

## **HADRIAN'S WALL HERITAGE LIMITED**

### **MEETING OF THE BOARD: 29 SEPTEMBER 2009**

#### **A SUMMARY OF THE HADRIAN'S WALL INTERPRETATION FRAMEWORK A WALL-WIDE VISION FOR THE NORTH-WEST FRONTIER OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE**

### **1. INTRODUCTION**

For the past four years Hadrian's Wall Heritage Ltd. has been committed to a unique vision to realise the full social, economic, learning and cultural heritage potential of Hadrian's Wall.

At the heart of this vision are the adoption of a Wall-wide approach to audience development through collaborative partnership effort and the creation of an Interpretation Framework for Hadrian's Wall.

### **2. WHY DOES HADRIAN'S WALL NEED AN INTERPRETATION FRAMEWORK?**

A full review of previous research has identified that:

- Potential visitors have limited knowledge of Hadrian's Wall and its significance. A common perception is it is simply "a wall" without any particular attractions. A visit to Hadrian's Wall was expected to be "hard work" because the experience would depend on "what you make of it yourself." As a result of these expectations and perceptions, a trip to Hadrian's Wall was felt to be too risky to commit precious leisure time to.
- For those who lived locally their knowledge of Hadrian's Wall was largely based on school trips, with the belief that little was likely to have changed since they were at school.
- For previous visitors, the Wall was thought to consist of a collection of Roman sites with little to unify them in a cohesive visitor experience. As a result of the lack of differentiation between sites, and the lack of an overarching interpretation framework, there was a perception that visiting one part of the Wall was the same as visiting any other.
- Respondents felt that they should visit Hadrian's Wall for educational or health and fitness reasons, making it a duty visit rather than one for enjoyment per se. A key motivator for leisure visits in general is normally recommendations from friends and relatives. However, few respondents stated that a recommendation had influenced their trip to Hadrian's Wall, indicating that it currently lacks a 'wow' factor.
- Interpretation at the sites was generally regarded as not particularly good. This was the case for interpretation of the site itself and also for linking each site with the other sites along the Wall and with the Wall itself. The lack of an overarching framework and difficulty in accessing holistic information about the Wall were also given as a key barrier to attracting new visitors, together with the fear that the large number of signs stating (different) directions to Hadrian's Wall meant that no single location would be sufficient to make a visit worthwhile.

The Interpretation Framework has been developed in response to the above. It aims to:

- Develop an overall Hadrian's Wall offer which has resonance for visitors;
- Create an overarching framework for the interpretation of Hadrian's Wall which pulls together existing plans and will inform future site presentation, events, public programmes and volunteering, etc;
- Differentiate each site along Hadrian's Wall so that each one is an attraction in its own right and has a unique contribution to the overall visitor offer and experience;
- Widen the appeal of the Wall to different audiences by segmenting the offer into clear, unique experiences. For example, the Schools offer will be developed to appeal to wider subject areas rather than simply 'history' or 'the Romans' (for example, the 'multi-culturalism' themes at Tullie House Museum would be linked to citizenship and PSHE within the National Curriculum whilst Housesteads is aiming to position itself as a site for travel and tourism students);
- Provide support to sites at a macro level, encouraging multi site, cross-visiting rather than cannibalisation;
- Help maximise the contribution of Hadrian's Wall to the local economy.

### **3. WHAT IS THE HADRIAN'S WALL INTERPRETATION FRAMEWORK?**

The Hadrian's Wall Interpretation Framework puts the visitor experience at centre-stage. It draws on an understanding of the needs of existing and new audiences to create an overall flexible narrative structure for the story of the north-west frontier of the Roman Empire within which each site presents a distinct story and provides a unique visitor experience. This translates into a network of carefully differentiated and complementary visitor offers which can be clearly communicated to and recognised by visitors and which will underpin future marketing efforts. This is critical to developing audiences along the Wall and realising the Wall's contribution to the regions' economy.

The Framework is underpinned by the following audience development principles:

- A belief that our heritage should be accessible and inviting, and that interpretation is key to this;
- An awareness that the story of the Wall and the stories of the people and connected to it, can be motivating to audiences and encourage participation if presented in appropriate ways;
- An understanding of the barriers to participation for different audiences and an understanding of the factors that drive participation;
- An understanding of the needs of different audiences;
- The desire to make people feel welcome and build relationships with visitors;
- Ongoing consultation and evaluation.

