on the map. Referring back to the questionnaire data, a number of detectorists felt that they were able to visualise a findspot extremely clearly: over 80% of respondents ranked their ability to visualise a findspot location at 8 or above (with 1 being 'not at all clearly', and 10 being 'extremely clearly). Qualitative data from the interviewees supports this assertion:

> *"found my first Roman denarii in Yorkshire in Catterick. [...]And I could take you there today - I can see it in my mind's eye and I could show you. And that was in 1975, '76, '75. When I was in Richmond. I could take you to the very spot where I found it. It's just imprinted. And consequently when you do a Google Earth I can look at that and say 'That's where I found it"* (**L**)

> *With that axehead I could walk you to the exact spot where I found the axehead; I could walk you virtually within 15 yards of where I found my first arrowhead; I could walk you to the second one, possibly the third, and a few of the earlier ones, I could walk you to the exact spot* (**A**)

During one interview, on visiting fields which the respondents hadn't searched for around 15 years, they were still able to point out to the researcher locations where particular finds came up. On remarking on this to the interviewees, they replied:

> *There's a lot of stuff, but some of them were highlights!* (**I(g)**)
>
> *But this is associating it with the landscape as you say. I was there when I found x or y...* (**I(l)**)

For some respondents, plotting finds on to a physical map can then facilitate visualising a mental map upon visiting the site, which aids the interpretation process. For example, in the case of Interviewee (**D**), who found a scatter of finds diagonally across a popular route, suggesting it was a regular shortcut:

> *So basically what you had was people going, using this road, which is a very old road, going to the village on the way out we'll see it, there's a very old pack road bridge, so they'd use this track, come up here and go around, and they'd be taking all their grain, taking it up there to be milled and then bringing it back again. What you actually find, is a little short cut across the field. [...] I've plotted finds, and I was finding that there was quite a scatter on the diagonal across the field* (**D**)

Even finding no remains at all can contribute to this effect:

> *Even if you don't find anything it tells a story. You know, I've had people moaning and whining 'Oh we've been in these fields and there was absolutely nothing there, bloody rubbish' Well no it isn't - it tells the story that there hasn't been anything there and you can build a picture up of the history.* (**J**)

For those amongst the interviewees for whom recording and mapping their finds, in order to best interpret the activity at their sites, was an important part of their approach to the hobby, the potential loss of information associated with other detectorists searching their land without their knowledge was of grave concern. Half of the sample reported attitudes that were labelled **B7 (Territoriality/ Protectiveness)** - a label closely linked to, but distinguishable from C10 (Nighthawking). Whilst C10 brackets together all statements on the subject of Nighthawking - specifically those detectorists who target sites they are aware they should not be searching - the B7 label groups interviewees' attitudes specifically reflecting their protectiveness of their landscape and in some cases, a territorial approach. For example, (**E**), who has devoted a number of years to cataloguing her metal-detected finds from a Roman site on which amateur excavation has also taken place, reports:

> *I'm very protective over it. I haven't published anything really because I don't want it known about yet until we've finished getting as much information as we can about it, in case it is nighthawked, and then we'd lose whatever they find, because we'd never see it, never know what they come up with.* (**E**)

As this statement reflects, the issue is not simply that detectorists do not want others to take the material finds - it is not to do with a loss of something that potentially has material value (see C5) - rather there is a concern for what information might be lost; what pieces of the puzzle might not be found, if objects were removed from site without the individual knowing. In the case of Interviewee (**L**) - the chairman of a club which has a number of 'club lands' on which members are allowed to search, their members only detect altogether on pre-agreed days. This way, as (**L**) remarked:

> *we have control over the site, we don't have people wandering on and wandering off* (**L**)

For (**I**), the concern for a potential loss of information simply means that club lands and personal lands must be kept entirely separate, because of the level of detail he likes to record his finds in (*"if I invite people onto my sites I want all the information"*). The only time he would consider inviting club members on to his own lands would be:

> *If the farm is being sold or something, and you've suddenly got the chance to go over it with as many people as you can in case you can't go back again.* (**I(g)**)

The territoriality associated with this protective attitude was expressed by a number of the interviewees, several of whom felt that having been given permission by the farmer, they had a responsibility to act as a proxy in his stead:

> *I would say that we're custodians for the farmer. We would do that. We would query if there was somebody else there anyway.* (**L**)

> *You get very possessive as well. [...] Whether that's stronger because of coming from a farming background and it always having been your land, being possessive of that, I don't know- but I do get, I actually get possessive on behalf of the farmer, so I will challenge inappropriate people who I don't think should be there.* (**D**)

(**A**), being the farmer, landowner and detectorist himself, described an incident when he was forced to confront a number of detectorists who had travelled down from further North to his fields in Yorkshire, despite which he still found his field had been nighthawked:

> *I said 'what are you doing?', and he said 'oh this is [someone's] field', and I said 'you know damn well it isn't', and there was about five or six of them all walking across the field... But it gets to the point where you say 'Look, do you mind leaving?', not being nasty, but you just don't know what they're going to do, and so they went 'alright then', and I came back the following day, and they'd been all over, just come back later on. It just annoys you.* (**A**)

Whilst protectiveness over land permissions is plainly quite prominent amongst several of the interviewees' reflections - that is, those for whom it is an issue made several direct statements about it - the role of seasonality was mentioned by more respondents (n=8), but across fewer direct statements, indicating that whilst it is a contributing factor to their relationship with landscape for more of the respondents, it may occupy a lower position in their general consciousness, perhaps because it is simply so innate to detecting in practice. **B3 (Seasonality)** is defined as an interviewee reflecting upon a fluctuating experience of landscape according to the time of the year. Naturally, this occurred across a number of the interviews, as the detecting calendar is intimately bound up with the farming calendar: detectorists on arable land generally being restricted to going out between harvest (which can occur any time between July and September) and the peak growing season. In particular, the best moment for searching is during the winter months when some fields (if they have not already been drilled) are being prepared for growing - which means ploughing and 'disking' (using a disk harrow) at which point any archaeological small finds will be brought up to the field surface.

For those detectorists who have land permissions across a number of farms, and a number of crop types, choosing where to search at any particular time is often dictated by the crop, and the time of the season, in order to take maximum advantage of whatever agricultural techniques might have been at work:

> *Ones like this, they're rich fields so we do them every year. But other fields, we'll leave them 'til they've had sugar beet or potatoes on. We did this one last year, we'll probably do it this year. The reason we'll hit this one, is every so often they'll set it down to grass for four or five years and then you can't do it.* (**B(c)**)

> *You get to learn about farming which I didn't think about before - Round here they rotate between oil seed rape and wheat. But oil seed rape, if you look at that, it's almost planted straight into stubble. So basically he harvests the wheat, gives it a really cursory scratch and then plants the rape seed straight into it. But next year on a field like this, it will be worked a little bit better to get ready for wheat again, and that is enough to tickle a few Roman coins to the surface. So basically with Mr [Farmer's Name] now I follow his wheat round* (**G**)

Even game can contribute to the search pattern:

> *We can't get up here very much because of the gamekeeper - we only get a slot of about a month every year, because of the pheasants. Sometimes not even that!* (**B(c)**)

As a consequence, many detectorists plan their detecting schedule on a yearly basis, watching for which crops are being rotated, and targeting some fields whilst previous ones are set to grass. One respondent, on spotting a previously overlooked field during the course of the interview, remarked:

> *See I missed that field completely. It was in grass, he's ploughed it, he's rolled it, he's disked it, he's seeded it, and now it's out of action again to me for another year, until whatever the crops are finished. But that's alright. Because the way I look at things all the bits and pieces are still going to be there. [...] I know metal detectorists that curse, that say 'Oh yeah, they're going so fast et cetera et cetera, and we can't get on them', but hey! What the hell! If it's not this year it's next year.* (**H**)

Category **B8 (Home Attachment)** was amongst the lowest ranked labels in Theme B, but on closer inspection it is not an attitude which is unimportant, simply it is an attitude which is not shared by a significant number of the interviewees. Whereas seasonality was referred to in eight of the twelve interviews, with a total weighted value of 30; home attachment occurred in five of the interviews, but had a similar weighted value of 29. Therefore, for those interviewees for whom home attachment is an attitude at work in their experience of detecting and the local landscape, it is one of relatively high importance and one they openly discuss. By contrast, those for whom home attachment is not relevant do not refer to it at all - there is no middle ground of moderate to low attachment, for example. Interviewee (**K**) has been in his current home for 57 years:

> *I find a strange ambience where we live. [...] We're up about 300ft above sea level, and it's a happy house to live in - we've been so contented, and I was so pleased that we didn't have to move.* (**K**)

On retirement, he said, it was because of having remained in the same area that it was almost inevitable that he took up metal detecting as a regular hobby:

> *Having not moved away from the area as well, I think you're always more interested in your local area - rather than, if you moved away* (**K**)

A statement which is supported by one of the Thames Mudlarks:

> *There's definitely something about it being your area, like with the trade tokens, because there were people everywhere, there's bound to be one with your mark on it. [...] You've got a relationship with that area, because you live in it. And finding something from so far back in time, it ties you in even further to that area."* (**C(a)**)

For Interviewee (**A**) who owns and farms the land that he detects, the attachment goes even deeper still, to creating connections with historical communities who also depended upon working the same land:

All I ever do is our own land [...] I don't go anywhere - you know what I mean - I don't go anywhere else. [...] I feel...I'm trying to get a living out of the land, so I like to think, sort of... with the people who've always tried to get a living out of the actual land that we're farming, rather than somebody else's field -

I have to make a living out of it, and also other people did... My attachment to what I do, is to the land that I farm, not the land that somebody else farms. (**A)**

Figure 26: Interview E: field with deer December 2012

For six of the respondents, **B2 (Wildlife)** was a contributing factor in their enjoyment of detecting and being in the landscape, five of these six also being five of the six respondents who had made reference to A1 (Being Outside): interviewees B, G, I, J and L. As with some of the reflections such as A2 (Relaxation/ Catharsis), considering the impact of wildlife on detectorists' experience of landscape is a reminder that there are many factors from which this community derive satisfaction, beyond the basic process of searching and finding. For (**J**):

> *During the summer, I get out early in the morning, I mean I'm starting at like 5 o' clock. [...] You come out, you've got all the deer coming across the road in front of you, you've got the squirrels and all kinds of birds and stuff and it's just - it's amazing.* (**J**)

Others reflected on the potential for this kind of encounter to provide a positive experience of time out in the landscape, even if the metal detecting finds were lacking:

Even if you're not finding anything you just walk along, you can see the sea, and you get deer running around there... all sorts of wildlife. (**B(c)**)

Indeed, during the interview with (**E**) in December 2012, deer were present at the site during the visit (Fig. 26) - which prompted the respondent:

That's one thing I love up here - the nature. [...] Beautiful! Love it! That was great. Yes you can see the hares up here, and the kites come round really low. Lovely. (**E**)

Theme B: Landscape		
B1	Scenic View/ Encounter	I wanted you to see the landscape from, you imagine you're on that hill, right, and see the landscape in the, the panorama - obviously we've got the hedges here but it's a wonderful panorama from that field (**K**)
B2	Wildlife	On this square there's a rookery, there are badgers in that wood... (**G**)
B3	Seasonality	This is being done for potatoes, do you see? So next year - this'll have turned a lot of stuff up, because they go deeper with the plough. Next year, I might concentrate on this field with my metal detector. (**A**)
B4	Projection/ Imagination	[Re: Romans] But what I'm getting at is, these took over, didn't they? When we were painting our faces blue, all these Italians came, nicely washed, and they came. They knocked us off our perch as I see it (**A**)
B5	Mapping/ Visualisation	This site here must have had a routeway going straight through the middle of it, and it lines up exactly with a little kink in the old road that's been taken out, a little bit of Sandy Lane, and then that lines up with Sandy Lane in Melton Mowbray which is known to be a Roman Road. [...] So my view is that the ancient road picks up this kink here, heads up to the top there, and then heads off down through the settlement. (**G**)
B6	Local Knowledge	'Yeah' he said 'there's been rumours' he said 'for a long time that there's a lost Medieval village on the farm'. 'English Heritage' he said 'have got it as probably being on the river about two and half miles down the way', and I've seen that on the internet. He said 'but we're not convinced. Nobody actually knows where it is' (**J**)
B7	Territoriality/ Protectiveness	Then you get a reputation as a sort of exclusivity... the other detectorists think it's unfair that you've got this thousands of acres which they can't get on and they want to get on there and they can't because you've already got it, and that also causes problems (**I(l)**)
B8	Home Attachment	So I've been down here since 96- I miss the Midlands people but I do love it down here. (**F**)
B9	Folklore	Well there was that other story about the bloke out detecting, and he reckons he saw a Roman chariot...! (**B(c)**)

Table 21: Sample quotes for Theme B: Landscape

6.3.3. Theme C: Hobby

In comparison to the more abstract attitudes and perceptions encompassed in Themes A and B, the labeling categories in Theme C refer to the respondents' attitudes to the detecting hobby itself and therefore are orientated in a more practical dimension. Of all the categories, Theme C contains the only two which were referred to by all twelve of the interviewees: C8 (Researching) and C7 (Recording and Databasing). Of these, C8 (Researching) is placed at first position in the hierarchy because it achieved one more point in the weighted values, however the difference between the two categories is very slight. Indeed, this can also be understood as owing to the fact that in practice the two often go hand in hand, i.e. researching of objects takes place at the recording stage:

> *At the end of the day you go home satisfied that you've found something that you can actually record, you research and record. Because there's a vast amount of information out there - with the internet going and everything up and running you can feed in information and glean from it and then record it.* (**L**)

The importance of **C8 (Researching)** to detectorists is fairly transparent: they want to know what has been going on around them in the landscape, what they might be likely to encounter on the lands on which they have permission to detect and - most importantly - the information contained in the finds they uncover. In Chapter 5, it was shown that in a rating scale of 1 t o 5, with 1 being the most important and 5 being the least important, 'information it contains about the past' was the most important factor in a find for 83.7% of questionnaire respondents, so that its average rating was 1.37 (Table 13). All of the interviewees cited researching as an important, and enjoyable, part of the detecting process. For some, it is an activity that occurs prior to searching but after having achieved permission:

> *Well the research helps - I mean I always try and research the farm, when I get a new farm I'll do as much research as I can, because you then know what you could reasonably expect to get.* (**J**)

As (**G**) pointed out, the opportunities to detect on areas which one might have identified as promising are usually slim:

> *In my early days I spent a lot of time poring over maps, and imagining straight lines, and thinking 'that would be a good place to go'. Very very little of that ever paid off. A lot more comes down to blind luck. You'll get permission on a farm and he'll draw, he'll get a pencil out and show you what fields you can go on, and you learn that horrible wet claggy clay on a north-facing slope, you're almost certainly wasting your time."* (**G**)

Consequently, research is usually best saved until after permission has been granted for certain lands. In particular, the interviewees reported using aerial photography, often in an attempt to corroborate patterns they had observed from the find scatters:

> *I emailed Swindon Record Office and I'm going to go in in the next couple of months and dig out all the photos they have of this field and hopefully I'll see the photograph that Cunliffe was referring to.* (**F**)

> *In the aerial photographs in this field here called Twelve Acre there's like an eight shape dark object that shows up occasionally. I think it's probably just burnt orchard trees because when they clear the orchards they burn them all off but our Vice Chairman is quite determined it's a Roman villa down here or something or other* (**I(g)**)

In terms of individual finds, a number of interviewees gave anecdotes on incidents that particularly stood out in their minds. For one, it was the discovery of the meaning behind a number of unusual, hollow, box-shaped tiles, similar to but distinct from flue tiles:

> *What it was, they were malting house floor tiles. So they'd been put in big blocks, across a floor of a malt house, so you could get the hot air going through the holes, to malt the grain. And I couldn't understand what that was doing in here, and they were all in one area, and again I just went to some of the old trade directories, and the field was owned just after it was enclosed by a guy who ran a malthouse and the pub in the village! So basically there was a malt house built on the field. So it's just little things like that, gives a bit of history to it. And they loved that - when I did a talk to the village.* (**D**)

Another found a bracelet belonging to an American serviceman who had been stationed locally during the Second World War. It was a gift to him from his wife, with his name and number on one side, and 'I love you, Irene' inscribed on the back. The interviewee took it upon himself to research the American and try and return the bracelet to him:

> *It took me a long time - it took me eight years - but I found his wife. He had died. He didn't die in the war, he died about five years before I found the bracelet. I found the bracelet - 1998 I think it was. It took me eight years to find her, but I found his wife, and she's still alive now and she's 92!* (**K**)

Having traced the man's wife, (**K**) posted her the bracelet and established a correspondence with her which he later was able to include in a story he submitted to *Treasure Hunting* magazine in 2014, to commemorate the 70th anniversary of D-Day (Fig. 27) Lastly, the role of research should also be considered in light of the findings for A11 (Community) and the importance of various networks through which metal detectorists exchange

information. The vast majority of posts on the numerous internet forums catering for metal detecting do not exist to support the criminal activities of the nighthawking community, they exist to facilitate identification and knowledge sharing on metal detecting finds, and to put detectorists across the countryside in touch with one another; in the same way that *YouTub*e videos are being used by detectorists - including Interviewee (**J**) - to exchange information on detecting finds. As with any specific enquiry, it is natural that one would ask a friend or colleague who shares the same interest. As one interviewee remarked:

> *I've also got a couple of friends who have a lot of experience, so if we don't know what it is, we'll ask them* (**B(c)**)

Figure 27: Interview K: serviceman bracelet article *Treasure Hunting* **June 2014**

Just as all of the interviews included discussions of researching, so did they all mention - and to a similar extent - **C7 (Recording and Databasing)** their finds. Whilst the responses to C8 attest to the sense of importance staked by the detectorists on the information contained within the individual finds discovered, so did the respondents - both to the questionnaire and the interviews - feel that it was important that this information be recorded and, ideally, disseminated (see also A9 Legacy):

Don't lose the information. Because - as I've found them, they've been scattered all over. Even in here, this field, top end of this field - I know where I need to be, and I know where stuff is - and it's all recorded, and everything. But somebody then has an idea of what's happening, don't they? (**A**)

This is not to say that this has always been the case - (**K**) reflected that it was something he never used to do, simply because he wasn't aware that recording was something he should have been doing:

But I've got to admit, unfortunately, in the earlier - when I started with [my son] just for that short time, I found a lot of stuff, I had other finds as well, but I didn't used to take a fix on perhaps a buckle that might be 3- or 400 years old, I never used to do it. And it's a real sin now if you don't. But that's how it's evolved, over the years I think detectorists have become a lot more responsible, or aware of what's necessary. (**K**)

The increasing awareness of good recording practice amongst detectorists today therefore speaks volumes for the success of the Portable Antiquities Scheme and its efforts to educate the detecting community. However, if the scenario of Interviewee (**H**) is indicative of a wider situation, occasions still arise when despite the detectorist being aware of good practice, the landowner is concerned about the implications of accurate findspot recording:

As I say I record all my stuff - I fully believe in it. [But] I can't record all my stuff to 6 figure grid references because at the end of the day it's down to the farmer whether they want it or not. (**H**)

	Interviewee											
Recording practice	**A**	**B**	**C**	**D**	**E**	**F**	**G**	**H**	**I**	**J**	**K**	**L**
GPS	x			x	x	x	x		x	x	x	
Personal Database					x		x		x	x		
Self-Record PAS					x		x		x			x

Table 22: Table detailing recording practices of interviewees

For many, both archaeologists and detectorists alike, a significant contributing factor to the research potential of the finds is the geospatial information. Consequently, eight of the twelve interviewees reported using a GPS (Global Positioning System) device to record their findspots to a 10 or 12 figure grid reference (see Table 22). Before this technology became available, a number of respondents also employed more low-tech methods of gridding and mapping their finds:

I didn't have a GPS at that point or anything like that, I was recording a grid reference to four places, so... pretty inaccurate. But what I was doing was manually plotting - every time I found something I manually plotted it on this aerial photograph with a little dot - just using a pen. (**D**)

Indeed, in today's practice, many of them still maintain this techniques alongside the addition of the GPS data. The couple interviewed in (I) draw plotted diagrams on simple maps - often of fields which have now been searched so many times the diagrams are thick with finds. For example, in Figure 28, they describe:

These are colour-coded, the blue is the modern 20th century if you like, the green is 18th century/ 19th century, black will be Medieval, or if it has a ring around it Saxon, red is Roman, if it's got a ring around it it's either Iron Age or it's a stuck flint, it's prehistoric. We found loads of struck flint everywhere. [...] There's lots of ceramic building material around there. Some sort of Roman settlement - that's why it's a bit red over in that corner." (**I(g)**)

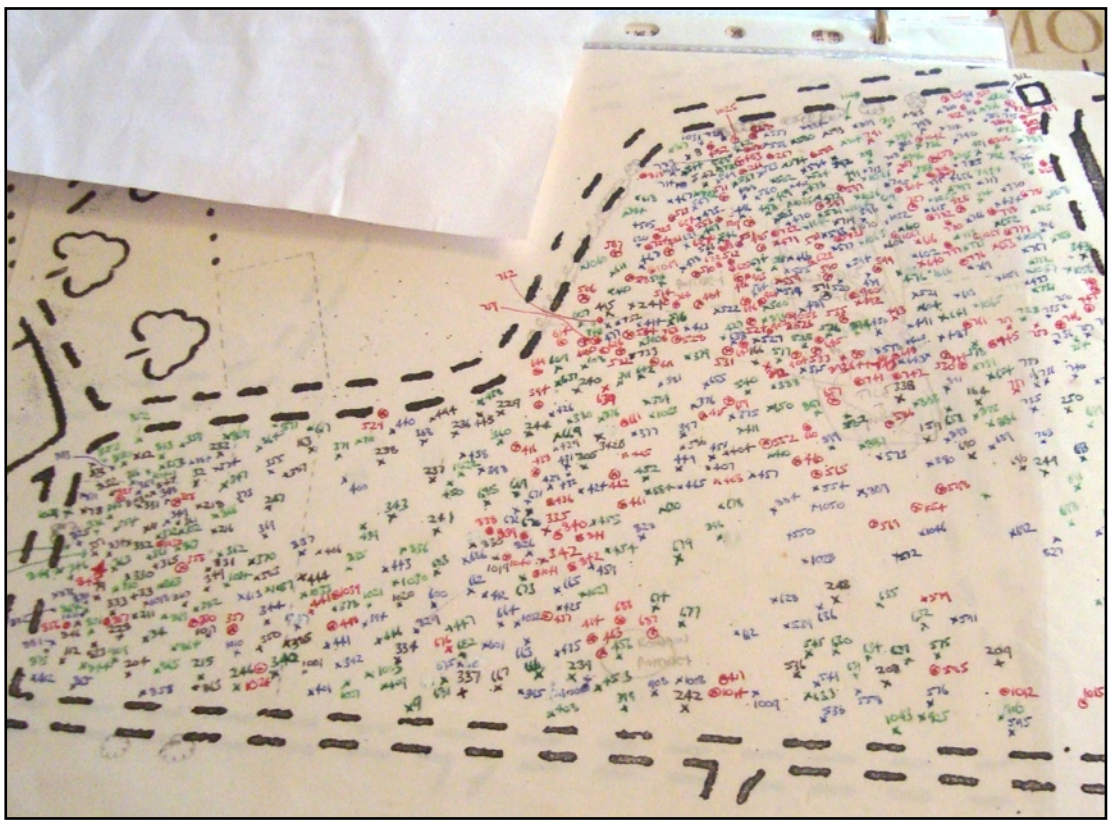

Figure 28: Interview I: sketched map of findspot data

In the case of Interviewee (**G**), who uses GIS (Geographic Information System) programming in his job, a great amount of pleasure can be derived from using this same software to produce maps and similar data files of his detecting landscapes. There was even one occasion when because of a fault, he had to return at the next opportunity, so determined was he not to lose the spatial data:

It's so sad, I mean, my batteries ran out: I found an isolated coin miles away from anywhere I normally go, batteries went on the GPS. And I'm so sad - I think it was only a corroded Roman radiate, I'm so sad I planted a stick in the ground and walked about a mile the next weekend to get that GPS point! (**G**)

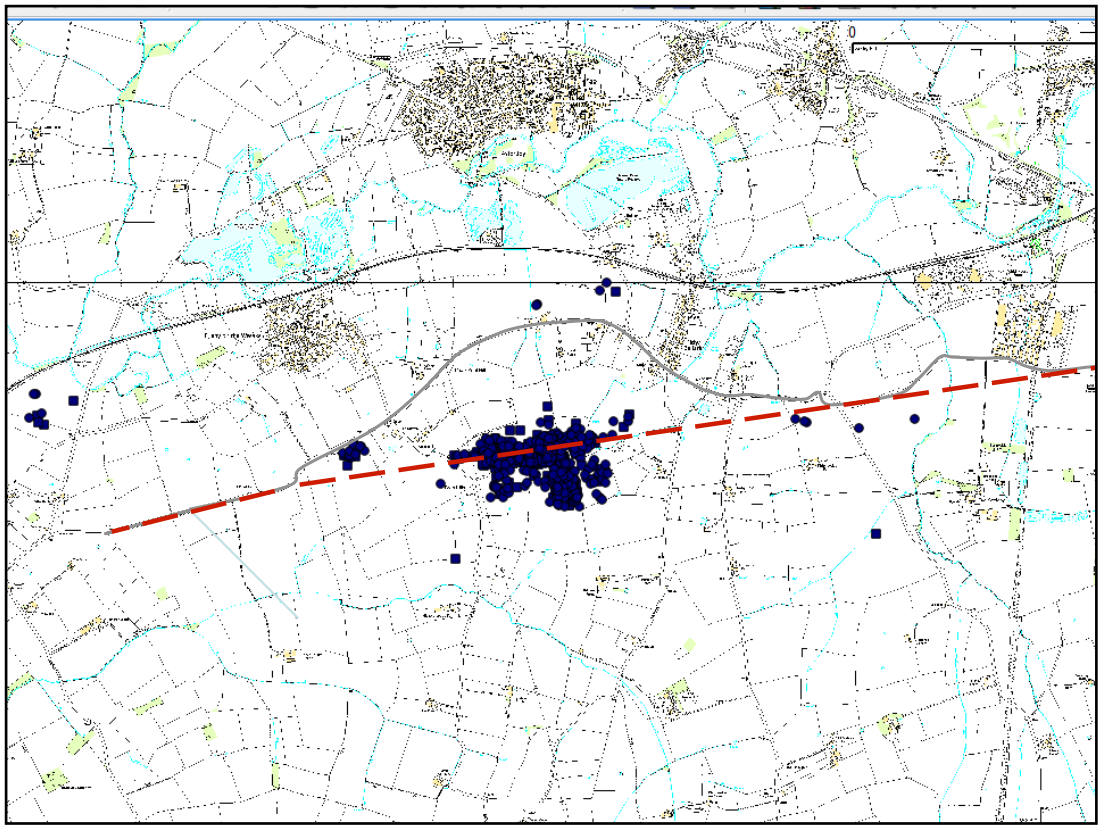

Figure 29: Interview G: GIS map of findspot data with proposed Roman road © Interviewee (G)

Fig. 29 shows just one of the many maps Interviewee (**G**) has compiled of his data, and how he uses these to inform his interpretation. In the figure above, for example, the red dashed line indicates what he considers to be the original course of the Roman road, now since diverted. The same interviewee also maintains his own private database - something four of the respondents reported - and, like the couple in (**I**), established this before the Portable Antiquities Scheme database was created (in 1992). For (**I**) the computer database is just another element of a larger record management system:

In the early days it was really primitive database, BBC file, on an old BBC computer - probably before your time! That was sort of of the age and not suitable so we changed to another system - PC file and other things for some years. Every five years we download it all and keep hard copies and photographs which will be in the other room (**I(g)**)

For (**E**), maintaining a digital catalogue has two main purposes: the first is so that she has the information compiled to assist her degree research, and potentially lend itself to future publication; the second is that by recording everything into her database in the first instance, she then has the records ready to upload on to the PAS database:

> *I'm cataloguing it first and then transcribing all of that onto the PAS. I'm not trained in any way! So it's taking an awfully long time to identify everything, and I want to do it right. Finding references to things! I've got quite a lot of reference books. But again I can use the PAS for finding parallels.* (**E**)

Interviewees (**G**), (**I**) and (**L**), also report self-recording on the database - rather than bringing objects to the FLO for recording:

> *I'm doing the self recording, and I've got the same - I've been incredibly privileged, they've given me, I've got the same rights as a FLO. So, clearly that's a massive privilege and responsibility but I do all my own stuff.* (**G**)

Whilst (**G**) records only his own finds, the couple interviewed as (I) are doing it for all of their club members as well:

> *I used to do it on the night - I used to try and frantically weigh things and photograph things and map them, we didn't have GPS those days, but it would take a long time, and now, with the trust of all the people anyway, I can take things home with me. In my little study, I have my camera set up there, I can do them and - I'm not that good with computers so I actually do them a paper version with references and so on. And [I(l)] - during the week when I'm working at the surgery, [I(l)] spends another half an hour per object or so, putting it on the database* (**I(g)**)

This enthusiasm amongst several of the interviewees to participate in the PAS recording programme and contribute directly to populating the database was also encountered in terms of their involvement with other archaeological projects, categorised as **C12 (Archaeology Participation)**. Ten of the twelve interviewees reported having participated in archaeological programmes, ranging from *Operation Nightingale* - a project in which injured infantrymen are taught field archaeology skills - to the University of Michigan's Gabii excavation just outside of Rome. Some were even invited to assist the recovery project at Wanborough which (as discussed in Chapter 2) had been badly nighthawked in the 1980s:

> *Yes well we were involved in - the legal side of searching on Wanborough. We were brought in to help them recover the coins from Wanborough.* (**I(l)**)
>
> *Tiptoeing through the First World War battle trenches that had been dug -* (**I(g)**)
>
> *Oh yeah, oh my god! It was like, literally like a first world war battle ground.* (**I(l)**)

Whereas these occasions required the interviewees to participate as metal detectorists, some of the respondents also participated in amateur archaeological surveys and excavations, developing the necessary field skills:

> *We've dug three pits on here over the years. They've done a proper dig on here before they built the village hall. [...] The reason I originally put the pit there, is there should be a peasants' church, because of the priory - so we thought we were going to come across there, but we didn't.* (**B(c)**)

To this extent, (**E**) - who has now completed an undergraduate degree in Archaeology and hopes to undertake a Masters - reflects:

> *I think when I was just metal detecting before, I was definitely a metal detectorist that did some archaeology, whereas now I feel like I'm an archaeologist who does a bit of metal detecting, so it's swung completely round.* (**E**)

(**F**) even hopes to establish a new club:

> *I've always got one foot in archaeology, than getting really excited about pretty objects. [...] I'm probably going to found a community archaeology project in Milton. Get some people on board and go on from there.* (**F**)

Whilst ten of the interviewees had taken part in archaeological initiatives over the years, it is worth also noting that a further four of the respondents - (**A**), (**B**), (**D**) and (**I**) - also discussed the role of **C13 (Fieldwalking)** in their search process:

> *To be honest I come out here and I field walk as much as I metal detect, I'll field walk it looking for flints - so I enjoy doing that as well.* (**D**)

For one of the detectorists, fieldwalking was how he began the hobby in the first place, simply deciding that if he was going to be fieldwalking, he might as well take a metal detector with him at the same time:

> *And over this period of time I've been walking the fields, finding my arrowheads, finding my flint axe heads, all sorts of stuff, that's what I'm really interested in. And I thought, well, when I'm walking, I may as well have a metal detector, and just see* (**A**)

As this example illustrates, the relationship between fieldwalking and detecting is closely-linked: the similarity of techniques offering an equally attractive past-time to interested parties. The major differentiation between the two is simply that whilst fieldwalking relies on an 'eyes-only' approach to objects that have been visibly brought up on to the surface, detecting is inherently associated with digging holes for objects that still remain buried, a method that will always have its detractors. As shown in the discussion of C7 (Recording), and developed in C6 (Methodical Search Techniques) below, however, many of the interviewees demonstrate an extremely rigorous approach to the way they metal detect, so

that it becomes almost another means of conducting geophysical survey. In this way, as one respondent asserts:

> *Unlike most detectorists, our sort of finds are going in to the archaeology directly sort of thing which is what makes it so much more interesting really, seeing from the finds, combining it with this and the fieldwalking activity and then drawing a picture of what was going on.* (**I(g)**)

To return to the ranked scale of Theme C, in the fourth position after participation in archaeology, was **C1 (Landowner Relationship)**, a label which was applied in nine of the twelve interviews. Given the priority of the relationship with the landowner to the questionnaire respondents - 59% of whom ranked it first most important out of six factors in a favourite findspot - it might have been expected to have achieved a higher value amongst the interviewees but in fact this number can likely be explained: (**A**) is his own landowner and he doesn't search elsewhere, and (**C**) are Thames Mudlarks and therefore have permission on the majority of the foreshore with their permits from the Port of London Authority. In this light, we can therefore assume that to all of those interviewees for whom a landowner relationship is relevant, it is also relatively high amongst their priorities. Obtaining permission to search lands these days is very difficult:

> *Many of the farmers, even the local ones are quite restrictive and they either - either they already have somebody detecting on it or they just don't want items to be recorded from their land or even detecting on.* (**L**)

Indeed as (**J**) reflected in his interview - one of the main questions he is asked by viewers on YouTube is how he got his land permissions. As a consequence, it is hardly surprising that those detectorists who have obtained permission do not want to rock the boat:

> *Your landowners are your number one priority. And you might want to communicate information with archaeologists and you might really want to do that, but you've got to protect your interests as far as the landowner - as the number one priority.* (**I(g)**)

Many of the interviewees described how they had got permission simply because of showing a regular, conscientious presence on neighbouring lands:

> *Like this farm that we're going to this morning, the...- I actually got it by accident because I was doing a field across the way on somebody else's farm, and the farmer had been going backwards and forwards and he'd seen me, day after day, over there - and he walked across the field one day and said 'look, do you want to come and have a go on mine?* (**J**)

Whilst some of the landowners themselves were interested in soliciting the detectorists - either for the information on their land, or for the potential treasure therein:

> *And we had nine people detecting on this field for a day, and it was 29 degrees! Nicer than today! And the farmer actually came and rolled it. He cultivated it down and rolled it for us specifically so we could detect it for him. He's dead keen!* (**D**)

In Norfolk, the interviewees had even obtained permission from one farmer after they were asked to metal detect a cow which was feared had eaten barbed wire (**B**)!

Just as the importance of the community network referred to in A11 comes to play an important role in the detectorists' experience, so too do the relationships with landowners take on social importance:

> *I've got some wonderful landowners I've made friends with.* (**K**)

> *It's quite nice, just to get friendly with some of the farmers, and it's had knock-on effects that I can just take the dog for a walk on some fields if I want to, I can walk round the fields whenever I want, whether I've got a metal detector or not. But it does give you an appreciation for the landscape, just doing that, because you spend a lot more time in it.* (**D**)

These relationships naturally can be expected to play a part in the protectiveness and territoriality reported in B7, as well as the experience ten of the interviewees described in **C10 (Nighthawks)**. Several felt that their presence on the land was a deterrent that prevented the occurrence of nighthawking - illegal searching by persons without permission from the landowner - or, as in the case of (**B**), would have had they been granted permission:

> *I feel proud to have discovered this site and saved a lot of it from hawking and get some stuff recorded, and to have a Roman site near to where you live.* (**F**)

> *Them fields over there, they belong to the only one who won't let us go on. It's silly because they just get nighthawked anyway and then they lose all the information.* (**B(c)**)

One respondent even suggested that another good deterrent to nighthawks - and specifically those who do actually target the land at night - was a certain ploughing method:

> *Quite rough plough, so it's difficult to walk, but it's great because it's totally anti-hawk - you just couldn't do it at night it's got too many ridges. You can do it in the day slowly.* (**E**)

As discussed in C7 - the interviewees took extremely seriously the potential loss of information caused from finds being removed against the landowners permission and without following best recording practice:

I'm totally totally not in favour of it - it annoys me. There was a chap I was talking to who invites me down to Cambridge, he was telling me a story about a guy who had found a gold statue, a solid gold statue, Roman, somewhere in the Newcastle area and just put it in his pocket and went down and flogged it to a dealer down in Cambridge.
You've lost the value of that because there's no history behind it." (**J**)

But they also objected to the damage this population inflicted on the reputation of the conscientious members of the detecting community, and how this in turn could have a serious impact on well-intentioned detectorists receiving permission from landowners:

Apparently before me there was a guy, a bit of a rogue, called Metal Mickey. [...] He got permission off a tenant farmer, never got official permission off the Estate. I don't know quite what it was but it caused a right stink - it was probably about 10 years before me - he found a stack of, I think it was a fused-together stack of Saxon coins, I think it was, and told the museum about it - it got semi-declared as treasure, all a bit dark and dubious, the Lord of the Manor found out and all hell broke loose, metal detecting was banned for years. (**G**)

If you're not careful you get tarred with the same brush with the landowners, so you've got to be careful sort of thing. Distance yourself. And point things out where things have cropped up. Some of them we're supposed to approach these people to turf them off more or less which puts you in a slightly difficult position as well. (**I(g)**)

Responses to **C9 (Responsibility)** reveal that ten of the interviewees (amongst whom, nine also made statements in the nighthawking category), feel not just that recording is something that should be done and searching illegally is something that shouldn't, but that conscientious detectorists including themselves have a responsibility to uphold good practice and encourage others to follow their example. For several of them, however, this attitude was often not popular amongst others in the hobby and proved to be a motivation for the interviewees to leave detecting clubs where they had previously had membership:

I get extremely frustrated with a lot of people in the hobby. And I frustrate a lot of people, because I get high and mighty about things! (**D**)

I think people were starting to be very wary talking to me because they knew my attitudes and my opinions about people who don't do it properly, or what I consider properly [...]. So I think they were beginning to be a bit selective about what they told me as well (**E**)

There were quite a few nighthawkers in [the club] that I found out about and I didn't like that, and I left on principle. [...] The head of the club was a serial nighthawker. But I threw away a good club on principle. I wrote them a letter [...] I was quite popular there and people wanted to know where I'd gone to. (**F**)

The interview with (**J**) showed that *YouTube* in particular can provide an excellent platform for educating the community on best practice, and probably one that - as a virtual environment - has fewer unpleasant personal implications for the detectorist involved:

I mean I have had people send comments through saying 'Well what did you report that for? Why didn't you just put it in your pocket?'

And I've gone 'Well that's not what you do'. Not only do you lose the monetary value - which I'm assuming is what they're interested in - but you'll also lose the history which is more important (**J**)

Lastly, landscape plays a role in this process of practice and responsibility too. The issues the conscientious detecting community report with day- and nighthawks is clearly going to be more prevalent in highly competitive areas, where permissions are harder to come by and searchers are driven to searching illegally, or in those areas with a high number of scheduled sites. (**K**) for example did not mention nighthawking at all, probably because:

We're fortunate down here in the South West. Up until now there hasn't been a lot of competition but it's getting more. (**K**)

Similarly, for the Thames Mudlarks, who search on a public area, it is necessary to be open-minded and accept that it is impossible to be too territorial; by association, the Mudlarks did not report a strong attitude of responsibility, but rather one of encouragement:

There's always people coming down here anyway - you don't need a permit to come down here and walk along. And it's quite nice to encourage them. There was a woman last time we were down who came down with her son and daughter, just picking up a bit of pipe and stuff - everyone's got to start somewhere haven't they? (**C(i)**)

Whilst a combined eleven of the twelve interviewees discussed C9 (Responsibility) and C10 (Nighthawks), only six of the interviewees mentioned the value of their metal detected objects, and only five their condition or age. One reason for this - as supported by the questionnaire data in Chapter 5 - is that simply, these qualities do not matter to detectorists very much, and certainly not as much as some archaeologists may assume. As discussed below, detectorists are often satisfied with any authentic find at all, and indeed the finding is only one element of a composite experience including recreation, getting outside and enjoying the potential to encounter wildlife and attractive views, as well as the post-find process of researching and recording. On the other hand, the reason behind the relatively

low ranking could be that as the interviewees had been contacted to talk about 'landscape', they were trying to stay on topic and avoid talking too much about finds. There is little to support this however, as many of the respondents wanted to discuss and show off their finds, even bringing them out in the car for the purpose of the discussion (Fig. 30).

Figure 30: Interview A: flint arrowhead and display case of flints brought to interview site

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L
C2 (Age of Finds)	X	X	X		X				X			
C3 (Condition of Finds)			X			X	X		X	X		
C5 (Value of Finds)		X		X		X	X	X	X			

Table 23: Table detailing responses of interviewees to finds qualities

Amongst the category labels relating to the metal detected finds, **C3 (Condition of Finds)** scored the highest, with 17 from five interviewees. For three of these, it should be noted that the quality of the condition was discussed in the context of the environmental reasons for this - the landscape which had facilitated the preservation:

> *I found some absolutely pristine Roman coins as they hadn't been exposed to the atmosphere. A beautiful Antoninus Pius* (**G**)

They used to grow watercress in the meadow on the right - the other side of the river. (**I(l)**)

The coins are a nice dark green/dark brown patina because they've obviously been waterlogged. (**I(g)**)

Whilst in the latter case in particular, the description of the condition occurs in the same breath as the interpretation - the material object is not divorced from the archaeology, but rather is a conduit to it:

And a bridle mount - the gilding was superb - the preservation of the soil is excellent, dry. I suspect they could have been coming down to see - early 80s, late 70s, I suspect there was a Saxon settlement here and they were coming down to see, probably still some low-lying ruins around here, have a nosey around... (**F**)

Regarding category **C5 (Value of Finds)**, three of the same respondents commented on the value of objects, along with a further three. It is suspected that the response rate might have been even fewer, were it not for the fact that valuation is intrinsically involved in the Treasure process, during which detectorists are informed of the financial worth of their objects - an amount which is shared equally between detectorist and landowner. In the case of a Treasure object being disclaimed, i.e. not acquired for a museum, which is the most frequently occurring result, the detectorists will often recompense the landowner for their share of the worth, in order to keep the object. Therefore, a number of the mentions which were coded under this category refer to the interviewee discussing reimbursing the landowner, in order to keep the object, with several pointing out that this reward is a key motivation for the landowner themselves:

And you see these things then cost me money. Because they come back to me and I give the farmer half the value. So that cost me 150 quid to keep. And this little beauty which is that one - again this is all Mr [Farmer's] land - that was valued at £600, no £650 in the end. It says 'hope is my help'.. beautiful. So again that cost me £325 to keep it! (**G**)

There's a very rare Offa coin - or rather Athawal the second - that one of the members found, Canterbury, with Offa being the overlord, that got the landowner quite excited. They reckoned about £2,000 at the time - eventually it was sold for £4,000. [...] But because she got a lot of money out of it sort of thing, she sent us a key and we can keep coming back - (**I(g)**)

In case we find something else worth £4,000 for her! (**I(l)**)

Nevertheless, two of the respondents were honest with the researcher, in that it would be rose-tinted to pretend that there was not on occasion, a valuation aspect to the detectorists own attitudes. For one, though, this is not related solely to the inherent monetary value of

the objects, but rather the man-hours invested in the detecting process (**F**). For the other, (**H**), the valuation is an hypothetical entity, compared to winning the lottery, and one that is understood to be almost impossible to achieve; an attitude that is comparable to some of the perceptions encountered in A9 (Quest).

