CONSUMING HERITAGE, EXPERIENCING IDENTITY: FINDING MEANING THROUGH INTERPRETATIONS OF INDUSTRIAL HERITAGE TOURISM

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THESIS ABSTRACT

This is an ethnographic study that explores notions of identity and meaning at two museums of industrial heritage in Canada (Cape Breton Miners’ Museum) and South Wales (the Big Pit National Mining Museum of Wales). This thesis seeks to unpack how identity is constructed and meaning is made from representations of the industrial past.

The study first explores theoretical applications in anthropological discussions of religious tourism for its alignment to meaningful consumption of heritage. This line of inquiry is further underpinned by theories of identity construction to learn more about the how and why behind building identity and meaning through representations of the industrial past. This study posits that the current literature underpinning heritage consumption is limited in its ability to lend a deeper understanding of the significance of heritage sites in building meaning and identity through tourism.

The interpretive ethnographic study evolves to show how aspects of landscape, tourist experience, and imagination are important elements in mediating the social nature of consuming an industrial heritage experience. Approached from a social constructionist epistemology, this work contributes to the body of knowledge in revealing that the act of sharing in reciprocal storytelling via personal narratives is central to finding meaning and constructing identity in the consumption of industrial heritage sites. This study also builds on more systematic approaches applied to the study of heritage consumption to uncover more about the how and why consumption is made meaningful. The body of knowledge in tourism research is furthermore moved forward and enriched through the engagement of an in depth epistemological foundation underpinning the nature of inquiry; an approach hitherto scarce in methodological approaches to tourism research.
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<tr>
<td>AAM</td>
<td>Amalgamated Association of Miners</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BESCO</td>
<td>British Empire Steel Corporation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CADW</td>
<td>Welsh Assembly Government’s historic environment division</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GMA</td>
<td>General Mining Association</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NCB</td>
<td>National Coal Board</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NMW</td>
<td>National Museum Wales</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NUM</td>
<td>National Union of Mineworkers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PWA</td>
<td>Provincial Workman’s Association</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SWMF</td>
<td>South Wales Miners Federation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UMWA</td>
<td>United Mine Workers of America</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UK</td>
<td>United Kingdom</td>
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<tr>
<td>UNESCO</td>
<td>United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization</td>
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DECLARATION

I declare that the research contained in this thesis, unless otherwise formally indicated within the text, is the original work of the author. The thesis has not been previously submitted to this or any other university for a degree, and does not incorporate any material already submitted for a degree.

Signed: ________________________________

Dated: ________________________________
Chapter ONE

- Introduction to the Thesis
In the last half century the proliferation of heritage sites and attractions catering to tourism is notable. In this time span a steady increase in regional and national interests in heritage has taken hold (Goulding 2000). An increase in the number of visitors to heritage sites in many countries has resulted. This gives the social sciences just cause to investigate the relative significance of heritage in modern society. More specific to this thesis, further inquiry into the consumption of industrial heritage as a social phenomenon in tourism is investigated.

Therefore this thesis places remnants of an industrial past transformed into tourist attractions under study. The research investigates why tourists are interested in industrial heritage and explores what it means to visit these sites. It is the industrial heritage of former coal mining regions that is studied for their ability to mediate a sense of identity and meaning among their visitors.

1.1 The Heritage Phenomena and Tourism

In setting the heritage context of the study, it is important to first understand the scope of heritage. Nurick (2000) says that heritage is made up of those things inherited from the past and can include historic buildings, artwork or natural scenery. Whether large or small in scale, representations of heritage are able to reflect symbolic meaning in society. Indeed, as Aitchison et al (2000:109) state, “[h]eritage is a powerful force in contemporary society” and serves up diverse meanings to people. It is characteristic for heritage to also manifest itself in tangible and intangible forms (Smith 2006); be it a historic manor house or a feeling of belonging felt for a historic landscape (Ashworth 1994).

In the last two decades, scholarship has paid increasing attention to the evolution of heritage as a subject area. A look at the launch dates of the following journals reflect the field’s recent undertaking as an area of study; all of which were introduced within the last fifteen years – International Journal of Heritage Studies (1994), Journal of Heritage Interpretation (1995), Journal of Cultural Heritage (2000) and most recently, the Journal of Heritage Tourism launched in 2006. This is demonstrative of a growing intellectual interest in heritage as a subject of study in academia. By comparison, heritage’s relationship with tourism as a field of inquiry in the social sciences is even more recent and less developed intellectually. The
recent launch of the Journal of Heritage Tourism in 2006 is an indication of this. The field of inquiry that seeks to establish more in depth studies of heritage tourism falls into a domain of unchartered territory.

The broader inquiry underpinning this research is why certain representations of heritage are of interest in contemporary tourism. The thesis seeks to address why contemporary representations of heritage emanate meaning and how visitors consume heritage in meaningful ways. More specifically to this research, heritage in the form of the industrial past is studied for its appeal to visitors who engage in heritage tourism. The meaning these heritage sites have for their visitors’ merits more in depth analyses in the realm of social research.

Even though heritage looks old, Kirshenblatt-Gimblett (1998) says that it is actually something ‘new’; a mode of cultural production in the present that has recourse to the past. Nevertheless heritage should not be confused with ‘history’. Distinctions between the two are made here to support the heritage context adopted in this research. Ashworth asserts (1994:16) that heritage is “…a contemporary commodity purposefully created to satisfy contemporary consumption” and history is a recorded memory of the past. History becomes heritage through the process of commodification (Ashworth 1994). Lowenthal (1995) takes the distinction a step further:

Heritage should not be confused with history. History seeks to convince by truth, and succumbs to falsehood. Heritage exaggerates and omits, candidly invents and frankly forgets, and thrives on ignorance and error. Time and hindsight alter history, too. But historians' revisions must conform with accepted tenets of evidence. Heritage is more flexibly emended. (Lowenthal 1995 online).

This perspective demonstrates how the qualities of heritage extend beyond the ‘factual’ and the ‘tangible’ features of history, to suggest adaptable and flexible understandings for heritage. Indeed, as Ashworth and Larkham (1994:2) show heritage is able to go further and draw upon “…mythologies, folklores and the products of creative imaginations”.
Heritage as commoditised history is displayed in a number of ways. The ‘ways’ in which heritage is therefore experienced is also diverse. On one level, heritage is experienced through a particular act such as visiting a museum (Ashworth 1994), yet on a deeper level “…it is an intangible idea or feeling, whether fantasy, nostalgia, pleasure, pride and the like” (1994:20). When visiting heritage sites, people engage with heritage in such meaningful ways. As Merriman (1991) and Richards (2000) point out, people are active participants in the cultural and heritage process facilitated in museums for example. Representations of heritage mediate meaningful encounters through tourism that go beyond passive observations typical of ‘the gaze’ to something underpinned by deeper meaning.

1.2 Framing the Context: The Research Objectives

Perspectives found in the literature acknowledge the inherent social benefits in visiting heritage sites (Prentice 1993) and that there is more to learn about the deeper meanings behind heritage tourism (Light and Prentice 1994, McIntosh 1997). Timothy (1997) legitimises the values underpinning the relationship between heritage and the visitor experience, stating that meaning comes into play as a motivating factor in contemporary forms of heritage tourism. One meaning that is thought to be taken away from the presence of heritage is a sense for identity. In some organisations it is the mandate of heritage to do just that, manifest a sense of identity. For example in Canada, the main objective of the federal agency responsible for managing National Historic Sites in Canada is as simple as the “…fostering of a sense of Canadian identity” (Ashworth and Larkham 1994:2). Historic places become important and symbolic representations of identity. Indeed, a place can emanate a sense of ownership giving it significance “…in terms of feeling, empowerment, attachment and value” (Crouch 2000:74). These are types of empathic features attributed to places of heritage by people and for people.

Tourism ends up being a key indicator of social practice to which people assign certain meanings to other things, people and places. Taken more broadly, how certain social practices are able to shape a sense of identity through tourism is a main focus in this study. An examination of theoretical notions of identity is presented in chapter three to provide an underpinning inquiry for this into identity construction.
This is done so as to explore the diverse nature in which the construction of identity is embedded in tourist experience.

Tourism and identity then, have an innate relationship. As commentators Morgan and Pritchard (2005:29) assert “[t]ourism is largely concerned with considerations of being, meanings and identities” and for Lanfant (1995:30) “…the theme of identity is omnipresent within discourse about tourism”. The act of being a tourist, and in this case engaging in heritage tourism, contributes to the process of identity formation. This process of identity formation is investigated further within the social context of consuming industrial heritage settings.

In the realm of heritage, attractions that fall under industrial heritage sites possess unique features. For Alfrey and Putnam (1992:1), industrial heritage pieces together “…the remnants of long-lost (or not so long-lost) industry to understand how it functioned”. These ‘remnants’ encompass the restoration of machinery, the preservation of industrial buildings, and the recording of skills and experiences acquired in industrial populations (Alfrey and Putnam 1992). All of these features combine to show how past generations lived and worked through representations of industrial heritage. Assets of industrial heritage are unique forms of heritage in that factory machinery and pitheads do not usually enjoy the same historic prestige as the spires of a Romanesque church or the stained-glass windows of a Gothic cathedral (Edwards and Llurdés i Coit 1996).

Previous studies of industrial heritage sites as tourist attractions are taken up from various angles. Post industrial heritage sites have been considered for their economic viability as tourist attractions (Cole 2004, Edwards and Llurdés i Coit 1996, Wanhill 2000). Other studies have analysed socio-demographics of visitors to industrial heritage (Light and Prentice 1994, Kerstetter, Confer and Bricker 1998) and grouped their tourist experiences into market segments (Prentice, Witt and Hamer 1998). What is missing in these accounts is more in-depth qualitative research into what visitors actually do to make meaning from industrial heritage.

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sites. This study seeks to close this gap, and also to investigate how visitors construct a sense of identity from visiting industrial heritage sites.

The focus in this study then is how representations of the industrial past allow visitors to ‘construct identity’ and ‘find meaning’ through heritage tourism. The following research objectives frame this inquiry further:

- To explore how consuming industrial heritage tourism facilitates the construction of social identity,
- To understand more about the types of behaviour and actions engaged in the process of finding meaning and identity in places of industrial heritage,
- To contribute to knowledge in terms of industrial heritage tourism’s role in the construction of identity and meaning in social contexts.

Theoretically, the thesis draws upon a cross section of social theory to provide the foundation of theoretical inquiry for these objectives. The sources that underpin this line of inquiry are derived from anthropological and sociological perspectives, tourist and cultural studies. In the process, the overarching focus of the objectives aims to uncover how meaning taken from the industrial past is constructed in the social context of everyday life. ‘Representations of the past’ as they relate to industrial heritage in this study involve two former coal mining industries in different regions.

This study also adopts an advanced methodological approach to the qualitative nature of its inquiry. On one level, this means is that this qualitative study does not assume an objectivist standpoint in its inquiry. To the contrary, this study is informed subjectively by analysing naturally occurring social phenomena. The social phenomena are unpacked methodologically by a defined paradigmatic inquiry adopted in the study. Therefore this means that the wider theoretical foundation underpinning the qualitative inquiry is guided by a set research design\(^2\) and further informed by the aforementioned areas of social theory.

In considering how tourists actually consume heritage in meaningful ways, certain theoretical concepts are explored to help unpack an understanding for the social phenomena that seek to be uncovered within the research objectives. The

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\(^2\) The broader research design paradigm used in this thesis is described in further detail in chapter 6.
theoretical inquiry therefore begins by engaging the tourism and anthropology literature. This literature is considered so that underlying anthropological concepts are able to shed insight into the making of meaning and identity in social contexts.

1.3 The Anthropological Context to the Research Inquiry

As anthropologist Victor Turner (1969) infers, it is the integration of community, symbols, culture and its associated meanings that lie at the foundation of anthropological study. Yet heritage as an entity has not been core to discussions of tourism and anthropology. At the core of the discipline of anthropology is an aim to understand people and cultures. It is also learning more about the social acts and behaviour that bring meaning to their lives. My aim is to frame the heritage site in a similar context, by linking discussions of social phenomena explored in anthropological accounts of tourism to that of tourism found at industrial heritage sites.

In Turner’s studies of tribal societies, he argues that elements of religion, economy, law and politics provide a cultural domain that is essentially interwoven (1968, 1977). In effect, the approach I take in framing my inquiry is that the same could apply to contemporary representations of heritage. What I mean by this is that it is common for heritage to intertwine similar entities in society: be it elements of ‘our’ economies, religions, and politics. In much the same way as tribal communities recognise important symbols and practice certain behaviour - I assert that recognising important symbols of heritage is a postmodern example of the similar behaviour. For example places of heritage become important because people visit them, in the same way as tribal communities recognise important sites, people.

Society is realising a discernable spiritual vacuum (Mustoe 1998) where people begin to seek out meaningful encounters. Anthropological discussions of tourism are able to lend theoretical insight into the religious context of tourism, and how that may apply to ordinary notions of visiting a heritage site. Through tourism, it is asserted that some visitors to heritage seek and find the same moving experiences found in religious practice; and mimic acts like pilgrimage. The contemporary quest to find meaning in life through spiritual encounters is expanding past the traditional domain of religious encounters. In anthropological discussions of
tourism, religious accounts have typically fallen into the ‘sacred’ whereby the ‘profane’ is associated with mundane pursuits (Leach 1961; Graburn 1977, 1983; Smith 1992). Yet a differing range of places and experiences are blurring the lines of division between how sacred and profane encounters in tourism are defined. That is to say spiritual encounters can be experienced in profane places such as heritage sites that are usually excluded from religious environments. Tourism ends up being the receiving end of a burgeoning proliferation of new moving experiences because it is able to cater to a diversifying spectrum of tourist encounters. This also shows how religious sites per se do not necessarily have a monopoly on being places where spiritual meaning is engaged in. As Morgan and Pritchard (2005:41) point out, there are certain tourism places that are sacred places because they are “…charged with personal and social significance”. As the dimensions of secular societies and belief systems continue to splinter in modern society, tourism becomes a conduit to engage in other types of sacred journeys that enable alternate avenues for spiritual fulfilment (Holden 2005).

In discussions of anthropology and tourism, a representative scope of perspectives acknowledging religious pursuits in tourism exists (Nolan and Nolan 1992, Rinschede 1992, Vukonić 1992). However, as Eade (1992) asserts even though on the surface tourists and religious ‘pilgrims’ may appear to differ, tourists may be moved by religious emotion in the same way as religious pilgrims. The parallels between pilgrim and tourist have been discussed in religious and spiritual accounts of tourism (Timothy and Olsen 2006). This collection of work has been deemed a welcome addition to the tourism literature as it is “one of the most understudied areas” (Ron 2007:547) in tourism. Although the spiritual pursuit of pilgrimage has often been aligned with religious beliefs, new manifestations of pilgrimage in secular contexts reflect a new ‘spiritual’ context. Indeed for Badone and Roseman (2004a), the once accepted rigid dichotomies between pilgrimage and tourism no longer hold the same currency in postmodern notions of travel.

Therefore the ‘holy’ and ‘pious’ no longer define the ‘spiritual’ (Murray and Graham 1997). In effect, there is room to expand on the domains of the ‘sacred’ and ‘profane’ to include other spiritual aspects of experience through tourism. Places of
tourism that fulfil these experiences become symbolic of something that is able to emit special meaning for those tourists who visit them. As Mustoe (1998:11) points out, in this secular age the scope of pilgrimage practiced has widened to include journeys such as “…sailing with Captain Cook across the Pacific, or going on expeditions to save the rain forests”. Although people continue to embark on religious pilgrimage journeys, Frey’s research on the Camino de Santiago found that these pilgrims are “…often on the road for a host of cultural, spiritual, athletic, and personal reasons” (2004:91). Lines begin to blur between that which is a pilgrim, and that which is a tourist. As Turner and Turner point out, it is amenable that “a tourist is half a pilgrim, if a pilgrim is half a tourist” (1978:20). A tourist may also switch from being a tourist to a pilgrim without an individual being aware of the change (de Sousa 1993). Accordingly for Graburn (1989), a quasi-pilgrimage is one in which a person seeks to experience something different and away from their home environment.

By applying the theoretical insight gained from discussions of anthropology and tourism to the social phenomena found in heritage settings, a deeper understanding for how meaning is made is therefore sought out. In so doing, behaviour and social practice found in heritage settings are considered for their ‘parallels’ with religious practices. The study also aims to address an additional perceived a gap in discussions of anthropology and tourism. For example as Andrews (2004) acknowledges, there remains a discernable void in the anthropology of tourism literature that gives more empirical weight to the voices of the tourists themselves:

…although key to an understanding of the subject of tourism the tourists have been largely absent from the anthropological study of tourism as both an object of study and in terms of expressing themselves (Andrews 2004:12).

The empirical findings collected in the field (ethnographic study) derive much of their content from the ‘voices of the tourists themselves’. The ethnographic based study comes to life in the narrative compiled from the tourists’ experience of consuming heritage. The tourists’ voices help to inform the research objectives
under study, and also illuminate the underlying social contexts where meaning is built.

The two industrial heritage sites turned museums studied in the fieldwork are introduced next. The discussion begins by acknowledging a burgeoning tourist interest in visiting post industrial sites. In so doing, the tourist appeal to visit places of industrial heritage is contextualised.

1.4 Post Industrial Sites as Tourist Attractions

In developed nations, remnants of economies driven by industrial and manufacturing activity have given way to predominately service based economies. At one time, manufacturing factories and mining were once the major employers of the labour force. Advances in technology however have since removed society from a manufacturing environment to a service environment (Harris 1989; Prentice 1993).

The outcome for doing so means that people have been removed “…spatially and culturally from the manufacturing sector” thus reducing contact and first hand knowledge of industrial work (Mitchell and Mitchell 2001:64). Accordingly for Edensor (2005:127), a growing interest in industrial ruins leftover from previous industry has come about as “…a response to an emergent sense of detachment and displacement”. In this context, people are seeking to (re)align themselves with places of the past.

In the context of tourism, Mitchell and Mitchell (2001) point out that as society becomes further detached from the manufacturing world, the interest in how things actually used to work has grown. Due to a rapid obsolescence of older products and technology some industrial tools and old products are deemed to be more ‘worthy’ of historical significance (Richards 2001). For example younger visitors to industrial sites are more curious about former work and production processes (Mitchell and Mitchell 2001). This is due in part because they have not experienced factory work to the extent of generations before them. As for ‘older’

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3 This perspective does not overlook that currently in other areas of the world, industrial activity such as manufacturing and mining are growing areas of economic activity, especially in countries with increasing economic growth such as China. Furthermore, the coal mining industry is still active in other areas of the developed world, including United States and Australia.
visitors to such sites, visiting makes them nostalgic in their recollections of something familiar.

Over time society has become increasingly separated from how manufacturing and heavy industry functioned and operated. As time passes, new generations become more alienated from the ways in which such industrial activity had major influence on the social and economic conditions of the time. This separation of people and process as a result has been feeding a growing interest for this type of experience in tourism (Mitchell and Mitchell 2001). This perspective lends insight into the interest displayed for industrial heritage tourism in contemporary terms. More specific to this research, it is the industrial past associated with a history of coal mining that is studied.

