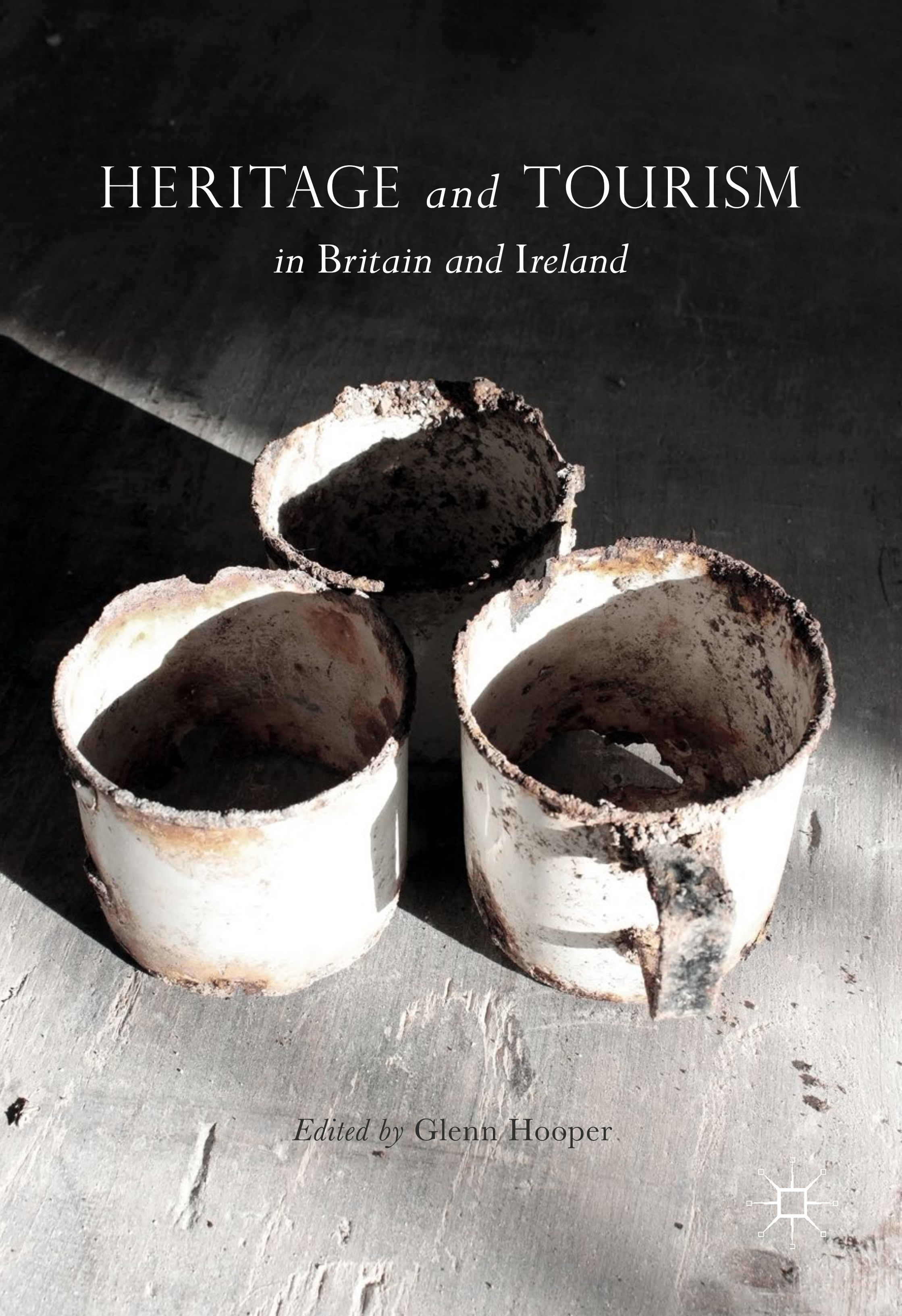
HERITAGE *and* TOURISM

in Britain *and* Ireland



Edited by Glenn Hooper

Heritage and Tourism in Britain and Ireland

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Contributors

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J. John Lennon is the Vice Dean for the Glasgow School for Business and Society, Glasgow Caledonian University, and Professor and Director of the Moffat Centre for Travel and Tourism Business Development. John has undertaken over 550 tourism and travel projects, in over 40 nations, on behalf of private-sector and public-sector clients. He carries out research and commercial work in the fields of tourism development, destination marketing, and financial feasibility of tourism projects. He is an Independent Specialist Policy Advisor to the Scottish National Tourism Organisation and VisitScotland, a Non-Executive Director of Historic Scotland, and a former Board Member of the Canadian Tourism Commission European Marketing Group. John is the co-author of *Dark Tourism: The Attraction of Death and Disaster* (2000), and is the author of a range of publications relating to the subject and which are based on international research in the area.

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Mark O'Neill FMA, is Director of Policy and Research at Glasgow Life. Mark has worked in museums in Glasgow since he moved there in 1985, rising to become Head of Museums in 1998. His first project involved setting up, in one of the poorest parts of the city, a community museum which would then become a UK model of best practice. After joining the Glasgow City museums in 1990 he was responsible for leading a number of award-winning projects, including: the Open Museum (an outreach service); the UK's only museum of world religions; the largest accessible museum store in the UK; the £30-million refurbishment of Kelvingrove Art Gallery and Museum, the most visited museum in the UK outside London; and master-planning the £74-million Riverside Museum, which combines world-class architecture (by Zaha Hadid) with local history content. He has published extensively on museum philosophy and practice and on cultural policy in journals including *Curator, Museum and Society, Museum Management and Curatorship, Material Religion, Cultural Trends*, and the *International Journal of Cultural Policy.* His most recent publication is 'Museums and the Search for Meaning in the "Necessary Context" of the Market', in E. Belfiore and A. Upchurch, eds, *Humanities in the Twenty-First Century: Beyond Utility and Markets* (Palgrave, 2013). He has delivered keynote addresses to conferences in Europe, America, and Australia, and in 2012 he was Visiting Scholar in Museum Studies at the University of Michigan at Ann Arbor. He has served on numerous professional committees, including a term (1999–2003) on the Getty Foundation's Museum Leadership Institute advisory board in Los Angeles.

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Tawny Paul lectures in Economic and Social History at the University of Exeter. She completed her PhD at the University of Edinburgh in 2011, followed by a postdoctoral research fellowship in public history at the Scottish Centre for Diaspora Studies. Her work combines academic and public history. Alongside her research on eighteenth-century Britain, she has an interest in how museums represent the past, and how audiences engage with history and understand their relationship with the past today. Before receiving her PhD, Tawny worked as an interpretive planner, during which time she was involved in preparing a number of public history projects and museum exhibitions.

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Simon Thomas is a senior lecturer in Tourism and Events at the University of South Wales Business School. Prior to commencing his career in academia Dr Thomas worked in visitor services support for Cadw, the Welsh government body responsible for the historic environment in Wales. His research interests include pilgrimage meaning, motivation and management, heritage and tourism, and religious tourism. Recent publications focus on the meaning of pilgrimage at the shrine of Lourdes in southwest France, miracles as a motivator for touristic activity, conflict at pilgrimage shrines, and Welsh island culture. His teaching encompasses tourism, heritage, events, and research methods. Simon lives in the Brecon Beacons National Park.

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CHAPTER 1

Introduction

Glenn Hooper

The value of tourism to worldwide economies, both developing and developed, would appear to be a now long-established fact, accepted widely and gratefully, despite the various impacts and inequalities often cited as having compromised local communities, environments and cultures. The United Nations World Tourism Organization (UNWTO), for example, suggests that despite recent economic downturns and market instabilities tourism has continued to grow and, in addition, is not only a key driver of economic recovery, but is also closely linked to wider sociocultural and environmental outcomes. Today, they argue, 'the business volume of tourism equals or even surpasses that of oil exports, food products or automobiles.' More importantly, they not only see tourism as continuing to develop, but expanding at a faster pace than any other industry. It 'has become one of the major players in international commerce', and represents 'one of the main income sources for many developing countries'; they add that such 'growth goes hand in hand with an increasing diversification and competition among destinations'.[1] There are now 234 million people working across the tourism and hospitality sectors worldwide and 2016 is forecast to be the sixth consecutive year of above-average growth. The UNWTO's *Tourism 2020 Vision* document predicts that

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'international arrivals are expected to reach nearly 1.6 billion by the year 2020. Of these worldwide arrivals in 2020, 1.2 billion will be intraregional and 378 million will be long-haul travellers'.[2] Such economic growth and development, not to mention the insatiable global appetite for all things travel-related, suggests that the expansion of the tourist industry shows no signs of abating any time soon, despite region-specific challenges, criticisms over the pace and direction of development, and ongoing environmental concerns. It is true that in recent years greater emphasis has had to be placed on the need for more sustainable projects and solutions. For example, waste management, as well as water and energy usage—right across the tourism and related sectors—requires better regulation, with improved staff training a key part of any new initiatives. More also needs to be done to protect already threatened landscapes, urban and rural both, while transport networks and the development of further transport facilities require better integration. But despite economic downturns, the challenges of seasonality, and increasing (though geographically disparate) terror alerts, global tourism is developing an ever more diverse profile, and for many economies continues to promise jobs, security and wealth.

While heritage has existed in various guises for centuries—as archaeological artefact, as a term indicative of museum and country-house culture, as an expression of regional or national identity—in the last forty years or so the term has become a more visible, if not always distinct, category, with a relationship to tourism that has sometimes enhanced but frequently complicated its development. Indeed, Patrick Wright and others have not only argued that in the 1980s Britain was awash with heritage attractions, but they also speculated about the negative effects that have derived from the heritage-tourism linkage, not to mention its impact upon the interpretation of history and the very idea of heritage itself. In 1957 Freeman Tilden could confidently state that 'Thousands of naturalists, historians, archaeologists and other specialists are engaged in the work of revealing, to such visitors as desire the service, something of the beauty and wonder, the inspiration and spiritual meaning that lie behind what the visitor can with his sense perceive'.[3] However, within thirty years of Tilden's evocative appreciation of the power of heritage, Wright would opine: 'All Western Europe is now a museum of superior culture and those citizens who are not lucky enough to be "curators" of "the collection" shouldn't worry […] Their position is to look, to pay taxes, to visit, to care, to pay at the door (even when entering cathedrals these days), to "appreciate" and to be educated into an appropriate reverence in the process'.[4] For figures like Wright, Robert Hewison and others, the heritage industry was part of a sick and ideologically complicated set of assertions, a conservative and nostalgic development that steered political and cultural issues away from contemporary realities, and replaced them with complacency, evasion and disavowal: 'National heritage has its sites', taunted Wright, 'but like amulets to believers these sites exist only to provide that momentary experience of utopian gratification in which the grey torpor of everyday life in contemporary Britain lifts and the simpler, more radiant measures of Albion declare themselves again'.[5]

Despite the criticisms of those years, many now see tourism and heritage—and indeed the natural relationship that seems to exist between them—as having come a considerable way since the 1980s, particularly in terms of addressing matters of environmental, cultural and political concern. For example, the need for greater diversity in the industry and for heritage professionals to be more engaged with the various needs of their visitors has produced several texts which have reshaped curatorial and museological thinking, and produced new practical as well as theoretical models. Throughout the 1990s text after text engaged with the complexities of heritage, sometimes on its own, sometimes as an intrinsic element of the tourism offer. Michael Belcher's *Exhibitions in Museums* (1991) and Eilean Hooper-Greenhill's *Museum and Gallery Education* (1991), both of them affiliated with the University of Leicester's museum initiatives, explored new ways of dealing with heritage management and its various offshoots, while Kevin Walsh's *The Representation of the Past* (1992) engaged with the specificities of conservation and museum spaces. What is most interesting about the publication of heritage and related matter throughout the 1990s is how quickly populated the field became by both practitioners and academics. Ambrose and Paine's *Museum Basics* (1993), Pearce's *Interpreting Objects and Collections* (1994) and Fahy's *Collections Management* (1995) all demonstrated a willingness for change and innovation, especially in the management field.[6] Edited collections by MacDonald and Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, however, both of which were published in 1998, took the debate into even more adventurous waters by offering analysis of a greater range of topics, including medical exhibitions, race and anthropology, thereby introducing an edgier feel to the discussion. All of this arguably benefitted many heritage and museum professionals, as well as those within academia, at a time when a real search was under way for the future of heritage studies, at home and abroad.[7]

This volume aims to continue this discussion, to explore the complexities of contemporary heritage in Britain and Ireland, including the challenges faced by conservationists and curators as well as by those with direct managerial and other operational responsibilities.[8] It brings together a range of professionals with consultancy and marketing experience, together with mainstream academics drawn from disciplines including history, archaeology, heritage policy and geography, and while several contributors acknowledge the pitfalls of certain heritage and tourism strategies, many assess the benefits that tourism in particular can bring to various communities. Whatever the various opinions and occasional detractions, the importance of a successful tourism strategy has certainly been recognised by politicians and industry experts as central to economic development, as several contributors to this volume attest. For example, the Scottish national tourism strategy document *Tourism Scotland 2020*, like the UNWTO publications, focuses on long-term growth, emphasises the need to further develop visitor destinations across a number of venues and locations and highlights the need to 'target those markets that offer the greatest growth potential', to turn the country's 'assets into the more rounded, added value experiences that today's visitors want'.[9] For Scotland, transport is a key part of any future tourism initiative. The document anticipates the commitment of £5.9 billion to transport infrastructure, predicts that by 2020 23 million visitors will have arrived at Scottish airports, and creates year-on-year themes to cater for the increasing demands of the modern tourist: 2016 has been identified as the Year of Innovation, Architecture and Design; 2017 has been assigned the title Year of History, Heritage and Archaeology; and 2018 is now the Year of Young People. The Scottish Tourism Alliance is also targeting new markets with clear potential, such as business and conference tourism and green and sustainable tourism, as well as taking keen note of industry predictions, such as the likelihood of an increase in numbers of people travelling with a disability (this figure has gone up 20% in the past five years) and the growing demand for adventure tourism. The business network, *Business for Scotland*, suggests that almost 300,000 now work in the tourism sector, that tourism continues to flourish and that growth is set to escalate further.

Meanwhile, Scotland's heritage continues to play a major part in its tourism offer: the National Trust for Scotland is responsible for 129 properties, and along with the efforts of colleagues in the Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historic Monuments of Scotland, they ensure both greater visibility and levels of protection for Scotland's heritage. Of course, there is every reason to be mindful of the importance of protecting the heritage product, not just because of the association it has with identity and with elements of the built and natural environment, but because of the role it plays in terms of job creation, economic growth, training and education. In John J. Lennon's chapter, hitherto neglected areas of industrial and transport heritage are shown to have benefitted communities, as well as environmentalists and local business, through an increasing cooperation with the leisure and tourism sectors. Scotland's canals, as was the case for canals throughout much of Britain and Ireland before recent regeneration efforts, were long seen as defunct and historic relics, once important for their role in providing an effective form of freight transportation, but now largely overgrown and neglected scars on the natural landscape. The efforts of Scottish Canals and others to revitalise these sites of neglect, however, have not only taken a refurbishment opportunity and turned it into a heritage tourism success, but have also drawn attention to the wider heritage potential of Scotland's Central Belt. The sense of local community involvement merged with local or central government that Lennon conveys—as seen in the initiative he describes, funded by the Heritage Lottery, local councils and the European Regional Development Fund—is indicative of the increasingly collaborative nature of many such enterprises, especially those which have arisen in the past fifteen to twenty years.

Tawny Paul's discussion of diaspora and ancestral tourism indicates that a similar strategy might also be said to exist in this area, whereby a strong sense of connection, not just at local or regional, but at international and senior government levels, has ensured a relatively successful outcome. The importance of the Scottish diaspora as a crucial part of the national narrative, but also as a much-needed tourism and heritage strand within the Scottish economy, has been fully endorsed by the publication of the government's *Diaspora Engagement Plan*, a document which acknowledges the role played by museums, memorials and landscapes in interpreting Scotland, but which can just as easily be read in terms of memory, place and identity. Ian Donnachie also writes of the role of government and the contribution of various institutions to the development of tourism and heritage in Scotland; he draws a picture of a healthy and developing, if increasingly complicated web of agencies and outputs—natural and industrial, tangible and intangible, elite and 'everyday'—and asks where the future of Scottish heritage (and tourism) lies. Whatever the diversity of Scottish heritage, and the funding and operational challenges that yet remain, Donnachie sees this as a thriving industry with a future that will add greatly to the country's economy. While the future of Scottish tourism and heritage is also read in positive terms by Mark O'Neill, his chapter attends to one of the great urban regeneration narratives of recent years: the story of Glasgow. From the 1960s to the early 1980s the image of Glasgow was one of steady decline: of status, morale and economic standing, it was a byword for deprivation and disarray, and an improbable tourism and heritage site. However, the opening of the Burrell Collection in 1983 and the choice of Glasgow as the European City of Culture in 1990 changed everything, transforming the city into an example that would be emulated throughout Europe. Interestingly, O'Neill chooses to focus as much on Glasgow's earlier successes as its more recent ones, and he discloses a picture of a thriving tourism economy from much earlier years, showing how the city simply regained in the late twentieth century what it had once confidently celebrated as its right.

Perhaps unsurprisingly, the image of tourism conveyed by the Scottish agencies is not very different from that of its nearest neighbour; the upbeat tone of English tourism and heritage institutions conveys just as much optimism, potential and anticipated prosperity, despite periodic hiccups and economic uncertainties. A November 2013 report produced by consultants Deloitte, for example, suggests that tourism contributed £48.3 billion to the English economy and directly supported 1.44 million jobs in 2013. 'The total contribution of tourism to England is calculated', it continues, 'by including the wage-financed spending of the 2.58 million people employed directly by the industry or its supply chains'. Divided between a London and a 'rest of England' model of development, tourism 'contributes £134.1 billion to England's GDP in 2013, equivalent to 11.1 % of the nation's economy. In generating this contribution, 3.14 million jobs are supported in England'.[10] VisitEngland, the country's national tourist board, is specifically charged not only with overseeing, but also developing tourism, especially in partnership with industry, and its *Business Plan 2015–16* outlines key areas for development, including regional initiatives associated with the north and the south-west.[11] Moreover, *England—A Strategic Framework for Tourism 2010–2020*, upon which VisitEngland's policies are partially based, demonstrates an unfailing faith in the future of English tourism. Amid all the confident and hopeful statements there is an acknowledgement of recent and significant challenges, including the growth of budget airlines, fluctuating exchange rates and a perception that England fails to represent value for money for many overseas visitors, but the impression largely conveyed is of potential, irrespective of regional differentials and characteristics:

> The greatest opportunity for tourism continues to be the destination itself—England. England remains a highly attractive place to visit with a range of historic towns and cities, such as York, Cambridge, Oxford, Bath and Canterbury; established seaside destinations such as Brighton, Bournemouth and Blackpool through to distinctive countryside, with ten national parks and over 5,000 miles of coastline. There is also the endless vitality of England's largest cities—London, Birmingham, Manchester, Leeds and Liverpool—where cutting-edge culture sits alongside rich history. The variety and intrinsic strength of the English tourism product is difficult to match anywhere.[12]

Although a greater part of English heritage in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries was placed on matters of conservation, the increasing evolution of its role has seen heritage valued as much for its strengthening of the tourism industry as for its contribution to the various narratives of national and regional identity, or its connection to preservation principles. For example, a number of organisations have been formed over the years with the specific intention of protecting England's built and natural heritage, including the Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings and the National Trust, while more recent developments, such as the Twentieth Century Society, which campaigns to preserve twentieth-century architecture, was formed as recently as 1979. Inaugurated in 1983, English Heritage oversees over 400 properties, including some of the most important in these islands, such as Stonehenge and Hadrian's Wall. The growth of the heritage industry and its lively and increasing connection to tourism is explored by all four contributors that take England as their focus, although as with Scotland the picture is one of growing diversity, with an emphasis on natural heritage a particular feature. Karl Spracklen assesses the South Pennines in terms of a number of tourism attractions, with sometimes quite different tourist constituencies, and discovers a complicated and still evolving narrative: of urban heritage, geology, birdwatching and mill towns, not to mention unsurprising tensions between hosts and guests, and between elite literary tourism and the 'authenticity' of working-class heritage, with its closed factories and crushing unemployment. Meanwhile Simon Woodward and Sarah Oswald focus on the industrial landscapes of the North York Moors National Park, and consider the role of interpretation in dealing with a site which must also foster the social and economic well-being of local communities. Here, too, are kilns, iron mines, railway tracks and other vestiges of industrial heritage, much of which are still failing to engage the interest of many locals, whose forebears worked those mines and kilns in the first place but who remain noticeably under-represented as a tourist constituency. Like Spracklen, Woodward and Oswald draw attention to the postwar need for the protection of national assets, legislated for by the 1949 National Parks and Access to the Countryside Act; like Spracklen they also regard the future of these sites to lie in greater engagement and inclusion, not just for tourists but for locals too, and they see the importance of partnerships as a crucial element in that regard.

While the future of the British seaside was set for drastic decline throughout the 1960s—because of increasing demand for more exotic locales, full employment and cheaper fares to continental Europe—Philip Larkin's 1962 poem 'Sunny Prestatyn' seemed to sum up the utter tawdriness and boredom of the coastal resort for many: '*Come to Sunny Prestatyn* / Laughed the girl on the poster / Kneeling up on the sand / In tautened white satin.' Thirty years later John Urry was able to describe the British seaside as being not quite dead, but certainly on its last legs, with only Blackpool continuing to thrive to any discernible degree. He cited factors such as piers that were falling into the sea, the featureless architectural forms which characterised many coastal resorts, and the lack of excitement and exoticism as being instrumental in their demise. Perhaps most damning of all, Urry pointed to the uniformity of cultural forms across the British and Irish landscape and the fact that what was once special about the coastal venue had somehow been lost: 'Seaside resorts have also become less distinctive because of the deindustrialisation of many towns and cities so that there is less need to escape from them to the contrasting seaside […] most seaside resorts are no longer extraordinary'.[13] Whether our disinclination for many coastal areas was due to the ever greater levels of choice provided by regional airports and low-cost carriers, or the benefits of increased political and social integration with other parts of Europe, or simply an established appetite for warmer climes and better food, the fact remains that the British coast as a tourist destination declined greatly from the 1960s to the 1990s.

In Paul Gilchrist's chapter an analysis is offered of several coastal spaces, some of which would once have been victim to the coastal decline Urry and others described, but which are undergoing a curious transformation, of benefit to locals in terms of place identity and community activism, but also increasingly appreciated by growing numbers of tourists for the inventive use being now made of such liminal spaces in terms of new technologies and partnerships (of conservation, local history, marketing and planning). As with all our contributors, a key term in Gilchrist's discussion is diversity: of experience, visitor and site, and he reminds us that for heritage to succeed it must remain flexible, open-ended and adaptable. The need for heritage to be vigilant to the dangers of predetermined narratives and routines, to the stasis that can quickly follow from established patterns, whether of behaviour or thinking, is also at the centre of Graham Black's chapter on English tourism and museums. Black begins with an analysis of the tourism and museum heritage sectors, which he identifies as having a much improved relationship of late, but one still hamstrung by professional rivalries and suspicions over issues to do with commodification and profiteering, conservation and protection, and all of which need to be speedily tackled if museums are to survive and the English regions liberated from subsidising London heritage to the extent that they do. As with all the contributors to this volume, Gilchrist and Black reveal a sense of heritage as transient, in process, and although they both acknowledge its rich and diverse potential, they are also mindful of the challenges that yet lie ahead.

While motives such as job creation and the revitalisation of British post-industrial cities lies behind a good deal of the promotion of English, Irish and Scottish tourism, in Wales there is as much emphasis on the benefits of tourism-driven regeneration projects as anywhere else. The Welsh *Government Strategy for Tourism 2013–2020* document, for example, refers to the tourism potential of the country, but argues that because of the diverse and expanding nature of the product an increasingly collaborative policy is called for. Since tourism 'touches many parts of Government policy, including skills and employment, planning, regeneration, heritage and culture', an integrated system that targets the 'wider influences of tourism' is required: one that draws together external stakeholders so that full advantage can be taken, and risks allayed.

> 'The challenges that face the tourism sector in Wales need sustained and focussed responses over a prolonged period if they are to be overcome but, as a small country, we have many advantages over our competitors. We can work with agility, we can form close partnerships and we can measure how well we are delivering our priorities. Tourism is well placed to benefit from these competitive advantages and to focus resources where they will drive successful outcomes for the economy'.[14]

The opportunities as well as challenges are here clearly laid out. Welsh tourism can benefit its countryside as much as its cities, and given that over 88,000 of all full-time equivalent jobs in Wales are directly supported by tourism, the opportunity to grow the industry further clearly remains. The document considers the realities that presently exist, but while it admits that tourism will not resolve all of the economic and social problems currently faced, it suggests that a mixed, diverse and sustainable economy can certainly contribute to local culture and create jobs, as well as inspire pride and identity among Welsh communities. The document is open about the challenges that remain—low visibility in continental Europe, limited connectivity and flight capacity—but it argues that there are opportunities for Welsh tourism nonetheless, and that such potential can best be harnessed through collaborative and inclusive engagement. Indeed, the 2007 document *Sustainable Tourism: A Framework for Wales* produced by the Welsh Assembly specifically endorses the idea of a sustainable future for Welsh tourism, and does so within a context of enlightened social inclusion. Amidst the usual economic objectives common to many policy and strategy documents offered by the various British and Irish tourism authorities, there is a distinctly nuanced effort made by the Welsh to ensure widespread acceptance, and the calls for 'local control', 'community well-being', 'social equity' and a 'just society' reveal a genuine commitment to ensuring that tourism benefits are equally distributed.[15]

While the National Trust also protects and maintains natural and built heritage in Wales, including sections of coast, Roman forts and woodland, the Welsh government's historic environment service, Cadw, is responsible for a number of historic parks and gardens as well as fifty-eight historic landscapes. But it is not just the traditional heritage venue—the park, woodland, big house or castle—that the Welsh government is interested in developing, for in Catherine Flynn's chapter on heritage as an urban regeneration tool within the Lower Swansea Valley we also hear of efforts to use industrial heritage to improve the socio-economic and environmental quality of people's lives. The government's *Heritage Tourism Project* and Cadw's *Pan-Wales Heritage Interpretation Plan* place heritage at the very heart of tourism and economic development, an acknowledgement of the contribution heavy industry once made to the area as well as an acceptance of the continuing importance of industrial heritage for local communities. Indeed, Welsh government support for a number of new ventures, including the 2013 *Faith Tourism Action Plan* discussed by Simon Thomas in this volume, identifies several heritage and tourism initiatives that could be profitably developed right across the country, and in Thomas's chapter, which largely focuses on the example of St David's on the Pembrokeshire coast, ecclesiastical heritage is identified as a mechanism for increasing tourism numbers in some of the country's least populated areas. Of course, pilgrimage tourism has been a long-established element within British and Irish heritage; one can point to Armagh, Lincoln and Winchester cathedrals, York Minster, not to mention the thousands of small parish churches, graveyards and abbeys that populate our landscapes. The latter receive significant numbers of tourists every year and thereby posit profound challenges for conservationists, but are nevertheless important opportunities for tourist operators and local communities alike.[16] And it is not just with traditional heritage that the Welsh government has encouraged new ways of thinking, because similar prospects have arisen within the field of archaeology; Katharina Möller and Raimund Karl confirm this in regard to volunteering strategies in Gwynedd, where just as many balances need to be struck, and where accessibility for those who wish to visit must be weighed against those whose primary interest lies with the historic preservation of the site. Despite the organisational and operational issues that naturally arise from voluntourism, the form of hands-on tourism Möller and Karl assess has proved immensely productive, another way of advertising and developing the multiplicity of Welsh heritage, for natives and visitors alike. For David Howell the range of strategies and plans that have evolved with regard to the heritage and museum sector in particular, and which are endorsed by any number of essayists in this volume, all work from the assumption that heritage is a 'work in progress', a transient state that must adapt as best it can to the fluctuations of economic, political and cultural change—in Wales, but probably right across the Isles. In Howell's chapter the narrative that is heritage is seen as one of adaptation, change and reassessment, and he demonstrates the ways in which the Welsh Assembly has developed a number of strategies for its implementation and future development.

One of the developments arising from the Good Friday Agreement was not just a cessation of violence and a return to normality after forty years of conflict in Northern Ireland, but an opportunity for tourism authorities north and south of the Irish border to work more strategically to improve the visitor experience across the island of Ireland. After the fifth meeting of the North South Inter-Parliamentary Association, in 2014, the document *Key Aspects of Tourism Strategy on the Island of Ireland* highlighted the work of the Tourism Ireland agency, which had been founded after the Good Friday Agreement to develop tourism on the island of Ireland, but with a particular emphasis on attracting overseas tourists. Among Tourism Ireland's main objectives were not only the promotion of the Causeway Coastal route in Northern Ireland and the Wild Atlantic Way in the Republic of Ireland, but a greater emphasis on the benefits of events and festivals, with a particular priority placed upon golf and business tourism, not to mention the Irish and Scots-Irish diasporas.[17] Recognising that they have more in common than keeping them apart, many in Ireland increasingly see opportunities in ensuring a more collaborative north-south tourism strategy; with shared infrastructure such as the Dublin-Belfast railway, and shared natural resources such as the Shannon-Erne waterway, it is not difficult to see how greater cooperation would be anything other than beneficial to both jurisdictions. Moreover, the *Draft Tourism Strategy for Northern Ireland to 2020* predicts that, despite thirty years of limited growth and investment in Ireland, as well as the pressures still being felt as a result of the global financial crisis, tourism has a bright future in Northern Ireland.[18] The Northern Ireland Tourist Board (NITB)'s *Corporate Plan, 2011–15*, declares that tourism is worth an estimated £544 million, and that it supports 40,000 jobs, attracts 3 million visitors per year, and has further potential. In common with other British and Irish tourism agencies, the NITB (recently renamed Tourism Northern Ireland) is currently looking to build the tourism product through closer engagement with industry, and sees its *Five Point Plan* as a way to improve the visitor experience and increase numbers. They also place much emphasis on developing the province's unique and authentic attractions, a particular strategy that rests on improving the overall quality of visitor contact. However, the board is especially committed to working both within and beyond its borders, as shown by its *Visitor Information Plan*, which declares a commitment to more collaborative efforts across the Isles:

> 'NITB will exploit its relationships with Fáilte Ireland, Tourism Ireland and VisitBritain to maximise the benefits of joint promotion and CRM [customer relationship management] and minimise ongoing costs by utilising any technology, process or other economy of scale saving opportunities'.[19]

As the region across Britain and Ireland most affected by the 2008 financial crash, it comes perhaps as no surprise to see the Republic of Ireland's *People, Place and Policy—Growing Tourism to 2025* document, produced by the government's Department of Transport, Tourism and Sport in 2015, regard tourism as a major tool of economic regeneration and employment. Not unlike the English and Welsh objectives, the overall goal of the Irish government is to see the number of tourism-related jobs rise, in Ireland's case from 200,000 to 250,000, and overseas tourism revenue reach €5 billion in real terms by 2025. However, the document also expresses the belief that a successful tourism product, especially in relation to overseas visitors, can benefit the economy in other ways too: 'The promotion of Ireland as a tourism destination in overseas markets has additional significance beyond its direct purpose of generating additional visitor numbers and revenue'.[20] Moreover, the positive images of Ireland that can also be generated, such as the 'high quality natural environment, and friendly and welcoming people', would support the government's activities in 'other areas of economic development, such as the promotion of foreign direct investment into Ireland'.[21] In terms of new initiatives, greater emphasis on business tourism (a strategy which has already proved highly successful) as well as pushing developments within the sporting and festival areas, are both identified as key areas for further investment, warmly supported by the introduction of new training programmes across the tourism and hospitality sectors. As a driver of regeneration it is hardly surprising to see tourism cited in the context of income and job creation, especially in relation to Irish rural economies; however, the bigger picture—north-south cooperation, the relationship with the UK, and the role of Europe—is equally important, and indeed the document readily identifies that the interconnected nature of the tourism industry will be an important element in any future marketing campaigns.

While tourism is promoted in the Irish Republic by Fáilte Ireland, Irish natural and cultural heritage is protected by the Heritage Council, formed in 1988, and responsible for not only working with other heritage bodies, but liaising with regional tourism boards and government departments, as well as providing primary core funding for a number of projects. The Irish heritage field is also protected by An Taisce, the National Trust for Ireland, founded in 1948, as well as the smaller and more recently established Irish Landmark Trust, an educational charity founded in 1992 with the specific mission to 'nurture the symbiotic relationship between heritage and tourism'.[22] In Northern Ireland, the Department of the Environment's Historic Environment Division is responsible for the protection of monuments and buildings in state care, and works to promote and conserve historic monuments, while the National Trust oversees a number of natural and built heritage sites, including the Giant's Causeway and Florence Court. In Stephen Boyd's chapter on heritage and tourism in Northern Ireland, he considers the conservation interests of those involved in preserving the more obvious instances of natural and built heritage, but also places emphasis on thinking through the challenges and opportunities of selling the Province's dark heritage. With regard to difficult and contested heritage, Uzzell and Ballantyne suggest that 'issues which involve personal values, beliefs, interests and memories will excite a degree of emotional arousal which needs to be recognised and addressed in interpretation'.[23] Although the various tourism agencies in Northern Ireland, as Boyd attests, remain unclear about their relationship to dark heritage, especially in terms of its role in tourism and the marketing strategies that might be necessary to develop it fully, conflict heritage and political tourism is a nevertheless still viable part of the industry. Like Boyd, Ruth McManus and Gerry O'Reilly also deal with elements of Ireland's darker heritage, in their case the Battle of the Boyne site in Co. Meath, a relatively recent development that has attempted to not only contribute to local and regional tourism strategies but has also acted as an educational, cross-border initiative. Although they suggest that it has become commodified and tired in its impact, with other 'shared heritage' venues now more visible and visited, they conclude that the Battle of the Boyne site is a necessary part of the island's heritage narrative and a still vital element in Co. Meath's tourism development.

While many would agree with the Irish Landmark Trust's sentiment that there is a natural relationship between heritage and tourism, there are also understandable tensions inherent in that relationship, between those who wish to protect and those who wish to exploit. The relationship is neither simple nor clearly defined, although a greater number of education, training and volunteering programmes are steadily improving matters, while several tourism and heritage boards are increasingly involved in a more proactive and meaningful engagement with the various complexities involved. For example, Fáilte Ireland's publication *A Tourism Toolkit for Ireland's Built Heritage* (2012) distils many of the Irish Heritage Council's ideas into a workable handbook for those involved in the promotion of heritage sites, as well as exploring the responsibilities that come with being actively involved in heritage tourism.[24] In my own chapter on the workhouse in Portumna, Co. Galway, I assess a site that has been managed and developed in such a way as to work as flexibly as possible for the local community and tourism operators, while remaining faithful to the principles of conservation and architectural history with which the site is also associated. Meanwhile Catherine Kelly, in her chapter on the heritage and tourism industry of Co. Mayo, focuses on the blended diversity of its products—Croagh Patrick, Westport, the Céide Fields, the Museum of Country Life—to demonstrate how Irish tourism has grown in recent years: from being a 'rural nation' to a site of modernity in which diaspora and intangible forms of tourism can sit comfortably and compatibly with more traditional types, such as landscape or built heritage, festivals and so forth. Like many in this volume Kelly also sees the connection between heritage and tourism to be a natural one, albeit one that is subject to constant revision and safeguarding.

Encompassing a broad range of themes, including landscape conservation, rural development, heritage policy, dark and urban tourism projects, canals and coasts as well as industrial and ecclesiastical heritage, the contributors in this volume present a crucial departure point for further study. They also represent a diverse range of expertise and interests, being drawn from disciplines such as heritage and public history, geography and leisure studies, cultural and museum studies, as well as archaeology, tourism and heritage management. In keeping with the theme of diversity and interdisciplinarity, contributors focus on urban as well as rural case studies, offer specific city and individual tourist attractions analyses, focus on the minutiae of site development, as well as tackle larger heritage policy and strategy issues. Bringing academic and practitioner approaches together, this text offers the most recent research findings on specific aspects of regional and national tourism and heritage development, as well as indicating the benefits of a more inclusive, interdisciplinary approach to the subject, for students and professionals alike. Emma Waterton suggests that it 'is not possible for everyone to piece together exactly the same understanding of heritage; instead, we all weave together different notions of identity, value, experience, emotion and memory within the discursive spaces it provides'.[25] Although this volume suggests points of common interest and overlap, areas where national and regional agencies are working in similar ways for comparable outputs, the view expressed by Waterton underpins much of the rationale for this volume, where divergence is key and variation to be welcomed. If heritage and tourism destinations—and the people who visit them—are themselves diverse and multifaceted, it is surely appropriate that the work which emerges reveals something of the rich complexities and inherent fluctuations, not to mention the significant challenges that still lie ahead.

Notes

1. See the UNWTO website, 'Why Tourism?', http://www2.unwto.org/content/why-tourism
2. Ibid.
3. F. Tilden, *Interpreting our Heritage* (Chapel Hill, [1957] 1977), p. 3.

4. P. Wright, *On Living in an Old Country* (London, 1985), p. 71.
5. Ibid., p. 76; R. Hewison, *The Heritage Industry: Britain in a Climate of Decline* (London, 1987).
6. T. Ambrose and C. Paine, *Museum Basics* (London, 1993); S.M. Pearce, ed., *Interpreting Objects and Collections* (London, 1994); A. Fahy, ed., *Collections Management* (London, 1995).
7. S. MacDonald, ed., *The Politics of Display: Museums, Science, Culture* (London, 1998); B. Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, ed., *Destination Culture: Tourism, Museums, and Heritage* (California: 1998).
8. For an early but still very useful exploration on the subject, see the Manx-orientated *Tourism and Heritage Attractions* (London, 1993) by Richard Prentice.
9. http://scottishtourismalliance.co.uk/wp-content/uploads/2013/03/Scottish-Tourism-Strategy-TourismScotland2020.pdf (accessed 20 June 2016).
10. Deloitte, *Tourism, Jobs and Growth: The Economic Contribution of the Tourism Economy in the UK* (London, 2013).
11. VisitEngland, *Business Plan, 2015–2016* (London, 2015).
12. *England—A Strategic Framework for Tourism 2010–2020* (revised edition 2011), p. 8.
13. J. Urry, *The Tourist Gaze* (2nd edition) (London, 2002), p. 36.
14. *Welsh Government Strategy for Tourism, 2013–2020*, p. 4.
15. Welsh Assembly, *Sustainable Tourism: A Framework for Wales* (2007).
16. On ecclesiastical heritage and conservation challenges, see D. Baker, 'Churches and Cathedrals', in G. Chitty and D. Baker, eds, *Managing Historic Sites and Buildings* (London, 1999).
17. North South Inter-Parliamentary Association (Fifth Meeting), *Key aspects of tourism strategy on the Island of Ireland* (October 2014).
18. Department of Enterprise, Trade and Investment, *Draft Tourism Strategy for Northern Ireland to 2020* (Belfast, 2010).
19. Northern Ireland Tourist Board, *Visitor Information Plan* (Belfast, 2010), p. 19.
20. Irish Department of Transport, Tourism and Sport, *People, Place and Policy—Growing Tourism to 2025* (Dublin, 2015), p. 14.
21. Ibid.
22. See www.irishlandmark.com
23. D. Uzzell and R. Ballantyne, 'Heritage that Hurts: Interpretation in a Postmodern world', in G. J. Fairclough et al., eds, *The Heritage Reader* (London, 2008), p. 502.
24. Fáilte Ireland, *A Tourism Toolkit for Ireland's Built Heritage*.
25. E. Waterton, *Politics, Policy and the Discourses of Heritage in Britain* (London, 2010), p. 7.

CHAPTER 2

'My Place or Yours?' Reconciling Tourist and Local Needs in the Regeneration of Glasgow through Culture and Heritage

Mark O'Neill

Culture, Heritage and Regeneration

Glasgow's reputation as a leader in urban regeneration through the deployment of culture and heritage dates from its year as European Capital of Culture in 1990. While this single event was successful in rebranding the city, accounts of its impact (both positive and negative) miss two key histories. The first is that in the Georgian and Victorian periods, and even in the 1970s when the city was at its nadir, Glasgow had a substantial visitor economy. The second is that Glasgow's rebranding as a cultural tourist destination was not just based on marketing of expensive events and new attractions targeting tourists, but was founded on substantial pre-existing assets of international quality, many of which were already attracting large numbers of local people from a wide range of socio-economic groups. Glasgow's use of cultural events and attractions as part of its economic regeneration strategy has only worked because these are seen as part of a holistic vision of civic life.

In 1900 Glasgow was the fifth largest city in Europe (after London, Berlin, Paris and Vienna), and claimed to be the 'Workshop of the World' and the

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'Second City of the Empire'. However, signs of impending economic decline began before World War I, and had accelerated precipitously by the 1960s. For the Labour City Council, a 'declining economic base in the post-war period was hardly one on which to build the New Jerusalem. Poverty and unemployment bedevilled efforts at improvement in housing and health. Religious antagonism, class conflict and political polarisation changed the city's image'.[1] The remedies for these problems—comprehensive redevelopment, slum clearance, building huge housing estates on the periphery of the city and moving as many as 200,000 people to new towns—caused Glasgow to be 'profoundly wounded'.[2] The city's population fell by nearly 50 %, and that of the conurbation by 11 %. And, just as much of the medieval and Georgian city had been demolished by the Victorians, a great deal of the Victorian and Edwardian city was, in its turn, erased by the city planners of the 1940s–1960s. By the 1970s local communities had been demoralised and externally Glasgow had become a byword for urban devastation.[3]

Bill Bryson recalled 'the first time I came to Glasgow in 1973 … being profoundly stunned at how suffocatingly dark and soot-blackened the city was. I had never seen a place so choked and grubby … Glasgow may be the largest city in Scotland, but my *Let's Go* guide to Europe didn't even mention it'.[4] Writing in 1990 about his first visit to Glasgow 'many years ago' Anthony Burton found the 'notion of Glasgow as the cultural capital of Europe was risible'.[5] Not only was Glasgow an implausible tourist city; it was one whose very existence was in doubt. The Scottish Office advised industry not to invest in Glasgow but in new towns, and secretly backed Edinburgh for the European Capital of Culture title, despite Glasgow having put in a much stronger bid.[6]

The turnaround—what Bill Bryson called 'a glittering transformation'—seemed dramatic, its spirit captured in the title of a book—'The City That Refused to Die'—published in 1988, *before* the European Capital of Culture was awarded.[7] By 2014 Glasgow was the fifth most visited tourist city in the UK and its population is now growing for the first time in 60 years. The city's use of culture and city marketing as part of its regeneration strategy is seen as a 'a textbook example'[8] of using culture for urban regeneration and as 'one of the most important recent examples' of the deployment of a 'cultural strategy', which seeks to 'identify, mobilize, market and commodify a city's cultural assets'.[9] The key elements of this strategy and its place in the wider attempts to regenerate the city's economy are well documented.[10] Indeed, analysis of Glasgow's approach provided the seeds for the concept of the 'creative city'[11]; the 'Glasgow model' is widely praised, and its approach of using the European Capital of Culture title to put culture at the centre of economic regeneration seen as a 'watershed' in the history of the award.[12]

An evaluation of the Capital of Culture event carried out immediately afterwards found it to be an economic success, 'producing a net economic benefit to the city of between £32 and £37 million, mainly as a result of tourist expenditure'.[13] However in 1992 'Stuart Gulliver, chief executive of the new Glasgow Development Agency' claimed that 'all this image work has only moved Glasgow out of the fourth division of European cities into the third'.[14] The city's approach has been criticised for promoting cultural tourism 'for political and economic reasons which have little connection to the "way of life" of local residents', leading to 'a bitter debate' during 1990 'about the content and aims of the event, between organizers trying to maximize economic revenue from wealthy tourists coming to see cultural highlights such as Pavarotti, and local activists trying to promote a more "Glaswegian" culture'.[15] Richards found that 'some local groups felt either that the money could have been better spent on basic services such as housing', or that the event should have been more culturally representative of Glasgow itself.[16] An OECD (Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development) assessment of Glasgow's 'Renaissance' in 2002 credited cultural developments with making a contribution to the significant economic progress made by the city, but was explicit in pointing out that the city still faced many economic and social problems, and had much to learn about how to address them.[17] A recent overview of European Capital of Culture picked Glasgow out, alongside Lille, as one of the few cities in which it had 'contributed to regeneration', because 'it was part of long term strategies'.[18] Critical cultural policy scholars like Miller question the whole concept of creative industries and the creative city.[19] Neo-Marxist critics have attacked civic agencies for colluding with international neo-liberalism. Mooney has argued that 'the whole 'cultural city' and 'new Glasgow' narratives would contribute to a worsening of poverty and increasing disadvantage, as well as marginalising their importance as problems requiring more far reaching intervention'.[20]

MacLeod takes a similar view, arguing that Glasgow's civic leadership made a 'sudden shift' towards neo-liberalism and eschewed the 'insurgent "restructuring for labour"' strategies of the Greater London Council (GLC) and Liverpool Council in favour of collaboration with capital.[21] Louise Johnson, one of the few scholars to take a historical perspective, argues that Glasgow was unusually successful in ensuring that investment in culture was 'socially, politically, economically and culturally sustainable' – a view most local practitioners would, I suspect, agree with.[22] However, one reviewer accused her of taking an uncritical, 'tourist researcher' view with a 'surprisingly singular faith in the positive and sustainable effects of "The Arts" on blighted post-industrial communities that remains unconvincing'.[23] As a practitioner who was caught up in 'the bitter debates' of 1990 after moving to the city in 1985, and who has worked in the city's cultural sector ever since, it is difficult to get a clear, much less a detached perspective on these debates.[24] To organise my reflections I will use two frames. One will pick up from Bianchini and Johnson about the importance of the long term and take a historical perspective, in particular looking at continuities where the focus has predominantly been on change. The second is based on a key cultural policy dilemma, identified by Bianchini[25] and Matarasso and Landry,[26] between provision for locals and for tourists.

Glasgow: Tourist City

> I was not aware that Glasgow was an ancient city. William Cobbett[27]

Glasgow was an early participant in the transition of travel from elite pastime to an increasingly democratic and ultimately mass practice. Guidebooks began to be produced from the late eighteenth century, many building on earlier antiquarian studies, such as those of McUre in 1736 (the first history of Glasgow) and Denholm in 1798.[28] Examples include: T. Richardson's 1798 *Guide to Loch Lomond, Loch Fyne, and Inverary, with a description of all the towns, villages*[29]; Chapman's 1806 *Picture of Glasgow, or, Stranger's Guide*[30]; Wade's 1822 *A Tour of Modern and a Peep into Ancient Glasgow; with An Historical Introduction and a Statistical Appendix*[31]; Leighton's 1829 *Selected Views of Glasgow and Its Environs*[32]; *and* Willox's *The Glasgow tourist and itinerary, being a complete handbook to the history, manufactures, public institutions, scenery of Glasgow, and the surrounding districts*, of 1850.[33] What emerges from these guidebooks is a town proud of its medieval origins and which, based on its booming trade with the Americas, is building itself into a splendid neoclassical city. They reflect the transition from 'the eighteenth-century traveller [who] preferred to contemplate the works of man to those of nature' and such travellers' romantic interest in wild and watery places, to the more modern tourist, who is drawn to the cultural life of the city.[34] For example, in the transitional period the anonymous *Glasgow Delineated, or a Description of that City, its INSTITUTIONS, Manufactories and Commerce* of 1821 gives a thorough account of the city with no reference to the nearby countryside,[35] while James M'Nayr in 1797 produced *A guide from Glasgow, to some of the most remarkable scenes in the Highlands of Scotland and to the falls of the Clyde*.[36] The guidebooks are very positive, indeed boastful about the city's sights. *Glasgow Delineated*, which describes the Hunterian Museum, the first public museum in Scotland, as being 'justly admired as exhibiting one of the happiest and most pleasing specimens of classical building in Great Britain', is typical.[37] These glowing assessments are generally confirmed by travel writers. Defoe had found Glasgow in the 1720s to be 'the cleanest and beautifullest, and best built city in Britain, London excepted'.[38]

In the 1830s William Cobbett was not only surprised to discover that Glasgow was an 'ancient city' but also 'a city of the greatest beauty, a commercial town, and a place of manufactures also very great… [a city] … built in a style, and beautiful in all ways, very little short of the 'New Town of Edinburgh.'[39] Other travellers were less impressed with the boom town—in 1799 Sarah Murray found Glasgow 'amazingly enlarged' and, even though 'its situation is very fine' she found it to be populated, like 'all other great manufacturing trading towns, with inhabitants very rich, saucy, and wicked'. She 'left Glasgow as soon as possible'.[40] A recurring theme in both local and travel writing about Glasgow is a sense that its good qualities are undervalued. Many who appreciated these shared the fate of Adam Smith when 'expatiating on the beauty of Glasgow' to Dr Johnson—the latter 'cut him short, saying, "Pray, Sir, have you ever seen Brentford?"'[41]

Improvements in rail and steamship travel throughout the nineteenth century enabled Glasgow to become increasingly involved in mass tourism, especially as a gateway to the increasingly fashionable romantic highlands and islands. The first Thomas Cook excursion to Scotland, in 1846, took 350 people from Leicester to Fleetwood, via Glasgow and Edinburgh. Glasgow became 'a major starting point for [Cook's] tours—but it was also a destination, a stopping point for tours which began elsewhere'.[42] Glasgow was not just following wider trends, but was a creative contributor. Entrepreneurs were quick to respond to demand, building hotels and leading the way in the application of many new technologies. The world's first successful commercial steamboat service was launched in 1812 by Henry Bell, hotel and baths owner in Helensburgh. Steam packets came to be used 'almost as present-day travellers might use coach services'.[43] Glasgow-built locomotives featured prominently in the 'rail races to the North in the late 1880s, which gripped the public imagination, [and] brought savings of nearly three hours in the journey between London and Edinburgh or Glasgow'.[44]

Commercial Hospitality

Business travel to the city predates leisure tourism, though the distinction was not always clear. Wade's 1822 guidebook proudly boasts that 'in addition to the Public Buildings, Institutions &c. which all visit, persons who possess an intelligent curiosity, and have time, rarely fail to inspect various manufacturing establishments', naming individual Austrian and Russian aristocrats who had recently visited local factories.[45] The guidebooks were also proud of the welcome afforded to business travellers. M'Phun's boasted that the new Royal Exchange (now the Gallery of Modern Art) afforded businessmen and visitors to the city 'a public newsroom, and place of meeting for business … on a scale and in a style perhaps not surpassed if equalled anywhere in the world.'[46] The Iwakura mission from Imperial Japan to Britain in 1872 included Glasgow—it was a phenomenon to be seen, and and the mission's representatives concluded that "industrial and commercial enterprises hold the possibility of vast profits, but they also carry the risk of huge losses. The inhabitants of cities derive their livelihoods from such risky projects … [which] is why municipal government is so important'.[47]

Increasingly, municipal administration itself became a source of interest to travellers, as did the social problems of the burgeoning Victorian city. For example, H. Rider Haggard[48] and William Bolitho[49] wrote studies of the grim conditions suffered by the urban poor. According to Aspinwall, the city's problems, and its attempts to address them, were an incentive rather than the opposite for some tourists: the newly affluent Americans could overlay pleasure with duty if they wished by 'visiting the social democratic shrine of Burns, attending a temperance or evangelical congress and inspecting the moral grandeur of Glasgow's municipal government'.[50] Many aspects of Glasgow's civic administration were considered models to be emulated, as its transport system was by Chicago, Bombay and São Paulo.[51]

Glasgow was an early exponent of what Tony Bennett has called 'the exhibitionary complex', holding its first exhibition in 1847, which led to pressures for more exhibitions and for public museums.[52] Glasgow's year as European Capital of Culture (and the Garden Festival which preceded it in 1988) had significant local precedents: major international exhibitions were held there in 1888, 1901, 1911 and 1938.[53] Depending on the 'changing economic circumstances, they blended educational, cultural and commercial objectives in different combinations'.[54] The aims of the 1888 Glasgow International Exhibition, for example, were openly boosterish in the general sense of enhancing the city's prestige and the narrow sense of promoting regional industry, commerce and tourism. The exhibition attracted 5.7 million visitors, from other parts of the UK, North America and Western Europe as well as from Scotland: 'much of the North American interest came from Scottish expatriates and their descendants'—an early example of the promotion of 'Homecoming'.[55] Gold and Gold argue that it 'was also one of the first truly International events to be held in Great Britain, with steamship lines arranging package deals that brought in an international clientele. Conferences and professional meetings were also held in Glasgow that year to reinforce the impact of the exhibition.'[56]

The use of the 1901 exhibition to promote the city and to launch its most prestigious institution, the Kelvingrove Art Gallery and Museum, did not mean that the latter was designed as a tourist facility. The museum's approach to its role was explicitly based on that of museums in Brussels; this was an 'integrated approach that fostered both community identity and national unity.'[57] In a lecture to the Glasgow Ruskin Society in 1891, Cllr Robert Crawford set out the city's reasons for funding museums, as well as more basic services like sewers:

> Is it possible for any public body to deal effectively with institutions and conditions of life apparently so widely removed as PUBLIC HEALTH AND MUNICIPAL ART? (original emphasis). …You, I am sure, will give no hesitating answer to this question. It is of the very essence of that common bond which links together the members of this Society, that these two extremes not only do, but must meet and blend together to their mutual advantage … The heart that vibrates to the truly beautiful in Art will vibrate also to human suffering.[58]

Later improvements in 'road and, later, air transport brought Scotland steadily into the age of mass tourism', which Glasgow benefited from, even as the city declined.[59] However, Glasgow continued to see itself not just as a gateway to the highlands, but as a destination in itself, providing some of the earliest civic tourist services in the UK.[60] For the 1938 Empire Exhibition the Corporation created an Information Office, which survived until its role was taken over by the Glasgow City Marketing Bureau in 1983. This office provided information for both locals and tourists, and by 1970 employed 10 staff. In 1970 Glasgow had 2242 hotel rooms, 26 % of its 2013 tally—but a substantial total nonetheless. Commercial hospitality continued to be important throughout the 1970s and 1980s, reflected not least in the innovations of Glasgow's most famous hotelier, Reo Stakis.[61] The prevalence of Glasgow's cultural tourism in the literature, reflecting the city's boosterish activities and investments, masks underlying continuities. Even in 2014, when Glasgow ranked fifth in terms of UK cities for overseas tourists, and attracted a total of 750,000 leisure visitors, the latter constituted only 38 % of its tourist total. The majority were either business tourists or those visiting friends and relatives.[62]

Cultural Capital

While Glasgow has invested significantly in marketing a positive image, brand management alone could not sustain visitor numbers. As Durie puts it: 'whatever draws people to a given destination, there has still to be a significant offering, i.e. an experience of value'.[63] Or as Jan Morris argues, more was needed than 'chutzpah', and what cultural tourists value in Glasgow is its cultural infrastructure, which has long surprised visitors.[64] Glasgow is the only UK city which has given its name to two artistic movements—the Glasgow Boys and the Glasgow Style. Journalist and novelist Israel Zangwill visited Glasgow in 1892, just as these were emerging, and discovered that, even if Glasgow 'does not stir the imagination like Edinburgh, it satisfies the brain and the heart, for it is grappling manfully with many social problems, with the opening of parks and hospitals, and especially with the housing of the poor, and is developing an artistic conscience to boot'. Looking at the sites for which murals were being commissioned from Glasgow Boys artists within the recently opened City Chambers (which 'deserve all the praise they have received') Zangwill wrote that 'there is so much art-work to be done in Glasgow that one begins to understand why it is threatening to become the capital of British Art […] The affinity of the Scotch with the French, … has made Style the watchword of the Glasgow School of Art. Whistler's "Carlyle" hangs in the Corporation Galleries … The stones of Glasgow await their Ruskin'.[65] Glasgow did not find its Ruskin until 1968, with Gomme and Walker's seminal work on the city's architecture.[66] Indeed, the growing appreciation of Glasgow's built heritage reflected a UK-wide revaluation of Victorian architecture and moves to preserve it. These found practical expression in Glasgow in the creation of conservation areas and of grants to restore and clean the city's sandstone buildings, and the foundation of the New Glasgow Society (1965) and the Charles Rennie Mackintosh Society

(1973). What was revealed in the 1960s and 1970s, despite the demolitions during this period (recounted in texts by Worsdall[67] and Foreman[68]) was 'the world's richest concentration of Victorian architecture, unrivalled in its range of forms and the virtuosity of its adaptation to ever-changing needs'.[69] In 2014, the Fife-born London journalist, Ian Jack, in a tone that suggests this, also, is too little known, described Glasgow as having 'one of the world's great downtowns'.[70]

The flagship of Glasgow's cultural regeneration (and the model for the Guggenheim in Bilbao) was the Burrell Collection, which opened in 1983.[71] The quality of the museum seems to have startled visitors: 'one of Glasgow's glories and one of its surprises … a tour de force'[72]; 'one of the finest museums in the world'[73]; 'my favourite museum in the world'.[74] But the Burrell Collection, more than any other development, represented a deep continuity with the Victorian past. Though he gifted his collection to the city in 1944, Burrell was born in 1861. He had formed a significant art collection by 1901, when he loaned 160 works to the displays in the Kelvingrove Art Gallery and Museum for the 1901 Exhibition. Giving the collection to the city meant that 'Glasgow can boast the best art collection outside London'.[75]

But even these narratives of revival based on Victorian assets underestimate cultural development between 1901 and 1983. When Bernard Newman visited Glasgow in his 1944 tour of Britain he found the museums undergoing a revival under the innovative direction of Tom Honeyman, and playing a key role in supporting wartime community morale: 'The Museum and Art Gallery used to be just what its title suggests, a Glaswegian said to me … now it is a real centre of the city's life'; Newman noted that visitor numbers in 1942/3 had been 70 % higher than in the 'peak year' of 1938, 'when the city was full of visitors to the Empire Exhibition'.[76] Newman also saw other signs of revival: 'Once Glasgow was alive in the arts: then it slumbered: now it is awakening again. I liked its Citizens' Theatre, which presents intelligent plays, well produced'. The 'Citz' had been founded in 1943 and gained an international reputation for innovation during the period when it was run by the dynamic triumvirate of Giles Havergal, Philip Prowse and Robert David MacDonald (1969–2003). As Keating felt obliged to remind people in 1988, Glasgow had been the home of the BBC Symphony Orchestra since 1935, and after World War II became the base for three of the four national performing arts companies—Scottish Ballet (1957) Scottish Opera (1962) and the Royal Scottish National Orchestra, founded in 1891 and becoming a full-time professional orchestra in 1950.[77]

Funding—both capital and revenue—for culture in Glasgow is always problematic, as there are competing urgent priorities. The advent of Lottery Funding for the arts and heritage in 1994 became a major opportunity to bring capital into the city, making significant investments more palatable politically as well as financially viable. In 2000 the Heritage Lottery Fund granted 50 % of the funding to refurbish the Kelvingrove Art Gallery and Museum. This refurbishment built on its Victorian traditions, though it did so in a less paternalistic manner than that associated with those traditions—the redisplay was based on the largest programme of consultation undertaken by an arts museum in the UK up to that time.[78] Surveys showed that, unlike most large museums, especially art museums, Kelvingrove was its city's best-loved building with a strong local tradition of working-class visitation (prior to closure 40 % of Glasgow visitors were from C2DE backgrounds). The refurbished museum's accessibility has received both praise and blame.[79] A survey of Glasgow households in 2011 showed that there were significant inequalities in museum attendance—the 20 % least deprived households were approximately twice as likely to visit as the 20 % most deprived. However, the fact that museum visiting is part of local working-class culture means that even amongst the latter group, the most deprived 20 %, 37 % of these visitors had visited Kelvingrove in the previous year.[80] While the refurbishment was seen as technically innovative, perhaps its main achievement was to modernise and upgrade the museum without alienating this local audience through a form of gentrification.