> *"I've got a dilemma because, what to do, I don't want the collection broken up, it should really be in a museum, it is a temple site. [...]. But it's reasonably valuable, you spent hours out there, back-breaking digging it up- you know! I will admit this, it's quite difficult to hand over a thousand coins for nothing! But I need to face that problem when I come to it, but museums have got no funding generally."* (**F**)

> *"There's always that idea at the back of your mind that one day you might find that one big thing, one item that is going to make you a million pounds, or something like that, but that's sort of like people saying 'oh one day I'm going to win the lottery' or 'one day I'm going to win the pools'. You keep on doing them because you've always done it. You always hope that you might win the pools but you know that the chances are you won't."* (**H**)

It is clear, then, that the overriding attitude amongst the interviewees is that the real value in the metal detected find is the object itself, not its monetary worth. Gold in particular was associated with distinctly negative comments including:

> *I think the gold fever lasts about a fortnight. I don't tend to get really excited just about special nuggets. As I say, I found a broken flint axe about 9 months ago near our home and that to me is just as nice as a gold hammered* (**F**)

And, in response to the researcher's question: **'So some of your spectacular finds, can you remember the location?'**

> *Like the gold coin obviously I could remember that, but to call that "spectacular" I don't know, it's just gold isn't it...* (**A**)

One interviewee even expressed disappointment in receiving a treasure reward for a shield-shaped harness pendant discovered on a Civil War battlefield in Scotland:

> *They took it and it's now in the Perth museum, and they paid be £250 for it, which I thought was quite incredible - I was expecting a tenner or something. I would rather have had the shield to be honest!* (**J**)

Just as discovering an object with impressive monetary worth is not the specific goal of the majority of metal detector users, just so unearthing an object of 'significant' age is not a requisite for a good day's searching (**C2 (Age of Finds)**). Indeed, they reflect, that could never be the case because so much of what is found is modern:

Well many of our people when we go out, it's just a nice day out. Because they've probably found four or five buttons and a couple buckles and that's a day out then. They haven't had anything of historical interest, buttons are probably Georgian to modern, quite a few things are Victorian - pennies and, intrinsic ha'pennies and this and that - all within the last 200 years. So we don't come back loaded down every time with finds of yesteryear. It's, a lot of it is modern. (**L**)

(**I(g)**) agrees, in his reflection upon what periods' objects would be his favourite to find:

The items which is either prehistoric or where there isn't much written record, the dark ages, Iron Age particularly, Roman and as I say the early Saxon period, Late Saxon period. But I mean anything really - even the modern stuff. You have to enjoy that because that's what you find most of the time. (**I(g)**)

As a consequence, however, on the occasion when something ancient is discovered, it is undeniably exciting, *Because finding something that old, is kind of incredible* (**C(i)**), but little amongst the interviewees' responses can explain exactly why:

It's better if it's ancient, I mean obviously - because it's more fun (**J**)

The closest explanation seems intimately tied in to **C4 (Haptic Encounter)**:

Especially if you find something. Something a couple of thousand years old, something no-one's touched for a couple of thousand years and then you find it... (**B(c)**)

Five of the interviewees made comments describing the way they perceived metal detected objects specifically through the sense of touch, and in particular emphasising their response as the first person to have contact with this object since it was lost:

You know - you pick a Roman coin up - a little grey disc in your hand - the first time in 1700 years that anyone's actually held that, it's a fantastic feeling! (**J**)

For (**H**), this is the precise reason why the value or the age of the specific object is immaterial:

The pleasure of finding that next find - it doesn't matter what it is - and when you dig it up and you sort of, you look at it, you hold it in your hands, to me, that brings me right back to the person who lost it (**H**)

Indeed, for those detectorists who have participated in the hobby for so many years, it seems likely that this is one of the key motivational factors. As (**C(i)**) who has been searching since 1974 reflects:

It's alright seeing things in museums, but it's never quite the same - seeing it through a cabinet. (**C(i)**)

In the final position in the hierarchy of coded categories arranged by weighted value is **C6 (Methodical Search Technique)**. This category was entirely indigenous, arising from a need for the researcher to acknowledge the references within the interviews to the specific technique some of the detectorists have developed to search. Whilst all of the respondents metal detect, they do not all do it in the same way. Most will simply walk up and down with their metal detector set at the optimum level above the soil, moving it in a narrow arc. Some of the interviewees however have developed their own personal methods of optimising this search, including laying out lines or grids:

> *So I've actually done all these fields and I've done them by grid. I put lines out.* (**J**)

> *These are quite big fields you know, but I measure it - and I've got a special - oh I could have brought that for you! I've got a special apparatus for laying out lines.* (**K**)

For the couple, (**B**), who do not have a GPS to help them record findspots, laying out a grid not only improves their detecting, but also helps with plotting and recording finds:

> *We normally mark it out, and then go up and down, so you don't miss anything out. We have found over the years that if you just wander up and down, you don't find anything. Also, if you mark it out, it's so much easier when you go up to the museum to remember where you found it* - (**B(c)**)

However, it is important to note that not all of the interviewees were so thorough. The approach of one of the respondents was unabashedly anti-methodical - so convinced was he that it would have no impact on his find-rate:

> *Some people will pick an area and concentrate on an area the size of a tennis court and spend most of the day going up and down, up and down. But I get absolutely bored with that, so I do the 'lazy snail' I think it's called - I just meander and equally, I think - whatever comes under the coil while you're out doing - whether you're doing straight lines on a tennis court sized area or whether you're 'lazy snailing' it round the countryside, it's the luck of the draw.* (**L**)

Figure 31: Comment about search technique on one of Interviewee (J)'s *YouTube* videos

Finally, a label **C11 (Angling)** was created to note reflections on the relationship between metal detecting and fishing/angling: a hobby which is practised by three of the interviewees. There is a long-standing relationship between the two pastimes which Interviewee (**K**) attributed to seasonality, suggesting that for him angling is a hobby for the summer months (July - September) when he is unable to detect upon arable lands until they have been harvested (see B3). (**D**) who both detects and fishes remarked: *A lot of the detectorists on UKDN do it as well*, whilst for (**K**) it was how he got into detecting in the first place:

> *I'll tell you, what started me basically was - I used to go fishing with the friend that went detecting as well, but he also used to go shooting. And he had some farmer friends because he used to go shooting with them. And one day he said to me "Jimmy said I've got permission to search old Farmer H[...]'s farm. Would you like to get yourself a detector and start again?* (**K**)

As supported by the finding presented here, the two hobbies are united in several relevant aspects. The first is the recreational outdoor experience scrutinised already in this chapter: the combination of getting out of the house, of breathing in fresh air and having nature around oneself and the relaxation benefits associated with these. The second is that typified by A9 (Quest) - the unknown potential of making a catch:

> *I can go for hours and hours and hours and I'll still find nothing, but there's always the chance...* (**D**)

As discussed, the detectorists interviewed are happy if they make a find, they're happy if it is in good condition, and of a relative age, but more particularly if it has an interesting narrative which they can research, but most of all, they are happy to be enjoying themselves within a community of like-minded individuals, and pottering around in the countryside. As (**K**) agreed, it is not necessarily all about the catch:

> *No. And that's one of my sayings, 'A bad day's fishing is better than a good day at work.* (**K**)

The researcher replied, **'Is it the same with a bad day's detecting?'**

Yeah exactly, exactly the same! (**K**)

Theme C: Hobby		
C1	Landowner Relationship	I'm very lucky with my farmers because they're all nice people - because they can be a bit of an odd breed. (**F**)
C2	Age of Finds	It's better if it's ancient, I mean obviously - because it's more fun (**J**)
C3	Condition of Finds	**(RE crotal bell)** It's the only one I've found that actually works. [...] And the pea rattles, it rings - so that's great. I've had a few but it's the only one that's totally complete. (**J**)
C4	Haptic Encounter	**(RE macehead fragment)** But afterwards they said that the man had used it as a hand hammer, and do you know, you can pick up this piece of granite and you can feel where that man's thumb was, three or four thousand years ago, it's amazing! (**K**)
C5	Value of Finds (inc. Treasure)	I think it would be very nice to find a Saxon hoard or a Viking hoard, it would be great! But eh, it's not the be all and end all, it's not why I do it! As I say, if I was doing it for money, I'd quit and go get a job (**J**)
C6	Methodical Search Technique	We normally mark it out, and then go up and down, so you don't miss anything out. (**B(c)**)
C7	Recording and Databasing	On the Portable Antiquities Scheme now - every single thing I find is GPS-ed with a 10 figure grid reference, so we've got enormous resources you know GIS, shape files, things like that, and what I think I can show you today is really an emerging story about settlement over all the area that I'm doing (**G**)
C8	Researching	Because that's one of the things I like doing, looking at the old tithe maps, [...] although there's a lot you can do on the internet now as well - but yeah, finding roads that were there that aren't there now. (**D**)
C9	Responsibility	But I really do believe with a passion that it's a total crime to wipe the landscape clean of information (**G**)
C10	Nighthawks	I just said right no, 'All of you off' - and I walked down to the next one, 'Off'. But what annoyed me was, I thought that's fair enough, they've gone, but of a night I would come walking down and there were holes all over, so they were 'hawking it you see (**A**)
C11	Angling	That's why I used to go more fishing in the summer, and give it a miss unless there was an opportunity. (**K**)
C12	Archaeology Participation	They've been digging there on and off since 1981. I started in 2008 doing metal detecting for them [...] (**E**)
C13	Fieldwalking	We fieldwalked that field last year after they had a stone picker on it - potatoes - and we just found a huge bag of Pottery and Roman (**B(c)**)

Table 24: Sample quotes for Theme C: Hobby

6.4. Participant Profiling

As well as creating a hierarchy in order to observe the frequency and universality of each category, the labelling system was also used to produce at-a-glance profiles for each of the interviews and observe patterns, if any, which arose. Profiles were produced by combining - within each individual transcript - the top seven most frequent categories, for example: Ax Az Bx Bz Cx Cz Cy. Where indicators came up in conversation, but from a negative or 'minus' perspective - i.e. the interviewee was expressively not metal detecting for a given experience - this was recorded as a minus number, and applied to the profile. At a glance, these profiles make it possible to see - for example - how much or how little, the internal personal responses to detecting were discussed, versus the relative important of landscape and the interviewees approaches to it.

A paucity of 'A' codes seems to correlate with an interview during which there were comparatively fewer statements describing reflection of a more personal nature. In the case of Interviewee (E), this may owe to the fact that the interview only took in the one detecting site she is currently working on and which is the subject of her academic dissertation; for this reason, the meeting took on more of a site-tour dimension, rather than allowing space for consideration of the approach to the hobby in general. By the same token, an absence of 'B' codes indicates that landscape has low importance when compared to other factors. For example, although they display a huge wealth of local knowledge, the Thames Mudlarks interviewed in (C) were not explicitly concerned with the landscape involvement in their practice, instead their level of participation is extremely community-orientated and not very territorial or protective. Furthermore, the unique nature of searching on the Thames foreshore also does not fit easily into the thematic indicators that apply readily to the other interviewees: the foreshore is set down, so there are no obvious scenic views or vistas to experience; there is no wildlife to remark upon particularly; and the foreshore is a shared landscape so as they remarked, there is little point in trying to be territorial.

Meanwhile, participants with a majority of 'C' codes demonstrate an extremely practical approach to detecting and dominated the interview with discussion of researching, recording and databasing, without so much room for the interpretive elements such as those captured in labels B4 and B5, projection and visualisation respectively.

Interview	Labels	Profile
A	A9 B4 B6 B7 B8 C7 C9	Strong home attachment influences territoriality and concern for legacy of information. Vivid imagination to reconstruct history of shared landscape.
B	A6 B1 B3 B6 C1 C7 C12	Native to the area: importance of landowner relationships and accumulated local knowledge. Detect almost daily, addicted to the 'buzz'?
C	A6 A10 B6 C2 C7 C8 C12 **-A2 -B7**	Non-territorial and non-solitary. Detecting is done in a busy landscape as part of a community participating in archaeology of City.
D	A4 B6 B7 C1 C7 C8 C9	Very thorough with strong historical interest: conscientious approach to hobby and landowner relationship
E	B1 B2 B7 C1 C8 C9 C12	Self-confessed ex-detectorist now more archaeologist: very protective of research potential of current site
F	A4 B4 B8 C1 C8 C10 C12 **-A6**	Keen amateur archaeologist with moderate home attachment and strong pride in potential of discovered Roman site
G	A11 B5 B6 C1 C7 C8 C12	Scientific approach from job applied to detecting, recording and mapping to produce quantity of local knowledge. Community and archaeology involvement.
H	A8 A9 A10 B4 B5 C4 C8	Primarily motivated by enjoyment and quest, along with keeping fit. Strong sense of imagination triggered by haptic encounter.
I	A11 B1 B4 B6 C1 C7 C12	Extremely busy couple with a huge wealth of experience: many land permissions and conscientious approach to mapping and recording. Detecting as one element of archaeological process.
J	A1 A2 A4 A8 B1 C8 C9 **- B8 -C5**	Detects around country: not attached to local area. Enjoys simply being outside and having fun, as well as connecting with community of detectorists online an in person.
K	A8 A10 B1 B6 B8 C8 C11	"Local lad" with home attachment and associated local knowledge. Keen sense of discovery and passion for research.
L	A11 B3 B5 B7 C7 C8 C10	Club chairman motivated by members' interests: getting onto lands within farming seasons and protecting these for club searching and recording.

Table 25: Profiling of Interviewees

6.5. Conclusion

The interview data presented here provides a colourful and insightful portrait of the conscientious detecting community currently searching the country, and the differences encountered therein: from those whose academic and scientific approaches have now led to their involvement in archaeological projects, to others who simply enjoy the hobby for enjoyment's sake; those who search on pasture and can do so only once, to others who have ready access to arable land that they will go over year after year; those who grid their land and GPS their finds, to those who are happy to wander, and record their finds with less accuracy. All are, however and crucially, united in the potentiality of the quest, an intrigue spurred by a deep-set love of history, and often tied up in an intimate local knowledge. The discovered objects, whatever their nature, produce an inexplicable 'buzz':

> *"It doesn't matter what anybody says. It doesn't matter if it's the world's most renowned archaeologist...The thing is a pot handle is amazing as a gold coin"* (**A**).

Metal detectorists approaching their sites are like early settlers - appraising the landscape, its features, its available resources, to determine the potential for habitation or activity - and many have developed the 'eye' for what will prove to be hospitable. Lands which in the past would have been selected by communities, may produce signs in the present day for interpretation by detectorists. For (**K**), an area of high ground facing a major road could be a Roman burial site, for (**G**) a tree nursery *"tells you that the soil's really good. And 2,000 years ago people knew soil was good as well, so you'd spend time there"*. For (**D**), this type of investigation is *"not necessarily the landscape now - but what used to be...and that's fascinating. It's the research that I love more than anything"*. For the nine interviewees who met the category B4 (Imagination), it is not necessarily even a question of finding the 'right' answer - simply it is the opportunity to discover objects which facilitate the imagining, which offer the opportunity to visualise reconstructions in the landscape:

> *"You can interpret it, and you can lie in bed at night and think about it, and I'm happy with that. Yeah, I like how that works"* (**A**).

In 1980, as discussed in Chapter 2 (see p. 27), the CBA's STOP campaign leaflet stated archaeologists, both amateur and professional had 'had enough of seeing objects taken away by individuals', and were 'tired of seeing their efforts in the field thwarted by thoughtless or unscrupulous people with metal detectors' (CBA 1980). The participant interviewees for this research, however, are neither thoughtless nor unscrupulous in their approach to archaeological finds, and data from the questionnaire survey suggests that, rather than being an exclusive phenomenon, their attitudes are shared by a significant

proportion of the metal detecting community. These detectorists not only want to make a positive contribution to our understanding of the country's heritage, but thanks to the efforts of the Portable Antiquities Scheme, are now able to do so, either autonomously through the innovative self-recording programme, or through continued communication with the regional Finds Liaison Officers. It is now a question of offering adequate support to both the PAS and the detecting community to provide future scope for this contribution to continue, whilst at the same time encouraging those still-reticent among professional archaeologists to engage more creatively with local detectorists and unlock the potential of this extremely specialised local knowledge resource. Suggested approaches to this will be discussed in Chapter 7, below, taking in to account the quantitative and qualitative data collected for the study.

SECTION 3

DISCUSSION and CONCLUSIONS

Chapter 7. The Future of Metal Detecting and The Implications for our Heritage

Having presented and analysed the results of the questionnaire survey of metal detectorists in Chapter 5 and the go-along lifeworld interviews in Chapter 6, this chapter sets out to bring together the two strands of inquiry in light of the initial research questions and suggest not only some answers, but also some recommendations based on these findings. Before that, however, it is necessary

The overarching aim of the study was to establish what proportion of detectorists felt attached to their regular detecting landscape and how this might relate to their approach to detecting in general, their conduct and conscientiousness. The questionnaire survey asked respondents to what extent they agreed that detectorists had a duty to detect responsibly (94.1% strongly agreed), and to what extent they felt recording with the Portable Antiquities Scheme fulfilled this. The relationship between conscientious detecting practice and the PAS will now be discussed in more detail, along with an analysis of current methods of engagement and suggestions for future initiatives. In acknowledging both the contribution to knowledge made by the efforts of a serious and dedicated portion of the detecting community, as well as the continued public appeal of the hobby, it is suggested that a more creative and pragmatic approach is required from the heritage sector, whilst at the very least, a commitment to continued and regular support of the Portable Antiquities Scheme is required.

As an introduction, however, it is necessary to first reflect upon the methodology used for both streams of data collection and analysis, and provide some evaluation of the reliability of the results.

7.1. Discussion: Reflections on the Methodology

As has been discussed above in Chapter 4 (p. 82), when devising the research methodology, care was taken from the outset to ensure that the approach was transparent, coherent and effective, without any unnecessary complications. In the case of the questionnaire, the language used throughout was as simple as possible in order to minimise any language barriers that might have been present, whilst a pilot survey was issued to test the way in which the questions were asked. The 'go-along' interviews took the form of structured

conversations using language appropriate to the interviewee; if at any point it was clear that the interviewee didn't understand the question, the researcher asked it in a different way.

One key strength of the online method for collecting questionnaire responses was that there was no researcher presence to potentially bias the way the questions were asked, nor indeed to bias a respondent's decision to complete the questionnaire or not, or their desire to provide the 'right' answer. The distribution online allowed for the researcher to reach a widely-dispersed geographical sample (see Fig. 18, p. 109), far extending what could have been achieved with a questionnaire collected in person. By making contact with respondents via online forums and not solely via metal detecting clubs, the researcher also ensured that independent detectorists were reached. Efforts could potentially have been made to reach an even larger number of these independent searchers, but by their very nature, this would not have been straightforward: contact would have to have been made via either attending more metal detecting rallies, or reaching out to independents through Finds Liaison Officer introductions but in both instances there are methodological implications of potential bias. The same argument can be applied to any potential attempt to reach a higher number of female respondents; any deliberate targeting of a specific portion of the population could have resulted in the final data-set being misrepresentative.

As far as the interview sampling was concerned, it has already been noted that the participant interviewees were chosen based upon existing personal contacts and detectorists known to the PAS, to provide a geographically dispersed sample, and one comprised of people detecting upon a variety of landscape types, utilising different approaches to search and record (see p.133). Although this undoubtedly meant that the interviewees all had existing relationships with the Portable Antiquities Scheme, this was found in the event to have very little impact upon the analysis, as it was not the aim of the interviews to collect data on attitudes to the PAS. It is also understood that in a phenomenological study the same controls as one would expect in a rationalistic enquiry, including random subject selection, are not justified (Guba 1981). For risk reasons, it would have been impossible for the researcher to make contact with detectorists without any prior introduction and meet them in person in a rural location. Further, and most significantly, it was felt that there would be no benefit in meeting interviewees who did not have some kind of attachment to their detecting landscape and would be willing to talk about it in detail, and for this reason the PAS introductions proved invaluable as FLOs could recommend finders with specific sites of interest or search techniques. When sampling for phenomenological research, it stands to reason that the participants recruited must have experienced the phenomenon under study (Starks 2007). Furthermore, as Starks (2007,

1374) attests, 'the concept or the experience under study is the unit of analysis; given that an individual person can generate hundred or thousands of concepts, large samples are not necessarily needed to generate rich data sets'.

7.1.1. The Relationship between the Questionnaire and the Interviews

Clearly, this is the difference between the data acquired through the questionnaire, and that through the interviews. The questionnaire issue was intended to provide a quantitative data-set, collected in order to analyse the wider attitudes of the detecting community to the hobby and specifically the enactment of the hobby as situated within a detecting landscape (see 3.8.); for this reason it was important to have a significant number of responses. On the other hand, the go-along interviews saw qualitative data collected from a smaller, deliberately selected population, in order to provide a more richly-detailed set of anecdotal evidence. The interviewee data was used to present how the findings of the questionnaire translate in practice to individual lived-experience; whilst the questionnaire findings enabled the researcher to critically assess the interview transcripts with a better understanding (Pyett 2003). It was decided that inviting the interviewees to complete the questionnaire would not add any value to the study, as the questionnaire was conducted anonymously and there would have been no way to extrapolate individual responses to tie a certain interviewee to the data-set. Instead, as a point of reference, interviewees were asked the same classificatory questions so that if required, they could be linked to a particular respondent category (e.g. age group, length of time detecting etc.).

This was felt to be more than adequate in terms of linking the questionnaire and interviewee responses in a practical sense; ultimately, both are describing the same phenomenon under study and for this reason the links between the two are clear. Indeed, as discussed in the methodology (see 4.2.), the use of a variety of data sources in order to achieve triangulation - by which analysis and interpretation can be cross-referenced - has long been acknowledged as a factor in achieving credibility in a research study (Guba 1981; Denzin and Lincoln 2000; Finney and Rishbeth 2007).

7.1.2. Evaluating Reliability and Validity

As has already been discussed above, in reference to interviewee subject selection, there is limited value in attempting to assign concepts of validity and reliability to qualitative research as one might expect to implement them in quantitative research (to measure accuracy, for example), as qualitative research seeks to understand and explain rather than

solely to measure (Pyett 2003). Indeed, Guba (1981, 88) warns it is inappropriate to apply this criteria 'under any circumstances'. However, in the interests of reflexivity, it is nevertheless worth assessing the degree to which the researcher can be confident that the account presented herein of the metal detecting community is an accurate representation, and therefore a 'valid' one (Hammersley 1987).

Reliability - being defined as the consistency of a measure, i.e. to the probability that the results produced by an instrument would be the same if the test was repeated - is almost impossible to measure with attitudinal questions, as asking the question twice but differently worded is no longer asking the same question (Oppenheim 1992; McLeod 2007). This can be circumnavigated by reissuing an identical questionnaire (or other study) after a suitable period of time and comparing the results obtained but that would have been impossible in the instance of this research because the detecting questionnaire was completed anonymously. For Oppenheim (1992, 147), reliability can be improved through the use of sets of questions rather than single questions - as for example, in questionnaire Question D3 when several attitude rating scales were grouped together - to ensure that 'vagaries of question wording will probably apply only to particular items, and thus any bias may cancel out'. Likewise, the use of a range of question types and analysis of the relationship of responses between them can also highlight consistency and, by association, reliability (Oppenheim 1992). To this extent, the design of the questionnaire used in the thesis demonstrates a good level of construct reliability as predictions that respondents who answered one question a certain way would answer another question in a certain way, were supported through the findings of chi-square analysis. This can be taken to show confidently that the responses to individual questions did not occur by chance but are a reliable reflection of the attitudes of the respondents.

The degree of reliability of the questionnaire impacts upon its degree of validity, which - understood to be the level of inherent error that is present in the study, or that it is measuring what it is supposed to measure - cannot rise above a certain level if the study is inconsistent (Van Tilburg Norland 1990; Oppenheim 1992). 'On the other hand', as Oppenheim asserts (1992, 145), it stands to reason that if 'a measure has excellent validity, then it must also be reliable'. An invalid research study would comprise irrelevant or inappropriate questions, or be missing key questions that should have been included, but it is not felt that these issues affected the questionnaire or interviews in this study (Van Tilburg Norland 1990).

Lastly, it is worth noting that throughout the study, all fieldwork, coding and analysis has been undertaken by the researcher alone, so there can be no issue of inconsistency through the misinterpretation of a complex coding frame by multiple practitioners (Oppenheim 1992). The work of the sole researcher over a five year period also lends to the credibility of the study through what Guba (1981, 85) describes as 'persistent observation', namely that extended interaction and observation of a milieu leads to an improved 'understanding of what is essential or characteristic of it'. Ultimately, though, as Clark attests (2007, 1376):

> 'Analytic credibility depends on the coherence of the argument: Readers will judge the trustworthiness of the process by how the analyst uses evidence [...] to support the main points'.

In the case of this research, a multimethod approach has been used to ensure that evidence is presented not solely from one data source or another, but from both quantitative questionnaire analysis and qualitative interview transcripts to make a compelling and credible argument, and one that confidently supports the recommendations below.