Coal mining was a chief necessity contributing to development of modern industry, and the rise of the Industrial Revolution. As anthropologist J. Nash (1993:15) states “…mines are a synecdoche for the modern age of industrialization” playing an integral role in the history of industry. Even though Britain as a nation is synonymous with the Industrial Revolution, other areas of the world including British colonies followed suit with their own contribution to the industrial era. Commentators have since reflected on the social and economic impacts of the rise of the mining industry over time. Newton (1992) says the era is legitimately associated with growing economic wealth and the birth of thriving communities due to productive and viable mining industries. Pretes (2002) asserts that the industrial era gave rise to the notion of globalised capitalism, where human and natural resources were exploited for the benefit of a few. In this research it is the legacy of two former coal mining regions and the stories found in their respective museums that feed the fieldwork undertaken in this study.

In each of the two industrial sites turned museums studied, it is the legacy of their industrial past that is presented as heritage. Each museum tells the story of the

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4 Within Great Britain a number of different areas claim to be the ‘heartland’ of the Industrial Revolution. Ironbridge Gorge is one of them (McIntosh 1997). Although the ‘home’ of the first iron bridge in the world, other areas in Great Britain that saw the rise of industry through the 18th century. The coal fields in the Northeast of England and the iron and coal production areas of the South Wales region are other areas in the UK that lay claim to be ‘the cradle’ of the Industrial Revolution.
region’s meagre beginnings; subsequent growth, and eventual decline of coal mining industry as it occurred in their respective post-industrial communities. One of two sites involved in the fieldwork is the regional mining history as it is presented at the National Mining Museum of Wales in Blaenafon, South Wales – the Big Pit Museum. The second fieldwork site is the Cape Breton Miners’ Museum; a site that focuses on the rise of the coal mining industry on Cape Breton Island, in Nova Scotia, Canada. The Big Pit Museum in the South Wales covers the history of over two hundred years of extensive mining in the region and its role in the Industrial Revolution (Barber 2002). The Cape Breton Miners’ Museum shares the history of the region’s mining past and tells the story of how the industry grew on this small island located on the Atlantic coast of Canada. By the turn of the 20th century Cape Breton’s growing mining industry was supplying half of Canada’s energy supply (Frank 1980). Respectively, each of these industrial heritage sites as museums depicts the region’s social and economic histories relative to their own individual circumstances.

1.5 The Selection of the Fieldwork Sites

A brief overview of the fieldwork sites is offered here so as to frame the relationship between myself as researcher; and the selected sites for study. The two aforementioned museums chosen to conduct fieldwork were therefore done so for particular reasons. Firstly, they were considered for their theoretical fit with the research objectives along with the practicality of conducting empirical research as a requirement of doctoral studies undertaken at a UK based learning institution. Secondly, as detailed in my reflexive statement within the paradigm of the research design of the thesis (pages 118-122), the choices for these sites are rooted in my own personal interest in the nature of the subject matter: the social histories of industrial regions. This means that my own socio-historical background and its related influence on my interest to embark on this study are positioned as methodological elements embedded in its research design. In so doing, I further address a criterion of reflexivity used in qualitative research that is facilitated by what Jamal and Hollinshead (2001) refer to as ‘engaged interestedness’ in a specific topic area.
The first fieldwork site chosen to conduct empirical research is the Cape Breton Miners’ Museum and is located in my hometown area in Canada. This museum depicts the social histories of a post industrial region of Canada where I was born and raised. My interests related to researching industrial heritage tourism are closely tied to my background and my own inquisitiveness into the industrial history of the region. A second fieldwork site with similar attributes to Cape Breton related to mining was sought out and chosen in part to fulfil the requirements of undertaking PhD studies at a UK based learning institution. A UK based fieldwork site was also a requirement of undertaking doctorate level studies as part of a three year studentship awarded to me by the School of Service Management at University of Brighton. Therefore, after conducting an inventory of similar industrial sites in the UK to complement the Canadian site for fieldwork, the Big Pit Museum in South Wales was selected. Consequently the bulk of the empirical research was carried out at the Big Pit Museum in South Wales with the balance of the fieldwork undertaken at the Cape Breton Miners’ Museum in Glace Bay, Nova Scotia, Canada.

The methodological approach applied in the fieldwork took the form of an ethnographic study of both locations. An ethnographic style as the methodological approach is applied in this research as an element of a broader research design. The research design is explained in more detail in chapter six however the following section offers a brief outline of its framework for the purpose of introducing the thesis.

1.6 The Framework of the Research Design
The research design frames the broader methodological structure to which the research objectives are investigated and analysed. The main components comprising the research design may be broken down as follows. Firstly, the research design is grounded in a social constructionist epistemology. This epistemological position attests that all knowledge is contingent upon social contexts, in regards to how people interact within the world and with others in it (Crotty 1998, Burr 2003). The next layer underpinning the research design is the adoption of an interpretivist

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3 Denzin and Lincoln define a research design by its parts: “A research design is a flexible set of guidelines that connect theoretical paradigms first to strategies of inquiry and second to methods of collecting empirical material” (2000:22). This is the concept applied to research design as the term is to be understood here.
perspective in linking theoretical perspectives with the social phenomena under study in the fieldwork (Geertz 1973, Lévi-Strauss 1966, Schwandt 1998). An interpretivist approach to the research design differentiates itself from other theoretical standpoints such as objectivism in that it seeks for understanding within the social context in which it functions. This is in contrast to objective or naturalistic perspectives in research that seek to uncover causal relationships between phenomena (Denzin and Lincoln 2000b) as is often associated with variations of the positivist paradigm in research.

The methodological approach thus employed in the research design adopts an ethnographic style of the aforementioned post industrial sites turned museums. In applying ethnographic approach to the study, tourists who visit these museums were interviewed and observed in relation to how they interact among each other and with the assets of the museums they are consuming. Therefore the methods engaged in the ethnographic approach involve both interviews and participant observation. In the adoption of an ethnographic style, the similarities in the museum features and attributes these sites share become illuminated in more detail. Both the Cape Breton Miners’ Museum and the Big Pit Museum in South Wales possess similar features that include comprehensive interpretive elements alongside of interactive and static displays. Also each of the museums offer tourists an underground tour of real coal mine⁶ by a retired coal miner.

The benefit of using an ethnographic approach is its ability to uncover thick description (Geertz 1973) of the subject matter being studied. The application of ethnographic principles to the methodological stance is now explained in more detail below therefore explained in more detail below.

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⁶ The underground coal mine featured at the Cape Breton Miners’ Museum is a purposefully dug out coal mine in seam of coal that runs beneath the museum. It was dug out by retired miners in 1966 to coincide with the opening of the museum the following year. This coal mine as part of the Cape Breton Miners’ Museum is enveloped within other collieries in the immediate surrounding area of Cape Breton’s coal mining region. Therefore the underground mine in the Cape Breton differs from the one at the Big Pit Museum in that the Blaenafon based mine was initially sunk and dug out over two hundred years ago and worked until the pit ceased operating as a colliery in 1979.
1.6.1 The Ethnographic Context

Ethnography as a methodology has long established roots in the discipline of anthropology (Crotty 1998). There are seminal ethnographic studies conducted in the field that have shaped contemporary anthropology as a discipline (Malinowski 1922, Turner 1969) with perspectives from each feeding into the theoretical and methodological underpinning applied in this research. However, I feel it is relevant to acknowledge that advances in qualitative inquiry have expanded beyond the traditional foray of early ethnographic studies such as those conducted by Malinowski and Turner. Applications in qualitative research have moved beyond the multi-year ethnographic practice of living ‘among the natives’ in which a people, its culture and traditions are studied in depth. Comparatively, in order to conceptualise a suitable approach for an ethnographic study of tourists at museums, I sought to acknowledge the transient nature of tourist visitation and their related social dynamics in this unique environment. For example, conducting an ethnographic study of tourists in a museum setting does not typically possess the characteristics of a traditional ethnographic study of a fixed community. An alternative ethnographic approach is thereby adopted for the purposes of executing empirical research as a requirement for this research.

Using ethnography as the basis of the methodological approach allows for certain insights into the social phenomena occurring in the industrial heritage sites to come to light. The value to the research in applying this qualitative approach to the research is in its ability to lend detail to the social and cultural domains of society. Yet, it is also understood that there is a chaotic nature to ethnography, in much the same way that life is itself ‘chaotic’ (Van Maanen 1988). The social and cultural contexts that can be uncovered through ethnography do not unfold in an orderly fashion. Accordingly, for Van Maanen:

Culture is not to be found in some discrete set of observations that can somehow be summed up numerically and organized narratively to provide full understanding. Events and conversations of the past are forever being reinterpreted in light of new understandings and continuing dialogue with the studied. (Van Maanen 1988:118)

Van Maanen (1988) points out further that the ways in which fieldwork is presented continues to evolve in qualitative accounts of social research. His views reflect the
expanding domain of methods becoming more commonly used in contemporary approaches to social research more broadly.

The findings of the ethnographic based study are presented in the form of an annotated ethnographic diary in both chapters seven and eight. However, as ethnographer, I have become aware that I am not able to capture naturally occurring social phenomena in a vacuum. This is because there is an inherent messy nature to interpretivist approaches in qualitative research (Morgan and Pritchard 2005; Tribe 2006) that does not allow for a logical description of structured and ordered phenomena. Rather, the qualitative approach applied in this research is interpreted (Geertz 1973) and is not aligned with causal phenomena as is applied in other accounts of qualitative research. Therefore given the inquiry paradigm adopted in the research design the concept of ‘bricoleur’ as an interpretive tool is applied in unpacking the research objectives of the study. Drawing from Van Maanen (1988) once more, the bricoleur concept in social research is suited to ethnographic study because:

Fieldworkers are notorious analytic bricoleurs, sniffing out and sifting through current theory for leads as to how fieldwork materials might be conceptualized. (Van Maanen 1988:66 italics my emphasis)

By integrating the research design with the informing theoretical perspectives captured in the literature review, this combined framework thus provides the backdrop to which the annotated diary in chapters seven and eight is presented. These chapters also acknowledge and discuss the various themes that unfold in the social contexts in relation to the set research objectives.

1.7 The Nature of Qualitative Inquiry and Debates in Tourism Research

The wider aim of inquiry undertaken in the thesis sets out to make an informed contribution to qualitative approaches applied in tourism research. The introductory chapter ends by presenting a discussion on the state of qualitative research more generally, and also in the context of tourism research. It does so by first acknowledging developments in qualitative inquiry in social science. The

7 Lévi-Strauss’s concept of bricoleur is embedded in the interpretivist theoretical perspective adopted within the research design of the thesis. The roots of Lévi-Strauss’s (1966) concept and the intellectual debates surrounding the term are discussed further on pages 117-118.
current state of qualitative research in tourism is also explored. Where this thesis aims to fill a gap in the body of knowledge of qualitative tourism research is also further acknowledged.

As Denzin and Lincoln (1998) have commented, the state of qualitative research is the subject of ongoing debate across academic disciplines. This applies to how qualitative research is approached and executed; and what makes for credible accounts of qualitative research. Denzin and Lincoln assert that qualitative research has evolved over time through what they refer to as five moments of qualitative research. Categories such as ‘traditionalist’ and ‘modernist’ approaches in research have evolved and have given way to other categories of paradigmatic inquiry such as ‘blurred genres’ and the ‘crisis of representation’. In turn, these categories have therefore evolved through a positivist approach (traditionalist); to a move away from natural science measurement (modernist); then to indistinct boundaries between disciplines (blurred genres); on to a place where the generalising of social research starts to be questioned (crisis in representation); and lastly, to the growing fifth moment of qualitative research which accepts an end to grand narratives.

Thus, there is a splintering of perspectives in the philosophical and practical terms underpinning these categories of qualitative research (Denzin and Lincoln 1998). Within these evolving moments of qualitative research, Denzin and Lincoln have in later work contended that they “all circulate in the present, competing with and defining one another” (2000a:xiv). This evolution of alternative perspectives in qualitative inquiry continues to unfold, making the relative ‘youth’ of their impact on inquiry paradigms applied to research cause for reflection. For example, it is the position of Denzin and Lincoln (2000b) that, the third moment of qualitative inquiry ‘blurred genres’ began close to forty years ago in 1970, with subsequent ‘moments’ following on since that time. Given the mainstay of the ‘positivist’ and deductive approaches to research over time, the evolution of these five moments of qualitative research is evidence of significant ideological change in a short span of time. The paradigmatic approaches used in more recent forms of qualitative inquiry have thereby taken ‘quantum leaps’ in the last half-century alone.
Alternative approaches to qualitative inquiry have since continued to evolve and expand (Denzin and Lincoln 2000a, 2000b). For example, since the beginning of the last millennium, the nature of alternative inquiry paradigms evolved once more (Denzin and Lincoln 2000b) proposing sixth and seventh moments in qualitative inquiry. The former possesses qualities that are postexperimental in nature, whereas the latter posits perspectives for ‘the future’ and “…is concerned with moral discourse, the development of sacred textualities” (2000b:3). The seventh and last moment, as Denzin and Lincoln concur, is concerned with furthering critical debates in the social sciences and humanities addressing such things as race, gender, and class (2000b).

Nevertheless, credible forms of qualitative research remain questioned by those who “…marginalize and politicize the postmodern, poststructural versions of qualitative research, equating them with radical relativism, narratives of self, and armchair commentary” (Denzin and Lincoln 2000a:xiv). Comparatively, a positivist approach to inquiry affirms that truth is found in ‘reliable’ and ‘valid’ research accounts. That leaves positivists questioning the credibility of alternate forms of qualitative inquiry to produce ‘truths’ such as an interpretivist approach (Tribe 2006). Indeed, interpretivism is not in pursuit of ‘truths’ rather it underpins the credibility of its approach “…by creating different truth-criteria…such as conformability, trustworthiness and transparency” (2006:369). There continues to be a struggle for certain types of qualitative research to be accepted more broadly in the field of social science. Therefore, the field of tourism research is not immune and not excluded from the scholarly debate.

Where qualitative tourism research fits in such perspectives is of relevance to this thesis. In discussions of tourism research more broadly, it is the contention of some commentators (Franklin and Crang 2001, Hall 2004, Phillimore and Goodson 2004, Rojek and Urry 1997) that the field has been overly influenced by a preoccupation of research reported from an ‘economic’ impact perspective. Franklin and Crang say that studies of tourism have also been dominated by “…policy led and industry sponsored work so the analysis tends to internalize industry led priorities and perspectives” (2001:5). According to the same commentators, the debate around tourism scholarship reveals a need for diversification and expansion from this type of
set criteria in tourism research so that research inquiry expands beyond long favoured ‘economic’ discussions in tourism. Nevertheless, paradigmatic shifts in the field of tourism have not been as forthcoming as some in the tourism academy contend it should (Coles, Hall and Duval 2006; Morgan and Pritchard 2005; Tribe 2006).

A study of research journals conducted by Riley and Love (2000) uncovered certain trends in the types of research accounts published. In their analyses of four tourism research journals\(^8\), the number of qualitative and quantitative based studies published in these journals up to 1996 was reviewed. They found that the majority of studies published in these journals were quantitative in nature. That is, most adopt a positivism paradigm in the presentation and contribution to the body of knowledge of tourism. In their study of an updated selection of tourism journals\(^9\), Phillimore and Goodson took Riley and Love’s analyses further to consider the state of qualitative research in tourism from 1996 to 2003. Using a more holistic approach in their analyses, Phillimore and Goodson (2004) looked beyond types of methods used in studies to include factors\(^10\) such as whether or not methodological reflexivity was employed in reporting the findings as opposed to ‘research as expert’ perspective. Their analyses revealed that research associated with Denzin and Lincoln’s ‘traditional’ period\(^11\) reflects that objective depersonalised accounts remain common in the tourism literature (Phillimore and Goodson 2004).

While evolutions to research inquiry serve to expand the boundaries of ‘accepted’ approaches in research more generally, tourism remains currently at the mercy of accepted practice in the field. This impacts what tourism research is published and why. For example, Hall (2004) points out how specific approaches to qualitative research in tourism are not embraced by the editorial boards of some tourism journals. This reflects their hesitancy to publish certain types of research.

\(^8\) Riley and Love (2000) examined publications in: Journal of Travel Research, Annals of Tourism Research, Tourism Management and the Journal of Travel and Tourism Marketing. The justification for these choices was “[these journals were chosen to represent the broad range of disciplines that publish tourism research” (2000:171).


\(^10\) Appendix 2 lists further criteria applied by Phillimore and Goodson (2004) to Riley and Love’s study of the state of qualitative tourism research.

\(^11\) Appendix 3 Phillimore and Goodson also consider in their analyses of qualitative tourism research Denzin and Lincoln’s (1998) five moments of qualitative research.
Some of this work includes those approaches that engage a reflexive point of view in the research, those written in the first person (Hall 2004). This however is not to discredit quantitative studies in tourism. Indeed, they serve the academy in building its knowledge base. As Phillimore and Goodson (2004:4) acknowledge, quantitative approaches used in tourism research demonstrate that “there is an ongoing need for statistical insights into aspects such as market and migration trends, income generation, and so forth”. Comparatively, other commentators see opportunity for the field of tourism research to diversify in scope. As Franklin in Crang argue:

… what is lacking in tourism research and academic settings is discussion and debate on the diverse qualitative research approaches that can be employed to do justice to the inter-disciplinary domain of tourism studies – and hence to facilitate legitimation of the area of tourism scholarship (Franklin and Crang 2001:78).

As with Hall, Franklin and Crang contend that this is done by adding more reflexive accounts in tourism research because tourism is itself a reflection of broader social phenomena in contemporary life. Advances in qualitative approaches in tourism research help us understand “the human dimensions of society, which in tourism include its social and cultural implications” (Phillimore and Goodson 2004:4). That said, first person accounts in tourism research are still largely absent in published accounts of qualitative tourism research. An exception to this is the work of Morgan and Pritchard (2005), an auto-ethnographic account of meanings found in souvenirs of tourism. However, within their own commentary they acknowledge the hesitancy of the tourism academy to embrace their adopted method of qualitative inquiry. They comment “…‘blind’ reviewing makes a fully auto-ethnographic narrative difficult to achieve” (2005:48) making this type of research not easily presented for publication, which in turn makes it subject to a high degree of rejection (Phillimore and Goodson 2004). Therefore, a continued preference remains in the academy for specific ways of reporting tourism research, those that convey “an impression of objectivity and scientific rationality which is almost the antithesis of the realisations of reflexive modernity” (Hall 2004:142).

Tribe’s (2006) ‘knowledge force-field of tourism’ shows that the trends mentioned above continue to influence how knowledge is created in the tourism academy. This ‘force-field’ model reveals that accounts captured from the
‘objective’ and ‘distanced’ researcher continue to be encouraged in inquiry approaches to tourism research:

A deeply entrenched mind/body dichotomy has prevailed in research where an objective mind has been cultivated as if it was detached and immune from bodily impressions (2006:362-363). Tribe points out that by taking an objective approach to tourism research it offers ‘reliable’ accounts of new knowledge making for valid contributions to the field. This ends up acting as a hindrance for other forms of research in being able to inform the tourism academy. Tribe therefore argues that new knowledge is attainable by incorporating the contextual nature of the researcher’s mind and body to inform ‘credible’ and ‘trustworthy’ accounts of research more generally. This would include research written from a reflexive standpoint; first person accounts.