Aligned with these, we have established a series of interpretive principles for the Framework:

- An awareness that visitors need to be able to grasp the 'bigger picture' and to understand that each site tells a different part of the story or presents the story in a different way appropriate to different audiences;
- A commitment to interpretation that is dynamic and people oriented, relevant (though potentially challenging) to their view, understanding and interest in the world around them;
- A responsibility to identify contemporary resonances within the narrative of the North-West Frontier of Imperial Rome as a key means to engage visitor interest and foster

understanding. For example, modern frontiers can illustrate some of the tensions and realities of life along Hadrian's Wall. Empires and colonialism are features of human history and still exist today, raising issues of personal freedoms, peace, prosperity, exploitation and identity;

- An understanding that whilst interpretation needs to be underpinned by sound academic research, to effectively engage visitors objects and sites need to be used to tell stories rather than being presented purely as inaccessible 'museum pieces'. Hadrian's Wall itself is an object that illustrates the story of the Frontier, and is not in itself the whole story.

The main components and themes of the Framework are in place but are being further tested and evaluated through a programme of public and stakeholder consultation, before the framework is finalised and launched in late 2009.

This is an exciting time for Hadrian's Wall. Through the creation and delivery of the Interpretive Framework future audiences to Hadrian's Wall will be compelled to visit through a series of new visitor destinations, created by truly innovative and exciting interpretive displays and visitor experiences that will motivate visits by existing and new audiences and command repeat visits.

This is our vision. Its delivery and the audiences we will develop (both existing and new) are summarised in the following pages which describe the interpretive focus of each site, how each site contributes to communicating the overarching interpretive concept for of the North West Frontier of the Roman Empire, and the audiences being targeted.

#### **4. HADRIAN'S WALL INTERPRETATION FRAMEWORK**

The primary theme of the Interpretation Framework is the story of the Roman Frontier in North Britain from the first to the fifth century – a dynamic story as the frontier changes, evolves and adapts over 400 years.

The secondary theme is the story of the cultural and natural landscape through which Hadrian's Wall passes.

Linking themes include World Heritage Site status as identified by UNESCO and the story of cultural and natural 'frontier' that characterises many physical and human aspects of the English / Scottish Borders.

The overarching interpretive concept proposed for the Roman Frontier is:

*Hadrian's Wall is the centre-piece of the dynamic story of the north-west Frontier of the Roman Empire – one of the greatest Empires the world has seen. This Frontier evolved and adapted over 400 years, from the first to the fifth centuries AD, in response to the changing political, social, economic and demographic forces at the heart of the Roman Empire and the changing status and role of Britain as an Imperial Province. The Frontier zone in northern Britain was heavily militarised, leaving behind a rich physical and cultural legacy through which we can explore this Frontier story and understand it's resonance with the modern world.*

This concept has been mapped into a series of themes and sub-themes which will be the focus of interpretation at sites along the Wall. These draw on the interpretive potential of the

sites gleaned from aspects including landscape character, archaeology, collections, historical record, etc. Key themes include:

1. *Citizens of Empire – Rome, the conqueror, was multi-cultural and as concerned with citizenship, identity and belonging as we are today. Modern parallels can be drawn from the archaeological and historical record to inspire reflection and new understanding of this part of Rome's legacy.*
2. *Frontier Lives – through the amazing personal stories revealed by the writing tablets known from Vindolanda and Carlisle and through the wealth of inscriptions, we can become personally involved in the daily lives, emotions and cares of individual Roman citizens.*
3. *Edge of Empire – Hadrian's Wall became the centre-piece of the North-West Frontier of the Roman Empire, part of the frontier ring created by the Emperor Hadrian. These frontiers symbolise the military power of the Empire and the brutal imposition of military occupation.*
4. *The Imperial Province of Britain – Britain was a military Province of Rome and for centuries had the greatest concentration of troops anywhere in the Empire. The heavily militarised area around Hadrian's Wall reflects this story and symbolises many aspects of life in the Provinces, including exploitation of mineral resources, commerce, citizenship and politics and relations between Romans and natives.*
5. *The Roman Army - the Roman Army was an important instrument in establishing and maintaining the Roman Empire and fulfilled its roles through a range of duties and functions. It operated as a brutal military machine but its soldiers were also administrators, engineers, a police force and loyal citizens in retirement. As well as being multi-skilled, the Roman Army was multi-cultural and depended on a complex network of communication and supply.*
6. *Conquest and Legacy – before and after the Roman occupation of the north-west frontier the area was occupied by native tribes. Archaeology is gradually revealing more about these native people, who they were and where and how they lived. This before and after context reveals Rome's lasting legacy on the people, culture and environment and ties modern Britain to its European neighbours.*
7. *Contemporary Resonances in a Globalised World – the Roman Empire was one of the greatest empires the world has ever seen. Empires are characteristic of the human condition and are a manifestation of human aspirations for self improvement, economic prosperity, power and control. As such empires are often synonymous with conflict, struggle and barriers - which are used to control and subjugate people. Examination of Hadrian's Wall provides opportunities to explore and understand contemporary conflicts and share universal values which resonate with the purposes of World Heritage Site status.*
8. *Exploration, Discovery and Values - the archaeological and historical evidence that enables us to explore the story of the north-west Frontier is revealed through scientific research. This is a dynamic process in which we can actively engage and contribute our own interpretations. It is also a process through which we come to understand and to value the legacy of the past.*