7.2. More than Treasure Hunting

A review of the results of the questionnaire survey of metal detectorists, when considered alongside the data from the qualitative interviews, confirms that the detectorists' relationship with the landscape on which they search is intricately bound up with their motivation for pursuing the hobby and their response to discovered objects. The negotiation of this complex interrelationship of factors is inherently personal, subjective to the detectorist's individual reasons for searching, their method of doing so and, ultimately, what they gain from it in the short- and long-term.

Amongst the questionnaire respondents, 26.7% agreed and 44.1% strongly agreed with the statement 'I feel attached to the landscape on which I detect regularly'. However, only 38.8% of the sample reported that they had a 'favourite findspot', so it may be concluded that for the majority of those surveyed, the expressed attachment for the searched landscape is a broad one, not necessarily fixed to one specific spot. Instead, it can be related to a wider embodied attachment to the perceived rewards of detecting itself, and an appreciation of the many different facets of the landscape as the platform upon which the hobby is enacted.

Just as the subject of monetary value of metal detector finds was only discussed by half of the go-along interviewees (n=6), so the financial worth of a find was ranked least

important amongst five attributes by 96.6% of the questionnaire respondents, in contrast to the 83.7% who prioritised the 'information it contains about the past', suggesting that for most of the detecting community, the priority is not to make profit.

This is supported by the result that only a quarter of the respondents (25.2%) ranked high quality finds the most important factor in a favourite findspot, revealing that just as an object is evaluated by more than its financial worth, so too the merit of a place in the landscape is not measured by the monetary value of its potential yield, or indeed the number or scale of the objects it may produce. The surveyed metal detectorists are not motivated to search by the promise of financial reward and, accordingly, their attachment to the detected landscape is not based on this. Instead, this attachment can be better understood by an examination of the positive outputs (or benefits) they do describe, which are myriad, and reflect the variety of approaches to searching the countryside.

Figure 32: Mudlarking on the Thames foreshore November 2012

The personal reflections coded under Theme A in the interview data (see p. 136), using inductively labelled categories for describing what the interviewees gained from detecting, included community involvement, a sense of quest, fun, a 'buzz' or thrill from the search, as well as the practical application of an often long-lived love of history. There were also expressions that could be associated with any kind of outdoor hobby: exercise; relaxation;

the enjoyment of being outside; the opportunity for solitude and losing oneself. This list - by no means exhaustive of the potential range of benefits detectorists extract from a day out searching - is evidence that there is no one single factor at work motivating the hobbyists; instead different people enjoy different aspects of the practice, and may even tailor their methods of searching to promote these over others.

Whatever it is they get out of it, whether they are motivated by an attachment to home and enjoy the sense of contributing to the legacy of their local area, or they relish the community aspect and invest significant amounts of their own time to recording fellow club members' finds on to the PAS database, the overarching impression from the questionnaire and interview respondents alike was that they approached their hobby with commitment and seriousness.

From the questionnaire data, the average length of time that the respondents had detected was 10 years, with histogram peaks occurring between 0-5 years and 30-35 years. Amongst the interviewees, the person with the shortest length of detecting time had been searching since 2006, whilst on the opposite end of the spectrum, four of the twelve detectorists interviewed had first detected during the 1970s, and are still doing it now, some 40 years later. This demonstration of the hobby's enduring appeal for its practitioners is symptomatic of an activity that would fall under what Stebbins (2001, 54) has termed 'serious leisure', namely one that is 'deeply satisfying [...]: profound, long-lasting, and invariably based on substantial skill, knowledge, or experience, if not on a combination of these three'. Such an activity offers the participant a challenge that requires an approach not dissimilar to the way one would pursue a career, with gratifying end results 'among them fulfilling one's human potential, expressing one's skills and knowledge, having cherished experiences, and developing a valued identity' (Stebbins 2001, 54).

The challenge of 'serious leisure' and the gratification it offers its practitioners, are typical of an 'optimal experience' that for Csikszentmihalyi (2008) both characterises and facilitates 'flow' - namely, the mental state of a person fully immersed in an activity which marries focus, a full involvement and, most importantly, enjoyment. Metal detecting, as evidenced by the respondent data presented herein, is typical of such an activity: it offers a goal, and requires concentration on a number of sensory levels (the visual clues in the substrate, the ground underfoot, the auditory signals of the detector), which distracts its practitioners from the concerns and worries of daily life. Further support for metal detecting as conducive to a state of flow comes from the statements made by several of the interviewees - as discussed in Chapter 6, under the coded category **A7** (see p. 146) -

suggesting that they had lost track of time whilst being out. In optimal experience or 'flow', the level of distraction is often so complete, that 'one of the most common descriptions', according to Csikszentmihalyi (2008, 66), 'is that time no longer seems to pass the way it ordinarily does'. It is not clear whether this phenomenon is a direct contributor to the state of enjoyment experienced, or a by-product of the enjoyment itself. Nevertheless, states Csikszentmihalyi (2008, 67), 'freedom from the tyranny of time does add to the exhilaration we feel during a state of complete involvement'.

The majority of 'flow' experiences reportedly occur within goal-driven activities and those with the potential for immediate, clear feedback, such as the chess player who can, after each move, measure how close he is to check-mating his opponent's king (Csikszentmihalyi 2008). However, for practitioners of an activity over a significant duration of time, it is likely that the experience will - even if it was initially undertaken with a goal in mind - eventually become 'autotelic', i.e. the doing of the activity has become so intrinsically rewarding, that 'it is an end in itself' (Csikszentmihalyi 2008, 67). This certainly seemed to be the case for many of the metal detecting interviewees who demonstrated a lack of concern for the age or value of their finds (*I think the gold fever lasts about a fortnight* said Interviewee (**F**)) if, indeed, they found anything at all; as Interviewee (**K**) remarked: *A bad day's fishing is better than a good day at work* (see 6.3.3). The autotelic experience is one which has become solely about enjoyment for enjoyment's sake, where the end goal is a sufficient incentive to require concentration and focus, but is no longer necessarily required to ensure a positive outcome.

7.3. 'Serious Leisure' and Citizen Archaeologists

If a section of the detecting community is approaching their 'serious leisure' with a professionalism and skill-set often honed over several decades of practice, what then is the difference between a hobbyist metal detectorist and an amateur archaeologist? New ventures, such as the Portable Antiquities Scheme's self-recording programme and an increasing number of innovative online contributive models, mean that the line between the two - so clearly-defined at some points in the checkered history of the hobby, particularly to certain heritage professionals - is now becoming increasingly blurred (Bevan et al. 2014). Numerous metal detecting clubs these days have outputs similar to what would traditionally have been associated with local history societies, a more determined focus on surveyed research of the local area or involvement with local excavations for example. In some cases this change is observable in their names: the Cotswold Heritage and Detecting

Society or the Priories Historical Society, for example. This does not, however, automatically make them amateur archaeologists.

For Stebbins (1980), it is the situation of the participant in a P-A-P system (professional-amateur-public) that is the crucial difference between hobbyist and amateur, and therefore the moment a detectorist becomes an amateur archaeologist is that when he/she makes the leap from enjoying serious leisure within a like-minded community of fellow hobbyists to undertaking a serious and committed, but unpaid, role within a system which also includes professionals.

The respondent couple met by the researcher for Interview I were enthusiastic participants in various archaeological projects and had even purchased their own resistivity equipment to expand the potential non-intrusive activity they could do, alongside fieldwalking and detecting: *We've got a foot in both camps now* remarked (**I(l)**). One of the projects they regularly contribute to is Operation Nightingale, a fieldwork initiative which exploits the similarity of skill-sets between archaeologists and modern soldiers to promote recovery in British servicemen injured during the recent conflicts in Afghanistan (Thomas 2014a). For Interviewee (**I(g)**), it was extremely positive that Nightingale's founder was *very keen to work with detectorists [...] once we've shown him the things that we do and we've recorded things on the PAS for them*. The same respondent also currently sits on the fieldwork committee for the Kent Archaeology Society, a registered charity with some 1,200 members which, as well as offering a regular events programme, organises training excavations and publishes various monographs.

For Interviewee (**E**), undertaking a degree in Archaeology and completing her undergraduate research using finds data from her own metal-detected site has left her identifying much more as an archaeologist than a metal detectorist, *so it's swung completely round*. To this end, she has compiled a thorough catalogue of the site finds, arguing that *At the end of the day I want to see the site written up properly so it'll need a catalogue*. Here, the archaeological participation is an individual venture, rather than a group exercise, linked to a sense of individual responsibility towards the discovered objects and their legacy, but also present is the expressed desire to publish and, in so doing, disseminate the information for public access. The same holds true for Interviewee (**F**), who had already started working on a publication of his site in his spare time: *which I haven't had. But I'm going to try and crack on with it this year*. Interviewee (**I(g)**) finished his self-published book in 2000, after spending a year and a half writing it at weekends. Now surviving as a record of the local historic landscape through metal detector finds as well as a guide to identifying objects, it remains

popular with detectorists who can purchase a home-printed and stapled copy from the interviewee directly, which makes it *"relatively cheap in comparison to most publications which are £20, £30"*. Although he says *"it still stands"*, the temptation is there to produce an updated version, a second edition detailing the finds from the years that have passed since then, but he grudgingly felt this might have to wait until his retirement. In comparison to Interviewees (**E**) and (**F**), who were concerned with preserving, by record, the discoveries on a specific site and, perhaps to some extent, staking a claim to that place - if not the objects themselves - Interviewee (**I(g)**) was not focused on one site in particular, but rather the way he and his wife's metal detector finds were situated in the wider landscape.

The common thread amongst all these respondents is the desire to produce information, to create a record, and to share. The attitudes at work behind the interviewees' aspiration to publish can be quantified using data from the questionnaire survey in which, responding to a request for degrees of agreement to various statements, 74% of the sample strongly agreed, and a further 15.3% agreed that 'Archaeology Belongs to Everyone'. Whilst at face-value, and not only to critics of the hobby, this expression could be seen simply to demonstrate the detecting community's sense that they are as much entitled to access the buried past as the trained archaeologists, when reflected in light of the qualitative interview data it can be understood that for some of them it projects beyond this, to a desire to share their own findings and communicate this information within wider archaeological practice. Rather than being the cloistered, secretive community they have often been portrayed as - wary of input from archaeological professionals and others - by contrast, evidence from this research suggests that many of them are extremely open in their desire to communicate their findings, participate in community events and contribute to the archaeological record in a meaningful way. As discussed in Chapter 6.3.1., on the hierarchy of categories coded under Theme A, A11 (Community) was the highest ranked, being mentioned by nine of the twelve go-along interviewees. The importance of this enthusiasm and willingness on the part of conscientious detectorists will be further discussed in 7.5.

Two further interviewees had separately participated in fieldwork for the Gabii project, a 25-year initiative launched in 2007 by the University of Michigan to excavate Gabii, an abandoned 1st century BC city located on the eastern outskirts of Rome (Banducci and Farr 2012). Through the Portable Antiquities Scheme, several volunteer metal detectorists were invited to attend and assist by metal detecting the excavation spoil heaps, which were to be arranged by stratigraphical unit. These volunteers, state Redmayne and Woodward (2013, 3), 'were real ambassadors for the UK hobby and emphasised how metal detectors,

used correctly by experienced operators, can be a useful tool on excavations and other projects'. Interviewees (**D**) (who attended in 2009) and (**G**) (in 2010, and 2011) were both delighted to take part, and the venture was deemed to be a great success in terms of skill development and strengthening bonds between detectorists and archaeologists. The Gabii project organisers - who had never before used the application of metal detectors during archaeological fieldwork - reported an enormous benefit from the expertise of the detectorists on site, and a dramatic increase in the number of metal artefacts recovered (of which, in the 2009 season, 764 were discovered during excavation and 1604 from the detected spoil) (Banducci and Farr 2012).

The evidence gleaned from the qualitative interviews shows, therefore, that interested members of the metal detecting community have available to them a wide range of ways in which to contribute to archaeological practice. Among these - and a considerable time commitment - is the option, introduced by the PAS in 2010, for finders to record their own objects on the Scheme database, either as basic information pending a full identification from the Finds Liaison Officer (FLO) or in extended detail themselves, requiring only approval before publishing online. Several participants have willingly added this extra step to their process which had previously stopped at handing finds over to the FLO at club meetings or similar, and now devote hours at a time to poring over their computers and preparing finds records. In the case of Interviewees (**I**) who now record the appropriate finds for their whole club, they share the labour between them, one creating the paper version with references and the other databasing it and uploading the photographs. The PAS Annual Report 2013 reports 2,768 'self-recorded' objects recorded in that year alone, by 60 contributors, so the cumulative time saved for the FLOs since the launch of the initiative must be considerable (Lewis 2014a). As (**I(l)**) estimated in June 2013, for their contribution specifically:

> *As an FLO I think we've done about 1,000 objects between us, which is not a vast number in the overall scheme of things but it takes us an hour each object so - in the evenings when we're not writing up our finds from the previous Saturday. Or rushing off to wherever it is.* (**I(l)**)

The PAS is not the only cultural heritage organisation to have begun to develop crowdsourcing opportunities: English Heritage's *Britain From Above*, launched in June 2012 and recently completed, asked members of the public to identify locations and add geospatial labels to a newly digitised and catalogued quantity of 95,000 images from the Aerofilms collection: aerial photographs taken mostly between 1919 and 1953. At the date of completion in November 2014, a quarter of a million contributions had been made by 40,000 users and the site remains open for the addition of further details and as an online

platform for discussion (English Heritage, 2014). Offering users a more dynamic range of available applications, the AHRC-funded web platform *MicroPasts* (a collaborative effort between the British Museum and Institute of Archaeology, UCL) presents participants with the opportunity to contribute to digitising the national record of 30,000 Bronze Age metal finds, through either transcribing the card indexes (at the time of writing, drawer B10 Irish Gold), adding georeferences to objects where these are known, or photomasking images in preparation for 3D modelling (Bevan et al. 2014; http://crowdsourced.micropasts.org). Once the digital cataloguing exercise is complete, it will allow the data set to be combined with PAS records (all prehistoric bronze finds since 2003), which will represent not only the first ever near-complete record of English Bronze Age metalwork but also, according to Bevan et al. (2014, 187) 'constitute the densest georeferenced database of archaeological metal artefacts worldwide'. The project began in October 2013 and was in testing until April 2014, but between launch and the end of the year, 28 of *MicroPasts*' applications had already been completed by a workforce of over a thousand contributors - 'citizen archaeologists' - who had performed 37,448 individual exercises (Bevan et al. 2014).

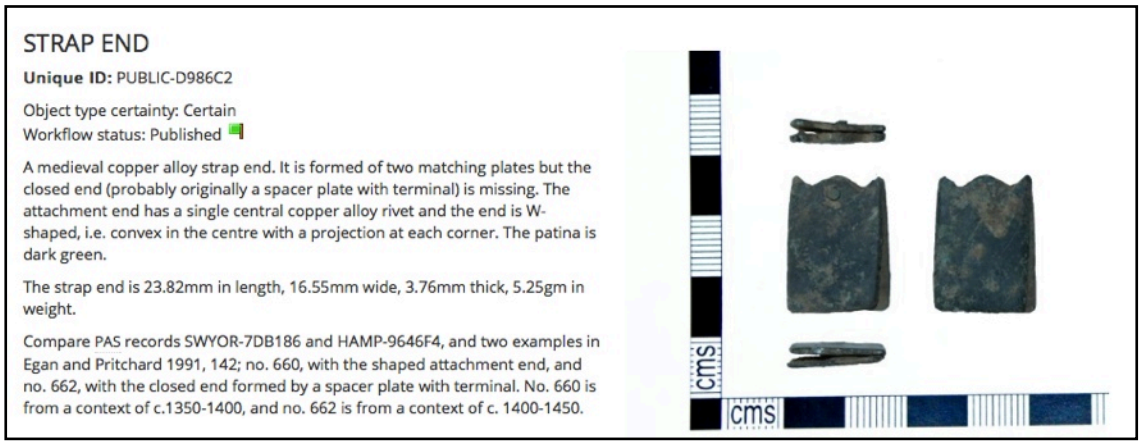

Figure 33: An example 'self-recorded' find, identified by the prefix 'PUBLIC'

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These results, as with the 2,768 objects self-recorded on the PAS database in 2013, reveal that not only are members of the public sufficiently motivated to participate in time-consuming exercises, but also that they gain a satisfaction from participating which encourages them to continue. Owens (2014, 277) credits this to the sense of identity and purpose that is generated by being involved in projects like these for cultural heritage organisations: 'People get meaning from doing things that matter to them. They find a sense of belonging by being a part of something bigger than themselves. Projects that can tap into these identities and purposes while providing meaning to people's lives are projects that [...] provide a way from them to [...] make meaningful contributions to the public

good'. Speaking to Interviewee (**G**) in May 2013, who had been invited to participate in the self-recording process from an early stage (*I'm a bit of a guinea pig*), he had a great sense of pride in being granted a similar status to an FLO: *clearly that's a massive privilege and responsibility*. Bevan et al. (2014, 184) 'believe it will be enormously beneficial to provide opportunities for people traditionally distinguished as "academic archaeologists", fieldwork "professionals" and "amateurs" not only to collaboratively produce research data across a wide variety of applications, but also to develop new research initiatives collectively' and both *MicroPasts* and *PAS* have proved this to be the case. The aim to remove traditional boundaries and nomenclature, already achieved by Bevan et al. through their use of 'citizen archaeologists' rather than 'amateur', will be particularly important in the case of future engagement with metal detectorists for whom these labels (and their associated roles) have long been established. This may account for the success of digital opportunities trialled to date, however, where such divisions are far less observable.

Among the metal detecting community, a number of conscientious and dedicated people are making very real contributions to understanding our heritage, either as serious hobbyists, through amateur participation in archaeological initiatives, or both, and this commitment deserves recognition. However, it is noted that it remains unclear how accessible these opportunities would be for detectorists without the strong connections to the Portable Antiquities Scheme that several of the interviewees can boast, nor alternatively the tight regional networks of the detectorists who had been living and searching in the local area for a number of years and established a profile for themselves. In future, it may prove valuable to collect empirical evidence on this issue, and how best to encourage participation in appropriate initiatives, as the country's heritage would be well-served if outreach towards the detecting community could be increasingly extended beyond the capacities of what the Portable Antiquities Scheme can facilitate. The initiative of projects such as *MicroPasts* is to be applauded and encouraged, and will doubtless be encountered more frequently in the future, thanks both to the increased awareness of museums and archaeological institutions as well as the continuing squeeze on their finances. In this instance, says Ridge (2014, 2), crowdsourcing 'as a form of engagement with the collections and research of memory institutions [...] benefits both audiences and institutions'; however, the challenge for the profession will be to ensure that the audience for these processes is not simply a replica of those already commonly encountered in museums (as Kador (2014, 42) reflects, 'largely from the better-off sections of society') but rather is sufficiently inclusive of those who might not have previously been engaged, for example the working class, or previously marginalised communities, including metal detectorists.

7.4. Managing Increasing Popularity and Public Interest

All this will be particularly relevant if public interest in the hobby continues to increase at its current rate. A brief glance at the television schedules for the last few years indicates the enthusiasm of the viewing public: ITV's *Britain's Secret Treasures* was first aired in 2012 to show the 'top 50 finds found by the public', and by the time the second series was broadcast in 2013, it was attracting an average of 2.3 million viewers (Lewis 2012; Lewis 2014a). In the following year, the BBC launched its new comedy series *Detectorists*, written by and starring Mackenzie Crook, which was given a quick vote of confidence and recommissioned for a second series before its last episode had been screened (BBC 2014). Meanwhile, the History Channel's factual programme *Mud Men* - described in *The Guardian* as 'actually quite good' - has captured Thames mudlarking in thirty episodes since 2011 (Heritage 2011). As further testament to the demand for programmes of this type, and the commissioning fat-cats' desire to fulfill this, the National Geographic Channel International were confident to proceed with filming their misguided four-part series *Nazi War Diggers*, in which three metal detectorists and one antiquities dealer were sent to hunt for German and Red Army war graves on the Eastern Front and the potential artefacts they might find within. The programme was quickly scrapped in response to an outcry of complaints in early 2014, but not before it emerged that it had been filmed without the approval of the Latvian War Museum, one of its purported consultants (Brockman 2014). Accusations have also been leveled at the History Channel's *Hoard Hunters*, both for the methodological implications of the presenters using deep-seeking machines against the recommendations of good conduct, as well as the suspected undisclosed remunerative involvement of the American metal detector giant Minelab, producer of said devices (Swift 2013).

Watching *Hoard Hunters*, Swift (2013) complained 'the public won't realise that "responsible" as used in the programme actually means the opposite', but did he really have cause for concern? Is there any real indication that the popularity of these television programmes is in practice reflected by an upswing of people taking up metal detecting? Taking, as an example, the influence of the barrage of cookery programming viewers have faced over the last few years, the signals are mixed - on the one hand reports suggest that increasingly people are turning to ready-meals and do not know how to boil an egg; on the other, apparently a quarter of the population in the last year has been inspired by such programmes to bake their own bread (Ramsden 2014). The picture is confusing. One of the motivations for watching television, not just on archaeology, but any number of subjects, is that it fulfills an interest that for whatever reason we may not be able to factor

in to the daily routines of our life. However there is also the question of equipment: whilst, in the case of the cooking example, the vast majority of people in the UK have an oven in their home, the same cannot be said for a metal detector.

One of the challenges involved in monitoring the uptake of metal detecting, and therefore the provision for adequately managing the hobby in the UK (as discussed in Chapter 2), is that it is so difficult to accurately measure the number of active practitioners. In their survey, Dobinson and Denison (1995) were felt to have over-estimated the number at around 30,000, and it was reduced to 10,000 by Bland (2005a) and later 8-10,000 by Clark (2008) in her review of the PAS. One of the reasons she cited for the difficulty was that 'many people who have bought detectors don't use them regularly' (2008, 14). Although combined readership figures of magazines *Treasure Hunting* and *The Searcher* agreed with a relatively recent estimate from the NCMD of 20,000 detectorists, Robbins suggests that this number may be skewed, first by a quantity of readers who are interested but not 'active', and second those readers who will buy both publications (Gray 2011; Robbins 2014). In her 2009 thesis, Thomas (2009b, 258) suggests a calculation based on an estimate of 50 members per metal detecting club multiplied by the number of clubs, with an equivalent reduction based on the number of members estimated to be members of more than one club, and the addition of a further 40% based on the portion of the community who report being independent of any club (39.8%); the result is 16,777 which was rounded down to 14,000.