Current barriers to publication in tourism research in which authors are required to write in the third person was first acknowledged in Riley and Love’s (2000) study. This again reflects a long standing practice across academia where classical scientific methods of reporting research are often standard. Therefore the accepted criteria for certain types of research to be published often means many are not considered unless major modifications are made to the work. The editorial policy of many tourism journals reinforces this mindset as Hall contends further:

Under the rubric of convention and style, academic institutions and the culture of academia have therefore greatly influenced what is acceptable or unacceptable in being represented as tourism knowledge (2004:142)

Moreover, there are other issues in the tourism academy that hitherto further impact the way in which tourism research is reported. For example, it is argued that tourism research to date has primarily used qualitative methods as “a set of methods rather than a set of thinking tools” (Phillimore and Goodson 2004:5). To engage a ‘different set of thinking tools’ is to equip researchers with an alternative way of executing a certain approach to research. To do so means to develop new ways in which things come to be known ontologically. This would then make a contribution to alternate perspectives in qualitative research and its ability to inform the creation of new knowledge. In particular to doctoral studies in tourism, rarely is training for the philosophy and practice of qualitative inquiry incorporated into the curriculum
even though it remains common in sociological and anthropological study environments (Riley and Love 2000). This practice further inhibits the development of research in the field of tourism. Other fields of study in the social sciences have embraced advances of qualitative inquiry leaving the field of tourism still has some catching up to do (Phillimore and Goodson 2004).

…tourism scholars have generally been more hesitant in their adoption and acceptance of qualitative research, and more specifically in their understanding of the philosophical and theoretical process that underpins knowledge production and practice (2004:4).

This insight is set against a study conducted by Botterill, Gale and Haven (2002) of doctoral dissertations of tourism in the UK and Ireland. Their study unveiled there was little sign of in depth engagement “…with epistemological debate as evidenced by the use of the term itself or its principle form of expression in the Social Sciences, that is, the terms ‘Constructivism’ and ‘Realism’” (2002:293) in doctoral level research in tourism. It is quite conceivable then that developments in qualitative inquiry continue to be exercised in the social sciences more broadly, yet the field of tourism lags behind. On another level, the diversity of evolving criteria for alternate approaches to qualitative inquiry feed animosity within scholarship and thereby stoke further debate across conflicting camps of ‘academic tribes’ (Tribe 2006).

Nonetheless, as Jamal and Hollinshead (2001) point out, scholarship need not accept that ‘anything goes’ as far as qualitative research is concerned. On the contrary, in their considered discussion addressing the ‘underserved power of qualitative research’ in tourism (Jamal and Hollinshead 2001), debates in scholarship are cause for reflection. For example, they reflect on what is to be considered ‘valid’ qualitative approaches in tourism research. One way of gauging the credible accounts in qualitative research is to see if certain objectives are accomplished. For example: “…did the multiple points of view, narratives and emotions described in the text offer the reader an in-depth, substantive understanding of the topic of the research?” (Jamal and Hollinshead 2001:76). Comparatively for Geertz (1973:16), explanations offered in research should be measured “not against a body of uninterpreted data, radically thinned descriptions”, but against the “power of the scientific imagination to bring us in touch with the lives of strangers”.

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If the domain of tourism research is to advance the field’s body of knowledge, then “[q]ualitative researchers in tourism must resist attempts to discredit qualitative inquiry methods just at the time when the field is coming of age methodologically and theoretically” (Morgan and Pritchard 2005:48). This means taking into consideration those research approaches that adopt participatory and situated accounts that use “…novel forms of expressing lived experience (including auto-biographical, multi-voiced and visual representations)…” (2005:48) in approaching tourism research. In this thesis, I have taken alternate perspectives on qualitative inquiry into consideration, and in the research design I have allowed for the voices of my subjects along with my own to combine and balance the interpretation of the findings in this work. This distances myself from a traditionalist application of qualitative inquiry in which researcher is positioned as sole ‘expert’ in interpreting the accounts as part of the research process (Denzin and Lincoln 2000b).

In summary, the above debates surrounding the current state of qualitative tourism research are offered here to acknowledge some of the issues and ideological debates currently impacting the academy of tourism and thus influence this research. These issues are presented here in the introductory chapter to add context to the inquiry approach I apply given an evolving trend towards new forms of qualitative inquiry in tourism research. Although this thesis considered alternate epistemological stances12 to the subsequent research design adopted, it is again the broader aim of the qualitative inquiry undertaken to make an informed contribution to qualitative tourism research accounts.

1.8 Chapter Summary
This introduction serves to provide a general overview of the theoretical and methodological underpinning used in addressing the research objectives. In the process this thesis is positioned as a focused study in tourism research in which the concepts of identity and meaning in tourism contexts is understood further. In so doing it addresses a gap in knowledge pointed out by Morgan and Pritchard (2005) in

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12 This thesis adopts a research design paradigm that incorporates an interpretivist theoretical perspective grounded in a social constructionist epistemology (further described chapter 6). However, earlier conceptual frameworks considered for the broader thesis were more closely associated with a paradigm aligned to post-positivism, in which quantitative methods such as factor analysis were considered in combination with qualitative methods for the collection and analyses of the empirical findings. This approach however, was abandoned during earlier work on the research.
that few studies of tourism have theoretically or methodologically advanced the ways in which some concepts are understood in depth; namely representations of self, identity, and society. This thesis aims to close this gap and make a contribution to the wider body of knowledge in tourism by providing a more in depth understanding into how meaning and identity are constructed through the consumption of industrial heritage sites.

Even though according to some the state that the domain of tourism research is itself ‘new’ (Franklin and Crang 2001), for others the positivist approach still dominates how tourism research is done, reported and subsequently published (Ateljevic 2000; Jamal and Hollinshead 2001, Riley and Love 2000). In terms of the impact this has on tourism publications, the extent to which a broader understanding for underlying nuances of meaning can be understood in tourism remain limited.

Nevertheless recent accounts of tourism research have shown that intellectual ruptures and challenges are becoming more commonplace in the field, and not least of which since the inception of tourism as an academic field of inquiry13. Casting such a perspective onto the field of tourism can only serve to expand on the current breadth and depth of knowledge it produces. This thesis is thus framed to expand upon tourism’s current reach in theoretical and methodological contexts. The contextual discussion offered in this opening chapter is meant to address the gap in the tourism literature this work aim to fill and also to lay the groundwork for this assertion.

The underpinning theoretical framework considered in addressing the research objectives is therefore presented in the following chapters. Chapter two presents the broader anthropological context of inquiry applied in the research. Chapter three explores theories of identity and identity construction. Chapter four considers current discussions in the tourism and heritage literature addressing concepts of tourism experience and heritage consumption. Chapter five discusses mining sites as tourism attractions, and introduces the social histories and features of

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13 In academic contexts tourism has not been considered as a discipline but rather a field of study (Tribe 1997). Nevertheless academic studies of tourism began with the establishment of scholarly journals such as Annals of Tourism Research in 1973. However when compared to other established disciplines in the social sciences such as sociology and anthropology, tourism as a field of inquiry is still new.
the post industrial sites under study. The combination of perspectives collected in this literature along with the research design detailed in chapter six serves the analyses applied in chapters seven and eight (the annotated ethnographic diary) and underpins concluding arguments presented in chapter nine, the final chapter of the thesis.

Chapter TWO
- The Anthropological Context in Tourism
2.1 The Anthropological Context in Tourism

In addressing the research objectives, this thesis turns to contributions made in the literature addressing anthropological accounts of tourism. Theoretical perspectives found in anthropological approaches to tourism are considered to help to unpack what behaviours and actions tourist engage in when making meaning through tourism. It is therefore the purpose of this section of the literature review to reflect on current anthropological discussions of tourism as they relate to the social phenomena underpinning meaningful tourism consumption. This section begins by acknowledging the evolution of tourism’s relationship with anthropology and related themes that have evolved in the literature over time. This section also discusses theoretical contexts used in anthropological discussions of tourism such as pilgrimage in applying their relevance to a heritage context.

This will strengthen the case for investigating tourism via an anthropological perspective. Tourism and anthropology have a close relationship. As Lett states “tourism is unavoidably an anthropological topic. As a discipline whose raison d’être is the exploration of cultural similarities and differences, anthropology cannot ignore the phenomenon of tourism and retain its identity” (Lett in Nuñez 1989:276). The possibilities to expand on studies of tourism from an anthropological inquiry become evident. Yet the domain of heritage has not been core to anthropological perspectives of tourism. This is why perspectives found in the anthropology literature are considered for application in the heritage context. The following discussion begins by exploring the themes that exist in the current scope of the anthropology of tourism literature.

Early discussions falling into the domain of the anthropology of tourism address issues of tourism development in less developed areas (deKadt 1979, Nuñez 1963). Both of these commentators address the issues of disregard towards host communities in the planning of tourist destinations from foreign multi-national organisations. In particular deKadt’s work on tourism development remains a seminal work for anthropology and tourism (see Nash 1981, Nash & Smith 1991, Selwyn 1994, Burns 1999, Stronza 2001).
Further perspectives followed deKadt. The work of Smith (1977, 1989) and Graburn (1977) make up other early perspectives addressing anthropological discussions of tourism. Specifically, Smith (1977, 1989) presents anthropological accounts of tourist interaction between hosts and guests (predominately western guests on non-western hosts) in various cultural contexts. Graburn (1977) acknowledges the history of tourism and how its anthropological roots are embedded in modern tourist behaviour.

Over time, Smith’s edited contributions (1977, 1989) were commonly cited in discussions of the anthropology of tourism (Nash & Smith 1991, Selwyn 1994, Stronza 2001). Further still, other authors (Burns 1999, Nash 1991) pointed out that *Hosts and Guests* was integral to the growth of anthropological perspectives in tourism. However, the scope of discussion in this literature has since remained limited. That is to say that along with deKadt’s discussion surrounding issues of tourism development, many of the perspectives found in the anthropology of tourism literature shadow the host vs. guest nexus (Cohen 1979b, Smith 1989, Stronza 2001) and religious accounts of tourism (Graburn 1977).

Accordingly, for Nash (1981) anthropological discussions of tourism have been historically preoccupied with problems associated with modernisation, development or underdevelopment. Later commentary offered by Nash and Smith (1991) state the anthropology of tourism literature has not broadened beyond these areas. Equally, they also draw on the staying power of Smith’s volumes (1977, 1989) in demonstrating how the theme of ‘acculturation’ involving Western tourists with non-Western hosts is common in anthropological discussions of tourism (Nash and Smith 1991). In this regard, the colonialist nature of early anthropological studies is reflected. This has been a feature of perspectives presented in anthropological contexts more generally. For example as Adams (2005:436) argues, because cultural anthropologists trained up until 1980 were urged by their tutors to “adopt the identity of ‘professional strangers’ at their sites” thereby reinforcing post colonialist perspectives in the literature. Indeed for Nash (1977) imperialist perspectives have shaped and influenced anthropological studies of tourism.
Therefore tourism as a field of inquiry in anthropological contexts continues to evolve. Stronza (2001) points out that up until the 1970s few anthropologists showed much of an academic interest in the field of tourism. There was the perception that it would be demeaning for anthropologists to be associated with a perceived frivolous activity such as tourism (Nash and Smith 1991). Even though tourism was relevant to the anthropological study of places, people and situations it was still not necessarily seen as a legitimate area of focus for anthropology (Nash 1996). These perspectives reflect how the scope of inquiry spanning anthropological discussions of tourism has had limited reach.

Nevertheless, the same authors and others have long seen the potential of the field to expand on its scope of discussion. For example Nash (1981:465) says there is a plenitude of theoretical possibilities for tourism within anthropology, offering “…fertile ground for anthropological investigations”. His perspective sheds insight into the possibilities of anthropological studies of tourism to add to the body of knowledge. Selwyn would appear to agree, stating that anthropological studies of tourism should be “grounded in the ‘emic’” and need to hear from tourists themselves “…while grounding such evidence in closely observed social settings” (1994:730). Anthropological perspectives in tourism can be moved forward by hearing more from the tourists themselves (Andrews 2004). Studies that have taken this approach are offered by Palmer (2003) and Tucker (2002) where anthropological discussions of tourism that draw from empirical evidence are taken from the tourists’ themselves. Nevertheless, the literature has been limited in expanding on anthropological perspectives in tourism. As Nash (1981:465) has pointed out, the breadth and depth of anthropological inquiry into tourism offers “a significant lead into sociocultural reality”.

### 2.2 Anthropology’s Fit with Tourism

Anthropology as a discipline is a natural fit for inquiries into tourism phenomena. Nash and Smith state the luxury the discipline of anthropology has had as compared to other disciplines is that anthropologists themselves “are interested in everything human, whenever or wherever it occurs” (1991:13). Similarly for Bruner (1986a:9) the anthropological enterprise “has always been concerned with how people experience themselves, their lives, and their culture”. Anthropology has the ability
to make important and valid contributions to the study of tourism “especially through…basic ethnography…as well as the acculturation model and the awareness that tourism is only one element in cultural change” (Smith 1981:475). For Burns (1999), the potential for tourism to be examined through an anthropological lens offers:

- [a] characteristic *comparative framework* (studying a variety of phenomena in different locations in order to identify trends);
- *A holistic approach* (taking account of social, environmental and economic factors and the links between all three); (and)
- Pursuit of *deeper level analysis* (i.e. what *causes* tourism). (1999:72 *italics in original*)

There is room to expand the body of knowledge in anthropological discussions of tourism (Graburn 1983, Selwyn 1994, Burns 1999).

It is the integration of community, symbols, culture and its associated meanings that lie at the foundation of anthropological study. Understanding the inherent value that people attach to these things is at the core of study in the discipline of anthropology. This has relevance for heritage as it is indeed the symbolism attached to community, culture and their meanings that make up meaningful representations of heritage. Accordingly for Turner, such meaningful symbols in society also act as “a set of evocative devices for rousing, channelling, and domesticating powerful emotions, such as hate, fear, affection and grief” (1969:42-43). Although Turner’s perspectives are primarily rooted in religious applications, similar behaviour is found in acts of tourism and is furthermore considered in for its relevance in consuming heritage.

This is important because given that the increasing tendency of contemporary society to display cultural and heritage assets as important symbols in society, this practice opens itself up to more in-depth inquiry into underlying meanings. Thus the theoretical scope of anthropological accounts in tourism is considered in understanding more about heritage as a phenomenon. The following section therefore presents themes found in the anthropology of tourism literature for applications into the heritage phenomena. In so doing, how meaning is made in the
anthropological discussions of tourism is considered for their applicability to heritage settings. More specifically, it begins by looking at the domain of religious tourism and the act of pilgrimage for synergies in heritage contexts.

2.3 The Religious Domain and Tourism

The word ‘pilgrimage’ has long been associated with the ancient practice of many different world religions and involved undertaking long arduous journeys to worship shrines and temples. It is this image most often conjured up from what is known about ‘medieval pilgrimage’; a common social practice of movement between 500 and 1500 CE (Common Era) (Digance 2006:36). Pilgrimage also has a close relationship with the roots and growth of tourism (Graburn 1977). Pilgrimage could even be considered as an ancient form of tourism as it draws upon ancient traditions driven by religious beliefs and practiced by many different faiths. For anthropologists Turner and Turner, a modern characteristic of contemporary pilgrimage is that it is indeed “blended with tourism, and involves a major journey, usually by modern means of transportation, to a national or international shrine” (1978:240). In anthropological discussions of tourism, pilgrimage features as a dominant motivator for visitation to many different types of sites (Graburn 1989, Badone and Roseman 2004b). Comparatively, it is asserted that religious tourism is the dominant motivator for engaging in the act of pilgrimage itself (Rinschede 1992).

Religious accounts of tourism have a significant presence in the tourism literature. Annals of Tourism Research (vol. 19, no.1) features a themed issue addressing religion and tourism (1992). Since that time, entire edited volumes focus primarily on religious aspects of tourism and include the compilations of Badone and Roseman (2004a), Coleman and Eade (2004) and Timothy and Olsen (2006). Some of the edited contributions in these volumes have discussed Christian pilgrimage in tourism (Tate 2004) (Roseman 2004) (Vukonić 2006); Buddhist faith and practice (Graburn 2004) (Hall 2006b); England’s Nazareth town of Walsingham (Coleman 2004a, 2004b); Islam and tourism (Timothy and Iverson 2006); and the spiritual philosophies of East Asia (Guo 2006). These accounts demonstrate the strong links between pious pursuits of tourism. Religious faith and their related affiliations are strong motivators in tourism. They are furthermore typically associated with those
things that are deemed sacred in society. Sacred in the context of this discussion is characterised by that which possesses spiritual meaning in religious contexts.

The domain of both sacred and profane has been pondered in the tourism literature (see Graburn 1977, Smith 1992, Wickens 2002). These accounts are relevant here because they indicate how the tourism literature currently addresses the range of religious pursuits in tourism. This is important because I assert that accounts of religion in tourism can be applied to the heritage context. However, before expanding the discussion of the links between these two areas further, it is relevant to set the context for which the sacred and profane are understood in the literature.

The sacred and profane is explored by Marcus Eliade (1959) as an expansion of perspectives offered by Rudolf Otto’s Das Heilige (The Sacred 1917). More generally, those things deemed religious become sacred and those that are ordinary, become profane. Eliade associates sacred aspects of religion with awe, mystery and irrational nature:

Man becomes aware of the sacred because it manifests itself, as something wholly different from the profane. To designate the act of manifestation of the sacred, we have proposed the term hierophany. It is a fitting term, because it does not imply anything further; it expresses no more than is implicit in its etymological content, i.e., that something sacred shows itself to us. It could be said that the history of religions – from the most primitive to the most highly developed – is constituted by a great number of hierophanies, by manifestations of sacred realities. (1959:11 italics in original)

For Eliade then, there is innate embedded power in such hierophanies; or those things of religious symbols that exude a sort of lure upon people making them powerful. In return, the sense of power people bestow on such objects heighten their significance. By comparison the non-religious man functions in an ordinary, profane existence and in absence of ‘hierophanies’; symbols of powerful meaning found in the sacred. The profane thus becomes the secular and the secular becomes profane. It is indeed the middle ground that lies between what is accepted between the concepts of ‘sacred’ and ‘profane’ wherein there lies some ambiguity. It is this middle ground that the tourism literature has explored and discussed further.
Graburn (1977) and Smith (1992) have applied the concepts of the sacred and profane to tourism. Graburn (1977) draws on Leach (1961) to show how oscillations from sacred and profane happen at regular intervals in one’s social life. Such events are typically marked by certain events during important periods in one’s life and as Graburn attests in later work (1983), behaviour carried out through tourism often mimic manifestations of personal passage in life such as periods of marriage or divorce.

![Diagram of sacred and profane transitions](image)

In figure 2.1 above, the letters represent changes of state over time. The letter ‘A’ would be ordinary everyday life such as being at home or at work, whereas C marks an event that is more extraordinary such as engaging in being a tourist. The letter ‘D’ represents a period of re-entry into a from an extraordinary event such as being on a holiday only to be reintroduced to profane existence again such as returning home or to a place of work. Graburn suggests that “each secular or sacred period is a micro-life, with a bright beginning, a middle, and an end, and the beginnings and endings of these little ‘lives’ are marked by rituals that thrust us irreversibly down life’s path” (Graburn 1977:21). In this passage, what Graburn demonstrates through Leach’s example is the transition from a regular routine to one that is not ordinary. The tourist experience then is also exceptional to the ordinary routine of things such as going to work or being at home.