The overarching interpretive concept proposed for the natural and cultural landscape Hadrian's Wall is:

*Hadrian's Wall passes through an extraordinary range of landscapes united by their Roman heritage. These habitats – from coastal plains, rivers, rocky crags and remote bogs to farmland and urban centres – surround and overlook the line of this historic frontier.*

As with the Roman Frontier, this concept has been mapped into a series of themes and sub-themes which will be the focus of interpretation at sites along the Wall. These draw on the interpretive potential of the landscapes gleaned from aspects including landscape character, archaeology, collections, historical record, etc. Key themes include:

1. *Managing the landscape - Hadrian's Wall Country is significant for its dynamic landscapes as well as its unique history. These fragile environments must be carefully managed to balance the needs of wildlife and people.*
2. *Influence of the landscape – the different parts of Hadrian's Wall Country have distinctive identities and cultural traditions. These unique characteristics have been shaped by the landscape, and by the ways in which people make use of and adapt the natural resources here, over thousands of years.*
3. *Reading the landscape - Hadrian's Wall Country has endured a turbulent history, which can be read in the landscape. Along this ancient frontier are remnants of great geological upheavals, the scars of centuries of weather and industry, and the remains of countless battles and modern military manoeuvres..*
4. *A living, working landscape – Hadrian's Wall Country is a place for people. It is a living, working landscape with a rich history that welcomes you to explore and enjoy a wealth of natural riches and cultural activity.*

Important elements of the linking 'Frontier' theme include the geological and climatic frontier of the Border region, early Christian heritage, and the Medieval and Reiver fortresses and strongholds.

## **5. PROJECTS ON HADRIAN'S WALL**

The Interpretation Framework has informed and is informed by major developments currently being brought forward along the Wall, working with partners and with consultant teams. The major developments proposed or in process of realisation for the primary Roman Frontier theme are: the Great North Museum, Tullie House Museum, Vindolanda, Housesteads, Maryport and the Roman Army Museum. These are the focal points of the Interpretation Framework, creating the differentiated but complementary offers essential to a cohesive wall-wide visitor experience and to realising the vision for Hadrian's Wall.

The Great North Museum and Tullie House Museum with their large museum collections representing many different parts of the frontier zone, will act as eastern and western 'gateways' and orientation points to Hadrian's Wall and to Hadrian's Wall Country. Their purpose is to provide both a physical and conceptual overview of Hadrian's Wall and the story of the north-west frontier of the Roman Empire in contrast to the site based museums which will focus on more specific themes and stories.

The Great North Museum focuses on Hadrian's Wall itself, featuring a scale reconstruction of the full length of the Wall brought to life through individual stories of people identified from the world –class collection of inscriptions. The new gallery at Tullie House Museum will present the wider story of the north-west Frontier of Imperial Rome and the position of Britain as a military province within the Empire. The main theme will be citizens of Rome, which will explore issues of colonialism, citizenship, identity and highlight contemporary resonances in a globalised world, such as multi-culturalism.

At Vindolanda visitors will be able to engage and empathise with the real people, real events and daily military and domestic life on the Frontier 2000 years ago as revealed through the Vindolanda writing tablets and the ongoing process of archaeological investigation and research at the site.