Even the process of creating a 'flagship' attraction designed by a 'starchitect' (Zaha Hadid) had deep local roots. The Riverside Museum, designed to help regenerate the river Clyde, is a modernisation of the city's Transport Museum, of which Chris Burton had written during a visit to the city in 1989: 'Museums can easily suffer from a lack of identity, but there is no such problem here. This is not just a museum of transport, but a museum of Glasgow transport with a few concessions to the rest of Scotland'.[81] The processes developed for Kelvingrove—such as the displays being shaped by advisory groups from a range of communities (geographical, age, interest, visitors, non-visitors)—were extended and developed, and local audiences have been retained. The ratio, among Glasgow visitors to this museum, of the 20 % least deprived to the 20 % most deprived is 66:44.[82]

Glasgow has become a much more ethnically diverse city in the past 30 years and cultural institutions have responded to this. Paddison suggests that, as well as supporting local cultural diversity through festivals like the Mela (and Glasgay and Black History Month), Glasgow has made 'interventions engaging with diversity … of a more enduring nature', including 'the use of public art and the dedication of a flagship museum'—the Hidden Gardens (created 2003) and the St Mungo Museum of Religious Life and Art (founded 1993). Both of these projects arose in ways that might be seen as typical of Glasgow's strategic opportunism; St Mungo's was intended as a visitor centre for Glasgow Cathedral but ran out of funds just before the city's reign as European Capital of Culture. However, as an unfinished building at a key historical site it was taken over and completed by the Council, whereupon its focus changed so that it celebrated the whole range of faiths present in the city, drawing on the rich collections of its civic museums. It serves as an active centre of interfaith 'encounter' as well as engaging with difficult issues like sectarianism.[83] Its *c.* 200,000 visits a year are split roughly equally between those from tourists and locals. Research amongst the latter suggests that the museum is consciously used by locals as a way of understanding diversity.[84] The Hidden Gardens were proposed by one of the city's most innovative arts organisations, NVA, and focused on a piece of derelict land behind Tramway, the largest UK multi-arts venue outside London, which now also houses the Scottish Ballet. Located in one of the city's most culturally diverse areas, the Hidden Gardens helps Tramway engage with local communities.[85] Indeed, recognition of the need to continue to deepen Tramway's local roots led to a major neighbourhood engagement project from 2011 to 2013, on the theme of 'Who is my neighbour?'[86]

In the 25 years since 1990, cultural attendance in Glasgow across all social classes and for almost all art forms has increased from below to above the Scottish average, and has remained consistently above the peak of 1990.[87] The cultural festival for the 2014 Commonwealth Games attempted to learn the lessons of 1990, to capitalise on the local arts ecosystem and to mobilise local audiences by creating a world-class, international programme with points of access for everyone. The 11-day festival was supported by a year-long campaign—'Let's Celebrate'—focusing on existing cultural institutions. This approach can take a significant degree of the credit for the fact that local attendances at all cultural institutions were up, not just during the tourist season or at Games time, but throughout the year 2014.[88]

Hype, Civic Pride and Stigma

One key area damaged by Glasgow's decline in the 1960s was the city's sense of local pride.[89] In Jan Morris's words: 'Glasgow has always been intensely fond of itself, even in hard times and more than anywhere else in Britain, it aspired to the condition of a city-State … There are few cities that have celebrated themselves with such profligate consistency down the years—the bookshops are full of books about Glasgow, the museums are stacked with Glasgow material, there are innumerable songs about Glasgow, countless poems about Glasgow, acres of Glasgow paintings, and more than one bestselling dictionary of the Glasgow dialect'.[90] Rebranding Glasgow was not just about external image but boosting local morale in the face of pervasive negative media stereotypes about the city and its residents. According to film-maker Iain Smith (*Shallow Grave*, *Trainspotting*, *Red Road*), '1990 must now be seen as a trigger for substantial change in the way the people of Glasgow saw themselves … a new sense of determination, self-respect and above all, hope.'[91] Building on a long tradition—'the Victorians [of Glasgow] of course were terrific bluffers and braggarts'[92]—the change in image is 'the strongest and best-sustained legacy of Glasgow's reign as City of Culture'.[93]

The dual focus on local and external audiences is difficult to maintain, and has sometimes swung too far in one direction. While the 'Glasgow's Miles Better' campaign met with some local cynicism (resulting in graffiti like the possibly apocryphal 'Glasgow's Miles Better—than the Black Hole of Calcutta') it was a message that was aimed at, and embraced by, local people as much as visitors. Later slogans were much more externally focused. Few local people—and few local cultural organisations—identified with 'There's a lot Glasgowing on', or 'Glasgow: Scotland with Style'.[94] Discussions on how the city wanted to represent itself during the 2014 Commonwealth Games led to a commitment to a new brand—and one that would be chosen by Glaswegians. Though not yet evaluated, the crowd-sourced result—the slogan 'People Make Glasgow'—seems to be a return to a more authentic message, for both local people and visitors. Ian Jack welcomed the slogan as a celebration of Glasgow's friendliness. He saw making 'such a pleasant but relatively humble human quality' into 'the city's official characteristic' as a return to the 'human route' which it began with the Miles Better campaign.[95]

Do investing in culture and promoting positive images in the name of tourism and local morale make things worse by diverting funds needed for 'more basic' services and by concealing severe problems? In 2014–15 the city spent approximately 2 % of its annual budget on culture—which includes all of its nine museums, 33 libraries, concert halls and grants to independent theatres and other arts organisations. However, adding all of this to the 30 % spent on social work or the 36 % on schools would not make a strategic difference, or fund 'more far reaching intervention'. Even if it were politically expedient to mask Glasgow's problems completely, few would be naïve enough to believe this to be possible. And if this were the agenda, the city would not, for example, jointly with the University of Glasgow and the Scottish Government, have funded the Glasgow Centre for Population Health, which focuses unremitting attention upon the city's problems. Within the cultural sphere Glasgow's civic institutions, despite working within what is inevitably a hegemonic structure, have not set out to sanitise the city's image and have sought to create spaces of free expression and critique. Museum exhibitions have explicitly addressed human rights issues, such as the city's Catholic–Protestant sectarian divide and violence against women, in its most prestigious city-centre space—the Gallery of Modern Art.[96] Similarly, the cultural programme of the 2014 Commonwealth Games included projects which shone light on Glasgow's links to the transatlantic slave economy.[97]

Conclusion

Underlying Glasgow's story over the past 250 years are deep continuities. The most basic of these is its engagement with globalising capital. The city's embrace of tourism was as characteristic and innovative a response to the crisis of the 1970s as was its embrace of factory production of cotton or of iron and steel, even if led by a Labour city council rather than a capitalist local elite. If Glasgow was to survive as a city, its options were not whether to engage with global capitalism but the terms of that engagement; that is, the degree to which it could irrigate capital flows into the city in ways that derived maximum benefits for local people.[98] MacLeod, for example, despite regretting Glasgow's lack of 'insurgency', acknowledges that some of the 'city elites' showed 'some commitment to a "public interest"'; in part, surely a legacy to its inherited institutional landscape.[99] Savitch and Kantor see Glasgow's broader trajectory as being typical of British cities under Thatcherism: embracing private sector initiatives, but maintaining a large local state dedicated to the provision of services.[100] However, what distinguished Glasgow from other cities was that it regarded culture as amongst the services which should be preserved, and found ways of using it to boost its economy.

Another major continuity is tourism, along with Glasgow's pride in its ancient and modern attractions and a sense that these are not well enough known in the wider world. The building of a museum to house the Burrell Collection and the refurbishment of Kelvingrove reinforce Jan Morris's conclusion that the change in Glasgow wasn't a transition but a 'reincarnation' – 'they hadn't changed much really. They had merely restored a splendid Victorian artefact to its original self, not just in fabric, but in spirit too'.[101] While contributing to the economy is essential for the survival of cultural institutions, the breadth and depth of local engagement with all social groups means that, despite the inequalities, funding the cultural sector is progressive rather than regressive. And no one I know who works in the sector would deny that there is much more to be done to realise the potential of culture to help heal the 'wounded city'. Underlying all of this is one of the deepest assumptions of both Enlightenment and Romantic traditions—that truth, knowledge, learning and 'the arts' are liberating and enriching—the same belief that underpins academic research and teaching. It also underpins mass cultural tourism, which despite being regarded as a trivial activity by those who see themselves as 'travellers', is an important way of being connected to the world, both for host places and their guests. It is the cultural sector in Glasgow's contribution to the development of the human spirit, to human flourishing, based on a belief in the cultural citizenship of local people of all classes, and the local traditions on which it is built, which explains why it has become 'socially, politically [and] economically' sustainable.

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CHAPTER 3

Promoting the Sacred: The Potential for Pilgrimage-Touristic Growth in Wales—A Theoretical and Applied Analysis

Simon Thomas

Introduction

This chapter explores the potential for pilgrimage-touristic growth in Wales. Current tourism policy in Wales places significant emphasis upon the ecclesiastical heritage of this small, yet culturally rich country. The 2013 Faith Tourism Action plan for Wales states that Wales has an ecclesiastical heritage to be proud of, places that tell of its diverse and fascinating religious history, but that also represent a spirituality found in buildings and in the landscape.[1] It is against the backdrop of this spiritual history that this three-part chapter presents an exploration of the potential for the development and growth of pilgrimage-tourism across Wales. The first section, 'Pilgrimage in Wales: From Saints to Symbols', by tracing the early post-Roman growth through the Age of Saints and the medieval Reconquista, to the contemporary manifestations of pilgrimage evident in the post-Reformation, and more recently, in the 'brand Wales' of the latter

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half of the 1990s and beyond. The second section, 'Pilgrimage Theory – From Veneration to Exploitation – From Measurement to Meaning'? that can be traced back to the latter half of the 1970s through the seminal work of Turner and Turner (1978).[2] This section also draws on a number of debates that have contributed to the paradigmatic shift that has seen the theoretical focus of pilgrimage behaviour, engagement and activity move from the shrine (object) to the individual (subject). The shift evidenced in this section presents a contemporary socio-spiritual model of growth upon which the third section is also grounded. In this section, 'Re-Positioning Pilgrimage – Touristic Growth – The Case for Wales'? upon the contemporary models of pilgrimage-touristic supply that are key economic contributors in many countries, both European and global. This third section will also take into account a transient Welsh government policy that places responsibility for the ecclesiastical heritage of Wales across a number of inter-related, yet fragmented bodies. The chapter will conclude by considering how pilgrimage-touristic growth can be achieved within the Welsh government frameworks contained in recent strategic plans for tourism growth.[3]

Pilgrimage in Wales: From Saints to Symbols

This section documents the development of pilgrimage activity in Wales, from post-Roman infrastructural and sociocultural influence, to the more contemporised forms of pilgrimage-touristic models which are increasingly replacing the prototypical and shrine-based ritualistic veneration that was typical of early forms of pilgrim motivation. The section aims to provide a chronological history of pilgrimage engagement and activity in Wales. The origins of pilgrimage are difficult to trace, especially when one considers that the act of pilgrimage is not a static phenomenon.

Early Post-Roman Pilgrimage Activity in Wales

Wales has a long history of pilgrimage activity that can be traced as far back as the post-Roman period. The ensuing Age of Saints witnessed an increasing interest in, and observance of, the prototypical shrines combined with the lure of Rome, as documented by Bede (673–735). Saintly attachment to the customs of Roman holy places led many fifth-, sixth- and seventh-century kings, noblemen and commoners to dream of pilgrimages to Rome to see out their lives in the surroundings of the

Apostles. Pilgrimage to Rome was considered an act of great merit during the mid-first century, especially when one considers the significance of the Christianisation of Rome during the early fourth century following the quasi-conversion of Constantine. The Roman Empire had left as its legacy two important enablers for externalised Welsh pilgrimage: (1) a cultural and sociological understanding of the evangelisation and Christianisation of lands beyond the Welsh borders, and (2) a network of linear routes with lateral supply mechanisms that enabled travel on a scale that had previously been impossible. Road-building in Wales had been driven not only by military subjugation but also by the economic ambitions of Rome. The effect of the road network changed the positioning of Welsh tribal movements and encouraged a greater connection between Wales and the European routes to Rome via England and France, and through the strategically important entry point, and well-worn route, of Lucca in northern Italy.

The saints of Wales' conversions during the fifth, sixth and seventh centuries were many and varied. Dewi, Dyfrig, Deiniol, Teilo, Illtud, Beuno, Cawrdaf, Cadog, Curig, Dwynwen, Melangell, Non, Gwenfrewi, Seiriol, Samson and Cybi were appointed as saints (*Sant*) or holy persons in the eleventh and twelfth centuries by ecclesiastical recommendation.[4] It was however only Dewi (David) and his mother Non who were officially canonised, David, as the patron saint of Wales, by Pope Callixtus in 1123. The canonisation of David had significant influence in Wales at a time when much of Western Europe had become more aware of the Reconquista, which was spreading across much of southern Europe and the holy lands surrounding the Mediterranean bowl. The Reconquista stimulated a campaign to recruit soldiers to the third crusade in the latter half of the twelfth century which, in Wales, was documented in *Itinerarium Cambriae* (1191; 'Itinerary of Wales') and *Cambriae descriptio* (1194; 'Description of Wales') by Gerald of Wales (Gerallt Gymro).[5] Gerald's writings perhaps provide the most accurate and earliest glimpse of the development and growth, post-Roman occupancy, of pilgrimage activity in Wales. By the time of Gerald's journey through Wales in 1188 the cult of David was well established. The continued focus (pilgrimage) for St David had in the fifty years, following his canonisation by Callixtus, become centred on the west of Wales, at a remote location that would eventually become the city of St David's (the present medieval site close to the actual site of St David's birth). The growth of St David's lies in Rhygyfarch's biography of David, written shortly after William the Conqueror's visit to the site in

1081. Rhygyfarch's work was particularly significant when one considers that '… in the veneration of saints, martyrs and confessors, a saint's "Life" was important in the development of pilgrimage … readings from it would have been used on the saint's patronal festival and the book itself would have had the status of a relic'.[6]

Twice to St David's

St David's has an appeal far beyond the immediacy of venerating David. According to William of Malmesbury it was the Norman Bishop Bernard who was the driving force behind the transformation of St David's into a major pilgrim centre.[7] Bishop Bernard reorganised the monastic foundations at St David's by building a majestic cathedral and extending the cathedral quarter to house the monks attached to the original site. During the canonisation visit to Pope Callixtus in 1123 Bishop Bernard obtained papal agreement for what was probably the most important development in the history of Welsh pilgrimage. Callixtus agreed that for future pilgrims, two pilgrimages to St David's would equal one visit to Rome.[8] This agreement from Rome was a significant factor in medieval Britain. The journey to Rome had become dangerous, lengthy and for most commoners financially impossible. The journey to St David's enabled many more pilgrims to engage in transactional veneration that had equal merit to visiting Rome and that, importantly for the medieval pilgrim, had papal authentication. Interestingly Bishop Bernard also agreed with Callixtus that three visits to Ynys Enlli (Bardsey Island) in North Wales would equal one visit to Rome. Ynys Enlli is an important pilgrimage centre in its own right, having been established in the sixth century by Saint Cadfan. Enlli became an important pilgrimage destination in the medieval period as pilgrims became aware of the island's folklore, which held it to be the burial site of 20,000 saints.

The Later Medieval Period

Following the completion of Bishop Bernard's cathedral at St David's, Wales entered a new period characterised by an increase in the movement of pilgrims not only within Wales, but from Wales further afield to England, and significantly by Irish pilgrims making their way across Wales to the European network. This growth in the movement of pilgrims at (and to) St David's may account for the rebuilding of the cathedral in

1181 by Peter de Leia. There are of course other external factors that would have contributed to a re-engagement with the act of pilgrimage in the early thirteenth century. 'The pilgrimage to Santiago de Compostela in Spain, for example, was one of a mass of similar observations which were commonplace in medieval Europe and the rise in the popularity of pilgrimage to Santiago was paralleled by a rise in the popularity of all other pilgrimages and the development of many new ones'.[9] The pilgrimage route to Santiago was appealing for the Welsh pilgrim on two counts: (1) Santiago like St David's venerates and locates the relics of a saint. The pull of Santiago for the medieval pilgrim ranked second only to that of Palestine—a point well noted in various documents—because of Santiago's link to the scenes of Christ's life: St James visited and died/was buried in Santiago.[10] and (2) the route to Santiago had grown around a network of highly significant pilgrimage centres in both France and Spain, such as Le Puy, Conques, Limoges, and the important abbeys at Cluny and Vezelay.[11] The growth in the European pilgrimage network during the mid-to-latter medieval period did not however reduce the appetite for pilgrims to visit St David's and the other growing network of Welsh pilgrimage centres. Throughout the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries pilgrimage in Wales remained relatively static at best, St David's continuing to be the main focus for penitential and Eucharistic purposes linked to the promise of Callixtus. By the late 1500s and early 1600s the threat of complete decay and decline of Christian pilgrimage in Wales had not been realised, despite monarchistic threats linked to Henry VIII's declaration that he would be the head of the Church of England. This proclamation by Henry could have resulted in the end for pilgrimage in Wales —the focus of pre-Reformation pilgrimages had been the very acts that were now being threatened under the anti-Catholic agenda.[12]

The Modern Pilgrimage: Post-Reformation to Contemporary Symbolism

The post-Reformation period in Wales has been dominated by nonconformity. Nonconformity is perhaps more evident in Wales than across the border in England, where the more formalised state religion continued to dominate religious observance pre- and post-Reformation.[13] Nineteenth-century nonconformity had a significant influence upon Welsh cultural, societal, political and architectural life. The industrial landscape of the South Wales valleys were particularly influenced by the revivalist movements of the latter 1800s and early 1900s. Traditional shrine-based pilgrimage activity during the most active years of the nonconformist period received little enthusiasm, as traditional theological positioning viewed pilgrimage as irrelevant and irreverent. The 1904–5 Welsh revival led by Evan Roberts did, however, provide a refocusing on people movement, as the locations associated with the 'great revival' became places of evangelistic pilgrimage. The influence of the revivalist nonconformist events of the 1820s–1920s continues to dominate Welsh cultural and social connection with religious observance. Contemporary life in Wales retains the emblems and symbols of the great nonconformist revivals—for example, supporters arriving at the 'sacred turf' of the Millennium Stadium for a rugby or football fixture fervently, and communally, sing the hymns of previous generations. Contemporary terminology may indeed provide a glimpse of how postmodernist society engages with the act of pilgrimage. There is increasing evidence of individualistic pilgrimage being driven by an inner search for emblems and symbols which one can subjectively attain meaning from.[14]

Contemporary pilgrimage in Wales, according to the Faith Tourism Action Plan for Wales, relies upon a mixture of tangible and intangible markers linked primarily to connections with famous people, and interest in architectural history. Pilgrimage in Wales, however, is a far more complex combination of the old and the new. Recent tourism initiatives have promoted the more transient secularised forms of pilgrimage as well as the traditional formats that Wales has relied on so heavily in the past.[15] Whether it is visiting the birthplace of Dylan Thomas, chanting on the terraces of the Millennium Stadium, or indeed visiting St David's for penitential reasons, the act of pilgrimage continues to impress on the individual. It is in this context that the second section of this chapter will consider the unexpected and significant growth in global pilgrimage during the last 40 years.

Pilgrimage Theory: From Veneration to Exploitation—From Measurement to Meaning

This section considers the theoretical and applied study of pilgrimage. Current pilgrimage-touristic theory emphasises the paradigmatic shift that has occurred both in theory and practice. The seminal 1978 work of Turner and Turner places the act of pilgrimage at the centre of an anthropological conundrum characterised by the communal nature of pilgrims. Recent pilgrimage-touristic studies focus on the changing nature of pilgrimage from an objectified act, driven by the veneration at the shrine, to an individualistic search for truth, reality and self. This section will present a chronological documentation of the main stages in the changing paradigms of pilgrimage-touristic application and theory during the last forty years.

Positioning Pilgrimage: The Theoretical Challenge

The 1978 work of Turner and Turner stands out as perhaps the most influential anthropological study of pilgrimage in the twentieth century.[16] The Turners theoretically positioned pilgrimage activity at the centre of human behaviour by adopting the philosophical modelling of the French philosopher Van Gennep.[17] The Turnerian proposition claimed, for the first time, that pilgrimage activity mirrored Van Gennep's model of *rites of passage*, a three-phase state in which the pilgrim travelled, both metaphorically and literally, through everyday separation into a state of liminality and eventually a return to the everyday. The Van Gennep model represents the first '… broad-ranging theoretical model for the anthropological interpretation of pilgrimage.'[18] The adaptation of Van Gennep's theory places the act of liminality as a central focal point for the pilgrim; a symbolic exit from one social space of everyday existence into a separated, in-between state where one is suspended between two social worlds. The Turnerian interpretation of Van Gennep's theory offers a theoretical distraction when one considers that the central unifying outcome of liminality is communitas, or the relational communication that one may have with other individuals while in a state of pilgrimage limen.[19] Turner and Turner reject the proposition that pilgrimage, and more specifically the act of separating oneself into a state of limen, is an ordered activity; the Turners advocate the state of limen as a geographical and socially marginalised existence where one escapes the structured, ordered and rule-governed strictures of everyday life. One may also apply this theoretical position to that of the tourist according to Keil.[20]

Counting Shrines: The Shrine as Object

The 1989 study of Christian pilgrimage in modern Western Europe by Mary Lee Nolan and Sidney Nolan marked a significant point of focus for the contemporary study of pilgrimage.[21] The Nolan and Nolan study is focused, predominantly, upon constructing a shrine inventory that describes regional variations as well as identifying the range of visitors at each site, which they conveniently classified as traditional pilgrims, members of organised religious tours, or mass tourists simply checking off sites on their vacation itinerary. Their study is perhaps the epitome of the structured, externalised approach that characterised pilgrimage and religious tourism literature and theoretical debates in the 1970s and 1980s. The study presents an examination of 6150 Christian shrines in sixteen Western European countries. Table 3.1—'Estimated number of shrine visitations in Western Europe'—is typical of the statistical and quantifiably significant shrines approach that the Nolan and Nolan study used to collect, analyse and interpret the vast amounts of data that are included in their multidisciplinary approach. The study presents a comprehensive shrine inventory that also includes a detailed description and explanation of the origins and features of each site. Its opening paragraphs set a clear objective, which is 'to describe and interpret the dimensions of the contemporary Western European pilgrimage field with specific emphasis on regional variations in types of shrines and pilgrimages [...] in order to develop an adequately large and broadly distributed database (we collected and analysed information on 6150 places of pilgrimage).'[22]

The Nolan and Nolan study presents an opportunity for the academic theorisation of pilgrimage as a major economic, social and cultural phenomenon. Prior to the work of Nolan and Nolan the study of pilgrimage,

Table 3.1 Estimated number of shrine visitations in Western Europe

Estimated number of annual visits by pilgrims and religiously motivated travellers	*Number of shrines or shrine complexes*	*Estimated average number of visits per shrine or complex*	*Estimated number of visits*
4,000,000 or more	2	4,000,000	8,000,000
1,000,000 to 4,000,000	17	1,000,000	17,000,000
400,000 to 1,000,000	26	500,000	13,000,000
100,000 to 400,000	90	150,000	13,500,000
10,000 to 100,000	285	30,000	8,550,000
1000 to 10,000	1586	3000	4,758,000
Less than 1000	225	500	112,500
No estimates	3919	500	1,959,000
Total	6150		66,880,500

From M.L. Nolan and S. Nolan, *Christian Pilgrimage in Modern Western Europe* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1989), p. 26

both pious and touristic, had been dominated for over a decade by the 1978 Turnerian theory of separation, limen and return. The Nolan and Nolan study, while perhaps not offering a fuller examination of motivation, subjectivity, inner meaning or individual construction, does provide an 'informal' glimpse of the basic motivational reasons for 'membership' of each of their classifications of pilgrimage groups (traditional pilgrims, members of organised religious tours and mass tourists).

The Contemporary Study of Pilgrimage

The study of pilgrimage and tourism has in recent years seen a shift towards postmodernism and the search for inner spirituality, inner meaning and subjective experiences.[23] Collins-Kreiner was perhaps the first to present a comprehensive study of pilgrimage that challenges the pre-existing theories of the significance of the shrine: 'the importance of what the pilgrims themselves say about their pilgrimage, since they constitute its main component.'[24] Collins-Kreiner presents her defence of this position by reflecting upon earlier studies that would appear to support the increasing body of ethnographic/anthropological research that is aimed at finding out what pilgrimage means to individuals.[25] As Collins-Kreiner remonstrates: 'as a result of this perception, it is now clear that each person may interpret his or her own experience differently, and that it is no longer sufficient to focus solely on the experience offered by the objective […] in this way, current pilgrimage research emphasises subjectivity.'[26]

The fact that postmodernism has been identified as a major contributory factor in the study of tourism and pilgrimage may have a number of consequences. Singh and Singh ask whether 'a synthesis between spirituality and tourism is possible or is it just a philosopher's utopia'.[27] The reality may be that both phenomena, tourism and pilgrimage, while not completely homogenous, offer a complex, diverse range of subjective combinations that in terms of measurement present an immediate stumbling block. The seminal work of Smith purposefully arranges pilgrims and tourists along a continuum/typology but, importantly, there is no opportunity to view the visitors, their stories or importantly the effect of the visit on the visitors themselves.[28] Direct tourism literature typically pays attention to the site, the local community and the movement/flow of visitors but does not consider the effect of the visit on the tourist.[29] Collins-Kreiner advocates an alternative scale which measures how pilgrims/tourists are affected by their visit—pre-visit, during the visit and post-visit—and importantly 'to what extent they were affected after their return home, regardless of their initial classification as tourist or pilgrim.'[30] According to Dora, the traditional objective expression of pilgrimage has been through the focus of the place and on its ontological power or spiritual magnetism. Dora posits that there is a contemporary fascination in the articulation of individual space through movement and social practices.[31] Andriotis concurs with this theorisation when he claims that 'from the perspective of the components of religious heritage or pilgrimage landscapes, sacred sites can be seen as the product of multiple discourses'.[32]

(Re)-Positioning Pilgrimage-Touristic Growth: The Case for Wales

Pilgrimage in Wales continues to impress on the individual. When one considers the statistical evidence there is reason to believe that the visitation to religious sites in Wales retains a healthy share in the footfall of visitors to the Principality. The top five visited places of worship in Wales is headed by St David's Cathedral, which regularly exceeds 250,000 visitors each year, followed by sites such as Tintern Abbey (70,000 visits) and Llandaff Cathedral (40,000 visits). When one considers the nature of the visits to each of the three sites it is important to note that spiritual motivations were one of only five reasons given for visiting religious shrines—other motivating factors included impulse visits, architectural interest, connections with famous people and family connections to the site. This section will consider the potential for the growth of pilgrimage tourism activity in Wales, bearing in mind that the sector has received an increase in Welsh government interest, investment and support since the millennium.

Faith Tourism: A Complex Conundrum

The 2013 Faith Tourism Action Plan for Wales has three objectives. Firstly, it aims to attract more visitors to Wales's places of worship and sacred sites; secondly, to enhance the quality of the Welsh Faith Tourism product and the experiences of visitors to these places of worship; finally, it aims to increase the financial yield from their visitors.[33] When one considers the scale of visits to pilgrimage sites in Western Europe (Table 3.1) it is evident that out of the 6150 sites included in the study only 135 receive more than 150,000 visitors. And if one were to statistically make comparisons then it would be appropriate to identify only one site in Wales that could be included in the top 135 European sites—St David's. Contained within the top 135 visited sites are 45 that receive between 500,000 and 4,000,000 visitors each year. In the UK, York Minster is the most visited religious site, with approximately 2,000,000 visits each year.

The three objectives set out above suggest a strategy of repositioning which has three aspects; (1) an increase in visitors, (2) an enhanced quality of the product and (3) an increase in yield/return. The objectives also provide opportunities for a range of pilgrimage-touristic sites beyond the immediacy of the inward-focused marketing campaigns and brand positioning. Pilgrimage in Wales has been, and continues to be, dominated by a small number of sites that, while having relatively healthy visitor numbers, remain static in terms of growth. When one considers the conservative estimates from Visit Britain that forecast that the number of inbound visitors to the UK may increase to 40,000,000 a year by 2020[34] there is potential for significant growth in a sector that has seen significant and varied global growth since 1990.[35]

Re-Branding Pilgrimage

If one is to accept the theoretical shift that is set out in the second section of this chapter, 'Pilgrimage in Wales: From Saints to Symbols', then one must also accept that the act of pilgrimage has separated itself from the traditional focus of shrine/person/relic veneration. Current theory suggests that pilgrims, whether touristic or religiously affiliated, are searching for meaning that they can apply to their personal, subjective and experiential existence.[36] The Welsh Government Strategy for Tourism 2013–2020 identifies cultural tourism, including pilgrimage-touristic activity, as a major component of brand repositioning. Religious tourism—including pilgrimage tourism—can draw not only on religious sites but also on famous connections, mythologies, narratives and personal testimonies that enhance a story and offer connectivity with the individual beyond the veneration of the site.[37] For example, the growth of pilgrimage-touristic activity in Wales must have a positionality that can appeal to international visitors as well as the traditional domestic market. The reliance on a small number of sites that attract less than 1,000,000 visitors (combined) is unsustainable when one considers how other EU countries are developing pilgrimage attractions that have a wider international appeal.[38] The Welsh Government Strategy for Tourism confirms this ambition to target the international market: 'There is scope for exploiting the appeal of internationally known stories that have their roots in Wales, such as the Arthurian legend, but also the drama, scale and authentic stories embodied in Welsh heritage icons and World Heritage Sites.'[39] The exploitation of the visitor economy in Wales continues to present a practical and theoretical problem for the agencies that provide cultural and heritage opportunities including pilgrimage-touristic activity. If one posits that the visitor is searching for experience then it would be reasonable to suggest that the focus should be on sites that have achieved such success within the same structural limitations and boundaries.

A Vision for Wales

The Faith Tourism Action Plan for Wales states a vision for Faith Tourism in Wales, to be achieved by 2020: 'by 2020 Faith Tourism is recognised as an integral component of the visitor experience in Wales, adding significant value to the destination offer, contributing to the well-being of the visitor and host community and enhancing local, regional and national "Sense of Place"'.[40] This vision can be achieved, according to Welsh government, but only when certain conditions are in place. These conditions include recognising the multilayered motivations that lead to people visiting places of worship, identifying opportunities for development and sharing best practice. The vision for faith tourism in Wales presents an opportunity to build on the existing faith-based and secular forms of touristic activity that have formed part of the wider promotion and branding of the region for over three decades. When one considers the rapidity of growth, both religious and touristic, at sites such as Lourdes, Fatima and Medjugorje it is evident that pilgrimage-touristic growth is a viable proposition when suitable conditions exist to enable, encourage and stimulate innovative opportunities. Taylor identifies the development at Lourdes as an example of such growth following the apparitional events of 1858.[41] The rapidity of development at Lourdes provides evidence of how growth can be achieved through a blend of conditions; these include a coordinated strategy that can identify which factors are likely to provide the best opportunities for growth.

Brand vs Individual: The Global/Individual Mix

When one traces the history of pilgrimage in Wales there is evidence of significant existing myths, stories and narratives upon which a specific brand could be based. St David's has long held connections with Rome, a factor only in existence at the pilgrimage site of Lourdes in

France since the mid-1850s [...] significantly a site which has attracted in excess of 6,000,000 visitors each year post-millennium.[42] St David's, like Lourdes, has the ecclesiastical authentication that for many millions of visitors gives religious credibility. The shrine at Lourdes was the site of Marian apparitions, an event not dissimilar to the links between St David and the city of the same name, as miraculous events were documented there during the life of the saint. Positioning St David's as a site that has authentication, both ecclesiastically and individually, offers the visitor a reality that one can connect to. What has been evident at sites such as Lourdes is that connectivity equals an increase in visitor numbers. Brand positioning does, however, rely on a brand narrative, especially when one considers the wider appeal of the cultural heritage of Wales. Positioning St David's as the hub of a network of pilgrimage-touristic sites that can appeal to a wider audience has significant and wide-ranging benefits for Wales. The potential for utilising the historical significance of St David's to achieve a wider brand narrative can only be realised through focused investment and coordination by government agencies, ecclesiastical bodies and tourism organisations.

Conclusion

The future of pilgrimage tourism in Wales is in the balance. The history of pilgrimage contains both continuity and fragmentation. The visionaries of the eleventh century were quick to realise that ecclesiastical authentication for visiting St David's would mean an increase in visitors for religious and touristic reasons. The model of transformative change at pilgrimage sites is clearly evident at sites such as Lourdes in France. However, the future of pilgrimage-tourism in Wales will depend on new policies, investment and vision for a sector that falls behind many of its European competitors, and that fails to convince a largely captive UK audience of the significance of the site and its wider cluster attractions. When one considers current Welsh government approaches to maintaining and growing the pilgrimage-tourism sector in Wales there is evidence of an awareness of the changing global nature of how individuals engage with pilgrimage activity. The identification of the need for brand positioning in the global marketplace will perhaps be the first phase in achieving the desired narrative, based upon which individuals will not only be able to view, but eventually experience connectivity at, pilgrimage sites in Wales.[43]

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CHAPTER 4

Heritage Tourism and the Commodification of Contested Spaces: Ireland and the Battle of the Boyne Site

Ruth McManus and Gerry O'Reilly

The role of heritage in Irish tourism has undergone recent re-evaluation by the industry's national development authority, Fáilte Ireland, as part of its strategy for cultural tourism. Today it is no longer enough to regard heritage as simply a niche product; rather it is seen as something which should become mainstream and be interpreted 'in ways that are usable for the visitor'. However, the delicate balance required by this approach has also long been recognised. This chapter questions the implications of a more complex heritage strategy in relation to one of Ireland's most contested heritage sites, the Battle of the Boyne site at Oldbridge in Co. Meath, which was officially opened to visitors a year after the new strategy was published in 2007. The Battle of the Boyne site was purchased by the Irish state in 2000 and opened to visitors in spring 2008, catering for different heritages in the context of the Northern Ireland Peace Process. Oldbridge, at the epicentre of the battle, symbolizes a defining event

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in the colonial process and the creation of two ethno-religious proto-nationalisms in Ireland; its drums still echo in Northern Ireland's streets each summer. This once-bloody place is central to the identity-foundation concepts of Unionist citizens in Northern Ireland, while for a majority of people on the island of Ireland, this inherited 'traumascape' also holds subliminal echoes of 'negative heritage' and a 'troubled history'.

Oldbridge's location in the culturally rich Boyne Valley landscape implicitly affords it much potential as a tourism, reconciliation and educational space. Site preservation can be economically sustained by being linked to other visitor-tourist 'commodified' locations. In this context, questions must embrace sustainability of heritage space, values and feelings that may be connected with Oldbridge, and future site usage. This chapter reports on perspectives of multiple voices and considers the shifting meanings of the site at key points in time: before it was officially opened to the public; during the development process; and following the opening of the visitor centre. It reflects on the impacts of commodification, considering the implications of current official tourism strategy. In the final part of the paper, we argue that for contested spaces, although commodification is sometimes negatively viewed as a way of 'neutralizing' the past, this may also be seen as a political and social necessity.

Heritage Tourism in Ireland

Tourism in Ireland has long been recognized as having significant economic importance, accounting for 4 % of GNP and providing approximately 200,000 jobs.[1] In 2014, total tourism revenue amounted to €6.56 billion.[2] Unprecedented tourism growth in the 1990s saw Ireland outperforming the rest of Europe, but by 2001 it had become less competitive; a series of strategies and reports in the early 2000s sought to enhance the Irish tourism product, one important aspect of which is heritage. In 2007, Fáilte Ireland's *Tourism Product Development Strategy* observed that 'Ireland's cultural and historical heritage is one of the strong magnets for tourists coming to Ireland.'[3] At the same time that the new strategy was rolled out, a report specifically addressing cultural tourism was also launched. A more modern, positive, holistic and visitor-focused approach is suggested by the report's definition of cultural tourism as embracing 'the full range of experiences visitors can undertake to learn what makes a destination distinctive—its lifestyle, its heritage, its arts, its people—and the business of providing and interpreting that culture to visitors.'[4]

This definition reflects the importance of giving visitors access to culture, broadly defined, and interpreting it in ways that are usable for visitors. Such an approach emphasizes high quality, distinctive and 'authentic' experiences. It also addresses the conundrum at the heart of the commodification process: how to promote heritage (and benefit economically from it) while being sensitive to various needs and perspectives. Whereas in the past it could have been argued that Irish tourism risked overdevelopment, thereby 'killing the goose that laid the golden egg',[5] the 2007 strategy was explicit in stating that economic benefits should not come at the cost of integrity or authenticity:

> the object of this strategy is not the delivery of economic performance through tourism at all costs, nor is it about realising short-term tourism gains at the expense of sacrificing Ireland's heritage or artistic integrity. Rather it is about communicating and building recognition about the overlap and opportunities for synergy that exist between the agendas of Tourism, Arts, Culture and Heritage and Education and providing a platform for the development of sustainable, authentic, high quality Cultural Tourism—that benefits overseas and domestic audiences alike—as a result.[6]

The development of sites along the multi-themed, overlapping and flexible tourist route, the Boyne Valley Drive (Slí na Bóinne), reflects this strategy.[7] Without destroying the cultural resource base, strategic tourism finances the upkeep of physical heritage sites and generates local and regional employment at sites ranging from the UNESCO World Heritage Site, the Newgrange Neolithic necropolis to others, including the Oldbridge/Battle of the Boyne site.

Symbolic Places of Memory and Tourism

Oldbridge was at the epicentre of the Battle of the Boyne in 1690, between the armies of (Catholic) King James II and his son-in-law (Protestant) William of Orange. Resulting in a victory for William, the battle is seen as a watershed for Irish, British and European history.[8] The site was later occupied by the Oldbridge Demesne, with its 1740s limestone mansion, parks and canal. The 'Protestants of Great Britain and Ireland' erected a memorial obelisk, which was exploded in 1923. In the twentieth century, despite formal decolonization and national redistribution of tenant land to owner-occupier farms, the Coddington family maintained their manor and farming activities at Oldbridge.[9] Following state purchase in 2000, a multi-million-euro restoration project was undertaken on the 200 hectare (500 acre) property. The house is the location of a visitor centre which was opened in 2008, while five different walks have been designated throughout the park. Aside from the physical preparation of the location for visitors, the development process also required decisions as to the information to be presented to those visitors at this contested site. It could be argued that discourses attempting to manufacture consent were (and continue to be) constructed for the site.[10]

Nuala Johnson has examined how 'spaces of heritage translate complex cultural, political and symbolic processes to popular audiences.'[11] Here there is no attempt to reduce mnemonic sites of tragedy, grief, or darkness to a one-size-fits-all approach, but rather to illustrate how the uniqueness of each holds multiple narratives and opportunities for visitors. Essentially most tourists seek entertainment in the broadest sense, while many also seek cultural, ethnic, intellectual and spiritual experiences. This can be pursued in a range of ways, from visiting the cemeteries of PÃ¨re Lachaise (Paris), Highbury (London), Arlington (Washington, DC) or Glasnevin (Dublin), to battle sites such as Hastings, Culloden, Waterloo, Normandy's D-Day beaches or the Field of Crows in Kosovo, much cherished by Serbian nationalists. All are places that physically symbolize defining moments in the lives of people, groups or nations, which have become part of individual and collective narratives, interpretations and mythologies passed down the generations to the individual visitor's experience. While South Africa's National Heritage Site of Robben Island, the Iziko Slave Lodge Museum and Cape Town's District Six are all symbolic places associated with the horror of apartheid, they are also spaces for tourism, reflection and dialogue. In contrast, symbolic sites of massacres, such as those at Katyn (Russia), Srebrenica (Bosnia) and Markale (Sarajevo), remain highly contested; these are raw histories, within living memory.[12]

Categories of 'dark' and 'grief' tourism respectively are experienced in forms ranging from places of memory associated with the Holocaust to New York's Ground Zero, with each holding multiple human, official and unofficial narratives. Officially recognized dark and grief symbolic sites also exist in Ireland, including those associated with the Great Famine (1845–48) and Kilmainham Gaol, execution site of the 1916 Irish revolutionary leaders. In Northern Ireland, contested official and unofficial symbolic sites have drawn niche tourism throughout the period of the Troubles (1969–98) and since then. These include Belfast's Falls and

Shankill Roads and Derry's seventeenth-century city walls and Bogside areas. Particularly notorious sites, including South Armagh's Murder Triangle and Belfast's Crumlin Road Gaol, are being (re)negotiated. Many have been mythologized in wall murals and ballads, interweaving in the cultural tourism engaged in by visitors and researchers; walking, taxi and bus tours facilitate the tourist trails.[13]

Individuals may pass on cultural and historical burdens.[14] While some forms of dark tourism may be seen as problematic, perpetuating abuses of symbolic places in the present, other approaches such as Nora's 'Realms of Memory' *(Lieux de mémoire)* can occasion histories in multiple voices. Nora is 'less interested in causes than in effect … less interested in "what actually happened" than in its perpetual re-use and misuse, its influence on successive presents.'[15] Nora's conceptual stance affords people a chance to 'move on' in a constructive manner. Kenneth Foote and Maoz Azaryahu see public memory as part of the symbolic foundation of collective identity. Questions such as 'who are we?' are answered with 'where do we come from?' and 'what do we share?' in positive or negative ways. They argue that the geography of memory locates history and its representations in landscape. This helps answer the question, 'where is memory' in terms of places that cast a certain vision of history into a mould of commemorative permanence.[16]

Contested Space and Identities at the Battle of the Boyne Site

The Oldbridge Battle of the Boyne site caters for different identities and traditions in the context of the Northern Ireland Peace Process. This symbolic place is central to the identity-foundation concepts of UK Unionist citizens in Northern Ireland, despite the spatial paradox. Note that, in order to present diverse standpoints and complex identity issues here, of necessity two very broad categories are used: Unionist, Orange and loyalist - generally referring to all those people who cherish British heritage and their political linkage to the UK, in contrast to Irish nationalist, republican and Green sections of the population, in Northern Ireland and throughout the Republic.

Though the Battle of Aughrim (1691) was the final clash in William and James's wars in Ireland, the 1690 Battle of the Boyne is perceived by all traditions as a defining place for the subsequent conflictual histories and identities that arose in Ireland.[17] To one tradition, the Boyne is associated with the defeat of native Gaelic and Catholic populations;

colonization, which brought with it a different culture, language and Protestant traditions; creation of a dual 'us and them' society; and the eventual partition of the island in 1921, creating captive communities on each side of the border, especially within Northern Ireland. To another tradition, Unionist and Orange, victory at Oldbridge helps legitimate their culture, identity-foundational concepts and the rightfulness of the existence of Northern Ireland within the UK. Victorious interpretations, symbols and iconographic wall murals of the battle were created and transposed across generations to areas including East Belfast; opposing street murals are visible in West Belfast, where residents constructed their own places of memory as counter-memorials to Orange traditions. William's victory and the construction of a dual society in colonial Ireland can be seen as leading to variations on conflicting 'Orange' and 'native'/'Green' identities which were associated with rebellions, revolutions and eventual partition of the island. However, identity clashes became most evident in Northern Ireland (1969–98).[18]

Orange Traditions

The Orange Order was not founded until 1795, 100 years after the Battle of the Boyne, its name being a tribute to King William. A particularly cherished song associated with the battle, 'Green Grassy Slopes of the Boyne', states: 'On the green grassy slopes of the Boyne … Orangemen … fought for our deliverance … the bones of our forefathers lie awaiting (God's) trumpet … we cherish their memories … praise God for sending King William, Orangemen will be loyal … our war-cry (is) "No Surrender!" so long as we've God on our side … we … true Brethren will … fight …'.[19] Another ballad, 'The Boyne Water', tells of William's bravery, leadership and virility. The ethnicity of enemies is articulated with images of 'a bullet from the Irish' and 'disorganized, cowardly' 'cunning French' fleeing 'in darkness'. With divine help William becomes the leading general, crossing 'the river' and attacking the foes that threaten 'Protestants like the minority at Drogheda'. Emphasis is on religion as the foremost ethno-national identifier at the time, and this is legitimated with God's blessing of William. Mural paintings of William and the battle are recurrent in contested spaces in Northern Ireland especially during the 'Marching Season', but not in the Boyne Valley or the Republic of Ireland more generally.[20]

Green Traditions

Following the Treaty of Limerick (1691) and Flight of the Wild Geese (expatriation of the native elite and military leaders to the Continent), the remaining ruling class of old Gaelic and Gaelic-Norman order were displaced by William's supporters, a watershed event that led to the creation of two major ethno-national identities within Ireland. Irish-speaking and Catholic literary forms, especially poetry, changed in the years following 1690 from elitist styles to popular formulae, largely due to emigration of the traditional elites as illustrated here: 'Séamas an Chaca a chaill Éirinn; lena leathbhróg ghallda is a leathbhróg Ghaelach …' (James the cowardly shite who lost Ireland, with his one boot in England and the other in Ireland), and 'Cuirimse mo mhallacht ortsa, a Rí Séamas …' (I put my curse on you, King James …).[21] The victim theme due to trauma and uprooting evolved, reflecting coping strategies of the colonized.[22] The allegorical Sean Bhean Bhocht (Poor Old Woman) and Caitlín Ní Houlihan, symbols of Ireland, became embedded in nationalist traditions. In hues of Green, nationalist and republican traditions, and associated ballads and iconography, from the nineteenth century on, significantly there are no references to the Battle of the Boyne.

Oldbridge: Shared Heritage Space and Tourism

Irish, British, Ulster and European multilayered shared histories and identities form part of the landscape at Oldbridge. As early as 1999, the Taoiseach[23] described the 1690 battle as 'a hugely important part of our shared heritage' and 'one of the most important events in our island's history … [with] a wider European significance. It should be remembered and understood by all of us …'.[24] The potential political sensitivity of the site was acknowledged from the earliest stages of its acquisition, which was identified as fulfilling a symbolic purpose: 'It had been recognized for some time that the site of the Battle … is one of major historical importance. Additionally it was recognized that the site was of special significance to many people in Northern Ireland. It was in this context, and also that of peace and reconciliation, that the decision was taken to purchase the property and to preserve and present it to the public'.[25] Commemoration of mnemonic sites reminds us of shared pasts with divergent narratives, where denial of places, events or people is no longer a sustainable option. There was close consultation with representatives of the Unionist tradition, local authorities and community groups concerning site development.[26] The Office of Public Works (OPW) stated that as 'this initiative … is in the context of Peace and Reconciliation … The history, myths and symbols of the Battle are deeply ingrained in this [Unionist] community's identity and must be approached with great sensitivity'.[27]

Given the symbolism of the site, it is unsurprising that its development as a visitor centre was a slow undertaking. In the interim, the public was promised that 'protection works … will ensure that the property can be adapted for whatever usage is finally decided on'.[28] The context of the development was particularly complex, because of ongoing processes of 'normalisation' within the Northern Ireland peace process, but also due to its timing in relation to the new tourism strategies discussed above. Regarding this symbolic microcosm of contested identities and spatial paradoxes, the OPW noted that 'a balanced interpretation and presentation strategy must be acceptable on a cross-community basis'.[29] In a brochure from DÃºchas, the (Irish) heritage service, in 2003, before the visitor centre formally opened, an attempt was being made to establish the European context of the site. 'The Battle … between King William III (of the Dutch House of Orange, married to Mary of England) and his father-in-law, King James II (of England), was fought on 1 July 1690 … At stake were the English throne, French dominance in Europe and Protestant power in Ireland'.[30] This text has been largely retained in current online and on-site presentations.