Smith (1992) also theorises on the division of the sacred and the profane in applications of tourism. Smith’s application attempts to advance the discussion on the application of sacred and profane concepts in tourism.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PILGRIMAGE</th>
<th>RELIGIOUS TOURISM</th>
<th>TOURISM</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>B</td>
<td>C</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sacred</td>
<td>faith/profane</td>
<td>secular</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Figure 2.2 (taken from Smith, V. The Pilgrim Tourist Path - 1992)**

Smith places *religious tourism* (1992:4 *italics in original*) at the centre, suggesting that religious tourism possesses elements of the sacred and secular. However, for Smith (1992:4) the above diagram is “only a momentary interpretation of present-day thought” (1992:4) leaving room for various applications. Therefore the range of interpretations that can be made along the diagram - from sacred and secular contexts - is open for consideration.

Nevertheless, the above perspectives as detailed by Graburn (1977) and Smith (1992) provide a starting point in proposing a range of tourism encounters that may exist between the sacred and the profane. I suggest there is room to move on in the theoretical applications that can exist in tourism. Pilgrimage for example, as explored further below, demonstrates the wide range of secular practice that have spiritual meaning for people. Therefore the relationship between the sacred and profane may manifest itself in particular ways at heritage sites. For example as with places of sacred worship such as religious shrines, heritage sites that may be thought of in a non-religious context also have the ability to possess heightened meaning to their visitors (Palmer 2003).

### 2.4 Pilgrimage in the Contemporary Context

Pilgrimage is as popular now as it has been in the past and is realising ‘a marked resurgence’ (Digance 2003:144). At the height of European medieval pilgrimage in Europe, half a million pilgrims made the journey to the shrine of Saint James de Compostela, Spain. By comparison in 1993, that number grew to between 4.5 million and 5 million visitors (Murray and Graham 1997), for those making the journey along the Camino Way to the resting place of Saint James at the Cathedral of Santiago de Compostela. Yet the range of motivations as to why visitors engage in a journey of pilgrimage remains varied in contemporary contexts.
Anthropologists Eade and Sallnow (1991b:3) advocate that roots of motivation for pilgrimage can be broken down into “historically and culturally specific behaviours and meanings” as opposed to pious intentions only. In relation to the Camino de Santiago, Frey (2004:91), points out their pilgrims “are often on the road for a host of cultural, spiritual, athletic, and personal reasons”. Similarly for Morinis (1992:4-5), pilgrimage is motivated by the pursuit of embodied ideals. He defines pilgrimage as any “journey undertaken by a person in quest of a place or a state that he or she believes to embody a valued ideal” (1992:4-5); an ideal which one cannot achieve at home.

It is the assertion of Digance (2003:144) that pilgrimage is undertaken when someone believes a site to be “…revered and sacred within their own individual cosmology or belief system”. Similarly for Osterreith (1997), some of the intrinsic rewards of engaging in modern pilgrimage are not unlike those found in traditional, religious applications where people search for identity or spiritual rebirth. These cases reflect the fact that religion does not always feature as a prime motivator for pilgrimage. Take for example Porter’s (2004) discussion of pilgrimage to Star Trek conventions; she states that these gatherings are clearly not typical pilgrimage sites. However, she says that they are “places to which people journey in pursuit of collective ideals”. Comparatively for Coleman (2004a:53) “pilgrimage does not merely involve an intensified form of prayer”; but rather varying forms of engagement with the physical assets of an environment that provide meaning in pilgrimage. In his study of the ancient tiny English village of Walsingham, more commonly known as England’s Nazareth, Coleman points out that it is the shrines, the narrow lanes and the pubs of this tiny village that comprise some of the components consumed through pilgrimage (2004a). I assert that the related link between the above and heritage more generally is that heritage sites are known to offer similar appeal to people and the practices described above are mimicked at heritage sites.

For example pilgrimage has therefore experienced a change in nature through tourism and leisure pursuits (Badone and Roseman 2004b) making secular applications of pilgrimage more relevant to the heritage tourism context. Through tourism, new forms of pilgrimage demonstrate the varying nature underpinning the
motivations for visiting heritage sites. There are contemporary examples of practice that are indicative of this. As Aitchison et al (2000) point out, druids have worshipped Stonehenge for some time, using it as both a meeting place and centre for ritual practice. Stonehenge also has had similar appeal for New Age travellers, in annual celebrations marking the summer solstice. They tend to gravitate to heritage sites such as this because they have been held sacred by prehistoric and indigenous peoples for thousands of years (Digance 2003). This is not unlike the pull that Uluru Rock gives in acting as “Australia’s geographic and spiritual or emotional centre” (McGrath 1991:115) as it draws large numbers of national and international visitors every year. Equally relevant are secular examples of pilgrimage made to more unassuming sites, such as Elvis’s Graceland in Tennessee (Rigby 2001), motorcycling pilgrimages to Washington by Vietnam veterans (Dubisch 2004) and as mentioned pilgrimage to Star Trek conventions (Porter 2004). This is reflective of a growing alignment of pilgrimage for meaningfulness in secular journeys and for the individuals engaged in them.

Anthropologists Turner and Turner (1978:15) argue that in pilgrimage one takes “a spiritual step forward”. Whether or not a journey or encounter is sacred or secular in nature, a ’spiritual’ step forward is made by a person. The act of consuming heritage can offer similar spiritual encounter for people who visit heritage sites. Take for example Graburn (1989) who asserts secular journeys become sacred in themselves because people are searching for a life that is made worthwhile and worth living. Hall (2006a) echoes this in that pilgrimage can be considered spiritually life affirming and enriching, without a belief in ‘god’.

The discussion to this point reflects the varied nature of meanings underpinning pilgrimage for visitors to important sites. Although for centuries making pilgrimage has been associated with religious motives, the above discussion shows that spiritual encounters are not pursued purely by religious motives. Nevertheless, although the discourse underpinning pilgrimage is dominated by religious connotations, meanings found in secular pilgrimage have similar depth and

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14 Uluru Rock also known as Ayers Rock, is a large sandstone rock formation located in central Australia. Uluru Rock is sacred to the local Aboriginal people, is a designated World Heritage Site visited by thousands annually.
value to a person that the religious context does. For example, Star Trek conventions would not be labelled as typical pilgrimage sites. Yet for the participants of such conventions and likewise for those making a pilgrimage of the Camino de Santiago, both offer the person a sense of connectedness to something they deem sacred and meaningful. Therefore sacred and secular journeys possess similar properties underpinning their motives and related meanings for a person.

Within the discussions of pilgrimage in the tourism literature, notions of ritual and rites of passage are similarly explored. These concepts are drawn from here in making parallels to theoretical discussions of tourism. These perspectives are considered further below, for their relationship in anthropological applications of tourism, and for their relevance in the context of heritage consumption.

2.5 Traditions of Ritual and Tourism

Ritualistic behaviour has a close association with acts of pilgrimage and equally a long association with religious tradition and practice. Ritual in itself has been described in different contexts. For example anthropologist Victor Turner has defined ritual as “a stereotyped sequence of activities involving gestures, words, and objects, performed in a sequestered place, and designed to influence preternatural entities or forces on behalf of the actors’ goals and interests” (1977:183). On a comparative note, Nolan and Nolan (1992:75) described religious rituals in tourism settings as “…processions in folkloric costumes” where special music amongst colourful and exotic rituals are carried out. Furthermore, for Deflem (1991:5) rituals are “…storehouses of meaningful symbols” in which information is revealed and considered important to the values of a community. Ritual as a practice unto itself is indeed a drawing factor for New Age visitors to Stonehenge (Aitchison et al 2000).

Nevertheless, notions of ritual have their roots in ancient religious practice. At least once in their lives, Muslims are encouraged to make the journey to the hajj; the Islamic pilgrimage to the holiest site of Islam; Al-Masjid al-Haram in Mecca. Hindus also practice an ancient ritual of bathing in the River Ganges to purify their sins as part of Kumbh Mela at Allahabad in India held once every twelve years. In Buddhist China, newly restored temples in the holy mountains have re-established the ancient practice of ritual after they had ceased for a period due to destruction in
the 1960s from the Cultural Revolution. Practices such as these demonstrate the significance of engaging in ritual tradition at certain sites and as Mary Douglas (1975:54) contends, rituals are expressions “of society’s awareness of its own configurations and necessities”. Comparatively for Wilson (1954) who studied the Nyakusa tribe in Western Africa, she offers the following in reflection of ritual:

Rituals reveal values at their deepest level…men express in ritual what moves them most, and since the form of expression is conventionalized and obligatory, it is the values of the group that are revealed. I see the study of rituals as key to understanding of the essential constitution of human societies. (1954:241)

Descriptions of ritualistic acts are similarly detailed in accounts of religious tourism. An act of ritual may be exemplified by stepping on sacred earth at the shrine of Chimayo in northern New Mexico as practiced by Native American and Hispanic Catholics (Holmes-Rodman 2004). In Coleman’s (2004a) discussion of England’s Nazareth, it is common for visitors to engage in the ritual of chanting Ave Maria as they stroll along while engaged in Christian pilgrimage in the ancient town of Walsingham. Smith (1992:2) notes the devout Tibetans who prostrate themselves on the path to Buddhist temple while engaged in pilgrimage. A more secular example of ritual is offered by Warren (2002 in Digance 2006) when the pilgrim visiting Graceland who, out of devotion to Elvis has been first in the queue to attend the vigil of Elvis Week thirteen times in the sixteen years. These anthropological accounts of ritualistic acts are reflective of the varied characteristics in their nature. It is also indicative of the diversity of meanings, sacred or secular when engaging in ritualistic acts.

Eade and Sallnow (1991a) acknowledge the diversity of underlying meanings at the root of ritual behaviour. Although a shrine can possess intrinsic religious importance it can also provide “a ritual space for the expression of a diversity of perceptions and meanings” (1991b:10). Meanings are therefore imposed upon significant symbols in society such as shrines and can possess sacred or secular significance for their visitors. Their related acts or behaviour associated with their meanings will differ depending on what a particular site means to a person.
Curiously for tourism it has itself been referred to as a ritual. For example in MacCannell’s (1976:13) accounts of the tourist behaviour, he claims that tourism “is a ritual performed to the differentiations of society”. Comparatively Graburn (1983:12) says that the structure of tourism is “basically identical with the structure of all ritual behaviour” and goes on to acknowledges its similarities to the pioneering work of Hubert and Mauss ([1898]1964). Hubert and Mauss’s ([1898]1964) accounts of ritual and sacrifice in traditional societies is mirrored by other early works of van Gennep’s ([1909]1977) ‘rites of passage’ and Durkheim’s (1912) *Elementary Forms of Religious Life* in that they each highlight the presence of ritual in the religious social patterns of traditional societies. These accounts of ritual and religion have been elaborated on in key anthropological accounts of tourism in the works of Smith (1977), Turner and Turner (1978) and Graburn (1977,1983).

Subsequent accounts in tourism literature show evidence of the ties between acts of ritual and pilgrimage, such as Nolan and Nolan (1992) who discuss religious sites as tourism attractions in Europe. Comparatively Vukonić (1992, 2006) has focused on the Roman Catholic tradition of pilgrimage and tourism, whereas others discuss the traditions practiced in Holy week in León (Tate 2004), and religious tourism as education (Cohen 2006). These accounts show how ritual has been closely associated with religious accounts in tourism. In contrast, Moore and Myeroff (1977) in their edited volume *Secular Ritual* point out the ritualistic practice need not pertain solely to the domain of religion. In fact, they express the extent of its power and reach in the manifestation of the act itself. “[R]itual is full of contradictions and paradox. Most paradoxically of all, by selecting and shaping a fragment of social life, it defines a portion of reality” (1977:199). The concept of ritual is therefore subject to different interpretation i.e. it is culturally defined or determined in regards to the types of acts it encompasses. Indeed, the field of heritage tourism is an area of study where secular ritual can be explored further.

### 2.6 Ritualistic Acts and Contemporary Tourism

The relationship of the ritual act has been linked to different types of tourism practice and related motivations. In applying van Gennep’s ([1909] 1977) rites of passage, Graburn (1983:12) proposes a category of tourism experiences that are like “other modern institutions such as graduations, military service, promotions, marriages,
retirements” as these occasions mark personal passages in life. These ideas are
drawn from van Gennep’s rites of passage’ in which a change of place, state, social
position and age occurs for the individual. Further to Graburn’s application to
tourism, this is shadowed in tourist behaviour when they engage in certain types of
tourism in order to cope with a change in life associated with for example going
through a divorce, becoming widowed or starting a new career. Rites of passage as
applied to the tourism context are able to exhibit characteristics of transition and
transformation for those engaged in them. Rites of passage in effect mark the
passage “from one defined position to another which is equally well defined” (van
Gennep [1909]1977:2). Tourists are able to experience change through transition.
These acts occur outside of everyday routine and in a change of environment.
Accordingly for Franklin (2003:112) in the context of tourism this involves
“…behaviour that is different to, opposed to or inverse from everyday life”.

Tourism then, offers people the chance to engage in activities that are not part
of their daily routine, and that occur in different environments. Tourism also
facilitates self-imposed rites of passage that are characteristic of “…relatively
individualistic, informal lives of the contemporary Euro-Americans” (Graburn
Ritualistic practice in the context of tourism begins to reflect the potential of some
tourism settings to emit deep meaning. For example, Franklin (2003) attests some
tourist sites with perceived special or sacred national significance are visited
regularly and sometimes repeatedly by tourists.

Turner’s seminal work on the notions of ritual (1967, 1969) is useful in this
context and applicable to tourist encounters. It details the process by which
transition happens from one stage to the next. In adopting the stages in van
Gennep’s ‘rites of passage’, Turner offers further detail in three steps of transition:
The first phase (of separation) comprises symbolic behavior signifying
the detachment of the individual or group either from an earlier fixed
point in the social structure, from a set of cultural conditions (a ‘state’),
or from both (1969, p. 94-95).

This first stage reflects the instances in which individuals are removed from their
everyday environment and routine and subjected to something different. This also
reflects the change of environment that happens in situations of tourism. The next stage follows:

During the intervening ‘linimal’ period, the characteristics of the ritual subject (the ‘passenger’) are ambiguous; he passes through a cultural realm that has a few or none of the attributes of the past or coming state (1969, p. 94-95).

In this second stage, the individual is neither here nor there but rather in a state that is ‘betwixt and between’. A structured sense of surroundings becomes void in favour of an altered state of indifferentiation. For Turner, it is this stage that exemplifies a moment of transition. In the third and last stage detailed below, the individual is reintegrated into their familiar structured environment once more.

In the third phase (reaggregation or reincorporation), the passage is consummated. The ritual subject, individual or corporate, is in a relatively stable state once more and, by virtue of this, has rights and obligations vis-à-vis others of a clearly defined and ‘structural’ type; he is expected to behave in accordance with certain customary norms and ethical standards binding on incumbents of social position in a system of positions. (1969, p. 94-95)

It is in this third stage the individual passes back into a structured sense of environment and day-to-day existence. As in applications of tourism the individual is reintroduced into their familiar environment and day-to-day routine once more.

Each of the steps above defined by Turner (1969) is applicable to tourist experiences (Franklin 2003) with relevant implications also to the consumption of heritage sites. As the visitor engages with the heritage site, they too have left a familiar environment such as home to do so. As a result of visiting the heritage site, a tourist is given a setting and an opportunity to initiate a transition. Furthermore, transitions occurring through ‘rites of passage’ have deeper cultural properties beyond those originally proposed by van Gennep (Turner 1967). Turner asserts that the liminal period possesses its own sociocultural properties where transition becomes a process “…and in the case of rites of passage even a transformation” (Turner 1967:94). This is relevant to the tourism context because for some tourists, transformation is a goal of a tourist pursuit. A perspective is offered by Franklin sheds light on transformation through ritual in tourism. Drawing on heritage as an example, Franklin (2003:177) says those who watch the Royal Tournament as “…a ritual display of national military capability, frequently do so in order to reaffirm or
perhaps celebrate national pride and identity”. In such instances, it becomes evident how a ritualistic act in tourism mediates a sense of transition or transformation - and in this case applied to national identity - for and upon an individual.

2.7 Heritage Tourism and the Religious Context
The theoretical perspectives detailed above and drawn from the anthropological context show how the concepts of pilgrimage, ritual and rites of passage are able to mediate moments of transition and transformation for tourists. Indeed, for seminal theoretical perspectives of tourism offered by Cohen (1979a), MacCannell (1976), and Urry (1990) it is aspects of transition and transformation that are sought out in encounters of tourism. It is the practices related to the pursuit of changed state that are of significant theoretical interest in tourism and indeed heritage. In recalling Graburn’s (1983) perspective mentioned above, journeys undertaken in tourism may be embarked upon to overcome personal circumstance in an effort to adapt to the resulting change. Van Gennep’s ‘rites of passage’ are also relevant, as it is through the course of one’s life that a “series of passages from one age to another and from one occupation to another” ([1909] 1977:1) occurs.

The consumption of formal heritage sites is therefore considered in order to draw out their relationship with the concepts discussed. As alluded to above people may visit heritage sites to reaffirm, even establish a sense of identity and belonging. The result can be a transition or transformation for the individual. Contemporary representations of heritage offer places where people may engage in personal transition and transformation. Visitors to heritage are able to engage in such practices because of the heritage sites possess meaning for them and for the people who visit heritage sites with them. These associated meanings then in turn impact upon core issues of identity for an individual, or group of individuals.

It is then the emotional, intellectual and physical dimensions that are embedded in activities such as pilgrimage and tourism because they both “situate local actors in liminal border zones that generate creative and complex reinterpretations of experience and renegotiation of identity” (Badone and Roseman 2004b:17). These perspectives are echoed in the concepts introduced earlier; van Gennep’s rites of passage and Turner’s elements of transition through the practice of
ritual. That is in liminal border zones visitors create for themselves specific interpretations of the site’s meaning and its personal situatedness. It is argued that tourists can indeed engage in spiritual behaviour in alternative settings such as a heritage site, and pay a visit not rooted in religious motives. Cohen (1979a:190) seemed to be offering an alternate concept for spirituality when he proposed that tourists develop ‘elective’ spiritual centres that are “external to the mainstream of his[her] native society and culture”. Given this, a visitor can construct their own sense of meaning and spirituality through heritage, and define their own interpretation of what they deem is important and meaningful to them. This has the ability to happen to a tourist by going through the process of a transition or transformation by engaging in the consumption of a spiritual heritage experience.

Furthermore, some of the intrinsic rewards of engaging in modern pilgrimage are not unlike those found in traditional, religious applications where people are searching for identity or spiritual rebirth (Osterreith 1997). Features such as these are indicative of the motivations behind more modern secular pilgrimages, and those that involve heritage sites. Thus pilgrimage benefits from further differentiation in religious references. Digance (2006:36) says “the twenty-first century calls for a newer and more flexible definition of pilgrimage, namely ‘undertaking a journey that is redolent with meaning’”. A further example of this is the ‘new age’ visitors to Stonehenge who borrow ideals from religious and tribal traditions, in hopes of “following their own spiritual paths outside the parameters of mainstream pilgrimage patterns” (Digance 2003:154).