At Housesteads visitors will be confronted with the harsh reality of military intervention and occupation and resonances in the modern world. They will be able to explore and understand life within one of the best preserved forts in the Roman Empire including the whole complex of fort, Wall, vallum, vicus (garrison settlement), temples, parade ground, cultivated land and roads. This will aid comparisons and connections with forts and frontiers across the Empire.

At Roman Maryport interpretation will bring to life the relationship between a fort, its garrison and the wider Empire by exploring the journeys and career paths of its citizens and soldiers as revealed by the stunning collection of altars in the Senhouse collection. At its height Rome's Empire stretched across 32 countries and required its citizens and soldiers to make both physical and personal journeys by land and sea to remote outposts such as the north-west frontier. An on-going programme of excavation will enable visitors to engage with the on-going process of scientific research.

At the Roman Army Museum interpretation will bring the Roman Army to life, exploring themes of multiculturalism, the army and the Empire, military tactics and training, the diverse roles and functions of the army as a brutal occupying force, as engineers and architects, as administrators and as Roman citizens. It will also draw contemporary resonances to the modern military, warfare and peacekeeping. The experience will be more family focused and will maximise the opportunity for this facility to be a wet weather attraction.

Much of the infrastructure development for the Natural and Cultural Landscape theme and the linking 'Frontier' theme is likely to be relatively smaller in scale. However, a need and opportunity has been identified for a significant development in the central section of Hadrian's Wall which would draw these themes together and offer a complementary visitor experience bringing to life and celebrating the landscape of Hadrian's Wall Country. The development proposed by the Northumberland National Park at Once Brewed could fulfill this function. There is also an opportunity to mark the western end of Hadrian's Wall at Bowness in a way that complements the development of Segedunum at Wallsend but focusing instead on the the landscape of the Solway area and providing a link to the Cumbrian coast.

These major developments need to be supported by a rolling programme of smaller scale improvements and developments at other sites to complement and enrich the Hadrian's Wall visitor offer and to spread the benefits of association with the World Heritage Site more widely. The Hadrian's Wall Country website will, in future, become an important means through which this offer will be promoted to visitors, enabling them to choose which sites they wish to visit to suit their interests, needs and opportunities.

The table in Annex A provides an overview of current proposals and opportunities for interpreting the story of the north west Frontier of Imperial Rome, highlighting the major developments summarised above. The table lists the sites from East to West and includes information on primary, secondary and tertiary audiences. Full details can be found in site interpretation and audience development plans.

**A SUMMARY OF THE HADRIAN'S WALL INTERPRETATION FRAMEWORK -  
A WALL-WIDE VISION FOR THE NORTH-WEST FRONTIER OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE – ANNEX A**

Key:

	Major development sites
	Smaller site developments
1	Sites whose ongoing presentation by Tyne and Wear Museums will focus the site on the identified theme and sub-themes
2	Sites whose ongoing presentation by English Heritage will focus the site on the identified theme and sub-themes

Site	Main site theme	Sub-themes	IF theme/s Bold: main Reg : support	Audiences (working guide)
<b>Arbeia Roman Fort and Museum<sup>1</sup></b>	The Roman fleet - <i>Rome was a seafaring nation whose seaborne trading, military and supply activities created an Empire (working theme)</i>	Arbeia – only visible example of a Roman military supply base in the Roman Empire offering an unequalled opportunity to explore Roman logistics (can be explored through reconstructions) Arbeia – a trading base (links to other trading ports i.e. Newcastle) and Roman fleet port Sea trade – imports, exports and commerce (links to modern industries, supply chain systems and commerce) Roman sea faring vessels and seamen – Arbeia was a multi-cultural settlement of seamen from across the Empire Life at sea in Roman times The Roman fleet – Arbeia as a focal point for naval support to military campaigns and was a base for the Severan campaigns (the Emperor and his court for a short period)	<b>4, 5</b>  1, 2, 8	Primary: East coast residents, particularly socio-economic groups C and E Tourists and visitors to the East Coast Schools
<b>Segedunum Roman Fort, Baths and Museum<sup>1</sup></b>	The Roman military machine – <i>the evolution of warfare and tactics on the north-west frontier</i>	Military machine (Roman fort & fort life), cavalry barracks and cavalry World heritage and universal values	<b>4, 5, 7</b>  2, 3	Primary: East coast residents (Newcastle and Gateshead), particularly socio-economic groups C2, D and E Tourists and visitors to the East Coast