A contemporary Dutch historian stated: 'In Dutch history books … the battle is mentioned … there is no remembrance of the consequences of events for Ireland … parades of Orangemen don't recall … kinship… They relive an attitude that can only be called a 17th century vision. That is a vital difference: history seen as past, gone and done, and history constantly relived, re-enacted'[31] (see Fig. 4.1).

For politicians, civil servants and advisers aware of the potentially fraught nature of the site, and for professional historians or academics, it was clear that issues raised in the preceding theoretical discussion had to be carefully measured at the site, due to its centrality in the heritages of the island of Ireland and by association the UK. Failure to achieve inclusivity, with balances and checks, and any form of over-simplified revisionist histories, or political point-scoring, would have had negative repercussions for the cultural authenticity of the site, and for policies embedded in other strands of the Belfast ('Good Friday') Agreement targeting sustainable democracy, especially for future generations.

Fig. 4.1 Photo of King Billy re-enactor (Photo copyright, G. O'Reilly)

Younger voices, the majority of whom were under 20 years old, were also taken into account at this time, and these helped to reveal the mixed expectations and possible realities of future generations; they are represented here by a group of 50 (Irish) third-level geography students who were interviewed prior to a visit to the partly developed site in 2007. They were somewhat conscious of the site's symbolic importance for the Orange/Unionist community, as the following representative quotes reveal: 'It gives the Orangemen a link to Ireland as their history'; 'Unionists celebrate William's victory each year and this causes conflict … it is part of their culture'. One student recognized the site as a traumascape from the 'Green' perspective: 'I would expect to feel a sense of loss with the vast space of the site operating as a vast hole in our cultural heritage. … It represents great emotional extremes to two different races of people, representing a birth and death respectively. There is probably no heritage centre as it represents a sense of defeat in our heritage.' When asked what they expected to see at the battle site, typical responses included 'another interesting historical site…', 'Graves, with some evidence of Battle', and 'Mounds of earth that were bombed and that have become part of the landscape'. There was also an expectation that this site would offer a commodified tourist experience: 'A guided tour, and many tourists …' or 'An information centre …'.[32]

In both written and oral forms, student comments showed a lack of factual historical knowledge and no intellectual empathy with the Unionist perspectives, and also tended to see the Orange Order as a root cause for historical and contemporary conflict. A certain fatigue and lack of empathy with the situation of Northern Ireland was evident, although students from the border counties of Donegal, Monaghan, Cavan and Louth showed more factual knowledge and empathy with the Northern Ireland populations. Overall, students tended to interpret Oldbridge, the 'Troubles' and the peace process as internal issues for Northern Ireland, which had little relevance to their own identities within the Republic. In response to a question concerning the future of Oldbridge, all but one student supported its further development as a cultural heritage area, stating that 'it is part of shared heritage space.' When asked what they would prioritize in further site development, answers fell into three broad categories: (i) Museum with interpretative space and visitor centre with more arms, medals and similar artefacts; (ii) More mock-battle displays; and (iii) a 'real' souvenir shop, with better prices in the café and more facilities. Generally, the students tended to compare the Oldbridge site with whatever historical or heritage tourist spaces they were familiar with. While interested in the building and unique narratives, a certain ambiguity was evident in that students expected a more familiar ubiquitous 'tourist' site product of the type promoted and diffused by globalizing economics and marketing, and targeting the widest number of clients possible. Hence the challenge for the tourism agenda, which lies in preserving the site and rendering it culturally unique on the visitor map, whilst at the same time respecting the contested heritages associated with it, and also drawing in visitors with little or no knowledge of heritages on the island of Ireland.

While travelling through the Boyne Valley, students can observe Newgrange rising up from far, far away on the horizon, appreciate the exotic site and its location, and enjoy the movie at the interpretative centre, showing mysterious planetary movements, seasonal changes and the penetration of sunlight into the main chamber during the winter solstice that is so symbolic of Neolithic culture and which people still connect with today. The excellent facilities there, including the souvenir shop, are appreciated by these visitors. Students similarly enjoy the impressive location and size of twelfth-century Trim Castle; they like walking around the grounds and are enthused by associations with the filming of the 1995 *Braveheart* movie. Although that narrative relates to the thirteenth-century Scottish hero William Wallace, who led the Scots in a war of independence against the English king, the movie may have created a sense of positive 'connecting' for mass audiences.

Meanwhile, restoration work was completed on Oldbridge House and the grounds catering for the visitor centre, exhibitions and interactive presentations; timber frames of the destroyed village houses were erected; information panels were installed and walkways created. In addition to specific features associated with the battle, general recreation was catered for with the creation of walking routes and picnic tables in the parkland, a café and the redevelopment of the mansion house's walled garden. The visitor centre may help facilitate reconciliation or more ritualized forgetfulness in this symbolic place.[33] The current (2015) Battle of the Boyne visitor centre experience is outlined in the following description. Two seventeenth-century cannon guns flank the front door going towards the main reception area in the 'Big House', with a large map of seventeenth-century Europe used to explain competing geopolitical forces in Europe at that period; over the past ten years, the official narratives of the battle have emphasized its European aspects and given great detail of the different ethnic or national groups involved in each army. Entering the first exhibition area, mannequins in period dress represent the historical actors (kings, soldiers etc.). The following room is adorned with official paintings as well as an interactive laser display detailing the battle. In the final room, the visitor sees quotations from the protagonists and others directly connected to the battle displayed on the walls, before exiting via a corridor where everyday expressions in English, such as 'to keep your powder dry', are shown and explained as tracing their philological origins to the battle. The visitor route then leaves the house and enters a courtyard, where period weapons and cannons are displayed, beyond which a cinema presents a 13-minute audiovisual show. The film gives factual details of the night before and the day of the battle, with some broad contextual statements, similar to those found in the brochures. At the end of the film, originally there was about one minute of material during which a contributor spoke of the so-called 'Glorious Revolution' of William and Mary stating that it was a major step towards modern parliamentary democracy in the UK; this has since been removed.[34]

While most of the information presented at the Oldbridge centre focuses on the history of the battle itself, there is one significant example there of present-day symbolic use of the past. This takes the form of a displayed musket, given as a gift on 11 May 2007 by Northern Ireland's First Minister Ian Paisley to the Republic's Taoiseach while both were on a historic visit to the site of the battle. On that day, the Taoiseach offered First Minister Paisley a walnut bowl made from a tree on the site, reputed to have been there in 1690. A tree was also planted to mark the historic occasion, as this was a major step in furthering the peace process and encouraging mutual recognition between conflicting traditions.[35] Within a week of this event, Bertie Ahern addressed both houses of the UK parliament, the first Taoiseach ever to do so, and made strong reference to the symbolism of the ceremony at the battle site.[36]

A Commodified Tourism Experience: Contemporary Tourist Voices (2015)

The visitor centre at the battle site presents a complex story to a popular audience, much as Johnson outlined. At the time of writing, some seven years after the opening of the centre, it has become 'just another' tourist stop in the Valley, rated number 17 of 56 'things to do' in Co. Meath. According to the TripAdvisor website's entry for the Battle Visitor Centre, and based on 157 reviews, the visitor rating is 59 excellent reviews, 61 very good, 24 average, 10 poor and 3 terrible.[37] While the necessity of treating such anonymous reviews with caution is recognised, TripAdvisor comments nonetheless give a sense of how the contemporary visitor views their experience. Many comments refer to car parking, toilet facilities and the café, revealing the emphasis for most visitors on the site as offering 'a day out'. Some reviews discuss the nature and quality of the information presented, with a variety of perspectives evident:

> An excellent presentation of an historical event. The walkabout tour of the museum gives a detailed account of the events of the battle. Manikins dressed and displayed in scenes of the times are superbly done. … descriptions of the battle are easy to follow and read. Tour also included a musket demonstration by a costumed interpreter, very impressive. (Canadian visitor, 22 July 2015)[38]

> I think the OPW have done a fair job in keeping the site of a potentially very inflammatory site neutral so that no one will feel isolated or alienated by anything here, however would have liked to have seen a few more exhibits

> and other period features from extended accounts of those present on both sides and what a lot of the combatants did with their lives after the battle. (Belfast-based reviewer, 5 April 2013)[39]

Perhaps the most insightful critique comes from a Republic of Ireland-based visitor who observed: 'Signage to the Centre is very poor and it's surprisingly difficult to find. Having arrived we felt that this place hasn't quite sorted out its identity—is it a battle site, a Great House, a symbol of reconciliation or just a pleasant park-like place to be? … This was a place where men fought and died—but there was no atmosphere of conflict and struggle … for us it was a disappointment' (reviewer from Mallow, Ireland, 3 September 2015).[40] Visitor numbers for BrÃº na Boinne (Newgrange) and the Battle of the Boyne sites suggest that, while the former destination still receives significantly more visitors, the gap between the two sites is lessening. Whereas in 2009 there were 130,083 visitors to BrÃº na Boinne and just 41,799 to Oldbridge, the comparable figures for 2013 were 133,616 and 60,796 respectively.[41]

Concluding Remarks

At Oldbridge, no monuments or gravestones exist; the predominant visitor experience is of an understated tranquil site. However, living-history displays every Sunday and Bank Holiday, with 20-minute demonstrations by musketeers and cavalry officers, are appreciated by children and visitors alike.[42] The experience contrasts strongly with reconciliation and educational experiences found at the Frontlines Cathedral Museum in Ypres/Iper in Belgium, which contains exhibits not just on World War I, but also conflict and propaganda, past and present, throughout the world. Near to Ypres is the Messines Memorial, a site at which soldiers of different traditions from Ireland fell in battle. Their identities and contested traditions are re-examined in the symbolic Irish Peace Park there, which features an iconic monastic tower and which was inaugurated by the President of the Republic of Ireland, Mary McAleese, and Queen Elizabeth II in 1998. In 2011 during the first official visit of a British monarch to the Republic, Queen Elizabeth and the President laid wreaths at the Islandbridge War Memorial, dedicated to all soldiers from Ireland who died in WWI, and also visited Dublin's Garden of Remembrance, dedicated to 'all those who gave their lives in the cause of Irish Freedom'. Another symbolic site they visited in the context of Irish nationalism was Croke Park.[43] Oldbridge, less than 50 kilometres from Dublin, was not amongst the many sites selected by both UK and Irish governments for a royal visit.

Acquisition and development of the Battle of the Boyne site, a significant contested space, was of great symbolic importance at a key early stage of the peace process. It might be argued that its political potency has waned as the site has been normalized into a commodified tourist attraction. To the vast majority of the general public, Oldbridge presents itself as a pleasant family day out, with a minority connecting with the site's root origin and symbolism. This can be seen as a successful 'normalization of the abnormal', which is good for democracy. Both politically and socially, commodification of the site to present a 'typical' tourist experience helps to neutralize the past and nurture (or manufacture) consent.[44]

The Oldbridge site has been explored here through different and alternative voices. The role of the Irish authorities in developing the shared heritage space, with support from institutions in Northern Ireland and the UK is embedded in the Belfast Good Friday Agreement (1998) which emphasizes 'parity of esteem' for various traditions. With the peace process, people have come to new understandings of their symbolic meaning and thus (re)construct new identities and memories. This can be supported in a positive and non-threatening manner through tourism, as at Oldbridge. As it responds to the burgeoning market in cultural tourism, along with sustaining its well-managed development process, the Battle of the Boyne site continues to meet many needs.

Notes

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CHAPTER 5

Millstone Grit, Blackstone Edge: Literary and Heritage Tourism in the South Pennines, England

Karl Spracklen

Introduction

The South Pennines stretches across the southern end of the Pennines in England, the range of high moorland and millstone-grit outcrops that divides the Peak District of Derbyshire to the south from the Yorkshire Dales to the north. Millstone grit is a form of hard sandstone, which weathers in the high moorland into jagged outcrops. In the aftermath of the Industrial Revolution the millstone grit was covered in black soot and grime from factory chimneys and the transport links that crossed the Pennines: the old A roads and the relatively new M62 motorway (the train lines go under the moors). The moors around the stones are nearly all owned by shooting estates or the successors of the local water boards; in the former moors, heather is encouraged to keep grouse numbers high enough for the shooting parties in late summer; in the latter, dams and culverts and access roads have been added to the valleys. To the east of the South Pennines is the post-industrial heart of metropolitan West Yorkshire, centred around the cities of Leeds, Wakefield and Bradford, where heavy engineering and used

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to dominate. To the west of the South Pennines are the mill towns of eastern Lancashire, and the metropolitan centre of Greater Manchester. The South Pennines itself as an area has no fixed boundaries, and on some maps it stretches out into Lancashire and as far into rural North Yorkshire as Skipton, but all maps agree the area encompasses a cluster of (mainly) Yorkshire mill towns and villages in deep valleys that run into the middle of the hills, such as Holmfirth, Hebden Bridge, Todmorden, Haworth, Keighley and Ilkley. The towns and villages in the South Pennines grew in size in the nineteenth century, a time of rapid industrialization and urbanization in Britain, spurred on by imperial capitalism: the geography of the slopes and valleys enabled mills to use running water for power, and then in steam engines.[1] The area is a popular place for walking, touring and visiting, especially as the Pennine Way, Britain's first long-distance footpath, goes through it on its way from Edale in Derbyshire up north to Scotland; the idea of calling the region the South Pennines was popularized when the name was used on the cover of one of the first yellow-sleeved Ordnance Survey Outdoor Leisure 1:25,000 maps. These maps show much more detail than the usual 1:50,000 maps, and include field boundaries, making it easier to navigate through the landscape following public footpaths.

In this chapter, I will explore the ways in which the South Pennines landscape and history has shaped (and has been shaped by) the romantic, literary stereotype of the wild moor, through a discussion of the Brontë sisters and Ted Hughes. In this discussion I will focus on Emily Brontë's *Wuthering Heights*, which established the moors as a savage wilderness,[2] and Ted Hughes' poetry collection *Remains of Elmet*, which connects the wild moors with the post-industrial heritage of the valley floors.[3] I will then describe and critique the literary and heritage tourism that has grown up around the Brontës in Haworth, and Ted Hughes in the Calder Valley, through a semiotic analysis and discourse tracing of online promotional material for tourists, alongside my own ethnographic exploration through the area's landscapes and tourist spaces.[4] This research forms part of my wider interest in the intersection of leisure, tourism, sport and identity, in particular research on Scottishness and whisky tourism,[5] whiteness and leisure,[6] and northern Englishness in popular culture.[7] It is situated in the broader theoretical framework of what might be called critical tourism studies, or the sociology of leisure and tourism. I have discussed and critiqued heritage tourism and the performativity of place in my work on Goth tourism to Whitby,[8] so I do not need to repeat myself too much here. But my theoretical lens draws on Edensor's work on the situated performance of heritage and authenticity in tourism,[9] as well Wang's idea of existential authenticity.[10] For me, heritage tourism is something constructed, performed and negotiated by tourists, by capitalism and by others with an interest in using heritage to control identity. And authenticity is not merely an existential construct, the grail for knights errant looking for the real place—it is something that is always imposed on place, and constructed by those with the power of production.

My work as a whole draws on a number of key theoretical concepts. Firstly, social identity is constructed in anthropologically defined imaginary communities with symbolic boundaries.[11] These symbolic boundaries are in turn based on signs and discourses, but also invented traditions and contested ideas of belonging,[12] which are resolved in the creation of what Benedict Anderson calls imagined community.[13] Tourism is one way of constructing both the imagined and the imaginary, through the act of visiting spaces and reading assumptions into their landscapes, and through the act of selling destinations as mythic landscapes.[14]

The South Pennines: An Area of Outstanding Natural Beauty?

The UK's Areas of Outstanding Natural Beauty (AONBs) received official attention after the Second World War, when discussions were taking place in the Labour government about creating National Parks: areas of unique flora and fauna, geology, farming practices and recreational interest. In its history of the creation of AONBs, the National Association for AONBs states that in a 1945 report on National Parks for the government, commissioned expert John Dower suggested 'that although certain areas might not be suitable as National Parks because of their limited size and lack of wildness, their beautiful landscapes still needed protection'.[15] The Hobhouse Committee then produced a report that identified and recommended 52 areas, which led to the National Parks and Access to the Countryside Act 1949, which legislated for both the formation of named National Parks and AONBs.[16] Although the area of the South Pennines was identified in the Hobhouse Report as a potential AONB, by the time the 1949 Act was published it had been removed from the list.

In a 2013 newspaper report on the launch of a campaign to give the South Pennines some sort of quasi-official status as a 'regional park' (something that has no meaning in legislative or planning terms), an explanation for the removal of the South Pennines AONB potential status is offered:

> Back in the 1940s the Government's Hobhouse Committee recommended areas suitable for designation as national parks and AONBs and the South Pennines figured among these. But with its mills still working belching smoke into the valley bottoms, the review concluded that it was too industrial in character to be designated in the same way as the Peaks, North York Moors, Dales and Lake District, which all came into being between 1951 and 1954. But things have changed—most of the working mills have gone and attitudes have evolved. Relics of the area's industrial past … are now viewed as major assets adding to the distinctiveness of this unique corner of England.[17]

The awarding of the status of National Park or AONB was fiercely resisted publicly and privately by landowners, industries, the military, water boards and others with vested economic or political interests in the land.[18] The National Parks and AONBs that emerged from this reactionary campaigning were compromised: boundaries were altered to keep quarries free to work stone and to allow water boards to build dams; moorland tops were protected from the working-class walkers who had been arguing they should be allowed access to them.[19] The South Pennines AONB bid is likely to have been subject to the same kinds of off-the-record lobbying that allowed these other compromises to be made. It was not the ugliness of the industrial landscape that caused the bid to fail, but the combined power of those who controlled the land and the industries in the valleys, who clearly did not wish to lose the rights they enjoyed to exploit the land in the South Pennines, as they were losing some of those rights in the adjacent national parks of the Yorkshire Dales and the Peak District.

Despite its failure to become an AONB, three upland areas (Rombald's Moor near Ilkley, and either side of the Calder Valley) have been combined to be designated the South Pennine Moors Site of Special Scientific Interest (SSSI). This official designation was made because of the area's geology and wildlife, and gives it some protection from overdevelopment. Furthermore, this SSSI overlaps with the South Pennine Moors Special Area of Conservation (SAC), an upland area protected through designation under EC directives. In the first decade of the twenty-first century, local authorities and partners covering the South Pennines area started to work together to promote the area as a place to work in, live in and visit. A 'heritage area' was proposed by the umbrella organization Pennine Prospects, a partnership of the main local authorities along with other stakeholders: the National Trust; United Utilities and Yorkshire Water; all major landowners, alongside Natural England, the quango responsible for conservation areas; and Northern Rail. The Pennine Prospects website and marketing document make the same claims about the importance of the South Pennines: 'With its Millstone Grit rock, heather moorlands, wooded valleys, traditional farmland and variety of birdlife, the South Pennines area is an important place for geology and wildlife'.[20] For the stakeholders and local government, the South Pennines are as attractive as any AONB or National Park to the discerning tourist interested in geology, bird-spotting or traditional farming patterns. It is the colours of the rocks, the flora and fauna, which makes the South Pennines worthy of its status as a destination.

Reshaping and Making the South Pennines: Literary, Heritage or Walking Tourism?

The South Pennines has had literary tourism ever since Elizabeth Gaskell made her way into the wilds of the north of England to visit Haworth, the home of the Brontë sisters, a small mill village in the Worth Valley.[21] Gaskell describes the Haworth streets and the moors behind the village in suitably wild, romantic language. Generations of literary tourists have followed her out into this wild place, hung with dark shadows found in their reading of Emily's *Wuthering Heights*.[22] For these tourists, the Parsonage at the top of the main street in Haworth is as important as the moors themselves, though it is not clear how many tourists return home disappointed that Haworth is a suburb of Keighley, and the moor is a good stroll from the Parsonage Museum.[23] If one walks south from Top Withens along the Pennine Way (Top Withens being the ruined farm supposedly the inspiration for the name of the farmhouse in *Wuthering Heights*), one arrives in the Calder Valley, at the village of Heptonstall, which overlooks the town of Hebden Bridge. And here one can find another form of literary tourism: the grave of Sylvia Plath, and the village and valley which provided the inspiration for much of the work of her husband Ted Hughes. Pennine Prospects' partners are mindful of the huge tourist economy in Haworth associated with the myth of the wild northern English moor, and use the fact of this literary tourist industry to also suggest that visitors explore the Elmet, the Calder Valley area of the Pennines, of Ted Hughes:

> The beauty of the South Pennines has long been recognised by novelists and poets—most famously the Brontë sisters of Haworth and Ted Hughes, who became Poet Laureate. The area continues to provide inspiration for artists and writers.[24]

Pennine Prospects know that the sisters have a global fan base willing to travel from Japan, China and the USA to the South Pennines—the Brontës are so famous in contemporary popular culture (even in the post-modern version of the culture industry that values celebrity dogs over Victorian authors), they do not need to be named in full. Ted Hughes, however, needs to be explained to the readers of the marketing material in a way that does not frighten them. Ted Hughes, says the marketing, 'became Poet Laureate'. All we need to know as potential visitors to the South Pennines is that it is a beautiful landscape that has a wild side to it, something that draws strange creative types such as Ted Hughes to it. The readers of this marketing material are not told anything else about Hughes: they are not told about his misogynistic domination of Plath and her legacy; or his obsession with death and his disgust with the material world, which haunts all his poetry, but especially the poems in *Crow*.[25] For the policymakers promoting the South Pennines as a destination for any kind of tourism, the literary connections are enough to encourage people to come for themselves to be inspired by the hills. This is the old claim of the British Romantics recycled, that there exists in the hills, mountains and dales of the north of England something numinous.[26] Ted Hughes' work is not as famous as that of those Haworth authors, but is certainly well known enough known for people to want to visit Heptonstall, Hebden Bridge, and his birthplace Mytholmroyd, all important stages in the Ted Hughes Elmet pilgrimage.[27]

There is a clear policy drive to promote the South Pennines as something authentically wild, yet sufficiently post-industrial in its towns. It is easy to make the claim it is authentically wild—there is the SSSI, and the SAC, and the history of trying to become an AONB. These letters show official recognition that the moorland and the wider landscape is wild enough to have rare species living there, though the fact is of course that the moors are products of human interventions and industry. The notion of post-industrialism in the area's towns is more problematic. The Pennine Prospects website mentions the heritage of the industries that shaped the towns, valleys and hills. The South Pennines is dotted with mill museums, canals and restored railways. But industrial heritage can only exist as heritage once the industries have closed, and the jobs have all gone.[28] Mills can only be turned into museums and holiday homes once they have stopped being factories. This heritage might be something on which to build a destination tourism action plan, but it does little for the people who live in the villages and towns that once housed the industries.

There are, then, tensions over who takes part in passing through the South Pennines as a tourist, who does what and where, and tensions between visitors, incomers attracted to the area by its romantic landscape, and locals who live on the margins of the villages. For some visitors, the authenticity of the South Pennines is defined by its rural heritage, the sheep on the moors and the heather. For these people, the area is a wilderness park, where being a sheep farmer is better than being an ice-cream salesman. For other visitors, the authenticity of the place lies in its urban heritage: the black-stained sandstone terraces that wind up the streets from the valley floors, and the mills with their dark windows and high chimneys. Again, these visitors probably regard ice-cream salesmen as interlopers in their fantasy world of men in flat caps walking on cobbles and wearing clogs. Somewhere in the middle of this fantasy heritage is the South Pennines of people who want to make a profit from tourism, the people who own teashops, pubs, bed and breakfasts and other services. These private businesses seek to reconcile with one another the conflicting demands over what the authentic South Pennines is, without losing any market share. But those conflicting demands are sometimes irreconcilable. Those who want to drive out to Haworth—to go on a steam train, to mooch about the Parsonage Museum and eat cake at the top of the main street—are not the same as those who want to pass through Haworth on long-distance walking trips with muddy boots. The wild nature of the South Pennines is not allowed to be embodied by muddy footprints in the more gentrified of its tea rooms.

Ethnographic Reflections on Being a Tourist

There are a number of stages and back rooms to Haworth.[29] Up the main street with its cobbles are tea rooms and souvenir shops. There are signs in Japanese. There are tourists, hundreds of them in the winter, thousands in the summer. Most of the people walking up the street treat the incline and climb of the cobbles as a hill as hard going as any on the Pennine Way. To reach the Tourist Information Centre at the top is a reward for their efforts; there they can buy tea towels and cups that make fun of Yorkshireness: the strange dialect words, the stereotype of being tight with money. Down the hill, across from the make-believe England of the steam railway (nostalgia for a world where Yorkshire was all-white, where Englishmen fought Germans, a world reimagined every year in Haworth) there are people living cheaply in rented terraced houses, but they are not tight-fisted: they are poor. When we stay in the Youth Hostel in Haworth as we walk the Pennine Way, we stay on the poor side of the tracks; here, the only presence of the literary tourism industry is the *Brontë Balti* curry house.

As walkers on long-distance footpaths, we have a different view of the South Pennines. Not a more authentic one, just one different from that shared by the day-trippers who walk up Haworth's streets, or who drive up to Heptonstall to take photographs of Hebden Bridge down in the valley. We are walking between these staged tourist spaces, but our footpaths are made and protected for us by the tourist industry, local government and national legislation. On the Pennine Way, we follow the high watershed of the hills as much as we can along paths gouged so deep in the peat that at times we lose sight of the ground like soldiers in a First-World-War trench. On the second stage of the Pennine Way between Longdendale and Marsden, generations of walkers and pollution from the cities on either side of the hills have destroyed the fragile landscape on top of Black Hill. Now the path crosses the black mud on flagstones, as it does in those other places where walkers have imposed their footprints on the delicate soil. In the four days it takes to reach Haworth through the South Pennines, the path threads through a lunar landscape, interspersed with black millstone grit and black-sooted sheep on Blackstone Edge. Walkers tell tales to each other about the rain and the bleakness of these moors. Rarely shared are tales of the human constructions passed along or over, or beside: masts, reservoirs, private roads and the M62 motorway, which does not seem to be noticed at all by the walkers who cross its busy lanes on the pedestrian bridge. And the towns and villages in the valleys of the South Pennines become stopover points, rated by the number of curry houses rather than the beauty of their old mills or other built heritage. By the time Top Withens is reached, we have become cynical about the literary tourists, the day trippers and car-drivers, and their presence at the abandoned farm makes us sneer and swell with pride and arrogance: we are better because we have walked there, across the hills at the day trippers' backs, which they miss as they take pictures of each other. Our arrogance is foolish, of course. We are as stupid as them, thinking we can find some authentic experience here, as if anyone can find such a thing!

On the Calderdale Way, we trail around the metropolitan district of Calderdale on field paths, causeways, woodland trails and minor roads. The Calderdale Way guidebook tells us all about the local built heritage, both the rural and the urban. As we pass along the side of the Calder Valley we are in a landscape that the guidebook insists is authentically South Pennines in nature. This is the landscape of the post-Roman British Kingdom of Elmet, we are told, but the remains are those of the industrial age, mapped out by Ted Hughes in his poems. I wonder about the Britishness of the Calder Valley, or rather this attempt to claim the land as something authentically Celtic when the Celts are fashionable. I know Elmet existed, but its boundaries are contentious, and anyway, there have been too many generations since, too much movement from hills to towns and vice versa, for it to have any significant impact on the South Pennines today. For Hughes, the ghost of Elmet makes a fitting metaphor for the mill workers, weavers and farm labourers whose way of life had already gone when he was writing his poems. This land that looks wild has been used by humans to make things for hundreds of years. But is that the truth? As we wander through the upper reaches of the Calder Valley, we see Heptonstall's church up on the hill. It seems to have people standing in its graveyard, or this might be my eyes playing tricks. If they are there, are they there for Plath's grace? Literary tourism around here seems to revolve around this notion that only high art (poetry, canonical texts) is authentic culture. Nobody seems to think the popular culture of the workers means anything for tourists seeking authenticity, so there is an absence of the voices, stories and artefacts of the actual people who lived and still live here. The search for an authentic Celtic cultural heritage in the South Pennines demonstrates this: rather a fantasy story about King Arthur and racial purity than the hard life of the people who live on the council estates in every town in this valley.

Reading *Wuthering Heights* and *Remains of Elmet*

What is it about *Wuthering Heights* that makes it such an important text in the creation of northern wilderness tourism? The book deserves its reputation—it is a classic story of doomed lives on the edge of society. The book was produced at a time when fascination with the romantic and mythical north of England was fashionable. Simply put, the story uses the boundary between the urban and the moor as a boundary between bourgeois respectability and atavism. In the urban spaces there are two types of northern culture present: the middle-class one copying the manners of the southern English; and the working-class one mocked by Emily and her sisters for their roughness and strange accents. These working-class characters share some relationship with the wilderness, but they are not completely of it. It is Heathcliff who becomes the spirit of the wilderness, with his dark face and his moorland name, identified by Eagleton as the wild and dangerous man of Irish descent.[30] Emily's genius is leaving the spirit of the wilderness ambivalent. So, on the one hand, there are clouds, shadows and tragedies; on the other, a yearning to be freed from the parlour to explore the wild places. *Wuthering Heights*, then, is a myth-space that constructs and reproduces myths: about being northern English, being caught between the urban bourgeoisie and the rural working classes; about being in that liminal space between the fake and the authentic; about being of the wilderness and the high moors. This myth-space has become part of everyday popular culture around the world, driven by the rise of Empire, hegemony and the spread of the notion of Western classics being the classics of humanity. That is, the story of Cathy and Heathcliff has become the story of Wuthering Heights and of Haworth and its moors, a reduction of the actual narrative complexity of the book to the meme of a pop song and Hollywood film.

In *Remains of Elmet*, Ted Hughes captures the ambivalences of Emily's narrative, and continues to reproduce the myth-space of the north of England and the South Pennines. His poems make pictures of the abandoned farms and mills, the blackened stone walls and sheep in the brown grass fields (and were published with actual black-and-white pictures which made visible the impressions in the poems). In his engagement with post-industrialization and dereliction, his wilderness becomes a different place. For him, the Calder Valley has had its industrial character destroyed by the ravages of global capitalism and technological change, and it has become a new wilderness, a waste land in its entirety from the tops of the moors to the streets of its towns. The Calder Valley becomes a savage place—but its past is not romanticized, and Hughes shows us that it always has been a savage place, because life is savage. One can see that this makes it difficult to use the work of Hughes to sell the South Pennines to tourists seeking romance and wilderness. Both are used in tourism, as I have shown, but there is a clear favouring of the Brontë myth over the Hughes myth.

Discourse Tracing

Through this chapter I have been tracing the discourses at work in the construction of northernness, and the consumption of northern identity, in and through tourism in the South Pennines. We can finally and formally describe and critique the literary and heritage tourism material that has grown up around the Brontës in Haworth, and Ted Hughes in the Calder Valley. One website stands in for the dozen or so that exist.

SouthPennines.co.uk is a website that has been put together by designers working for Pennine Prospects:

> The South Pennines—a wild, wonderful and occasionally wuthering landscape at the place where Yorkshire and Lancashire collide. A land of steep-sided valleys, heather-covered moorland, canals, reservoirs and packhorse trails. The people who live here describe it as 'spectacular', 'inspiring', 'breathtaking' and 'dramatic.' It's a place where you'll find intense local pride—people who are passionate about the area and want to share what they know. And so we've obliged. We've gathered their recommendations of South Pennines places, people and pastimes and created this website.[31]

The South Pennines here is constructed from the collision between Lancashire and Yorkshire. In other words, the South Pennines are sold to potential visitors as a place where northernness, that strange confabulation of Lancashire and Yorkshire identity, is created. It is a northernness that is sold to visitors as something to do with the North's industrial heritage. This is a northern England of canals and packhorse trails. It is a northernness that is claimed to be authentic because it is conjured into existence from this working-class world of mills. This working-class north of England is defined by it oppositionality. It is not fake, because working-class lives and communities are believed to be more real than middle-class ones, a myth told in *Wuthering Heights*. It is not soft, either. This supposedly authentic northernness is present in the extract from the South Pennines website above. Visitors are assured that real northerners have made their recommendations on the website, local people with local pride, who adore the stark and 'wuthering' landscape. The roughness of the South Pennines—its millstone grit and its mucky sheep, its old mills and its stone-covered peat bogs—becomes a metaphor for authentic working-class northern culture. The landscape becomes as mythically northern as rugby league, the game for proper working-class men, played in towns and villages on either side of the South Pennines—that is, the northern myth of the landscape, like rugby league, is real only for those who find reality in it.[32]

Conclusion

I am visiting Sowerby Bridge, a town on the edge of Halifax, just further down the Calder Valley from Ted Hughes' Mytholmroyd. Like all these places, it is gentrifying, convenient for commuters to Leeds and Manchester. But it retains the character of its high street. It has charity shops, cheap food stores and a couple of greasy-spoon cafes. The market is tiny, mainly given over to junk and toiletries, but it still attracts older people and others unable to shop in Halifax's big supermarkets. As I drink my tea in a nearby café I wonder—will this North be part of the tourist trail? Did Ted Hughes drink tea in one of these greasy spoons? Why should one story of the North be favoured over another? I become smug drinking my tea, but after I have left the town I feel uneasy about my own middle-class romanticization of the authentic working-class North.

When it comes to northernness, there is no such thing. What is considered to be northern is subject to debate, and subject to a continually dynamic contestation of the symbolic boundaries. Who defines northernnness? It is defined by those in the North and those outside, and insiders and outsider alike are partial in their definitions. We all make myths about ourselves and others. Rugby league is defined by its northern roots, but its northern roots are defined by rugby league, to the extent that rugby league shapes its own North, apart from all other norths. I am as guilty as anyone in creating the North, and its oppositional South, in my own image. But what is northern is not the real question. The real question is: of all the northernnesses being constructed in the tourist industry and in the tourist places up North, which ones matter, and why do they matter?

The South Pennines 'character' is the key to the discourses about it as a place for tourism. It is seen as authentically 'North' by many of its residents, but also by the tourist industry and its partners in local government. They need to create a version of northern identity that is 'wuthering', blown about by the wind and the rain across the moor, shaped like the millstone-grit of the mills and the moor-tops into grotesque formations. Literary tourism—especially that associated with those sisters of Haworth—gives the South Pennines a global market, but one based on the consumption of an inauthentic North. The version associated with Ted Hughes and the Calder Valley might be more middle-class and true to the industrial past, but it is just as problematic and contested. Heritage tourism may be more authentic to the past and to the place, but it still constructs a narrow version of what northern English culture and space actually mean today for those who live there. Nearly all forms of tourism in the South Pennines follow the logic of instrumental rationality, the free market of global capitalism, which puts the pursuit of profit first.[33] That means the industry gives its buyers what they want—and what they want are these tales of the North, this make-believe conflation of history and place, which confirms their view of the North as being a place full of dragons.

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CHAPTER 6

Transforming Waterways: The Tourism-Based Regeneration of Canals in Scotland

J. John Lennon

Canals and Tourism: A Logical Partnership

The renaissance of canals as tourism facilities and waterways devoted to leisure traffic has already been explored in the context of the UK[1] and internationally.[2] However, it is useful to review how these former industrial waterways enjoy a new existence as leisure/tourism sites, or in some variegated form of mixed use. The origins of the canal systems were as created channels for freight transportation and in some cases water supply. In their day, the introduction of new waterways impacted on local ecology in the form of wildlife and plants, changed landscapes, and natural heritage.[3] In the UK, developments were focussed around the creation of new water connections and incorporated the development of locks, tunnels, aqueducts, bridges, and a range of buildings and landscaped architecture that impacted on the urban and rural environment.[4]

The UK canal system (like many in Europe) is relatively narrow and was constructed primarily for the movement of manufactured goods with origins during the period of the industrial revolution, and at its peak in the nineteenth century spanned over 4000 miles. The canals' demise was initially catalysed by the development of rail and road transportation,

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which offered more rapid logistics and supply solutions, although ironically the issue of slow pace of transportation became a major factor in the appeal of canals as leisure and tourism products.[5] Such recent growth and recognition of slow tourism was pre-empted by canal-based sailing holidays, which date from the early twentieth century.[6] Indeed, Erfurt-Cooper and Fallon have convincingly argued that canal-based tourism is a logical fit with slow tourism and travel.[7] The facilitation of leisure and holiday provision at a transportation pace that is relaxed, and focussed on appreciation of the locale at a leisurely pace, has been a mainstay of the growth of canal holidays in England and Wales. It is located amongst the passive, relaxing, and traditional pursuits associated with slow tourism.[8] A further appeal is of course linked to the presence of water itself, well established as a positive feature of many visitor destinations and pursuits.[9]

Tang and Jang[10] use the Tourism Area Life Cycle model to explore the initial purpose of the canal system and its revitalisation as a leisure and tourism asset.[11] This important work also examines the managerial implications and the major changes in orientation necessary as transportation infrastructure networks are transformed from commercial freight operation to operating directly in the visitor economy. The example of the New York canal system and its management provides analogies to the situation in Scotland, which saw a slower transformation to leisure use, and a longer period of relative neglect of the canal network.

The emergence in 2012 of Scottish Canals as a separate and distinct waterways organisation from its former parent, British Waterways (BW), coincided with a further step change in ambition that saw the canals of Scotland as a wider strategic development for a series of regeneration and tourism developments across the nation. Scottish canals are now seen as an important element of post-industrial site and brownfield development. However, this was not always the case. In the early part of the nineteenth century there was, in many parts of Europe, significant discussion about the centrality of maintaining the legacy of the industrial past. In the case of canals this debate was led by enthusiasts with a rose-tinted perception of the merits of our industrial past.[12] Realistically, canals were the context for hardship both in their creation and operation, and the sentimentality of early conservationists was rarely rooted in the harsh realities of industrial life. However, since the 1930s the conservation and heritage lobby in England and Wales has served to protect and help conserve the canal network. Conservation and development of the relatively minor Scottish network, which constitutes some 137 miles in comparison to the larger English and Welsh networks (which collectively total more than 2000 miles), was less energetic, and Scotland saw a slower revival in canal fortunes. In England and Wales the 1960s saw the growth of conservation and the development of canals as a counterpoint to the expansion of road transportation in England and Wales. As indicated earlier, Scottish residents remained bemused by the defunct waterways network and its maintenance, and development was slower to materialise. However, under the stewardship of BW, iconic developments, such as the Falkirk Wheel, were to help generate a transformation of how canals were viewed in Scotland.

Scottish Canals: Origins and Purpose

The organisation now known as Scottish Canals has origins that stretch back to the demise of the canals as freight-carrying routeways and the nationalisation of their rail competitors. In 1948, canal ownership in the UK transferred to the British Transport Commission. The commission oversaw the operation of the UK's inland waterways, operated by the British Waterways Board (BWB). Following difficult trading conditions BWB ceased most of its commercial narrowboat carrying soon after formation, and indeed, by this time the canal network had reduced to just 2000 miles. The Transport Act 1968 classified the nationalised waterways into three distinct categories: commercial waterways that could support commercial traffic, primarily located in the north-east of England; cruising waterways that had leisure use potential, such as cruising, fishing, and recreational use; and remainder waterways, for which no potential commercial or leisure was envisaged. While the British Waterways Board was required by legislation to maintain commercial and cruising waterways fit for their respective traffic, these obligations were subject to being undertaken by the most economical means, which allowed BWB to reduce maintenance. Remainder waterways did not have to be kept in a navigable condition and faced abandonment or transfer to the local authority. Following this period of neglect and underuse, there was a gradual revival in canals for the purposes of leisure, with user numbers reaching 20,000 by the early 1980s. Restoration work was undertaken on some canals by voluntary groups.

In the 1990s the canal network was the subject of significant investment; some circa £100m had been spend on canal infrastructure maintenance during the 1990s and the Heritage Lottery Fund made significant awards to expand the canal network. The then Labour Government was committed to canal restoration and additional funding was announced for BW in 1999. Leisure use and boating was soon to exceed the former use for freight during the industrial revolution. However, as late as 2009 BW was still in deficit funding (circa £30 million) and intent on securing a more stable supply of funding, while continuing to utilise volunteers on the waterways. In 2010, BW became a charitable trust and acquired other waterways from the Environment Agency. It now had responsibility for 2000 miles of canals and rivers in England and Wales. This was, however, short-lived and by 2012 all of BW's responsibilities were transferred to the Canal and River Trust. The situation in Scotland was different and the Scottish Government resisted locating the Scottish waterways in the charity, while British Waterways Scotland remained state-owned, operating as Scottish Canals.[13] Accordingly, Scottish Canals is a public corporation of the Scottish Government with responsibility for managing the country's inland waterways.

Scottish Canals has its head office in Glasgow and manages and operates:

- the Caledonian Canal (60 miles)
- the Crinan Canal (9 miles)
- the Forth and Clyde Canal (35 miles)
- the Monkland Canal (2 miles)
- and the Union Canal (31 miles)

In total Scottish Canals is responsible for some 137 miles (220 kilometres) of waterways and 17 reservoirs as well as the navigation rights to four lochs, including Loch Ness.

Developing the Leisure and Tourism Potential of Scottish Canals

Despite a slower start to the canal renaissance in Scotland than in other areas of the UK, the network is now a major part of the tourism landscape in urban, highland, and lowland contexts. Critical in the process of transition was the 1995 application for Millennium Heritage Lottery Funding, which resulted in the development of the Falkirk Wheel in 2002, and its opening in 2005. This was part of a larger bid, submitted on behalf of the Millennium Link Partnership, which envisaged the revival and redevelopment of the canal infrastructure of central Scotland.

The link development was awarded £32 million of funding (some 42 % of the project cost), and the Falkirk Wheel and associated basin and landscaping received £17 million (just over 20 % of the budget cost). The £46-million balance of development came from BWB, seven local councils, Scottish Enterprise, the European Regional Development Fund, and private donations. As part of the project the Scottish Canal network saw the development of a globally unique rotating boat lift, the Falkirk Wheel, which linked the Union and Forth and Clyde Canals. This major canal infrastructure development created an icon for the network, the region and Scotland. It led to levels of visitation that hitherto had not been seen at Scottish Canals sites or in the vicinity of Falkirk (see table of visitation below since opening in 2005) (Table 6.1).

Thus the Falkirk Wheel catalysed significant visitation to this part of Falkirk, which previously had simply not been a visitor destination. It was the site of former industry that, along with the canal network, had been neglected over time. The refurbished canal and construction of the 35-metre tall Falkirk Wheel served to change perceptions and catalyse visitation, soon becoming a fixture on all promotional material related to the destination. In terms of visitation it served to extend the traditional appeal of a new visitor attraction, which would be expected to peak in years 2–3 following development, and then see decline (for further discussion of the visitor attraction life cycle see Lennon 2003).[14] In contrast, this site was able to maintain substantial levels of visitation across the years 2005–2012, with a relatively slow period of maturation. The growth of

Table 6.1 Falkirk wheel site visitation 2005–2014

Year	*Falkirk wheel site visitation*	*Year-on-year percentage movement*
2005	298,562	n/a
2006	437,388	+31.7 %
2007	513,907	+14.8 %
2008	500,829	−2.5 %
2009	476,778	−4.8 %
2010	440,623	−7.5 %
2011	413,004	−6.2 %
2012	414,386	+0.3 %
2013	406,693	−1.8 %
2014	514,170	+20.9 %

Source: Moffat Centre (2015) Scottish Visitor Attraction Monitor 2014, Glasgow Caledonian University, Glasgow visitation in 2014 is the most interesting element, and as such can be linked quite clearly to the development of a further iconic attraction in the form of the nearby Helix Park and Kelpie sculptures, which opened in September 2013. This second major development, occurring almost a decade since the development of the Falkirk Wheel, had its genesis in a successful application for £25 million of Big Lottery Funding.

This funding allowed for the creation of the Kelpie sculptures by celebrated Scottish sculptor, Andy Scott, and the wider development of the Helix Park on a former brownfield site. In total some 300 hectares of land between Falkirk and Grangemouth were developed and landscaped to comprise the Kelpies structures, a major new park with lagoon and outdoor events area incorporating pathways and cycle networks, a new central canal link between Grangemouth and Scotland's wider canal network, plus a collection of new woodland areas and a range of public artworks. The development also comprises a visitor centre, hospitality, and retail, as well as water-based activity hire at a development cost of £43 million.[15] Funding and operation was the responsibility of a unique partnership of stakeholders: Scottish Canals, Falkirk Council, Central Scotland Forest Trust, and the Helix Trust.[16] The success of the Falkirk Wheel demonstrated the value of combined funding for a joint development agenda that could serve to change perceptions and build destination awareness.

Kelpie Sculptures and the Kelpies is are over 30 metres tall and comprise of over 400 tonnes of steel. They have become a further major iconic development that can be viewed from the arterial M9 motorway and have gained enormous social, digital, and traditional media coverage. These sculptures were hugely successful, generating over 800,000 visitors in 2014 and creating renewed interest in the heritage and origins of the original water infrastructure as well as drawing significant visitors to the nearby Falkirk Wheel. Such developments have therefore created an increase of over 20 % in visitation in 2014, almost a decade after the Wheel's opening in 2005. Clearly, the public profile of Falkirk and the region, as well as its reinvention as a destination for leisure and tourism visitors, is inextricably linked to the Scottish Canal developments. What has been undertaken at this site goes well beyond the typical transformation of waterways, from freight routeways to leisure and tourism use. Here we have seen iconic developments straddling engineering, design, and the arts, generating major audiences and locating this former brownfield site amongst the top 20 most visited attractions in Scotland in 2014 (see table below) (Table 6.2).

Table 6.2 Top 20 most popular (unpaid admission) visitor attractions in Scotland

Attraction title	*2014*	*2013*	*%14/13*
National Museum of Scotland	1,639,509	1,768,090	−7.3
Scottish National Gallery	1,295,015	933,269	38.8
Loch Lomond Shores	1,172,832	1,140,119	2.9
Kelvingrove Art Gallery & Museum	1,121,995	1,044,067	7.5
Riverside Museum	1,049,834	740,276	41.8
St Giles' Cathedral	1,029,359	940,530	9.4
Gretna Green Famous Blacksmith's Shop	813,304	761,487	6.8
The Helix/Kelpies	800,000	Not open	
Royal Botanic Garden Edinburgh	766,250	664,407	15.3
Gallery of Modern Art	622,284	572,152	8.8
National War Museum	593,639	572,361	3.7
Falkirk Wheel	514,170	406,693	26.4
Glasgow Botanic Gardens	440,000	430,000	2.3
People's Palace	380,110	310,326	22.5
Eilean Donan Castle and Visitor Centre	377,117	354,424	6.4
Dundee Contemporary Arts	375,000	375,000	0.0
New Lanark Village and Visitor Centre	357,500	297,868	20.0
Centre for Contemporary Arts	326,271	296,233	10.1
Scottish Parliament Visitor Centre	303,381	331,839	−8.6
David Welch Winter Gardens	300,083	303,406	−1.1

Source: Moffat Centre (2015) Scottish Visitor Attraction Monitor 2014, Glasgow Caledonian University, Glasgow

Understanding Tourism Growth: The Scottish Context

The revival in Scottish Canals' fortunes have been considerable, and the Tourism Area Life Cycle model can be legitimately applied here to help understand how such a development has progressed.[17] Whilst aspects of the rejuvenation and reorientation from commercial water-based freight transportation to tourism is analogous to English and international examples, there are some notable variations.[18] In terms of evolution of the canal tourism product the relatively slow change was accelerated during 2005 by the introduction of iconic and unique infrastructure development. Here, the application of Tang and Jang's Tourism Area Life Cycle has some relevance.[19] These authors' use of historical data to consider the New York canal system proved helpful in consideration of volumes of travel. The measures of tonnage of commercial shipping on the New York canals in the years 1840–1978, and recreational vessel traffic there in the years 1980–2006, were able to demonstrate growth, decline, and revival. Such comprehensive analysis of vehicular traffic and freight contrasts with the analysis of visitors to the Scottish canal attractions, the Falkirk Wheel and the Helix/Kelpies. Here, over a shorter chronological life span, visitor footfall at the sites has been measured.

This chapter provides the first examination of visitor volume to the new infrastructure which has acted as a catalyst to the adaptation and transformation of Scottish Canals. The importance of the new visitor attractions as catalysts or 'triggers' has been considered by Butler as a key element in tourism development, yet in the context of canal tourism this approach is unusual.[20] Most canal tourism development has been located in a process of gradual transition and adaptation. For example, in the case of the Lachine Canal (on the island of Montreal, Canada), the change of use and reorientation to leisure traffic followed decline as a freight waterway.[21] Indeed, in many cases the waterway transition follows a classic pattern of metamorphosis following decline of commercial waterway transport. This was certainly the case in the USA, and the examples of the Illinois and Michigan Canal explored by Wulfestieg are illustrative.[22] Similarly, in Europe the Polish example of the Ostroda-Elblag Canal shows similar transition patterns.[23] Such transition is readily accommodated by the Tourism Area Life Cycle, which is defined as having five stages:[24]

- Exploration
- Involvement
- Development
- Stagnation
- Post-stagnation

In the latter stages, a process of stabilisation and rejuvenation is possible with the second life these waterways experience as emergent tourism products. This application has been usefully applied and illustrated in tourism destinations such as the Caribbean islands of Antigua and Dominica.[25] The application of quantifiable indicators to life-cycle contexts is logical and has proven valuable in previous studies.[26] However, the classic linearity of the life cycle in the example of Scottish Canals has been subverted by catalytic iconic development, which has resulted in a step change in visitation and perception. The interest and volume now associated with Scottish Canals has seen the organisation transformed, with a new clear focus on visitation and tourism which reaches well beyond the appeal of attractions. The business extends to boating, paddling, walking and running, fishing, cycling, provision of holiday accommodation, events, and festivals.[27] As an organisation, Scottish Canals now sees a large part of its purpose as located in tourism and leisure. It has committed significant resources to celebrating events, developing water-based installations, and sponsoring sporting activities to give the canals a higher profile. They are committed to the 2016 Year of Innovation Architecture and Design in Scotland, as well as being a primary partner in the development of marine tourism at a national level.[28]

The reorientation of the management and staff of Scottish Canals has been fundamental, and customer orientation has become critical across all elements of the business. The success of Falkirk Wheel and the Falkirk and Grangemouth region has seen a new confidence in operations in Glasgow, Edinburgh, Inverness, and Fort Augustus, with over 25 million people now visiting Scottish Canals' sites each year.[29] In this context it can be seen that the rapid evolutionary process has been complex and is still maturing as northern elements of the network (such as Caledonian Canal) undertake a process of continual improvement and upgrade. Whilst functional adaptation has been explored in tourism the degree of regeneration in this organisation, incorporating property, heritage, events, water-based tourism, visitor attraction development and canal-side accommodation provision, has extended the operating portfolio of Scottish Canals well beyond its original purpose.[30] However, without the 'trigger' success of the 2005 visitor attraction development of the Falkirk Wheel, the potential of the waterway network would not have been demonstrated or realised.

Analogous examples of organisations that have undergone such transition have highlighted the centrality of cooperation amongst key stakeholders, and of clear effective leadership.[31] In an exploration of the Welland Canal in Ontario, Canada, it was concluded that the following factors had to be present in order to develop successful waterway destinations:

- Recognition of the importance of tourism
- Evidence of community support for the development
- Evidence of local population involvement (as volunteers, guides, employees)
- Governmental support and 'buy in'
- Control and restraint of key interest groups

In the case of Scottish Canals all of the above factors were present. Indeed, the senior leadership has been remarkably stable and hugely supportive of change. Across the decade to 2016, continuity of senior management was apparent in both policies and personnel between British Waterways Scotland and Scottish Canals. The transfer of functions from the BWB to Scottish Canals in 2012, as a stand-alone public body, allowed for the further reorientation of the latter organisation as a consumer-focused leisure provider that continues to operate and maintain the identified Scottish waterways. Like the Scottish government, Scottish Canals has a clear understanding of the centrality of tourism.[32] Furthermore, the partnership planning and funding activities of various agencies involved in the Falkirk Wheel, and more recently the Helix/Kelpies, served to demonstrate the value of joint working and joint development agendas. Finally, the Falkirk Wheel and the Helix/Kelpies have enjoyed significant local support in the form of visitation, volunteering and in application for employment on site.[33] However, in addition to the above factors it is critical to emphasise the centrality of large iconic developments as catalysts or triggers in transforming perceptions of the destination and the function of the Scottish canal network.

It is now clear that the networks can not only accommodate the appeal of tourism located in a 'slow travel mind set', but also accommodate events, festivals, accommodation, and the development of publicly funded visitor attractions.[34] Furthermore, the range of other products and services now offered by Scottish Canals, ranging from visitor accommodation to water-based activity, have helped build appeal across a broad range of consumers. However, it was the success both of the Falkirk Wheel and the Helix/Kelpies as visitor attractions that has been fundamental. Such success is far from given, and the range of Millennium-[35] and lottery-funded visitor attractions that have failed, or simply do not attract visitation, are testament to the inherent difficulty of development and operation (for further discussion see Lennon),[36] The Scottish Canals tourism products and services can accommodate the consumer demand for authenticity and a range of experiences with a context that has augmented the tourism life cycle.[37] The radical development of iconic artworks and engineering projects have changed perceptions, created destination awareness, and provided enduring appeal.