The underlying figures for this calculation are taken directly from Thomas' results, namely: a mean club size of 49.5 (rounded up to 50), a maximum of 202 clubs in England and Wales, and that 39.8% of her respondents detected independently (2009, 257). In the case of the researcher's own data presented here, a list of 248 clubs was compiled (see Chapter 5, above), but independent club members comprised only 24.8% of respondents (a decrease from Thomas). Respondents were not asked the membership totals of their club. The estimated club size of 50 plays a key role: whilst it may sound large in comparison to some of the small regional clubs that might be encountered, in light of the evidence from Interview (**L**) whose club membership has a ceiling of 130, and a waiting list of 30-40, 50 may be an appropriate average. For (**L**), whose club hosts Sunday searches on lands with club permissions, at which often around 40 members detect:

> *we imposed a restriction a few years back now, five years or six years back and said 'No it's 130 full stop'. We can accommodate that a) in the hall and b) on the sites.*

However, the estimate of 50 does not reflect that members may belong to more than one club, nor that many club members no longer detect but nevertheless remain part of the

club to maintain the social camaraderie and satisfy their interest in the discoveries of fellow members. Interviewees (**C**), for example, estimate that the Society of Thames Mudlarks has around 70 members, but that only 30 or 40 of these are actually practicing. Observations about membership without active detecting was taken into account by Thomas when she reduced her estimate to 14,000, but the remaining figure was still higher than the PAS figure. Most recently Robbins (2014, 14) has suggested an estimate of 9,500 metal detector users in England and Wales, with only 7,125 of these likely to find objects recordable with PAS - i.e. over 300 years old, or of particular interest - because roughly a quarter of the population is thought to search on lands that do not facilitate this. However, by maintaining that the population has remained at approximately 10,000, Robbins' estimate reflects a similar figure to Bland's in 2005 (Bland 2005a).

By contrast, Interviewee (**K**) is adamant that the number of people in the hobby is increasing. For him, this can be accounted to the improving response to detecting amongst heritage professionals: *Metal detecting is becoming more popular now with the wider acceptance by the archaeology side of things*. When asked if he really thought that this was the case, ('Oh, you think?'), he said: *I think so. I'm sure. I'm sure it is*. Whilst it is difficult to see how the improved atmosphere of cooperation between archaeologists and the metal detecting community could be directly responsible for more people deliberately taking up metal detecting, it is reasonable to argue that the recent decreased amount of negative or discouraging publicity would cause fewer potential detectorists to be dissuaded. Moreover, the expanding range of potential opportunities for detectorists to become involved in archaeological projects may well be responsible for encouraging many to continue their hobby, where previously they may have lost interest because of the limits of what could be offered by detecting locally and attending club meetings. These developments, alongside the increasing public awareness of metal-detected treasure finds - thanks in most part to the inevitable gold-rush-inspiring headlines (see 2.5.4, p. 47) and the television profile discussed earlier - must certainly have led, even if only slightly, to an increase in the number of prospective detectorists. The word 'prospective' is deliberate, however, and it is not the opinion of the researcher that numbers of regular metal detector users have soared in recent years. It would seem prudent, however, to err on the side of caution and estimate that the detecting community probably numbers somewhere between PAS estimates of 10,000 and the NCMD's 20,000.

7.5. Communication and Engagement

Figure 34: The Seaton Hoard in situ November 2013 © Portable Antiquities Scheme

On 26th September 2014, to coincide with the launch of their Annual Report 2013, PAS announced the recording of their millionth find - a *nummus* of the House of Constantine, which was just one of the 22,000 coins that comprised the Seaton Hoard, a Roman coin hoard discovered in November 2013 by a metal detectorist who reported it immediately to the Scheme (See Fig 34. Lewis 2014b). The 'milestone' of the millionth database record, according to Lewis (2014a, 3), represented both 'a considerable contribution to archaeological knowledge', as well as 'the success of the PAS in breaking down barriers between archaeologists and metal-detectorists'. This assertion has few detractors. In Clark's (2008, 6) report, she states 'PAS has overcome the scepticism of archaeologists and the mistrust of finders to create a partnership in the understanding of the past', whilst internationally those countries without current provision to record archaeological small finds look to the Scheme as a beacon of example. But there is still evidently room for further work on improving communication and creating engagement opportunities.

With the atmosphere between metal detectorists and archaeologists moving towards one of increased tolerance, detectorists nevertheless still report feeling unappreciated by heritage professionals (Thomas 2014b). Detectorists believe they are doing a good thing, and many of them are. In Norway, Rasmussen (2014, 84) reports, 'the notion of metal detectorists as heritage rescuers and heritage heroes [...] dominates passages on metal detecting'. Similarly,

in Denmark, according to Dobat (2013, 707), 'amateur metal detecting [...] is deeply rooted in cultural heritage practice', thanks to a decentralized structure and high number of local archaeological museums with strong ties to their individual districts, along with an acknowledgement that detectorists are 'in terms of experience and knowledge, generally [...] far superior to archaeologically trained museum staff'. It is an issue specific to the UK, then, that despite being legally entitled to detect, and increasingly contributing to the knowledge resource of the country's archaeological record, detectorists remain feeling marginalised and under-valued. As one questionnaire respondent commented:

> *My belief is that metal detectorists get bad press from Arkies and museums etc, this is totally unfounded as detectorists are the people that find objects in the topsoil, thus allowing the archeologists [sic] the chance to dig further down to find more about the history of the land, who lived there, why they lived there etc* (R 420063)

Of vital importance is this role of the topsoil, as the stratum in which the detectorist discovers his finds, and the situation of this discovery in the process between metal detectorist and archaeologist. It has long been acknowledged that archaeological artefacts located in the topsoil layer of an arable field are at grave risk of destruction, either from the plough, or from the erosion potential of intensive crop-sprays; because of this, detectorists feel that by discovering and recording these objects they are preserving information that has the potential to be lost (Darvill and Fulton 1998, Brindle 2009). As Interviewee (**G**) reported:

> *the other thing I also believe passionately, from working on arable farms all these years, is that the history is being wiped anyway - modern agricultural processes - turning the ploughsoil year on year - are just turning things like Roman coins to dust. You look at a field and you think 'In ten years' time there's going to be nothing there' so you are genuinely recording information that would be lost otherwise.* (**G**)

Bland (2011, 32) agrees, saying '90% of all finds recorded by PAS come from cultivated land, where the archaeological contexts have already been disturbed by the plough', adding 'when metal detecting is carried out properly on such land, with all finds being carefully recorded, it can be see as a form of archaeological rescue'. Furthermore, this 'rescue' does not represent solely individual stray finds whose information is being recorded rather than lost to the plough, but often metal detecting can bring to light rural archaeological sites that would be unlikely to be discovered through the usual route of archaeological survey prior to building development (Bland 2011). Whilst traditionally surface scatters of ceramic sherds recorded during fieldwalking have been used to plot potential site activity, the evidence from metal-detected finds has proven to be far more conclusive in this respect,

given that a number of metal finds discovered in close proximity can never be representative of waste in the same way as a ceramic assemblage (Brindle 2009). Ceramic sherds can find their way on to the fields through a process of use, destruction, and finally discard in domestic waste that is subsequently applied to the land but, although the same stage of applying waste as fertiliser may account for the occasional casual loss of metal objects, it will never account for a number of metal objects found in association. Differentiating between on-site and off-site activity by applying a threshold of ten metal artefacts found within a 250m radius, and taking as a case study a parish in central Wiltshire, Brindle was able to identify seven distinct 'findspots' which he suggested warranted further investigation: the top two yielded 229 and 492 artefacts recorded in proximity, whilst the remaining five had at least 25 (2009, 64). These results support the assertion that PAS data have the potential to contribute, along with vastly improved typological knowledge of specific artefact groups, an increased number of identified archaeological sites in England and Wales.

Roman coin finds have also proved to be a valuable element in the discovery of new sites (Worrell et al. 2011). A study in 2010 by Moorhead and Walton of variation in the number of PAS Roman coin records per region and parish identified nine parishes with more than 1,000 coins recorded, and an additional 225 parishes with more than 100 coins, many 'from sites previously unknown to archaeologists' (Worrell et al. 2011, 437). One such example of a large assemblage indicating the presence of an undiscovered site, were the finds of Interviewee (**K**) who, between 2007 and 2011, discovered a total of 108 Roman coins, scatted across an area of land with three different owners:

> *And I called one site Site 1 and one site Site 2, to start with. And there was this odd field by another man. And so - I started off and I repeated some of the numbers, from Site 2 starting singly again, and I didn't realise it was going to end up as it did, but anyway, it's all condensed now, just at one site.* (**K**)

After the discovery of 70 coins, painstakingly recorded and reported by Interviewee (**K**) and his detecting partner, the site underwent geophysical survey, at which point the full extent of the potential area was realised. Now judged to be the 'largest Romano-British settlement in Devon outside Exeter', the site at Ipplepen in Devon has seen four seasons of archaeological fieldwork by the University of Exeter and British Museum, who will return again in 2015, and has been featured on two series of the BBC's *Digging for Britain* (See Fig 35. Current Archaeology 2015).

Figure 35: Excavating at Ipplepen © Interviewee K

Interviewee (**K**) continues to be involved, and said last year: *it's been a wonderful experience for me and I've made some wonderful friends in the archaeological world.* The experience was obviously a positive one for all involved: the pre-existing relationship between the finder and the PAS allowed for good communication, the funding was forthcoming, and the involvement of both the University of Exeter and the British Museum has ensured the information contained in the site has been captured in a timely fashion, whilst still including the finder in the process. The issue seems to remain elsewhere, however, that - despite the small number of channels through which metal detectorists are demonstrating a responsible and committed attitude to contributing to the country's archaeological record (as discussed in 7.2.) - by and large their incorporation into archaeology outside of the PAS remains grudging. Projects such as the Gabii excavation (discussed in 7.2.) are all very well, but, as Ferguson (2013, 1) suggests, consigning metal detectorists 'to the spoil heaps as a nod to community engagement (where they can do little damage)' is a poor comparison to enabling them to play 'key roles alongside archaeologists within battlefield surveys', which explains the achievements of conflict archaeology as a discipline, 'in developing relations and encouraging dialogue'. For one questionnaire respondent, despite the fact that he had discovered several sites, evidently he still felt alienated by archaeology as a whole:

metal detecting has had a lot of bad press over the years but if you look at the reports from Portable Antiquities we have found 80% of all treasure found in the U.K. and yet we still get slated by a lot of authorities its [sic] about time we were accepted. I have found new sites in my local area and reported them to my finds Officer in lincoln [sic] (roman fort, Roman village and a large ring ditch) (R 414479)

7.5.1. Recommendations for Future Engagement

In future, it is suggested that it would be beneficial to implement further outreach, with three principal aims:

(a) to reach metal detectorists still not currently involved with the Portable Antiquities Scheme;

(b) to better engage archaeology professionals about the potential benefits of cooperation with metal detector users;

(c) to provide further opportunities to interested detectorists beyond what the PAS can currently facilitate, incorporating them more fully into the archaeological process.

The first two are detailed amongst the Scheme's core aims, and in the case of (a), it is reasonable to assume that the PAS will continue to build upon the success it has had so far in reaching new finders (through its current channels and work with third-parties, such as the National Council for Metal Detecting, the UK Detector Net and similar). Evidence produced in this thesis, however, shows that in the case of (b), the legacy of several decades' worth of animosity from professional archaeologists is still felt amongst the metal detecting community today, as a reluctance to acknowledge the potential benefits of collaboration. For van der Schriek and van der Schriek (2014, 243) 'communication is not helped by the fact that metal detectorists can come across as a closed community, but the same can also be said about archaeologists', 'both groups do not always grant newcomers easy access'. New initiatives will be required to correct this stalemate, and also to implement (c), but to facilitate this provision of increased community engagement will require a decision to be made: either, to devise a new role (internal or external to the Scheme) to deliver this, or, if it was deemed appropriate to be developed under the responsibilities of the FLOs, to provide further FLO staffing to enable this to take place. To date, this has been partly addressed by the HLF funded *PASt Explorers*, a programme intended to boost the numbers of volunteers and self-recorders, through which a sustainable national network will be created, with foci around the local FLOs (Lewis 2014a). The project, started in November 2014 and planned to run for five years, will be delivered by a team of four posts: a full-time Outreach Officer, two part-time Project Officers, and one ICT Officer to monitor and develop digital outputs (Lewis 2014a).

Currently, outreach as far as the FLO is concerned, is limited, and '(normally) only undertaken to encourage the further reporting of finds' - according to the PAS guidance on FLO working pressures (https://finds.org.uk/getinvolved/guides/pressures). Dedicated outreach within the PAS working routine is therefore usually focused on attending metal detecting club meetings or providing Finds Identification Days; as such, the relatively narrow scope of this approach overlooks the points raised in (b) and (c), and highlights the fact that for those detectorists already recording, not to mention other interested communities, further provision may be required. For some, this may warrant a discussion about whether it is appropriate for the FLOs to be responsible for conducting outreach of any sort, when the matter of most importance is recording discovered archaeological objects and, moreover, it is this task which requires specialist experience, whilst delivering outreach could feasibly be performed by others (Clark 2008). In her review of the Scheme, Clark (2008, 27) questioned whether a balance between these two functions had been achieved to date, but acknowledged: 'this is not simple; on the one hand the trust and engagement of finders depends upon FLOs having the capacity to record and return their finds quickly, and this should remain a priority. On the other hand, the demand for recording will always grow, and the outreach done by FLOs is equally important'. The success of the Scheme undoubtedly hangs on the performance of its Finds Liaison Officers, and at the moment the 38 in post are working at full capacity to cope with the quantity of material being declared by finders (Lewis 2014a). It will be vital, moving forward, to ensure that provision is made to provide additional assistance in this capacity, and ensure that the already-established channels of communication are maintained, and further opportunities are identified.

7.6. Future-Proofing Treasure and the PAS

Writing in 2005, Bland (2005, 291) noted:

> 'One of the main difficulties that the Scheme faces is the problem brought on by its success. Many FLOs have more finds than they are easily able to record and they also face many other pressures on their time to carry out outreach events, give talks, organize opportunities for finders to be involved in archaeology and so on'.

Clark (2008, 27), likewise, cited FLO workload as 'the single biggest issue' discovered in her review of the Scheme, with both 'finders and managers report[ing] high levels of stress amongst FLOs', resulting in a quick turnover of post-holders in some regions and delays in recording and returning objects to finders. Some ten years on, the picture is a similar one,

according to the following questionnaire responses (reproduced verbatim): *it take,s to [sic] long for the flo to retern [sic] your finds*, for example (R 414907). Free text responses to the question 'Does your club have a relationship with the local Finds Liaison Officer?' reveal the impact of the FLOs' unrealistic workloads, with R 420746 answering: *Although yes, the desginated [sic] FLO only visits evrey [sic] 6-9 months*. Another mentions the slow turnover of objects, but sympathises with the pressure upon their local FLO: *BIT SLOW AT GETTING FINDS BACK... BUT DONT THINK IT IS HER SO .....SHE IS VERY GOOD* (R 418145). The impression is one in which the overstretched Scheme is promoting the voluntary recording of a quantity of objects which it barely has resource to fulfill, understandably provoking negativity on the parts of some detectorists. At the end of the questionnaire in the space provided for further comments, R 420746 - the same who had reported an FLO visiting only every 6-9 months - added: *The PAS scheme is letting us all down badly from Roger Barton [Bland] downwards and many hundresd [sic] of finds are not being recorded through lack of effort on behalf of the scheme.*

Whilst it is clearly not the case that objects are being overlooked through 'lack of effort', it is a sorry situation that the Scheme is struggling to meet the demands of the community it has managed to engage so effectively in voluntarily reporting their objects for recording and, further, is presenting to this community a public persona which is overworked, under-funded, and reliant on sympathy and patience from finders. The latest report issued by the Scheme details 38 Finds Liaison Officers in post, who are being assisted by nine Headley Trust interns and 127 volunteers (not including self-recorders) (Lewis 2014a). This workforce reflects the minimum of what is required to ensure that objects can be recorded at the current rate, whilst the increasing visibility of the Scheme means that the number of new connections being made with potential participants, and therefore the backlog of objects to be recorded, grows daily. Without the auxiliary support of volunteers and the Headley Trust interns in particular, many of the regions would fail to cope with the workload; just as is the case in many of the UK's heritage institutions, there is a fundamental reliance upon a voluntary workforce. In the case of the PAS, clearly more fully-funded positions are required (the number of posts not having increased since 2008); as noted, however, it is hoped that the recent launch of the PASt Explorers project will go some way to ameliorating the current situation.

The treasure process, too - owing in part to the necessity for a coroner's inquest - can take an extremely long time to resolve, at best seeing finds processed, disclaimed and returned within six to eight months (Interview G). However, data from the questionnaire and interviews suggested that detectorists are more patient where this is concerned, perhaps

content to wait because it is made clear to them how many stages, and therefore parties, are involved in the process (in contrast to the recording of non-treasure objects by the FLO, where the workflow may appear at face-value to be more straightforward). For the questionnaire respondents, dissatisfaction - if any - with the Treasure process was attributed to the valuations assigned by the Treasure committee, and a feeling that on occasion these were not reflective of true market value. R 420756, for example, wrote: *The treasure process needs a huge kick up the proverbial and the valuations are way off. Valuation is important when my landowners have a vested interest*, and R 420680 agreed: *The biggest problem I hear most people express resentment of is the unrealistic valuation put on finds that are declared treasure trove, it definately [sic] puts people of [sic] declaring finds.*

Figure 36: Number of Treasure Cases 1988 - 2004 (Bland 2005b, 262)

These comments were noted with interest by the researcher as this attitude of dissatisfaction had not been encountered before, the conclusions of the Treasure Valuation Committee being widely accepted amongst finders, based as they are upon the opinions of a permanent panel of eight experts, supported by the Provisional Valuers: 21 expert advisers from relevant fields (for more details see: https://finds.org.uk/treasure/advice/index/slug/people). Furthermore, to date, the practice in England and Wales of rewarding finders and landowners with a market-value sum when treasure is acquired seems to have proven an effective incentive in encouraging finders to come forward. This is reflected in the steady rise of Treasure cases declared since the introduction of the Treasure Act which saw an eightfold increase in the number reported during its first full year (1998) (See Fig. 36; Bland 2005b). More recently, the number of cases has plateaued around c. 980-1,000 a

year, but prior to 2008 the rise was regular and significant, with annual reported cases more than doubling between 2003 (413) and 2013 (993) (Bland 2005b. Lewis 2014a).

Indeed, complaints encountered about the rewards offered by the Treasure Valuation Committee have more commonly been made by concerned professionals and levelled at the institution for recompensing the detectorist too much, rather than too little, with many feeling that the occasionally vast sums involved make it impossible for local museums to acquire the objects, resulting in them simply being disclaimed (Chitty and Edwards 2004). A Museum-based respondent to Chitty and Edward's (2004, 41) survey in 2004 remarked: 'The law which rewards finders and owners with huge financial rewards at the expense of the local community museums who can't afford to purchase the object for the local community is wrong. Finders should get a standard £1000 and there should be a national fund for local museums to buy their own cultural objects for the local community'. Some even question the logic of providing financial reward at all, suggesting that any sum merely incentivizes searchers and, moreover, fails to distinguish between those objects found by chance and those deliberately looted, potentially legitimizing the result of illegal digging and laundering the result of the crime (Rasmussen 2014). Critics have further flagged the disparity between this approach, and the one currently in place for the result of archaeological fieldwork: 'Should the Act also address the issue of rewards for archaeologists who discover items during the course of a scientific excavation?' questions Gill (2010, 8).

The situation, however, requires pragmatism rather than squeamishness. Given that portable antiquities in England and Wales do not benefit from the legal principle of ownerless objects defaulting to the Crown (*bona vacantia*), as in Scotland, the system of offering finders market value price when treasure items are claimed, although not without complications, seems a reasonable exchange to ensure these artefacts are secured. Looking to the EU, other countries offer finders a reward, but these are on varying scales and intricately linked to the reporting structures in place. In Estonia, for example, detectorists are not required to report significant finds immediately, but on an annual basis, with rewards for artefacts consequently claimed by the state being paid 'up to the full value of the object' according to Ulst (2012, 27). The Norwegian Cultural Heritage Act bases the valuation for gold or silver objects on the value of the metal by weight plus 10%, but retains the right to stipulate a lower figure (Rasmussen 2014). In Denmark, despite the detecting community being estimated at only around 700 individuals (of whom around 200 are 'highly active'), more than 10 million DKK (1.3 million Euros) had been paid in rewards over the last ten years; nevertheless, states Dobat (2013, 718), 'in terms of a cost–

benefit calculation and in the light of the general expenses for archaeological rescue excavations in Denmark, this can be regarded one of the most profitable investments in Danish archaeology'.

Figure 37: The Staffordshire Hoard, valued at £3.285 million © *The Daily Mail*, 25th September 2009

Results from the Portable Antiquities Scheme show that in reality (although in the case of finds of national importance, finders are accepting potentially life-changing sums of money (Fig. 37)) other finders are regularly waiving their rewards, that is, in the scenario when the treasure cases are not disclaimed and the objects returned to the finder (as is the case in the majority). In 2006, the DCMS launched an initiative to encourage finders and landowners to waive rewards for Treasure finds and in 2008 there were 51 cases where one or both parties (82 individuals in all) were happy to accept a certificate from the Minister rather than financial compensation (DCMS 2010). In the latest annual report for the Scheme, the figures for 2012 showed 79 cases in which 137 individuals refused payment (Lewis 2014a). In the previous chapter, (see 6.3.3.), the interviewees' lack of concern for the monetary worth of their finds was discussed, and these results are supported by the questionnaire data in which, in response to the question 'Would you donate your finds?', 84.5% answered that they would donate (n=284). Under the terms of the question, the finds here are not necessarily those classified as Treasure under the current legislation, but nevertheless the result supports the assertion that the detecting community is not unduly preoccupied with hoarding its finds or exchanging them for a cash fee. The issue of the

Finds Liaison Officers' time - and the delays encountered in simply recording and returning objects, or attending club meetings to do this - seems to be the most pressing amongst the majority of the detectorists' complaints with the Scheme. It is clear that any measures to improve the manageability of FLO workload would have a significant impact on the PAS' daily work. Ultimately, neither the complaints about delivery time nor those about treasure valuation are going to discourage responsible detectorists who are already recording with the Scheme. These problems are accepted as par for the course (and, in the case of the valuation, seem only to be felt by a select few), but they have the potential to discourage other potential finders, particularly in the case of the voluntary recording of non-treasure objects.

Work began in an attempt to speed up the Treasure process when the draft Coroners Bill was submitted in 2006, containing a proposal for establishing a single national coroner for Treasure, who would be responsible for overseeing all cases, in isolation from any other responsibilities (Bland and Lewis 2009). This proposal was later omitted from the Coroners and Justice Bill, published in January 2009, but was included as an amendment by the Government, as confirmed on 18 May 2009. PAS, among others, had also been seeking several amendments to the Treasure Act which had likewise been included in the 2006 draft, namely:

- extending the time for prosecution of non-reporting of Treasure finds from six months (as currently) to three years;
- giving the coroner power to require delivery of Treasure from the finder rather than simply reporting (as currently);
- allowing the State to designate to whom Treasure can be reported, thus normalising current practice of finders reporting and handing Treasure items to their local FLO;
- implementing 'reverse presumption', whereby the Coroner assumes that a Treasure item was found on/after 24 September 1997, rather than facilitating the current loophole in which finders can claim an object was found before this date, and therefore falls under the terms of the previous legislation;
- widening the duty to report Treasure beyond the finder to include anyone who later comes into possession of it (Bland and Lewis 2009. M. Lewis pers. comm. 14th April 2015).