	Hadrian's Wall – a world heritage site <i>(working theme)</i>			Schools, Further and Higher Education Young People and Community Groups through outre programmes Volunteers
<b>The Great North Museum<sup>1</sup></b>	Hadrian's Wall – the north-west frontier of the Roman Empire	The Wall as a 73 mile long defensive structure with milecastles, turrets and forts The construction of Hadrian's Wall Daily life along the Wall (told through the characters named on stone inscriptions and through the collections)	<b>2, 3</b>  5, 8	Primary: Local community people People from the North East region UK tourists from elsewhere in England and from Scotland and Wales Tourist from overseas: particularly European countries and Japan Socio economic groups C2, D and E Schools – history, geography, impact on landscape Families Over 50s
<b>Corbridge<sup>2</sup></b>	The Roman occupation of the north of Britain	The north-west frontier of the Roman Empire was occupied for over 300 years. Why were the Romans here? What did they do? What political, legislative, administrative and other systems did they use to subdue and live along the native population? What was the provinces relationship with Rome and the rest of the Empire? As a fort, town and military supply base occupied from the late 70's to the 5 <sup>th</sup> century Corbridge can provide an essential overview these frequently asked questions at a central point along Hadrian's Wall.	<b>4, 6</b>  5, 8	Primary: UK short and long overnight breaks visitors Overseas visitors Schools Lifelong learners Higher and Further Education groups Volunteers Families
<b>Chesters<sup>2</sup></b>	Antiquarian interest in Roman Britain <i>(working theme)</i>	The history of archaeological excavation along Hadrian's Wall and its discoveries Early archaeological excavation methods and its impacts and legacy – collections and knowledge How of forebears viewed the Romans and how new excavations and research are revealing a new understanding of the Romans.	<b>4, 8</b>  2,	Primary: UK short and long overnight breaks visitors Overseas visitors Schools Lifelong learners Higher and Further Education groups Volunteers

				Families Disabled people (as it is the most accessible part of t
<b>Housesteads<sup>2</sup></b>	Life on the Edge – <i>lives were played out in this dramatic landscape at the furthest edge of the Roman Empire</i>	Empire – Hadrian created a frontier round his empire Fort Life –soldiers and civilians lived, worked and worshipped here explored through exploration of the most complete Roman fort on Hadrian’s Wall Landscape – this dramatic landscape is a natural frontier Frontier – this frontier is at peace today but elsewhere people are divided by walls and forts	<b>3, 5, 7</b>  2,	Primary: UK short and long overnight breaks visitors Overseas visitors Schools Lifelong learners Higher and Further Education groups Volunteers Families People with disabilities Secondary: Local and surrounding communities Young People Long term BMEs/multi cultural groups Lower socio-economic groups
<b>Vindolanda</b>	Roman Lives on the Frontier - From Conquest to Legacy - <i>Vindolanda comprised both a Roman military stronghold and civilian settlement whose secrets are being revealed through excavation</i>	Military Lives – the lives and careers of soldiers stationed on the frontier Domestic Lives – the lives of non-military personal and families told through the Vindolanda tablets and artefacts, incl. organic materials which are evidence of crafts and industry Roman Lives Revealed – the uncovering of history through historical and present day archaeological excavation of Vindolanda fort and vicus	<b>2, 8</b>  5, 6	Primary: UK short and long overnight breaks visitors International visitors (ONE priorities are: Germany, N Norway, Denmark, Italy, Ireland, Spain, France, East USA, China, Japan) Visiting friends and relatives Leisure day visitors School groups (primary and secondary) Families Coach/tour operators Friends of Vindolanda Volunteers/Students Walkers/Cyclists Secondary: People with disabilities The elderly Single parents BMEs