Notes

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CHAPTER 7

Welsh Heritage and Cultural Tourism: Engendering Community Regeneration and Environmental Sustainability in the Lower Swansea Valley

Kathryn E. Flynn

Introduction

The main focus of this chapter is to examine the socio-economic and environmental perspective of the Lower Swansea Valley, South Wales, with direct reference to both its historic and contemporary industries. To achieve this, the research charts the extensive and expeditious development of heavy industry, specifically copper smelting, in the Lower Swansea Valley during the eighteenth century, through to its eventual demise in the twentieth century. This is then followed by an appraisal of the more recent and innovative industry developments, most notably in the service sector industry, and specifically, the tourism and leisure industries. The research conducted incorporates primary and secondary forms, with secondary research drawing not only on the history of the copper industry in the Lower Swansea Valley, but also on the development of successive industries. With respect to 'emerging' industries within the Lower Swansea Valley, much

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formal debate and discussion has taken place within the region, which has ultimately lead to increased exposure of the site, as well as several academic publications, including those from leading historians such as Huw Bowen, who has written extensively about the area. In addition, the development of a national and regional development strategy and the award of substantial European convergence funding have also brought greater visibility to the site, while the Welsh Government's Heritage Tourism Project (2009) and Cadw's *Pan-Wales Heritage Interpretation Plan* (2011) have drawn even greater levels of attention to the Lower Swansea Valley. It is worth acknowledging that developments in the Lower Swansea Valley have also been validated in the work of several key academics, including, [1,2,3] both of whom have highlighted the importance of heritage tourism for community identity and sense of place. In what follows, primary research is presented in the form of several interviews with individuals who are presently involved in regeneration activities in the valley. The chapter will conclude by reflecting upon the present situation in the Lower Swansea Valley and outline some further points for discussion as to its future prospects.

Historical Context of the Lower Swansea Valley's Copper Industry

From 1717 onwards the Lower Swansea Valley would develop a highly commended reputation for copper smelting, which extended across the globe. The rapid growth of the industry commenced with the smelting of copper ore that had been brought to Swansea from Cornwall and Ireland. In later years, this developed further to involve international markets, with ore being sourced from more remote locations such as Cuba and Chile. In a short period, the Lower Swansea Valley had become synonymous with 'copper', and by 1800 nine copper works had been developed in the area, which had augmented to twenty smelting works by the late 1800s. By the mid-1850s, it was estimated that half the total world output of smelted copper had been produced in the Lower Swansea Valley, and this had a dramatic effect upon Swansea's population.[4] During the 1800s, Swansea experienced a significant rise in rural-to-urban migration which aimed to reap the economic benefits of copper smelting and its associated industries, including shipping activity, and nickel, silver, cobalt, lead and phosphate processing. Inward migration was further encouraged by the philanthropic actions of the copper magnates of the time, such as John Vivian, who developed housing-related amenities for the industrial workers. From 1824 onwards, basic townships had been created in the Lower Swansea Valley; these were collectively referred to as the 'Trevivian' settlement, and consisted of terraced houses, chapels and schools. In 1801, Swansea's population was recorded as 6000, which had grown to 100,000 by the end of the century.[5]

Factors which greatly influenced Swansea's early development and recognition for copper smelting included its ability to resource, cheaply and quickly, extensive coal reserves from the South Wales valleys (which were needed for the smelting process). In addition, it could establish easy access to rail, canal and shipping forms of transportation, which were essential in the global importing and exporting of copper products (raw and refined). By 1849 more than 100,000 ships were operating in and out of Swansea with heavy industry-based materials, averaging 716 tonnes of cargo per year.[6] One of the copper works in the Lower Swansea Valley, namely the 'Morfa Copper Works', soon became the largest non-ferrous metal smelting works in Europe, which largely influenced Swansea being referred to as a 'Copper Kingdom'.[7] Examples such as this also gained Wales the title of the 'World's first industrialised nation'.[8]

The economic force of copper in Swansea continued to be strong for many years, although by the late 1880s the industry had become greatly competitive, which detrimentally affected Swansea's market position. Competition was extensively due to overseas markets beginning to smelt their own copper, and from their developing individual knowledge, skills and resources. This therefore minimised the amounts of copper ore from overseas locations being shipped the long distances to Swansea, with the result that its market position was significantly eroded, leading to the eventual demise of its global dominance. The result of this was that many copper smelting works in the Lower Swansea Valley ceased production, and while certain copper works made attempts to diversify, by merging or converting to the manufacture and processing of other heavy industry products such as zinc, tinplate and lead, they had mixed results. Although many works became redundant and sites were left to degrade and deteriorate, what is interesting to note is that some productivity returned during the First and Second World Wars. At this time, several of the heavy industry works in the Lower Swansea Valley were used to manufacture metals for munitions, such as steel and tinplate.[9] Unfortunately, this pivotal role was short-lived, and further industrial rationalisation in the 1950s exacerbated the economic situation for the Lower Swansea Valley.

By 1960, the issue of redundant and often dilapidated copper works in the valley had become a contentious point and one of particular concern for national government and local communities alike. Key areas of concern related to negative social, economic and environmental issues and impacts: 'By 1961, some 60 % of the valley was in a state of derelict condition'.[10] More specifically, approximately 800 acres of the Lower Swansea Valley had become littered with copper waste products, dilapidated buildings and disused rail tracks and canal waterways. At this time, Swansea was reputed to be the largest post-industrial wasteland in Europe, a place where the whole landscape had become heavily contaminated from several decades of chemical usage.[11] The decline in industry had led to sizeable scarring of the valley, in particular the areas of Hafod and Landore, which were once referred to as places of 'natural beauty'[12] prior to the rise of the Industrial Revolution: 'Delightful Hafod, most serene—Thou sweet retreat, fit mansion for a God. Dame Nature, lavish gifts we see, and paradise again restored in thee'.[13]

However, at the height of the Industrial Revolution, the above image of many parts of the Lower Swansea Valley had gravely altered: 'It came to pass in days of yore, the Devil chanced upon Landore, quoths he, by all this fume and stink I can't be far from home I think'.[14] By the early 1960s, it was clear to both local and national government that not only were there serious environmental and aesthetic concerns in the valley, but also many which affected the local and wider community and economy: 'This blighted area lies at Swansea's front door, for it adjoins the principal railway station and is only a few minutes by road from the High Street and the docks. The town suffers accordingly in reputation, morale and its economy'.[15]

Modern Industrial Developments and Regeneration Activity in the Lower Swansea Valley

From the 1960s onwards strong support was voiced for the much-needed redevelopment and regeneration of the Lower Swansea Valley. This support led to Swansea and the Lower Swansea Valley to feature in various national and regional planning strategies and initiatives, most notable among them being A Plan for Britain and the Lower Swansea Valley Project.

The initial proposal in the early 1960s was for an ambitious large-scale land reclamation project, which resulted in direct action being taken, including the formation of the Derelict Land Unit in 1966. The overarching aim of the project was to address the area's extensive land pollution, and this was achieved through rigorous clean-up programmes, the treatment of chemical and metal waste from previously released uncontrolled emissions, and the removal of redundant, dilapidated and often dangerous industrial structures in the landscape.[16] A further outcome of the early 1960s discussions was the publication of a report proposing the instigation of the Lower Swansea Valley Project, in 1967, which put forward further innovative ideas for regeneration and development. Many significant bodies were involved in the early funding and planning stages of this project, including the Welsh Office, the former Department of Scientific and Industrial Research, the Nuffield Foundation and the University College of Swansea. Allocated funds of circa £50,000 were made available to assist in specific regeneration action for the valley as part of this project. Such action proved to be extensive in size and scale, as the scarred industrial landscape was reputed to contain one of the largest ever recorded copper slag tips. During the late 1960–80s physical brownfield redevelopment work undertaken as part of the project involved clearance, reclamation, land sales and structural regeneration. However, not only was this project essential if the negative environmental impacts from industry were to be rectified, but it was also important from the perspective of addressing the associated negative social and economic impacts.

It is hardly surprising, but most of the more notable problems within the valley related to community morale, as many communities in the area felt uncertain and insecure following the decline of heavy industry. For many, the falling fortunes of the area had either directly or indirectly had an impact on their lives, and since certain families had copper 'ties' which spanned several generations, industrial decline meant that a 'way of life' and 'identity' was rapidly disappearing. Further issues were also linked to diminishing 'morale' and 'sense of place', especially as a result of the extensive landscape dereliction left by the redundant works. Ironically, although most of the Lower Swansea Valley community appreciated the need for change and improvement to address urban dereliction, there was also an uneasiness about physical redevelopment and regeneration. At this time developers, working in conjunction with the Lower Swansea Valley Project, needed to be mindful of the local community and their views, and in order to address their concerns, regular community involvement and engagement activities took place.[17]

For this large-scale project to be a success it was acknowledged that the community should be central, and conscientious efforts were made to achieve a symbiotic relationship between the local residents and developers.[18] Through varying local campaigns, and initiatives to generate interest and support in the project, a large number of volunteers of differing age groups were soon mobilised. For the older generation there was much interest and intrigue, as many had had direct involvement in the copper sites through employment. As a result, for this demographic, support was very much forthcoming. Conversely, for the younger generation an interest in the site and project needed to be fostered, which was mainly actioned through working with local schools, as well as in creating curricular and extra-curricular groups. Such groups included the Swansea Valley Rangers, Adventure Holiday Schemes and, interestingly, the Halfway Hatters (a youth group sponsored by one of the local public houses, the Halfway Inn).[19] However, despite these community-centred groups and activities, as with any project, enthusiasm was unfortunately not shared by all in the local community. For some, the Lower Swansea Valley and its copper past was perceived as a dissonant heritage and looked upon with apathy.[20] Reasons for this may have related to the many industrial accidents and incidents that had occurred during the height of heavy industry in the area, as well as the poor working conditions and redundancies associated with that time. Others possibly felt disconnected from the site, either having little personal engagement or feelings of despondency that the grand-scale plans forwarded by authorities and developers would never materialise. Community liaisons proved particularly important during this time, as unfortunately feelings of apathy were vented through negative actions which targeted the work of the Lower Swansea Valley Project. Such actions included acts of vandalism, in the form of new plantings, part of the valley's reforestation, being uprooted, as well as more serious incidents of arson, which targeted recently restored Grade II historic copper-smelting buildings. Inevitably, these events caused setbacks for the project, although attempts to address such issues were put in place swiftly, including a pattern of regular community engagement meetings, which it was claimed helped to foster more positive views.[21]

In the records kept during the running of the Lower Swansea Valley Project it was noted that, irrespective of some community-based apathy, a wide 'selection' of the local community still participated in many of the project's set regeneration activities. For example particularly high levels of community involvement were recorded for early clearance activities and, later, in the 're-greening' of the industrial scarred valley, through extensive seeding and the planting of trees: 'We had a remarkable amount of enthusiasm from the local adults, as well as children'.[22] Long-term positive outcomes of the Lower Swansea Valley Project were demonstrated in progressive developments. These were primarily centred around the Five Parks and were referred to as the Urban Renaissance Campaign; it focussed on (1) enterprise/retail, (2) leisure/sport, (3) riverside, (4) city, and (5) maritime activities.[23] All of these were developed alongside the River Tawe, which runs directly through the Lower Swansea Valley. It was envisaged that the Five Parks' redevelopment and regeneration would address many of the socio-economic and environmental problems of the area. The overall regeneration project was vast and received much publicity; it was described as 'The world leading Swansea experiment'[24] as it was a 'transformation of the largest derelict industrial landscape in Europe and the first ever reclamation project of its kind'.[25] Key developments of the project included:

1) the Enterprise Park—being the first and largest of its kind in the UK, completed in 1981;
2) the Marina Park, completed in 1982—which effectively incorporated retail, leisure and housing;
3) generic wide-scale landscaping and reforestation, including the planting of an estimated over half a million trees, which helped transform the ecology of the valley.[26] In addition, this activity encouraged leisure and sports development in the area, notably fishing, walking and cycling.

As part of the Lower Swansea Valley Project, a great deal of redevelopment work took place which transformed the aesthetics of the valley, particularly the local areas of Hafod, Morfa and Landore. The valley that had once been a heavy industrial area became one that was heralded as a regenerated open space, associated with community-based leisure and tourism. However, whilst the Lower Swansea Valley Project proved successful in terms of regenerating and repopulating the valley, it was noteworthy that certain areas had been left largely 'untouched' and 'underutilised'. One such area included the 12.5-acre site on which 12 of the last remaining copper structures stood left over from the former works. These structures included the rolling mill, laboratory, locomotive sheds, engine house and smelting chimney. It is interesting to note that whilst the Lower Swansea Valley Project was considered a landmark development for regeneration, only nominal outcomes were gained in relation to a representation of the valley's unique industrial past, and its related community-based culture and heritage. Although some of the former industrial structures from the copper works were considered for renovation and some work actioned, large-scale conservation and preservation of such remaining structures was overlooked. As the project had a leisure and tourism focus, it is now argued that greater emphasis could have been placed on heritage development, and specifically industrial heritage tourism, to reap further socio-economic and environmental gain.

Today, the benefits of tourism, and specifically heritage tourism-led regeneration, are widely accepted and supported, and evidenced by current Welsh policy and strategy. One of the first documents to consider tourism and leisure (which included an industrial heritage focus) was the 1983 *Realising the Potential of the South Wales Valleys*,[27] followed by the 1988 *Programmes for the Valleys*.[28] Within such documents ideas were developed to utilise 'national heritage' for tourism purposes, which led to the consideration of more diverse tourism forms, including that of industrial heritage tourism. In recent years, the advantages of heritage tourism-led regeneration and conservation have been much more comprehensively accepted and adopted on an international scale. Some current examples of Welsh policy/initiative addressing heritage tourism are noted in the footnote below.[29] In addition, specific best-practice organisations and bodies have also assisted in influencing and developing this area. Arguably, the most influential bodies for the conservation and development of industrial heritage are ICOMOS (the International Council on Monuments and Sites) and TICCIH (The International Committee for the Conservation of Industrial Heritage). This is linked to their important role of advising UNESCO with respect to the conservation of global heritage sites and their socio-economic importance. For the Lower Swansea Valley, it is suggested that with reference to recent regeneration project work on the site, that this has been positively influenced from 'raised' recognition of heritage tourism led regeneration on both a national and international level.

Since 2010, key areas in the Lower Swansea Valley, including Hafod, Landore and Morfa, have again attracted much recognition and support, and become central to a number of extensively funded national and European heritage-based regeneration projects led by Swansea

University. Of particular note is the fact that such projects are very time-pertinent, since it is now 200 years since the founding of the Lower Swansea Valley copper works, and 50 years on since the original Lower Swansea Valley Project was begun. Examples of project work since 2010 have included History, Heritage and Urban Regeneration: The Global and Local World of Welsh Copper, the Arts and Humanities Research Council's Connected Communities (AHRC) Project, and the CU @ Swansea Regeneration Project.

For each of these examples, the importance of 'blending' the industrial past/heritage to achieve socio-economic and environmental regeneration has been fully understood, in contrast to the era of the Lower Swansea Valley Project. The first of the most recent projects to be undertaken in 2010, namely History, Heritage and Urban Regeneration: The Global and Local World of Welsh Copper, involved a number of key bodies, including Swansea University, the City and County of Swansea (Local Authority), Swansea's National Museum (The National Waterfront Museum) and the Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Wales. With support from Swansea's Local Authority, further research and productivity has been engaged in since 2010 at the former copper works, including the CU @ Swansea project of 2011; which has focussed on broader and more long-term regeneration projects, predicted to span over approximately 15 years at the site, and has encouraged regeneration and renovation work. Another project has been the AHRC's Connected Communities research activity (2012–), which in the case of Swansea strives to assist community-led research and engagement.

The Local Authority in Swansea has been encouraging of such project work, and is keen to utilise a range of resources to further assist the development of the Lower Swansea Valley. To differentiate new work from former regeneration work at the site, current project aims are to 'blend' old and new developments, advocating a heritage tourism and leisure-led approach and therefore encouraging positive socio-economic and environmental impacts. However, whilst today the value and worth of heritage-led regeneration is appreciated, those working on the current projects in the Lower Swansea Valley recognise that the latter is *not* a panacea for all socio-economic issues in the Valley, although it is believed that it could assist in addressing them. Primary intentions, therefore, are to utilise heritage tourism regeneration as a 'strategic' option. Current projects are striving to develop the positive values of education, history, heritage, community and tourism on-site, and the long-term aim is to achieve a living-history laboratory that can be absorbed by locals and the wider community: 'The plan in the long term is for a mixed use, heritage led destination on (the Hafod) site, that will become a key feature of Swansea's cultural and educational tourism offer'.[30] So far, interim outcomes of current projects suggest that they are making progress in achieving the above aim.

As part of the regeneration aspects of the CU @ Swansea project, a great deal of work has been carried out on a 12.5-acre site, part of the former Hafod/Morfa copper works. Such work has demonstrated social benefits for both locals and visitors, and has also achieved positive environmental impacts in the restoration of many of the Grade II-listed copper artefacts and structures. As evidenced from the project proposal literature, the overarching aim of the CU @ Swansea project is to 'realise a joint vision', not only linked to the aims and objectives of stakeholders, but also specifically from the perspective of the local surrounding communities.[31] Research activities have strived to maintain a 'people focus', encouraged through community engagement meetings, volunteer work requests and school liaisons: 'The site was once at the cutting edge of industrial technology, and we want it to be a powerhouse of innovation. Again, a place for people, for training, for new businesses and skills—a place of opportunity for the community'.[32]

Whilst the former copper works site in Swansea is important for the local community to raise morale and historic interest, the need for a wider tourism audience should also be recognised. This is related to the potential benefits associated with the generation of tourism spend and potential investment.[33] In terms of the current ongoing projects it is evident that consideration has been given to both the local and to a wider 'visitor' community, as several innovative forms of heritage interpretation have been developed, including that of a 'people's story'. Further examples of innovation include digitised interpretation and the bringing to life of the copper-smelting past through 'a buzz of animation', all of which has been used to tell the story of Swansea's copper-related industrial heritage.[34] Stories of history, geography, architecture, natural history, event politics and social movement have been effectively promoted through the site in various forms. Such interpretation is believed by stakeholders to have created a positive 'cultural playground', described by some as a 'meeting room and community classroom environment […]. Meandering walks [are] brought to life through the addition of audio and visual historical narratives and information points nurturing visitor exploration'.[35] Physical work carried out as part of the CU @ Swansea project has also addressed significant regeneration and development, including (1) land clearance, (2) conservation and renovation work, (3) archaeological and historical interpretation, (4) cultural events and (5) the introduction of generic leisure and recreation on the site, such as biking, walking and boating trails. Current projects have assisted in reinforcing the Lower Swansea Valley's local community history, natural geography and former industries, and arguably complemented the earlier regeneration work of the Lower Swansea Valley Project.

Further positive action linked to the current projects has involved working with local schools, businesses and diverse community groups, largely enabled through the successful Connected Communities project. In an attempt to avoid apathy in the local area, current projects are striving to engage with their communities for both direct and indirect benefits. To encourage sustainable development, ideas[36] are regularly posted for public consultation: 'People, places and profitability all have to work together in regeneration'.[37] In the main, current projects have recorded positive levels of community-based involvement. Tangible evidence of this can be seen from public engagement in the Lower Swansea Valley's Connected Communities Project, and also from the recorded visitor figures to the copperworks, as well as numbers attending specific copper-related events. The most notable of these figures have included 100,000 visitors to the World of Welsh Copper Exhibition in 2011, over a two-month period,[38] 2700 people attending a one-day city-wide copper event in 2011, and 7128 attending the Living History Festival on the site of the copper works in 2014.[39]

With respect to the local and wider community in the Lower Swansea Valley, it is argued that the raised profile of the former works has encouraged further independent interest in the valley. For example, in recent years local schools have directly related the national teaching curriculum to local history, and have received national funding to address this. Indeed, one particular school, Hafod Primary, has utilised Heritage Lottery Funding to create a memorial historic artwork outlining the area's rich industrial past.[40] In addition, Swansea's premiership football team (based directly opposite the former copper works in the Lower Swansea Valley) has inspired global media recognition for Swansea's copper past with their recent change, in acknowledgement of their local industrial heritage, to a copper-coloured kit.[41] Other examples of the region's higher profile include an increase in positive media coverage showcasing the Lower Swansea Valley and its rich industrial heritage, with regional and national television channels such as S4C and Channel 4 taking an increasing interest.

The Lower Swansea Valley and Its Future

From the early 1960s to today, various regeneration projects have assisted in positively developing the Lower Swansea Valley. Renewal and regeneration activities which are presently enabling this are those that have blended heritage, leisure, tourism, retail and accommodation. Recent regeneration work has been careful not to dismiss the area's rich industrial heritage; this has included the development of a dedicated residential 'Copper Quarter', in addition to the recent naming of the new River Tawe cruise boat, 'Copper Jack', which navigates from Swansea Marina to the old Hafod/Morfa copper works, and the specific development of industrial heritage-based tourism.[42] With development work ongoing it is predicted that greater socio-economic and environmental positive impacts will also be realised.

With the Lower Swansea Valley's rich global history and with the help of continued governmental and non-governmental support, it is argued that this site has the potential for future world heritage site designation. Currently, Wales has two industrial heritage sites recognised by UNESCO, namely Pontcysyllte Aqueduct and Canal, and the Blaenavon Industrial Landscape, and there are strong hopes that Wales might gain a well-deserved third site in the form of the Lower Swansea Valley.[43] If achieved, this would certainly accentuate the levels of positive impact from the site for future generations and realise the potential for the Swansea Valley to be an area as important in the twenty-first century as it was during the Industrial Revolution.

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CHAPTER 8

Rural Heritage and Tourism in Ireland: A Co. Mayo Case Study

Catherine Kelly

Introduction

Much of Ireland's heritage is by default a rural one, and tourism is a mainstay of many rural livelihoods. This chapter examines constructs of rural heritage and rural tourism in Ireland generally, but with a particular emphasis on the western seaboard county of Mayo. A typological framework of heritage tourism will be presented in the form of selected case studies: Neolithic rural heritage tourism is presented via the site of the Céide Fields; intangible rural heritage is assessed via the town of Westport in a section which examines music, festivals, the arts and Croagh Patrick as sites for tourism engagement; a section on natural rural heritage examines Ballycroy National Park; and a final section evaluates how the Museum of Country Life interprets and presents themes of rural heritage more formally to visitors, as a key national cultural institution located in the West of Ireland. There follows a narrative on how differing forms of the rural (landscape, society, performance and culture) are commodified in heritage tourism contexts across the county. A case-study approach allows readers of this text to access short examples set within a definitional and analytical framework.

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Rural Heritage

Heritage is a much-debated concept, with authors eliciting variable emphases on the built, the natural or the intangible aspects of what this might mean. As Lowenthal has suggested, heritage can be considered simply as everything we have been handed down from the past.[1] UNESCO refers to the heterogeneity of cultural, natural and intangible heritage, whilst Graham et al. note that cultural representations of heritage, identity and place are produced and consumed by a multiplicity of groups, even within the same bounded space.[2] These groups may be differentially identifying members of that space, or indeed, tourists from different parts of the world, each with preconceived expectations of 'Irish rural heritage' and variable personal cultural capital with which to engage with these constructs. The very idea of 'heritage' can suggest a plethora of themes, research ideas and responses: for example, heritage, memory and identity; personal and public histories—the 'presentation of the past', the communication of heritage, 'creating' place identities; museums, heritage and tourism sites as well as natural landscapes in the *representation* of national identity; heritage and race, plural and multicultural heritage; the heritage of excluded groups/others; religion and contested heritage; and postcolonial heritage.[3] All of these are relevant to any examination of heritage in Ireland and how it might be produced for and consumed by tourists.

Rural heritage exploration has tended to focus mainly on the intangible nature of cultural traditions, music, folklore, folk life, and to a lesser extent rural vernacular architecture. Embedded in narratives of the pastoral, the idea of rural heritage has often been presented as idyllic, apolitical, simplistic, 'honest' and authentic in written and visual media, and through its presentation in tourist attractions. Contemporary deconstructions of the rural by geographers and sociologists, including, amongst others, Cloke,[4] Smith[5] and Hubbard,[6] have critiqued such ideas and examined the social and political impacts of generalising about the 'rural good' versus the urban malaise. Rural legacies of the past in Western Europe contain many complex stories of poverty, class inequality, land wars, hidden social problems and economic struggle that are often glossed over in the portrayal of beautiful landscapes in nature-led narratives for tourist brochure consumption. This prioritization of landscape, scenery and nature as rural heritage products is symptomatic of tourism's process of selectivity and simplification for consumer markets. Simply put, rural tourism can be defined as a form of tourism that promotes the attractiveness of the natural and cultural resources of the countryside.[7]

Emerging forms of research into rural tourism explore the more abstract concept of rural tourism sites, for example as places for spiritual experiences, presenting an intangible, emotional geography of tourism.[8] Rural heritage must also be regarded as a form of cultural production with a fundamental role in maintaining national solidarity, beyond its touristic functionality. Further arguments can be made for the importance of heritage tourism as a symbolic mechanism through which national belonging can be reconstructed and communicated.[9] The concept of Ireland as a 'rural nation' is still strongly embedded, arguably in the personal and collective stories of many, despite the contemporary concentration of the populace in urban centres. Indeed, in the West of Ireland rural tourism and heritage/cultural tourism are all important aspects of Irish domestic tourism, not just for overseas visitors. Rural heritage tourism therefore offers a wide-ranging set of traits, meanings and engagements to a broad set of audiences and stakeholders.

Heritage, Tourism and Identity

In Ireland, characteristics of nature, wildness, emptiness and agrarian landscapes play an important part in both the national psyche and the tourist product. Research has analysed the postcolonial imagery and reimagining of 'the West' as a complex space presented differentially by a variety of actors, for different purposes over time.[10] With comparatively few urban centres and a non-industrial past, compared to Great Britain and other European countries, Ireland has a population very closely tied to its rural roots, and therefore arguably, its rural heritage. But what does this rural heritage mean and represent? Is it defined by tales of grandparents who farmed the land, relatives who emigrated for economic opportunities, visits to home-stays or the coast for summer holidays, pilgrimages to rural sites or does it, perhaps signify a place to be ashamed of as backward, small-minded and parochial? Perhaps all of these hold some truths, but the complexity of what a rural identity and a rural heritage means to the Irish themselves is further complicated by examining the way in which parts of this rural heritage are extracted and presented for tourists.

Heritage tourism, argues Nuala Johnson, is not just a set of commercial transactions but the ideological framing of history and identity.[11] As such, it is therefore a loaded process, with implicit cultural responsibilities beyond the economic. Ireland is only one space in an increasing number of global zones of conflict where concepts of heritage and national cultural identity have become fragmented, blurred and often violently challenged. As tourism increasingly seeks out cultural products, with the growth of cultural-heritage tourism, the politics of representation 'for-self' (local/national communities as part of identity-building), versus 'for-others' (tourists, as part of entertainment/visitation), becomes much more loaded. The importance of heritage as an economic resource ripe for exploitation must be acknowledged, but it is also used to help define the meanings of culture and power, giving it a vital sociopolitical function.[12] In Ireland, where a border separates the island into two nation states, there is an added complexity to the concept of heritage tourism, in terms of whose heritage is being portrayed, and how.

Notions of authenticity and commodification have been well documented in the tourism literature and beyond. Seminal works by Dean Mac Cannell[13] and Erik Cohen[14] on 'staged authenticity' are appropriate in many Irish tourism offerings, where red-haired Irish dancers in full costume vie for attention amongst souvenir shops offering plastic leprechauns, woolly sheep and shamrock key rings. Despite the tongue-in-cheek nature of many Irish tourism products, a wave of Celtic revivalism in the 1990s saw the exposure of Irish dance, music, art and literature to a wider international audience than ever before, which enhanced visitor numbers in turn. Much of today's heritage tourism product depends on the staging or recreation of ethnic or cultural traditions, but perceived authenticity is not always central to tourists' satisfaction with their consumption of cultural experiences and products.[15] The heritage industry has been criticized for presenting tourist-friendly sanitized versions of the past, but some sites have taken on the complexity of dealing with, for example, postcolonial stories, situating interpretation in local spatial contexts whilst connecting to wider national and global geographies.

Of importance here is the manner in which rural and heritage resources become changed through the medium of tourism. Commodification is a term used to describe how heritage is utilized as a commercial product and mass-produced, often at the cost of authenticity. Heritage can be thought of in terms of a spectrum, at one end with its own intrinsic cultural value, where it matters to individuals, communities and nations, for its own sake; at the other end, it be seen to have a utilitarian, or economic use value. It can therefore be manipulated and selected as a 'product' which can be presented, interpreted and sold or consumed physically or psychologically. The tourism sector is central in this process of commodification (although reference has been made in the literature to the 'heritage industry' itself, referring to the widest possible scope of agencies and activities involved in commodification). The exploitation of particular resources for the creation of heritage inevitably affects the nature of these resources, leading to fears that they will be subject to damage, distortion or just depletion. There are, however, both positive and negative aspects to tourism's engagement with heritage[16] and in some cases outsider value or concern can help promote local pride or conservation attitudinal change.[17] The case study examples that follow encapsulate a range of these impacts: positive conservation in the case of Ballycroy National Park and the Céide Fields; local pride, in the selection of a Mayo village for a national museum portraying rural heritage; and, perhaps, some of the more commodified inauthenticity of certain tourist shops in Westport.

Tourism Trends

Heritage and cultural tourism are a central part of the Irish tourism offering and this is even more important given that Ireland has a widespread diaspora in North America, the UK and Australia. In addition, VFR (Visiting Friends and Relatives) tourism is important to the tourism economy. The demographic history of the Irish population is such that many heritage and VFR tourists will be drawn to rural areas. VFR tourists have a unique understanding, appreciation and outlook on Ireland that other tourists may not have. Diaspora tourism has been further identified as a form of travel that is undertaken, by those that are part of a diasporic community, to their original homeland.[18] They negotiate the duality of their homeland and their host country and utilize tourism as a way to maintain their connections with the former, and to reaffirm their belonging whilst also creating a new life in their new country. Diaspora tourism allows individuals to participate in travel to their homeland to discover the imagined and actual histories of the group and the home they come from. It may act as a mechanism for those migrants trying to adapt to their new lifestyle and their new identity, but also as a way to reinforce a form of cultural continuity with the homeland.[19] As such, tourism arguably takes on the role of cultural reproduction within the wider global processes of migration and transnationalism. Both heritage and 'the rural' are important constructs of homeland diaspora tourism.

The current Irish tourism policy, drawn up by Fáilte Ireland (the tourism authority in the Republic of Ireland), shows visitor numbers to Ireland in 2014 were estimated at 7.1 million, with the UK, Europe and North

America ranked first, second and third as places of origin.[20] The same report noted that tourism spending was worth over €6 billion to the economy in 2013. Target market segments were labelled as ‘great escapers’ (those motivated by scenery, adventure and nature) and the ‘culturally curious’ (independent thinkers with a craving for culture and history who are also keen to explore new landscapes). Of the activities recorded in 2014, almost 750,000 visitors went hiking or hillwalking, 3.5 million visited a cultural or historic attraction and 1.5 million visited a garden site. Building upon the natural and the cultural is an apt strategy, therefore, in Irish tourism policy moving forward. This is also borne out by research into why tourists come to Ireland. In a 2014 port survey examining the motivations of tourists to Ireland, Fáilte Ireland found the following motivational criteria to be of importance (Table 8.1).

It is clear that both the rural and heritage play important roles in the Irish tourism offering. The complexity of heritage and tourism as sometimes complementary, sometimes conflicting bedfellows has been noted often in the literature by authors such as Duffy,[21] McManus[22] and Boyd.[23] These are assessed within the context of rurality next, through chosen case study examples of rural heritage in County Mayo, on the Irish west coast. The largest of the five counties in the province of Connaught, Mayo has a lengthy coastline a number of islands, and an economy dependent largely on farming, fisheries and tourism. In 2013, Mayo attracted almost a quarter of a million overseas visitors, the majority of whom came from mainland Europe and who contributed €60 million revenue to the local economy. Germans were ranked first amongst European visitors, although a further 373,000 domestic tourists also visited the county and added €94 million to the economy. After Dublin, Cork and Galway, County Mayo was the sixth most visited destination by overseas tourists.[24] Mayo’s scen-

Table 8.1 Motivations of overseas visitors to Ireland (%)

Friendliness	95
Scenery	90
Natural attractions	87
Interesting history and culture	87
Natural unspoilt environment	85

Source: Adapted from Fáilte Ireland Port Survey of Overseas Visitors (2014) (Dublin: Ireland) ery is wild, rugged and beautiful on an aesthetic level, and its cultural heritage ranges widely from ancient settlements, Famine history and legacies, farming traditions, rich musical and literary prowess, to the architecture of historic houses and well-kept townscapes. Here a cross-section of different case studies is offered in order to convey the diversity of rural heritage tourism in Mayo. The rural heritage framework for this discussion uses UNESCO's classification of cultural, natural and intangible heritage and so examines: an important cultural attraction (defined as an archaeological or natural heritage site); a remote national park; intangible heritage in a key tourism town in rural Mayo; and finally a national cultural institution that specifically portrays rural heritage to diverse audiences. As with any examination of rural or heritage tourism, critiques can vary, depending on whether perspectives are focused on production/consumption or are policy-framework led.

Neolithic Heritage Tourism: The Céide Fields

Neolithic sites, as part of the archaeological heritage of Ireland, form an important role not just as cultural tourism sites, but also in the national iconography of Irish identity.[25] Prehistoric heritage such as that at the Céide Fields has been successfully, if selectively, appropriated as stable and continuous, showing a lengthy Neolithic lineage dating back thousands of years. Such nationalist archaeology serves an important function in bolstering pride and morale in past cultural achievements, and this narrative is equally important in the framing of 'spectacular' tourism language and imagery. Overseas visitors to Ireland are particularly attracted by the long sense of history that Ireland has to offer; archaeological heritage tourism is an area of importance where potential arguably has not yet been fully reached.

The Céide Fields is an impressive but remote coastal site that comprises a Neolithic landscape consisting of megalithic burial monuments, dwelling houses and enclosures within an integrated system of stone walls, all of which are spread over 12 square kilometres in north Mayo. Many of its features are preserved intact beneath blanket peat that is over 4 metres deep in places. The significance of the site lies in the fact that it is the most extensive Stone Age monument in the world and the oldest enclosed landscape in Europe. The blanket bog landscape is of immense importance for its natural habitat value as well as for its illustration of environmental and climate history. The Céide Fields were constructed around 5700 years ago by Neolithic farmers and the site is a key tourist attraction in the remote rural area of north Mayo. The site is largely untouched, apart from an architect-designed visitor centre, and all visitors make use of local oral guides for the specialist interpretation needed. The Céide Fields has been placed on the tentative list of UNESCO's World Heritage Sites, which, if accepted, should further boost visitor numbers from the current annual figures that range from 25 to 29,000 per annum.[26] A recent innovative initiative by the Irish tourist board involved the creation of the 'Wild Atlantic Way', a conceptual trail along the western seaboard from the north-west to the south-west of Ireland. Remote sites such as the Céide Fields are actively promoted as part of the narrative of the 'wild', the 'unspoilt', the 'unique' and 'the spectacular'. The hidden or less visited places of the Atlantic coast are therefore actively promoted under a collective marketing brand that encourages visitors to look beneath the surface and explore new places, and reflects an interesting approach that should bode well for the more rural and niche tourism offerings of County Mayo.

Intangible Heritage Tourism: Westport and Its Hinterland

The town of Westport is a popular tourism destination for both Irish domestic visitors and overseas tourists. It is known for its festivals, as well as its Georgian and vernacular architecture. A frequent national 'tidy towns' competition winner, it hosts a range of independent local shops, pubs restaurants and hotels, and has the pilgrim mountain of Croagh Patrick and island-strewn Clew Bay within easy reach. Authors such as O'Connor,[27] Kneafsey[28] and Quinn[29] variously portray useful case-study examples of heritage-tourism interrelationships though Irish dance, traditional music, and the growth of festivals respectively. The 'performance of heritage' is an integral part of popular interpretations of heritage in postmodern Irish society, and Westport offers a range of intangible heritage experiences through all of these media. The experience economy also encapsulates a market need for tourism beyond traditional consumption, and this narrative of the West of Ireland, as a place of myth, music, nature, good food, traditional music and engagement with locals, forms an important part of Westport's offering.[30]

Stanca further suggests that icons of Irish cultural heritage and tourism (she notes films, music, dance, Irish pubs and Celtic souvenirs amongst others) serve important functions for identity maintenance for the Irish abroad (and therefore also for international visitors).[31] Kneafsey also examined the role of music and culture in informal spaces (pubs) and their role in cultural tourism experiences in Mayo and found a complex set of interrelationships between local identity, heritage resource commodification and cultural practices.[32] Although there was evidence of touristification, there was also evidence of identity preservation as resistance to potentially homogenising global processes. Intangibility, performativity, consumption and heritage production are complex interrelated processes for both local and visitor.

Natural Landscape Heritage Tourism: Ballycroy National Park

One of only six national parks in Ireland, Ballycroy was designated in 1998 and is managed by the National Parks and Wildlife Service, part of the Irish government Department of Arts, Heritage and the Gaeltacht. Its annual visitor numbers are low (varying between 16,000 and 18,000 approximately per annum in the past three years—compared to 170,000 at Connemara National Park in the same province), given its remote location.[33] Ballycroy National Park does however hold an important role in the preservation of the wild natural heritage of Mayo. It is comprised of 11,000 hectares of Atlantic blanket bog and mountainous terrain, covering a vast uninhabited and unspoilt wilderness dominated by the Nephin Beg mountain range; it is one of the truly wild places left in Western Europe. The park is also home to one of the last intact active blanket bog systems in Ireland/Europe, which is an important scientific and scenic feature. Further, it protects a variety of other important habitats and species, including alpine heath and upland grassland, as well as lakes and river catchments. Greenland white-fronted geese, golden plover, red grouse and otters are just some of the important fauna found within the Park. The National Park is itself part of the Owenduff/Nephin Complex Special Area of Conservation (SAC) and Special Protection Area (SPA). These European designations are part of the Natura 2000 Network, which protects rare and important habitats and species under the EU Habitats and Birds Directives.[34] There is, as yet unrealized, rural/nature-based ecotourism potential in the Ballycroy region. A visitor centre at the site acts as a conduit for visitors and educational groups but the costs of maintaining this along with paid staff is a challenge, given the low visitor numbers.

Daugstad explores the idea of multi-sensing in landscape explorations for rural tourism purposes, a move or reorientation away from the passive 'spectacularization' of nature.[35] In this part of rural Mayo, landscape is very much part of the visual gaze of the tourist, and nature itself is a key element in place consumption. In traditional constructs of rural tourism, landscape is often implicitly portrayed as an object; connotations of mastery versus engagement and doing rather than being are promoted. Daugstad's ideas around sensescapes are interesting in their reimagining of new engagements and promotions of wild landscapes in Mayo. Smell, sound, touch, taste and the body are key facets of eliciting emotional responses to landscape in tourist encounters and experiences. Consider a move away from the traditional visual engagement, to the non-visual; encourage tourists to consider 'the feel of a place', the wind, the air, the elements, as a mode of emotional connection with wild landscape. In addition, rural tourists can gain deeper personal experiences of remote rural places through tasting local produce, traditional heritage dishes or recipes or hearing stories of the landscape by local residents. Sound or the lack of (urban) sound can be promoted as a sensory experience of peace, of quiet and stillness, thereby adding more to the landscape experience than the visual alone. Reframing quiet, wild places like this remote national park is an underestimated possibility that looks beyond the object, beyond the attraction or the 'service' in traditional touristic analyses. New ways of 'thinking landscape' are pertinent in order to support financial viability as well as environmental sustainability in north Mayo.

Interpreting Cultural Heritage for Tourism: The Museum of Country Life

The National Museum of Ireland: Country Life, was designated in 2001 and is located in the tiny Mayo village of Turlough. It represents a courageous move by the National Museum of Ireland, the regionalization/decentralization of a major cultural organization. More importantly, it tells the story of everyday life and traditions in rural Ireland and as such is an important repository as an archive as well as a tourist attraction. Its interpretive themes portray the way of life of rural Irish people between 1850 and 1950, and it offers displays about the home, the natural environment, trades and crafts, communities and working on the land and water. Methods of engagement include audiovisual materials, interactive displays and authentic artefacts from farming and fishing life across the centuries. The museum holds an important educational and cultural role in the wider hinterland and therefore is a good, but rare, rural example of a public sector space that performs multifunctional roles with tourism at its core. Its annual visitor numbers were 109,000 in 2014.[36]

Museums and heritage centres are concerned with presenting elements of national cultures to their audiences and, therefore, make value judgements concerning the selection, interpretation and representation of the past. This in itself is a complex process, which becomes even more difficult in spaces of contested heritage and multiple possible representations. Selective commodification of heritage by the tourism industry adds further complexity. Given the breadth of meaning and conceptualization involved in the term 'heritage', the task of bringing (rural) heritage to an audience, be it domestic or overseas, is enormously challenging. Not all heritage, not all stories and not all perspectives can be adequately displayed or told. Where heritage is engaged with in public spaces, such as this museum, a process is undertaken by those charged with it, to *select, interpret and present* that rural heritage. This process involves a commodification of the past, of objects and events, in such a way that interest is raised. In some instances, that 'interest' has related profit-driven objectives (for example, the economic viability of the site), and as such, must therefore ensure that visitors are engaged, entertained and satisfied.

Ashworth and Larkham argue that in this very process the heritage commodity becomes a product which can be *used* by consumers/visitors and which therefore contains particular messages.[37] 'These messages stem from the conscious choices of resources', they suggest, from 'products and packaging, which are performed on the basis of sets of subjective values, consciously or not, of those exercising these choices'.[38] Visitors engaging with rural or 'country life' displays at the museum may critique their content as authentic, nostalgic or with other descriptors, according to their own personal knowledge base. As Hooper-Greenhill observes, the ways in which heritage objects are selected, put together and written or spoken about, have particular effects.[39] However, these effects are not those of the objects per se; rather it is the use made of these objects and interpretive frameworks that tends to open up or close down historical, social and cultural possibilities. Whether this is an appropriate expectation for rural cultural sites, many with largely tourism-driven motives, remains problematic.

Conclusion

Overall, Mayo has achieved a relatively good balance, arguably, between conservation-led natural rural heritage tourism, heritage tourism sites that portray ancient and more recent rural pasts and contemporary heritage offerings of music, literature, food and culture. This diversity appeals to different market segments and is important in the long-term viability of the collective offering at a county level. Heritage as a form or expression of national and cultural identity is something to be nurtured and cherished, whilst the essence of such heritage forms a major part of how the rural tourism sector portrays Ireland and Irishness to others. The Irish landscape is, in essence, a bridging concept, combining materiality and representations of Irishness, constructed visuality as well as touristic activity. Maintaining an awareness of the nuances of delicately balancing these variable factors is crucial as we move forward. Ireland's economic and cultural structure is firmly embedded in aspects of both rural heritage and tourism. Their interconnectedness, meaning, utilization and management need a sound multi-perspective understanding and structures to be in place, especially if heritage and tourism are to achieve the dual aspirations of future prosperity and authenticity for the county.

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CHAPTER 9

Interpreting Cultural Landscapes in the North York Moors

Simon Woodward and Sarah Oswald

Introduction

This chapter explores the role of interpretation as a tool for promoting public understanding of the landscape, focusing particularly on a relict industrial landscape in the North York Moors National Park, England. Following an examination of what we mean by landscape, and the challenges that the diverse views of what is important in a landscape can bring to a protected area, we explore the various outcomes that interpretation can deliver when implemented in protected areas and other landscape settings. A detailed case study of the This Exploited Land (TEL) interpretation project from the North York Moors National Park provides an opportunity to explore some of these issues in more detail. Our chapter concludes with some remarks on how interpretation can be used to not only add value to a visitor's experience of landscape, but also meet operational objectives associated with resource management and public engagement with heritage.

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What Is 'Landscape'?

Landscape as a concept is a favoured topic of many disciplines, including anthropology, art history, ecology, ethno-botany, social geography and geology. In an editorial for *Landscape and Environmental Planning*, Gobster and Xiang[1] provide a useful summary of three main themes that can be found when seeking definitions of 'what is landscape':

- Scenery within a view
- The organisation of spatial patterns that influence ecosystem processes
- The nexus between culture and nature

It is this final condition that is most relevant to this chapter, as it allows us to explore how the natural world has been shaped by human intervention; how we transform the world around us as both producers and consumers.

Four decades ago Edward Relph first presented his ideas about the 'lived-world' and how people experienced place in the second half of the twentieth century, especially as society was becoming much more mobile, particularly in terms of leisure behaviour.[2] Relph was particularly interested in the nature and identity of places, and the identification of people *with* places. Since then, the complexities of how landscapes can be viewed, assessed and interpreted have been explored through a range of lenses including humanistic, political (particularly Marxist), postmodernist and rationalist perspectives.[3] Nonetheless, some 40 years after its publication, Relph's suggestion that the identity of place is comprised of three interrelated components—physical features or appearance, observable activities, and functions and meanings or symbols—still provides a useful framework around which to examine how visitors to protected landscapes, such as the North York Moors, experience their surroundings. We would like to add to Relph's trilogy the idea of 'cognitive landscapes'—that is, landscapes that can be understood in a multiplicity of ways as a result of different human perceptions of place, and what the latter means to an individual observer or group. As Antrop suggests, most people experience landscapes in a holistic way, interpreting or 'reading' the landscape within their own cultural context.[4] Thus, whilst the physical features of a landscape, and the activities that can be observed within it, may appear on the surface to be similar for any observer, the third component of meaning is likely to differ considerably depending on the visitor's familiarity with the place in question, their current and past relationship(s) with the place and their particular sources of reference.[5] In essence, we are dealing with what Garden[6] refers to as 'heritagescape'—the landscape as a cultural construct; a place that is both tangible and intangible or, as Relph suggested, a bounded physical space that can be easily demarcated on the ground, but which at the same time is a cultural construct full of meaning and symbolism.[7] Thus, it is useful to consider how different layers and meanings of a cultural landscape such as a protected area are communicated to visitors via different interpretive media at a time when leisure use of the countryside is increasing, yet operational budgets for protected area managers are reducing.[8]

Interpretation and Its Uses

Freeman Tilden, one of the founders of modern heritage interpretation, defined interpretation as 'an educational activity which aims to reveal meaning and relationships through the use of original objects, by first-hand experience, and by illustrative media, rather than simply to communicate factual information'.[9] Indeed, interpretation has long been acknowledged as a tool for promoting greater awareness and understanding of heritage, including the world around us and its meanings to different audiences, and has prompted Stewart to suggest that 'Interpretation, either explicitly or implicitly, aims to stimulate, facilitate and extend people's understanding of place so that empathy towards heritage, conservation, culture and landscape can be developed'.[10] Interpretation is therefore the art of presenting the significance of a building, place, object or activity to its users and to visitors as well as to others who are interested in it; though the validity of the instrumental use of interpretation as a management tool has been questioned by Russell Staiff, who suggests that it is inappropriate to employ interpretation to change attitudes and behaviour.[11] Interpretation is different from presentation, a phrase that is popular in archaeological circles in particular, and which tends to cover broader aspects, such as providing routes to particular parts of a site or building, decisions on what kind of infrastructure to provide and where to put it, and indeed establishing what aspects or parts of the heritage asset are to be made accessible at all. Interpretation is very much about communication—the idea being to engage visitors or viewers' minds creatively, giving them the opportunity to have an informed, emotional response to the site or object in question so that they can better understand its significance or values. There have been recent academic critiques of Tilden's philosophical approach to interpretation, most notably by Staiff, who argues that Tilden 'assumes ignorance on the part of heritage visitors' and that his preferred approach to delivering interpretation at heritage sites perpetuates a hierarchical relationship between the expert and the non-expert, between those assumed to be with knowledge and those assumed to be without knowledge.[12] Nonetheless, most interpretation practitioners active in the UK remain wedded to Tilden's core ideology of using a broad range of media to convey a prescribed message to one or more audiences.

Different authors provide differing opinions of what interpretation is actually for, or what it can be used for. For instance, Uzzell suggests that interpretation can be put to four uses.[13]

- Interpretation as 'soft' visitor management (raising awareness, increasing understanding)
- Interpretation as 'hard' visitor management (guiding or directing visitors around a site)
- Interpretation as propaganda (promoting the values of a particular site or activity)
- Interpretation as a value-added element of the tourism industry (where interpretation is used to create a heritage product—possibly an event, temporary or permanent attraction)

Another view on the functions of national park interpretation in particular is provided by Hwang, Lee and Chen, who suggest that interpretation should explain the services that are being provided, including the ecosystem of the area, as well as draw attention to management regulations.[14] This view is further developed by Benton, who argues that interpretation in general should perform two main functions: convey resource management topics and, what is in his view its seminal goal, connect visitors to natural and cultural heritage.[15] To do this, Benton argues there are four key aspects to good interpretation: connecting visitors to resources, conveying agency mission and influencing behaviour, encouraging environmental literacy and generally promoting tourism outcomes. For the purposes of this paper, Uzzell's four functions of interpretation provide a useful structure around which to explore its use in protected areas and cultural landscapes.

Soft and Hard Visitor Management

Achieving site management objectives through interpretation is particularly important at fragile cultural and natural heritage sites, as visitors need to be aware why they are being asked to behave in a certain way. Careful placing of interpretive panels and the use of guided trails or routes can direct visitors to locations where site managers wish visitors to spend time, and sometimes away from more fragile locations. Guided walks are another popular interpretive technique that have the flexibility to direct visitors towards particular locations, as well as offering the additional benefits of creating employment opportunities in rural areas, and thereby avoiding the need for expensive investment in supporting infrastructure. How visitors to natural areas react to the scale of interpretation provision designed to achieve management objectives is addressed by Hughes and Morrison-Saunders, who are interested to see whether visitors at sites that are intensively interpreted gain a better understanding of the site than those at sites where interpretation is relatively modest in scale.[16] They found that the intensity of interpretation did not appear to affect visitors' perceptions or influence their attitudes towards a site, and that the nature of the site itself and the profile of the visitor were far more important. This, they suggest, can present challenges to site managers who wish to put across a strong conservation message, particularly where the conservation imperative is relatively recent and there is a strong tradition of visiting the site anyway; repeat visitors are less responsive to new interpretive messages than one-off or first-time visitors.

Interpretation as Propaganda

The propaganda angle is interesting as it relates to Smith's concept of Authorised Heritage Discourse (AHD), whereby those in authority determine what is and what is not protected, conserved and presented for public consumption.[17] There can be tension when there are multiple opinions of what is valued at a site, with different stakeholders valuing the location in different ways and wishing to see different aspects of their 'heritage' given primacy. Where industrial heritage is concerned, as in the case study discussed later in this chapter, there can be an additional challenge as to which aspect of an industrial legacy is interpreted. For instance, Shackel and Palus argue that there is often a political agenda to remembering, celebrating and interpreting industrial landscapes and that 'often, when under the control of government agencies the story of labor is overshadowed by the benefits of industrial and engineering feats'.[18] We return to this point in the case study.

Adding Value

The final of Uzzell's four functions for interpretation is to add value to the visitor product. In other words, there may be occasions when there is a need to augment what already exists in order to attract and satisfy visitors. This is particularly the case where interpretive provision is seen essentially as part of a destination's tourism product. Examples might include the provision of immersive experience visitor centres that offer an immersive and stand-alone experience, or holding costumed re-enactments that are events in their own right.[19] When thinking about the challenges of using interpretation to add value to the visitor experience, West and Ndlovu make the interesting point that interpretation of the landscape is particularly challenging in contexts where there is little or no continuity of community understanding, in other words where there are generational gaps between those who 'created' a cultural landscape and those coming later to explore it from a leisure perspective.[20] This is particularly the case in the West, they argue, and conceivably will be the case with the post-industrial landscapes of the North York Moors that are the subject of the TEL initiative. How does one add value when there is a generational disconnect between those who created the observed landscape and those who are consuming it?

Interpretation in National Parks

The key to successful interpretation is in responding sensitively to the needs of the audience, the 'sense of place' in which the interpretation will be used, and the significance of the site. Good interpretation enhances a visit and in no way detracts from the experience. Most importantly, good interpretation stimulates a genuine response from its users, whereby they value the site or resource once they know more about it. Excellent interpretation succeeds in inspiring visitors to actually change their behaviour, for example by taking more care of the resource in some way—treading carefully so as not to damage plants or disturb wildlife, by making a donation towards the preservation of a building or by volunteering to guide visitors or to pick up litter. In other words, it helps with the delivery of effective 'hard' interpretation as well as adding value to the experience, although it is important to remember that interpretation must be appropriate to the target audience and their own cultural and social norms.

Tilden's proposal that only by understanding and appreciating the values embodied in heritage assets will people be prepared to engage with their conservation and protection was first made in the 1950s, but these principles remain relevant today, not just in the USA where Tilden was based, but around the world and particularly in the UK. As Bryant eloquently states, Tilden's core concept of interpretation offers 'a resounding rationale for interpretation in the service of conservation' and is particularly relevant to Britain's National Parks which, according to Bryant 'in the first years of the twenty-first century [...] were producing some radical, effective and award-winning conservation'.[21]

Established under legislation first passed in 1949 (The National Parks and Access to the Countryside Act), most of Britain's National Parks were set up in upland areas during the 1950s for the dual purposes of protecting areas of countryside deemed to be of outstanding natural beauty, and of providing recreation opportunities for the public. In the last two decades or so, more and more emphasis has been placed by the UK's National Parks on promoting a sustainable approach to tourism within their boundaries, so that the very assets that attract visitors are not threatened or even irretrievably damaged. Interpretation of sensitive landscapes, their special value and, hence the rationale for their designation as protected areas, have long been seen as tools for promoting sustainable tourism both through overt and covert means.[22] Within the UK context, Bryant suggests that 'interpretation is of demonstrable value to the national park agenda', proposing also that National Park interpreters should in fact go further than explaining *why* such landscapes have been protected; they should in fact be more proactive and raise awareness of contemporary social, political and economic issues around sustainable development, environmental protection, cultural diversity, access and inclusion.[23]

Case Study: This Exploited Land

So far we have examined the nature of interpretation and how it can be used within protected areas to address a range of management objectives, and we have also identified a number of challenges facing interpreters of cultural landscapes in protected areas including:

- How to decide what specific functions are required to achieve the interpretive provision, and whether these should follow the managerial views of Uzzell or the outcomes-based perspective of Benton

- Whether and how to mediate between multiple interpretations of the past, and between the AHD and other stakeholder perspectives
- How to ensure that interpretive provision does not detract from the broader management purpose of a protected area authority.