These amendments were tabled in June with the support of Lords Redesdale, Howarth and Renfrew, and were subsequently accepted into the final Coroners and Justice Act, passed on 12 November 2009 (accessible here: http://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/2009/25/

introduction). Unfortunately, at the time of writing (April 2015), this post for a single dedicated coroner for Treasure has yet to be implemented - in order to save costs - and as such, the above amendments to the Treasure Act, although cost neutral, also remain pending. Pressure is being exerted upon the Ministry of Justice, which is responsible for Coroners, and it is hoped that the act may yet be fully implemented which would speed up the Treasure process considerably. This would be a valuable improvement to the current system, particularly if - as discussed in Chapter 2.5.4 - the proposed review of the Treasure Act is successful, and Treasure definitions are widened to better safeguard truly important finds made in future (where the Crosby Garrett helmet was not so fortunate). For Gill (2014, 55), we are now a number of years on from the public outcry for these measures, made when this helmet was auctioned to a private buyer for £2,281,850 and yet there has still been no change: 'If archaeology is to be public-facing', he suggests, 'then archaeologists and museum professionals need to pay attention to defects in the policy and to suggest appropriate amendments'.

7.7. Unresolved issues: Nighthawking and Rallies

Aside from developing the Treasure Act to provide better measures for safeguarding metal detected antiquities, two further areas concerning detecting practice also require the professional attention and problem-solving Gill requests: nighthawking and metal detecting rallies. From the outset, it should be made plain that the author is not deliberately comparing the two in terms of malpractice - attending a rally is not illegal, whereas 'nighthawking', illicit metal detecting, certainly is. Moreover, it is not the intention here to examine the two in any great detail, outside of the data achieved in this study. However, it remains important to a discussion of the issues presented herein, to examine what these two activities have in common: both represent a thorn in the side of concerned archaeologists and national heritage institutions, and yet both remain poorly-defined and sometimes misrepresented, the result of which has the potential to alienate the conscientious metal detecting community and halt, if not reverse, some of the progress made in communication to date. In both cases there is a lack of reliable, quantitative data to inform policy-making. As Coombes et al. (2012, 9) reported in 2012, 'despite the fact that unauthorised metal detecting has attracted much attention in the media and the archaeological sector, relatively few cases can be confidently identified in the available sources of information as heritage crime due to unauthorised metal detecting'. It is suggested that with the aim of best preserving the country's heritage in the immediate future, metal detecting rallies would be most deserving of attention, not least as this issue is

the most easily dealt with. By contrast, any progress with nighthawking will by necessity take a number of years and, as with any type of criminal activity, the result achieved is unlikely to ever be total abolition (Wilson and Harrison 2013).

7.7.1. Nighthawking

Although at first glance, a definition of nighthawks may appear black and white - as Wilson and Harrison (2013, 3) suggest, they 'are not "real" metal-detector users but rather thieves who use detectors as a burglar might use a jemmy' - in practice, the description may be coloured with shades of grey. For Thomas (2014c, 197), 'the perception among detectorists and others as to what nighthawking actually is, and the grey areas between espoused behaviour and actual behaviour, is probably more complex than it appears'. In their English Heritage commissioned survey of the activity in 2009, Oxford Archaeology (2009, 1) described nighthawking as 'the illegal search for and removal of antiquities from the ground by criminals using metal detectors, without the permission of the landowners, or on prohibited ground such as Scheduled Monuments', but in fact the definition should not rely only on the 'removal' of antiquities, when simply 'searching without permission' is sufficient to constitute nighthawking. Furthermore, Thomas has included other illegal elements of detecting practice, such as failing to disclose finds to a consenting landowner, along with failure to declare a Treasure find (Thomas 2010). Another obstacle is the term 'nighthawk' itself, which was coined to describe the fact that many of these parties search under cover of darkness. It is now acknowledged that illegal metal detecting does not always occur at night; in some instances, the term 'dayhawk' is used to differentiate between the two, whilst in Norway rogue detectorists often operating outside of the law are described as 'lonely wolves' (Oxford Archaeology 2009. Thomas 2010. Rasmussen 2014).

Reaction to the results of the Oxford Archaeology survey were mixed: on the one hand, the findings - which showed the number of instances of illicit detecting on scheduled sites had apparently declined - were used amongst the detecting community as evidence the problem was not as great as it seemed, on the other, concerned parties presented the 240 sites attacked between 1995 and 2008 as the 'tip of the iceberg' (Kennedy and Jones 2009), and - according to the CBA - 'likely to be a fraction of the true scale of the under-reported crime' (Hull 2009). The publication also served to alienate members of the metal detecting community who felt let down by the survey's failure to distinguish sufficiently between law-abiding detectorists and nighthawks, especially in the publicity surrounding the document's launch, typified by articles such as *The Guardian*'s 'Treasure raiders scooping up UK

heritage' (Kennedy and Jones 2009. Thomas 2013). A lack of familiarity with the subject and an insensitivity in its handling was indicated to observers by gaffs such as the use of promotional images in which the detectorist illicitly searching at night was pictured without headphones (Fig. 38), and this might account for the metal detectorists' 'suspicion and resistance' to the survey acknowledged by Oxford Archaeology (2009, 19) and reflected in a disappointing response rate (n=20). Ironically, one of the survey's key findings was the potential benefit of working cooperatively with metal detecting clubs in order to protect archaeological sites from the threat of nighthawks (2009, 106), an observation supported by questionnaire data obtained in the current thesis, in which 17.6% of respondents answered 'yes', to the Question 22: 'Thinking of any area in which you detect, have you ever had to actively protect this from other people?'. One respondent (R 418237) reported:

> *all of my permissions probably over 600 acres at present are visited daily or twice daily by myself, at all hours of the day and night , i have had to physically remove nighthawkers and day hawkers on numerous occasions and now used night vision scope to spot intruders working in total darkness*

A further recommendation from Oxford Archaeology, 'that detecting be integrated into the archaeological process, had in fact been implemented by many in the archaeological community in advance of the Nighthawking Survey', state Wilson and Harrison (2013, 2); as also supported by the evidence discussed above, in 7.2.. Nevertheless, as stated, continued efforts in this respect could only be beneficial.

Concerning the practical impact of the Nighthawking Survey on heritage crime, in 2013 English Heritage reported an upswing in the number of arrests for illegal metal detecting within the preceding eighteen months, thanks to improved communication between EH and local police officers, the appointment of Heritage Crime Officers within some services, and the use of increasingly sophisticated enforcement techniques (Wilson and Harrison 2013). In August 2012 the prosecution of Kevin Lomas, after cooperation between Lincolnshire's Operation Totem and the British Museum, marked the first successful prosecution as part of the Heritage Crime programme (East Midlands CPS 2012). It was closely followed by the prosecution in West Suffolk of two men who, whilst wearing camouflage clothing, had stolen artefacts from Baylham Roman site, in Coddenham (Bury Free Press 2012). Such convictions will be welcome to the conscientious detecting community, who are at pains to distance themselves from connotations of criminal behaviour. Questionnaire respondent R 419003 left the following comment, unprompted, in the free text space at the end of the questionnaire: *I Detest NIGHT HAWKERS. They are not doing our hobby any good whatsoever. They STEAL and damage the landscape. They should be dealt with by the courts in the same way as any other looter!!'*. Another agreed: *"get tougher on the nighthawkers .....jail them at the least.....* (R 413185). For Interviewee (**L**), reflecting on the

issues encountered in the St Albans area, which is frequently targeted by nighthawks travelling considerable distances to take advantage of the Roman material around Verulamium, the long-term solution is continued conscientious detecting:

> *Why are they coming down from Coventry to detect down here? It's deliberate and - the whole thing stinks - it goes down like a lead balloon but I'm pleased to say, controlled detecting, club-wise, is the only way around it - that's my view. And individuals through their own daylight detecting. But night detecting - you're only up to no good I'd say.* (**L**)

Oxford Archaeology (2009, 106) agreed that cooperation with metal detectorists was the way forward, stating 'Restrictions on hobby detecting can be counterproductive'.

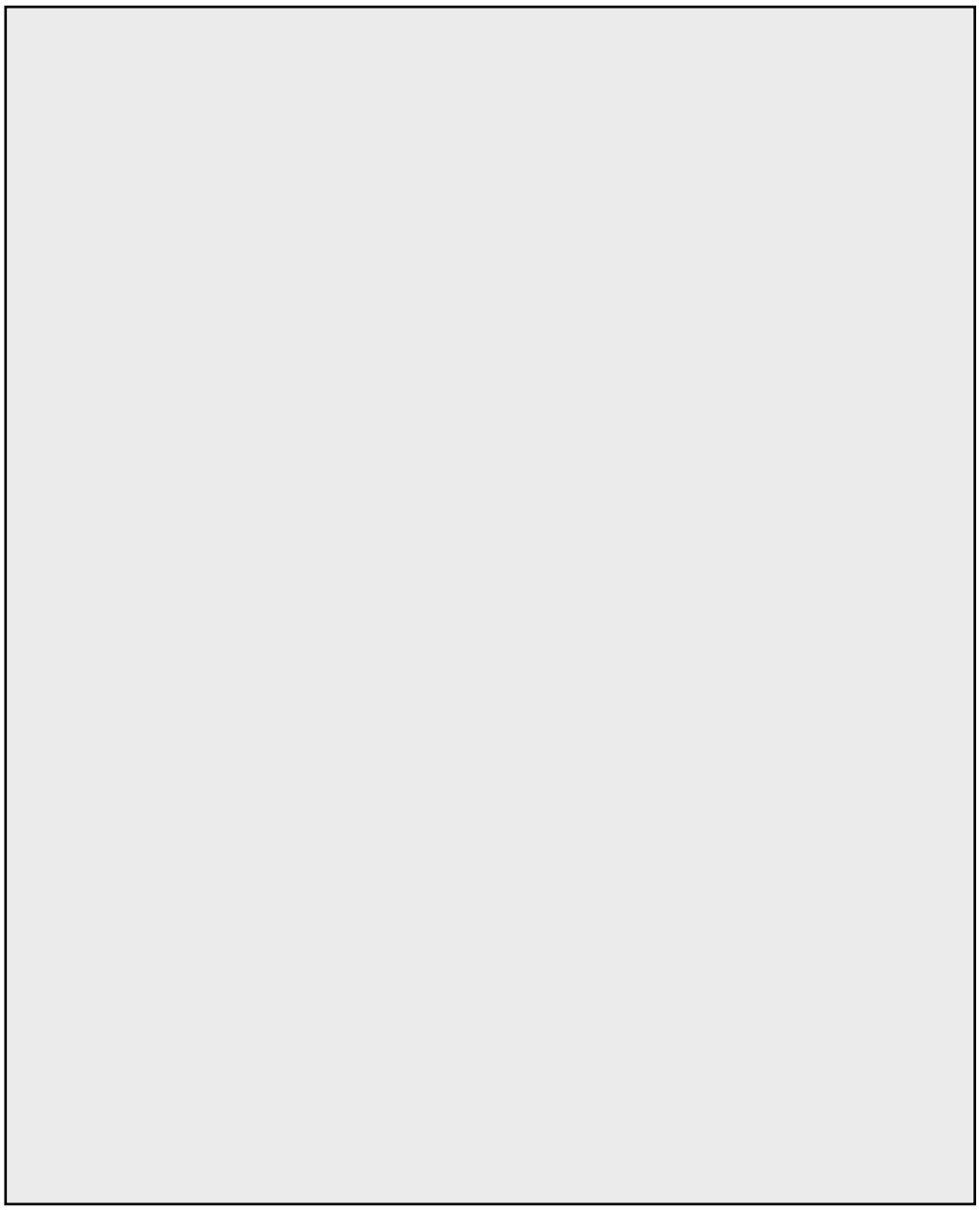


Figure 38: Nighthawking survey open letter © Oxford Archaeology 2009

7.7.2. Metal Detecting Rallies

It is clear then, that progress with tackling illegal metal detecting will require continued efforts, both to keep conscientious metal detectorists engaged and open to communication, and to adequately police and bring to justice those who detect outside the law; the work of Thomas, Coombes et. al. (to name just a few) is doing much to ensure that this issue remains a priority amongst other heritage crime initiatives (Thomas 2010. Coombes et al. 2012). In the case of metal detecting rallies, the path of best action is less clear - despite the enforcement issues, the illegal nature of nighthawking does at least command a response in which the police service, heritage institutions and metal detecting organisations can agree, but the same cannot be said for rallies, which remain extremely popular amongst some detectorists whilst presenting a considerable threat to the recording of portable antiquities that cannot be overlooked by concerned professionals. Rallies in the UK occur in a wide variety of forms: they can be organised at club level, or by individuals; they can be aimed at a large number of participants or just a select few; they can take place on one day, or over a long weekend. Although not always the case, entrance to a rally is usually ticketed, with the landowner taking a fee and the remaining profits going to a charity, often the local Rotary Club. With permission for detecting land becoming increasingly difficult to obtain, rallies provide a good opportunity for searchers who haven't secured personal permissions to get out on to the field - or to travel to a different area in order to find a different kind of material assemblage. There is also the social appeal, and weekend rallies often provide entertainment, as well as stalls offering opportunities to buy metal detecting gear. As discussed in 5.2.2 above (p. 103), associated free text responses suggested that the social element seemed to be a key factor behind the result that 74.4% of the sample confirmed they attend metal detecting rallies. However, the response to this question may also be high because of a lack of clear definition about the size/ nature of the 'rally' being described. Many clubs, for example, operate at a 'rally' level, i.e. instead of being centred upon a local community, their membership covers a wider geographic area and is brought together at organised dig days (and rallies) rather than for monthly meetings solely (the Weekend Wanderers, for example). Other local clubs will have secured land permission at club level, and will conduct regular 'club digs' often once or twice a week, for the membership to participate in together, but as these can see up to 40 people searching together at one time, some detectorists might describe these events as a rally.

For smaller rallies, and those occurring at club level, the problem is relatively slight. Interviewee (**L**) for example, arranges Sunday meetings on club lands for a membership of around 40, but takes responsibility for self-recording any relevant finds made by the club.

Similarly, Interviewee (**D**) revealed that every year the staff of the UK Detector Net (UKDN) arrange a small 'rally' for themselves:

> *there's only about 8 or 9 of us, and it was my turn this year and we had it on here, in September. And we had nine people detecting on this field for a day, and it was 29 degrees! Nicer than today!* (**D**)

In these circumstances, there is clearly no immediate cause for concern; not only are the numbers small, but the events are being arranged by conscientious detectorists who have their own motivations for wishing to preserve the information in their sites by recording their objects. The issue arises when the number of detectorists out searching reaches hundreds, or even thousands; and the acreage of land is similarly massive. As Clark noted in her review (2008, 15), 'A single rally may produce hundreds of finds, which in itself is a source of workload pressure for FLOs'. For Robbins (2014, 70), having conducted research in to the distribution of PAS finds, the effect of rallying is clear - the discovery of potentially hundred of finds having 'great impact on the distribution of objects at both a large scale and at a more local level'.

Figure 39: Rally UK Irthlingborough charity rally, 21 August 2011

In the case of large rallies, arrangements are usually made to ensure that at least one, if not more, Finds Liaison Officers are able to attend, as well as notifying the local Historic Environment Record (HER) Officer as early as possible to check whether the proposed

site contains any known archaeological sites. Both of these considerations are promoted in the PAS code of conduct for rally organisers: https://finds.org.uk/getinvolved/guides/rallycode. Worryingly, however, Robbins (2014, 70) suggests that 'even when the FLOs are in attendance, it is thought that the percentage of finds reported to them is relatively small'. Analysing 48 rallies held by the Weekend Wanderers over two years, 103 finds were recorded on the five occasions where there was an FLO presence (representing 20.6 records per day), whilst only 145 records resulted from those days without an FLO (3.4 records per day) (Robbins 2014). Large-scale rallies can also provide nighthawks with a convenient opportunity to 'get through' objects retrieved from illegal sites, according to comments made to the researcher; Thomas (2009b, 36) agrees: 'sources suggest that the larger metal detecting rallies, for example, where archaeological supervision may be limited or haphazard can present an opportunity to invent a new provenance for tainted [...] artefacts'. False provenances can also be created by the practice of 'seeding' which - although less criminal in its motivation - sees pre-existing finds from elsewhere reburied to ensure that paying searchers are kept happy with a good find-rate on the day; this was mentioned by two of the twelve interviewees, with one requesting not to be quoted.

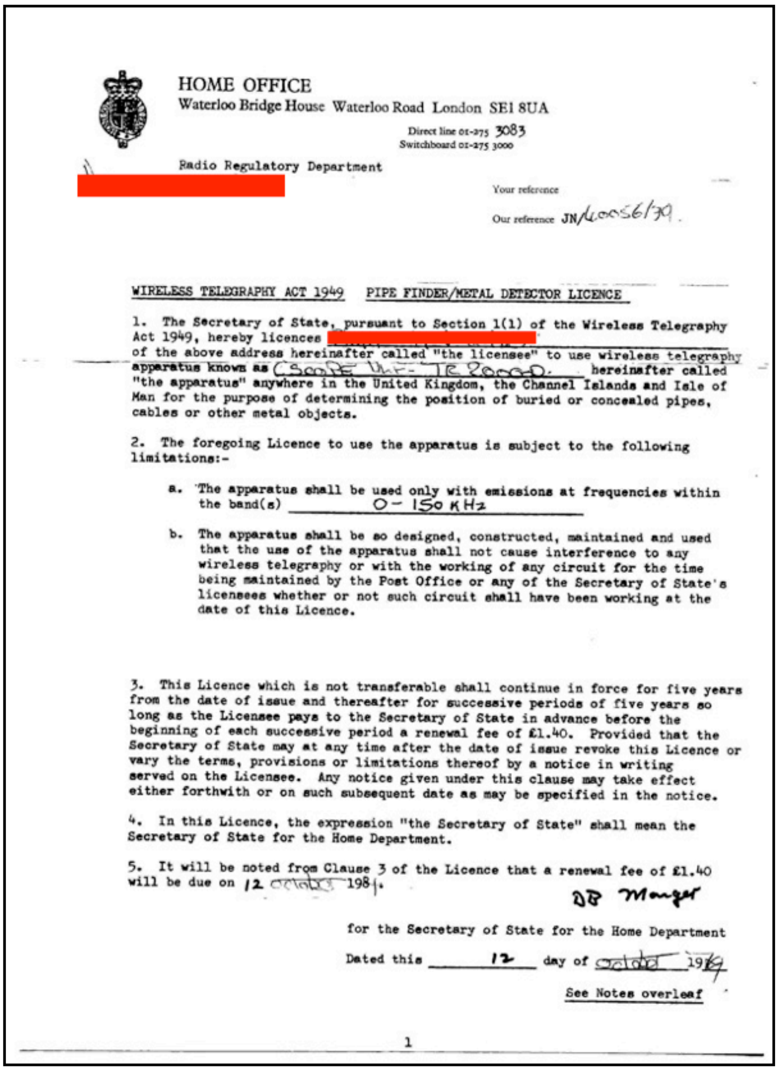
At worst, rallies attracting hundreds of attendees can provide a cover for a variety of potentially illegal activities including misinformation about treasure finds and provenance, with ramifications for the archaeological record on the PAS database; at best, conscientiously-held rallies at which conduct is unimpeachable produce large quantities of finds which present an additional pressure to FLOs, whose workload is already at the far limits of what is feasible. One solution would be to make rallies of any significant size (for example, those with an attendance over 50), as well as any rally occurring outside of PAS knowledge and/or without FLO presence, illegal. However, not only is it unlikely that this suggestion would be legally sanctioned, it would be a contentious statement on the behalf of the country's heritage institutions and reflect a regression in the archaeologist-detectorist relationship. The establishment of an attendance threshold, such as 50, would also be extremely difficult to police. A more practical course of action would be to encourage the programming of metal detecting rallies under the auspices of the PAS, in association with a local museum or similar. In Denmark, Dobat (2013, 712) observed that the cooperation between metal detecting organisations and research institutions regularly results in joint projects, an example being the annual "'Thy rally", a large-scale surveying project covering various sites in different parts of the country, organized by the Thy-Mors Detektorforening in cooperation with the local museums and relevant landowners, [which] regularly attracts close to one hundred detectorists from all over Denmark'. The benefits of this approach have already been witnessed in the UK in the field of conflict archaeology,

where metal detectorists have been enlisted to great effect to survey large areas of battlefields, and plot finds. In the future, however, it would be positive to see this rolled-out further; to follow the Danish example of cooperation with local museums, and engage the detecting community in rally activities whose negative impact was limited, and potential positive impact was encouraged. In contrast to the current situation, where new developments are often greeted with suspicion by the detecting community, who assume these to represent new restrictions to the hobby, it would be beneficial for heritage institutions to make a more magnanimous gesture towards interested detectorists. As Ferguson (2013, 5) suggests, 'the ability [...] to achieve effective mutual cooperation is dependent on a shared appreciation of the knowledge and skills each party can contribute; a balance often requiring constant mitigation and compromise'.

7.8. Maintaining Accessibility

A possible solution, and one which has been suggested in recent years, for safeguarding the country's archaeological resource whilst keeping metal detecting legal, is the introduction of licences for metal detector users; or rather, reintroduction, since between 1949 and 1980, metal detectors were licensed under the Wireless Telegraphy Act (see Fig. 40 below, and Chapter 2.1.)(Robbins 2014). In Sweden, a review of restrictions in 2011 has recently seen modifications tabled for the relaxing of the general ban on using a metal detector (in place since 1991, when legislation was tightened in response to a period of increased looting and improvements to metal detecting technology) and the introduction of a licensing scheme for amateur use, in order to comply with the EU commission regarding the free mobility of goods (Lehorst 2013). Although at the time of writing the system has not yet been implemented, it will propose that the finder be required to declare whether or not they intend to search for antiquities or use the detector for finding other non-ancient metal objects, as well as a demonstration of 'a basic knowledge of archaeology and the regulations that apply to ancient finds'; for Lehorst (2013, 28), 'this means that some kind of training or qualification in the use of metal detectors should be required to obtain a licence'. In addition to the potential problems where such abstract declarations of intentions are concerned - it is not clear what will prevent a participant from simply saying one thing and doing another - the licensing scheme will also require a considerable investment of resources, not least to ensure that the authorities are sufficiently funded to enable them to monitor an increase in detecting (both lawful and unlawful), in contrast to the current situation where the rarity of amateur use of metal detectors means that any illegal activity is quickly spotted and reported (Lehorst 2013). According to Lehorst (2013,

30), however, it is suggested that through a licensing system, the County Administration would be given 'a chance to direct the licensed metal detector users towards sites that are particularly affected by chemical substances or agricultural work, in order to rescue and preserve the threatened finds', thereby improving not only the communication between amateur and professional archaeologist, but also the preservation of antiquities under threat.