Eade and Sallnow (1991a) have further acknowledged the theoretical limitations of harbouring a narrowed view of the diverse meanings related to those things that are sacred. They contest the view that religious symbols such as shrines possess meanings that are largely predetermined. Rather they suggest “at the same time [the shrine] provides a ritual space for the expression of a diversity of perceptions and meanings which the pilgrims themselves bring to and impose on it” (Eade and Sallnow 1991b:10). This shows the power of the visitors themselves in constructing their own meanings to symbols they deem sacred. Digance (2006:39) says although there is physical engagement in a pilgrim journey, there is also “…the inner journey that the pilgrim undergoes, namely the quest and search for meaning”.

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Whether sacred or secular in its intent, I suggest that religious motivations and consuming heritage possess equally varied and equally similar properties of meaning for visitors.

2.8 Chapter Summary

In summary, this section of the literature review first set out to acknowledge tourism’s relationship with anthropology. The present themes in the anthropology of tourism literature were explored and discussed. The section then moved on to consider concepts explored in this area of the literature such as the religious context and how their related theoretical concepts may be applied to the heritage context. This is done so as to explore concepts and ideas that may be applied to meaningful heritage consumption. Although chapter four addresses the literature relevant to discussions of heritage consumption, the theoretical foundation grounded in this chapter is also meant to lay a foundation for meaningful pursuits in tourism generally, then how they may be contextualised in heritage settings.

It is useful then to consider applications taken from themes in the anthropology of tourism literature such as pilgrimage to set a theoretical framework for inquiry into the research objectives set for this research. Given the relationship between religious accounts of tourism and secular practices in tourism, a basis is established for highlighting the relevance of theoretical inquiry linking anthropology of tourism and the heritage phenomena.

In bridging the gap between sacred and profane accounts in tourism, it is argued that anthropological studies of tourism have much to gain from more in-depth inquiry in the heritage setting. As a result, more may be learnt about the moving experiences encountered by some visitors who consume heritage sites and how these experiences resemble practice in religiously motivated pilgrimage and their underlying meanings for visitors. The same has further implications for building on a sense of identity in tourism pursuits, whether on a personal or cultural level. Therefore, in keeping with the research objectives under study, the next chapter looks more specifically at theories of identity, and also at the relationship between identity and heritage tourism. The content presented in chapter three that follows is meant to build on the theoretical basis for inquiry presented in the present chapter’s
anthropological discussions of tourism. Doing so allows the theoretical parallels for ‘making meaning through tourism’ and ‘constructing identity’ to come together in unpacking the study in further detail.
Chapter THREE

- Constructing Identity
3.1 The Roots of Identity in Social Theory

An underlying premise of the thesis is to uncover ways in which identity is constructed by experiencing industrial heritage. Theories of identity are therefore investigated below to further inform the theoretical framework underpinning this research. Where the previous chapter lays a foundation of inquiry for finding meaning in tourism, this section of the literature review presents the theoretical roots of identity construction in contemporary contexts. In so doing, insight is gained into how identity is constructed into the contemporary practice of engaging in tourism pursuits.


Nevertheless, it is the aim of this thesis to focus on identity construction in social contexts. The roots of modern social theory underpinning notions of identity become evident showing how contemporary applications of identity are shaped. For example the works of Marx and Weber have laid much of the foundation in modern social theory addressing concepts of identity. Beginning with Marx (1946), his theories were fed by an elaborate analysis of social class division among the upper, middle and the working classes and their associated class struggles. Weber’s (1948) perspective moved beyond such class divisions, theorising that society was also preoccupied with a sense of status and political party affiliation. For Giddens (1989), the context in which societies identify and label themselves is attributed to a system of social stratification. This system of social stratification applies to groups and societies which are divided by “…structured inequalities between different groups of people” (Giddens 1989:212). Identity associated with such inequalities can be traced back to divisions associated with ‘slavery, caste, estates and class’ all of which have served as identity labels in the East and West for centuries (Giddens 1989).
Notions of identity embedded in the social context are likewise related to one’s sense of individual identity. A social group is made up of individuals each with their own identity. This individual sense of identity has been theorised in the work of French philosophers Sartre and Althusser. For Sartre (1969), identity flows through a series of choices and thus one’s primary purpose for existence is defined by the individuals themselves. Comparatively for Althusser (1984) identity is in fact more tangible, and simply a by-product of the bourgeoisie society influenced by a capitalist ideology. Other philosophers such as Derrida (1978) saw identity as purely a linguistic construct. These theoretical perspectives demonstrate the range of analytical applications that have focused on aspects of identity construction.

In comparing the above theoretical perspectives of identity, Berger and Del Negro (2004:125) infer a practical application to identity stating “anything that a person says or does may be a product of his/her cultural tradition” and can therefore be interpreted in terms of identity. The progression of theoretical perspectives underpinning identity construction has therefore evolved considerably through time. In acknowledging a postmodern perspective from Bauman (1996:19) identity is “…a critical projection of what is demanded and/or sought upon what is; or, more exactly still, an oblique assertion of the inadequacy or incompleteness of the latter”. Bauman is suggesting that a person reaches out for a sense of identity whenever there is an air of uncertainty about whether or not they belong. Hall (1996:2) would appear to agree with this, stating that identity is often sought to escape uncertainty as people also look for “some common origin or shared characteristics with another person or group”. In so doing an individual gains a sense of belonging to a familiar collective with common interests to them. Comparing this to Jenkins (2004:18), the concept of self and identity is a combination “of (internal) self-definition and the (external) definitions of oneself offered by others”. For Jenkins, identity construction is defined by one’s individual internal forces and also by external forces from one’s social environment. Identity is also something that can be developed after death, in that identity is sometimes only achieved beyond the grave, as in sainthood or martyrdom (Jenkins 2004).

The above perspectives reflect the diversity of theoretical applications that address the elements that underpin the construction of identity. It shows the internal
(self) and external (social) forces that impact on identity. In looking more specifically to how identity is constructed, Hall (1996:2) acknowledges that identity is “…a construction, a process never completed – always ‘in process’”. Hall asserts one’s sense of identity is continually subject to being constructed and reconstructed. How this construction occurs is of further interest in this thesis. Accordingly for Jenkins (2004), there is insufficient attention paid to how identity ‘works’ or ‘is worked’. What Jenkins means by this is how certain elements in everyday life such as social interaction and the mere presence of certain institutions (i.e. central government) influence identity. In order to appreciate how such things are conceptualised in real terms, is it is necessary to possess a deeper understanding of the processes that underpin identity (Hall 1996, Jenkins 2004).

Craib’s (1998) work is in agreement with Jenkins (2004) and Hall (1996) in that identity is best viewed as a process. Accordingly for Craib (1998:4), identity as process is in opposition to schools of thought where identity is a ‘thing’ (Berkeley 1962). Rather, “the process is one of constant negotiation with those around us” (1998:4) and is subject to constant change. For Hitchcock (1999:19), even ethnicity as an element of identity is also “a process rather than a fixed entity”.

As this thesis states, identity construction is a main focus of inquiry in this research. It is how the construction of identity unfolds within the social phenomenon occurring in heritage settings that is investigated further. Therefore the factors embedded in social phenomena that help shape a sense of identity need to be further explored. For example the nature of inquiry takes into consideration how the minutiae of habits like talking and writing help create and reinforce a sense of identity. It is these features of identity construction that have been studied in depth in other disciplines such as narrative psychology (Crossley 2000). Nevertheless, a psychological analysis of identity is not the focus of this work but rather its context is grounded in social phenomena. Studying the concept of identity in the social milieu is supported by Jenkins (2004), in that ‘the unconscious’ aspect of psychology is epistemologically problematic in conceptualising things like social identity because “it isn’t a usable sociological concept rooted in observable realities of the human world” (Jenkins 2004:30). It is indeed then, the realities of the human world as they occur in settings of industrial heritage that provide the scope of study here.
3.2 Building Identity in the Postmodern Domain

Identity emerges from a wide and varied domain of social influences; other people, objects, institutions, places, time and space. As Berger and Del Negro (2004:143) elaborate, notions of identity also emerge out of “social life-performances of various kinds, mass-mediated communication, legal proceedings, medical contexts, religious ritual, meditation and so forth”. This perspective reflects the influence of social elements in everyday life in shaping notions of identity, in the individual and the collective sense.

The concept of identity has a transient nature to it in postmodern contexts. Gergen says (1991:228) “an open slate emerges on which a person may inscribe, erase and rewrite their identities as the ever-shifting, ever-expanding and incoherent network of relationships permits”. This reflects how the domain of the postmodern adopts to changing labels of identity, and builds upon more stable notions of identity typically associated with things like family or religion. Craib (1998) shares a similar view to Gergen’s in that individuals are constantly recreating themselves according to changing preferences, situations and desires. Comparatively, Hall (1996:4) states “identities are constructed within, not outside, discourse” reflecting the interplay between the individual and their surroundings in constructing a sense of identity. In taking the whole notion of discourse further, discourse itself benefits from more in-depth study in examining its role in identity construction (Shotter 1993a, 1993b).

Other commentators in the postmodern context offer alternative theoretical perspectives regarding identity as a concept. For example Berger and Del Negro (2004:125) say that identity is best understood “as an interpretive framework and a set of interpretive practices”; where an understanding is derived from social conduct and the surrounding culture. Hetherington (1998) highlights the relevance of identity existing at the margin and at the periphery. He says that identity extends beyond more modern mainstream notions typically associated with such things as gender and race. Hetherington (1998) refers to these as ‘expressive identities’, where certain lifestyles such as being eco-friendly or using alternative medicine reflect concepts of identity. He goes further by asserting it is important not to group identity with “one
term or one concept to understand this set of phenomena” but rather retain “some sense of multiplicity of terms and concepts” (Hetherington 1998:4). Rose’s (1996:142) views echo Hetherington’s, in that a person’s identity is not an entity with a fixed history but instead “the target of a multiplicity of types of work, more like a latitude or a longitude at which different vectors of different speeds intersect”. The fluidity and changing nature of identity as a concept is therefore evident in perspectives offered above. The notion that identity rests solely on fixed and stable entities such as class and family have given way to more fragmented notions that resonate in postmodern contexts. Below Grossberg (1996:89) sums up inherent complexities associated with notions of identity:

Identity is always a temporary and unstable effect of relations which define identities by marking differences. Thus the emphasis here is on the multiplicity of identities and differences rather than on a singular identity and on the connections or articulations between the fragments or differences.

Indeed, theoretical discussions of identity have evolved over time and continue to form. The discussion to this point reflects on the diverse factors in the social milieu that shape notions of identity. The following discussion explores further how identity does indeed ‘work’ in practical contexts. Therefore theories of identity theory are unpacked further to help uncover how the construction of identity can be understood.

3.3 Identity at Work

It was stated earlier by Jenkins (2004) that not enough attention is paid to ‘how identity works’. In the theoretical concepts discussed above a number of internal and external forces are revealed to be at play in contributing to how an identity is constructed. For some commentators, social identity as a context begins at birth. Take for example Hitchcock (1999) who states that identity markers are based on an individual’s ethnic roots. An individual’s identity is associated with a number of elements including: being born into a particular community; adopting certain practices related to the values exercised by the community; and practicing the accepted religion and language. This resonates with the work of Geertz (1983) where he details how infants born into traditional Balinese societies are assigned certain identity markers and social roles from birth. This also means that there are
aspects of the infant’s individual identity that are predetermined within the traditions of their society. Through the course of one’s life, other social forces have an influence in shaping an individual’s sense of identity.

One such influence is the role and influence of institutions such as religion and government in their ability to build on notions of identity. Building on such things as affiliations and memberships and “established patterns of practice”, institutions such as church and state can influence a sense of individual or collective identity (Jenkins 2004:23). Insofar as the ‘state’ is concerned, Berger and Del Negro (2004:142) draw attention to the power of “identity cards or visas, work permits or legal privileges” in their ability to construct a sense of one’s identity. Such legal affiliations to ‘state’ give a sense of belonging, in the sense that an individual can identify with a certain country or nation.

3.4 Contemporary Notions of Identity

It has been asserted that the development of identity theory in the social sciences is a response to, and a departure from, the period of pre-modernity heavily influenced by scholars of the Enlightenment period (see Berkeley 1962). It was during this period that identity was considered something “essential, unitary, fixed and unchanging” (Roseneil and Seymour 1999:3). Modern day identity is pre-dated by the rise of feminist ideals from the 18th century and from alternative and Bohemian type lifestyles emerging in the 19th century (Hetherington 1998). Due to these societal trends, a sense of identity associated with the collective began to give way to an individual sense of identity. This has implications for identity, as people began to not only wish to be associated with a collective or social identity such as state and church, but also wanted to build on a sense of personal and individual identity. As Hetherington attests, the progression of such theoretical logic culminated in the 1960s in “a watershed for the development and proliferation of counter-cultures, alternative life-styles and new social movements” (1998:2). Roseneil and Seymour (1999) also reflect on the social movements occurring in the 1960s for their impact on changing society ideals. People began to place other diversifying aspects of identity like gender, race and sexuality high on the political and intellectual agendas, and more readily associate a sense of identity to these entities. Research scholarship followed by drawing on the intellectual implications embedded in such social trends.
that saw notions of identity splinter into ‘feminist, black, postcolonial, lesbian and gay, queer’ perspectives (Roseneil and Seymour 1999). Theoretical applications of identity have therefore continued to fragment and develop in the study of identity as the twentieth century wore on.

Theoretical contributions have likewise evolved resulting in “a veritable discursive explosion” surrounding the concept of identity and its resulting deconstruction in many disciplines (Hall 1996:1). This further destabilised theoretical perspectives associated with “an integral, ordinary and unified identity” (1996:1). Roseneil and Seymour acknowledge there is a multiplicity of sources that shape identity in every day contexts and other things beyond race and nationality are “up for grabs” (1999:1). In a postmodern sense people begin to pick and choose things that they wish to associate their identity with; a lifestyle, a habit, and in effect such elements are subject to change and negotiation. When you compare this to pre-modern concepts of identity where entities such as community and family and employment defined a person; the postmodern condition demonstrates how “globalization and rapid social change disturb the temporal and spatial certainties” (Roseneil and Seymour 1999:3) thus changing the nature of identity. Drawing on Giddens’ (1991) societal conditions framing ‘late modernity’, Roseneil and Seymour go further to propose that identity “…really starts to matter as uncertainty increases” (1999:3). This indicates that conceptualising a sense of identity has become increasingly complex in contemporary terms.

Craib (1998:2) reflects on the preoccupation with new and burgeoning theories of identity construction, offering a sociological assessment as to why “this concern with identity should be developing now”. Craib (1998) draws from Giddens’ concept of ‘late modernity’ (1991) too; noting that traditional and expected behaviours commonly found during the Enlightenment period have gradually been stripped away in place of a more common practice to question the world through natural and social science applications. This viewpoint further suggests that the individual sees beyond accepted societal norms of collective identity to more independent formations of individual identity. For Craib (1998), this is due in part to modern developments of market economies in many societies, thus contributing to the evolution of intense individualisation in contemporary contexts. Gergen (1991)
echoes this in that society is able to realise increasing choice in a postmodern world and is partly fuelled by media saturation; resulting in identity becoming more diverse. The postmodern preoccupation with identity formation is “how to avoid fixation and keep the options open” as opposed to previous modern attempts to “construct an identity and keep it solid and stable” (Bauman 1996:18).

As the perspectives discussed above reflect, how identities are formulated and defined from an individual, collective and social perspective blur and overlap (Mead 1934, Hall 1996, Jenkins 2004). Theoretical concepts that underpin the construction of identity intertwine with one another, and do not easily allow for “a strictly individual act of meaning making detached from the social world” (Berger and Del Negro 2004:142). Brown’s (1999) perspective reiterates this by asserting that a person’s identity consists on the one hand how someone sees themselves and on the other how they are seen by others.

The discussion to this point acknowledges how the theoretical evolution of identity as a concept is understood in contemporary contexts. It reflects on theoretical perspectives and contemporary praxis to show how ‘fixed and unchanging’ notions of identity have evolved into ‘negotiable and changing’ entities of identity. With this approach, notions of the individual and collective blend into one another, and theoretically overlap. This approach is taken so that a more holistic discussion that addresses identity is captured. However, identity in a social and collective sense is a key line of inquiry in this thesis in the context of heritage. In addition it is how identity is constructed in everyday life that is also subject to investigation. The following discussion addresses the theoretical social aspects of identity in further detail and how notions of it are mediated in the everyday.

3.5 A Collective Sense of Identity

Acquiring a collective sense of identity is of relevance to the research objectives and explored further in this section. The notion of identity in the collective and social sense is therefore taken into consideration in the process. Tajfel (1972:31) defines social identity as “the individual’s knowledge that he/she belongs to certain social groups together with some emotional and value significance to
him/her of the group membership”. This builds on Festinger’s (1954) social comparison theory, in which people are inclined to compare themselves with others of similar traits and dimensions. Furthermore for Abrams and Hogg (1990) the evaluation of traits such as abilities, experience and knowledge are common identifiers within group settings.

How a collective sense of identity can occur is similarly reflected in Bauman’s (1996) process of ‘identity-building’. In essence, for people sharing the same space and similar experience, this setting allows for a sense of collective identity to be created. Using a metaphorical example of pilgrimage, Bauman states that “[t]he pilgrim and the desert-like world he walks acquire their meanings together, and through each other” (1996:22 italics in original). It is because people are sharing the same space and experience that a sense of collective identity can therefore be created among them.

Conversely, there are instances where an individual can experience a more abstract sense of collective belonging, such as the enthusiasm shared among countrymen for fellow citizens competing as athletes in an Olympic Games. This, according to Abrams & Hogg (1990:3) is linked to “the desire to experience (national) social identity positively”. This example is reflective of a powerful sense of belonging that can apply to a group, without actually having personal relationships with them – in this case the athletes (Abrams & Hogg 1990). This feeling of ‘belonging’ resonates with Anderson’s (1983) notion of imagined communities, in which sharing something like the same country with one’s fellow citizens allows a sense of shared identity to emerge. What this means is that simply sharing the same nationality as others who live in the same country or nation facilitates a collective sense of identity. This demonstrates how a sense of identity tied to nation provides an example of a powerful association to a common entity.

3.6 Constructions of National Identity in Everyday Context

Taking broader collective notions of identity formation into theoretical consideration, this section considers the relevance of national identity in constructing a powerful sense of common belonging. As Clarence (1999:201-2) details below, the influences
that help to construct a sense of national identity derive from a multiplicity of sources, and can include:

Governments…the education system, immigration policy, cultural programmes (including funding the arts and broadcasting policy) and other government policies (including foreign affairs, economic and trade programmes) [and] can be used to propagate a government’s or political parties’ particular vision of national identity.

Other sources that influence a sense of national identity extend to the media, opposing political parties, local community groups and cultural organisations, all of which also influence constructions of national identity (Clarence 1999). There are other symbols and ceremonies associated with the nation that also reflect on identity, some of which are obvious part of daily life that they are taken for granted (Smith 1991). They include such things as “…flags, anthems, …coinage, capital cities…museums of folklore, war memorials…passports, frontiers” (Smith 1991:77). There are other more hidden aspects associated with national identity that encompass “…national recreations, the countryside, popular heroes and heroines, …forms of etiquette, styles of architecture, arts and crafts” (1991:77). It is then the shared ways in which people feel and act that aligns them with a collective sense of identity.