The remainder of this chapter explores these issues within the context of one particular interpretive project that is currently underway in northern England, and which is seeking to interpret for public enjoyment the rich industrial heritage of the North York Moors National Park.

The TEL project is a Landscape Partnership project which seeks to enable conservation of, and engagement with, the cultural and natural heritage of a landscape area within the North York Moors.[24] The North York Moors is designated as a National Park, and under the Environment Act 1995 (which revised the original National Parks legislation), must deliver against two statutory purposes for National Parks in England and Wales. These are to conserve and enhance the natural beauty, wildlife and cultural heritage, and to promote opportunities for the understanding and enjoyment of the special qualities of National Parks by the public. When National Parks carry out these purposes, they also have the duty to seek to foster the economic and social well-being of local communities within the National Parks. Partners within the TEL project include the National Park Authority, other public-sector agencies, landowning interests and a broad range of local community interest groups.

The theme of the TEL project covers the period before, during and after the industrial exploitation of mineral seams in the remote valleys of the North York Moors (from around 1830 to 1929 when the Rosedale Railway closed), and presents the story of forgotten communities to today's communities—residents of the Park itself, day visitors from surrounding areas and tourists staying locally on holiday. The project also interprets the impact that the sudden explosion of ironstone mining and railway development had on the landscape (in itself of national and international significance), and documents, conserves and protects the now fragile remains of this industrial heritage. The Landscape Partnership has three interlinked components: the conservation and preservation of key ironstone mining and ironworks sites; the conservation and enhancement of the natural environment in which the ironstone industry was located; and the interpretation of the story for the benefit of the Park's communities and visitors.

Geographically, the Landscape Partnership covers an arc from Goathland in the east, following Stephenson's original rail route north to Grosmont, then westwards along the Esk Valley to Kildale, finally crossing the Moors south-eastwards to reach Rosedale (Fig. 9.1).

Within this 200-square kilometre area there are a number of important built heritage sites, including the visually dramatic calcining kilns and iron mines at Rosedale Bank Top and Rosedale East; the ventilation chimney at Warren Moor Mine, Grosmont Ironworks, as well as the Historic Rail Trail between Grosmont, Beck Hole and Goathland, including the mines at Beck Hole and Esk Valley.[25] PLB, a design and consultancy company based in North Yorkshire, has been working with the TEL partnership to develop an interpretive plan to guide the delivery of interpretation as one strand of the overall Landscape Partnership project. The experience of practitioners in the UK, including PLB, has built on the principles set by Freeman Tilden, Sam Ham, James Carter and others to establish an approach to interpretive planning which follows a clear process. This process commences with an understanding of the audience—*who* is the interpretation in question for—before moving on to consider *why* we are interpreting—what are the clear objectives for the project in question, in terms of what the interpretation should achieve?

Thereafter, it is important to understand *what* is being interpreted and what heritage assets (both tangible and intangible) are both available and accessible? From this setting the interpretation professional will be able to identify overarching interpretive messages which help to focus the story. Place is also important—where, for example, will the interpretation take place? In rural settings, such as those covered by the TEL project, it is important to identify suitable locations for physical interpretive media that reflect the route taken by users to and around a site (the *where*). If on-site interpretation is not possible, it may instead be appropriate to identify virtual interpretive approaches.

Moving on, the professional then thinks about *how* are we interpreting—establishing a design approach with a palette of media appropriate to the audience, story and locations. Timescale is also important—*when* will interpretation be delivered? Is it permanent or temporary? What opportunities are there for including changing, flexible interpretive provision? Delivery options are also influenced by cost—*how much* investment is required to deliver the proposed interpretive provision? Is the budget based on realistic costs for the media selected? And finally, how will we

Fig. 9.1 Photo of TEL area (Photo copyright, North Yorks Moor National Park)

know we have achieved the initial objectives for the interpretation project? What methods and measures for evaluation can be introduced to allow relevant stakeholders to assess the impact on and benefits for the audience, on the delivery of any other objectives and on the assets themselves?

In developing the interpretive plan for the TEL project, the functions of the interpretation were defined by three key factors: a consideration of current and target audiences for TEL; the overall aims of the Landscape Partnership Project; and the broader corporate agendas of the funding agencies. From survey data and anecdotal evidence gathered in 2014–15, seven current user segments were created, expressing the nature of the existing audience across the TEL area. These were classified as: 'serenity seeker/the great outdoors'; 'weekender'; 'family fun'; 'family explorer'; 'hub visitor'; the 'enthusiast'; and finally 'the accidental visitor'. The audience segmentation was also found to include a number of specific interest groups, including school groups, volunteers and local residents.

The interpretation will, for these current user groups, provide one of the key functions as defined by Uzzell, namely that of soft management: encouraging exploration by existing audiences of other aspects of the TEL area than those they already visit, for example by creating a new interpretation hub in Rosedale to direct the 'weekender' visitor to new routes and to discover a different aspect of the Moors.[26] In other words, there is less of a focus on hard management, where visitor routes are directly enforced, and where there is the possibility of prevention of access to aspects of the heritage. Indeed, the approach taken by the partnership is to develop understanding, and to encourage interest and exploration.

A significant aspect of the project is the aspiration of the North York Moors, and of the Landscape Partnership as a whole, to engage with under-represented and non-user audiences. The area of the North York Moors which forms the landscape partnership area is close to the northern fringes of the National Park, and so to the urban and industrial conurbations of Teesside, including Middlesbrough. Surveys have shown that the demographic profile from these northern fringes is under-represented in the visitor profile for the North York Moors as a whole, including the TEL project area. The current audience for the Moors is predominantly white, professional, middle class, in employment or retired, and visiting in couples or in families. There is an opportunity, which the North York Moors has been working on for some years, to target under-represented groups, including BME, unemployed and lower-socio economic profiles.

For interpretation to be successful in meeting the needs of these groups, it first needs to connect with them ‘on their own terms’: that is, within their own cultural and social sphere and areas of interest. As they are not currently attracted to the TEL area, fixed interpretation on site is of little benefit or impact. Engagement, and the use of interpretation to deliver this, will be key. The surveys and focus groups revealed that the non-user tends to visit a museum, read and watch television, in other words, be committed to more passive pursuits than those of the current audience. A range of innovative, mainly arts-based, proposals are proposed to achieve greater connection with non-users. These include creating an ‘ironstone tapestry’—an arts-based interpretive project with Middlesbrough communities that will be delivered through a museum or art-gallery partner, and scripting with local writers and communities a drama based on the archive stories and evidence of the lives of people involved in the ironstone mining and railway industries of the TEL area. This performance piece, which has the working title ‘Trailblazers’, will interpret the impact on communities and the change to the way of life of the mining industry in the North York Moors. Other proposals include production of a graphic novel or otherwise accessible story based on the Trailblazers drama, and delivering drama on the train—connecting with those who visit the North York Moors Railway which runs through the TEL area, but who may never visit the wider TEL area and its monuments or appreciate the industrial basis of the landscape they are passing through.

Interpretation could therefore be considered ‘propaganda’ in this context: a means of ‘selling’ the offer to a potential market and of promoting the values of TEL and the North York Moors to those who are not currently engaged.

Interpretation within TEL also takes the form of added value by being the means of delivering the second purpose of the National Park Authority, which is promoting enjoyment and understanding of its special qualities. This is reflected in the interpretive objectives which are based on the Inspiring Learning for All Framework, which looks to establish specific outcomes under the headings of knowledge and understanding; skills; attitudes and values; enjoyment, inspiration and creativity; and activity and behaviour progression.[27] A further example of this approach is contained in the proposal to improve the existing offer in the main Moors Visitor Centre—the Danby Centre—through enhanced permanent and flexible interpretation, outdoor interpretive play and a greater focus on hands-on activity to meet the needs of the so-called Family Fun and Family Explorer audiences.

As a landscape partnership, the TEL project necessarily brings with it a wide and varied range of perspectives on the industrial past. The Park Authority itself includes representatives from the archaeological and nature conservation sectors, and with leisure, tourism and education interests, each of whom will have their own area of expertise relating to the special purposes which they will seek to maintain. The partnership also includes agencies with specific biodiversity and nature conservation purposes, local communities seeking to maintain their way of life, landowners who need to balance financial income with landscape management and the impacts which statutory and permissive access provision can have, as well as interest groups and industrial heritage specialists whose main focus is upon built monuments and remains. With this in mind, creating interpretation which is true to the heritage assets, achieves a balance in the stories told and, moreover, is engaging to the target audiences is a challenge. The interpretive planning process followed by PLB has sought to manage potential tensions from multiple views by running steering group workshops and consultation with the partnership, and this has included encouraging all partners to consider the audiences and their perspectives. Mind-mapping was also used to understand the assets and to achieve consensus on the key stories from which the interpretive messages should be derived.

As a result, the interpretive plan reflects all aspects of the project—biodiversity, conservation, archaeology, industrial heritage, social history—in the objectives and messages set. By presenting a range of interpretive approaches, against which the target audience and the potential impact/reach of the interpretation was mapped, the partnership representatives were offered the scope to develop consensus on priorities for interpretive media. There was general acceptance that there would not be interpretation at every industrial landmark, and that interpretation could and should be spread between hub locations—where the majority of visitors would be—and also beyond the landscape partnership area boundaries, to generate interest in further exploration as well as greater understanding and appreciation.

The TEL project neatly illustrates also the challenge of identifying the aspects of industrial heritage to be interpreted. In a landscape which is protected today for its special qualities of tranquillity, and which is perceived by many as a ‘natural’ landscape, how do we honestly interpret and generate understanding of the past exploitation of the landscape? There is a potential contradiction in a project which appears to celebrate the removal of an area's resources—the ironstone—and the building of structures into, and carving out of, the landscape. The story is a complex one; the railways which developed as a result of the countryside's exploitation enabled the growth of landed estates, and of the tourism industry which underpins much of the economy in the area today. One of the drivers behind the engagement with non-users from the Teesside area is the potential to connect the industrialised northern fringes of the North York Moors with their past in the industrialised moorland areas. The industries that thrived for 100 years in the TEL area migrated north, and effectively enabled the establishment and growth of the twentieth-century industries in Middlesbrough. However, there is little or no continuity of community understanding, either from Teesside's perspective (for example in seeing the moors as their 'origin'), or from the rural communities of, and the visitors to, today's moors (for example in their recognising the place in England's industrial heritage of this now protected landscape).

As the considerations outlined above illustrate, interpretation within the TEL project will contribute primarily to the second purpose of the National Park, by seeking to influence behaviours and engage visitors. The interpretive approach for the TEL project, however, has taken on board experience from previous Landscape Partnership projects, such as the Lime and Ice Project, which also included an area of the North York Moors. The latter proved a good example in support of Hughes and Morrison-Saunders' assertion that more intensive interpretation does not affect perceptions or influence attitudes.[28] The Lime and Ice Project focused the greater part of its interpretation within the North York Moors centre at Sutton Bank, to create a new permanent exhibition. The evaluation showed that the average dwell time within the exhibition was 4 minutes 29 seconds—given that the exhibition includes a film longer than this, the intensity of interpretation in this one location has not increased engagement with the geology and archaeology of the area.

However, on a more positive note, the Lime and Ice Project evaluation also found that the opportunity for people to interact with each other in their social group provided one of the key aspects of the visitor experience, and that after visiting the Lime and Ice exhibition visitors felt more impassioned about the landscape. Thus, overall there was some success in terms of increasing enjoyment and encouraging further exploration, even though the Lime and Ice exhibition itself was less successful in providing clear instruction on where to go.

These lessons have influenced the development of a pragmatic approach to interpretation in the TEL project, which avoids over-reliance on fixed interpretation within the visitor centre and instead engages people where they are; this has been done through methods such as placing interpretation in caravan sites, as well as the outreach projects outlined earlier. Interpretation in the TEL project also offers flexibility through the nature of the display structures, which will allow volunteers to update and change content, with volunteer training being an important element of the plan. The TEL project submitted a second-stage funding application in autumn 2015 and received confirmation that it had been successful in March 2016. The project's delivery programme, incorporating conservation, archaeology, biodiversity and interpretation, will have a five-year timespan, during which visitor evaluation and evaluation of targeted engagement projects will be used to assess the success of the approaches outlined above.

Concluding Remarks

This chapter has sought to explore how the principles of heritage interpretation have been used in a recent project within the North York Moors National Park that seeks to interpret aspects of that area's industrial heritage in a way that adds value to the visitor experience, and in so doing, acts as one of the instruments delivering the Park Authority's statutory objectives of protecting and promoting engagement with the natural heritage. In doing so, the authors have highlighted the importance of partnership working in such initiatives, both from the perspective of planning heritage interpretation and from that of delivering it on the ground. Implicit throughout this chapter has been an understanding that reliance on public-sector funding for such activities inevitably steers some interventions towards topics and themes that support an AHD perspective on interpretation. However, we hope to have revealed that one benefit of involving a broad range of partners, such as those involved in the TEL project, is that alternative stories can also be explored and told, and a broader product and more diverse visitor experience in any destination can thereby be created.

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CHAPTER 10

'Anything You Want It to Mean'? Scotland's Changing Heritage Landscape

Ian Donnachie

While Robert Hewison, in a now classic study, rather cynically described heritage as meaning 'anything you want it to mean … everything or nothing', the message of the book was clear and is perhaps even more relevant in the twenty-first century. With traditional manufacturing industries collapsing as dramatically in Scotland as elsewhere, they were progressively replaced by innumerable heritage centres and museums, often celebrating the same industries and communities that had been decimated by economic change or government policies.[1] While this heralded the start of a shift from a predominantly elite culture, celebrated by traditional heritage bodies, and represented by the abbey, baronial castle or stately home (what I often refer to as 'gilt on the ginger bread') to more 'everyday' heritage, how much has really changed in the intervening decades?

This chapter examines some features of Scotland's diverse heritage landscape, cultural, natural, rural, urban, industrial, tangible and intangible, which underpins a massive sector of economic activity in and beyond the tourist industry. It looks first at who runs Scotland's heritage, the traditional agencies, the changes they have experienced, and their respective roles in defining strategies. Second, it examines the country's natural

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heritage, clearly highly significant in tourism terms, but apparently and strangely detached from the mainstream. Third, it identifies selectively other heritage interests, notably the long established and influential National Trust for Scotland. Fourth, it looks at funding and collaboration within the sector. Fifth, it examines the 'new' industrial heritage which formed the basis of Hewison's original critique. Sixth, it reviews World Heritage in Scotland, and asks what it has achieved and what benefits it brings, especially in tourism. Lastly, it examines some heritage issues and strategies for the future. Many additional questions also arise, but the central one is this: while heritage plays an enormous role in the tourist industry and the Scottish economy, what ethos and ideology does it present to the world at large, are these appropriate to the country's past, and what does the future hold for the heritage industry?

Agencies

Scotland has been described as the Land of Mists and Myths, both components appropriate to its natural and cultural heritages. The range of bodies with a stake in these heritages is diverse and baffling. It includes many whose main concerns lie beyond heritage, for example, in tourism, museums, galleries, libraries, archives, environment, forestry and wildlife, and also includes many creative industries, including sports and cultural organisations. Thus in any discussion of what's in (and what's out) in the heritage pecking order, a plethora of organisations, mainly national but some local, have a major stake in heritage.[2] Several agencies, previously off-shoots of government departments and an oddly named Royal Commission, have become nominally independent, but effectively arm's-length executive agencies of government, headed by quangos of the great and the good. Mainly funded by government they are staffed by a variety of professionals, and exercise increasing influence on many aspects of heritage and a progressively wider reach into tourism and related fields. For example, Historic Scotland (HS) had existed in a variety of guises including an earlier body with responsibilities, within the Ministry of Public Buildings and Works, for ancient monuments and buildings within castles and other fortifications not under military control. This situation resulted in some historical anachronisms, illustrated by Historic Environment Scotland's care of Edinburgh and Stirling Castle and Fort George, former army bases and major tourist attractions. Its major estate remains prehistoric monuments, medieval castles and abbeys, although lately it took more recent buildings, industrial and rural, like the former cotton mills at Stanley, (Perth and Kinross) and corn mills, such as that at New Abbey (Dumfries and Galloway) into its care.

HS's work was always closely related to that of another agency with its own peculiar history, the quaintly named Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland (RCAHMS), whose origins lay in antiquarian efforts to identify and catalogue field and other monuments throughout the country. Established by Royal Warrant in 1908 as a response to widespread concern about the loss of or damage to historic monuments, its remit was to make inventories of surviving heritage dating from the earliest times to 1707. The first survey of Berwick, listing the county's 'monuments and constructions', appeared in 1909, and more followed to cover a large part of the country. During the Second World War the threat to Scotland's architectural heritage led to the creation of the Scottish National Buildings Record, later transferred to RCAHMS, creating in 1966 the National Monuments Record of Scotland. The remit of the commission was extended to cover post-1707 buildings, hence the increased inclusion of significant buildings dating from up to and including the twentieth century, as well as industrial and vernacular architecture. Apart from publishing extensively, RCAHMS developed and hosts a vast archive, much of which is available online including on the vast Canmore site, with links to SCRAN, another extensive online resource for Scottish history and heritage. Rationalisation has resulted in the merger of these two main agencies to form Historic Environment Scotland. An executive agency of the Scottish Government, it is charged with safeguarding the nation's heritage and promoting its understanding and enjoyment. This body, led by the former Historic Scotland, largely determines the official heritage discourse and in 2014 produced a strategy document entitled *Our Place in Time*, setting out aims and objectives for the next decade.

Natural Heritage

It is appropriate to mention several arm's-length agencies that are responsible for natural heritage and its role in tourism. The country's natural heritage is ubiquitous, and certainly a significant asset in terms of tourism. Indeed, beyond the relics of human occupation and a dramatic history, the landscape is, as it has always been, a prime visitor attraction. It was the mountains, glens and lochs that drew visitors in the first place, especially when in the later eighteenth century they became non-threatening and communications improved.[3] A large proportion of this landscape, including some extensive estates in both the Highlands and Lowlands, remains in private hands. Indeed landowners play a significant role in the management and promotion of the countryside, either on their own account or through such bodies as Scottish Land and Estates (which some may remember as the Scottish Landowners Federation), in its own words, 'driving rural business in Scotland'(see website listing). However, the organisational underpinnings have been greatly enhanced in recent years by increasing intervention from public bodies in terms of how the land is both conserved and promoted. This is seen in those tracts of country still in private hands, such as the Buccleuch estates, as well as the substantial area already in the public domain.

Scottish National Heritage (SNH) is thus another public body with an enormously wide remit, responsible for the country's natural heritage and scenic resources. It advises and promotes conservation designations, national nature reserves, Sites of Special Scientific Interest (SSSIs), Special Protection Areas, national parks, long-distance paths and many other facilities that facilitate public access to the countryside and help promote tourism. Protected areas of Scotland represent 20 % of its total area; SSSIs, 13 % of this. The organisation has a close working relationship with many wildlife organisations, including the Scottish Wildlife Trust and the Royal Society for the Protection of Birds.

Another agency, Forestry Commission Scotland, beyond its central function, has a growing role in heritage and tourism. Its prime asset is Scotland's National Forest Estate, covering nearly 9 % of the country and comprising forests, woodland and open ground. While developing nature and wildlife reserves, offering visitors an enormous range of outdoor activities and opening forests by means of trails, the commission has also promoted a growing number of archaeological and heritage sites on its estate. These include prehistoric monuments and historic settlements of many dates, as well as 20 industrial sites, including the eighteenth-century ironworks at Wilsontown, South Lanarkshire.[4]

Even a brief examination of these two agencies indicates the enormous diversity of natural heritage. Perhaps most obvious to the visitor are the two national parks and a clutch of forest parks. Given the celebration of East Lothian-born John Muir as a nineteenth-century pioneer of wilderness in the USA, formally designated national parks came surprisingly late to Scotland. The first, Loch Lomond and the Trossachs, dates from

2002; the second, the Cairngorms, the following year. Both are famed for their mountains, lochs, flora, fauna and numerous attractions, including recreational opportunities, such as walking, mountaineering, and skiing. The parks are central to rural economic growth, recreation and tourism, all of which are pursued within a framework of sustainable development. On these sites, essentially managed landscapes, commercial activities are closely controlled, though not to the detriment of the tourist industry. Indeed, at the time of writing the parks attract over 5 million visitors per annum.

In common with the cultural, so natural heritage presents numerous issues and challenges. Inevitably many relate to ongoing and apparently irresolvable dilemmas about land ownership, land use and access in the countryside generally. Land ownership is a major bone of contention; as an example, the legislation on the right to roam leaves many locals and visitors confused about what they may or may not do on private land. Land use is also controversial, notably in the case of the vast areas devoted to game and sporting estates, despite these being of major economic benefit both in employment and visitor income.[5] The challenge of balancing conservation with development is universal, exemplified by issues arising from the construction of wind farms, pylons, ski lifts and many other inappropriate developments in national or forest parks, and areas of scientific and natural interest. Wildlife organisations have a close relationship and common aims, but do not always share the same agendas, an interesting instance being the debate about the reintroduction of historic species. Beavers, wolves, lynx, wild boar, and so on can be appropriately corralled in wildlife parks or reserves, but should they be let loose in the wild (and to what purpose)?

Other Heritage Interests

Other national agencies funded primarily by government, notably the National Museums of Scotland, National Archives of Scotland, National Records of Scotland, National Library of Scotland and the National Galleries, are vital elements in the country's heritage landscape and safeguarding both the tangible and intangible. All these organisations, in remarkably similar ways (often forced on them by government and financial constraints), have undergone major physical and ideological restructuring; libraries, archives, museums and galleries have greatly extended both their range of activities and outreach. This is evident in sophisticated web portals and sites, web resource bases, numerous exhibitions, publications, lectures and other events which embrace almost every conceivable aspect of Scottish history and cultural heritage. As with ancient monuments and historic buildings, cultural heritage has become highly commercial, though whether it has also become less elitist is another question. Certainly the great civic galleries and museums like Kelvingrove and the Burrell in Glasgow seem more populist in approach than some of the national institutions.

Established on the English model in 1931, the National Trust for Scotland (NTS) is, beyond scholarly societies, probably Scotland's oldest and certainly its largest membership organisation concerned with heritage, and it is worth noting that it has a substantial overseas membership of influential expatriates many of whom regularly visit the country. Although it took an early interest in natural heritage and landscape, until recently it was essentially elitist in its perception of heritage, its portfolio being dominated by the great castles and country houses, such as Culzean Castle in Ayrshire and Crathes Castle, Aberdeenshire. The early exceptions were the 'little houses', vernacular dwellings like those in Culross and Dunkeld, acquired and restored, and other humbler sites associated with major historical or cultural figures that would otherwise have fallen into decay, such as Hugh Miller's birthplace in Cromarty in the Highlands or Thomas Carlyle's in Ecclefechan, Dumfries and Galloway. However, by default rather than design the NTS has also become custodian of some iconic Scottish places, notably the Bannockburn and Culloden battlefields, and the Robert Burns Birthplace Museum in Alloway, all three popular places of resort for generations and now major tourist attractions. This move into mass tourism, whilst at the same time maintaining a diverse portfolio in hard times, means that a traditional heritage agency has had to adapt very rapidly to changing circumstances.

No study of heritage could possibly neglect the most powerful tourist body, VisitScotland. The former Scottish Tourist Board, VisitScotland is another non-governmental organisation with an enormous, and, judging from press coverage, often controversial remit. In brief, its interest in heritage has grown exponentially in recent years as experience and research studies have shown the attraction of historic attractions for visitors. Other significant conservation organisations with an interest in heritage include the Scottish Civic Trust, the Edinburgh-based Cockburn Association, the Historic Buildings Trust, Museums and Galleries Scotland, and in the case of civic trusts, a host of local off-shoots. All have important advisory and promotional roles nationally and locally.

Funding and Collaboration

Funding for conservation and maintenance is perhaps the major challenge facing heritage organisations, and would merit more detailed discussion if space permitted. Suffice to say, and despite numerous other sources, the Heritage Lottery Fund in Scotland (HLFS) is a key player. Since its inception it has deployed the enormous sum of £730 million on 3600 projects large and small, tangible and intangible. Among its beneficiaries are New Lanark, the Battle of Bannockburn Centre and the Robert Burns Birthplace. Its interest in the historic built environment is seen most recently in its Townscape Heritage programme, which reached 50 communities across Scotland including Govan, Paisley and Fraserburgh. Colin McLean, until recently Head, has proclaimed that HLFS works with people who share a passion for Scotland's heritage and supports them in realising and sometimes advancing their vision and ambition for conserving, improving, developing and sharing with others historic buildings, landscapes, town centres, museums, galleries and collections. The organisation and its investments have undoubtedly transformed the sector, creating a substantial body of experience in project management, governance and stakeholder management.

There has also been a considerable expansion in co-operation, formal and informal, between many heritage organisations, partly driven by mutual concerns or interests, partly by conditions of funding, as is sometimes the case with sponsorship deals, Heritage Lottery funding (HL) funding, local/national government or European funding packages. Many examples can be cited but those of Duff House (Banff) and Stanley Mills (Perth and Kinross) present interesting case studies from different ends of the heritage spectrum.

Duff House, one of the finest baroque stately homes in the country, was designed by William Adam. Following its chequered and colourful history it is now an archetype of collaborative restoration and revival. Previously owned by the Earls of Fife and the burgh of Banff, it was taken into care in 1956 by the predecessors of Historic Scotland. From 1988 Historic Scotland, in co-operation with the National Galleries of Scotland (NGS), the National Museums of Scotland, the then Scottish Tourist Board, and local and regional councils, Duff House was extensively refurbished, fitted out with splendid furniture and hung with an art collection supplied by NGS and private lenders. None of this, as Gow notes, would have been possible had the superlative quality of Adam's work not continued to shine through during the lowest ebb of the house's fortunes, 200 years after it was built (also true of Dumfries House, the most recent country-house opening in Scotland, encouraged and supported by the Prince of Wales).[6]

Unlike New Lanark where the mills were juxtaposed with housing, the planned village of Stanley was built uphill from the factory complex. Much of the original housing is still occupied. However, Stanley's significance derives from its association with the great textile entrepreneur, Richard Arkwright. The earliest mill at Stanley followed Arkwright's design, and is probably closer to its original state than that at his headquarters in Cromford, Derbyshire. This Stanley mill was the object of a major restoration project by HS and now forms the centrepiece of a museum and visitor centre. Imaginative displays tell the story of the site and the various production processes. Many of the adjoining factory buildings were converted into high-end apartments by the Phoenix Trust, hence effectively creating a new community on a spectacular reach of the River Tay.[7]

Industrial Heritage

Stanley Mills brings us to the most significant change identified by Hewison, the rapid emergence of industrial and related heritage. This is partly explained by the rise in interest in social, labour and industrial history, as well as in community and family history. Not only has this generated an increased curiosity about the history of localities (as opposed to local history), but also an awareness of the need to preserve intangible heritage as well as the oral traditions and testimonies of former workers in crafts and industries that have succumbed to economic change. This is because of the de-industrialisation that was core to Hewison's thinking in the 1980s–1990s, as well as a more general reaction against elite (and to some extent political) history. Industrial heritage has thus been a rapid growth area, often closely related to the economic and social histories of communities affected by the collapse of manufacturing industry: notably, but by no means exclusively, textiles and the 'rust-belt' industries of coal, iron, steel, engineering and shipbuilding, which previously dominated much of west central Scotland. The historical significance of these sectors is emphasised by the former scale of these enterprises, but also by virtue of the fact that collectively they made Scotland the 'Workshop of the Empire' during the nineteenth century.[8]

While the early Victorian era saw a dramatic rise of heavy industry, textiles remained enormously important, with diverse production in woollens, cotton, linen and jute. Economic uncertainty and foreign competition, especially after the Second World War, resulted in general decline and the relics of the industry began to disappear rapidly. One highly significant site that almost succumbed, the former cotton-spinning community of New Lanark, was only saved because of its association with the social reformer Robert Owen, a success attributable to the drive and determination of local activists. Its conservation and development proved to be a massive, long-term project, eventually bringing the World Heritage accolade in 2001.[9] Other imaginative schemes include the restored Verdant Works, a former European Museum of the Year (1999), devoted to Dundee's historic jute industry. Dundee, of course, is a classic example (among many) of a phenomenon highlighted by Hewison, the reinvention of towns and cities affected by de-industrialisation as cultural centres, soon to be enhanced by the V & A Dundee riverside development.

Beyond textiles, the so-called 'rust-belt' industries are also well represented in the new heritage industry. The National Mining Museum was one of the earliest of the new heritage centres, a situation partly explained by the rapid demise after the 1960s of this once-great industry and by the speed of demolition which followed. At the outset the mining museum brought together two sites representing critical stages in the growth of the industry, that at Prestongrange, East Lothian, representing its earlier history, while the Lady Victoria Colliery in Newtongrange, Midlothian, typified mining's extension into deeper pits during its nineteenth-century heyday.

In the metal industries, the archetype is undoubtedly the 20-acre Summerlee Museum of Industrial Life (and Heritage Park), Coatbridge, North Lanarkshire, said to be Scotland's noisiest museum, subject of a £10 million redevelopment in 2008 and recipient of £5 million from the HLFS. There the story of the steel and engineering industries, and the communities that depended on them, is revisited. It contains reconstructed miners' rows, a mine and a tramway and exhibitions, while models illustrate the huge scale and diversity of the iron and steel industries which once dominated this area of central Scotland. Like mining, the relics of the industry have rapidly disappeared but both tangible and intangible memories are celebrated at Summerlee and at the nearby Motherwell Heritage Centre. Beyond these specific examples is a vast range of museums and heritage centres celebrating past achievements in almost every imaginable manufacturing activity (some still active), so the link from past to present is a significant aspect of their profile.

Transport heritage moves in a world of its own, though generating widespread interest among visitors attracted by its very diversity—railways, canals, historic roads, bridges and other relics, beyond several major museums, such as the new Glasgow Riverside, devoted to the subject.

Like heritage railways, canals have undergone considerable renewal and revival with the development of recreational use both on the waterways and towpaths, typified by the successful (and ongoing) restoration of both the Forth and Clyde and Union Canals and the installation of the remarkable Falkirk Wheel that links them. Given the former global dominance of the shipbuilding industry, especially on the Clyde, the country preserves a significant maritime heritage which visitors can enjoy in many harbourside locations around the coast and islands. These range in scale from the Scottish Maritime Museum in Irvine, North Ayrshire, with its vessels and reconstructed buildings from former Clyde yards, to the award-winning Scottish Fisheries Museum, Anstruther, Fife—and countless others.

No review of Scotland's industrial heritage would be complete without reference to drink and the sustained interest in visiting distilleries and breweries. Drink heritage and tourism, pioneered by larger whisky distillers and brewers, has expanded rapidly, as is evident from research studies. The whisky industry has been enormously successful in promoting its heritage and products, currently in upwards of 54 visitor centres attached to distilleries. A recent survey by the Scotch Whisky Association revealed that more than 1.5 million people were attracted to distillery visitor centres in 2014, an increase of 15 % over numbers in 2010. In terms of visitor numbers distilleries are collectively among the most successful attractions, even with competition such as Edinburgh Castle, one of the most iconic heritage sites. A large proportion of their visitors come from Scotland, the rest of the UK, Germany, France and the USA, broadly reflecting some of the major markets for Scotch. Visitors to distilleries in 2014 spent a staggering £50 million on tours, in distillery shops, restaurants, and so on, up from £27 million in 2010, a remarkable level growth given the prevailing economic climate. This may be a function of the 'staycation' factor, but the increased spend in recent years undoubtedly reflects large-scale investment by producers and has had a major multiplier effect on local communities and the wider economy.[10]

While by no means the oldest, Dallas Dhu, opened in 1898 and now in the care of Historic Scotland, is among the most authentic, partly due to the survival of its original features and equipment. While Dallas Dhu no longer produces whisky, the others do, and the attraction of distillery visits lies in seeing the manufacture and the tasting! There can be no question that the industry has been enormously successful in marketing its history and heritage, promoting a brand and the country in general. A significant point is that it is not confined to the traditional home of whisky in the

Highlands and Islands, but also found in Lowland locations producing both malts and grain whisky for blending. Moreover the industry has recently undergone a major resurgence, with the opening of a number of new distilleries and their products coming on stream. While distilling may seem exceptional in its impact upon industrial heritage generally, it is of growing significance as a visitor attraction.

World Heritage

The ultimate accolade in all of this is World Heritage (WH) status, which confers global recognition on, and enormously enhances the importance and visitor potential of a site or monument. As an increasingly important segment of cultural heritage, it falls within the remit of Historic Environment Scotland (HES), the inheritor of Historic Scotland's role, which acts on behalf of the Scottish government. However, since the Scottish government is not a 'state party' in UNESCO parlance, Scottish WH interests are effectively mediated by the Westminster department charged with the responsibility, currently the Department for Culture, Media and Sport.[11] There are currently six WH sites in Scotland, which appropriately illustrate the increasing diversity of the brand: the Heart of Neolithic Orkney, the Old and New Towns of Edinburgh, St Kilda (both for its cultural and natural significance), New Lanark, the Antonine Wall, and the Forth Bridge. The famous Forth Railway Bridge became Scotland's sixth site in 2015, following its inscription by UNESCO. Given its already celebrated status as an icon of Victorian engineering achievement, it seems likely to enhance its role as a major international visitor attraction still further. Certainly Network Rail and its partners have ambitious plans for its development. The earlier designation of the Antonine Wall (constructed CE 142 from Forth to Clyde during the Roman occupation) is a good example of UNESCO 'thinking beyond the box', as it is linked to a much wider series of linear features comprising the surviving 'Frontiers of the Roman Empire', embracing Hadrian's Wall running across the north of England, and the Roman Limes, which marked the greatest extent of the empire in what is now modern Germany.[12]

New Lanark provides a useful example of how WH status works and of the politics invariably involved. After being shortlisted, New Lanark fell victim to political events when in 1986 Margaret Thatcher (Prime Minister 1979–1990) took the UK out of UNESCO. This had profound implications for the UK's heritage accreditation and it was not until 1997

Fig. 10.1 Mill No 1, as restored, now the New Lanark Mill Hotel (Photo copyright, New Lanark Trust)

that the Blair government returned the country to the UNESCO fold. A new submission was made and in an intense competition for WH status it is said that Donald Dewar, First Minister of the Scottish Executive (as then was), personally intervened as he believed New Lanark had waited too long.[13] The latest inscription of the Forth Railway Bridge is further testimony of the dogged persistence involved in securing the WH accolade. But the payback in terms of increased visitor attraction will undoubtedly be considerable (See New Lanark, Fig. 10.1).

Heritage Futures?

Much Highland history is contested, notably in terms of the ruthlessness with which the Jacobite risings were suppressed, and controversy over later clearances, enforced migration and the ongoing attack on Gaelic language and culture. While the disaster of Culloden is in general sympathetically narrated, its aftermath is less so.[14] For those reasons it is said of the heritage industry that the guardians have become the interpreters, and much of the discourse has focused on how history is presented through heritage.[15]

In the Scottish context, as elsewhere, many issues are evident in the 'backstories' of difficult or dissonant heritage, neglected or subverted histories, or distortions of historical fact. At many elite sites, in particular, symbols of repression, exploitation or a casual acceptance of the material benefits of slavery, worker exploitation and imperialism are sometimes evident. On the other hand the achievements of elites and the triumph of reactionary authorities are celebrated. A few examples must suffice.

Elite heritage was built on the backs of the peasantry (including those dispossessed by land enclosure in the Lowlands and clearance in the Highlands) or a growing army of other workers before and during the Industrial Revolution. Until recently the exploitation of workers was essentially subverted in the discourse, especially relative to the roles and activities of elites and others as improving landowners and industrialists. On the same theme, profits derived from commodity and colonial trading, notably in sugar and cotton, directly or indirectly involved slavery, a topic only recently tackled by historians in the Scottish context and also vexatious in heritage terms. Indeed, many of the great country houses and urban developments like Glasgow's Merchant City and the New Town of Edinburgh were probably built on the profits of slavery in one form or another. Interestingly, David Dale, founder of New Lanark, opposed slavery and helped make its eventual abolition possible.

Given the rapid growth of heritage one would think it absolutely critical that an overall strategy is devised which will integrate all the key heritage and tourist agencies more closely. Does Scotland already have a heritage strategy? It seems it may have as far as the national organisations are concerned, but the rest of the sector is so highly disparate that it is difficult to make much sense of its current scale or scope, far less its aims and objectives for the future. For all the diversity of roles and responsibilities, HES is not the only body to address current heritage dilemmas and make critical assessments of the future. In the opinion of NTS, appreciating Scotland's heritage rests on telling a story, and doing so well. This is certainly becoming more challenging across the whole sector because of the enormous costs involved.[16] NTS, for example, estimates that it needs an extra £46 million in the next ten years 'just to meet existing conservation objectives', far less interpretation. Of course, all heritage bodies are facing the same difficulties and in hard times government is less enthusiastic about direct funding, leading to an increased commercialisation of heritage. There is certainly not enough recognition of the economic impact of heritage tourism, and as the HLFS points out, the multiplier effect of the heritage spend is enormous. Scarce funds, therefore, emphasise the need for selective and strategic thinking about looking after, and promoting, heritage properly.

Another significant point is that given the numerous public, private and charitable organisations (but hardly covering the full scope of heritage), it seems illogical in a small country like Scotland that they seem to work in isolation from one another. (This is paradoxical given the work of umbrella organisations like Museums Galleries Scotland, but of course, heritage per se is altogether wider in scope.) For NTS the answer lies in the creation of a National Heritage Commission, like those in Sweden and Australia, where funds are allocated to the most important places and collections. A national collection could be owned and managed by many different organisations but recognised as a coherent whole needing special status, rather like WH sites. Different agencies would work together managing Scotland's heritage, co-ordinating fundraising, and promoting internationally, without compromising partners' independence.

Another significant development could see even more emphasis on community ownership and greater engagement from properties functioning as community hubs for more local activities, as has occurred, for example, at New Lanark. Management might be passed to local communities, as it has in some instances thanks to land reform and the right to buy. However, if such transfers took place what would the implications be for conservation and funding: a more enhanced role for HES and HLFS perhaps? In a related vein, how best can we tackle issues of accessibility? While 'Disneyfication' has been rare in Scotland, the 'visitor centre' has proved alien to promoters of 'pristine' heritage (rather like the reaction of some hillwalkers to repairing mountain footpaths, or indeed long-distance walking routes like the West Highland or Southern Upland Ways). Yet for presentation the new technology is invaluable, and although expensive, delivers remarkable results. Witness its deployment at Culloden, the Battle of Bannockburn Centre, and the Robert Burns Museum, all NTS properties. Moreover high-end technology has enormous promotional capability, attracts visitors in large numbers and has still to reach its full potential.

Finally, NTS poses interesting questions about heritage and tourism more generally, noting that there are serious questions about conservation 'as it has traditionally been undertaken'. Is heritage going to mean more of the same or will it have to represent a more 'balanced portfolio' of the kind suggested in this chapter? Do people basically value the elite heritage more than the everyday relics of life in the past, tangible or otherwise? Perhaps, too, the notion of conserving all but the most exceptional cultural and natural places has had its day due to excessive costs, environmental issues and socio-economic realities generally.[17] Will Scotland's heritage continue to expand into even more new fields, as it has over recent decades, perhaps as anticipated by Hewison in his original polemic?[18]

Notes

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18. With thanks to Lorna Davidson, New Lanark Trust, Chris Kauer and Rosemary Gallagher, the Scotch Whisky Association, and Colin McLean, formerly of Heritage Lottery Fund Scotland. The opinions expressed in this chapter are personal and do not necessarily represent those of bodies cited or those with which I am associated.

CHAPTER 11

Selection and Deselection of the National Narrative: Approaches to Heritage through Devolved Politics in Wales

David Howell

Creating a Portfolio for Heritage

The position of heritage within Welsh government has taken some time to become established or recognised as a priority. It is significant that a specific heritage portfolio did not come into existence during the first Welsh Assembly government in 1999, with responsibilities for the post being stretched over a number of other ministerial roles. The creation of a post for Culture, Sport and the Welsh Language in 2000 provided heritage with a foothold in Welsh government, later solidified in 2007 with the rebranding of the post as the 'Minister for Heritage', a position which maintained the core interests of the previous role, namely culture, sports and language, alongside tourism and Cadw serves as the body responsible for the management, conservation and interpretation of a significant number of heritage sites in Wales.[1] During the formative period of the Welsh Assembly, however, the first ministerial position for culture, including heritage, was highly limited in its scope. The minister to hold the post during this time, Jenny Randerson, reflected:

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> When I started no one had a proper policy on culture or sport . . . all the Ministers responsible for that area had ever done, was make sure that the bodies spent the money legally . . . they had a very scanty remit.[2]

Eleanor Burnham, former shadow minister for a broad portfolio including culture, expressed similar reservations about priorities attached to the sector, stating 'the unit [of heritage] in the Assembly is the lowest in the pecking order [for funding] and we have a Heritage Minister of no real importance'.[3]

By the time of the Labour-Plaid Cymru coalition (2007–2011), the ministerial post had been rebranded as 'Heritage Minister'. Rhodri Glyn Thomas, the first of two Welsh nationalists to hold the portfolio, reflected that although much of the portfolio remained consistent, there was one notable addition to the range of responsibilities, that of tourism:

> In terms of the heritage portfolio in the Assembly, it contains three elements, heritage in its wider sense, tourism, and sport . . . In terms of tourism, we are seeing a dramatic change in the way in which people look at tourism . . . more of an emphasis on holidaying close to home, and that opens up a lot of opportunities for Wales.[4]

By 2007 tourism was being seen as a major contributor to the culture sector. Rural areas in Wales were considered as potential beneficiaries of further investment for tourism opportunities, where the industry was described as being 'both inland and coastal … an important sector and an integral part of the rural economy'.[5] This relationship can be further seen in policy documents produced from 2000 onwards, where increasingly the need to enhance the relationship between culture/heritage and tourism was being stressed. The *Achieving Our Potential: A Tourism Strategy for Wales* document, produced in 2000, made consistent reference to the position of heritage in selling the product of Welsh tourism, stressing that 'one of the principal assets of Wales as a tourism destination is its distinctive culture, language and heritage … promoting and providing easy access to its rich culture and heritage is an important consideration for the tourism industry'.[6]

Former First Minister, Rhodri Morgan, provided a foreword to the strategy document in which he described tourism as one of the 'largest and most important industries in Wales'.[7] Six years after *Achieving Our Potential*, heritage remained a major component of the tourism strategy. However, concerns were raised about the need for promotion of the resource and for greater integration between the heritage and wider tourism providers.

The updated version of the strategy was published in 2006, following the significant abolition of the Wales Tourist Board, responsibilities of the quango coming under the control of the Welsh Assembly.[8] The stated goal of the 2006 report maintained that there was a continuing need to '(E)nsure that support for tourism promotion, skills development, economic development, heritage and cultural management is more co-ordinated and "joined-up" across all parts of government'.[9] Having initially been overlooked in the early days of the Welsh Assembly, heritage, through culture and tourism, had become an integral part of the government agenda, and key to an economic strategy placing emphasis on the ideas of sustainable tourism. This chapter will explore the way in which the Welsh Government's attitudes towards the heritage and museums sector evolved during the first years of Welsh devolution. This considers the period between 1997, when the first successful devolution referendum was held, through to early 2015, when extensive consultation was taking place on the future of protective heritage legislation.

A Heritage Bill for Wales

Although heritage in Wales became increasingly prominent during the Labour-Plaid Cymru coalition, it was the Labour government of 2011–2016 which committed to what may be the most significant reform in Welsh heritage legislation. Following the 2011 referendum on greater law-making powers for Wales, the First Minister (Carwyn Jones) made a statement on the Welsh Government's first Legislative Programme, 2011–2016, in which it was announced:

> There is currently a wide range of controls to help protect historic assets, but they have been in place for many years and would benefit from streamlining and modernisation. We are therefore seeking to introduce a Heritage Bill, which is more fitting to modern-day issues, which reduces bureaucracy and is specifically geared to the needs of Wales.[10]

This followed a previous commitment by the Welsh Labour Party, indicating a desire to 'introduce a Heritage Preservation Bill to strengthen the protection of listed buildings in Wales'.[11] The Heritage Bill provided ministers with an opportunity to shape Welsh-specific legislation for the protection of the historic environment. The Bill followed a UK Government attempt to reform heritage legislation, a White Paper considered in 2007, though formally abandoned following a change in government.[12]

Developing a Welsh-specific approach to the historic environment was a distinct change of attitude. Mike Hayworth, Director of the Council for British Archaeology, reflected:

> In the early years, particularly in . . . heritage and historic environments . . . Wales was a bit of an add-on to England. English policy was created, and then a Welsh version just followed the English version.[13]

Heyworth observed, 'in the last two to three years [prior to 2011] we have started to notice the first signs of a separate path being created'.[14] This would coincide with the final two years of the Labour-Plaid Cymru coalition, during which the foundations for the Welsh Heritage Bill were established. The proposed bill focused on the introduction of greater controls for Ministers over 'at risk' elements of the historic environment, while also allowing greater flexibility over the development of non-listed historic buildings. This would allow Ministers and local authorities to take direct action in cases where scheduled ancient monuments and listed buildings were under threat. Attention would also be placed on clarifying the planning process, creating an environment in which consistent decisions were made on what could and could not be done in relation to listed buildings. The Bill would go beyond protection of physical sites, looking to enshrine in legislation a secure future for historic environment records, and create an independent advisory panel for future developments regarding policies for the historic environment. These points formed the core ideas taken through to the latter stages of debate regarding the future of the Bill.[15] One point to have been rejected, though, concerned the future of two of Wales' most established heritage organisations, Cadw and the Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Wales.

Merging the Royal Commission and Cadw

During the development of the Heritage Bill, challenging questions were put forward considering the future role for the Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Wales (RCAHMW). A public consultation process opened in May 2012, with five questions posed, the fourth of which queried 'what would be the advantages and disadvantages of merging the functions of the Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Wales with the functions of other organisations, including Cadw?'[16] The Welsh Government appeared to favour taking the RCAHMW 'in house', as it had done with former arm's-length organisations such as the Wales Tourist Board and Welsh Development Agency, abolished in the 'bonfire of the quangos' in 2006.

The Welsh Government's idea of merging the RCAHMW with Cadw met with a mixture of reactions ranging from reservation through to outright hostility. Concerns addressed the threat of job losses and potential compromises that might be seen to affect a new organisation's capacity to conduct work on the historic environment.[17] The Council for British Archaeology noted that '[E]xperience in England, and emerging from recent review in Scotland, is that centralisation inside a Government body has dis-benefits for function such as survey and research, digital information services, education, outreach and publication.'[18] As an organisation, Cadw attracted specific and harsh criticism. In an expanded portfolio, following the demise of the Welsh Tourist Board, Cadw bore responsibilities for heritage and tourism, a scenario where 'the burden of promoting the historic environment now falls almost entirely on CADW [*sic*], a task it is palpably ill-equipped to perform'.[19] Cadw's efforts in promotion and interpretation were also heavily criticised; its attempts to engage with the public were described as 'inept'.[20] Equally, the 'arm's-length' nature of the RCAHMW was welcomed as a key component of the success of the organisation. The Pembrokeshire Coast National Park Authority suggested '[T]here is a strong perception that Cadw's closeness to the Welsh Government precludes it from championing the [historic] environment',[21] while a strength of the RCAHMW was its status: 'as a sponsored body of the Welsh Government, it has an independence which preserves it from political control—its most serious asset and uniquely differentiates it from CADW [*sic*]'.[22]

An important document, prepared in the development stages of the Heritage Bill was the Chitty Report. The Chitty Report, otherwise known as the *Welsh Historic Environment Assessment Exercise*, was born out of concerns raised by Alun Ffred Jones, Heritage Minister in 2009, who expressed unease regarding duplication of services provided by the RCAHMW and other bodies within the Welsh historic environment.[23] Of the recommendations put forward by the Chitty Report, four central themes emerged for the future direction of the Welsh historic environment. The report prefixed its own conclusions, stating that the ideas presented were hypothetical talking points designed for the stimulation of debate. The themes included:

- The creation of a single Historic Wales organisation (requiring merger).
- Merger, but based on the model of regional archaeology trusts.
- Formal closure of the RCAHMW with responsibilities redistributed into Cadw.
- Status quo retained, with greater emphasis on shared resources.

While only one idea favoured merging RCAHMW functions into Cadw, this was the only suggestion taken forward. Notable was the contribution of Huw Lewis, the Heritage Minister, to the second stage of proceedings. At this point, no mention was made of the Chitty Report, either in the Minister's responses or in the initial proposal put forward by the Communities, Equality and Local Government Committee.

Of particular relevance is an accompanying letter provided to the inquiry, regarding an advisory document produced by Cadw regarding the Heritage Bill, for the attention of the Heritage Minister.[24] In what remains an undisclosed document, it was suggested that Cadw made a strong argument favouring merging RCAHMW functions into Cadw. In his response to the Cadw recommendation, Eurwyn Wiliam, chairman of the RCAHMW, criticised the lack of impartiality in the recommendation, the report having been produced by the then Director of Cadw.[25] He went further by alleging that Cadw raised 'untrue concerns about the Commission's current viability and efficiency', and that Cadw failed to provide 'a realistic assessment of possible savings and costs'.[26] In addition, a recommendation made by Cadw regarding the speed of merger was described in harsh terms, as 'calculated to subvert scrutiny of a part of the legislation through the Assembly's democratic processes'.[27] The response concluded by dismissing the Cadw submission as being factually incorrect, and 'wanting in integrity'. [28]

On 23 October 2012, Huw Lewis launched the *Historic Environment Strategy for Wales*. The document drew upon the 'concerns and aspirations of people engaged with this agenda'.[29] Lewis outlined conservation, employment, economic potential and public enjoyment as four areas in which the future of Welsh heritage would be prioritised. The inclusion of the RCAHMW, as part of an expanded Cadw, would have been the most definitive control placed on the Welsh Historic Environment (HE) since the coming of devolved politics to Wales. However, in 2014, and with the arrival of a new Minister for Culture and Sport, John Griffiths, the proposals to merge the organisations were surprisingly dropped. In a significant U-turn, the Welsh Government abandoned what had been an important component of their plans for the structure of heritage provision in Wales. Citing a desire to 'avoid[s] the financial costs, organisational risks and disruption to the sector at a time when public resources are scarce', after years of debate, Cadw and the RCAHMW would continue to operate as they had done before. Any interpretation of the ditching of merger must take account of the hostility shown towards the concept. It is conceivable that public pressure and the popularity of the RCAHMW forced a significant change in government policy.

The National Museum and Government

The Welsh Heritage Bill remains a work in progress. When it comes to the National Museum framework in Wales, however, the impact of government priority and post-devolution changes are far more apparent. The evolution of the National Museum as an organisation is demonstrated in contributions made to a 2012 Welsh Government enquiry. During the first quarter of 2012, the Communities, Equality and Local Government Committee closed the first stage of an inquiry into the impact of budgetary cuts on the ability of community groups to engage with the arts.[30] The National Museum Wales raised concerns regarding the accessibility of sites and collections for certain demographics, also citing its Heritage Lottery Fund (HLF) bid for the development of St Fagans in relation to its ambitions to enhance social accessibility.[31] This attitudinal development regarding 'non-audiences' was demonstrated in the museum's *Transforming Children's Futures* document. This concentrated on the museum's commitment to tackling child poverty. A key tenet of this commitment was rooted in the assertion that 'targeted provision that enables children, young people and their families living in deprivation to engage with cultural activity can have huge impacts on self-development, esteem and aspirations'.[32]

The National Museum looked to address this issue through six strategic aims, including enhancing elements such as school visits, increasing community engagement activities and the development of wider learning opportunities at museum sites. Focusing on community engagement, one prominent aspect of this programme was the 'Just Bling' project. 'Just Bling' targeted working with disadvantaged young people to develop art projects, based on collections from museum stores.[33] The Minister for Social Justice and Local Government supported a £50,000 block-funding agreement with the National Museum Wales for a 'learning through culture and creativity project'.[34] This created opportunities throughout the National Museum framework, allowing children to come into museums, accessing generally unseen collections, before working with artists to produce installations. Seen as one of the most successful elements of a new wave of social engagement, the importance of such functions for the museum was summarised by David Anderson, National Museum Director General, stating that 'it is our responsibility as publicly-funded bodies' to help in overcoming issues, in this instance, of child poverty.[35] The publicly funded element of the museum status is a key consideration in the economic climate. In the same way that the existence of Cadw and the RCAHMW are largely maintained through the public purse, the need for accountability and a position of societal relevance to justify that which is received by such groups becomes more pertinent. As acknowledged above, the interest of the National Museum in supporting children (through schools) is nothing new, but the awareness exhibited by Anderson is indicative of the increased pressure placed on publicly funded organisations to make the case for their continuance.[36]

A greater emphasis on community was coupled with a strategic development regarding interpretation strategies across the National Museum. A substantial HLF grant awarded to the St Fagans branch of the National Museum would contribute to what was intended to be a more holistic form of on-site interpretation for the history of Wales. This process of reinventing St Fagans arguably began with the establishment of the Perthyn (Belonging) Oriel1 gallery in 2007. The first stage of a new interpretive strategy for the whole of National Museum Wales, Oriel1 focused on ideas on identity. Historically, St Fagans has provided a unique forum in which ideas of national identity have been explored and reinvented.[37] Oriel1 offered an opportunity to move the narrative beyond more familiar agricultural and industrial stories, and opens with the notion that:

> There is no such thing as one Welsh identity—there are many. The exhibition . . . will show that culture and traditions are constantly evolving, and will question what the future holds for a nation like Wales in a global age.[38]

Attitudinal changes to audience and interpretation in the National Museum, in a post-devolution context, can be further seen in the creation of the National Waterfront Museum in Swansea. Rhiannon Mason has stressed that the National Waterfront Museum was a direct beneficiary of Assembly support, with additional funding of £3.5 million granted to the site in 2005.[39] As the project developed, the role of the Welsh Assembly became increasingly prominent. A then record Welsh HLF grant in excess of £10 million was awarded to the museum, with extensive efforts undertaken to secure further investment from the private sector.[40] The themes of 'thousands of visitors' and the potential the museum would have to 'boost the economy of Swansea, and West Wales in general' appeared central to motivations behind the new venture.[41]

In the context of interpretation of core themes that have emerged across the National Museum, a sense of nation-building was in evidence. Considering the National Museum's relationship with industrial heritage, Steph Mastoris, head of the National Waterfront Museum, observed:

> a train of motion that led to the establishment of this museum, and the partnerships that followed, but also the acquisition of Big Pit . . . it's interesting that the new Welsh Assembly Government took it on because here you have something that can help create, or emphasise, Welsh identity . . . it's certainly part of that nation building programme.[42]

Mastoris also suggested that while St Fagans was a museum which, in the eyes of ministers, offered the 'epitome of Welshness', the Waterfront Museum might serve an alternative function for government.[43] Government usage of the Waterfront Museum was evidenced through the visit of seven trade delegations, brought to the museum by what were described as Assembly bureaucrats.[44] That is not to suggest the site is undervalued. Conversely, Mastoris interprets the Waterfront project as an example of the 'good news stories' in Wales.