HOME OFFICE
Waterloo Bridge House Waterloo Road London SE1 8UA

Direct line 01-275 3083
Switchboard 01-275 3000

Radio Regulatory Department
[redacted]

Your reference
Our reference JN/4006/79.

WIRELESS TELEGRAPHY ACT 1949 PIPE FINDER/METAL DETECTOR LICENCE

1. The Secretary of State, pursuant to Section 1(1) of the Wireless Telegraphy Act 1949, hereby licences [redacted] of the above address hereinafter called "the licensee" to use wireless telegraphy apparatus known as C.Scope VLF- TR 2000D. hereinafter called "the apparatus" anywhere in the United Kingdom, the Channel Islands and Isle of Man for the purpose of determining the position of buried or concealed pipes, cables or other metal objects.

2. The foregoing Licence to use the apparatus is subject to the following limitations:-

a. The apparatus shall be used only with emissions at frequencies within the band(s) 0- 150 KHz

b. The apparatus shall be so designed, constructed, maintained and used that the use of the apparatus shall not cause interference to any wireless telegraphy or with the working of any circuit for the time being maintained by the Post Office or any of the Secretary of State's licensees whether or not such circuit shall have been working at the date of this Licence.

3. This Licence which is not transferable shall continue in force for five years from the date of issue and thereafter for successive periods of five years so long as the Licensee pays to the Secretary of State in advance before the beginning of each successive period a renewal fee of £1.40. Provided that the Secretary of State may at any time after the date of issue revoke this Licence or vary the terms, provisions or limitations thereof by a notice in writing served on the Licensee. Any notice given under this clause may take effect either forthwith or on such subsequent date as may be specified in the notice.

4. In this Licence, the expression "the Secretary of State" shall mean the Secretary of State for the Home Department.

5. It will be noted from Clause 3 of the Licence that a renewal fee of £1.40 will be due on 12 October 198[illegible].

for the Secretary of State for the Home Department

Dated this 12 day of October 1979

See Notes overleaf

1

Figure 39: Metal detector licence, 12 October 1979 © Interviewee (K) (name removed)

Benefitting from the current restriction on metal detecting in Sweden, the introduction of a licensing system (as the means to loosening these) can therefore be linked to the positive outputs of an engaged detecting community: the increased discovery of archaeological sites, the preservation of endangered ploughsoil finds, the wider involvement of the general public. In England and Wales, however, licensing would represent, if not the polar opposite, at least an implementation of a control upon a currently unchecked hobby, which

may be unpopular. Certainly, as Lewis (2013, 21) suggests, it 'would invariably be bureaucratic and have a cost implication'. And yet amongst the questionnaire respondents - whose opinions were offered not in response to any set question - there were a number of pro-licensing comments. R 428457, who has been searching in Lincolnshire for 12 years, wrote *I would very much like to see the hobby licenced in some way, with very stringent entry criteria to be obtained prior owning and using a metal detector. Similar to a Fire Arms Certificate*. The Environment Agency (EA) Rod Licence required of anglers is another potential comparison; renewed annually, the holder is required to complete an occasional questionnaire which (at least in theory), enables the EA to collect data on how many anglers there are, where they are based and what species they fish for, as the cost of the licence is dependent upon this last question. Contrary to the statement made by Lewis, R 429576 suggested that a licensing system might have the benefit of raising money for the Scheme: *Finally, if PAS is having difficulty with funding, perhaps you can consider re-introducing a licence for metal detecting. Yes, there would be an outcry but it would pass, eventually....* Although it is doubtful that in practice a licensing system would generate funds for the Scheme, it is telling that respondent R 429576 was not only open to it, but suggested it as a solution to a potential problem; metal detectorists fear that serious restrictions might be placed upon their hobby were the Scheme to collapse. Ultimately, the concerns voiced for the PAS from the detecting community (as well as heritage professionals) throughout this chapter reflect a desire to maintain and future-proof the Scheme, to improve working systems for the FLOs and therefore facilitate best recording practice amongst finders old and new.

The issue at stake is accessibility: accessibility of PAS staff and other archaeological organisations to the detecting community and, in return, accessibility of the metal-detected resource to the research community, the interested public, and the country's wider archaeological record. This exchange will rely upon continued efforts to open and maintain channels of communication as evidence suggests that, despite considerable progress, metal detectorists still feel misrepresented and misjudged by archaeologists and heritage professionals thanks, in part, to continuing failures where the handling of nighthawking is concerned. Conscientious metal detectorists in England and Wales - a significant number of the community, based upon the proportion of questionnaire respondents who record with PAS (87.5%) - continue to make a valuable contribution to the country's heritage, and rightly request acknowledgement of this. As Robbins (2014, 9) states, the vastness of the PAS data collection - 1,111,122 objects across 696,066 records at the time of writing - 'has the potential to revolutionise the way in which we research our past'. 815 people currently have full access to the database for research purposes, and 422 projects have been completed to date, including 87 PhDs (Lewis 2014a). Local authority archaeologists will

also now be able to reference this huge resource in their daily work, thanks to the agreement reached in 2005 to transfer PAS data to the Historic Environment Records, 'where it will be able to play its full part in protecting the archaeological record' (Bland 200b5, 291). But, the PAS is more than the sum of its research potential. As Bland (2005b, 293) suggests, 'the real significance of the Scheme is that it is a unique initiative in the way it adds to our collective knowledge of the past through a project that is founded on public involvement and participation, rather than through a research project conceived and executed by professionals'. Like the digital crowdsourced applications mentioned earlier, the PAS database is a unique platform which reflects the key aims of the Scheme itself, most visibly that to create partnerships between finders and museums/archaeologists and increase participation to work together to advance understanding of the past (Robbins 2014). Looking forward, it will be vital to maintain what has been achieved to date, and this will only be managed if funding commitments to the Scheme remain at their current levels. Whilst there would ideally be increased provision to allow for more support where the FLO workload is concerned, the British Museum budget announced for 2015-2016 in fact reflects a cut to the PAS budget of 6%. Programmes such as the recently-launched PASt Explorers are testament to the increased resourcefulness and ingenuity of the Scheme in light of increased pressures, however despite being flagged in Clark's 2008 review, a creative solution is yet to be found for managing the delivery of PAS outreach and differentiating this from FLO recording responsibilities, if required. Likewise, a response to the issue of metal detecting rallies would be extremely beneficial. Final reflections are discussed in Chapter 8, below.

Chapter 8. Conclusion

8.1. Answering the Research Questions

The overarching aim of this thesis is to consider how attachment to landscape is generated, and investigate how this might be enacted via metal detecting, in order to better understand the attitudes of metal detectorists searching in England today.

How do we generate attachment to landscape?

From a review of the literature, and an analysis of the quantitative and qualitative data collected, it is clear that there is no single straightforward formula that can be applied to a person's perception and experience of landscape, let alone to understanding the value attributed to it thereafter. For Lowenthal (1978, 378), 'attachment to a specific place is apt to reflect some intimate connection, like growing up in it; attachment to a landscape (or townscape) type is more apt to reflect scenic or recreational preferences'. However, this thesis would reject a division between place and landscape, and the associated division between 'intimate connection' versus 'scenic [...] preferences'. Instead, it subscribes to Ingold's (1993, 155) assertion that 'a place in the landscape is not "cut out" from the whole, either on the plane of ideas or on that of material substance', but is rather an embodiment of the whole multi-sensory, perceptive experience of a particular locale. As such, home attachment - if felt - comprises both the intimate connections of growing up in a place, or living there for a duration of time, with potential scenic preferences of similar landscape types, as these are associated with the fondness for home; biographies and landscape become interwoven and places become peopled with memories (Bell 1997).

What proportion of detectorists feel attached to the land on which they detect regularly?

The majority of metal detectorists surveyed in the research detected close to their homes (85.9%), and a similar percentage reported being attached to the land upon which they detected regularly (70.8%). Whilst this may have been a reflection of an attachment to their home area, in most instances their detecting land would have likely been a large area to cover and not just a specific place. Indeed, only 38.8% reported having a favourite findspot, indicating that for the majority of them, the attachment to the area they visited regularly was about experiencing a wider plain of historic landscape, rather than a specific locale.

The response from the detectorists also supports the assertion that attachment to landscape is generated from a number of contributing factors to the perception and experience of going out on it: whilst many of the text responses to the question about a favourite spot revealed an aesthetic reason, scenic landscape was ranked only five out of six in order of importance (although its average rating was 3.73). Whether they had a favourite findspot or not, a positive relationship with the landowner was most important amongst 59% of respondents, coming ahead of high-quality finds which was ranked first by only 25.2%.

To what extent does attachment impact upon attitudes towards the archaeology of a place?

In seeking to understand how the detectorists generate attachment to landscape, it is clear that whilst a preferred landscape is not necessarily about aesthetic preferences, it is also not necessarily about a high rate of quality finds, even though this is what many critics might assume was the priority for the detecting community. Just as they are not motivated necessarily by a large quantity of finds, the majority is also not concerned about the financial worth of the objects. This was ranked least important out of five by 96.6% of questionnaire respondents, and only discussed by half of the go-along interviewees (n=6), in whose conversations, if the subject did arise, it was usually discussed in the context of the treasure valuation process. Instead, both interviewees and questionnaire respondents were concerned about the information contained in the object, the potential story that could be discovered, and the haptic encounter of being the first to touch an object since it was lost. 83.7% of questionnaire respondents ranked 'Information it contains about the past', the most important factor in a find, while researching (category C8) and recording (C7) were the coded categories with the most direct mentions amongst the interviewees. One questionnaire respondent noted:

> *I would like to state that I do not collect finds, they either get returned to the landowners or if agreed by them they go to the Bristol City Museum as a donation. I record all my finds with the PAS through my local FLO to a 10 figure national grid reference. Understanding the historic landscape is my aim and priority, the finds I locate help me understand that landscape, both locally and regionally. My metal detecting is a geophysical tool that assists me in mapping sites within the landscape.* (R 428558)

Amongst those questionnaire respondents who answered 'yes' to having a favourite findspot, the associated free text responses support the finding that these are not often

places which have given them a particular quantity of artefacts, like R 413264, for example, who described his as a *Sloping field, supposidly [sic] near a Roman marching camp (no decent finds yet, still hopeing [sic])*. Clearly, then, just as metal detecting is about more than simply finding buried treasure, so too is the detectorists' attachment to landscape about more than the potential for this. Instead, both are about landscape facilitating a meeting of past experience and potential action, aesthetic preferences combined with local knowledge, and lastly, that mysterious factor experienced detectorists have described simply as 'gut instinct'. Respondent 419855 has been detecting for 36 years, and wrote: *I get a feel for an area and it very rarely lets me down.*

This statement was typical of the sense of place demonstrated by the respondent detectorists, whose experiences were shaped by a combination of visual and haptic memory, local knowledge and physical encounter. The strength of the detectorists' visual memory is demonstrated by statements like that of Interviewee (**L**) reflecting on his first Roman denariius found in Catterick: *I could take you there today - I can see it in my mind's eye and I could show you* and supported by the questionnaire data where, on a scale of one to ten, with one being 'not at all clearly' and ten 'extremely clearly', 39.2% of respondents placed themselves at ten, for the clarity with which they could visualise a findspot for a particular object, with over 80% being at eight or above. It is this visual memory and ability to visually recall objects within the landscape, which contributes so vitally to an ability to imagine a landscape of the past, and reconstruct what may have occurred there.

For some - and this seems to depend upon a number of factors, including profession, hobbies other than detecting, and wider attitudes to research - this reconstruction is expressed formally, as in the case of Interviewee (**G**) who prepares GIS (Geographic Information System) maps to create patterns and piece the puzzle together; but for others it may be a very different type of imagining, with not necessarily a 'right' or 'wrong' answer. Interviewee (**A**), particularly in light of the spread of flints across his farmland, enjoys speculating about the multiple different interpretations that present themselves, in one instance suggesting (regarding a flint arrowhead):

> *This bloke probably had a load of little kiddies that wanted feeding, right? He had to make that. Or he had to make them arrowheads, to go and kill something. So he could feed his family, whereas all I do is go to Tesco. And the actual thought of that, and then he's lost it - it just amazes me. You don't know, there might have been a little Tesco's down there selling arrowheads, there might have been a local arrowhead maker that was making all these things, and you'd go down and you'd swap something for it, and he'd give you two or three arrowheads.* (**A**)

Although it is not always clear to the detectorists themselves that landscape is at work in their perceptive experience and, indeed, makes a contribution to their practice (albeit expressed differently depending upon their approach), the findings presented within this thesis demonstrate clearly that the majority of metal detectorists have an attachment to the landscape upon which they detect regularly and, moreover, that this is expressed in a conscientiousness to the way they recover and record their finds and, in some instances, even protect the landscape itself. Territoriality, when identifiable amongst detectorists' attitudes, does not stem from a possessiveness over the potential monetary worth of portable antiquities at a findspot and a desire to keep this out of the hands of others, but rather a concern at the loss of information that could occur if an area is nighthawked and finds removed without being recorded. Furthermore, an element of this protectiveness also has its origins in the detectorists' prioritisation of a positive relationship with the landowner (ranked first out of six attributes in a favourite findspot by 59% of respondents), and an associated territoriality on their behalf, when people are encountered on the land without permission; as Interviewee (**D**) remarked, *I actually get possessive on behalf of the farmer, so I will challenge inappropriate people who I don't think should be there* (see 6.3.2.).

8.2. Recommendations

The conscientiousness displayed by the respondent detectorists is hardly surprising given the sheer amount of time many of them have invested in the hobby to date. The approach is typical of Stebbins' (1980) 'serious leisure', whereby the longer a participant practises a hobby, the more they develop their skills, and the more rewarding it becomes (see discussion Chapter 7, above). The majority of the questionnaire respondents detected once a week (28.8%) and on average had been detecting for 10 years, although a histogram peak also occurred at 30-35 years, so the resultant knowledge acquired can be assumed to be considerable.

Accepting this to be the case for a significant portion of the metal detecting community in England and Wales, the following recommendations are made, with a view to best preserving the country's archaeological record, whilst acknowledging the right of the detecting community to contribute to this effort:

(i) Greater sensitivity to the experience of conscientious metal detectorists

Continued efforts need to be made to be sensitive to the experience of conscientious metal detectorists who often feel 'tarred by the same brush' as the criminal nighthawking contingent. Aside from a lack of subtlety in separating legal from illegal detecting - typified by blunders such as those in the Oxford Archaeology report (see 7.6.1.) - many detectorists report feeling barely tolerated, as responses to the questionnaire illustrate:

> *Nice to see there are some other people whom see that the vast majority of metal detectorists are not out to "rape the landscape"* (R 426989).

The sense of attachment that many detectorists report having towards the landscape they search upon regularly translates for many of them into a desire to maintain an accurate record of the objects that they find there, in order to both obtain a complete picture and contribute to the archaeological record. This should be taken into account by the archaeological community, along with the fact that without this diligence, many of the significant finds of the last few years would not have been made. As R 419854 states: *I do feel that detectorists are unfairly stigmatised and stereo-typed, after all some of the most remarkable finds of recent years would not have been discovered without them.*

(ii) Acknowledgment of the contribution to knowledge of both metal-detected objects and PAS data

Contrary to some lasting opinions among professional archaeologists, many detectorists are making valuable contributions to the archaeological resource, and consequently to research, through discoveries of new archaeological sites (such as Ipplepen in Devon, for example, p. 202) and new artefact types. This information would not be accessible were it not for the Portable Antiquities Scheme whose importance, situated within the process of finding, recording and preserving the country's small archaeological finds, also needs greater support from the sector at large. PAS data are now incorporated with local SMRs, whilst its data have been used in 15 major research projects and 87 PhDs have been completed to date. 2017 will mark the Scheme's 20th anniversary, and yet - like the metal detectorists whose objects it records - it is still subject to disappointing treatment, particularly where funding commitments are concerned.

(iii) Proactive resolution of outstanding issues: in particular, metal detecting rallies and funding commitment to the PAS

Long-term funding contributions need to be secured for the PAS in order for it to be able to function efficiently, with more foresight than the current annual allocations permit. Reception of the Scheme by heritage institutions outside of the UK need only be observed to recognise the importance and innovation of its model and, consequently, the scandal that it is not currently better financially supported. The Scheme requires additional permanent staff if it is to expand its offering, as the FLOs are currently working at full capacity but turnaround time on the recording process is extremely slow in high-traffic areas. A more comfortable budget would allow the Scheme to look more creatively at its current staffing structure and identify potential areas for development, particularly in light of further outreach, outside of what is currently being achieved, by *PASt Explorers* in particular.

Any resolution of the issue of large-scale metal detecting rallies and their particular impact will rely upon the PAS resource, in order to table discussion with key stakeholder groups and arrive at a conclusion (if possible). This will be impossible to achieve if the future of the PAS is not better provisioned for. The author proposes that with some intuitive programming, it should be possible to offer the detecting community a potential way to engage with archaeology under terms that suit everyone, in particular looking for alternative ways to accommodate them en masse, in a situation that achieves the camaraderie and festival atmosphere of a large metal detecting rally, but with a shared common aim, moderated to prevent loss, or misdirection, of information. It is suggested that several recent battlefield archaeology projects, as well as the current system in Denmark (p. 217), may provide useful models for this.

(iv) Increased creativity in approaches to incorporating metal detectorists into archaeological initiatives

Aside from presenting a valuable alternative to metal detecting rallies, attempts to increase the number and potential of archaeological initiatives with the opportunity for metal detecting involvement would be a useful step towards improving communication between archaeologists and the detecting community, working further on the amateur/academic divide and facilitating skills exchange. Initiatives such as the Gabii project (p. 193) provide a useful model for this although, as Ferguson (2013) points out, we should be attempting to find ways of including detectorists without restricting them to the spoil heap.

Reactions from both the questionnaire survey and the conversational interviews have shown that participation in archaeological projects has the potential to be a hugely positive experience for the metal detectorist, whilst it should be clear to all concerned that the country's heritage would be better protected if archaeologists were more forthcoming, and more creative in involving detectorists instead of trying to keep them at arm's reach. As R 418133 stated, *I for one would gladly give my time on a dig if given the chance*, it is simply a case now of creating these opportunities.

(v) Landscape sited at the centre of future approaches

Concluding her PhD research in 2009, Thomas flagged her concern that previous research into metal detecting had been overly focussed on the 'product (the archaeological data) rather than the process (the individuals and relationships involved)' (2009b, 328). Her own thesis went no small way to correct this, and was built upon in later studies (i.e. Dobat 2013. Ferguson 2013. Robbins 2014. Thomas 2014a) however until now one of these 'relationships involved' has been overlooked - that of detectorists and landscape.

By situating landscape more firmly in the centre of future approaches to metal detecting, it is suggested that a number of the recommendations outlined above would be achieved in that it would reflect a more creative and intuitive method of working, and acknowledge the expert knowledge of the metal detectorist who often has a greater understanding of his regularly-searched local areas than the relevant county archaeologist or similar. The expanse of arable land in the UK is vast, and much of it will never see an archaeological investigation; sites are rarely discovered unless as part of commercial excavation prior to development, so that detecting often provides a timely rescue for many objects which would otherwise be destroyed by ploughing or chemical fertilisers. By improving relationships with metal detectorists, and finding new ways to involve them in the archaeological process, we should also look to work with them more closely when it comes to locally-based research. Metal detecting clubs should be involved more regularly at a local level so that - by putting back some of the 'power' into the hands of the stakeholders - channels of communication would be opened for information exchange.

67.2% of the questionnaire respondents strongly agreed that they felt protective of the landscape upon which they detect regularly, a potentially useful resource in light of concerns about nighthawking. This territoriality is not borne out of a greed for potential material worth of objects (as discussed earlier), instead it stems from the detectorists'

desire to protect their finds from unscrupulous searchers. By ensuring they are the only searchers on the land, they can guarantee that any found objects will be recorded and therefore contribute to their wider understanding of the landscape. After all, amongst the questionnaire respondents, 21.2% agreed and 66.9% strongly agreed (a total of 88.1%) that it is important for them to understand the history of the landscape they detect on regularly.

8.3. Areas for Future Research

The recommendations above, based on the collection and analysis of original data, reflect the significant contribution made by this thesis to our understanding of how metal detectorists engage with the historic landscape and, by association, their wider attitudes to the hobby today, in order to examine how these should best be incorporated in to a more future-proof heritage practice. The field of human geography and, in particular, phenomenological encounter has been strengthened by a consideration of metal detecting as a very unique type of activity.

Although still by no means perfect, the climate in which metal detectorists and archaeologists cooperate at the time of writing is very different to the mood some thirty or forty years ago, when the sheer number of active detectorists presented a threat that was seen to necessitate public campaigns from the heritage sector (see 2.2., p. 27). Today, thanks to a decrease in numbers as well as to the timely intervention of the Portable Antiquities Scheme, the channels of communication have widened and more detectorists are being offered the opportunity to make a positive contribution to recording the country's portable heritage. Many hobbyists have embraced this, devising their own ways of formalising their search technique - through laying out lines for fieldwalking, building their own home databases, plotting their finds using GPS and even entering this information directly on to PAS records. The work carried out for this thesis marks the first collection of qualitative data on these approaches and more, in order to explore the attitudes underpinning them and better understand - going forward - the methods and motivations of the conscientious detecting community. It is of significant value that, building upon the work of Thomas (2009b) and Robbins (2012) among others, our limited understanding of detecting practice has now been supplemented with some rich anecdotal material as well as further quantitative information on widely-held attitudes to searching and recording.

The data presented above comprises first-hand, reliable evidence that for a significant proportion of the detecting community, the motivation of the hobby is not the monetary

value contained in singular objects, but rather the satisfaction of piecing together the puzzle of an historic landscape populated with finds - a far more archaeological approach than detectorists are sometimes credited with. Clearly, further work is still required regarding those detectorists not already so well-integrated in the PAS system - including independent searchers who have not yet been engaged by the Scheme and attendees of large-scale metal detecting rallies. As has been discussed (see 7.1., p. 184) there are significant methodological issues inherent when trying to reach such 'independent' practitioners, but a concerted research programme focussed on targeting a series of geographically dispersed rallies would doubtless have some success, potentially implementing the ethnographic methodology Thomas (2009, 322) has advocated.

The unique codebook created by the researcher for analysis of the interview data herein (see Tables 15-17, p. 136-137) has the potential to translate extremely effectively to any future research involving interviews and, in particular, could produce interesting results if landowners were surveyed. Indeed, for a successful study of landowners, it is posited that a similar methodology to the thesis as a whole could prove effective: namely, collection of large-scale quantitative data through questionnaire issue followed by in-depth interviews of landowners with relevant experience of permitting or forbidding metal detecting on their land. A study of this sort would provide insight into how landowners feel about their land (and how this differs from the detectorists' perception of it), any potential archaeological finds therein, and the possible impact of metal detecting, all of which would be extremely useful. That the PAS already recognises the importance of the role of landowners in the metal detecting process is made clear by the 'Guidance for landowners, occupiers and tenant farmers in England and Wales' on the Scheme's website which encourages landowners to have a written 'finds agreement' and to ask searchers that all finds are recorded with the FLO (https://finds.org.uk/getinvolved/guides/guidancelandowners). It therefore stands to reason that any study which has the potential to increase our understanding of the attitudes of landowners currently involved - to any varying degree - in the metal detecting and recording process, would be of benefit to the sector.