Hitchcock (1990:30) echoes Smith’s perspectives, in that some nations go so far as to reinforce a sense of national identity by “staking claims to illustrious names and heroic ancestors”. Billig (1995) follows along the line of Smith in that it is indeed the forgotten reminders of every day that feed a sense of national identity. It is not the vehement patriotic flag waving, but the unnoticed flag hanging in public buildings that serve to reinforce identity (Billig 1995). Similarly, Edensor (2002) says outside of obvious displays of identity associated with public holidays, aspects of identity grounded in the everyday are located within “the mundane details of social interaction, habits, routines and practical knowledge” (Edensor 2002:17). Billig echoes this in that commonplace social habits are tied to identity construction and “…are not removed from everyday life, as some observers have supposed (1995:6)”. Jenkins (2004) shares a similar view, in that it is precisely the everyday mundane behaviours that have relevance, and the ‘grand meta-narratives of fragmentation’ often found in postmodern perspectives of identity formation.
overlook the mundane behaviour of the everyday. To draw on a related example in 1988 Australian Prime Minister Hawke provided a description of what he perceived to make up an Australian identity, stating that an Australian “is nothing more complex or esoteric than a commitment to Australia” (Smolicz 1991:50). Clarence (1999:208) concludes that Hawke’s definition “is a somewhat unsophisticated explanation of Australian identity”. Yet for commentators such as Billig (1995), it is just such ‘unsophistication’ that makes mundane displays of nationalism relevant. As a consequence, national identity may be created through seemingly meaningless habits of “thinking and using language. To have a national identity is to possess ways of talking about nationhood” (1995:8).

Intangible aspects of national unity and its impact on collective identity are reflected in the example of Britain’s involvement in the 1982 Falklands War. At the time, an Argentinean military junta occupied the Falkland Islands (then and currently a British territory) to reclaim what they determined to be their own territory, known as ‘the Malvinas’. Reminiscent of parallels of the Gulf War in 1991, in which Iraq invaded neighbouring Kuwait, it was believed that “the very principle of nationhood was at stake” (Billig 1995:2). The then British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher was commended for taking action, and rose in popularity by proclaiming at the time that the islands were “British in stock and tradition and they wish to remain British in allegiance” (Barnett 1982 in Billig 1995:2).

For Clarence (1999), a nation is not so much a physical construction as it is a product a mass social organisation and “[a]ccordingly, national identity is constructed identity, intrinsically linked to how the nation itself is constructed (1999:200)”. Possessing a national identity also involves “being situated physically, legally, socially, as well as emotionally…it means being situated within a homeland, which itself is situated within the world of nations” (Billig 1995:8). If citizens possess the belief that a sense of homeland is always inherent in such situatedness, then what they know as national identity is continually being reproduced.

Clarence (1999) purports that society can in fact identify with both nation and the state. Using Australia as an example, Clarence states that since the Second World War the country was transformed “from an overwhelmingly ‘white’, Anglo-
Celtic society to one of significant ethnic and cultural diversity” (199:199). Over the course of time, Labor governments in power through the 1980s to 1990s emphasised a focus on Australian citizenship as a national bond regardless of ethnic and cultural backgrounds. By comparison, Grossberg (1996) proposes that a sense of belonging alone can be a powerful marker for national identity. For example, the crowds of student protestors that gathered in Tiananmen Square in 1989, technically shared a ‘national identity’ among them in the sense that there was “no [other] common identity, no property that defines them apart from the fact that they were there, together, in that place” (1996:104). It would in fact, be the gathering alone among the students that enabled a collective sense of identity amongst them.

This section of the discussion sets out a more in depth consideration of the collective roots of national identity, and more specifically how mundane behaviour feed a sense of identity. In essence, the discussion demonstrates how an entity such as nationality alone does not by itself capture the full spectrum of a sense of identity. Rather, it is everyday mundane behaviours such as routine, habit and social gatherings that can deepen a sense of identity. A further point is that upon reflection of concepts that shape national identity, the power of recognising a collective sense of identity and its ability to foster common belonging becomes evident. When identity is considered for its relationship to the heritage context, heritage is often positioned as a reflection of state and nation, and encourages a sense of belonging to a collective ideal.

### 3.7 Moving Theories of Identity Forward

Rather than look in vain for a concept “that allows us to offer a neat definition” for how identity is constructed, Hetherington (1998:4) suggests that it may be more worthwhile to engage in closer examination of the cultural, political spatial and performative issues that impact upon identity. This task is not made easy because as Bauman (1996:26) asserts “postmodern life is too messy and incoherent to be grasped by any one cohesive model”. Simon (2004:23) reflects on the added complexity of theoretical modelling around identity, because modern society is “a complex and multi-faceted mosaic of interdependent but highly differentiated parts”. Such complexity and differentiation are inevitable components that influence upon a person’s sense of identity.
Berger and Del Negro (2004) have similarly reflected on the difficulty in grasping a theoretical model for identity constructions. As they point out, “[t]alk about identity is ubiquitous because all practices can be interpreted in terms of identity” (2004:125 italics in original). Varying theoretical interpretations of identity construction are subject to differentiation, and as Berger and Del Negro (2004:125) maintain, all social conduct has the potential to uncover “a solid grounding in social research”. Comparatively, in the domain of cultural studies the theoretical void related to identity is more specific (Grossberg 1996). That is to say that theories related to identity “…have failed to open up a space of anti- or even counter-modernity” as the comfort zone has been to “remain within the strategic forms of modern logic: difference, individuality, and temporality” typically associated with modern theories of identity (1996:93). These theoretical boundaries limit the scope of scholarship to encompass a more holistic appreciation for identity construction. Accordingly to Berger and Del Negro (2004:151), the debate underpinning more coherent theoretical models for identity is made more challenging by “…the dynamics of communication, the problems of intention, and the issues of metacommunication and generic constraint”. The difficulty in the task then is to illustrate all of the factors, activities, and thoughts that otherwise might arise when these phenomena coincide together.

### 3.8 Identity Construction and the Heritage Context

To contextualise the wider discussion presented in chapter three, a main premise of this study is how visitors are able to construct a sense of identity at heritage sites. It is the relationship between identity construction and tourism at heritage sites that further underpins the wider inquiry of the research objectives. Nevertheless, although heritage is thought to have an “…identity-conferring status” (Urry 1996:61), there is a paucity of research that looks at the relationship between heritage and negotiations of identity (McLean 2006).

This section aims to contextualise the current state of research that aligns identity construction in heritage settings. In so doing, insight is gained into research perspectives addressing how identity is negotiated in heritage, and subsequently through the practice of tourism. This discussion begins by addressing perspectives
linking heritage tourism and identity construction in museum settings; heritage sites more widely; and also within a political context.

The role of museums in the construction of national identity has been explored by Mason (2004), Macdonald (2003), McLean and Cooke (2003) and McLean (2005). Beginning with McLean (2005), she acknowledges that museums are able to shape a sense of national identity. Mason’s study (2004) reviews the role of a Welsh folk museum in the nation building of Wales. The study undertaken by McLean and Cooke (2003) investigates identity construction by way of the tourist gaze at the Museum of Scotland. Macdonald’s (2003) discussion goes beyond the national identity construct to suggest that in late modernity, contemporary museums are able to articulate new forms of postnational and transcultural identities. No longer does the museum represent identity tied solely to ‘nation-state’, but late modernity enables transformed and fragmented versions of identity to occur with the visitors of today’s museums. Macdonald offers “[r]ather than thinking of identities as having clear edges…we will come to think of them more as endlessly in the process of creation” (2003:6).

In a separate study of a museum’s relationship with identity, Newman and McLean (2006) report findings on the effectiveness of UK government policy in using museums as agents of social inclusion in society. Their study went further to investigate whether or not museum exhibitions and related community development projects facilitate the construction of individual and social identities. Their study differs from the aforementioned studies focusing on constructions of ‘national identity’ in that Newman and McLean’s (2006) work consider identity in the context of ‘individual’ and ‘social’ identities. Newman and McLean’s study therefore reflects a break away from the above literature aligning museums with national identity, in that individual and social identities are considered in more depth.

More specific to the heritage context, identity construction and its relationship with heritage tourism is addressed in the literature. The role of heritage sites in constructing a sense of identity has been discussed in the context of English heritage (Palmer 2005); Welsh heritage (Gruffudd 1995); Scottish heritage (McLean and Cooke 2003) and Viking heritage (Hannam and Halewood 2006). Each of these
authors discuss the different ways identity is manifest in heritage settings. Palmer’s (2005) study explores how a sense of Englishness is socially constructed through visits to English heritage sites. Gruffudd (1995) proposes that Welsh heritage extends beyond the presence of its fixed assets to the relationships visitors’ mediate for themselves with representations of the past. McLean and Cooke (2003) discuss the role of the tourist gaze in mediating a sense of identity related to Scottish heritage at the Museum of Scotland. In Hannam and Halewood’s (2006) study, the expression of identity is realised by participating in European Viking heritage festivals. Collectively, these studies reflect the varied ways in which heritage assets manifest a sense of identity in their visitors.

Taking into consideration ‘nation’ and ‘state’ perspectives of identity, Ashworth (1994, 1995) conceptualises the political contexts that link heritage tourism with identity. Ashworth argues that a region’s heritage plays a functional role in shaping a sense of identity: “…in support of particular state structures” (1994:13). Meethan (2001) supports Ashworth’s view, noting that political affiliations can be manifest in heritage tourism and help to create “…national, regional, local or ethnic identity” (2001:112). Engaging in heritage tourism has the ability to create and reinforce political affiliations because of the presence of heritage.

Ashworth (1995) has built on this perspective with an identity concept model applicable to heritage tourism (see Figure 3.1). The model below reflects that engaging in heritage tourism influences a sense of identity, within a framework of place and politics:

![Figure 3.1 adopted from Ashworth (1995:69) heritage, place, identity and tourism.](image-url)
In a broader sense, Ashworth’s model conceptualises the various forces that help construct a sense of identity through heritage tourism. Both Ashworth (1995) and Meethan (2001) agree that a sense of identity, place and political affiliation is shaped in the presence of heritage. The relationship between identity and heritage is therefore manifest through the practice of tourism.

The discussion presented in this section is undertaken so that relationships between heritage and identity in museums; heritage sites and in political contexts found in the literature are acknowledged. In so doing, these authors also acknowledge how management and policy impact upon how heritage assets are able to construct a sense of identity. For example, the concept of identity in representations of heritage has implications for regional planning strategies (Ashworth 1994). In addition, the formulation of social policy in heritage must also consider notions of identity (Ashworth 1995, Mason 2004, Newman and McLean 2006).

Nevertheless, it is the focus of this research to look more closely at the social phenomenon of how identity is constructed in heritage settings. The studies above focus their outcomes on applied solutions to places of heritage, e.g. the management of places of heritage and how social policy is informed from such studies. Therefore the review of the literature above reveals a void in research perspectives that investigate in more detail the social processes at play in constructing a sense of identity at heritage sites.

There are, however, exceptions in the aforementioned literature that address the social processes at play in heritage settings. Studies by Palmer (2005) and Hannam and Halewood (2006) acknowledge the involvement of social processes in the construction of identity in heritage settings. For example Palmer (2005) suggests that the mundane experience of visiting heritage sites is highly relevant to the social phenomenon of constructing a sense of identity. In particular, she studies three icons of English heritage for their ability in mediating notions of Englishness and national identity through the social aspects of visiting these sites. Comparatively,

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15 Palmer’s (2005) research involved three sites of English heritage: Battle Abbey, near the site of the Battle of Hastings in 1066; Hever Castle, known for its association to King Henry VIII and his romance with Anne Boleyn; and that of Chartwell House, once the home of Sir Winston Churchill.
Hannam and Halewood discuss how identity is also mediated in social contexts. Drawing in part from Hetherington’s (1998) notion of social movements as expressions of identity, Hannam and Halewood (2006) posit that expressions of identity are constructed at Viking festivals though acts such as communication, socialisation and consumption.

The discussion to this point addressing heritage’s relationship to identity in the literature has shown to be limited in other ways. For example, of the literature addressed above, much of the discussion centres around notions of national identity and how iconic museums and heritage sites reverberate a sense of collectiveness in society. Yet by taking into consideration the wider theoretical discussion of identity presented throughout this chapter, it reveals that identity theory has evolved over time exposing new ways to consider identity constructed. This means that identity in the heritage context can be considered in new ways beyond fixed notions such as national identity. Tilley (2006) is one author writing in the context of heritage whose views resonate with perspectives shared earlier in the chapter (Bauman 1996, Hall 1996). Tilley acknowledges that identity is indeed a fluid and mutable concept, becoming “…something spoken about in the plural, not one but many, something always changing in space-time” (Tilley 2006:8). Such perspectives are scarce in the ‘heritage and identity’ literature. Tilley goes further to elaborate on the fluid nature of identity for its relevance in the context of heritage, place, landscape and identity:

Identity is transient, a reflection on where you are now, a fleeting moment in a biography of the self or the group, only partially connected to where you might have come from, and where you might be going. (2006:9)

There remain then, limited empirical studies into the broader perspectives that link identity construction with visiting heritage sites. More specifically, further investigation into the how’s of identity construction at heritage settings – and in this case industrial heritage sites – is an underlying aim of this study. It is the link between postmodern theories of identity and how they apply to the context of heritage that leads to the generation of new knowledge in the field of tourism.
3.9 Chapter Summary

The discussion in chapter three addresses the theoretical perspectives underpinning the notion of identity construction. The roots of identity theory were acknowledged in addition to contemporary and postmodern theoretical concepts of identity. In so doing, a key point uncovered is the complexities inherent in contemporary applications of identity construction.

The discussion also addresses how heritage tourism and identity has been explored in the literature. Museums, heritage sites and heritage in the political context are shown to be common themes explored in this literature. Notions of national identity also resonate in these perspectives. There are however, limitations in more complex applications of identity constructs in discussions of heritage tourism. This research aims to fill the void in unpacking what more can be known about constructions of identity in heritage settings. In so doing and guided by the research objectives, insight is sought into how identity is socially constructed through the consumption of industrial heritage sites.

Chapter four follows on from here is meant to complement chapter three by expanding on a review of the current literature that addresses discussions of the heritage consumption experience. The next chapter offers a window into the tourism context of how the consumption of heritage sites has been studied. In appreciating the above discussion addressing heritage and identity, it is the aim of the literature review in both chapters three and four to expose gaps of knowledge into how identity is constructed in the heritage context. Doing so helps to inform the wider objectives of the research.
Chapter FOUR

-The Experience of Tourism and the Consumption of Heritage
4.1 Introduction

The following section opens with a brief acknowledgement of some of the early theoretical perspectives referred to in discussions of tourism experience and motivation. In so doing, a general outline for what tourism experience encompasses is contextualised. The discussion then moves on to develop the heritage context; addressing how consuming a heritage experience has been researched in the literature, and from what perspectives. An appreciation for the types of theoretical perspectives addressing discussions of heritage tourism consumption is thus offered. Particular attention is also paid to the area of literature that addresses heritage consumption in the context of industrial heritage sites. In so doing, insight is gained as to themes coming from studies that discuss aspects of heritage consumption. Related gaps in the body of knowledge are uncovered insofar as the making of meaning and identity construction is concerned in heritage settings.

4.2 Typologies of Tourism and Tourism Experience

In the tourism literature, there are some key typologies capturing tourism concepts that have evolved over the years and remain widely cited. Among them are social psychological motivations (Iso-Ahola 1982), destination specific perspectives (Plog 1977) and experiential dimensions of tourism (Cohen 1979a). Other models of tourism typology addressing ‘experience’ are those that theorise aspects of motivation. Goossens’ (1998) model of push and pull factors place emotion as core to tourist motivation, and Hirschman and Holbrook (1982) conceptualise a combination of hedonistic elements underpinning consumption including emotion, desire and daydreaming.

More specifically to tourism experience, tourism research has often aligned its inquiry with ‘authentic’ experience. For example MacCannell’s (1973) pursuit of the authentic in tourism is commonly referenced in tourism literature as is Boorstin’s (1964) discussion of inauthentic tourist experiences. The ‘pilgrimage of the modern man’ exemplifies the pursuit of the authentic (MacCannell 1973) whereas for Boorstin, the tourist settles for fabricated representations of reality or ‘pseudo-events’. Wang (1999) also contributed to the discussion in which ‘authentic’ tourism experiences can be either objective, constructive or existential. The contribution of
these authors make to the ‘authentic’ experiences in tourism reflects the wide extent in which tourism scholarship aligns ‘tourism experience’ with ‘authenticity’.

In regards to tourism behaviour, Pearce’s (1982) social psychological perspective on tourism acknowledges the shortcomings of how behaviour and motivation is studied in tourism. Drawing on Cohen, Pearce suggests that the value of ongoing research is “to be of an emic nature; that is, giving due consideration to the multiple perspectives of the participants” (1982:149). It is argued here then, theories of tourism experience, motivation and behaviour serve to benefit the field by building on knowledge and helping to unpack what Pearce refers to as the ‘multiple perspectives’ of tourists.

4.3 Theoretical Frameworks of the Tourist Experience

Of the tourism typologies mentioned above, Cohen’s (1979a) is specific to addressing categories of tourist ‘experience’. Modes of tourism experience are developed along a continuum, where Cohen theorises a range of experiences varying from the recreational, diversionary, experiential, experimental and the existential. Within these categories, the traveller in pursuit of ‘mere’ pleasure is at one end (the recreational) and at the other end a modern pilgrim (the existential). In more recent research, Uriely (2005) provides an analyses of the wider conceptual developments found in the literature that discuss tourist experience. By acknowledging the influence of seminal perspectives (Boorstin 1964, Cohen 1979a, MacCannell 1973), Uriely underscores the subjective nature of the tourist experience. He supports this stance by grounding theoretical complexities of ‘experience’ in postmodern arguments of Lash and Urry (1987), Rojek (1995), and Urry (1990). It is Uriely’s (2005:210) view that subsequent theoretical conceptualisations of the tourist experience should be “complementary extensions to the earlier theories” as opposed to contesting them.

McIntosh’s (1997) study of visits to heritage sites sought to build on Cohen’s modes of experience. Through investigating benefits and experiences gained at these sites, McIntosh sought to uncover further detail including “…the underlying thoughts and expressions of tourists in response to tourism settings” (1997:5). The research results grouped similar themes of experience together from the descriptions gathered
from visitors. Comparatively Prentice, Witt and Hamer (1998) also attempted to make strides in the experiential dimensions of tourism by analysing the benefits of visiting industrial heritage by uncovering common themes of experience. This was done by asking visitors about “the range of experiences within an attraction” and “how the experiences may be facilitated” (1998:5). In both of these studies (McIntosh 1997, Prentice et al 1998), labels were affixed to all encompassing categories of heritage consumption (‘benefits’ and ‘experience’) which were then divided into market segments. Each of these studies offer value in their findings to inform management practice of heritage sites and more in terms of knowing what experiences visitors have at each site.

A differing perspective in conceptualising the tourist experience is offered by Shaw and Williams (2004). Drawing from the consumer behaviour literature, Shaw and Williams align Holt’s (1995) typologies of consumption experience with its relevance to tourism. Holt (1995:1-3) offers four dimensions of consuming:

- as experience: examines consumers’ subjective emotional reaction to objects;
- as integration: consumers acquire and manipulate their own meanings of objects;
- as classification: consuming in a way to classify consumers based on cultural and personal meanings;
- as play: through interpersonal action with each other.