Another area of the National Museum influenced by government was in the formation of a National Museum of Art. In 2008, Alun Ffred Jones delivered a cabinet statement on the display of visual arts in Wales, including the feasibility of establishing a National Gallery for Wales. He concluded that, while the project in its idealised form could not be realised until 2015–2020 at the very earliest, he would reveal a £1 million investment allowing for an interim project, a National Museum of Art within the museum framework.[45] When the National Museum of Art opened in 2011,[46] it brought to a temporary conclusion government debate on a subject that had been a feature for discussion from the first year of devolved politics in Wales.

From 1999 onwards, several questions were raised in the Welsh debating chamber regarding the display of art in Wales. In 2000, Conservative AM William Graham queried 'will [the] administration take on board the demand in Wales for a new national gallery to celebrate, in particular, living artists in

Wales?'[47] Labour AM Andrew Davies (Chief Whip, speaking in place of any cabinet member with specific culture-based responsibilities) indicated that any such decision would be the preserve of the National Museums and Galleries of Wales.[48] The subject came up again in 2001, with Tory AM Glyn Davies lamenting the loss of the Visual Arts Centre in Cardiff, stressing that there was 'a great need for a national art gallery for Wales', and proposing Cardiff City Hall as a venue in which a Welsh-themed, yet international, collection of art could be housed.[49] While pressure was applied by opposition parties for progress on the Gallery, there were no active attempts to measure popular public support by those leading the campaign. David Melding, Welsh Conservative AM, and active campaigner for a National Gallery, reflected that:

> I think we always felt that it was an idea with a fair degree of popular support, but we never felt the need to go out and demonstrate that.[50]

While the public mood was never substantiated, the consultation process became long and drawn-out, spanning several administrations, and questions on the subject of the gallery continued to be addressed to the Culture/Heritage Minister. In 2003, the leader of the Welsh Conservatives, Nick Bourne, stated the National Gallery concept was one which could celebrate Welsh icons,[51] while later that year Plaid's Rhodri Glyn Thomas asked for a commitment from the UK Government to support the Gallery.[52]

Seven years after an initial consultation into the feasibility of a National Gallery, a further commitment on the subject came in the form of the *One Wales* agreement. A manifesto of cooperation between Labour and Plaid Cymru, the agreement set out a wide-ranging agenda for government. Within this manifesto, a pledge was made to 'explore the creation of a National Gallery for Wales'.[53] In a stinging criticism of the language of *One Wales*, opposition leader Nick Bourne appeared to mock the lack of commitment in the text, arguing that:

> It does not say that you are committed to a national gallery . . . I am surprised that what used to be called the Party of Wales—is not ensuring that that is printed in large block capitals in this agreement.[54]

Melding certainly acknowledged that for a Welsh Conservative party that had backed the losing side in the Yes–No devolution campaigns, a National Gallery provided the means of image-building in Wales:

> Whether this was a political or a public thing, it was both really . . . a cynic would say that the Welsh Conservatives needed to de-toxify, so they were looking to find more popular projects which they could use . . . it [the National Gallery] was definitely part of our process of showing the people of Wales that the Conservative party could develop policy fit for Wales.[55]

Examining the cabinet statement of Alun Ffred Jones in 2008, the consensus reached in the consultation documentation ultimately fell in favour of the establishment of both National Galleries and National Centres for Contemporary Art. As indicated above, the Heritage Minister concluded that in the short term, the extension of the National Museum was not a feasible option, and a National Museum of Art project would serve as a temporary solution. This announcement was not received with approval in the Senedd debating chamber, with Alun Davies AM stating 'I am disappointed that a national gallery is not a priority for the national museum in the short to medium term',[56] while Peter Black AM offered a thinly veiled attack on the time frames involved, noting that 'in "One Wales", you pledge to support the establishment of a national gallery of contemporary art as well as a centre for contemporary art, but I now realise that that is an aspiration for the next Assembly Government rather than the present one'.[57] Generally though, the conclusions of the Heritage Minister were accepted. It is of further significance that since 2008, and the opening of the National Museum of Art, there has been no further debate on the National Gallery concept in the Senedd.

While the formation of an equivalent National Gallery resulted in a much greater presence for the arts in Wales, conversely, certain narratives and themes were removed from previously prominent positions. Perhaps the most prominent 'casualties' of reforms to take place in the National Museum were archaeological and historical narratives. In order to accommodate expanded provision for contemporary arts, archaeology-themed collections were reduced to a single gallery, having previously been a core part of the museum displays and activities prior to and since the official opening of the museum in 1927. 'A former employer of archaeological luminaries including Mortimer Wheeler, Cyril Fox and Victor Erle Nash-Williams, the National Museum of Wales established a world-class reputation for archaeological research. A shift of emphasis at St Fagans, however, will in 2017 see new exhibition spaces open to the general public, which will include relocated and reinterpreted archaeology collections as part of a wider and, theoretically, coherent historical narrative.

The extent to which archaeology will retain the same level of gallery space as it once held in the Cathays National Museum building awaits to be seen, but it would appear inevitable that the ancient Welsh narrative will be less significant that it had once been. The St Fagans narrative, while benefitting from significant investment, will unavoidably continue to be dominated by the large agricultural and industrial buildings which have been a mainstay of the museum's strategy. It could be contested whether or not this move represents a devaluation of archaeology and prehistoric narratives in the museum's priorities, and an accurate critique will not be possible until displays are formally revealed in 2017. The emphasis on arts and industrial narratives in the post-devolution period, however, would suggest that the future interpretation of the National Museum will fall on early modern periods of Welsh history and contemporary reflections on Welsh identity, manifest through art collections and competitions, rather than focusing on a backward-looking historical story.

Conclusions

The concept of heritage in Wales has evolved. The importance of a national industrial narrative has certainly been enshrined in the form of the industrial-heavy National Waterfront Museum. Yet in a broader sense, the nature of heritage in Wales has changed not so much in terms of narrative content, but in terms of what is now expected of the sector. This is reflected in successive Welsh Government responses to heritage agendas. During the two periods of coalition government, positive heritage initiatives, such as free entry to museums, were launched, as well as the culture post being rebranded as the Heritage Ministry in 2007. In addition, there is now the foundation for a forthcoming Heritage Bill. In terms of heritage being prioritised above other elements of the culture portfolio, this has been far more visible during years of coalition. In an austerity-influenced climate, heritage providers in Wales have had to adapt to ensure their viability. This has been manifest in an emphasis on opening museums and sites to 'non-audiences', and encouraging participants from deprived communities. Equally, prominent heritage sites are now being rolled out as part of the 'good news story', promoting the nation as a place for visitors and investors alike. These developing strategies, though, are direct responses to the priorities of a Welsh Government displaying a desire to control the wider heritage sector. This degree of control may not extend as far as Welsh Labour politicians would have preferred, but it is undeniable that the government influence is being felt and demonstrated in the current heritage provision in Wales.

Notes

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3. Interview with Eleanor Burnham, 29 June 2011.
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7. Wales Tourist Board, *Achieving Our Potential.*
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12. See DCMS, *Heritage Protection for the 21st Century* (2012) http://www.official-documents.gov.uk/document/cm70/7057/7057.pdf, date accessed 6 October 2012.
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22. Ibid.
23. See Welsh Assembly Government, *Report on the Citizen-centred Governance Review of the Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Wales* (Cardiff: Welsh Government, 2010).
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27. Ibid., p. 16.
28. Ibid., p. 16.
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30. Communities, Equality and Local Government Committee, *Inquiry into Participation in the Arts in Wales Consultation Letter* (Cardiff: Welsh Assembly Government, 2012).
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33. Ibid., p. 16.
34. Welsh Assembly Government, 'Communities First Funding For Interaction with the National Museum Wales' (2012). See http://wales.gov.uk/publications/accessinfo/drnewhomepage/dr2011/house/5835496/?lang=en, date accessed 13 August 2012.
35. 'Making a Real Difference in Eradicating Child Poverty', *Western Mail*, Saturday 16 June 2012, p. 24.

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42. Ibid.
43. Ibid.
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45. A. Ffred Jones, *Oral* [statement]—*Display of Visual Art in Wales* (Cardiff, Welsh Assembly Government, 2008).
46. 'Watch Out Tate, the New National Museum of Art is Open', *Western Mail*, Monday 2 July 2012, p. 8.
47. National Assembly for Wales, *The Official Record. Tuesday, 16 May 2000* (Cardiff: Welsh Assembly Government, 2000), p. 9.
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49. National Assembly for Wales, *The Official Record. Thursday, 29th November 2001* (Cardiff: Welsh Assembly Government, 2001), p. 59.
50. Interview with David Melding, 8 October 2012.
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55. Interview with David Melding, 8 October 2012.
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CHAPTER 12

Tourism, Heritage and Conservation in the Irish Midlands: The Workhouse Centre, Portumna

Glenn Hooper

Heritage and Tourism

Despite economic setbacks and various political and management challenges particular to the establishment of the Irish Free State, the Irish Tourist Association was established in 1925, followed by the foundation of the Irish Tourist Board in 1939, the development of both seen as necessary to the formation of a professional tourism authority with powers for overseeing and directing tourism development in Ireland. By the time that transatlantic flights began to touch down at the newly opened Shannon Airport in 1945, and Bord Fáilte was created in 1952, tourism was becoming a growing and increasingly vital part of the Irish economy.[1] Indeed, even though there would be later setbacks, especially in the early 1970s when the political uncertainties of Northern Ireland impacted on southern Irish visitor numbers, tourism was a still crucial element for the Irish economy, in terms of revenue and employment, but also in terms of projecting a positive, national image abroad.[2] Irish tourism was then, and is still today, big business, and Irish heritage, no less than its equivalents in

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England, Scotland or Wales, is a major part of the tourism offer. Indeed, when the financial crash occurred towards the end of 2008 it was tourism that many people, not just politicians and major stakeholders, turned to as a possible answer to the financial and employment difficulties of the country. We had always ‘done’ tourism, the thinking went; it was what helped establish an identity for the country during the early post-independence decades, what kept emigration and unemployment figures less catastrophic than they could sometimes be, and with our built and natural heritage, in addition to our renowned hospitality, still relatively small population and agricultural image, what would now save us from utter ruin.[3] Even today, statistics from the Irish Department of Transport, Tourism and Sport suggest that in 2014 tourism had generated for the Irish exchequer earnings of €3.55 billion, and when a combined figure for domestic and international visitors is produced the revenue is somewhere in the region of €6.14 billion. A total of 137,000 people now work in the food and accommodation sector alone, while 205,000 are employed across the wider tourism industry. Building on recent successes and growing visitor numbers, the recently produced government document *People, Place and Policy: Growing Tourism to 2025* develops an island-wide strategy in which Irish attractions are grouped under themes, with heritage a central element in this programme: city attractions, historical stories, landscape and outdoor activities. This 2015 document formulates strategies that seek to enhance further industry development, and it aims to do all this while retaining faith in the importance of Ireland’s built and cultural heritage as a major contributor to tourism growth.[4]

Opened in late 2011, the Irish Workhouse Centre (IWC) in Portumna, East Galway represents a modest contribution in terms of overall tourism figures and revenue (presently around 4000 visitors per annum). Nevertheless, although a recent development and therefore as yet relatively untested, its capacity to contribute to the heritage of the region, as well as to the wider national and myriad tourism narratives, is already clear. Unlike purpose-built interpretive or heritage centres, the IWC is housed in what was the Portumna Workhouse, one of 166 such institutions built between 1842 and 1852 following the establishment of the Irish Poor Law Act of 1838.[5] Designed by the young architect George Wilkinson, who had already designed two dozen workhouses in England and Wales, and who had been invited by the Poor Law Commission to take up the challenging task of overseeing the construction of Irish workhouses, the Portumna workhouse opened in 1852, and was initially designed to accommodate 600 inmates. From the early nineteenth century through to the time of Wilkinson's work in Ireland, workhouse architecture had developed considerably, from plan to courtyard to square to hexagonal, before being modified through a combination of convenience, cost and regional specificity to the type of forms we see in Ireland, and of which Portumna is a typical example. Laid out in an H-block formation, with separate boys' and girls', adult male and female dormitories, distinct exercise yards, and with a central spine comprising a chapel, refectory and kitchen stores, the building designed by Wilkinson retains much of its former architectural integrity. Thanks to the efforts of local business, Galway County Council, the Department of Heritage and Arts as well as funding from the European Rural Development Agency, the structure is now on its way to full recovery after an extensive conservation programme which has involved drawing on the expertise of a number of agencies across Britain and Ireland.[6]

From the perspective of local business, tourism-related and otherwise, the revitalisation of a long-neglected structure such as the workhouse is crucial to the local tourism offer.[7] On the face of it Portumna, a market town of a few thousand residents, has an already well-established infrastructure, with a range of activities and facilities to entice the visitor: Portumna Castle, a forest park, the ruins of a fifteenth-century Dominican priory and popular festivals, the town is also located at the juncture of the river Shannon and Lough Derg and boasts a healthy marine tourism industry. However, although Portumna Castle and its priory might be construed as heritage sites that neatly balance the aquatic attractions of the Shannon and Lough Derg, the IWC introduces a different theme entirely. Here lies another type of narrative, a nineteenth-century account of ordinary people whose poverty and destitution now constitutes the basis of a heritage attraction. No different to their partners across the Irish Sea, the Irish tourism agencies largely interpret heritage in terms of castles and stately homes, many complete with walled gardens, arboretums and gravelled walks, places that entice us with not only their architectural majesty, dignity and historical importance, but as places of wealth, wonderment and fantasy. True, a growing emphasis of late has been placed on industrial heritage, contested heritage, heritage-from-below; in other words an increasing acceptance and understanding that the term should be broader and more comprehensive, and therefore demonstrate in both the sites chosen, and the artefacts displayed, social and cultural variation and inclusion. Yet the fact remains that in places like Ireland, for domestic and overseas visitors alike, heritage is a category more often associated with antiquarian and historical richness, scarcity and aesthetic value, protection and conservation.

The development of the IWC therefore represents a unique challenge as well as opportunity for local residents and businesses to drive tourism through an exploration of an undeveloped aspect of Irish heritage tourism. While local workhouses are known to those who live near them, and much historical research has been carried out in recent decades, this is one of the first Irish workhouses to open its doors to the public, and the outreach and multi-educational opportunities, not to mention alternative heritage narratives that accompany such a site, are considerable. Such institutions are not without precedent: the National Trust in Britain oversees the management and maintenance of the Southwell Workhouse Museum, the Ripon Museum Trust is responsible for the Ripon Workhouse Museum in North Yorkshire, while the Svekborg Workhouse Museum in Denmark, an institution that retained its original purpose until 1974, all offer tours and exhibitions of their institutions, and are educational as well as heritage facilities that promote greater understanding of historical social exclusion and poverty. However, there is a further dimension to the Portumna site which makes its development crucial to the local and regional tourism industry, and it is this. In addition to grouping Irish attractions into themes, the *People, Place and Policy* document produced by the Irish Department of Travel, Tourism and Sport spatially zoned areas of the country, and linked particular attractions and thematic interests with clearly identifiable regions, mainly on the eastern and western seaboards. The obvious upshot of all this is that some places—because of strenuous marketing, the allocation of government resources and upgrades to local amenities—now stand a much greater chance of benefitting from rising visitor numbers and tourism revenues than others. That Donegal, a border county with geopolitical as well as cultural connections to the North, and spatially distant from the centre of government, should now benefit from greater inclusion is a welcome development. Yet places that are now far removed from the 'Wild Atlantic Way', 'Dublin Plus' and the 'Culture and Heritage' trail, all three of which emphatically endorse Ireland's coastal regions, leave the Irish midlands, and institutions like the IWC with its potentially more challenging heritage narrative, poorly served.

Despite such challenges, Portumna has an opportunity to diversify its tourism offer in ways that benefit the local area, as well as contribute to a grander narrative about national identity formation, social and cultural inequalities and the creation and implementation of power.[8] The Portumna Workhouse, we must remember, is also the 'Irish' workhouse, and has staked a claim to a role in the construction of both regional as well as national history. It can therefore align itself with wider narratives of inclusivity, and the support it has received from the South East Galway Integrated Rural Development Programme, Galway County Council and the Heritage Council suggests that the project's potential for furthering understanding of Irish public history and historiography, in addition to the practical matters of rural development and job creation, is well founded. Workhouse history and exhibitions are unlikely to appeal as widely to the day tripper or casual visitor as castles and galleries, what Drury calls 'polite' architecture.[9] The Workhouse Museum in Derry has now closed, ostensibly because it was located in the city's Waterside district, away from the main shopping and recreation facilities, and therefore not as integrated with the rest of the city's tourism offer as it might be. But another reason for its lack of success lies in the narrative of despair and destitution which it must tell. Despite the recent interest in dark heritage (and dark tourism generally), the majority of visitors, domestic and international, require considerable coaxing to undergo the sort of emotional investment that is necessary to engage with the narratives of social exclusion and hardship that such sites present.[10] Yet the Irish Workhouse Centre is different. In the emphasis it has placed upon contributing to wider historical narratives, as well as the heritage conservation work it has both championed and now provides as training, it has constructed a unique, interdisciplinary mix. A training centre as well as a heritage site, a resource for locals as well as overseas visitors, the Workhouse Centre is a thoughtfully managed example of site diversification in action.

Conservation and Rural Development

A central plank in the drive to develop alternative heritage relates to the working and labour conditions of marginalised communities, to demonstrate how ordinary lives, in frequently inelegant surroundings, have evolved and sometimes struggled for visibility and acceptance. An emphasis, therefore, on working conditions, on craft and industry, on mechanisation and industrial progress, marks many of these initiatives. However, what this new emphasis has also done is make relevant the broader experiences of working-class life, including labour history and trade unionism, the narratives of poverty and exclusion, as well as the myriad issues relating to health, diet and disease that frequently accompany them. No longer passed over in favour of dominant heritage narratives of wealth and achievement, with their corresponding emphasis on architectural grandeur, the realities of working-class and rural life are now readily foregrounded in institutions such as the Museum of Country Life in Mayo and the National Museum of Rural Life in East Kilbride. Moreover, such a turn in popular heritage projects away from narratives of political power and status to the specificities of ordinary life has laid the groundwork for initiatives such as those presently underway at Portumna. Indeed, the management's commitment to the development of conservation programmes has been especially fruitful, and constitutes one of the most enterprising of all their efforts. Of course, conservation has been central to matters relating to heritage and the protection of the built environment from the nineteenth century, first discussed by Ruskin in *The Seven Lamps of Architecture* (1849) when he identified restoration as an historical distortion as much as an aesthetic abomination:

> Neither by the public, nor by those who have the care of public monuments, is the true meaning of the word *restoration* understood. It means the most total destruction which a building can suffer; a destruction out of which no remnants can be gathered: a destruction accompanied with false description of the thing destroyed. Do not let us deceive ourselves in this important matter; it is *impossible*, as impossible as to raise the dead, to restore anything that has ever been great or beautiful in architecture.[11]

The formation of the Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings (SPAB) in 1877, driven largely by William Morris and Philip Webb, took the debate a step further, and when the National Trust was founded in 1896—and drew upon SPAB for many of its ideas in relation to building maintenance—conservation became firmly rooted within architectural heritage and the wider built environment.

While increasing concerns about the architectural integrity of the British and Irish built environment continued throughout the twentieth century, under threat from poor restoration as much as from neglect, conservation became increasingly politicised, often associated with conservative middle-class concerns and with a historical record that was deemed either irrelevant, or worse, nostalgic in tone. Old buildings, it was thought by many, celebrated a particular set of aesthetic values, a type of learning and cultural capital, and reinforced a sense of English or British identity that not everyone felt comfortable with. Indeed, even the National Trust, despite its long-established efforts to protect historic structures, and often the contents themselves, came in for mounting criticism for its anti-urbanism and disregard for the modern. Conservation was also criticised by some for being expensive, elitist, a niche area even within museum and heritage sectors, and therefore far removed from the operational, marketing and management practicalities of the site. Although standards have improved greatly in recent years conservation has had an arguably even more difficult passage in Ireland, conditioned partly no doubt by an indigenous propensity for short-termism, but also by a postcolonial mentality that was, in several instances, resistant or indifferent to an architectural heritage that was regarded by many as an imported intrusion.

Did matters significantly improve throughout the middle and latter decades of the twentieth century? Did the conservation lobby find itself better resourced or understood as the Irish tourism offer diversified and greater interest was taken by visitors in urban as well as rural locales? Although the Office of Public Works (OPW) has been in operation from the middle of the nineteenth century, the body responsible for the protection of structures such as barracks, coastguard stations, national schools and others, the National Trust for Ireland, An Taisce, was founded in 1948, a non-governmental, membership-based charity with an especial interest in the country's environment and built heritage. Further to this, the Irish Georgian Society was established in 1958, with a commitment to the protection of buildings of architectural merit, while the Irish Heritage Council, founded in 1988, is actively engaged in outreach and other educational programmes, and has a multi-interdisciplinary, integrated approach to heritage. One might well imagine, then, that Irish heritage—and conservation—has in recent decades become respected and better understood, and that with several organisations now established for its protection and maintenance, that the country's built heritage was adequately safeguarded against neglect and mismanagement.[12] However, the 1960s and 1970s were particularly difficult times for the conservation of Ireland's, and particularly Dublin's built environment, with the Irish Electricity Supply Board and Dublin Corporation both responsible for the construction of modern office blocks in the Georgian capital, despite prolonged public protest. Indeed, in Frank McDonald's *The Destruction of Dublin* (1985) a truly despairing picture of neglect and arrogance, planning indifference and architectural ineptitude is catalogued, his story requiring further amplification a few years later in *Saving the City* (1989) as many continued to destroy in the pursuit of greedy ambition and self-interest.[13] That said, the 1980s did begin to herald change: the International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS) Ireland was formed in 1984, and in 1991 the Institute for the Conservation of Historic and Artistic Works in Ireland (ICHAWI) was formed (and merged in 2013 with the Irish Institute of Conservator-Restorers, IPCRA), all of which has strengthened public awareness and an appreciation of the value of Ireland's built heritage and the work of conservationists. Of course much has been irretrievably lost, but a good deal of the fabric of Georgian Dublin that was once deemed to be under threat from demolition or neglect has now been saved, and an increasing awareness of the value of the built environment has become better established.

During the last two decades Irish tourism and heritage, including all aspects of the arts, have seen significant changes. And while heritage and heritage tourism has never faltered, the drive to develop urban tourism in the late 1980s has produced a wider repertoire of venues and attractions.[14] In emulation of the example of Glasgow, Dublin, like many British and continental cities, drove an aggressive regeneration programme that saw the development of the Temple Bar area of the city which, backed up by intensive marketing, a buoyant economy and enhanced infrastructure, including the expansion of Dublin airport, now accounts for a significant segment of Irish tourism revenue.[15] Urban tourism to other cities, including Cork, Galway and Kilkenny in particular, is also a now well-developed element within Irish tourism and provides an effective compliment to the more traditional landscape and natural heritage long associated with the western seaboard in particular. In a time of greater consumer choice, higher levels of mobility and changing tourism needs, the development of a stronger urban tourism initiative, as well as the regeneration projects that have stemmed from it, is both necessary and useful. Although the interest shown in parts of Britain for industrial and other heritage-from-below projects has also seen significant growth—at Ironbridge, the South Wales Miner's Museum, the various slate, steam and fisheries museums at Gwynedd, Swindon and Fife respectively—Irish developments, despite having no industrial revolution worth talking about, and little heavy industry outside of Belfast—have also performed well by comparison. Indeed, two principal industrial and labour heritage themes distinctly emerge, which the maritime museums in Arklow, Inishowen and Dún Laoghaire and the railway and transport museums in Leitrim, Donegal and Tipperary, as well as in the National Transport Museum in Dublin, clearly demonstrate. In addition, a number of mining museums and industrial heritage sites at Arigna, Allihies and Glengowla, as well as at a number of Northern Irish venues, such as the Irish Linen Centre in Lisburn and the Folk and Transport Museum in Cultra, would suggest that an acknowledgement of the contribution of industrial heritage to the country, north and south, has been well served.

Moreover, what this greatly expanded and more positive attitude towards alternative heritage forms has also done is to directly benefit institutions such as the Portumna Workhouse in practical ways. The literal benefits to the local community, in terms of having an additional resource and place of training, as well as a further contribution to rural development initiatives through tourism attractions that significantly broaden historical narratives, embed the project, and make it a more meaningful part of the Irish heritage offer. Alfrey and Putnam suggest that with the emergence of new heritage initiatives 'education and entertainment, conservation and regeneration, culture and commerce are no longer simply opposed'.[16] Certainly, the joint efforts of representatives from the South East Galway Integrated Rural Development board, the South East Galway Voluntary Housing Association, the Architectural Conservation Office of Galway County Council and the Health Service Executive specifically identified, from the very outset, the interrelated and collaborative nature of the project: 'Support for the re-development of the workhouse, in particular from the local community, is strong and the commitment from the Project Team, firm. Instead of an underused complex at the edge of town, what we will see in time is a vibrant area, meeting the needs and wants of locals and visitors in many ways, whilst honouring the fine craftsmanship of the past and encompassing new build that is genuinely sustainable and appropriate'.[17] The fact that the Workhouse is a 'Centre' and not a 'Museum' also demonstrates a greater level of inclusivity, and a desire to be seen as part of an ongoing and collective entity rather than a fixed narrative space dedicated to display and spectacle.

While a desire to ensure maximum usage from the workhouse has involved seeking the opinion of local community groups as to the best use of the site, the conservation needs of the structure have been paramount. Paul Drury suggests that 'successful conservation always depends on a use or uses consistent with the historic form, character and structural capacity of the building', and the concerted efforts of the workhouse's stakeholders—conservation officers, workhouse management, the various trades—have maintained the highest standards, particularly with respect to repair techniques.[18] Dublin-based architects Kelly and Cogan were chosen for their wide-ranging experience and conservation portfolio, and the initial survey produced in 2005 laid emphasis on the architectural composition as well as historical significance of the workhouse site. While the architects acknowledged that the structures were ‘not unique’, they maintained that for historical as well sociocultural reasons the refurbishment of the complex was desirable, and they in turn engaged the international engineering consultancy, Buro Happold, in the compilation of a master plan for the site. An intensive six-month multi-disciplinary consultation, including liaising with community groups, as well as drawing on the experience of planners, ecologist, archaeologists and service engineers, produced intermediate reports on flora and fauna, works and mitigation measures, as well as a full conservation report. Drury reminds us that ‘repair work should be kept to a minimum necessary to stabilize and conserve buildings’, and that a strategy for repair ‘should begin with a clear understanding of the historic development of the building’.[19] Certainly the need to sympathetically preserve as much of the original fabric of the complex at Portumna was a priority and the authenticity of the site was fully appreciated, while a policy of minimal intervention became established practice from the outset. The Traditional Building Skills training programme offered on-site during 2014, for example, provided trades and craft workers with an opportunity to carry out remedial stone repairs, repair internal lime-rendered walls on the former dining and chapel area, as well as preliminary parging of the underside of the roof. Financially supported by the Irish Department of Arts, Heritage and the Gaeltacht, the scheme drew together craft and conservation, practice and interpretation, community needs and wider regional development plans, especially as they related to the role of heritage and tourism in East Galway.

Interpretation and Commemoration

As a building associated with human trauma and poverty the Workhouse Centre relates to the history of nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Ireland, and constitutes a tale of hardship and difficulty amidst sometimes well-intentioned if unnecessarily harsh philanthropy. Despite the histories that the IWC shares with other sites in Ireland and Britain, however, the dedicated Centre for Workhouse History in Ireland has qualities that make it a distinct venue, responsible for conveying information about workhouse history generally, and for locating it within the context of nineteenth-century political, social and economic developments more specifically. A particular challenge, therefore, lies in dealing not only with local specificities, but with larger narratives, ensuring that authenticity and historical accuracy are respected while at the same time working to establish the site as a visitor and heritage attraction. Historical interpretation in Ireland has undergone much reappraisal over the past three decades, and its impact upon the heritage and museum sector has been significant. The Famine Museum in Strokestown, Co. Roscommon, for example, set especially high standards when established in the early 1990s. At a time when the conflict in Northern Ireland was ongoing, when it might be said that history was still being made as much as written about, the difficulties of dealing with so traumatic a narrative as the death of 1 million people, and the emigration of a further 2 million, was not lightly undertaken. Yet the Famine Museum produced a sympathetic, historically accurate and thoughtful account of a period in Irish history long avoided by many save those directly engaged in Famine history and research. Presented within the context of world famine, the museum told a complicated story without recourse to the politics of blame, all the more remarkable given that it was, and continues to be, an independent entity without the sort of financial support available to other Irish museums.[20]

Interpretations of the past, particularly at public sites such as in museums, heritage centres and galleries, can involve the presentation of difficult and contested versions of knowledge, accompanied by a growing range of audio, visual, textual and interactive materials, not all of which will be appreciated, nor engaged with, by all visitors. Tasked not only with the marketing and management of the site, museum and heritage teams must negotiate a tricky path through the niceties of historiographical method, ensuring balance and accuracy, and all within a space that is also defined as an attraction. In an essay on the politics of heritage tourism, Linda Richter suggests that claims to political representation have increased significantly in recent years, and mainly for two relatively simple reasons: to be *in* the story, and to have a say in *how* the larger story is told.[21] However, unlike more conventional museum spaces, which can be knowledge-orientated and highly structured, the IWC not only manages to avoid overly complicated narratives but successfully blends the needs of the tourist and heritage visitor with the operational necessities of the site. For example, in the main arrival and reception area visitors are met with information boards and plans in which the background to workhouse history and architecture is presented, but without much indication of accompanying exhibits and artefacts. The space lacks ornamentation, is almost bare save the original fittings and slate floor, the walls a literal blank—and white—canvas. For visitors who have experienced over-engineered venues, where spectacle is paramount, where exhibits are regularly changed and themes sometimes frantically developed, the simplicity of the workhouse is one of its defining features. Modest in scale, unfussy in its presentation, the visitor is forcefully reminded that it is largely the structure—and a simple one at that—that is here on offer.

To the right of the reception the visitor enters the tourist information area where some additional reading materials are for sale, while a door off the reception to the left leads to a multipurpose space where talks are held and educational videos may be seen. Both spaces mirror their former purpose: the information and reception area was the original boardroom and clerk's office, while the lecture room is in the place of the former school room. Such careful and minimal redeployment of the building's public spaces is in keeping with thoughtful conservation and reuse, while the use of staggered display panels simply accompanies rather than instructs the visitor. Moreover, rather than a seamless display of tidily finished structures there is a sense of work-in-progress, of incompletion and provisionality. Five buildings within the complex have now been reroofed, but much work still remains, especially in the infirmary and laundry buildings, while the kitchen stores and refectory building, now secure from the elements, are little more than that. Some windows have been replaced, buttery-textured limed walls on upper floors have been replastered, ivy stripped back and woodwork treated for rot and worm. But a long refectory table, approximately 18 feet × 6 feet wide, sits awaiting the attentions of the conservator. Monies have been already received and spent from the Irish Government under the Rural Development Programme 2007–13 and the European Agricultural Fund, the latter specifically dedicated to investing in rural areas.

A sense of solemnity, of grandeur almost, is strongly evoked by the building, though this appears to be less the effect of the workhouse narrative that is stationed around the site, the educational remit that accompanies all heritage and museum venues, than through the very fabric of the structure itself. The muted colours and simple palette, the flagged floors and cantilevered staircases, the clearly defined tool marks on the limestone steps, the remaining ironmongery, including the forged hinges; there runs throughout the complex a simplicity and honesty that is both admirable and appropriate. Given that the inmates of the workhouse had little or nothing, were separated by sex and age, and dependent on others for the most basic of amenities, the elementary and unassuming ethos that has been carefully developed captures perfectly the tragedy of their lives. As a response to a conservation challenge and as a solution to ongoing concerns over funding, the sense of restraint clearly visible throughout the complex is an entirely appropriate measure. However, such abstinence is also a very fitting response to the narrative of workhouse life, and an altogether more thoughtful act of commemoration. In largely empty rooms, with only wood, stone and plaster for texture, the narrative is more suggestive than told. Indeed, one might suggest that this is an altogether more experiential product, the physicality of the place allowed to simply exist, on its own terms, without over-interpretation.[22] To walk across the girls' yard, aware of the culture of segregation that was imposed, to then climb the stairs to the upper two floors to the women's dormitories, the still intact balustrade and metal handrail curving gently upwards, is to enter a rarefied space. The work of the conservation team is exemplarily evident here; windows and pitched roof interiors are stripped and treated, while the raised sleeping platforms, now dressed with hessian mattresses, create a strikingly controlled, visually suggestive tableau. In a sense the Centre is creating awareness rather than instructing or imparting information. Yet the move away from instrumentality is governed less by a policy or ideological shift in heritage practice than by a simple recognition of the appropriateness of the space, of isolated histories that require—like the act of conservation itself—only minimal interpretation (Fig. 12.1).[23]

'When combined, heritage and tourism', writes Benjamin Porter, 'result in a particular type of travel aimed not at exploring the unknown or exotic, but at learning, celebrating, and displaying one's relationship with the past'.[24] Although the engagement with the past evidenced at the Irish Workhouse Centre is presented in tangible form (with its air vents designed to counter the spread of infection, its latrines and laundry area, its workroom and stores, all suggestive of health, labour and routine) there exists an intangible quality also that deepens the visitor experience. Hilde Hein suggests that 'experience is a private affair', and when one thinks in terms of the inmates who are silently commemorated, their identities passed sensitively over in favour of anonymity, one feels that the past is being discreetly developed and understood.[25] There is no celebration here, nor is there sentimentality. Neither is there a conventional learning program, but instead a performative, suggestive, more-than-representational production of the sort recently discussed by David Crouch.[26] This is not to suggest that the IWC management have opted for a fluid and ahistorical presentation over factuality, for there is a rootedness about both

Fig. 12.1 Photo of Workhouse interior (Photo copyright, G. Hooper)

the place and the narrative it tells. Chronological information pertaining to the development of the workhouses in Ireland, and the institution at Portumna in particular, are clearly evident, and it might be argued that to do otherwise, with this story, would be irresponsible. But rather than choose between an intensive and informative dramatisation or an open-ended and ludic evocation, between the presentation of hard facts and postmodern uncertainty, the management have opted for a balanced delivery in which stories are told, but at a respectful distance, where visitors have guidance, but also the freedom to engage with the narrative, as and how they wish.[27] In terms of interpretation policy and delivery the IWC is admirably balanced and fair, while its role in securing community participation, and the careful attention paid to the authenticity and conservation of the site, works to secure the structure for future generations. At a time of slow and patchy economic recovery, when places in the Irish midlands need all the help they can get, the workhouse at Portumna suggests a model worth not only celebrating, but emulating, as an innovative contribution to the delivery of Irish heritage and tourism.

Notes

1. For discussion of the relationship between State and tourism interests, and of the sometimes uncertain formulation of tourism strategy throughout the 1950s, see I. Furlong, 'Tourism and the Irish State in the 1950s', in D. Keogh, F. O'Shea and C. Quinlan, eds, *Ireland in the 1950s: the Lost Decade* (Dublin: Mercier, 2004).
2. For a full analysis of the development of Irish tourism since Irish independence, see J. Deegan and D.A. Dineen, *Tourism Policy and Performance: The Irish Experience* (London: Thomson, 1997).
3. For discussion of tourism policy and initiatives, especially throughout Ireland's 'boom' years, see A. O'Brien, *The Politics of Tourism Development* (London: Palgrave, 2011).
4. *People, Place and Policy: Growing Tourism to 2025*, Irish Department of Transport, Tourism and Sport, 2015.
5. For analysis of Irish pauperism and the poor law system, see J. O'Connor, *Workhouses of Ireland: The Fate of Ireland's Poor* (Dublin: Mercier, 1992); V. Crossman, *Politics, Pauperism and Power in Nineteenth-Century Ireland* (Manchester: MUP, 2006).
6. Informal, though highly beneficial contacts were established between the IWC and Peter Higginbotham in England, a noted authority on the workhouse system. In addition, advice was sought from Historic Scotland's National Conservation Centre with regard to conservation techniques, including the use of lime mortars and other traditional building skills.
7. On heritage and place, see L. Smith, *Uses of Heritage* (London: Routledge, 2006), pp. 74–80.
8. For analysis of heritage and scale, with particular emphasis on local heritage initiatives, see B. Graham, G.J. Ashworth and J.E. Tunbridge, *A Geography of Heritage: Power, Culture and Economy* (London: Hodder, 2000), pp. 197–207.
9. P. Drury, 'Conservation Techniques: The Built Environment', in R. Harrison, ed., *Manual of Heritage Management* (Oxford: Heinemann, 2006), p. 198.
10. This is a fairly large and growing field. See J. Lennon and M. Foley, *Dark Tourism: The Attraction of Death and Disaster* (London: Cengage, 2000); J.E. Tunbridge and G. Ashworth, *Dissonant Heritage: the Management of the Past as a Resource in Conflict* (Chichester: Wiley, 1996); G. Ashworth and R. Hartmann, eds, *Horror and Human Tragedy Revisited: The Management of Sites of Atrocities for Tourism* (New York: Cognizant, 2005); R. Sharpley and P. Stone, eds, *The Darker Side of Travel: The Theory and Practice of Dark Tourism* (Bristol: Channel View, 2009); T. Seaton, 'Guided by the Dark: From Thanatopsis to Thanatourism', *International Journal of*

Heritage Studies 2.4 (1996); G. Hooper and J. Lennon, eds, *Dark Tourism: Practice and Interpretation* (Routledge, 2016). For analysis of dark heritage, see G.J. Ashworth, 'The Memorialization of Violence and Tragedy: Human Trauma as Heritage', in B. Graham and P. Howard, eds, *The Ashgate Research Companion to Heritage and Identity* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008); J. Giblin, 'Critical Approaches to Post-Colonial (Post-Conflict) Heritage', in E. Waterton and S. Watson, eds, *The Palgrave Handbook of Contemporary Heritage Research* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2015).

11. J. Ruskin, *The Seven Lamps of Architecture* (London: Dent, 1928), p. 199.
12. On Irish regulatory frameworks, see G. Alpin, *Heritage: Identification, Conservation, and Management* (Oxford: OUP, 2002), pp. 290–294.
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19. Ibid.
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21. L. Richter, 'The Politics of Heritage Tourism Development: Emerging Issues for the New Millennium', in G. Corsane, ed., *Heritage, Museums and Galleries: An Introductory Reader* (London: Routledge, 2005).
22. The approach might not adhere strictly to orthodox constructivist learning, though elements are clearly evident. See T. Copeland, 'Constructing Pasts: Interpreting the Historic Environment', in A. Hems and M. Blockley, eds, *Heritage Interpretation* (London: Routledge, 2006).

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25. H. Hein, *The Museum in Transition: A Philosophical Perspective* (Washington: Smithsonian, 2000), p. 37.
26. D. Crouch, 'Affect, Heritage, Feeling', in E. Waterton and S. Watson, *The Palgrave Handbook*, ibid.
27. The approach has some affinities with the informal learning strategies outlined in G. Black, *Transforming Museums in the Twenty-First Century* (London: Routledge, 2012), pp. 77–81. See, also, P. Howard, *Heritage: Management, Interpretation, Identity* (London: Continuum, 2003), especially chapter 9, 'Interpretation in Practice' ('There is ample evidence in the field of landscape perception that mystery is a most important ingredient of interesting landscapes, and there is no reason to suppose that it is any less true in other areas of heritage', p. 249).

CHAPTER 13

'Where Do Heritage Trails Go to Die?' Stepping Out at the British Seaside

Paul Gilchrist

Introduction

Heritage trails are an established feature of the British tourism and leisure landscape.[1] Whilst there is an expanding literature on the variety of urban and rural trails that are packaged for the modern tourist, less is explicitly known about trails in coastal and seaside locations.[2] This chapter suggests that trails are a dimension of coastal life. A mushrooming assemblage of interpretive materials awaits the visitor to the British coast. Such trails have recorded information at specific locations that can be used for embodied engagements with the natural and built environment, and as such they organise points of interest by sealing memories, narratives and histories into route maps that provide knowledge about a place. Yet, trails also present imaginative possibilities that transcend the cartographic, becoming structures for doing things together; part of the lived experiences of authenticity and connection being performed in coastal space through heritage and walking practices.[3]

When I presented an earlier version of this chapter at a conference on the leisure history of coasts, ports and waterways, one of the delegates was taken aback with the growth in heritage trail products at the British seaside and asked me, 'Where do heritage trails go to die?'[4] This intriguing

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question immediately focused discussion on the shelf life of heritage trails and the imaginative possibilities of the cartographic plotting of historic and cultural coordinates. It spoke to the multiple spatialities that communities could employ as they told stories about their past; the types of place identity being articulated and the material forms in which they are expressed; and the ephemerality of the heritage trail as a low-hanging fruit of the funded project deliverable. The discussion raised an important question about whether there is an essential story of the British seaside that is being told through heritage trails. Or is it a dynamic form that can only reflect, at best, a partial and parochial knowledge? This chapter proceeds as a response to these questions. It provides an exploratory account of the types of heritage trail that can be found at the British seaside. It is not an exhaustive survey. It follows a selective analysis of empirical cases based upon an opportunistic sampling technique. Between 2011 and 2015 I made visits to 35 seaside resorts around the British mainland, participating in both guided and self-guided heritage trails. These experiences have helped me to develop an understanding of heritage trails as a process and product. Heritage trail materials—leaflets, brochures, photo documentation of signage—were assembled during these visits, supplemented later with a systematic trawl of available digital trails obtained via web searches. Through these experiences and a close reading of the texts I provide a typology of coastal and seaside heritage trails which helps to account for different social and economic objectives inherent in the trails as well as different forms of collaboration and participation in the making and delivery of the trail experience. As will become apparent, the chapter reflects an interest in the epistemology of heritage products, viewing the trail as a cultural practice and cultural form; a manifestation of culturally specific meanings and values, economically driven forces, and political processes. Whilst this approach does not account for the visitor experience per se it does open up important questions regarding the cultural politics of routes within the context of the contemporary British seaside and its communities. The following section provides an overview of the defining features and evolution of heritage trails, before the core empirical material is presented.

Heritage Trails and the Evolution of Geotours

Heritage trails are a pervasive tourism and leisure product. Although trails have an older genealogy—witnessed through a variety of anthropological practices where humans have marked the surface of the earth—heritage scholars have observed important modern antecedents in ancient trade routes, pilgrimage trails, Grand Tours, and the peripatetic roving of the Romantic poet.[5] Nicola Macleod defines the heritage trail as involving a ‘sense of a historic journey accompanied by an attractive landscape and built heritage’ which provides ‘a satisfying sense of achievement for the traveller’.[6] A range of transport types—walking, riding, cycling and driving – may be adopted by the traveller as they are guided by maps, signs and other interpretive materials to reach deliberate points of destination at sites of natural or cultural significance. Timothy and Boyd distinguish ‘organically-evolved routes’ from ‘purposive routes’.[7] The former cover original tracks of trails and migration routes and can follow linear natural heritage corridors such as rivers, escarpments and coastlines, which have been developed into cultural routes with nodes of opportunity for the traveller. ‘Purposive routes’, on the other hand, are intentionally fabricated for a cultured traveller, and included here are sites with high literary and cultural value. It is important to note, too, that the consumption of trails tends to be made by a middle-class public eager to develop their cultural tastes or to feel connected to the landscape in ways that emphasise their levels of education and cultural capital.[8]

Heritage trails come in a variety of formats. Plaques and markers inserted into the built environment are used, though more common are leaflets, brochures and signboards bearing maps that indicate linear or circuitous trails around a given area. Cartographic representations of place, as Dennis Cosgrove observes, carry a dual function. Maps are positioned ‘between creating and recording the city’. They are both scientific instruments and artistic products that contain information about specific locations which permits us to enter space on the basis of shared and repeated empirical truths.[9] But cartographic materials also possess an ‘imaginative energy’ that responds to new periods of time, new contexts, histories, and practices of everyday life.[10] Different visions of what is significant and valued come to the fore at particular moments.

Recent research in cultural geography and media studies has thrown light on the use and impact of new technologies in refashioning our knowledge of place. While digital cartographic technologies such as Street View or Google Earth tend to obliterate place, providing functional images where context is overlooked, new geospatial technologies for managing and promoting cultural heritage are being adopted which can provide residents, tourists and visitors with a deeper understanding of place. Layers of detail, stories, oral histories, sound data, photographic and visual resources are being added to locative media and augmented reality applications, including digital heritage trails.[11] In a recent article Kerski posits that we are heading towards an era of ‘geo-enablement’ where every material object can be located on a map. We are saturated with digital information which aids our everyday lives, from obtaining weather reports to monitoring our fitness regimes. Yet, citizens are not just passive recipients but are actively contributing geospatial data through the creation of new content about locations, and geo-enabled trails position the individual user as prime architect of their route.[12] Location-aware mobile media allow users to find their position on a map through their mobile phone screens and to retrieve information about objects through QR codes or other applications.[13] Personalised itineraries can be created so that the heritage enthusiast can find sites that map onto their historical interests, whilst the more health-conscious visitor can download routes that have been calorie-mapped. Tourists can also connect with friends and other visitors to document their routes, share their location, and to receive recommendations on places to visit. Objects can be tagged by historians and heritage professionals to communicate specific information, thus maintaining the place of an ‘official’ heritage narrative, though importantly interactive media permit users to tag artefacts, objects and sites themselves, providing new narrative layers or simply adding their own recommendations or reviews. Digital applications promise to democratise heritage as new interpretations emerge that recontextualise the meanings of a site, consequently blurring the boundaries between official and unofficial heritage discourses.[14] Digital mapping and storytelling through smartphone applications and interactive websites are thus remediating our knowledges, conceptions and experience of space and place, with the upshot that heritage trails can no longer simply be considered as a form of passive tourist consumption, but just one form of a plethora of geotours that emerge through our everyday screen culture and ‘prosumer’ behaviours.[15] Thus, whilst the transitory nature of cartographic materials can pose serious challenges for any systematic review of maps and trails as tourist products it is important to keep in view the sense of creativity, innovation and inventiveness in the shaping of new routes. These changing forms of the heritage trail can be witnessed along the British coast.

Heritage trails on the British coast

Determining the nature of coastal heritage trails is as ambiguous as identifying the 'coast'. Many scholars have argued that the 'coast' is a nebulous and multifaceted entity.[16] Historian Isaac Land has argued that the 'coast' lacks a geographical specificity and as such it conjures an array of spatial imaginaries where a range of competing metonyms can be used to identify coastal space. He writes:

> the waterfront […] as the intersection of maritime and urban space—is obviously a meeting place rather than a self-contained 'world' unto itself. The beach suggests an unstructured environment, or rather one which is restructured daily by competing forces. The ebb and flow of the tide implies exchange, rather than unilateral imposition. An island, which unlike the waterfront or the beach does not even face in a single direction, invites the historian to tell stories from multiple perspectives.[17]

Heritage trails bear these complexities of place, in part reflecting locational contexts. Over the centuries coastal space has been rewritten, reimagined and redeveloped by the needs of capital; its material environment transformed through socio-economic and cultural processes that have shaped the nature of the locality and impacted the urban form. The coast is home to a number of different sites: engineering and industrial (docks, quays, canals); civic buildings (town halls; customs houses; marketplaces; churches; prisons; castles; fortresses; lighthouses); urban areas away from maritime or recreational spaces (sailor towns and sailor-hoods; residential waterfront districts; fishermen's cottages); and sites linked to cultural achievement (buildings and beaches that have featured in artistic and literary works; residences of artists, musicians, performers). There is an enormous variety of intra-coastal and seaside spaces, and different blends of maritime, littoral and terrestrial histories feature in heritage trails.

A number of trails aim for historical breadth by utilising available material remnants in the urban environment. This is more common of longstanding urban settlements where there are complex historical narratives of urban change to tell. The Sutton Harbour Heritage Trail in Plymouth, for instance, reflects the port as an urban settlement, noting its naval heritage and its place in international history as the launch site for the Pilgrim Fathers as they set sail for America in the Mayflower. Ecclesiastical histories are covered alongside records of a changing waterfront as buildings were erected and then converted to suit the contemporary priorities of trade. The slave trade, smuggling and piracy reveal a darker heritage of Sutton Harbour; and, for the art connoisseur, unusual installations and sculptures are noted.[18]

Nevertheless, it is also common to find one element in the heritage mosaic is emphasised through themed routes. For instance, the Portobello Architecture Heritage Trail, a self-guided tour, provides information on notable dwellings developed in the Regency and Victorian periods for Edinburgh's spa resort. The visitor is guided to pottery kilns, a baronial-style police station, elegant Georgian villas, public baths and a neoclassical church. Coastal space or the seaside do not feature as significant conceptual categories for understanding these buildings; they are subordinate to an understanding of the changing urban form. This is also the case with the Great Yarmouth Tram Trail, developed by the Great Yarmouth Preservation Trust with support from the Heritage Lottery Fund (HLF), which details the town's transport heritage, with a trail based on the route of the old tram tracks.[19]

Coastal heritage trails are not just anthropocentric. Nature and wildlife-based opportunities are integrated into the visitor experience in a number of locations. The Solway Coast Heritage Trail is a waymarked driving route between Annan and Stranraer on the south coast of Dumfries and Galloway. It connects sites of special scientific interest, increasing its attraction for nature-based tourists, who are often interested in spotting unique species as well as scenic views.[20] The Weymouth and Portland Legacy Trail links several nature reserves and wildlife sites, telling a story of people, geology and wildlife along the Jurassic Coast. The Flamborough Head Storyboard Trail on the north-east coast of England, led by the Yorkshire Wildlife Trust, 'aims to widen participation in the conservation of Flamborough Head's natural and cultural heritage'.[21] Interpretation boards and self-guided trails are provided in order to tell stories about Flamborough's significant natural, marine and wildlife resources as well as its geomorphological and geological histories and human geographies. A supporting website offers further information in the form of photostories, podcasts and video clips.

Heritage trails can inform us how the consumption of nature has evolved too. Brighton is one of the world's earliest modern seaside resorts, once famed for the therapeutic benefits of consuming its seawater.[22] Its heritage as a health resort is reflected in the Floating Memories trail which charts the evolution of sea-swimming as a social activity in Brighton that over the decades has continued to offer cures for the degenerating effects of urban life.[23] Further along the coast, the Worthing Heritage Trail encourages visitors to consider the relationship between the town and the sea and presents a variety of seafront architecture designed to serve the needs of genteel visitors as they enjoyed the sunshine and bathing waters.[24]

To explain the diversity of seaside heritage trails we can look at the impact of cultural strategies.[25] As is the case with heritage trails more generally, purposive routes reflect an assortment of aims and objectives. This creates a very fragmented and ad hoc landscape, where different policy priorities are being served, including: destination marketing (Dover's Bluebird Heritage Trail); the promotion of active, social and healthy lifestyles (North Ayrshire Heritage Trails); visitor management and distributed economic benefit (Hastings Maritime Heritage Trail); regeneration and development (Sandown Heritage Trail); community participation (Capture Burnham heritage project); rural diversification (The Coleridge Way[26]); protection of coastal habitats and biodiversity (The Ravenmols Heritage Trails project); and, connectivity to other recreational paths and routes (Sutton Harbour Heritage Trail). Furthermore, some trails are developed on the basis of fulfilling multiple strategic benefits through joined-up policy delivery (e.g. North West Coastal Trail), exploiting synergies with other pieces of legislation impacting coastal tourism opportunities (e.g. UK Marine and Coastal Access Act 2009; Localism Act 2011; National Planning Policy Framework, 2012). Whilst this list is not exhaustive it indicates the promiscuous utility of the heritage trail.

However, a thematic approach can only provide part of the picture. Heritage trails also reflect forms of social expertise, situated knowledges, socio-economic contexts and cultural conditions. These shape how they are materialised and their varying forms of employment in the local economies and cultures of seaside communities. As such, a general typology is offered of distinct forms of coastal heritage trail, which have been classified according to their local knowledge-work, social and economic contribution to local tourism economies and participatory potential. Core categories include: vernacular, horizontal, vertical and collaborative.