Finally, a study in to the recording of negative finds, for example a cooperative project which over a specified period of time asked detectorists to consistently record areas in which they found nothing, would make a valuable contribution to ongoing research. Such an investigation would not only highlight what parts of the countryside might be found to have little portable heritage in the ploughsoil level, but would also bring about a greater understanding of how detectorists search, how they select where to go back to and other issues. Robbins (2012, 110) captured some of this in her thesis research, with 60% of

respondents reporting that they record 'fields that have repeatedly produced no finds', but she also found that there seemed to be a confusion amongst those who didn't record as to whether or not PAS would be interested and, further, concerns over the potential for the information to be 'misanalysed'. Part of the issue with this question in the past seems to have been the lack of consistency for detectorists on what constitutes a sufficient 'negative'. In this study, Interviewee (**G**) stated '*there are so many variables - it's your unit effort that you put in',* but nevertheless said that he had recorded negatives previously when requested to do so by an archaeologist. Meanwhile, Interviewee (**J**) reported recording the negatives, but only for his own purposes. Just as PAS object data have proven valuable for filling in the gaps in our understanding of where there has been more concentrated human activity in the landscape than previously suspected, so, under the auspices of a carefully designed research framework, would the recording of negatives have the potential to highlight where there has been less.

8.4. Final Conclusions

Perception of, and therefore attitudes to, landscape, and development of a sense of place is an extremely complex field, for psychologists, behavioural geographers and more (as discussed in Chapter 3). But by taking a phenomenological approach to metal detecting we can begin to appreciate that, as a hobby enacted outdoors, metal detecting shares many of the same rewards as might be expected from fishing or similar and should be approached accordingly - without the furore and emotional baggage it has previously been prey to. It would be wise to more regularly take into account what detectorists experience when they search: an authentic historic environment populated with years' worth of previous finds; a spatial field upon which they meticulously lay out lines, or assign GPS markers; a place near to home, with the associated milieu of memories; a self in 'flow' in which they seek to lose themselves from the concerns of daily, working life.

As a meeting of total involvement, concentration and enjoyment, this 'flow' encounter was not easy for the detectorists to explain - with 'just' often used as a modifier, e.g. 'just' fun - however, its consistent appeal was attested to by expressions like 'hooked' or 'buzz'. Detecting is a hobby from which its practitioners derive great enjoyment. For the vast majority, it is not done for material gain (see Chapter 5, p. 123-124). But for those who do search with a view to selling their finds, the evidence presented herein suggests that engagement of the conscientious detecting community may prove one of the best foils. Detectorists feel a duty to detect responsibly (98%), and a large proportion are protective

of the lands on which they search regularly (81%). By engaging more positively with responsible metal detectorists, local archaeologists and heritage professionals would likely improve their chances of tackling illicit detecting and nighthawking whilst at the same time building bridges with a community who currently report feeling unappreciated.

Ultimately, this thesis has presented research that demonstrates that the conscientious detecting community comprises an extremely interested and committed group of people with a vast wealth of knowledge that they would like to share with the wider public, if given the opportunity to do so. Many already create these opportunities for themselves, speaking to local societies, participating in events, donating objects to museums. However, the onus should now be on the heritage sector to devise some creative programming to facilitate engagement on a wider scale. Key to the success of this will be the continued work of the Portable Antiquities Scheme which - currently stretched to capacity by present demands - urgently requires a long-term commitment of financial support. Clark's (2008, 8) review of the Scheme, as stated in 2.5.1., reported 'No consultee has suggested that the scheme is not needed, or that the aims could be delivered in an alternative way', and that picture remains accurate some seven years later. Despite funding freezes and over-stretched staff, the last 18 years have seen the PAS record over one million finds, go through three database rebuilds, and rescue countless hoards, among them an Anglo-Saxon assemblage of global importance. Their approach to the metal detecting community, as collaborators and contributors, should now be taken as an example by the wider archaeological profession.

As has been facilitated by recent innovative digital crowdsourcing initiatives, continued efforts should be made to dissolve traditional boundaries of nomenclature and prejudice. Although originally, from the Latin *amare*, meaning simply someone who loved what they were doing, 'amateur' has now become a derogatory label, particularly for metal detectorists, where the contrasting 'professionals' have previously been so outspoken in their opposition (Csikszentmihalyi 2008). This thesis has argued for a return to the earliest meaning of this word, which prioritises, as Csikszentmihalyi (2008, 140) posits, 'experiences rather than accomplishments'. Observing through the lens of the local home places of the metal detectorists, however, it should be possible to acknowledge both at the same time; to give due recognition to both the detectorists' experiences *and* their accomplishments and move together towards a more complete understanding of the English landscape.

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Metal Detectorists and Landscape Questionnaire

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This survey is on the subject of metal detecting, landscape and object findspots. The aim of the survey is to gather information directly from metal detector users about their attitudes to these issues. This information will be used to better understand what it means to detect in England today and to assess the effectiveness of the Portable Antiquities Scheme.

- **This questionnaire is anonymous.**

- **You are not required to record with the Portable Antiquities Scheme to complete this questionnaire.**

- **You will not be asked to give any information that could enable your findspots to be identified.**

The survey should take about five minutes to complete but this may vary depending on the answers you give. Thank you very much for taking the time to complete this questionnaire.

Section A: Classification Data

A1. What is your gender? **Indicate with (x)**:

Male ( ) Female ( )

A2. To which age group do you belong? **Indicate with (x):**

Under 18	( )	18 - 24	( )
25 - 34	( )	35 - 44	( )
45 - 54	( )	55 - 64	( )
		65 and over	( )

A3. How do you search? **Indicate with (x):**

Metal detector ( )
Trowel ( )
"Eyes only" ( )

A4a. Are you currently a member of a metal detecting club? **Indicate with (x):**

Yes ( )
No ( )

A4b. What is the name of your metal detecting club?

……

A5a. How long have you been metal detecting?

…….(Years)……(Months)

A5b. How long have you been a member of your current metal detecting club (if different from above)?

…….(Years)……(Months)

A6. Does your club have a relationship with the local Finds Liaison Officer?

Yes ( )
No ( ) **If no, why not?……**

A7a. Do you record with the Portable Antiquities Scheme? Either on your own, or at club meetings.

Yes ( )
No ( )

A7b. Do you record with another forum?

Yes ( ) **If yes, which?.....……..**
No ( )

Section B: When do you detect?

B1. On average, how often do you go metal detecting?

Less than once a month ( )
Once a month ( )
Twice – three times a month ( )
Once a week ( )
More than once a week ( )

B2. Do you attend metal detecting rallies?

Yes ( )
No ( )

Please explain the reason for your answer:

……

……

Section C: Where do you detect?

C1a. In what area, and county, do you mostly detect?

……

C1b. Is this close to your home?

Yes ( )
No ( )

C2. Thinking of the land on which you detect most often, which one of these best describes how permission was obtained from the landowner? **Indicate with (x);**
You may choose more than one.

Obtained permission myself (exclusive) ( )
Obtained permission myself (non-exclusive),
this includes PLA licensing for the Thames ( )
A friend obtained permission ( )
The land is owned by my club ( )
Other, **please describe below** ( )

……

Section D: Your favourite findspot

D1. Do you have a favourite findspot?

No ( )
Yes ( )
If yes, please describe why it is your favourite:

……

.....

D2. **From 1 – 6, where 1 is the most important and 6 is the least important,** please rate the following, in the order of importance in your favourite findspot:

Easy access	( )
Exclusive permission to detect	( )
Good relationship with landowner	( )
High-quality finds	( )
Privacy	( )
Attractive landscape	( )

D3. To what extent do you agree with the following statements?

Please circle:

A. I feel very *attached* to the landscape on which I detect regularly

1	2	3	4	5	
Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Agree	Strongly agree	No opinion

B. I have a sense of the history of the landscape on which I detect regularly

1	2	3	4	5	
Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Agree	Strongly agree	No opinion

C. It is important to me to understand the history of the landscape on which I detect regularly

1	2	3	4	5	
Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Agree	Strongly agree	No opinion

D. **I am *protective* of the landscape on which I detect regularly**

1	2	3	4	5	
Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Agree	Strongly agree	No opinion

D4. Thinking of any area in which you detect, have you ever had to actively protect this from other people?
No ( )
Yes ( )
If yes, please describe the circumstances below:

……

……

……

Section E: Recording and Metal detecting conduct

E1a. Are you familiar with the National Council for Metal Detecting's (NCMD) Code of Conduct?
Yes ( )
No ( )

E1b. Do you abide by it?
Yes ( )
No ( )

E2. How do you record your object findspots? **Indicate with (x); You may choose more than one.**
Don't record ( )
GPS ( )
On a map/ atlas ( )
Other ( ) **Please describe below:**

……

E3. Thinking of an object findspot for a particular object, where 1 is not at all clearly and 10 is extremely clearly, how clearly do you think you could recall or visualise the location? **Please indicate with (x), choosing only one.**

1 ( ) – Not at all clearly
2 ( )
3 ( )

4 ( )
5 ( )
6 ( )
7 ( )
8 ( )
9 ( )
10 ( ) – Extremely clearly

E4. To what extent do you agree with the following statements? **Please circle:**

A. Archaeology belongs to everybody

1	2	3	4	5	
Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Agree	Strongly agree	No opinion

B. Metal detector users have a duty to detect responsibly

1	2	3	4	5	
Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Agree	Strongly agree	No opinion

C. Recording with the Portable Antiquities Scheme fulfills this duty to detect responsibly

1	2	3	4	5	
Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Agree	Strongly agree	No opinion

E5. **From 1 – 5, where 1 is the most important and 5 is the least important,** please rate the following, in the order of importance in a find:

Information it contains about the past ( )
Attractiveness ( )
Monetary value ( )
Collectable value ( )
Condition / state of repair ( )

E6. Thinking of your finds collection, **please indicate with (x)**, whether you have ever, or would ever:

	Yes	**No**
Swap your finds	( )	( )
Sell your finds	( )	( )
Donate your finds	( )	( )

E7. Thinking of your favourite find, what is it, and why is it your favourite?

.....

.....

Many thanks for taking the time to complete this questionnaire, if you have any other thoughts or comments, please add them here:

.....

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APPENDIX 2: METAL DETECTING CLUBS ACTIVE MARCH 2012

Total from websites accessed 19 March 2012, n=222

Total (websites + questionnaire), n=248

KEY:

(plain) - Federation of Independent Detectorists Web Directory

(bold) - National Council for Metal Detecting Web Directory, also/solely

(red) - membership responded to questionnaire (n=85)

(red italic) = membership responded to questionnaire, club not listed on either site (n=26)

1. Allderdale Research Club
2. **Anglia Historic Searchers**
3. Anglian Detecting Group
4. Antonine Metal Detectors Club
5. **Ashfield Metal Detecting Club**
6. Ayreshire Research Detector Group
7. Aztec Metal Detecting Club
8. Banbridge County MD Club
9. **Bedfordshire Historical Search Society**
10. **Berkshire Metal Detecting Club**
11. B.I.D.S., Birmingham's Independent Detectorists Society
12. **Blackpool and Fylde MDC**
13. **Blaydon and District SandR Assoc.**
14. **Bloxwich Research and MD Club**
15. Bolton and District Prospectors Club
16. **Bolton Metal Detecting Club**
17. **Border Reivers Search Society**
18. *Brecon Metal Detecting Club*
19. Brentwood District MD Club
20. **Brewood Artefact Society**
21. Bridlington Quay Detecting Society
22. Brighton District MDC
23. Britannia Search Recovery Club
24. British Bottle Review
25. Burton Artefact Society
26. Bury Historical Recovery Society
27. Caernarfon Metal Detecting Club
28. Camberley and Bagshot Association

29. **Cardiff SCAN Club**
30. Carmarthenshire Metal Detecting Society
31. Central Searchers
32. **Central Yorkshire MD Club**
33. Chelmsford MD Club
34. Chester and North Wales Coin Society
35. **Chesterfield Metal Detecting Club**
36. Chippenham Metal Detecting Club
37. **Cleveland Discoverers**
38. *Cliffe Metal Detecting Club*
39. **Colchester Metal Detecting Club**
40. Consett MD and Research Club
41. Congleton and District MD Club
42. **Cotswold Heritage and Detecting Society (CHADS)**
43. **Coventry Heritage Detector Society**
44. **Crawley and District Metal Detector Group**
45. **Crewe and Nantwich MD Society**
46. Croydon MD Club
47. Cumbrian Seekers
48. Dacorum Historical Recovery Group
49. **Danum Arc**
50. Dartford Metal Detecting Club
51. **De Lacey Searchers**
52. Derby Artefacts Recovery Club
53. *Detecting Wales*
54. The Dorset Detector Group
55. Doncaster Detectors and Collectors
56. **Dukeries Metal Detecting Club**
57. **Dunelme Metal Detecting Club**
58. **Durham Search Society**
59. *East Antrim Metal Detecting Club*
60. Eastbourne and District Metal Detecting Club
61. *East Cambs Detector Society*
62. **East Coast Searchers**
63. E Anglian Bottle Collectors Club
64. **East Devon Metal Detecting Club**
65. **East Norfolk MD Society**
66. East of England Detector Club
67. East Surrey Detecting Club
68. *East Surrey Search and Recovery Group*

69. **East Yorkshire MD Society**
70. East Kent Artefact Team
71. East Norfolk MDS (Pathfinders)
72. **Elland Metal Detecting Club**
73. Essex Detector Society
74. **Farnham and District MDC**
75. *Federation Independent Detectorists*
76. Fenland Finders M.D.C
77. **Gateshead Detecting Association**
78. *Glamorgan Metal Detecting Club*
79. Gorieston and District MD Club
80. Grampian Detectorists Club
81. Grantham and District Search Club
82. **Grimsby and District MD Club**
83. **Gwent Metal Detecting Club**
84. Gwynedd Recovery and Search Society
85. The Hampshire Detector Club
86. The Hampshire Historical MD Club
87. **Halifax Metal Detecting Club**
88. Hayes and District MD Club
89. Hazel Grove Seek and Find Club
90. Heart of England Detector Club
91. *Hereford Detecting Society*
92. **Herts and District MD Society**
93. Hessle Detector Club
94. Highland Historical Search Society
95. **High Peak Metal Detecting Club**
96. History Diggers (Didcot, Oxon)
97. **Hinckley Search Society**
98. Historical Search Society (Mold)
99. Hitchin Detecting Club
100. **Hoyland Searchers Society**
101. **Hucclecote MD Club**
102. Hull Antiquity Research Association
103. *Hull and East Riding MDC*
104. Huntingdon Roundheads Searchers Club
105. ICI MD Club,
106. **The Icini Search Group**
107. **The Invicta Seekers MDC**
108. **Ipswich and District Detector Club**

109. **Ischem Relic Society**
110. Isle of Wight MDC
111. Jersey Metal Detecting Society
112. **Kendal and District Metal Detecting Club**
113. Kent Artefact Rescue Group
114. Kernow Search and Recovery Club
115. Kings Lynn and Dist MD Club
116. Kirklees Historic Search Society
117. **Leicester Search Society**
118. Leicester Seekers MD Group
119. Lincoln Historical Search Society
120. **Lincolnshire Search Society**
121. Lindum Searchers
122. Llanelli Metal Detecting Club
123. Lost Kingdoms Metal Detecting Club
124. Loughborough Coin and Search Society
125. **Lune Valley MD Club**
126. Maidenhead Search Society
127. Manx Detector Society
128. Mansfield and District Detecting Club
129. MAGIOIVINVM Metal Detecting Club
130. Medway History Finders
131. **Melton and Belvoir Search Society**
132. Meridian Independent Metal Detecting Group
133. Merseyside and NW Survey Club
134. Mid-Kent Metal Detecting Club
135. Midlands Metal Detecting Club
136. Mildenhall and District Metal Detecting Club
137. Millennium Searchers
138. Milton Keynes Searchers
139. Mold Metal Detecting Club
140. National Council for Metal Detecting
141. Neath and Port Talbot Metal Detecting Club
142. Nene Valley Hist D.E.T. Group
143. New Farm Aviation Heritage Group
144. Newtownabbey and District MDC
145. Northampton Detecting Club
146. Northamptonshire Artefact Recovery Club
147. **Northants Detecting Association**
148. Northbourne Research and Det Club

149. **North Herts Charity Detector Group**
150. Northern LH and FA Society
151. **Northern Independents**
152. Northern Ireland Metal Detecting Club
153. North Kent Collectors Club
154. **Northmet**
155. North Notts Search and Recovery Club
156. North Staffs Historical and Search Society
157. **Northumbrian Search Society**
158. **North West Metal Detecting Club**
159. **North West Surrey Searchers**
160. **Norton, Northamptonshire Portable Antiquities Search Team**
161. **Norwich Detectors**
162. **Nottingham Co-Operative Metal Detecting Club**
163. Nottingham Stater MD Club
164. Nottinghamshire MD Society
165. Neath and Port Talbot Metal Detecting Club
166. **Oldford Force Team MD Club**
167. Our Heritage Detecting Society
168. **Oxford Blues MD Club**
169. Oxfordshire.H. R. Detector Club
170. Parkgate Detector Club
171. Peak Artefacts Search Team
172. **Pembrokeshire Prospectors' Society**
173. **Pennine Detectors Club**
174. Phoenix Metal Detector Club
175. Phoenix Metal Detecting Club
176. Pinpointers Detector Group, Lincolnshire
177. **Plymouth Metal Detecting Club**
178. **Polish Historical Exploration Club ("Thesaurus")**
179. **Preston MD Club**
180. **The Priories Historical Society**
181. **Quakers Acres Metal Detecting Club**
182. Rally UK MD Club
183. **Redditch Historical Detection Society**
184. Rhondda Artifacts and Research Enthusiasts (RARE)
185. Royal Pheonix MDG
186. Rolls Royce Motors Historic Artefacts Association
187. Romney Marshland Metal Detecting Club
188. Scottish Artefact Recovery Group

189. **Scunthorpe MDS**
190. **Severn Vale Historical Research and Detecting Society**
191. Society of Thames Mudlarks
192. Solent Metal Detecting Club
193. **South Bucks Metal Detecting Club**
194. South East London Metal Detecting Club
195. **South Hams MDC**
196. **South Lancs and Cheshire M.D.C**
197. **South Ribble Metal Detecting Club**
198. **South West Searchers**
199. **South Yorkshire Searchers**
200. **St Neots and District A. C.**
201. **Stockport Metal Detecting Club**
202. **Stour Valley MDC**
203. Stour Valley Search and Recovery Club
204. Surrey Searchers MD Club
205. Sussex Historical Search Society
206. Swale Search and Recovery Club
207. **Swansea Metal Detecting Club**
208. **Swindon Artefact Searchers**
209. **Tameside Metal Detecting Club**
210. **Tamworth and Lichfield Search Society**
211. **Taw and Torridge MDC**
212. **Taynton MDC**
213. **Teign Bridge Metal Detecting Group**
214. Thames and Field M.D.C.
215. The Metal Detectives
216. The Sunday Club
217. Three Counties M.D.C.
218. Three Spires Search Society
219. Timeline
220. **Torbay Metal Detectors Club**
221. **Trowbridge and District Metal Detecting Club**
222. Two Dales MDC
223. **Tyneside M.D.Association**
224. **University of the Third Age Reigate and Redhill MDC**
225. **Wakefield and District Relic Hunters**
226. **Warsop MD Society**
227. Warwickshire Metal Detecting Club
228. Weald and Downland Metal Detecting Club

229. *Weekend Wanderers Metal Detecting Club*
230. Wessex Metal Detecting Club
231. *West Kent Metal Detecting Club*
232. **West Kirby MD Club**
233. West Lancs Metal Detecting Club
234. West Norfolk Search and Recovery Group
235. **Weston Historical Research and Detecting Association**
236. West Riding Detector Group
237. **Weymouth and Portland Metal Detecting Club**
238. White Cliffs M.D.Club
239. *Wickford Metal Detecting Club*
240. **Wimslow Society for Historical Detection**
241. **Wolds Historical Research Society**
242. **Wrexham Heritage Society**
243. **Wrexham Metal Detecting Club**
244. **Wyre Forest Historical Research and Recovery Group**
245. **Wyvern Historical and Detecting Society, Swindon**
246. **Yeovil and District Bottle and MD Club**
247. **York and District Metal Detecting Club**
248. *Yorkshire Searchers MDC*

APPENDIX 3: NCMD CODE OF CONDUCT

National Council of Metal Detecting Code of Conduct

Obtained from http://www.ncmd.co.uk/code%20of%20conduct.htm

(Accessed 24 June 2015)

1. Do not trespass. Obtain permission before venturing on to any land.
2. Respect the Country Code, leave gates and property as you find them and do not damage crops, frighten animals or disturb nesting birds.
3. Wherever the site, do not leave a mess or an unsafe surface for those who may follow. It is perfectly simple to extract a coin or other small object buried a few inches below the ground without digging a great hole. Use a suitable digging implement to cut a neat flap (do not remove the plug of earth entirely from the ground), extract the object, reinstate the grass, sand or soil carefully, and even you will have difficulty in locating the find spot again.
4. If you discover any live ammunition or any lethal object such as an unexploded bomb or mine, do not disturb it. Mark the site carefully and report the find to the local police and landowner.
5. Help keep Britain tidy. Safely dispose of refuse you come across.
6. Report all unusual historical finds to the landowner, and acquaint yourself with current NCMD policy relating to the Voluntary Reporting of Portable Antiquities in England and Wales and the mandatory reporting requirements in Scotland. See: http://www.treasuretrovescotland.co.uk/index.asp
7. Remember it is illegal for anyone to use a metal detector on a designated area (e.g. Scheduled Monuments (SM), Sites of Special Scientific Interest (SSSI), or Ministry of Defence property) without permission from the appropriate authority. It is also a condition of most agri-environment agreements that metal detecting access is subject to certain rules and regulations including mandatory finds recording. Details of these agreements and the access conditions they impose are detailed on the NCMD website.
8. Acquaint yourself with the terms and definitions used in the following documents: -

    (1) "Treasure" contained in the Treasure Act 1996 and its associated Code of Practice, making sure you understand your responsibilities.

    (2) Advice for Finders of Archaeological Objects including Treasure 2006.

    (3) The voluntary Code of Practice for Responsible Metal Detecting to

which the NCMD is an endorsee.

(4) Advice for finders in Scotland

9. Remember that when you are out with your metal detector you are an ambassador for our hobby. Do nothing that might give it a bad name.
10. Never miss an opportunity to explain your hobby to anyone who asks about it.

Appendix A to the NCMD Constitution
Revised February 2000
Amended AGM June 2012