Holt’s model builds on a study of consuming baseball games in Chicago, yet Shaw and Williams (2004) draw on this model to show its relevance to tourism. Holt’s categories are relevant to tourism in the sense that they reflect the multifaceted nature of consumption in the tourist experience. A related perspective on categories of consumption experience is proposed by Chronis (2005) who explored the benefits of consuming a Byzantine heritage exhibition in Greece. Chronis developed categories of experiential benefits by studying what he assessed to be the benefits gained by ‘consuming’ Byzantine history. By considering how the heritage exhibit was able to enhance imagination and build upon visitors’ own cultural associations, Chronis’ study offered six experiential benefits in consuming this heritage exhibit: “the experience of knowledge, cultural identity, cultural values, escape in time, aesthetic appreciation, and narrative connection” (2005:213). The perspectives of
Chronis and Shaw and Williams reflect the vast context with which the experience of consuming heritage and tourism is studied and labelled.

Theoretical discussions of experience remain fragmented in tourism, and as Beeho and Prentice (1997:75) assert, discussions underpinning the tourist experience “has tended at best to be summary” in the literature. Comparatively for Chronis (2005:213), in the heritage context there is value in developing theory further, in that “…consumption phenomena are lacking a theoretical viewpoint that will assist in better understanding and facilitating the experience of the past”. With the exception of Cohen’s modes of experience and Uriely’s postmodernist take on the tourist experience, broad theoretical concepts underpinning how tourism is experienced has not evolved in the literature. There are inherent complexities in attempting to theorise the multi-faceted nature of experiencing tourism. There also remains a plethora of variables to consider in conceptualising ‘experience’ as a broad, all encompassing phenomenon. Nuryanti (1996) makes this evident in his analysis of the postmodern heritage tourist; pointing out that the tourist experience is multifaceted because tourists use their own intellect and imagination to construct meaning. This is of interest to this research as a fuller range of influences is considered in experiencing tourism, and more specifically to this study - in heritage settings.

Other authors (Meethan 1996, Ryan 2002) point out that consuming tourism is part of a much broader process of experiencing our surroundings more generally. Meethan (1996) says consuming tourism in historic cities such as York should not be viewed as a ‘distinct activity’, but rather as part of wider local and global influences. For example consuming tourism in heritage rich cities such as York should be regarded as “part of the overall pattern of consumption evident in contemporary society” (1996:331). For Ryan (2002), acts of consumption involve a multi-sensory process in the tourism experience including sight, sound, and smell. Tourists use all of their senses in the consumption process and is not simply made up of visual engagement, or a ‘gaze’ (Urry 1990).

Discussions such as these are suggestive that an overarching theoretical framework for experiencing tourism is welcome in the field. However, perhaps it is
not realistic to seek one core model, but rather a multiplicity of theoretical approaches that help to understand the differing experiential entities inherent in the practice of tourism. Doing so helps to unpack the making of meaning and constructions of identity in particular theoretical contexts in applications of tourism.

The next section captures the contexts and methods in which the tourist experience in heritage settings has been researched. Variances in the research approaches are presented so as give more detail on how the consumption of heritage has been studied in tourism research. The discussion also acknowledges research undertaken at post industrial heritage sites. It is important to review previous studies of heritage in order to frame an understanding for the types of output (i.e. applied management applications) these studies take and focus on. The discussion then moves on to reveal gaps in the body of knowledge in regards to how heritage consumption has been studied.

4.4 Motivations for Heritage Tourism

For Herbert (1995), heritage places are inherently linked with people, events, activities and, in a wider sense with cultures, societies and economies. The attributes of heritage are also made up of the cultural, artistic, archaeological, historical, religious, military, natural and the industrial (Prentice 1993). Yet from a tourism perspective, Nuryanti argues that the association between heritage and tourism “…is relatively recent” (1996:251) when compared to more established studies in heritage that discuss preservation and conservation efforts. This suggests a perceived gap in the knowledge of what more can be known about heritage tourism pursuits. As acknowledged in the introduction chapter of the thesis, heritage tourism as an area of study is still relatively new in terms of intellectual development in discussions of tourism.

The motivations of heritage tourists and their related interests for visiting have been studied in various settings. These include: cathedral ruins (Goulding 1998); religious sites in Israel (Poria, Butler and Airey 2003; 2004); industrial heritage routes (Kerstetter, Confer and Bricker 1998; Kerstetter, Confer and Graefe 2001); heritage exhibitions (Chronis 2005); open air museums (Beeho and Prentice 1995); heritage village(s) (Beeho and Prentice 1997, McIntosh 1997); mining
museums (Light and Prentice 1994; Prentice, Witt and Hamer 1998); and literary heritage sites (Herbert 1995, 2001). Along with discussing site specific features in each of these studies, authors often grouped heritage tourists into categories determined by their socio-demographic characteristics. The data captured in these studies and their conclusions go on to offer practical applications to the management of heritage sites. Although useful, the outputs of the studies focus less on the implications to social theory.

Another component often studied as a field of inquiry in heritage settings is the ‘authenticity’ of its representation. Core to the discussion of such studies is the belief that accurate representations in heritage are perceived to be authentic representations of heritage. This means that authenticity is an assumed and required element in representations of heritage. The section below unpacks this assertion in further detail.

4.4.1 Authenticity in Heritage Tourism

Authenticity as a requirement in consuming heritage factors in some of the studies mentioned above (Goulding 1998, Herbert 2001, Kerstetter et al 2001) as a key motivator in heritage tourism pursuits. Their studies take the view that falsified representations of authenticity is of less value and relevance for tourists (MacCannell 1973). That is to say that if heritage does not portray something to be in its ‘true’ form, its authenticity is compromised and is of less worth. Some representations of heritage have been accused of fabricating ‘truths’ (Lowenthal 1985); even “bogus history” (Hewison 1987). Therefore Lowenthal and Hewison’s views contribute to the debate as to whether or not heritage accurately portrays history. However, this research ponders whether or not it needs to.

For example, as Lowenthal (1995) points out in chapter one (page 3) there are differences between heritage and history and they should not be thought of in the same context. Even though Hewison (1987) has been critical about heritage inaccurately representing history, Lowenthal proposes a way to value heritage differently to history:

Facing up to what distinguishes heritage from history lets us live more fruitfully with both. We need not fear or feel shame for
imposing mutations in heritage, for they are innate to it...such innovation and invention please and benefit the public. Heritage is popular because we make it so, while all along remaking it. (Lowenthal 1998:250)

Heritage may not adhere to the ‘accepted truths’ of history, yet unlike history it is subject to different interpretations over time. The significance that tourists associate with ‘authentic’ heritage depends on how they consume the heritage for themselves. For example, as Ashworth contends “[i]f heritage is consumer-defined, so also is its authenticity” (1994:18). Therefore authentic representations of heritage are sometimes contested, due in part because tourists create their own individual interpretations of what it means to them (Waitt 2000). Meethan (2001) echoes these views, suggesting that heritage move away from ‘a museum definition of authenticity’ to one that looks more closely at heritage’s involvement in political process. Nonetheless, the authentic and ‘accurate’ representation of heritage for one person is not necessarily the same for the next.

Authenticity then, has been a concept investigated in previous studies for its ‘accurate’ portrayal of heritage representations. Yet as a concept in itself, authenticity turns out to be a relative factor in the visitors own perception of the heritage they ‘consume’. The next section discusses a separate entity of heritage tourism further, namely its consumption.

4.5 **Studies of the Consumption Experience in Heritage**

This section discussed the different research methods, areas of focus and research outputs in which heritage consumption and experience have been previously studied. For example both quantitative and qualitative methods have been used in studying aspects of consumption and experience of heritage. Two separate studies of heritage sites by Beeho and Prentice (1995, 1997) apply models borrowed from leisure and outdoor recreation theory (Haas, Driver and Brown 1980, Manning 1986) to measure the benefits associated with the heritage experience of visitors at the Blists Hill Museum (1995) and New Lanark World Heritage Village (1997). The findings of each study (1995, 1997) apply an ASEB Grid Analysis\(^\text{16}\) that incorporates the

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\(^{16}\) ASEB (Activities, Settings, Experiences and Benefits) is a grid analysis modified from Manning (1986) by the authors (Beeho and Prentice 1995:232) and is based on the elements of SWOT analysis
Manning-Haas Demand Hierarchy to conclude that this theoretical framework provides “…a more effective consumer-orientated approach to museum marketing research” (1995:249). Therefore Beeho and Prentice (1995, 1997) are of the mind that theoretical applications borrowed from management sciences do well to inform what more can be known about experiencing heritage. The outcomes of their research suggest practical management applications of heritage experiences in order to benefit heritage attractions in the form of product development initiatives and customer-centric management.

The type of visitors that heritage sites attract is another common area of inquiry in studies in the consumption of heritage sites. Light and Prentice (1994) studied the socio-demographic characteristics of visitors to reveal that the majority of them were of middle classes and well educated. A later study by Prentice et al (1998) analysed the socio-demographic characteristics of visitors to a Welsh heritage site for their relevance in motivation to visit. The study revealed that the socio-demographic characteristics were not indicative of a certain ‘type’ of visitor to heritage, but rather visitor profiles proved largely independent of the types of experiences and benefits gained from a visit (1998). Herbert’s study (2001) of heritage in literary places uncovered similar findings establishing weak links between socio-demographic characteristics of visitors and their motivation to visit. It showed that age and social class of visitors “…did not prove to be a significant discriminator in key areas such as general purposes and more specific reasons for making the visit” (2001:330). This suggests that linking certain characteristics of visitors such as age, income, education do not have a direct relationship with their likelihood to visit heritage and related motivations for consuming heritage.

In other studies of heritage tourism, authors Poria, Butler and Airey (2003) measured the relationship between tourist demographics, awareness and perception of a heritage site with overall visitation patterns. Using quantitative methods to measure and analyse the relationships between these variables, Poria et al (2003) show motivation to visit heritage directly related to one’s personal heritage. They also package their findings to be of benefit to the management of heritage sites.

where the strengths, weaknesses opportunities and threats facing an organisation in a wider market is applied (Middleton 1998; Holloway and Plant 1992 in Beeho and Prentice 1995).
What is interesting is that the same authors also voice the limitations of tourism research that assumes a direct link between visitation of heritage sites and tourists’ socio-demographic profiles (e.g. Prentice et al 1998, Herbert 2001 above) because on a deeper level such studies “…may lead to confusion in the theoretical understanding by highlighting relationships that may not be at the core of behaviour” (Poria et al 2003:250). These studies show that measuring socio-demographic information is not a predicable tool in determining who visits heritage sites and why. The methods employed by these studies reflect a preference for quantitative methods in studying heritage consumption.

In a separate study of heritage tourists, Kerstetter et al (1998) use quantitative methods to measure motivation to visit heritage sites. Using a combination of systematic random sampling and SPSS techniques, these quantitative methods were applied to break down descriptions of tourists and their visitation patterns to an industrial heritage route in Pennsylvania. These studies of heritage tourists reflect the tendency of heritage tourism research to use quantitative methods in assessing visitation phenomena. These studies also go on to report the research findings as being of benefit to the management and operations functions of heritage sites. More specifically, their research findings frame the study outcomes for their practical applications to marketing, pricing, and interpretation roles of heritage sites. Other discussions from a management perspective propose that the visitor experience is a low priority for many heritage sites. Hall and McArthur (1993:13) say the visitor experience in heritage “should be placed at the center of any heritage management process” yet is very often overlooked in the traditional management of heritage sites. This demonstrates that in depth study of heritage consumption and experience more generally is of limited discussion in the heritage tourism literature.

I discuss the studies above to address the nature of the focus and research methods in published accounts of tourism research insofar as the heritage consumption experience are concerned. The studies discussed here show that the application of quantitative methods have been common in studying why people visit heritage sites. Yet quantitative methods are thought to be limiting in their ability to explain related phenomena, and as Das (1983:302) argues “…the statistical tools instead of acting as our servants have in fact become our masters, placing constraints
not only on the research methodology, and specific hypothesis, but also on the very thinking of process itself”. When quantitative methods of measurement are applied to abstract variables such as ‘cognitive perception’ in heritage settings (McIntosh and Prentice 1999), such variables become limited in their ability to lend broader insight into the wide array of other influences, including social aspects into experiencing meaningful heritage consumption. Thus, the aforementioned studies in heritage settings uncover a trend for the use of quantitative methods in explaining the abstract phenomena that underpins consumption of heritage. More in depth qualitative research lends deeper insight into the factors that shape the social phenomena of consuming heritage. As Patton (1980) argues qualitative methods in research allows for in-depth understanding of a topic area because it involves the researcher’s engagement in the process of gathering data. By applying a qualitative approach to the research, a thorough account of events, situations and interaction among people and things is obtained. More in depth studies of social phenomena occurring in heritage consumption furthermore offer a deeper analyses into how things like meaning and identity are built by visitors in heritage settings.

To summarise, unpacking how visitors experience heritage presents certain challenges because “the past means different things to different people” and heritage is not simply “a preserve for the new middle classes” (Shaw and Williams 2004:121). Taking Herbert’s (2001) study of heritage towns as an example, the pursuit of the town’s ‘authentic representation’ proved not to be central to the motivation for visiting. Indeed, other complex variables come into play making visitors inclined to visit heritage sites beyond authenticity. This point is illuminated by Schouten (1995:21) who says visitors do not seek scientific evidence in authenticity but rather “…a new reality based on the tangible remains of the past. For them, this is the very essence of the heritage experience”. Studies such as Herbert’s (2001) then once again reflect the preoccupation of some studies of heritage tourism to ‘assume’ that authentic or ‘real’ representations of the past is sought by visitors to heritage. Rather, for Schouten (1995) like Ashworth (1994), authenticity is constructed by the heritage visitor themselves.

In consideration of heritage consumption process more broadly, the abstract nature of its motivating factors are subject to diverse and complex elements thus
making it difficult to reduce heritage consumption to fixed notions such as authenticity. Yet as some of the studies above have shown, other fixed notions such as socio-demographic characteristics of visitors were thought to have a direct relationship with motivation to visit heritage. Yet as Gruffudd reminds, heritage is not confined to “…sanctioned sites, fenced off and ticketed, under the auspices of Cadw (Welsh Historic Monuments) or English Heritage” (1995:50) but rather it is how people mediate a relationship with the past. Heritage is a mix of tangible and intangible factors making up a complete albeit complex arena for its consumption. Smith’s (2006:46) perspective further builds Gruffudd’s, in that “[h]eritage [is] not the site itself, but the act of passing on knowledge in the culturally correct or appropriate contexts and times”. She uses the example of oral histories as heritage, and how the passing on of them is yet another meaningful manifestation of heritage being represented.

A heritage site as an example of a cultural construct in itself has been conceptualised by Garden (2006). Entitled ‘heritagescape’, she builds a methodology with the aim of capturing the attributes of a heritage site “as a cultural construct” (2006:394). Her heritagescape as methodology also sets out to define the uniqueness of heritage sites as social spaces. This goes some way in determining the uniqueness of heritage sites in their ability to encompass diverse meanings for their visitors. Not unlike the output of practical applications offered in the heritage consumption studies mentioned above, the methodology proposed by Garden (2006) is also positioned for the benefit of its application in managing heritage sites.

4.6 Previous Doctoral Studies of Industrial Heritage Consumption

In keeping with the discussion of studies above, doctoral dissertations (Bagnall 1998, Baldwin 1999, McIntosh 1997) that study aspects of industrial heritage consumption are furthermore acknowledged. Given that this thesis broadly appears to do the same, the other dissertations are acknowledged here so their research methods are contextualised in relation to my own. This comparison is also offered so that their contributions to knowledge may be differentiated from my own.
In borrowing theories from leisure science, McIntosh (1997) implements quantitative and qualitative methods to study visitor experiences and benefits in the consumption of socio-industrial heritage sites. The resulting dimensions of ‘experiences’ and ‘benefits’ reported by visitors were then used by McIntosh as the basis of customer segmentation. In comparison, Baldwin’s (1999) qualitative study explored the production and consumption of heritage within its political context to uncover how meaning and ‘truth’ are created. Drawing on debates in geography, Baldwin applies the theory of Becker’s (1982) ‘art world’ to show that ‘cultural conventions’ guide and shape meaning in industrial heritage. Finally, Bagnall (1998) conducted a case study of two heritage sites in the North of England. By gathering empirical data from detailed interviews, observations and examination of archival records, she analysed how these sites are constructed and consumed by its visitors. In challenging the notion of the tourist gaze (Urry 1990) and considering the idea of cultural capital (Bourdieu 1984), Bagnall concludes that new theoretical concepts are needed to provide further understanding in how visitors shape the consumption of heritage.

These studies demonstrate the other ways in which aspects of industrial heritage has previously been explored in doctorate level research. Although the methods used by these authors vary, their contributions go some way in furthering an understanding about how industrial heritage is consumed. These dissertations also reflect the various theoretical applications that have been applied in heritage tourism in studying how industrial heritage are consumed.

4.7 Chapter Summary

This chapter began by showing how tourism has been theorised and conceptualised in the tourism literature. This has been done though typologies of experience (Cohen 1979a), theories of behaviour (Iso-Ahola 1982) and motivation (Plog 1977). Yet the theoretical context between tourism and heritage is much less developed and as Uriely (2005:206) points out, experiencing heritage is an “…emerging research area of heritage tourism”. Indeed, studies addressing the consumption of heritage within the context of tourism continue to unfold in the literature. However, a review of literature that addresses heritage and its relationship to tourism presented here has
revealed a repetitive theme in the findings. Some of the studies suggest that measuring visitor demographics is helpful in predicting visitation, and other studies propose their research findings offer practical implications to improve upon management of heritage sites. This again reflects a gap in what more can be known about the social phenomena of consuming heritage.

Therefore, this thesis asserts that in depth qualitative studies of heritage are able to uncover new knowledge of heritage consumption as social phenomena. Prentice et al (1998) says that more in depth studies of heritage can uncover “…the social and personal constructions, as part of the life-worlds of individuals” (1998:2 italics in original) that heritage is able to mediate. Comparatively, Selby (2004:137) highlights the complex nature of consuming heritage stating “heritage consumption is an active process, in which visitors uses [sic] their memories and life histories to enable and enhance the experience”. The insight offered by both authors lends further understanding into the making of meaning that occurs between heritage sites and their visitors. In the case of Poria, Butler and Airey (2004), they are of the mind that there is more to learn about why visitors come to heritage sites in the first place. This research also aims to uncover how identity is constructed in the consumption of heritage.

In the postmodern context, Nuryanti (1996) underlines the complex nature of the heritage consumption process, in that the meanings visitors associate with heritage is indeed created by the visitors themselves and grounded in their own life experience. Visitors arrive then, with their own pre-conceived notions of meaning and then build upon them through their own consumption of the heritage. As Dicks (2000:73-74) reiterates, visitors “do not arrive…as blank slates ready to be written on by the text”, rather they themselves are part of the “wider cultural discourses” surrounding them.

Heritage then, is made up of tangible and intangible features that are not frozen in time. These features, whether historic abbey ruins or a shared oral history, have the ability to mediate diverse meanings for visitors of heritage. Heritage consumption then becomes part of the process by which meaning is negotiated between a site and its visitors. Meanings for heritage can therefore be constructed
through the various social contexts visitors engage in heritage for – and with - themselves.