Vernacular

Under this banner sit a variety of heritage-awareness projects where the heritage trail is an expression of community pride, local identities and senses of belonging. Trails help to identify and mark places of significance, acknowledging local 'claims to fame' through signposting connections to famous people and events and distinctive buildings, landmarks and natural features. The prime motivation is often consciousness-raising of the history of the local community, with local historical societies and conservation groups discharging an explicit educational remit. Self-guided trails can be obtained from local tourist information centres, museums and heritage sites. Quality can vary. Frequently vernacular heritage trails are low-tech offerings, utilising desktop publishing and photocopying with the inclusion of the authors' own photographs and they amount to little more than a dry account of locally significant buildings and natural features. Routes are plotted and objects in the landscape are accorded significance, but vernacular trails have a tendency to be text-heavy and uninspiring.

Nevertheless, they do take seriously the material culture of place, profiling distinctive cultural artefacts and vernacular building styles. Whilst this may be critiqued as a celebration of the parochial and bizarre, more complex contexts, networks and interconnections can be presented from the selected local assets in ways that transcend locality. As Markwell et al. note: 'The benefits of place-making and place-marketing projects can go beyond the development of community pride in a particular area, raising awareness of almost forgotten histories, encouraging a meaningful sense of place, and marking localities as different in the face of homogenising trends'.[27] This can be witnessed through The Whitby Dracula Trail, prepared by a member of the London-based Dracula Society and published by Scarborough Borough Council. It guides the visitor around Whitby and sites mentioned in three chapters of Bram Stoker's famous novel which form, according to the guide, 'one of the most powerful evocations of a Victorian resort anywhere in literature'. The guide is written to appeal to a wider international audience that can combine a literary pilgrimage with an appreciation of the history of Whitby.

Horizontal

Horizontal heritage trails provide enhanced consumer experiences through connection to other heritage and tourism sites. They are a consequence of coordinated tourism planning, with trails enrolled into supply chains that work for the benefit of private enterprise and public-sector service delivery. Partnerships are seen as deriving a number of benefits, including enhanced site interpretation and visitor management, and are a resource-efficient and outcome-effective way of promoting heritage assets in times of public-sector austerity.[28] Partnerships can involve a range of organisations—local history groups, civic preservation societies, museums, heritage trusts, hotels, tourism marketing companies, municipal authorities, and environmental conservation and management agencies—each playing an essential part in the design, promotion and sustainable delivery of the trail. Although some heritage trails derive from cross-border cultural tourism programmes and therefore require a networked, coordinated approach involving a range of actors (e.g. European Cultural Routes programme), the attributes of partnership working in the development of heritage trails can be witnessed within UK seaside communities.

Two prominent examples emerged from my travels. The Agatha Christie Literary Trail has been developed in the English Riviera of South Devon. The trail is designed to be a focal point for literary pilgrimage and is supported by HarperCollins, the current publishers of her work. Agatha Christie was born in Torquay in 1890. Twenty special places related to Christie's life and works are included in the trail brochure, including locations where prominent scenes from the novels and film adaptations have been set. Also included are references to key publications and the trail is also combined with other Agatha Christie-inspired tourism opportunities, including visits to National Trust properties in the wider region, themed weekend breaks and an Agatha Christie festival for true devotees. It is a trail that offers a 'staged authenticity'[29] as visitors make for 'real' sites, seeking connections to the material and imagined worlds of the mystery and crime writer.[30] Through the place-marketing of Torbay's seaside resorts around such an iconic literary figure it may be possible to speak both of the Christie-isation of the English Riviera and the Riviera-isation of Christie.

A second example comes from Norfolk's east coast. The National Trust coordinates the Great Yarmouth Heritage Trail, a one-mile self-guided route that connects a critical mass of museums and historic buildings on Yarmouth's South Quay. The route links a number of listed properties owned and managed by different organisations including the Norfolk Museums and Archaeology Service, English Heritage and local charitable trusts. It augments Great Yarmouth's image as rich in maritime history—and its associations with Admiral Nelson—with a carefully selected route that tells a coherent story about the town, whilst also diversifying the tourist offer for visitors at each of the sites listed on the trail.[31]

Vertical

Vertical trails involve circuits and routes run by tour companies that connect sites of heritage interest. According to Timothy and Boyd '[m]any of these are based on point-to-point networks of capital cities, and in most cases these link together famous sites that are known to appeal to mass tourists'.[32] Heritage materials are provided in a variety of ways. More hands-off approaches allow the customer to experience sites and the interpretive materials contained within them with little additional information provided. At the other end of the spectrum are immersive tourism experiences where 'expert' historians accompany the trips to provide further context to the sites, to answer queries and give evening lectures. Other activities may be provided to enhance the tourist experience, for example, hands-on living history, art and craft-making or the production and consumption of local culinary resources, with trips coinciding with other local festivals and events and visits to award-winning restaurants.[33] Vertical heritage trails are a component of tourism supply provided by different travel agents and tour operators, generating income for the operators, the heritage sites, coach companies and accommodation providers. In some cases they are part of an attempt to improve the market power of a tour company by diversifying its available tourism products. While vertical trails increase historic awareness, the heritage aspects are embedded within a wider set of tourist experiences, including scenic tours and visits to other nodes along route. Tours can be packaged by operators in different ways from a shifting arrangement of nodes, sites, specialities and themes.

There are many tour operators that offer heritage experiences at the British coastline, but rarely are these packaged as an experience of the British seaside per se. Instead, they are embedded within tours and routes to more famous cities and World Heritage Sites. For example, those interested in ecclesiastical history can find tours of sites linked to St Bede and St Cuthbert on the Northumberland coast, taking in Lindisfarne, the Farne Islands and Alnmouth. Coast-to-coast tours of England are offered too, picking up from airports, to take in Liverpool's UNESCO World Heritage Site waterfront, Blackpool's golden mile, Morecambe Bay, and historic Whitehaven, before travelling to the east and Durham's Heritage Coast, Whitby and North Yorkshire fishing villages.

Smaller tour operators, too, have taken advantage of the British seaside as a space of entertainment and site of popular culture. In Barry, in South Wales, one can join the Gavin and Stacey Tour, and visit the sites of film locations related to the popular BBC sitcom. Tourists are taken around Barry in Dave's coach and given the opportunity to sit in Nessa's chair at the amusement arcade. This enterprise has contributed to the reimagining of Barry as a tourist destination, highlighting the importance of popular cultural heritage to smaller resorts with more limited heritage assets.[34]

Collaborative

The collaborative heritage trail emphasises wider forms of community participation in the construction of routes and interpretive materials. These possess a firm educational remit. Residents seek to develop trails to tell stories of place which they feel would be of interest to visitors.[35] The choice of sites and landscapes included in the trails fundamentally derive from the dwellers' experiences and knowledge rather than being imposed by 'place managers'.[36] Unlike vernacular trails, which often rely on settled place narratives and pre-existing historical resources, collaborative trails typically seek to enhance the knowledge base of the community – and consequently the visitor experience—through collating, creating and curating new resources that communicate a heritage vision. As has been established, there is no consensus on what amounts to an official heritage narrative for the British seaside resort. Instead, multiple forms, methods and platforms have been developed and deployed for the mediation and remediation of heritage stories. Listening to local voices is paramount. Shilling suggests that, 'every town is a story, and through conversations with the entire community, not just historians and the museum crew, you're likely to uncover the narrative and determine if and how it can be shared with guests'.[37]

A good example of a collaborative heritage trail is CHART (Culture, Heritage and ART) Scarborough.[38] Developed by staff and students at University Campus Scarborough and the Electric Angel Design Studio, this is an initiative designed to encourage visitors to discover something new about Britain's first seaside resort. It is based upon 'cognitive mapping theory', which alerts us to how knowledge of a place is acquired as the environment is navigated through spatial behaviours that traverse different routes and engage with different landmarks and landscape features.[39] In the case of CHART Scarborough a series of cultural landmarks are indicated on a specially designed map to help the visitor negotiate the seaside space. These features were chosen through workshops with local residents. One side of the map—available in print and downloadable from the CHART website—includes a map of Scarborough with key cultural, artistic and heritage spots identified. The reverse is composed of a colourful montage of photographs of Scarborough's natural and built environment, most photos cropped in close-up to emphasise features, tones and textures, designed to bewilder the visitor and entice curiosity. Images include lighthouses, boats, amusement arcade signs, railings, surfboards, a bandstand, fossils, sculptures, memorial plaques, stained-glass windows, mosaics, graffiti, light installations, children's fairground rides, beach huts, monuments and fishing boats. These are accompanied by fragments of scratch poetry - fragments of verse inspired by the rich material assets of the resort. No formal trail is suggested: visitors are instead encouraged to create their own journeys around Scarborough from the range of visual clues presented.

Trails relating to Scarborough's famous literary residents, maritime history, and ice-cream shops, amongst others, are available to download from the CHART website. These trails have been co-produced by a range of residents, community groups and associations, including the maritime history centre, a primary school and a local mental health charity. Interactive mapping software on the CHART website enables users to create their own routes, crafting content that does not necessarily require academic or expert mediation. Trails are developed on the basis of the skills and expertise residing in the host community, in ways that articulate senses of place that are meaningful to the people living there. New media technologies and content platforms, such as CHART, enable interpretive flexibility about a shared project—a coastal community's heritage—with people working together on raising historical awareness and the unique attributes of the place, without necessarily reaching consensus about the heritage presented.[40] As such, CHART Scarborough is an excellent example of how the principles of co-production, creativity and interactivity can be applied to heritage tourism products in ways that empower communities, whilst at the same time not presupposing or foreclosing historical and cultural learning from its diverse populations.

Discussion and Conclusions

Concurrent with the academic literature on the British seaside, it is apparent that different types of seaside are being produced through heritage trails; ones that emphasise contact with nature and more-than-human histories, others that reflect changing economic fortunes, still others that illustrate evolving architectures of leisure and pleasure. The HLF has been a key player here in supporting communities to come forward with their own visions that promote 'local distinctiveness' and a 'sense of place', distributing resources to community groups and partnerships keen to explore, preserve and promote the heritage of their local area. Recent policy interventions such as the government's £90-million Coastal Communities Fund[41] have earmarked funding for coastal towns, and several (e.g. Ayr, Redcar, Sunderland) have come forward with plans to design and launch heritage trails as a means to attract cultural tourists and to tell their own unique histories.[42] We are led to conclude, following Jarratt, that the seaside is 'a place which has hosted, and indeed still hosts, a wide variety of meanings'.[43] There is no essential(ised) story of the British seaside that is being produced. Each trail conveys knowledge about coastal communities that are specific to those places and which are shaped by the spatialities and histories thereof. Indeed these funding arrangements exacerbate the seeming proliferation of distinct place memories, narrative and histories. In some coastal towns it is less a case of finding the heritage trail, than finding a means to avoid them as the public realm becomes marked, tagged and coded with layers of historical information.

Heritage trails may be inflected with a distinctly parochial flavour, full of enthusiasm for the subject, and 'a worthy and educational style in communicating their stories', but there can also be a tendency to tell the same old stories about communities from a limited collection of available local resources.[44] This can risk stabilising and reifying particular narratives. If heritage studies have taught us anything, it is that heritage is both contested and contestable. Questions remain about what seaside past is being selected. In the language of Raymond Williams, we might ask what knowledges are dominant, residual or emergent in the generation, mediation and remediation of heritage materials.[45] It is easy enough to acknowledge variance, but a concern with the epistemological underpinnings of heritage content necessarily directs us to absences, silences, erasures, deceits, myths and injustices. As Shar notes, '[t]oo many community projects interpret only one individual or group's experience and other narratives, sometimes the key to understanding the interpretation, are not considered'.[46] Meanwhile Markwell et al. despair at the 'ultimately reactionary foreground of sites and monuments' covered in heritage trails at the expense of more multilayered social histories.[47] Memory, as Raphael Samuel noted, is historically conditioned according to the needs of the present.[48] So, what needs to be done at this present moment? There is certainly scope for heritage products to more actively contribute to a cultural politics of the British seaside that is more reflexive of the messy, multifaceted and tangled lines of our island story. Such a project will require sensitive design and theming as part of a strategy to better understand regions, landscapes, places, and peoples.[49] But questions remain as to how this can be achieved in the digital age. As is the case with vernacular and collaborative trails, there is scope for individuals to determine their own directions based upon their tastes, ability and interests; to invent their own routes and share it with others. Mobile media are only just starting to facilitate a further growth in this heritage product. Geo-enablement positions citizens as prime agents in the production of the next generation of seaside heritage trails. It remains to be seen whether new 'lines' are drawn that connect to more complex and challenging histories.

Notes

1. The conceptual development of the heritage trail typology presented in this chapter has emerged as a result of conversations with colleagues involved in the AHRC-funded Eu. Wat. Her project. *European Waterways Heritage: Re-Evaluating European Minor Rivers and Canals as Cultural Landscapes.* Reference: AH/N504397/1.
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3. L. Dawney, '"Feeling Connected": Practising Nature, Nation and Class through Coastal Walking', in P. Gilchrist, T. Carter and D. Burdsey, eds, *Coastal Cultures: Liminality and Leisure* (Eastbourne: LSA, 2014), pp. 87–102.
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5. R. Solnit, *Wanderlust* (London: Verso, 2001); D. Hayes and N. Macleod, 'Packaging Places: Designing Heritage Trails Using an Experience Economy Perspective to Maximize Visitor Engagement', *Journal of Vacation Marketing* 13.1 (2007), pp. 45–58; D.J. Timothy and S.W. Boyd, *Tourism and Trails.*
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and Visual Culture: Practices and Meanings (Eastbourne: LSA, 2004), p. 67.

7. D.J. Timothy and S.W. Boyd, *Tourism and Trails.*
8. D. Hayes and N. Macleod, 'Packaging Places', p. 48; L. Dawney, '"Feeling Connected."'
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CHAPTER 14

Engaging the Scottish Diaspora: Memory, Identity and Place

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History and identity are fundamentally linked. The past informs who we are, legitimizing individual, community and national identities. As the historian Gordon Wood has written, history 'can have a profound effect on our consciousness, on our sense of ourselves.'[1] In Scotland, migration forms a major strand of the nation's popular history and its sense of identity. The notion of a small nation populating the globe, and making a disproportionate contribution to the modern world, pervades popular memory. As a result of Scotland's migration history, the nation connects with a global community of some 45–50 million people who claim Scottish ancestry. The relationship between migration history and national identity, however, goes well beyond the commemorations of those living in Scotland. Scotland's migration heritage not only encompasses the story of the movement of peoples, but also the memories of its diaspora.

A sense of connection to the Scottish past amongst people around the world now provides a significant motivation for Scottish tourism. As 'ancestral tourists' or 'roots tourist', members of the Scottish diaspora travel to Scotland to carry out research, to learn about their heritage, to experience the place where their ancestors lived, and to form stronger bonds with their 'homeland'. As tourism continues to grow globally,

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heritage is increasingly recognized as an economic driver, attracting some 23.5 million visitors to Scotland every year (though only a subset of heritage tourists claim ancestral affiliation).[2] VisitScotland estimates that ancestral links motivate about 800,000 visits to Scotland per year.[3] This 'return migration' has been recognized through government policy as a means for Scotland to engage with the world. Homecoming celebrations in 2009 and 2014 sought to attract greater numbers of ancestral visitors. In 2010, the Scottish Government published a 'Diaspora Engagement Plan', setting out its 'ambitions for harnessing the power of Scotland's Diaspora'.[4] However, ancestral tourists are not merely a source of income: they can provide the basis for useful extended relationships between migrant communities and the homeland. Comparative studies of Chinese, Philippine and Israeli homeland tours suggest that through the emotional experience of visiting their homeland, visitors develop long-lasting and deep ties to their ancestral places. The Birthright Israel programme, perhaps the most famous organized homeland tour, deliberately seeks to inculcate a sense of belonging and of obligation to the Israeli nation state amongst young people.[5] Recognizing the success of this venture, Ireland has recently announced a similar education programme entitled 'Fréamhacha', wherein young members of the Irish diaspora will have an opportunity to visit Ireland and 'immerse themselves in Irish history and culture to ensure their links with the country will remain alive'.[6]

Because heritage is so important to diasporic identity, engagement policies in various national contexts seem to have implications for the heritage sector, including historic sites, museums and galleries. Scotland's diaspora engagement policy puts the historic environment and historical resources at centre stage, extending the importance of a historic environment that is already estimated to support some 37,000 full-time employees and contribute an estimated £1.3 billion annually to the Scottish economy.[7] For the diaspora, museums, historic sites, memorials and natural landscapes all serve in various ways as 'sites of memory', or places where the past takes physical form, which become integral to individuals' understandings of their identities as global Scots.[8] As the global Scottish community and its engagement with Scotland through its historic environment becomes ever more important to national economic and cultural strategies, this chapter addresses diaspora engagement from the visitor perspective. It focuses on an exploration of what we might call 'historical consciousness'. Otherwise referred to as 'the sense of the past' or 'past presencing', historical consciousness is about the way that individuals understand the past and their relationship to it, which in turn provides the basis for their relationship with Scotland as a physical place.[9] How do diaspora tourists 'remember' Scotland? How do these memories translate into imaginations of place, and how do imaginations translate into tourist motivations and expectations? Based upon interviews, focus groups and pre-arrival written surveys carried out with 42 ancestral visitors in 2012 and 2013, this chapter seeks to answer these questions with an eye towards the challenges that diaspora heritage presents to those institutions wishing to engage with global Scottish audiences.[10] An understanding of their historical sensibilities helps historians and history makers to communicate the past to this particular public.

Who Is the Scottish Diaspora?

Engaging with the diaspora requires a clear understanding of who this group is. With a long and complex history of migration, Scotland's diaspora is diverse. The Scottish Government has divided the diaspora into six categories: reverse, returning, new, lived, ancestral and affinity.[11] Beyond these policy definitions, members of the diaspora imagine their own connections in different ways, and these connections are often deeply intertwined with a sense of history. Most ancestral tourists will describe their connection to Scotland through family trees and ancestral bloodlines. When asked what made them 'Scottish', study participant answers ranged from 'I have ancestral ties', to 'my father is Scottish', to references to DNA studies.[12] Some cited belonging to a particular clan or a particular place. The specificity of family connections varied. Those who had undertaken genealogical research could trace family connections in great detail, while others referred more vaguely to family names.

The idea that Scottishness is something emotional or felt has contributed to the recent articulation of a new diaspora group called 'Affinity Scots': those who have chosen a connection to Scotland through personal interest but who lack a genealogical bond. The Scottish Government has explicitly included this group in the Diaspora Engagement Plan, and believes that the community of affinity Scots worldwide might include some 40–50 million people. For the Scottish Government, the nature of the connection might be 'through extended family, or through close contact with other active diaspora groups. It could result from a tourist visit or short stay, or because of a creative or cultural interest such as music or art.'[13] Less well appreciated, however, is the deep sense of historical consciousness that informs the affinity diaspora's source of connection. David Hesse's study of affinity Scots in central Europe suggests that they choose Scotland as a kind of 'ersatz ancestry'. Scots of Europe face problems in attempting to root their identities in their own local history, due to political contexts or a lack of historical knowledge. Against such challenges, Scottishness provides a connection to the past. According to Hesse, 'they believe they recognize something of their own lost heritage in the musical, athletic, and sartorial traditions of Scotland—a world that used to be theirs, too. By imitating Scots they hope to tap into their own lost history'. Where ethnomasquerade has been rendered politically dubious by decolonization, Scottishness offers an 'innocent alternative'.[14] The notion of tapping into a 'lost past' motivates affinity Scots in Asia as well. For one participant from Hong Kong, visiting Scotland was about tapping into a deeper history than she was unable to experience at home:

> I don't have blood connections with Scotland at all. Living where I'm from is quite different from Scotland. Scotland is a country that is full of history. But the place I'm from only became a colony of Britain around 200 years ago, so its history is only just around 200 years old. It's a very new place, and living there is sort of like the opposite to Scotland.[15]

Affinity Scots are can also be individuals with first-hand experience of living and working in Scotland. International students form a strong and largely unrecognized presence within this group. The experience of studying and living in Scotland as young adults allows them to forge a long-lasting relationship with Scotland, making them potential ambassadors. Taking a long-term view, they might not be income drivers, but rather a means to 'soft power'.[16] This group, which is largely beyond the scope of this study, requires further research, and serves as an important reminder that diaspora communities extend beyond the tourist market and can engage with the nation state in a diversity of ways.

Another point of diversity within the Scottish diaspora is the age of its participants, a point that has not been well attended to in the literature on diaspora. Interest in ancestral heritage has been described as a 'midlife thing', and ancestral tourists are often thought to be of post-retirement age.[17] Recent research undertaken by VisitScotland suggests that genealogy tourists are on average 56–59 years old.[18] However, because data tends to be captured around people who undertake family research, younger people, who might participate in different kinds of heritage activities, are left out. There is also a strong emphasis on Scottish associational culture within Scottish diaspora studies.[19] This can lead to an assumption that most diaspora Scots celebrate their heritage through these channels, when in fact the majority of the 45 million global Scots are not members of a clan or St Andrews Society. Young people especially tend to engage with Scotland outside of Scottish Heredity organizations. Clan societies seem to have few young people as part of their communities. One member of the Stewart Society lamented that 'there is a problem with people coming in. This is a problem with hereditary organisations. Ancestry is something that you get more interested in as you get older.'[20] The strong focus on clan societies and associations therefore looks past young people. This is problematic, because the latter are an important potential market. Recent research identifies youth cultural tourism as a growing niche market, and suggests that young people take an active interest in and benefit from access to heritage resources.[21] Furthermore, young adulthood has been identified by sociologists as a time of identity formation, when individuals 'choose' the ethnic affinities that they will retain for much of their lives.[22] This might be an important time for individuals to 'discover' their Scottish connection, either through affinity or through ancestry.

Most segments of the Scottish diaspora choose it as their ethnic affinity, and 'choosing' Scottishness has a number of benefits. While ostensibly it is foremost about a relationship with the Scottish nation, Scottish heritage also allows individuals to form ties with one another and strengthen their relationship and sense of belonging within communities at home. Often the meanings and benefits of being Scottish stem from membership of a diaspora community as much as a direct relationship with Scotland itself, and participants described the benefits of 'being Scottish' in terms of community and companionship. One recounted the experience of attending Highland Games for the first time: 'I was so blown away by the spirit of the occasion, by the instant kinship, by the awesome camaraderie.'[23] The Scottish diasporic population is so extensive that it provides a sense of community wherever an individual might go. One participant, whose career involved frequent moves around the USA, appreciated the comfort of knowing the 'there is a Scottish community everywhere you go'.[24] This connection to a diaspora community takes on a life of its own, and can come to supersede blood relations. When asked how important family lineage was to her sense of being Scottish, one participant noted that 'even if we found out that we weren't Buchanan we've created such a connection with people … It's still our family even if we were not blood tied anymore. I think it would be important to explore what our true heritage was of course but the connection would never be lost completely.'[25]

Remembering Scotland

For members of the Scottish diaspora, the relationship to national and migratory communities is anchored to a sense of the past, rather than being based on an active relationship with the modern nation state. Most of the 45 million individuals around the world who claim Scotland as a 'homeland' have never visited. Instead of working from direct place memory, they 'imagineer' Scotland. Certain features of the Scottish past emerge strongly. Most members trace a family connection to the Highlands and celebrate association with a clan. Narratives of exile and victimhood associated with the Highland Clearances are appealing.[26] These constructions of Scotland's migratory past can sit uncomfortably with academic understandings of Scottish history. The term 'Clearances' is contested, and the image of an overarching forced exodus from the Highlands during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries is now understood to be a myth.[27] In acts of commemoration, both amongst ancestral and affinity Scots, warfare is a dominant theme.[28] This can surprise some visitors. As one German affinity Scot commented, 'they're so proud of this whole "fighting and we're such good warriors" thing. I travel a lot around Europe, and most countries actually aren't proud of their war history. We actually kind of distance it'.[29]

Further, there are many facets of Scotland's past that are not celebrated or popularly remembered by the Scottish diaspora. There is little interest in Scotland's mercantile presence in Northern and Eastern Europe or in India. Even the connection to Scotland through DNA study is academically questionable. Though DNA studies seem to create a biological, unbreakable link, understandings of 'family' based upon bloodline relations are historically conditioned. Histories of the family as an institutional unit have found that belonging to a family in the past was not always a matter of blood relationships. In the early modern period, families were conceptualized as those living within households, who could include servants, apprentices and non-blood relations. In other words, individuals in the past might have felt a stronger sense of belonging to the households with which they lived, rather than the families to which they were related by blood, which now forms the basis of family identity.[30]

These distinctions and potential conflicts between diasporic and academic memory present a challenge when engaging ancestral tourists. A dissonance between academic and popular understandings of the past emerges. How do we find a balance between academic and public historical interests? How can we present history that is both of interest to ancestral audiences, and academically informed? These are not problems that are unique or even specific to Scotland. The American public historian James Gardner has described the past as 'contested terrain', and has commented that Americans might have a 'fundamentally different sense of the past than what we as public historians are committed to exploring and sharing'. This poses problems for museums and galleries in their interpretation of collections. Many visitors, who might not understand the role of the museum, see objects as providing 'unmediated' access to a past, organizing what they see around a pre-informed sense of their heritage.[31] Though some might see academics as 'gatekeepers' of a collective past, historians feel that dispelling myths is important, because beliefs about the past can prop up structures of social privilege. The past provides a source of legitimacy in the present.[32] Research-based history, by challenging what happened in the past, can encourage us to reflect on who we are and on present social and political circumstances. As Raphael Samuel wrote, 'If history is an area for the project of ideal selves, it can also be a means of undoing and questioning them, offering more disturbing accounts of who we are, and where we come from than simple identification would suggest.'[33]

While 'dissonance' and discrepancies between academic and popular memories of the past are often highlighted, there is also potential for finding common ground. We must remember that it is not only publics who engage in imaginative historical labour. Academic historians and museums participate in selective remembering as well. For all of the academic histories of the Scottish diaspora, the nation's role in the slave trade has received very little attention. This represents a 'collective amnesia' about the past, in which historians have been complicit.[34] Further, the emphasis both in academic studies and in museum and visitor centre representations is more about Scotland populations migrating outwards rather than migration into Scotland. Migration is often represented as a one-way process, when in fact, 'sojourning' and return movement were important parts of the migratory process.[35] Furthermore, many of the same concerns that historians have, particularly the accuracy of sources, are of concern to diasporic audiences. Documentary evidence is central to both academic and family historical research. As one family researcher explained, 'accuracy of information is important. We went back to the sources of the time, which you have to do. You can't judge people by today's standards'.[36] The objectives of 'demythologizing' history and telling 'true' histories are also central features of both diasporic memory and academic history. One participant recounted her research as 'combating the fanciful accounts of authors like Sir Walter Scott through the dissemination of factual information'.[37]

Learning from People and Place

A sense of the past, and the ways in which Scotland is 'remembered', contribute to a sense of place. The past, in other words, is embodied in a physical landscape. There has been much debate in public history about whether the past is 'useful', 'dead' or 'foreign', and through embodiment or emplacement, diaspora Scots seem to see Scotland's past as a deeply useful and living presence in their lives. As David Lowenthal suggested 'probably most people, most of the time, view the past not as a foreign but as a deeply domestic realm.' From the Scottish past, lessons can be learned and Scottish people and place can be understood. Heritage, therefore, is about 'domesticating the past'.[38]

For diaspora Scots, the past and the present are blurred to create a particular sense of what Scotland is as a place, and who Scots are as a people. Some members of the diaspora see Scots as possessing idealized character traits. Being Scottish is associated with having 'timeless values' such as loyalty to clan and country, or as one visitor described, the 'perseverance that you see with sometimes having to take the backseat but still always staying strong'.[39] One ancestral tourist, recounting how his lost wallet was recovered, concluded that 'people here are honest … It reinforces love of country when someone is honest'.[40] Diaspora Scots are often drawn to Scottish heroes who exemplify honour, bravery and honesty. When travelling in Scotland, they expect to meet people with these 'timeless values' and 'traditional' Scottish character. Members of the diaspora associate Scots historically with a Protestant work ethic and frugality, focusing on financial ethics. One family newsletter written during the recession focused on 'our frugal Scotch-Irish ancestors' who considered debt to be an 'evil', neglecting the very prominent role that debt has played in Scottish imperial success.[41]

Characteristics are seen as being inherited from ancestors, and this notion of timeless character contributes to the sense of place.[42] If characteristics can be inherited, then association with illustrious ancestors also provides a sense of pride. As one family researcher explained, 'It's about the pride of being connected to someone. His blood runs through your veins'.[43] Another described how 'I feel the pride of my ancestors who did wonderful things for their country. Great men. Like Robert the Bruce. He gave Scotland its freedom'.[44] The link between character and place, however, does not exclude affinity Scots with no family lineage. The ideal traits of Scots are in fact so strong, that people who are not Scottish can exemplify Scottish traits. As one clan member explained, there are people who have no blood connection to Scotland, but 'who identify with things Scottish, and who empathise with the Scottish "condition"... Many non-Scots in Australia are more Scottish than you could ever imagine'.[45]

The past is itself a place where lessons can be learned. Some lessons come from individuals, especially the great men and women of the past. As one visitor explained, 'The genius of Bruce at Bannockburn is inspiring … He made his enemies his friends. It's a lesson about forgiveness'.[46] Other lessons are derived from historical allegories, which provide guidance on human morality. One visitor described 'the tradition of "a man's a man for a' that" which has deep roots in Scottish history'.[47] For others, there are more practical lessons that relate to social and political contexts. This past can teach us things like 'unbridled capitalism is a mistake' or 'how war separates families and friends'.[48]

Visiting Place

Memories of the Scottish past form a strong sense of belonging to place, and in turn, motivate roots tourists to visit Scotland. Some members of the diaspora actually feel a stronger sense of connection to Scotland as an imagined 'homeland' than they do to the places that they live in and inhabit on a day-to-day basis. But as Whitehead reminds us, individuals do not need direct experience to connect with a sense of place.[49] According to Basu, Scottish diasporic identity is 'largely defined by its relationship to the Scottish homeland. The homeland is situated at the centre of diasporic consciousness, anchoring it spatially and temporally, allowing senses of Scottishness to float diffusely across continents and generations and yet still persist in some coherent form.'[50]

The very specific relationship that the diaspora has to Scotland as a homeland, usually grounded in affinity or bloodline, is pursed through visitation, and roots tourists come to Scotland with specific ambitions. These ambitions set them apart from a more general 'international tourism' audience. Roots tourists do not consider themselves to be tourists. They see themselves as individuals with a deeper connection to place and a deeper sense of purpose than the average visitor. Their journeys are not merely tours undertaken for pleasure, but rather understood as homecomings. Their motivations in coming to Scotland are many.

During their time in Scotland, ancestral tourists visit a variety of places, with a concentration on spaces relevant to ancestral connections. Though images of Highland landscape are central to imaginings of Scottish place identity, ancestral tourists in fact spend significant time in both urban and rural places. In 2012, 80 % of ancestral tourists visited Edinburgh and nearly half visited Glasgow.[51] This reflects the importance of these cities as transportation hubs; however, they are also home to resources and institutions that are crucial to learning about Scotland. Alongside family research centres, such as Scotland's People, art galleries and museums are key sites for heritage visitors.[52] Large institutions such as the National Museum of Scotland and Glasgow Museums provide visitors with overviews of Scottish history and culture. Some visitors consider these places to be valuable in terms of 'orientating' themselves before they visit other parts of Scotland, while others see them as providing opportunities to learn about aspects of their own pasts.[53] In recognition of the importance of migration as part of Scotland's national story, museums and galleries have made emigration and immigration a key theme in their exhibition programming. For example, the Scottish National Portrait Gallery held a series called 'Migration Stories', while National Museums Scotland recognizes that its collections 'link the story of Scotland with its impact on and engagement with the rest of the world', that its cultural offer attracts international audiences, and furthermore, that its collections can encourage pride in Scots and affinity Scots.[54] In addition to permanent galleries devoted to emigration, the Museum has held special exhibitions on the diaspora, including 'Trailblazers: Scots in Canada' (2003) and more recently, 'Dr. Livingstone, I Presume?' (2012). Special programming targeting the diaspora tends to take place around broader initiatives, such as Homecoming Scotland (2009 and 2014). Museums recognize the diaspora as an important audience both in terms of visitors and development, and consider them as a separate constituency from international visitors. However, interviews with staff from a number of institutions suggest that a lack of knowledge about this audience makes it hard to strategically engage them.

Diasporic Scots come looking for the 'authentic' Scotland. This is in many ways unsurprising, as the desire to experience authenticity is defined as a major motivation for tourists, though authenticity is a particularly ambiguous term.[55] What constitutes 'authenticity' can vary substantially from person to person, and within diasporic communities there are diverse opinions on what constitutes the 'authentic' Scotland. For many, the authentic is defined as a place that is unspoiled or untouched, often containing ruins. This search for ruined landscapes motivates visits to the Highlands, where visitors gravitate towards castles. VisitScotland estimates that about half of ancestral tourists visit the Highlands when they come to Scotland.[56] The authenticity of these places has a direct relationship with historicism. Having been left to weather over time, such landscapes are imagined to provide direct, unmediated access to the past. Places ruined are perceived as more authentic then those restored to appear as they would have in the past. As one participant described her reaction to Stirling Castle—which has undergone major (and research-driven) renovations—'they've done reconstruction and conservation, and they've repainted everything. That all felt like a less authentic experience … it felt like an attraction rather than a historical experience.'[57]

Individuals conceptualize geographies of authenticity, wherein some Scottish places are more authentic than others. Highland and rural landscapes are perceived as being 'more authentic' than urban places. According to one young visitor, the real Scotland could be found in the 'more rural, more Highland areas, rather than working industry areas'.[58] However, geographies of authenticity can also be applied to cities. According to a German affinity Scot, Edinburgh contained a 'square of authenticity' extending 'from the beginning of the university until maybe Queen Street and then from the Castle to the Parliament'.[59] This area roughly mirrors the World Heritage area and contains a high concentration of historic buildings.

The extent to which a particular place or experience might be perceived as 'authentic' is often defined in relation to the Scottish imaginary. Some roots tourists seek out spaces that confirm what they imagine Scotland to be. These imaginings are co-constructed by the diasporic community and by a mediascape. David McCrone has noted Scotland's distinctive 'brand' that tends to emphasize 'majestic Scotland', including kilts, pipers and castles, or a 'romantic Scotland' which foregrounds landscapes, places and people.[60] These images tend to be incorporated into the celebrations of diaspora communities, but they are not merely passively consumed. Rather, they are co-produced and essential to shared identity. According to Basu, the mediascape constitutes 'a repository of symbols and a resource through which diasporic Scots learn what it is to be diasporic Scots, a key component of which is learning how they should imagine their lost homeland.'[61] Ideas about the past are projected onto spaces that seem 'empty' or untouched. Imaginings become tangible and real in the form of archaeological sites, museums, and monuments subjected to a tourist 'gaze'.[62]

People are key to authenticity. This can include meeting people who are perceived as providing a link to 'traditional' Scotland, but who also provide the means of experiencing everyday life. As one student commented, 'when we talk with local people we can know their opinions and real views. It's a good way to know a place.'[63] For one participant, history did not even have to be part of the 'true' Scotland. In fact, the authentic place could be best discerned from people who were not even interested in the nation's history. He commented that 'there are a lot of Scottish citizens that are in Scottish society that don't know their own history but they're very much part of Scotland and they're very much part of modern Scotland. And I think right now that's the authentic part, to be part of that society.[64] For diaspora Scots, the ability to critically differentiate between truth and myth, and to have a unique first-hand experience is part of the affirmation of identity. Travelling to Scotland for some can therefore encompass a deliberate attempt to get away from a place that is highly mythologized and imagined.

Authenticity, the discovery of the true place, and the forging of a deeper connection, are pursued through different activities. Many engage in research, which can take a number of forms. Some conduct genealogical research using local archives and libraries. Though much research can be conducted online and outside of Scotland, there is something powerful about learning family history in the place that it happened. One researcher defined her ambition to come to Scotland as 'The pull to come back and find your ancestor. It's life changing to find your ancestors and learn about their trials and tribulations'.[65] Another described the emplaced experience of researching a childhood hero: 'finding out about his life through pictures that are actually of him and his family, then being in a city where he was, where the actual person was: that's what makes that connection.'[66]

Coming to Scotland can also be about the research of experience rather than research involving documents. It is believed that there is something deeper that can be learned from the emotional experience of visiting an ancestral homeland. As Sharon MacDonald has suggested, heritage is an embodied experience. The past can literally be felt, and in Scotland, the past is visitable. Some roots tourists even envision their journeys to Scotland literally as a kind of time travel, where they can experience the places where their ancestors walked.[67] This emotional experience, however, can also include the experience of dislocation between past and present, a kind of 'encounter' between the imaginary and lived physical place. One visitor, reflecting on her expectations of localism, commented that 'I don't know why when you come to Scotland you think you're going to get just Scottish. If you go to London you're going to get the world. Or if you go to Paris you're going to get the world. But in Scotland you'll get

Scotland'. While this encounter can be dislocating, it can also be incredibly rewarding, providing the basis for a more personal and long-lasting connection to Scotland.[68]

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CHAPTER 15

Digging Up the Past in Gwynedd: Heritage Research Tourism in Wales

Katharina Möller and Raimund Karl

An analysis of the heritage tourism sector in the UK commissioned by the Heritage Lottery Fund in 2009 shows that 30 % of all international visits and 9 % (14 % if natural heritage is included) of all domestic day trips are motivated by the UK's heritage.[1] Expenditure in the heritage tourism sector is over £12.4 billion a year, resulting in a GDP contribution to the total output of the UK economy of £7.4 billion per year.[2] Therefore, heritage is an important and growing factor within the UK tourism economy.

Like many other areas in the UK, the North Welsh county of Gwynedd has a rich archaeological, historical and natural heritage. From 'areas of outstanding natural beauty', Neolithic and Bronze Age burial chambers like Trefignath Burial Chamber near Holyhead and Bryn Celli Ddu near Llanddaniel Fab on the Isle of Anglesey, to Roman forts like Segontium in Caernarfon, and medieval castles like Dolbadarn Castle in Llanberis and Conwy Castle, Gwynedd offers many attractions.[3] This also includes a World Heritage Site, since the

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medieval castles and—where still preserved—town walls of Beaumaris, Caernarfon, Conwy and Harlech, which were built during the reign of the English king Edward I (1272–1307), were added to the list of World Heritage Sites in 1986.[4]

Many heritage sites in the area are under the care to Cadw or the National Trust and are open to visitors throughout the year, a wide range of guidebooks are available, and most sites are accompanied by signs which explain the importance of the site to visitors. Furthermore, Cadw has launched a free bilingual mobile phone app, which includes a map and list of all Cadw sites, information regarding the sites, including opening times, prices and directions and an events calendar.[5] A similar app is available for the National Trust.[6] There is also a volume on Gwynedd in Cadw's 'A Guide to Ancient and Historic Wales' series, which—though published 20 years ago—gives an introduction to the region's history in general, as well as the local sites.[7] Overall, the local heritage is well promoted and easily accessible to locals and tourists alike.

The importance of accessibility of the local heritage is stressed by various studies of tourism in Wales. A report by the Welsh Government's Department of Tourism Research, for example, shows that heritage, especially in the form of castles and historic sites, was one of the main reasons for tourists from the UK and overseas to visit Wales in 2013.[8] Furthermore, according to a study on 'Visits to Tourist Attractions in Wales 2013', 17.3 % of overseas visitors, 37.2 % of local visitors and 45.4 % of visitors from other parts of the UK visited historic properties in Wales in 2013.[9] In the same year, three of the Welsh castles, including Conwy and Caernarfon Castles which are located in Gwynedd, were represented among the top ten paid attractions in Wales, and the St Fagans National History Museum was the second most visited free attraction.[10] While visitor numbers for Cadw sites and National Trust properties dropped from 2011 to 2012, Cadw recorded an increase in visitor numbers of 0.7 % in 2013 compared to the previous year.[11] Visitor numbers for National Trust properties decreased further by 2.9 % in that year.[12] Despite heritage being popular with tourists coming to Wales, overall visitor numbers for historic properties dropped by 0.7 % in 2013, compared to 2012.[13] This, however, is most likely due to the after-effects of the global economic crisis, and unlikely to be a newly emerging general trend of heritage becoming less popular among tourists.

Welsh Government and Heritage Tourism

Given the many beneficial impacts of sustainable heritage tourism for Welsh society and its economy, the topic is a regular feature of discussions in Cadw's Historic Environment Group (HEG), which advises the Welsh Government and particularly the Minister for Culture, Sport and Tourism on heritage issues and provides Cadw with wider stakeholder feedback. The Welsh Government actively promotes heritage, and also particularly heritage tourism, for several interlinked reasons related to quality of life, communal identity and regeneration, in both the social and economic sense.

One of Cadw's its main initiatives in recent times was the Heritage Tourism Project, which ran until December 2014 and was aimed at increasing the number, length and value of tourist visits to Wales and the opening-up of Wales's outstanding heritage to a wider audience.[14] The project, with a total funding of *c.* £19 million from Welsh Government and European Union convergence funding, developed, improved and revitalised many iconic sites and lesser-known gems of Welsh heritage, making visits to Wales more enjoyable both for visitors and for people who live in Wales. While some parts of the project were carried out by Cadw itself, most of the work was conducted either in close collaboration with or by various other organisations who operate in the wider historic environment sector, including numerous charities and other voluntary organisations. The main strategy followed by the project, in collaboration with the tourism sector across Wales, was to connect individual heritage sites with other heritage attractions, local communities and the surrounding area, and link them into broader interpretive stories and themes. Consequently, visitors can follow story strands across Wales to learn more about the national history and heritage, thereby making visits more enjoyable: rather than looking at individual sites in a disconnected, more or less random manner, they are encouraged to experience the unfolding of an overarching, enticing narrative which keeps them engaged and wanting to experience more.[15]

A recent economic impact analysis by Cardiff Business School demonstrates that projects like this one can have considerable economic benefits, both through increasing visitor footfall at sites and through the increased spending associated with them. For instance, Blaenavon Ironworks has seen an increase in visitor numbers of *c.* 14 %, and Conwy Castle an increase of *c.* 8 %, since the completion of the majority of works related to the Heritage Tourism Project at each respective site.[16] According to Cardiff

Business School's estimates, 'Adding together the economic impacts directly attributable to visitor spending with initiative sites it is estimated that in total they could be connected with impacts of £19,363,000 of gross value added (GVA) per year and with this supporting employment of around 1,045 full-time equivalents (FTEs).'[17]

Heritage Tourism and Voluntourism

Besides the odd trip to heritage sites during a vacation or a day off, whether as part of a 'themed' visit or just out of interest in a specific site or set of sites, there is also a market for heritage-themed vacations. Companies like Andante Travels or Karawane Reisen[18] offer a wide range of expert-led tours to heritage sites all over the world. This, of course, includes trips to Wales.[19] A survey conducted by researchers from Bangor University in 2014 of 47 tour organizers from the UK and the USA who offered some sort of archaeological experience as part of their programme, showed that 37.5 % of the respondents offered primarily heritage-themed tours.[20] The survey, which aimed to enquire whether the contacted tour operators would be interested in offering a more hands-on experience on top of their current tours, revealed their clientele to be mostly in the 50+ age range; the tour operators therefore regard such clients as less interested in such a product.[21]

However, in recent years it has become more and more fashionable not just to go on holiday, but to combine tourism with volunteering. This combination of volunteering and travel has led to the newly coined term 'voluntourism', which according to VolunTourism.org is defined as 'the conscious, seamlessly integrated combination of voluntary service to a destination and the best, traditional elements of travel—arts, culture, geography, history and recreation—in that destination'.[22] Organisations like the Earthwatch Institute send volunteers or 'citizen scientists', as they are called on Earthwatch's website, to various projects located all over the world.[23] The areas in which a volunteer may work can vary from organisation to organisation, but wildlife and nature conservation, as well as humanitarian work, are some of the most common ones. Some groups also offer volunteers the opportunity to help with archaeological research.[24] Usually, the volunteers on these projects pay for the experience, as well as their own travel expenses, and while some of the organisations who offer volunteer placements are non-profit, others are openly for-profit.[25] The fast growing sector, the for-profit business model of some companies as well as other problems that may arise through voluntourism in general, especially in regards to voluntourism in developing countries, have already been discussed in the academic literature and shall not be repeated here.[26] The specific problems arising from voluntourism in archaeology will be discussed later.

Even though some volunteer organisations offer voluntourism in archaeology and heritage, this sector is not quite as widely represented as other fields, such as conservation, for example. However, prospective volunteers are not limited to the offers of the voluntourism organisations; there is also a wide variety of projects directly advertised by the organisations conducting the research. This is done through their own websites, and—if available—social media presence, and/or through online databases like the Past Horizons Archaeology Projects Database.[27] Furthermore, some projects and organisations work with travel agents to offer volunteering opportunities for tourists. One of these is the Austrian charity ARGE Archäologie (http://www.arge-archaeologie.at/), which offers archaeology tours as well as volunteering places at excavations for the German-language market. The fact that a wide variety of places for participation in archaeological research are offered online is of importance, especially in those parts of the world where public participation and 'citizen science' are not as common as in the UK.[28] In Austria, for example, there are only a few opportunities for the general public to volunteer in archaeology. A study on the 'Archaeological Interests of the Austrian Population' conducted by Karl et al. in 2014 revealed that even though 62 % of the Austrian population were interested in volunteering in archaeology, only 4 % were currently volunteering, and 12 % were unsure whether it was even possible to participate in archaeological research. Furthermore, 5 % of the population, which would be *c*. 400,000 people, were willing to pay for the chance to participate in archaeology.[29] Due to the limited supply of volunteering options in Austria, this suggests that there may be a market for voluntourism—especially since Austria is not the only European country where public participation in archaeology and heritage has not been widely developed.

Volunteering in Archaeology and Heritage in the UK

Contrary to the situation in Austria, volunteering has a long tradition in British archaeology and the heritage sector. In fact, archaeology in Britain was 'almost entirely voluntary' until the 1970s.[30] Today community archaeology excavations and citizen science projects can be found all over the country and bodies like the Council for British Archaeology (CBA) promote archaeology and heritage to the general public in various ways. These include the popular magazine *British Archaeology* as well as the Festival of Archaeology,[31] a fortnight of archaeology-themed activities offered by archaeologists and archaeological organisations in the UK. The festival had its twenty-fifth anniversary this year and offered 'over 1,000 events across the UK'.[32] Furthermore, there is a wide variety of historic and archaeological societies throughout the country who offer activities to their members. The promotion of archaeology, however, does not only target adults, as the Young Archaeologists' Club (YAC) offers activities for children between 8 and 16 years of age.[33]

However, the importance of volunteer work in British archaeology can be seen not only in the opportunities offered to volunteers and the interested general public, but also in the research funding that is available. The Heritage Lottery Fund (HLF) for example, which supports projects through lottery income, identifies desirable outcomes under the categories 'heritage', 'people' and 'communities' for the projects which they fund; categories which all imply a desire for community and volunteer involvement in the funded projects.[34] However, the HLF is not the only organisation with these criteria. Many British organisations, like the Royal Archaeological Institute (RAI), for example, have made public participation and/or open access a criterion for awarding research grants.[35] One of the most common forms of public participation are community excavations. For potential volunteers, finding an excavation that is open to them is relatively easy as excavations are not only advertised through the website and—if available—the social media pages of the organisation conducting the research, but also through other sources. One of the most notable is the Council for British Archaeology's Briefing, which is published in the CBA's magazine, *British Archaeology*, as well as the accompanying website.[36] *Current Archaeology*, another popular archaeology magazine, has a whole section of their website dedicated to excavations, which includes an online catalogue providing potential volunteers with all the necessary information, such as dates, costs and contact details.[37]

The excavations represented in these databases vary from taught field schools to community digs and workshops on various topics. They are offered by various bodies, such as university departments and national institutions, as well as heritage organisations and societies. While local community excavations are usually free for participants, volunteering away from home may include costs which need to be covered by the volunteers. Volunteers usually either have to pay for their own travel and accommodation, or pay a fee if accommodation is provided by the excavation. The costs vary from a few hundred to a few thousand pounds sterling, depending on the package offered and the length of the stay. Some of the more expensive field schools, for example, include fees for academic credits which the participants will be awarded,[38] while others offer an option without credits at a lower rate.[39] The available accommodation can be anything from a campsite to a holiday cottage.[40]

However, participating in excavations is not the only available option to volunteer in British archaeology. Other projects like the crowdsourcing and crowdfunding project MicroPasts, which is a collaboration between the UCL Institute of Archaeology and the British Museum, and was funded by the Arts and Humanities Research Council (AHRC), allow people from all over the world to volunteer in archaeological research without having to be physically present in the UK. The project aims to 'promote the collection and use of high quality research data via institutional and community collaborations, both on- and off-line', and enables guests as well as registered users to participate in various projects through the MicroPasts website.[41] Amongst these are transcription, translation and photo-masking tasks.[42] Guidance is also provided through tutorials as well as the online community.[43]

Volunteering in Welsh Archaeology and Heritage

In the Welsh county of Gwynedd the previously mentioned rich archaeological and historical heritage allows for various opportunities for locals and tourists alike to volunteer in the archaeology and heritage sector. Aside from the Bangor Gwynedd branch of the Young Archaeologists' Club and the outreach activities and community archaeology excavations carried out by Gwynedd Archaeological Trust, which are mostly frequented by local volunteers, there are various projects in the area that offer opportunities for voluntourism. These include opportunities for heritage-themed vacations and activities which can enrich a visit to a heritage site as part of a general vacation, or a day out, and vary in terms of conditions (e.g. previous experience, costs or equipment needed). For example, since 2010 Bangor University's School of History, Welsh History and Archaeology has been carrying out excavations at the Late-Bronze Age/Iron Age settlement at Meillionydd, near Rhiw on the Llŷn peninsula in north-west Wales.[44] The excavation is a field school for students from

Bangor University as well as other national and international universities and has always strived to include local volunteers as much as possible. From the 2011 season onwards, participation in the excavation was offered to voluntourists in Austria, Germany and Switzerland through ARGE Archäologie. It has also been advertised to volunteers through the project's website and social media channels, as well as other websites like the aforementioned Past Horizons Archaeology Projects Database, and the Current Archaeology database. Over the years, aside from numerous British volunteers, 17 voluntourists from German-speaking countries as well as six international volunteers from America, Australia, Germany, the Netherlands and Sweden have joined the Meillionydd team. Some have returned multiple times after their initial participation in the excavation.

In the case of the Meillionydd excavations, the difference between volunteers and voluntourists lies in the package which is offered to these groups, as well as in their reasons for joining the excavation and the length of their stay. Volunteers are mainly interested in participating in the excavation, therefore no extra activities are offered. The length of their stay varies from a few days to full eight weeks of excavations. They also have to organise their own travel, accommodation and food, or pay extra if they prefer that the excavation team organises these things for them. Voluntourists are there for the 'adventure'. This includes participating in the excavation, of course, but also other activities like lectures and field trips to local heritage sites. They join the excavation for a week and travel, accommodation and food is included in the package that is offered. The excavation also supplies most equipment for all participants.

Anyone participating in the Meillionydd excavations is treated as a member of the team where workload and responsibilities are concerned. Thus, volunteers, voluntourists and field-school students alike are assigned hard manual labour as well as precision tasks and paperwork, though the training needs of field-school students are given precedence in case there is a shortage of a particular kind of work that students need to learn. After all, as a field school the excavation has a responsibility to give aspiring archaeologists the best possible education. However, there is usually enough work so that everyone is trained in all the various archaeological tasks involved in an excavation. Naturally, the involvement of volunteers and voluntourists requires the provision of additional supervision. At Meillionydd, this is carried out by site staff as well as experienced field-school students, who are being trained as supervisors. This provides an opportunity for students to gain experience in personnel and volunteer management. Furthermore, some of the volunteers, who have been working there for a few years now, have quite extensive experience with archaeological excavations and are able to supervise less-experienced volunteers if necessary.

Volunteering in Archaeological Research

Aside from volunteering on an archaeological excavation there are other options for tourists who want to engage with the local heritage. One of these is the Arts and Humanities Research Council (AHRC)-funded project Heritage Together, a collaboration by Aberystwyth University, Bangor University, Manchester Metropolitan University and Gwynedd Archaeological Trust.[45] The project aims to create 3D models of local heritage sites, to be calculated from photos which are uploaded to the project's website. The only equipment needed is a digital camera, which most tourists take on their travels anyway. The Field Guide on the project's website explains the steps that need to be taken to generate a set of pictures and provides further useful information to prospective volunteers.[46] All 3D models created through the project's website can be viewed online in the gallery on the website.[47] Furthermore, all data created is open access and it is possible to download the models through the project's Research Portal.[48] This leaves the participants not only with a set of pictures of heritage sites, but also with a 3D model of the site they visited as a memento.

Another way for tourists to participate in archaeological research is the Archwilio app developed by CEMAS (Centre of Excellence in Mobile Applications and Services) at South Wales University for the Welsh archaeological trusts.[49] The app contains information from the four Welsh Historic Environment Records (HERs), which is also accessible online through the Archwilio website,[50] and allows users to contribute data. Each site or find can be located on a map and a description can be accessed. Users need to register to leave comments or upload photos of existing sites. It is also possible to add a new site to the app. The added content is then verified by the archaeological trust responsible for the area in which the site is located before it is displayed. The Archwilio app is an easy way to contribute to the local Historic Environment Record and therefore archaeological research throughout Wales.

Working with Volunteers: Pros and Cons

In times of dwindling funding, paying volunteers and voluntourists may seem like an ideal way to fund archaeological excavations or other types of research. However, our experience with the Meillionydd Field School shows that such income is in no way guaranteed. While the places for voluntourists on the excavation had been fully booked in the 2013 season, there were only three enquiries the following year and two of the eight bookings for 2015 were cancelled at short notice.[51] The variable demand makes it hard to plan ahead. Therefore, the generated income should be seen rather as additional funds for a project which is already financed, or as funds for future projects. In addition, the involvement of volunteers and voluntourists increases the workload and the expenditure. Additional staff are needed to supervise and—in case of resident volunteers—costs for accommodation, subsistence and transport need to be considered.