				<p>Low income families                  Groups and people with special educational needs                  Young people with low heritage aspirations                  People without transport</p>
<p><b>The Roman Army Museum</b></p>	<p>The Roman Army - Creating the Empire - <i>The Roman Army was an important instrument in establishing and maintaining the Roman Empire and fulfilled its roles through a range of duties and functions as a largely peaceful occupying force</i></p>	<p>The Roman Army and Empire – the Roman way of war and systematised army life that created the Empire                  The Roman Army and Hadrian's Wall - the legions and auxiliaries stationed here and where they came from – a multi-cultural Empire and Army                  The Roman Army and Life on the Frontier – revealing a focus on training and duties incl. administration, communications, engineering and architecture, mining, trade, policing, etc.</p>	<p><b>1, 5, 4</b>  2, 3</p>	<p>As Vindolanda                  Particular focus on families                  Plus: Roman military enthusiasts</p>
<p><b>Birdoswald Roman Fort<sup>2</sup></b></p>	<p>The building and structure of Hadrian's Wall                   The legacy of Rome and the Wall   <i>(working theme)</i></p>	<p>Very good stretch of Wall with easily accessible towers and milecastles and turf wall which allows ready viewing of the Walls' construction and structure in its landscape setting.                  Legionary building stones tells us who built the Wall here (it may be possible to identify named individuals).                  Geophysical survey makes clear the close tie of Wall, fort, civilian settlement and cemetery.                  The demilitarisation of Hadrian's Wall                  Life in the north after the Romans – use archaeological evidence of timber aisled hall on top of Roman granaries to explore how Roman sites were re-occupied, used and materials recycled                  The cultural legacy - Romano-Christian (early Christian) legacy</p>	<p><b>3, 6</b>  2, 5</p>	<p>As Housesteads                  Local and surrounding communities                  Schools, Further and Higher Education (residential centre)                  Young People and Community Groups through outreach programmes</p>
<p><b>Tullie House Museum and Art Gallery</b></p>	<p>Citizens of Empire – <i>Rome, the conqueror, was multi-cultural and as concerned with citizenship and identity</i></p>	<p>On the edge of Europe's largest empire – how Rome attempted to create a sense of belonging across its Empire                  The dynamic frontier – how and why the frontier</p>	<p><b>1, 3, 4, 6, 7</b>  2, 5, 8</p>	<p>Primary:                  Learning families                  Kids First Families                  Sightseers</p>

	<i>as we are today. Modern parallels can be drawn from the archaeological and historical record from the Civitas to inspire reflection and new understanding of this part of Rome's legacy</i>	<p>moved during 300+ years of occupation</p> <p>Britain as an Imperial Province – the Roman conquerors influence on native customs and habits – dress, religion, food, language, etc.</p> <p>Real life in Roman Carlisle – people living in Roman Carlisle have similar concerns, ideals and values to those living in Carlisle today</p> <p>The living Wall – giving voice to the frontiers non-Roman inhabitants through parallels modern colonialism and frontiers</p> <p>Multicultural Carlisle – parallels between the multicultural Roman Empire and Britain today and concepts of citizenship and identity</p> <p>World heritage – world citizens</p>		<p>Local people</p> <p>Primary and Secondary schools – citizenship, pshe</p> <p>Lifelong Learners</p> <p>Experts</p> <p>Young People</p>
<b>Maryport</b>	<i>The Roman Empire in Britain and Journeys of Empire – At its height Rome's Empire stretched across 32 countries and required its citizens and soldiers to make both physical and personal journeys to remote outputs such as the north-west frontier</i>	<p>Empire – the extent, power and motivations of the Empire</p> <p>Sea crossings – communications, transport and provisioning throughout the Empire</p> <p>Frontier base – Maryport's role as a port and in the western sea defences</p> <p>Fort – evidence from archaeological excavation of the Fort focusing on the Jupiter altars and religious belief in the Army</p> <p>Settlement – evidence from archaeological excavation of the Vicus illustrating the social and commercial life fostered by the the presence of the fort</p> <p>Farm – agricultural aspects of frontier life</p>	<b>1, 2, 3, 8</b>  4, 5	<p>Primary:</p> <p>Cultural/Roman/Heritage interest visitors</p> <p>Families</p> <p>General tourists (i.e., tourists in the catchment of 3 h without an established interest in Cultural/Roman/Her not in a family group</p> <p>Students and volunteers (including local people) engaged in archaeological excavation</p> <p>Secondary:</p> <p>Life-long learners</p> <p>School groups</p> <p>People with disabilities</p> <p>Local community and volunteers</p> <p>Tertiary:</p> <p>Teenagers</p> <p>Lower socio-economic groups</p> <p>Ethnic minorities</p>