The increased workload both in preparation for volunteer involvement and supervision during the project might make it impossible for some projects to include volunteers. Rescue or commercial excavations which operate under time pressure might not be able to include and support volunteers in the way field schools or research excavations might. However, it has to be noted that some volunteers who have been volunteering for years have considerable experience and therefore, depending on their skills, might not need a lot of supervision. On the contrary, they might be able to lighten the load of paid members of staff by helping with the supervision of other, less experienced volunteers.[52] Of course, this in no way suggests that volunteers can be used as unpaid members of staff in order to replace paid staff. Jobs in archaeology are scarce as it is, and to ensure the quality of volunteer work professional supervision is needed. Therefore, volunteer involvement should ideally lead to additional jobs for professionals rather than to the replacement of qualified archaeologists by (paying) volunteers.[53]

Aside from the 'decreased labour demand' discussed above, Guttentag discusses another potential problem of voluntourism: the 'completion of unsatisfactory work', which also applies to volunteers in archaeology to a certain extent.[54] However, depending on the tasks allocated to volunteers, this problem might be easily solved. The 3D-modelling process used for the Heritage Together project, for example, allows pictures to be taken with different cameras, on different days, to create a 3D model. Therefore, if a set of photographs taken by a volunteer should prove insufficient to create a complete model, pictures provided by other volunteers can be used to remedy the issue.[55] In other cases, like Archwilio, it might be necessary to verify work carried out by volunteers so as to guarantee that the added information is correct. This validation process takes less time than it would to visit all sites to collect the information, and thus allows archaeologists to better monitor sites with the help of the public than they would otherwise be able to do. They can then focus their attention on those sites which are endangered.

Since archaeological excavations are a destructive process, it is important that sites are excavated and documented properly. Therefore, the same problem of unsatisfactory work should be taken into consideration in the case of volunteers on digs. However, our own experience shows that volunteers tend to be exceptionally careful and do everything to avoid destroying something important. They usually work very conscientiously and ask for advice when needed. Of course, there are exceptions to every rule and risks still remain, but that is more or less a given at any excavation, especially in cases like the Meillionydd field school, where there is hardly any difference between a first-year archaeology student without any previous field-work experience and a volunteer; both require the same amount of training and supervision. Therefore, while training is needed to ensure that the work is carried out satisfactorily, this should not be seen as an argument against volunteer involvement. It only strengthens the point that not every excavation (e.g. rescue/commercial digs) might be suitable for including volunteers. It should also be mentioned that projects can gain a lot from volunteer participation aside from free labour. Volunteers come from all walks of life and bring a unique skill set which can prove beneficial to the excavation. Some excavations work with local metal detectorists, for example, to ensure that even the smallest piece of metal is found. At Meillionydd we have benefited from the language proficiency of our Welsh volunteers, which has enabled us to provide site tours through the medium of Welsh for the local community, as well as the work of an amateur photographer, who was kind enough to allow us to use his high-quality photographs in publications as well as adverts.

Summary

North Wales offers a wide variety of opportunities for hands-on heritage tourism. The case studies which are presented in this chapter showcase various examples, from projects which can enrich a day out and require very little in terms of commitment and preparation, to long-term volunteering options for those who want to gain in-depth knowledge as well as learn new skills. The latter might be especially interesting for people from other countries where public participation in the archaeology and heritage sector is not as well developed as in the UK. Paying voluntourists from those countries might even help to fund future research through their participation.

However, there are also some things that need to be considered when it comes to volunteer involvement. For one, the tourism sector is always fluctuating. Income through paying volunteers cannot be taken for granted and therefore can only serve as an additional source of funding, certainly not as the only reliable source. Furthermore, volunteer participation increases the workload for staff, because supervision is needed to ensure a high quality of work. On the other hand, experienced volunteers can help to reduce workload to a certain extent and projects can profit from the experience and skills of volunteers, which might differ immensely from those of the project team. Overall, we believe that both volunteers and the heritage sector can benefit greatly from each other.

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CHAPTER 16

Heritage as the USP for Tourism in Northern Ireland: Attraction Mix, Effective Storytelling and Selling of a Dark Past

Stephen W. Boyd

Introduction

Heritage is one of those common terms whose meaning we all assume we know. It is often associated with the natural and cultural capital present within a specified region. It is also often referred to as that which not only shapes destinations, but influences the type of experiences that visitors take away. As one of the oldest forms of tourism, many regions justifiably identify heritage as part of their unique selling proposition (USP). The focus of this chapter, Northern Ireland, is no different from any other region, other than that the heritage on offer covers a multiplicity of types of landscapes and experiences that range from natural heritage to dark and political urban heritage; from that which is light and easy to consume, to that which moves into the realm of grey/darkness, depending on the product and how it is consumed. This chapter has a simple brief: to address heritage tourism as it relates to Northern Ireland. It does so

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through a number of lenses to assist the reader in relating to a destination that has undergone a transformative change over the past quarter of a century to become a destination worth visiting. These lenses are as follows: first, the nature (supply) of heritage and heritage-related infrastructure that has appeal to both domestic and international visitors; second, how that heritage is interpreted to facilitate experiences; and third, the extent to which the Province's dark past should be promoted as a tourist experience and a key element of its USP.

Understanding Heritage and Heritage Tourism

We start this discussion with some general comments about heritage, heritage tourism and the dialectical thinking that is often associated with heritage. To many scholars, heritage is linked to the 'past', to 'an inheritance', to 'patrimony', to what society 'values' and, perhaps more importantly, what society chooses to 'keep' to pass on to future generations.[1] Fowler said it best when he argued that 'the past per se is emotionally neutral […] neither exciting or dull, good or bad, worthwhile nor worthless, without our intercession'.[2] Smith suggests that heritage goes through a certain transformation, that it goes from being a fixed and unchanging entity to being a culturally ascribed and socially constructed process.[3] The 'value' we ascribe to heritage, therefore, is important in how this transformation within destinations takes place. In other words, when we think of value it is important to stress that there are different types of value, and that these exist on a scale, ranging from personal—or what we term 'family heritage'—to regional. In addition, heritage may be defined as encompassing the entire landscape of a prescribed region, its people and their traditions, as national heritage, one that reflects a collective identity. Finally, heritage can have global connotations, where a limited number of spaces, places and corridors are assigned as having 'unique and universal value and heritage'.

Heritage can often take on dialectical meaning, a term applied to two different sorts of phenomena or perspectives, which can be positive or negative. In the case of the former, this can take the form of the culture of a prescribed people, where a landscape is cared for and passed on to future generations, assuring that an identity as a people, as a society, and as individuals, may be passed on. This is often best represented in the growth of heritage centres as places to visit, but also places where that identity is maintained and presented. How we interpret that heritage to others, the storytelling that is conveyed, is therefore highly significant, and an aspect that we will return to later in this chapter. In the case of the latter, sadly heritage can be easily hijacked, exploited and manipulated so as to appeal to a diverse customer base. This is heritage viewed through an economic lens, used for commercial reasons, and unsurprisingly, now termed the 'heritage industry'. Here arise issues concerning authenticity, as well as matters pertaining to historical truth. Equally, the issue of dissonance and conflicting identities over whose heritage it is needs to be treated with care, mainly to avoid heritage being claimed by one sector of society over another. Addressing this dialectical perspective is therefore important in understanding what type of heritage tourism is on display for visitors.

Heritage tourism from an industry perspective is best summed up as blending elements of both dialectical positions people take from heritage. From a positive point of view, heritage tourism is a creative form of travel as it involves visitors immersing themselves in the natural and cultural capital of another country or region. The United Nations World Tourism Organisation (UNWTO), a global leading tourism policy body, has recognised that over 40 % of international travel is driven by an interest in seeing other peoples' heritage and culture. Conversely, from a negative standpoint, the industry is too quick to package the past to sell to today's tourists, commodifying heritage, changing its original function and its authenticity in order to present it in bite-sized form to contemporary visitors. It is imperative to realise that only the industry and academia assign labels to certain products; the tourist does not view them in a similar light, and we should not assume that visitors identify with labels such as 'heritage tourism', or regard themselves as 'heritage tourists'. From an academic perspective, heritage tourism comes about from the relationship between heritage and tourism.[4] This involves understanding the relationship from a descriptive or supply-driven viewpoint, and requires examining heritage tourism in terms of what a region offers in terms of sites, attractions and settings. The search for interesting 'things to see and do' that have some heritage dimension is therefore the *raison d'être* for people choosing to travel from 'there' (their home), to 'here' (the place they are visiting). The relationship between heritage and tourism can also be understood from an experiential or demand-side approach that links to peoples' motives for visiting, as well as the relationships that emerge between them and the heritage sites, attractions and settings they visit, or from which they derive experiences. Both these academic perspectives on the relationship between heritage and tourism are relevant in understanding heritage tourism in the context of Northern Ireland.

Northern Ireland: Geographical and Historical Context

Prior to addressing heritage tourism through the first lens of the type of heritage attraction developed over time, it is important to situate the region within both its geographical and historical context as it relates specifically to tourism. Geographically, Northern Ireland is the smallest part of the UK, situated on the northern periphery of Europe. However, despite being peripheral it has a wealth of natural heritage, including: a unique geological landscape (the Giant's Causeway); spectacular coastlines; a series of glens (seven in total) that cut across parts of the northwest and north-east; expanses of natural sandy beaches (predominantly on the north coast); areas of rough, sparsely populated uplands (Sperrins and the Mournes); and a number of loughs (Erne and Neagh) and connected waterways. Later in this chapter it will become evident how important this mix of natural capital has been, and how it has been used by the tourism industry.

With a population of less than 2 million, Northern Ireland society is one that is too often plagued with divisions along political if not religious lines. As a result, there are a number of distinct societies or 'collective' communities of thought, roughly divided into those that align with unionism and its association with the UK, and those that align with nationalism and its association with Ireland and an aspiration for a future United Ireland. An emergent 'other' society is starting to be identified in the populace of Northern Ireland, shaped by the arrivals of a number of immigrant groups, including Chinese and Asian populations and, more recently, Eastern Europeans, but as a whole they represent a small proportion of the overall population. The relevance of the foregoing comments is that the different heritages on display across these societies have some bearing on the nature and type of heritage sites, attractions and settings that are on offer to visitors. The absence of plurality in how the regions' heritages are viewed raises fundamental questions over dissonance and whose heritage it is that is on display for local people to experience, as well as for visitors. It also raises issues over dark and political heritage, and how this sub-heritage type should, and can, be promoted from a tourism perspective, a topic that is covered later in the chapter.

From a historical perspective, Northern Ireland is best known for its difficult and turbulent past, often referred to by the media as 'The Troubles', and covering the years 1969–1998 (although the first ceasefire was in

1994, an agreement to end violence did not come about until 1998). These time periods provide an important watershed to examine what tourism in Northern Ireland was like prior to 'The Troubles', and how it has emerged out of conflict into a more peaceful and less security-conscious destination. Making distinct time frames and shaping periods around specific years can be problematic, but for the purposes of this chapter it is useful to consider the role that heritage tourism has played in the development of tourism sites, attractions and settings over time. A more detailed narrative of tourism in Northern Ireland has been presented elsewhere; it is not necessary to repeat it here.[5] Attention will therefore now shift to an examination of heritage tourism for Northern Ireland through the prism of the three lenses noted earlier in the chapter, commencing with the development of a mixed heritage offering that has evolved over time. The three time-periods noted previously are used to situate the developments and changes that have occurred.

Development of a Long-Term Attractiveness That Is Heritage-Focused (First Lens)

Which comes first, supply (attraction) or demand (market), has been a topic that has concerned tourism scholars for a considerable time. There is no correct order, as a case may be made for both. Northern Ireland has focused on developing an attraction base that was heritage-centric.

Normality and Pre-Violence (Years Prior to 1969)

The pre-violence era reflected a normal tourism environment that other regions not beset with unrest often take for granted. Northern Ireland could boast an abundance of natural heritage in the form of the relatively pristine expanse of beaches found on its northern coastline, and this natural heritage asset was important in the rise and development of seaside resorts during both the Victorian and Edwardian eras, namely around the towns of Portrush and Portstewart, and to a lesser extent in Newcastle on the south-east coast. Other natural heritage features included a series of glens that incised across the north-west and north-east of the country, although perhaps the most impressive heritage landscape is the Giant's Causeway, located on the north-east coast. Over geological epochs, lava erupting from a volcano solidified into over 40,000 basalt columns, an extraordinary occurrence, creating what is now the must-see visitor attraction in

Northern Ireland. Announced to the world as early as 1693, popular with artists and the subject of many engravings, the Giant's Causeway would by the Victorian era become the regions' most visited site, with many visitors between 1883 and 1949 travelling to view this marvel of nature using Europe's first hydro-electric tram, which travelled from the coastal resort of Portrush. The National Trust took over management of the Causeway in the early 1960s, began to control early forms of commercial activity that had developed on the road down to the central causeway, and placed a greater emphasis on the protection of this unique natural attraction.[6] Of all the regions comprising the UK, Northern Ireland was the first to establish a national tourism body under the 1948 Tourist Act, then known as the Northern Ireland Tourist Board (rebranded in 2014 as Tourism Northern Ireland), and the hexagon, a graphic inspired by the Giant's Causeway, became intrinsic to its brand.

During this period of normalcy, in the 1960s Northern Ireland established several Areas of Outstanding Natural Beauty (AONBs), regions such as Strangford Lough and the Lagan Valley. However, while they were afforded the second highest level of protection, one lower than areas set aside as national parks, these sites rarely featured as heritage landscapes frequented by inbound tourists. Other natural heritage spaces that were developed were large country parks, many of which were based around the capital city of Belfast. From a built and cultural perspective, Northern Ireland also offered early visitors a mix of botanic gardens and museums. Indeed, before Northern Ireland was formally established in 1922, Belfast had a municipal museum and gallery that dated back to 1833 (moved to its current site in 1929), and which remained a popular venue for visitors right up to the end of the 1960s. Belfast could also boast a botanical garden, which was opened as a public park in 1895, and was one of the earliest iron- and steel-designed palm houses to contain plant species from across the British Empire, and which predated the design of glasshouses at Kew, London.

Amid concerns that rural ways of Irish life could be lost in an increasingly urbanised and industrialised Northern Ireland an open-air folk life museum, informally known as Cultra, opened in 1964. Created by an Act of Parliament in 1958, it was modelled after some of the earliest examples, such as in Stockholm, where the Museum of Scandinavian Folklore, known as Skansen, was founded in 1873.[7] Responding to the perceived threat of modernity replacing traditions and cultural practices, Cultra followed a similar format of traditional structures rebuilt and preserved on-site, living out the old ways through an enactment of a rural way of life.[8] By 1967 the

Folk Museum had merged with the Belfast Transport Museum to form the Ulster Folk and Transport Museum, which not only offered visitors a step back in time to a rural lifestyle, but an opportunity to uncover the stories behind Irish transport history. So by the close of the period, Northern Ireland offered visitors a strong heritage (and cultural) product, including great sandy beaches with 'bucket-and-spade' Victorian and Edwardian seaside resorts.[9] Between 1959 and 1969 inbound visitor numbers almost doubled from 633,000 to 1,066,000, with visitor spend doubling from £7.1 million to £14.5 million.[10] As for the type of attractions developed, the focus was on developing either natural heritage spaces (areal attraction) or single (nodal) built historic heritage attractions.

Terrorism and Overt Violence (Years 1969–1997)

This was a difficult period for tourism; visitor numbers collapsed, with the lowest ever figure recorded in 1972 of 435,000, with revenue down to £8.6 million.[11] These were viewed as lost years, especially when compared to the figures for competitors in northern European countries, and recovery would be slow over the 1970s and 1980s.[12] There was an understandable hesitancy to travel, and a clear correlation between visitor numbers and terrorist incidents, with the majority of travel being accounted for by the VFR (Visiting Friends and Relatives) market rather than pure holidaymakers.[13] The VFR market was as high as 61 % in 1977, only dropping below 50 % for the first time in 1988.[14] The industry has been criticised for not putting in the necessary investment to attract visitors at this time, but at the height of 'The Troubles' Northern Ireland received negative marketing through being on the radar of both national and international media, and had to endure decades during which the natural and cultural capital it offered was avoided by international as well as UK visitors. However, against this negative background the heritage landscape was further enhanced when the Giant's Causeway was declared a World Heritage Site (WHS) by UNESCO in 1986, and designated a national nature reserve in 1987 by the Department of the Environment for Northern Ireland. The accolade of being Northern Irelands' only WHS is judged as even more significant when it is considered that it was nominated along with Stonehenge as the first two UK WHSs. Of less significance to tourism as opposed to the development of natural heritage areas, a further three regions were given AONB status before 1990 (the Mourne Mountains, 1986; the Antrim Coast and Glens, 1988; the Causeway Coast, 1989).

A more professional approach to marketing Northern Ireland emerged at the start of the 1990s, with the then NITB (Northern Ireland Tourist Board) setting targets for visitor numbers. The year 1989 was the first in which inbound visitor numbers reached 1 million, but they did not exceed the visitor numbers recorded for 1968 (1,139,000) until the following year, with 1990 recording visitor numbers of 1,152,800 and a revenue of £162 million. This return to pre-violence performance also coincided with political developments involving Sinn Féin (the political wing of the IRA) and the British government which would eventually lead to the first ceasefire in 1994 by the IRA; the latter returned to terrorist activity for a short period in 1996, but announced a permanent ceasefire in 1997 which eventually lead to the Good Friday Agreement in 1998 and a system of shared government which was to include Sinn Féin. This Agreement ushered in a new era of opportunity and peace from which tourism in Northern Ireland would benefit.

Post-Violence Era (Years 1998 to the Present Day)

Since 1998 a more peaceful environment has provided the industry with an opportunity to extend the existing base of its appeal beyond a heavy focus on heritage (and culture) in terms of product development. This has included the promotion of popular attractions such as the Giant's Causeway (natural heritage), the Ulster Folk and Transport Museum (cultural heritage) and the Ulster Museum (educational heritage), which as Table 16.1 shows, with one exception have over the years continued to be very popular with visitors.

The table also reveals a very high emphasis on heritage appeal within the top ten attractions. The year 1994 is included here to allow for comparison between a year where violence was continuing, and post-violence years and the emergence of a normalising tourism environment. A snapshot of the attraction base in 1998 revealed that it was composed of a number of clusters, either consolidated on the north coast, or in the capital city of Belfast and its wider environs.[15] A reclassification of the attraction typology used by the then NITB around types of heritage (historical, industrial, cultural, educational and natural) revealed that by 1998 the three largest categories in terms of numbers of attractions were those of museums/visitor centres (cultural and educational heritage: 31 %), followed by historic properties (historical heritage: 26 %), and country/forest parks and gardens (18 %). The least visited type were those representing past industry (industrial heritage).[16]

Table 16.1 Top ten tourist attractions visited in sample years: 1994–2014

Attraction	*Visitor numbers (thousands)*					
	1994	*Rank*	*1998*	*Rank*	*2014*	*Rank*
Giant's Causeway World Heritage Site	330	1	408	1	788	1
Ulster Museum (F)	256	2	236	3	466	3
Pickie Family Fun Park[a]	230	3	300	2	243	9
Exploris	211	4	127	9		
Belfast Zoo	189	5	183	4	253	8
Ulster Folk Park	187	6	169	6		
Belleek Pottery	148	7	171	5		
Murlough Nature Reserve (f)	128	8	129	8	241	10
Dunluce Centre[a]	118	9	78	14		
Ulster American Folk Park	117	10	111	10		
Titanic Belfast	–				634	2
Derry Walls (f)	–				370	4
W5 Science museum	–				324	5
Carrick-a-Rede Rope Bridge (f)	66	17	72	17	323	6
The Guildhall, Derry (f)	–		–		299	7

Source: Northern Ireland Statistics and Research Agency (NISRA), *NI Visitor Attraction Statistics January—December 2014* (Belfast: Netherleigh, 2015)

[a]Denotes attractions that have no association with heritage

f denotes those that have no entry charge

A number of distinct patterns emerged when heritage attractions with an entry charge that also received over 5000 visitors are compared to those that had no entry charge and similarly high numbers; those with free entry were located within and close to the city environs of Belfast, Armagh and Londonderry/Derry, whereas those charging and receiving strong visitation numbers are more widely dispersed across Northern Ireland, and include urban, coastal, border and lough settings.[17] Corporate Plans post-1998 have focused on either increasing visitor numbers and spend, or developing international standout products to appeal to a wider international market. The Corporate Plan 1998–2001 put in place new targets of 1.85 million inbound tourist, with £ 285 million spend. Part of this strategy was the further promotion of cultural heritage through building on existing links between tourism and the cultural sector, so as to not only enhance the existing heritage base but also contribute to rural tourism opportunities, with an emphasis on activity-based holidays.[18]

Between 2004 and 2009 the NITB embarked on a Strategic Framework for Action programme in which a number of signature projects were identified as offering the best opportunities for tourism growth and the creation of world-class excellence for Northern Ireland. Combined they represented distinct and unique aspects of Northern Ireland's landscape, heritage and culture.[19] These included:

- Titanic Belfast (maritime heritage): bespoke build of a Titanic visitor attraction which opened in April 2012 on the 100th anniversary of the maiden voyage of RMS *Titanic*.
- New visitor centre at the Giant's Causeway (educational heritage) and a signed coastal drive between Belfast and Londonderry/Derry called the Causeway Coastal Route (natural and cultural heritage).
- Walled City of Derry (historic heritage): improved public realm along the only complete walled city in Ireland (historical, cultural heritage).
- St Patrick's Trail (educational, cultural heritage): signed driving route connecting places associated with the patron saint.
- Mournes Coastal Route (natural and cultural heritage).

It was only when the Programme for Government (PfG) monies from the Northern Ireland Assembly covering 2008–2011 were set aside, in 2012–2013, that these aspirational development programmes saw completion. Apart from the new development of a number of linear heritage spaces (sightseeing and themed touring trails), the heritage product on offer has over time remained predominantly focused on enhancing and adding to the existing point (nodal) and area (areal) attractions.[20] Apart from Titanic Belfast relatively few new heritage attractions and settings have opened post-1998. Three exceptions are the recent renovation and opening up of the Guildhall, Derry (which has quickly gained a top ten ranking (see Table 16.1)), the conversion of Belfast's Crumlin Road Gaol as a dark heritage attraction, and the development of the Gobbins Coastal Path on Islandmagee; the latter two still receive smaller numbers, but with growth potential. However, in their totality, heritage-related attractions must be seen as having provided the base for a steady rise of visitor numbers and spend during the post-violence era of 1998 to the present day (see Table 16.2).

One new dimension since 2012 that has also contributed to the growth in both inbound and domestic tourism has been the deliberate strategy of hosting big sporting and cultural events. Indeed, 2012 was especially significant

Table 16.2 Visitor numbers and revenue generated in sample years: 1995–2014

Year	*Out-of-state visits*	*Revenue (£m)*	*Domestic visits*	*Revenue (£m)*
1995	1,557,000	214.0	613,000	57.0
1998	1,477,000	217.0	543,000	63.0
2001	1,511,000	271.0	892,000	123.0
2007[a]	2,108,000	376.0	1,154,000	159.0
2012[b]	1,984,000	488.0	2,018,000	201.0
2014[b]	2,177,000	514.0	2,335,000	238.0

Source: Northern Ireland Statistics and Research Agency NISRA (2015)

[a]Domestic visits after 2005 included VFR, business, and other. Figures prior to 2005 account for holidays only

[b]Numbers before and after 2012 cannot be compared; a changed methodology was used after 2010

('NI2012 our time, our place') as it not only saw the completion of key signature projects, but also the start of hosting international events with the Irish Golf Tournament. This was followed in 2013 with a year-long celebration of Londonderry/Derry as the first UK City of Culture, as well as the province's hosting of the World Police and Fire Games. In 2014, Northern Ireland was the venue for the first two stages (Grande Departe) of Giro D'Italia cycling race, while 2016 has been labelled the Year of Food and Drink, with a number of events planned to celebrate the province's rich culinary and drink products. Future sporting events secured include the hosting of the British Golf Open in 2019, which suggests that although developed relatively recently, events are proving to be a major part of the tourism attraction. The events sector has now developed its own strategic vision, which sits alongside a wider tourism strategy for Northern Ireland up to the year 2020.

Interpretation: Telling a Compelling Story (Second Lens)

The role of heritage interpretation is to make people more aware of the places they visit, to provide knowledge that increases their understanding, and to promote interests that lead to greater enjoyment and perhaps an enhanced level of responsibility.[21] Tilden saw it as both art and science; imaginative, meaningful, inspiring, involving, but also targeting the whole person and accepting that different approaches are needed for different and often cross-cultural audiences.[22] Moscardo summed it up best by stressing the priority of good storytelling and ensuring authenticity to inspire mindful visitors.[23]

Destinations have traditionally relied on a mix of personal and non-personal means to facilitate visitors' experiences. Both are used across Northern Ireland's heritage sites, attractions and settings; guided tours, living character and history performances (cultural and educational heritage attractions), compared with signs, panels and self-guided audio tours (many natural and educational heritage attractions). Interpretation across the new linear heritage spaces (routes) has a consistent brand look where display panels at specified stops (or nodes) adopt an appropriate and minimalist approach as to the volume of information they present.[24] This contrasts with the 'over-information' within many educational heritage attractions; the new Titanic Belfast visitor attractions, for example, are guilty of leaving their visitors with an experience not dissimilar to museum fatigue. However, in a recent survey of visitor experience of the signature projects the factor deemed to be the most lacking was related to the provision of better and more accessible information.[25] This raises the issue of whether there is an emergent preference toward new technology-driven, multimedia and interactive interpretations that appeal to the Y and millennial generations, which in turn raise the challenge of not letting the medium overtake how the message is conveyed. For example, recent research on the Cliffs of Moher WHS in the Republic of Ireland, where a new subterranean visitor centre has replaced a more traditional above-ground one, cautions over a 'high intensity' approach, as only a third of visitors approved of the high technology focus, with very few (4 %) expressing they wanted even more technology.[26]

The decline in visitor numbers to the open-air museum attractions (see Table 16.1) might be indicative of a decline in traditional interpretive media, but it might also be that these attractions have more of a domestic as opposed to inbound tourist appeal. However, some heart can be taken from the signature project experience survey that found that when combined, these five signature projects (new and revived existing attractions) are delivering a wide spectrum of key attributes that comprise a 'Northern Ireland tourism experience'. These include memorable, historical, natural, unique, inspiring, genuine, engaging and authentic, all aspects that the wider heritage-centric attraction base is helping to shape as a positive visitor experience.

Balanced Thinking toward Selling Dark and Political Heritage (Third Lens)

The following question might be asked: should part of the heritage experience be to showcase an often difficult and turbulent past? Frequently the past can be an unwanted history that has greater appeal to visitors than to the resident population.[27] However, in the case of Northern Ireland in 2007 Simon Calder, the travel writer for the *Independent* newspaper, noted that the UK's top tourist attraction was the open-air galley in West Belfast, with its 'dark, passionate and sometimes shocking murals from both sides of the religious divide'.[28] Not surprisingly, the private sector has been quick to grasp this opportunity, with unofficial black taxis operating sightseeing tours to see the mural corridors/alleys. In addition, former prisoners, both republican and loyalist, offer walking tours that connect the visitor with dark sites such as shrines, cemeteries and memorials, as well as conflict/interface regions that reflect the dissonant territory that separates communities (for example, the Catholic Falls Road and the Protestant Shankill Road). Murals are therefore a popular means of shaping the territoriality and geographic space of distinct communities, particularly for Belfast and Londonderry/Derry.[29] These murals are often symbols that tell the story of a community, as well as the struggles it has faced and may continue to face. However, commodification and change is also taking place, and conflict heritage that was once sold to international tourists is now being replaced by murals that reflect other cultural elements, such as key sporting figures (e.g. the footballer George Best), while a political and difficult past is being whitewashed over, and in some cases erased, from the vernacular landscape of the gable ends of terraced streets.[30]

The public sector, particularly the national tourism body (Tourism NI), has been less keen to officially support dark attractions that are often viewed as dissonant heritage, especially where they are seen to belong to one community as opposed to the other. To many policymakers, particularly those representing unionist communities, the chronological distance between the actual events and today's tourists consuming such heritage is still too short, a view not dissimilar to those shared at other attractions with a tragic history, although these are often visited with the primary purpose of education and learning.[31] An 'identity versus economy' dilemma can therefore emerge when political parties consider the issue of dark and political heritage. For example, nationalist politicians focus on the potential it offers for further tourism growth, particularly benefiting those communities most affected by the Troubles, while unionist politicians point to this form of tourism as glorifying the past and as a cynical use of history for economic gain.[32] Not surprisingly, there is no political consensus in Northern Ireland over the promotion of its dark and political heritage as a key attribute of the region's appeal.

Where there is less contention, however, has been the recent reuse of the existing Crumlin Road Gaol in Belfast, now transformed into a new visitor attraction whose focus is more entertainment-centric than historic-centric. The conversion of jails to tourist use has been often positioned in the midpoint of the dark-to-light tourism spectrum, as the jail becomes a venue for storytelling about notable inmates, but equally is used to host a number of events, many of which have no bearing on the setting itself.[33] In the case of Northern Ireland, many would argue that this example is a more acceptable use of a region's dark infrastructure, whilst others view the dissonance within dark tourism as both an opportunity to save and to establish cultural identity, and yet others see its potential as part of a nation-building exercise.[34] Some have also pointed to the positives that political tourism offers: first, the potential to build peace and reconciliation between communities that were previously divided; second, the opportunity to view Northern Ireland as a learning and educational space for tourists visiting as part of wider conflict resolution study; and third, as an example of best practice for other destinations that are also in the process of moving from conflict to peace.[35]

Conclusion

As Northern Ireland has transformed itself from a destination characterised by violence and turbulence to one resembling a normal tourism setting it has received growing attention from scholars, including those interested in tourism, keen to observe the process of this change. One useful way to view this is from the perspective of the three lenses set out in this chapter. A transformation has been made, building on an existing and established heritage-centric base that was present pre-violence. Much of this new thinking has been driven by big-build public sector-funded projects to create a wow factor, and promote an international standout around which other lesser-known visitor sites, attractions and settings can form part of a wider and longer visit. While there is no doubting that some signature projects have been achieved, the extent to which further destinations have evolved around them is less clear, though to be fair Belfast is quickly gaining a reputation as a short-break heritage and cultural destination. Second, and linked to the emphasis on big-build heritage development, is the issue of how effective the interpretation presently on offer actually is. It is important to remember that what is emerging is the rise of high-intensity approaches over low use of technology, with the risk that the medium takes over from the message and mars the opportunity for visitors to take away unique and memorable experiences.[36] Third, one might question the extent to which the industry should give attention to the promotion of new heritage sites, attractions and settings that have dark and political aspects to them. However, in consolidating the province's USP, perhaps the greatest caution needs to be applied in terms of how visitors come to view and experience Northern Ireland as a destination through this third lens. There is no doubting that it has been a phoenix tourism destination, having seen a distinct period of post-conflict tourism development.[37] However, can the tourism industry fully transform itself and become an integral element in the development and growth of Northern Ireland's economy? If so, having a strong heritage-centric USP will go some way to help with that transformation.

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CHAPTER 17

Museums and Tourism: Time to Make Friends

Graham Black

Introduction

This chapter discusses the potential to further develop the partnership between the fields of museums and heritage tourism in England, making it more than a marriage of convenience. There is a long-standing, symbiotic relationship between the two fields but, for much of the time, it has been an uneasy and fragmented one. The problem starts at the centre of UK government, with heritage and tourism coming under separate state departments. Meanwhile, trained separately and with a different ethos, many museum staff view tourist bodies as seeking to commodify the past and interested purely in profit—'… the past is treated as a commodity to be bought and sold as part of the contemporary tourist industry …'—while many tourism personnel see museums (and other heritage destinations) as amateurs in their operation and, particularly, in the management of visitors.[1]

However, severe reductions in public subsidy since the financial crisis of 2007/8 have placed publicly funded museums and heritage sites in England under immense pressure to increase visitor numbers and grow income from them, through measures including expanding corporate

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usage and developing their role as tourist destinations—while the very act of attracting tourist audiences has helped to legitimise the museums in the eyes of their political masters. In addition, increasing museums' focus on audiences has led to a coming together with tourism bodies around a shared need to better understand the motivations and expectations of their users and respond innovatively to these.

Many UK museums, including national museums in London and sites in classic tourist destinations, such as the Roman Baths Museum in Bath or the Brontë Parsonage Museum in Haworth, work hard in collaboration with tourism bodies to ensure that they meet the perceived needs of the tourists (both international and national) who make up a large percentage of their audiences. While museums in established tourist regions like Cornwall, the Peak District, the Lake District and Yorkshire have long been active members of partnerships developing tourism in their areas, this has now expanded to every region of the country. Even the UK Museums Association (the 'trade body' for museum professionals) has got in on the act, devoting the March 2015 issue of its online publication *Museum Practice* to museums and tourism.[2]

But all is not sweetness and light, with conflict in particular over the use of scarce resources to support tourism, rather than museum work with local residents. For example, VisitEngland recorded a 4 % increase in visitor numbers to museums in 2014.[3] However, much of this increase can be placed at the door of growing overseas tourism to London. Four of the top five and six of the top ten visitor attractions in England (and, for that matter, in the UK) are national museums in London—and these museums have become markedly entrepreneurial: '… , working together to improve destination marketing and the visitor experience'.[4] They work closely with VisitBritain and London and Partners, and put considerable effort into raising their profile abroad through touring exhibitions, links to international media, and so on. This has helped boost visits to London national museums by foreign tourists by almost 40 % since 2008/9, while visits from within the UK have increased by just 3 % during this same period.[5]

The percentages for overseas visitors at the Tate, the Science Museum and Imperial War Museum shown in Table 17.1 will be underestimates, as they represent groups of museums that include sites located outside London. And we also know that recent substantial rises in visits by international tourists to the National Gallery and Tate Modern in London masked a steep decline in visits to these institutions by UK nationals.[6]

Table 17.1 National Museums in London: visitor data 2013–14

Museum	*Total visitors 2014*	*% from overseas*
British Museum	6,695,213	58 %
National Gallery	6,416,724	61 %
Tate Modern	5,785,427	50 % for group
Natural History Museum	5,388,295	48 %
Science Museum	3,356,072	27 % for group
V&A South Kensington	3,180,450	47 %
National Portrait Gallery	2,062,502	40 %
National Maritime Museum	1,516,258	46 % for National Museums Greenwich
Tate Britain	1,357,878	Part of Tate group
Imperial War Museum London	914,774	37 %

Sources*:* Association of Large Visitor Attractions 2015 (Association of Large Visitor Attractions (2015) Visitor Figures for 2014, accessed on 15/05/2015 at www.alva.org.uk) and DCMS 2015 (DCMS (2015) *Sponsored Museums: Performance Indicators 2013–14*, London: Department for Culture, Media and Sport, February 2015, accessed on 15/05/2015 at: https://www.gov.uk/government/statistics/sponsored-museums-annual-performance-indicators-2013-14)

As one element of public funding for national museums, the culture budget subsidises the nationals by *c.* £ 130 million a year specifically to provide free admission and thus encourage increased access by UK citizens.[7] In practice, it is subsidising London tourism at a time when culture budgets across the regions are being slashed. And this destruction of regional budgets for culture is taking place against a backdrop of spend on culture by Arts Council England and the Department of Culture, Media and Sport at £69 per head in London and £4.58 in the rest of England—with these figures becoming even more extreme when lottery funding is taken into account.[8]

Despite such issues, museums and the heritage tourist industry need each other. I believe the best way to ensure long-term partnerships is to embed their relationship in a clear understanding of the fundamental interests that the two fields share, over and above getting visitors out of London. The remainder of this chapter concentrates on core areas where shared research would be of major benefit: the changing nature of audiences; audience attitudes to the museum experience; the leisure imperative; the complexity of motivation; the continuing role of learning; and what the future might hold.

Audiences: The 'New Consumer'

> … all our traditional arts organisations were developed in very different times, for audiences very different from those we address now.[9]

It is in the public dimension—their users—that museums and tourism bodies have most in common. And, despite growing diversity, the 'traditional' audience across the developed world, for both heritage tourism and museums, is identical: white, middle-class, well-educated professionals, their families and their friends. The term 'traditional', however, is increasingly as meaningless as the term, 'audiences', that it refers to, for both museums and heritage tourism generally are in the midst of rapid change. In my book *Transforming Museums in the Twenty-First Century*, I argued that museums must transform themselves if they are to remain relevant to twenty-first-century audiences. I spoke of new media, generational shift and demographic change having a profound impact on wider society, and specifically on the expectations of museum visitors. Whilst this impact has been incremental, cumulatively the scale and speed of change has been akin to a perfect storm.

My core concern was that these societal changes would lead to a decline in attendance at museums and galleries. In English terms, this has been a hard case to make, as the government's *Taking Part* survey showed a steady increase from 42 % of the population in 2006/7 to 52 % in 2013 visiting a museum and gallery at least once a year.[10] This contrasts with the USA, where the *Survey of Public Participation in the Arts 2012* charted a decline in art museum attendance from 26 % of the population in 2002 to 21 % in 2012.[11] The European Union's *Special Eurobarometer 399: Cultural Access and Participation* reported that, since 2007, between 2007–2012 there was a general decline in participation in most cultural activities, including a drop from 41 % to 37 % in European citizens visiting museums and galleries.[12]

The impact of tourism figures, including visitors from overseas, is clearly an important factor for museum and gallery attendance, and represents one hole in my 2012 discussion of attendance levels. Another concerns the influence of the Heritage Lottery Fund, in terms of substantial increases in attendance at larger regional museums where there has been major capital funding. In contrast, small museums and those larger institutions that have been starved of investment, or where the investment took place some time ago, appear to have suffered declines, although detailed data is difficult to acquire. However, an even bigger hole in my discussion of the changing nature of audiences was a failure to consider the wider transformation of 'traditional' museum visitors into the new, or postmodern consumer. Tourism bodies and academics such as Sharpley had become increasingly aware of this phenomenon by the mid-1980s, focusing on the need to develop new tourism products.[13] They spoke of a developing emphasis on choice and variety, of seeking new experiences and of growing levels of sophistication driven by a highly informed, well-educated, media-savvy and extensively travelled audience—all underpinned by rising income, the primary driver of modern Western society.

Poon defined the characteristics of the new tourist consumer as being more experienced; undergoing changing lifestyles and changing values; and having more flexibility.[14] Middleton, commenting on museum futures, spoke of the British population, in common with other developed nations, becoming more affluent, better educated, more healthy, older and with a particular shift in the number and attitudes of the over-50s. They were also more leisured and travelled; and more computer literate, heterogeneous and culturally diverse. He suggested all of this was resulting in consumers who were increasingly diverse, demanding, quality-conscious and sophisticated.[15] Yeoman discussed an emboldened consumer-citizen, a more demanding, sophisticated and informed actor with intensified expectations of, for instance, quality innovation and premium choices in every market, and of efficient and ever more personalised customer service.[16] Meanwhile, research in the UK, the USA and the European Union spoke consistently of the increasingly fragmented leisure time of this audience, due not least to the work commitments of dual-income homes and an accelerating pace of life.[17]As a result, the key reason the new consumers gave for not visiting museums and galleries was that they did not have the time (see for example Aust and Vine 2007, NEA 2015).[18] And the chief reasons they gave for visiting museums were social and recreational. As early as 1986 Roger Miles, writing about visitors to the Natural History Museum in London, contrasted the museum's attitude to its visitors with that of the visitors themselves:

The 'Scholarly' Perception. This is based on funding the Museum as a place of learning rather than of leisure. The Museum is concerned with education, which is seen as a strait-laced matter involving principally the memorising of facts that are obtained by examining the objects on show and by reading their captions.

The 'Visitor' Perception. In the eyes of the lay public a visit to the British Museum (Natural History) is a social event … Three quarters of the visitors come with family or with friends… They perceive the museum as a place of entertainment, and no firm distinction is to be drawn between recreation and education.[19]

Numerous studies since have confirmed the priority given to the museum visit as a social occasion. For example, *When Going gets Tough* (2015) reported that 73 % of Americans gave socialising with friends or family as their top reason for attending any arts event or exhibition.[20] And what this means for expectations of the museum or heritage tourism visit is that much more attention should be given to the development of high-quality social, recreational and participatory (including new media) experiences—matching the lifestyles of the new consumers. Underpinning this, museums and heritage sites need to re-envisage themselves as leisure and social destinations—and recognise that, as such, they must be able to compete with other forms of leisure provision.

The Museum Experience

The classic curatorial definition of the museum experience focuses on the visitor's direct engagement with objects or artworks in the collections. They speak of the 'real thing'—the objective authenticity of the collections—as the central draw for visitors. In an idealised museum world, the immediacy of this engagement would lead to a deep and meaningful learning experience for the visitor—a unique experience that cannot be replicated elsewhere.[21]

Falk and Dierking's seminal text *The Museum Experience* was the first major museum publication to explore the experience from the visitor's point of view, placing engagement with objects within the visitor's personal, social and physical contexts and developing their 'interactive experience model' as 'a framework for making sense of both the common strands and the unique complexities of the museum experience, the similarities and differences among museums and among visitors'.[22] They recognised that 'Each museum visitor's personal context is unique …'; that 'Visits to museums occur within a social context …'; and that 'The Museum is a physical setting that visitors, usually freely, *choose* to enter. Their model was based on the recognition that '… the interaction of these [contexts] creates the visitor's experience'. However, the continuing definition of the visitor experience, by museum professionals, as largely learning-driven led museums to develop and apply measurable learning objectives for the visitor. Linked to central government funding in the New Labour era, museums were expected to develop these objectives, and the means of evaluating them, to justify continued grant aid. Learning was defined as ‘a process of active engagement with experience’,[23] and five user-centred ‘Generic Learning Outcomes’ were established to evaluate against: knowledge and understanding; skills; attitudes; enjoyment, inspiration and creativity; and action, behaviour and progression. A series of more detailed outcomes was listed under each field (see www.inspiring-learningforall.gov.uk).[24]

This evaluative approach has proven a useful tool to support the assessment of the impact of formal learning sessions and programmed activities. It has been much less effective in evaluating the informal learning of casual museum visitors. The trouble is that visitors do not explore museum displays in the focused manner that some curators expect:

> […] the vast majority of visitors do not follow the exhibition content step-by-step, detail-by-detail, in the systematic manner in which it has been laid out. Rather, they create their own personal, exploratory routes, missing out elements, stopping at what interests them and moving on when they are ready.[25]

As Rounds points out, this can lead to curatorial judgements of visitors as non-diligent, unfocused, unsystematic, random and haphazard meanderers.[26] There is an alternative explanation—and one that seems much more likely, given that we recognise traditional visitors as well-educated professionals—which is that they are choosing how they use their museum visit, and are doing so from the premise that they are on a leisure outing. Such informal, non-captive, social audiences have always been wonderfully anarchic. They come when they want, set their own agendas, do what they want and leave when they want. Their museum experience is voluntary, exploratory, spontaneous and often unintentional. But the end result is that, either individually or in their family and social groups, they have effectively always created their own, personalised museum experience, including discovery, but firmly leisure-based.

The Leisure Imperative

What do we mean when we describe the contemporary museum as a leisure destination? Stephen points to Shaw’s description of the qualities of a leisure experience: ‘These include, among others, such phenomena as enjoyment, freedom, relaxation, personal growth and social interaction—

qualities which can readily be derived, it should be noted, in a museum environment.'[27]

He highlights the ancillary spaces and activities now seen as essential in larger museums: the quality restaurant and shop; the theatre with lectures, film and live performance; the evening openings and activities, the external plaza for promenading and events—and points to the Pompidou Centre, established in 1977, open late into the evening, 'filled with life, food and drink' and with an animated external plaza in which to meet, as the precursor of this model.[28] Quality, not price, is the key. Destinations must now match the lifestyle expectations of the new consumers. It is no surprise that Tate Modern was an immediate success and that the Great Court at the British Museum has become a 'place to meet'—or that Chris Dercon, Director of Tate Modern, when he announced a £215 million extension in 2011, said: 'The museum is not just about viewing and judging objects but mental and bodily exercises—we want to provide a new form of social space for interactions'.[29] And we can see the impact of this approach in regional art galleries like Hepworth Wakefield, Nottingham Contemporary and Turner Art Centre Margate.

Motivation

How do we analyse the impact of multiple motivational factors on the museum visit? With socialising as a primary motivation, but learning or personal development an important element, and with the physical context, including its authenticity, also an influence, the museum experience is complex and multidimensional,[30] but with a potentially enduring impact—much as Sharpley and Stone[31] or Page[32] recognise the contemporary heritage tourism experience to be. Being multidimensional, however, makes it extremely difficult to define motivation, because this will be both multiple and unique to the individual or group. Yet, as motivation is directly linked to the strategies that visitors apply on site, museums need some form of segmentation by motivation to allow them to plan the most effective way of supporting the visit. The National Trust has broken its audience down into seven broad segments as a basis for its interpretation, outlined in Table 17.2 below.

The word 'tourist' does not appear here. Unlike most local-authority museums, who tend to lump tourists together as a broad heading, the National Trust understands that day trippers and tourists are its lifeblood, and that their motivations are broadly similar to those of local visitors. In

Table 17.2 National Trust for England visitor profiling

Out and About: Spontaneous people who prefer chance encounters to making firm plans and love to share their experiences with friends
Young Experience Seekers: People who are open to challenge, in a physical or horizon-broadening sense; they make and take opportunities in their journey of personal discovery
Curious Minds: Active thinkers, always questioning and making connections between the things they learn. They have a wide range of interests and take positive steps to create a continual flow of intellectual stimuli in their lives
Live Life to the Full: Self-driven intellectuals, confident of their own preferences and opinions and highly independent in their planning and decision making; these people are always on the go
Explorer Families: Families that actively learn together, the adults will get as much out of their experience as the children. To fit in the interests of all family members planning, sharing and negotiation are essential
Kids First Families: Families who put the needs of the children first and look for a fun environment where children are stimulated and adults can relax; they're looking for a guaranteed good time
Home and Family: Broad groups of friends and family who gather together for special occasions. They seek passive enjoyment of an experience to suit all tastes and ages

National Trust (2004) (National Trust, *Informed Welcome* (Swindon: National Trust, 2004 (unpublished)))

Table 17.3 Five types of cultural tourists

1. The *purposeful cultural tourist*—cultural tourism the primary motive
2. The *sightseeing cultural tourist*—cultural tourism still a major reason, but the experience is more shallow
3. The *serendipitous cultural tourist*—does not travel for cultural tourism reasons but ends up having a deep cultural tourism experience
4. The *casual cultural tourist*—cultural tourism a weak motive and the resulting experience shallow
5. The *incidental cultural tourist*—does not travel for cultural tourism purposes, but engages in some activities and has shallow experiences

B. McKercher & H. du Cros *Cultural Tourism*, (New York: The Howarth Hospitality Press, 2002), p.144.

reality, all of these segments would be recognisable to tourism professionals.[33] The Trust's segmentation contrasts positively with McKercher and du Cros and their five types of cultural tourists, outlined in Table 17.3 below, as it assigns a more active role to visitors in defining and pursuing their own museum experiences.

The Future

If leisure is the primary motivation, what role is there for learning in the twenty-first-century museum? McPherson speaks of a move from a predominantly educative leisure and recreation role towards pleasure management,[34] while Packer suggests the museum may be more fittingly described as an 'educational leisure setting' than an 'informal learning setting'.[35] However, these suggestions again ascribe a predominantly passive role to the visitor. If we instead acknowledge that visitors have their own agendas and actively seek to implement them, we will see that the first five of the National Trust's segments and at least the purposeful cultural tourist from McKercher and du Cros will still expect a positive, largely self-directed learning experience. The role of the museum—as it always has been—is to support these visitors by developing contemporary ways to engage audiences with its collections and thereby make sense of the world. And in our 'new visitor-consumer'/postmodern world, the role of the museum is no longer to tell people stuff—they can find out on Google anyhow. Rather it is to create an engaging environment where visitors can develop their understanding through social activity—relaxation, conversation, social interaction, participation, collaboration, contribution:

> Too often, the future is seen as indecipherable or unpredictable, so decisions are based on a tacit assumption that the conditions of the future will be the same as the past. Ironically, the one thing we can *guarantee* is that our world is changing and the future is certain to bring with it different business conditions, market opportunities, competitive threats and consumer desires.[36]

> We are witnessing a complete renovation of our cultural infrastructure. Those 'bricks and mortar' culture houses, citadels of experience, towers of inspiration, that for so long have stood steadfast as symbols of cultural continuity and comfort, while the streets around them have whizzed and clattered to multiple disruptive transformations, are being turned inside out […] this wholesale renovation is born out of an urgent requirement to change or die, and it is just beginning[37]

Here we have two very different quotes, one businesslike, from a professor of tourism futures, the other much more emotive prose from a commentator on arts and culture in the UK. Both speak of the urgent need for change.

We have two English case studies for changing institutions in the immediate future. The first—Tate Modern and other related galleries, with their increased focus on the social/leisure/consumer side of the visit—was discussed above. The second is the National Trust for England, Wales and Northern Ireland, the largest voluntary conservation organisation in the world. It cares for over 300 historic houses and gardens, and 600,000 acres of countryside including 700 miles of coastline. More than 150 of its sites are accredited museums, making the National Trust also the largest museum authority in the UK. It has over 17 million visits to its pay-to-enter sites each year, and over 50 million to its countryside. More than 60,000 volunteers help its work.[38]

During the 'noughties' the Trust carried out a major review of the way its membership was going and of visitor patterns to its houses, and decided it had to change to meet the needs of future users. In 2010 it launched its new '2020 Vision', with the sub-theme of 'Going Local'.[39] The central challenge it set itself was to have 5 million members by 2020—in 2010 it had 2.5 million, already the largest such figure for a heritage charity in the world. 'Going Local' focused on the ability of individual properties to attract return visitors, rather than one-offs, and so persuade more people to remain members of the Trust when they had visited all their local sites. To support this new vision, the Trust restructured its national and regional management and gave more power to individual properties. It also placed a new emphasis on audience enjoyment, while recognising that not all audiences were the same. Using five years of visitor research, it re-segmented its visitors by motivation, as discussed above, and then set each property the challenge of targeting its offer at three specific segments. What has been really fascinating has been their 'bringing the property to life' theme for the interpretation of individual properties, based around spirit of place and the visitor experience, and the strategic way in which they have used a series of interpretive techniques. Crucially, the Trust recognised that delivery of the vision would require a sustained effort over a long time frame (2010–2020), but by late 2014 they had already incresed its membership from the 2010 figure of 2.5 million to over 4 million. The message is that, if the National Trust can turn itself around, anyone can. It requires research, a clear and shared sense of purpose and vision, strategic planning, the commitment of all involved and time.

Yet, the Trust's planning still seems geared to the current, as if the future will largely continue to repeat the present. In particular, their mainstay adult audience, the 'Curious Minds', is mostly seen as comprised of over-50-year-olds who are still intellectually active, and bears a remarkable similarity to the 'baby boomer' generation. The last of the baby boomers passed the age of 50 in 2014, and will reach the traditional UK retirement age of 65 in 2029. Their availability in retirement, relative wealth, educational status and mobility will continue to have a profound impact on demand, and thus on the nature of museum and tourism provision, for the foreseeable future.

But, what happens when we reach a stage beyond what can be readily predicted from current trends? Given that major museum developments regularly take ten or more years to complete and then, of course, remain in situ for substantial periods after that, museums (and heritage tourism) should already be planning for 2030. Will the rising middle classes within the UK's diverse communities want the same heritage experience as the baby boomers or something very different? Will the generations who have followed after the baby boomers find new ways beyond museum walls to gain something distinct from what the baby boomers currently seek? Will the museum and tourism fields be able to predict and develop new products to meet differing demands?

All the available evidence suggests the future of museums, and potentially of heritage tourism, depends on maintaining an authentic experience but developing a much more dynamic relationship with users—with greater freedom of choice, customisation and individual service, opportunities for participation and the widespread use of wearable technology rather than handheld devices.[40] Museums already operate in a world where at least younger users believe museum collections are cooperatively owned, and take material online to actively share, sort, classify, collaboratively rethink, reclassify, republish and reuse as they see fit—whilst also expecting to have the opportunity to contribute to content. To bring these users on board requires a profoundly different, much more participatory experience—one that involves creating new and more meaningful opportunities for engagement and opening up ways to contribute and perhaps co-produce.

This matches the future directions proposed for heritage tourism. Moscardo references the work of psychologist Ellen Langer on mindfulness and proposes that the most appropriate goal of interpretation is to encourage visitors to be mindful.[41] Sharpley and Stone suggest 'we have now moved into the era of the co-production of tourist experiences […] in which tourists play a more active role in creating their desired experiences'.[42] Prat and Aspiunza speak of the present as a period when 'the tourist no longer has a passive role […] the opportunity for co-creating and living meaningful tourist experiences'.[43] This all suggests a continuing search for the novel and the innovative supported by super-abundant choice, the ability to customise your experience to meet your personal needs, opportunities for active participation, the ever-expanding use of new technology and an underpinning of authenticity—all within a framework that reflects the lifestyles of those involved. Will museums be able to rise to this challenge?

Like the tourism industry, museums are now in the people business and must face up to the need for continuing change, to reflect the speed with which their audiences are changing, or lose relevance and die. This stark choice would still be there even if the current financial crisis had not occurred. Some of the change required is already being faced and responded to by the heritage tourism industry. Given that heritage tourism relies on museums and heritage sites to provide much of the core content that the tourist product can be built around, it is in everyone's interest to learn and work together—and everyone will benefit from shared research. Now is a perfect time to make this happen.

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[1] Note: Page numbers followed by 'n' refer to foot notes.

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