The next chapter narrows in on the nature of industrial heritage studied in the research. Coal mining heritage is discussed in the tourism contexts. Studies that have addressed tourism at mining sites are explored. The nature of themes coming out this research is also presented, e.g. the economic viability of transitioning former mining sites into places of tourism. The chapter also provides description and detail of the industrial heritage sites – two former coal mining regions – in relation to the fieldwork under study. Doing so helps to contextualise the heritage context put under study in the research objectives.
Chapter FIVE

-Mines and Heritage Tourism
5.1 Mines and Heritage Tourism

The links between mining sites and heritage tourism have been studied from various perspectives (Cole 2004, Edwards and Llurdés i Coit 1996, Light and Prentice 1994, Prentice, Witt and Hamer 1998, Pretes 2002, Rudd and Davis 1998, Wanhill 2000). Three of these studies address more specifically development and transition of former mining sites into tourist attractions. Beginning with Wanhill (2000), this case study draws on the Big Pit National Mining Museum in discussing the industrial history of the region and further detailing the site’s evolution into an industrial tourist attraction. Edwards and Llurdés i Coit (1996) offer a separate perspective that addresses development initiatives of mines as tourist attractions by comparing approaches undertaken at Welsh and Spanish industrial sites. Thirdly, research conducted by Cole (2004) looks more broadly at the sustainability of transitioning redundant UK coal mine sites into tourist attractions by considering wider social, environmental and economic factors.

Studies conducted by Light and Prentice (1994) of ‘mining’ heritage sites captured socio-demographic information in relation to the types of visitors to these sites, whereas a separate study of UK mining heritage sites by Prentice, Witt and Hamer (1998) grouped visitors into ‘experience’ market segments. Pretes’ (2002) study of mining tourists offers in-depth narrative taken from tours of existing silver mines in operation in Bolivia. What makes Pretes’ study of the silver mines unique is that it looks at tourism of existing mines in operation, whereas the ‘former mines turned tourist attractions’ are under study here. Another unique study of mining tourism is offered by Rudd and Davis (1998) where a Utah corporation promotes copper mine tourism to alleviate public concern for the environment. In their research (1998), copper is shown to be positioned as ‘a gift of nature’ that is brought to life through mining activity.

The features of mining attractions are therefore unique, in that they are not typical of other tourist attractions such as theme parks. Former coal mines turned museums are themselves former production spaces transitioned into places for tourism consumption (Richards 1996). In the case of the Big Pit Mining Museum in Wales, it was felt that while the scars of the industrial revolution may not hold appeal
to tourism; the landscape, society and culture of the mining communities should be documented and conserved before forgotten (Wanhill 2000). The uniqueness of former mining sites turned into attractions is that they tell the history of a time when exploiting a region’s resources was commonplace (Edwards and LLurdés i Coit 1996). An exception to this is of course is the Potosí silver mines in Bolivia (Pretes 2002) where active mining is also combined with tourism by providing underground tours. Even though the Potosí silver mines are still in operation, like the visitors to Welsh mines (Wanhill 2000) those drawn to Potosí mines come to hear the story of struggle, success, hardship and decline of an industry and its people.

Other unique features of mining sites as tourism attractions are the tours given of the underground environment. At the Big Pit Museum the underground tour is the highlight for many visitors as they drop 90 metres (300 feet) in a cage down a deep shaft into the darkness (Wanhill 2000). Whilst underground, visitors are able to observe conditions of miners who worked in these conditions (Edwards and LLurdés i Coit 1996). In the Potosí mines, the tours are given by miners who still work there, most of whom are direct descendants of the indigenous Quechua miners who worked in the mines since the 16th century (Pretes 2002). In mining sites turned tourist attractions, the underground tours are given by former or current miners themselves, thus providing first hand accounts to visitors about what it is like to work underground. Being underground means being in a dangerous environment. It is common that accidents and death are within the experience of many miners (Bulmer 1975), making this feature alone of heightened appeal to their visitors. Pretes’ study of the Potosí mines reflects this, as visitors “seem to relish narrating their tales of survival in apparently dangerous situations” (2002:452).

With the exception of the studies discussed above that make links between mining and tourism, research that focuses on mining sites as assets in heritage tourism remain scarce. This is not helped by the fact that there is low appeal in developing mining sites for heritage tourism because it has shown to have a low return on investment, thus making tourism development unattractive (Edwards and LLurdés i Coit 1996). Although the leftovers of the Industrial Revolution may not hold appeal to tourism development and investment initiatives (Edwards and LLurdés i Coit 1996, Wanhill 2000), some in operation remain popular among their visitors.
As Mitchell and Mitchell (2001) point out, visitor interest in the industrial ‘ways’ of the past may have occurred due to a shift from manufacturing and mining based industries to service based economies. As a result, people have become further removed from the industrial past, and as Mitchell and Mitchell (2001:64) reflect:

This removes people spatially and culturally from the manufacturing sector - they have less contact or first-hand knowledge of industrial work. This creates a novel and nostalgic view of industrial work, which in turn feeds their interest as tourist destinations. The further note that many younger workers have never experienced factory work so they’re curious about the work and production processes while older employers experience the nostalgia of ‘returning to their roots’.

Richards (2001) has also acknowledged the tourist interest in the ways of the past; in that due to advances in technology, a rapid obsolescence of older products and technology has occurred. Therefore previous functions of former industries, and their tools of the trade are found to be worthy of cultural significance. A further feature of post industrial sites is that they demonstrate how people used to make a living. As Prentice (1993) points out that the old way of doing things causes a nostalgic view of the past; new generations are fuelled by a curiosity of how things used to work and the older generations make a connection with the ‘good old days’.

It is because of the decline of traditional industries that the disappearance of some industrial remains and the desire to preserve them has led to attempts to transform such sites into tourist attractions to begin with (Hewison 1987).

The discussion to this point in the chapter is presented to show how mining sites as tourist attractions came to being, and the unique aspects of their features in heritage tourism. However, Edwards and Llurdés i Coit (1996) assert, there remains paucity in the literature that addresses of the socio-cultural impacts of industrial heritage representations in tourism. It is a main thrust of this thesis to shed more insight into the significance of these industrial remnants of society for their ability to resonate deeper meanings and a sense of identity among their visitors.

5.2 Mining Museums as Fieldwork Sites

The following section provides descriptions of the tourist context and brief historical accounts for each of the fieldwork sites under study: the Cape Breton Miners’ Museum and the Big Pit National Mining Museum of Wales. The information
presented here is shared so that the stories told by these museums to their visitors may be framed for their heritage context. This is done so that a foundation is established for the tourist excerpts discussed in annotated ethnographic diary presented in chapters seven and eight. Each museum presents their respective story of how the coal mining industry rose and fell over time, along with the social and economic implications to its people. The industrial history and tourist context for each site is therefore provided below. This following section also presents some of the similarities and differences between these two sites. Although these industrial heritage sites are located in different countries, their respective histories and what they currently ‘share’ as their industrial heritage tends to possess more similarities then differences.

5.3 The Big Pit National Mining Museum of Wales

The Big Pit National Mining Museum of Wales is under the direction of the National Museums and Galleries of Wales, run by the Welsh Assembly. It lies at the north-eastern tip of the South Wales coalfield and falls within the Blaenavon UNESCO World Heritage Site. This is due to the Big Pit Museum’s close proximity and geographical association with surrounding regional features leftover from the Industrial Revolution including the two hundred year old Blaenafon Ironworks. In 2005, the Big Pit Museum was awarded the Gulbenkian Prize as ‘Museum of the Year’.

The Big Pit Museum is made up of both above ground and underground assets of a previously operational coal colliery. The above ground features are made up of various assets including the winding house, saw mill and mortar mill, tram circuit, pit head, fan house, pithead baths and exhibitions, original canteen, explosives magazine, blacksmith’s shop and simulated mining galleries that demonstrate more modern mining techniques. These features of the museum allow visitors to see what other jobs besides working underground took place. This

17 See Appendix 4 for site plan of the Big Pit National Mining Museum of Wales.
18 See Appendix 5 for map of South Wales Coalfield.
19 UNESCO adopts the name Blaenavon as opposed to the Welsh name Blaenafon.
20 Blaenafon Ironworks is managed by Cadw, the official guardian for the built heritage of Wales, operated on behalf of the Welsh Assembly Government.
21 The Gulbenkian Prize is an annual prize worth £100,000 and is awarded to a museum or gallery in the United Kingdom that demonstrates originality, imagination, and excellence. Its principal sponsor is the Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation of Lisbon, Portugal.
includes the work of engineers, carpenters and blacksmiths; all of whom were instrumental in the process of mining coal. At its peak of mining activity, the blacksmiths’ shop alone had nine forges where tools and equipment needed for miners and the horses were produced and repaired.

The Big Pit Museum also includes a tour of the underground coal mine. Visitors are taken to the pit bottom in the shaft’s cage. From there they accompany a guide to see the inner workings of the mine, the coal itself, its machinery and learn more about the nature of the work the miners did underground.

The miner’s baths, or the pithead baths as they are more commonly known date from the Second World War, and still possess all of their original fittings as they were when the building opened in 1939. The original hot air lockers for drying clothes, shower cubicles, automatic boot brushers and cleaners and a fully equipped medical room are as they were when the pithead baths first opened. It remains the best preserved example of its kind in all that is left of mining buildings in Wales. The main exhibit area of the museum is also located within this building, along with the original canteen that now sells refreshments to visitors instead of miners. Also found on the surface of the Big Pit Museum is a gallery resembling a drift mine that has been converted to an exhibition area; the mining galleries (described further below). This exhibition shows simulations of more modern mechanised mining techniques used in the latter part of the 20th century. There is a mixture of interpretation elements that the Big Pit uses. Section 5.3.1 and 5.3.2 below capture further description into the interpretive elements found in the museum.

5.3.1 The External elements of the Big Pit Museum’s site interpretation

Outside the main exhibit area housed inside pit head baths, old and rusting mining equipment is left on display for visitors. Pieces and sections of rusting underground diesel locomotives. Also left lying around are pieces of shearer cutting machines, haulage engines, old conveyor belts, bits of ventilation fans, old Eimco™ miners (mini JCB’s), shearer drums, mesh caging, old cage lifts, steel rings, and strut supports.
The underground tour:
The underground workings are 300 feet underground, dropping to 450 feet in places. The inner workings of the mine are a collection of old tunnels that have been dug out and intertwined as a result of centuries of mining in Blaenafon. The visitors with their guide tour the inner workings for an hour, viewing the construction of mine supports, coal, machinery including haulage engines currently out of commission yet remain underground. The haulage engines where used to lift men and coal up and down the mine shaft. Another popular feature of the underground mine is the horses stables. For many years, horses were cared for and remained underground in their role as ‘work’ horses in hauling coal and equipment. The cage (i.e. lift) that carries guides and visitors up and down the mine shaft is also a key feature of the underground experience. Visitors are also required to wear a helmet with lamp, battery pack and ‘self rescuer’ for ventilation emergencies. The guides describe the various mining methods used underground while also sharing their own experiences of working as a coal miner.

Tram Circuit:
On the surface at the pit head’s mine shaft, the remnants of the mine’s tram circuit can be found. As the trams of coal came up the shaft, they then travelled up to the tippler where the coal was emptied to waiting trains below. Empty trams were then routed to the stockyard where they would collect timber and other supplies, only to return underground again.

The other main components of the Big Pit National Mining Museum ‘external’ exhibits include:

The Mining Galleries:
The mining galleries are set into the hillside (resembling a drift mine) just below the pithead baths and consist of a simulated underground experience that show the evolution of more modern mining methods up to the current day. Visitors hear simulated ‘blasting’ sounds to loosen the coal, flashing lights and separate a multimedia presentation. The presentation tells the story of Welsh mining industry and how it has evolved over time.
**Saw Mill and Mortar Mill:**
The stockyard is where both the sawmill and mortar mill can be found. Timber and other materials used at the mine were stored and worked at the sawmill, and the mortar mill was used to mix mortar for buildings built and used on the surface.

**Fan House:**
The present fan house building on site was erected in 1910, and houses an electrically powered Walker fan that powers the ventilation system for the mine. The fan house also houses the telephone exchange that was used in the mine and compressors used to generate compressed air needed to power underground equipment.

**Winding House:**
The winding house is where the winding engine is kept and operated for raising and lowering men and coal into the mine shaft. As the winding engine house is now used to lower visitors to the pit bottom, it is staffed and maintained by a former coal miner. Visitors are welcome to enter the building and see this staff member at work. He often speaks to the visitors about his work in the winding house.

**Blacksmith workshops:**
This cluster of buildings on site are some of the oldest buildings with some dating back to 1870. Four remaining forges may be viewed there, of what were originally nine. Two are still in operation for the museum’s existing blacksmith. Much of the mining equipment was made and repaired here, including horse shoes. Many of the things miners’ needed to be made or repaired to run the mine were worked on here. These workshops were a hub of activity employing mine carpenters, engineers, fitters, electricians, bricklayers and welders.

**5.3.2 The Internal elements of the Big Pit Museum’s main exhibit area**

The interpretation in the main exhibit area is made up from different elements that include: interpretive panels, multi-media elements including video footage, touch screens, and audio sound.
Upon entering the original building of the Pit Head Baths which houses the museum’s main exhibit area, a visitor is greeted by the boot greaser and boot cleaner that the miners’ used before and after their shifts. Just beyond this part of the main entry to the building, the main locker area is presented in its original form. Audio sounds aid in the interpretation here, where you can hear miner’s shouting, whistling and the metal locker doors slamming shut. It gives the sensation of ‘being there’ with the miners.

Beyond the locker area, the main exhibit area is where interpretation panels and glass showcases display the story of the region’s mining history. The ‘collier’ is the first of a number of themed areas in the main exhibit area, each described below:

_The profile of the ‘collier’ over time:_

Mining through 1850-1920 shows the power of physical strength in manual mining methods; displaying such things as the use of early models of mandrels that were used during this time. Other workers key to the smooth operation of the colliery are also featured, including the ‘fireman’, whose job it was to burn off excess gas underground. The Shotsman use explosives to break up the coal. The Overman played a key role in the colliery management.

The Coal ‘Filler’ was a typical position of a collier during the 1920s -1960s period. Equipment used during this time such as pneumatic pick and electric coal drills for loosening the coal are on display.

The last role featured in the ‘collier’ profile on display is the ‘million pound’ miner, a collier that was more commonplace from 1970s until 2004 in Wales. More mechanised forms of mining allowed for large amounts of coal to be mined than previous mining eras. With conveyor belts and CCTV for monitoring production, output increased dramatically in this period. Other technology introduced during this time and on display is the hydraulically powered supports used to support exposed roofs underground.
Other items on display in the ‘collier’ featured section of the exhibit include: Carbide and electric hand lamps, fossils, kettle, scrubbing board, automatic gas detector, drill rod, curling boxes and safety helmets.

_The ‘People of Coal’ exhibit:_

The ‘People of Coal’ display is the next main section in the exhibit area. It features the early role of children and women working underground. Sketches of children wearing waist girdles and pulling hooks used for hauling coal from 1800s are on display.

This display also shows the results of the 1842 Royal Commission Report that revealed the shocking working conditions that then forbade women and children from working in the mines. Another feature of this display is the poor health that continued to plague families from this point forward. The appalling working conditions are featured along with the poor hygiene, polluted water, cholera and dysentery that were common during the 19th century.

The components of how mining communities began to grow are also featured in this part of the museum exhibit area. Each of the following are featured in this part of the exhibit area for their contribution to building mining communities:

| Farmhouses | workmen’s institute | tram roads |
| Public houses | roads | shops |
| Railways | housing | schools |
| Canals | chapels & churches | police station |

Like Cape Breton’s Miners’ Museum, the formation of coal occurring 300 million years ago during the Carboniferous period is also featured the interpretation found in the main exhibit area. The different types of coal including anthracite and bituminous coal are also on display. This display also features examples of the rocks that can be touched and felt– sandstone, coal and sandstone, shale ironstone, farewell rock, shale, conglomerate, limestone.
The Coal owners of the Welsh coal mines are featured in the main exhibit area including:

W.T. Lewis – Lewis Merthyr Collieries (late 19th century)
D.A. Thomas – Cambrian Collieries (late 19th century)
Archibald Hood – Glamorgan Coal Company
David Davies – Ocean Coal Company (19th century into the 20th century)

How a coal mine ‘works’ is featured in scale models of underground mining where differences between different underground methods of mining: hand cut long wall, pillar and stall, modern longwall are displayed and explained in more depth.

Mine Safety and Mine Disasters:
William Davey’s invention of the safety lamp is featured, and helped detect the following gases that could form underground, some deadly: e.g. Firedamp (mainly methane); blackdamp (carbon dioxide and nitrogen; and whitedamp (carbon monoxide) among others.

The death toll of the industry is also featured prominently in the museum. Between 1851 and 1920, there were 48 major coal mining disasters in Wales, causing 3000 deaths, one third of the UK total. Some of the more notable disasters included: in 1877 in Tynewydd, five miners died and five others trapped for nine days; in 1913 in Senghenydd, 439 men and boys died along with 300 horses in a methane explosion; in 1966 in Aberfan, 144 died, 116 of them children when waste from colliery tip slid down the hillside, burying a school.

Mine Rescue items are also on display, and include: the ‘proto’ breathing apparatus introduced in 1906 and used well into the 1980s. The display cabinet also includes a smoke helmet and bellows, self-rescuers, humane canary cage.

Medals, flags, police equipment, related to union and police clashes are also on display. There is also the ‘wall’ of honour that symbolises the region’s own unofficial Vietnam wall, in which it lists close to 650 mines that were at one point in time or another in operation in the Welsh Valleys.

The canteen and the medical room are also features found in the Pit Head Baths building:

The Canteen:
The canteen has been transformed into a current licensed restaurant onsite, yet its interior remains much the same as it was for decades. Items typically sold there at one time included: chewing tobacco, snuff, baby nappies, towels etc. It was also used for informal meetings by miners’ when disputes arose with management.

The Medical Room:
Proper medical centres became an onsite requirement after nationalisation of the coal industry in the UK in 1947. The medical room located in the pitbaths building kept key medical supplies on site and was staffed full-time when mining was in full operation. The medical room as it appears now is the same as it was when the colliery was in full operation (photos found in plates 7.1 & 7.2 on page 170).

5.4 The Industrial History of the Big Pit Colliery

Although there are signs of some form of coal mining as early as the late 13th century in the South Wales coalfields (Egan 1987), parts of Wales were beginning to realise the full thrust of the industrial revolution as early as the late 17th century (Edwards and Llurdés i Coit 1996, Wanhill 2000). The Big Pit colliery possesses a number of natural and manmade elements that contribute to the uniqueness of its mining past. Due to its location on the north-eastern tip of the South Wales coalfield, its unique geology allows for natural drainage of water through and out of the mine, typically a high maintenance cost of other collieries. The Big Pit22 is also the oldest deep mine in the South Wales coalfield, its current shaft being sunk in 1860 (Edwards and Llurdés i Coit 1996). The uniqueness of the Big Pit was in fact that its shaft was

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22 Up until 1880 the Big Pit was known as Kearsley’s Pit, and did not acquire the name ‘Big Pit’ until then as the diameter and depth of the shaft were increased in that year.
uncommonly big. At six metres across, it allowed for two drams\textsuperscript{23} of coal to be lifted in and out of the mine (Barber 2002). Most sunken shafts were only half this size, with one cage. The Big Pit is actually a collection of several separate mines interconnected underground during its two hundred year history. Mining started on the site as early as 1812, at the time supplying coal and ironstone to the nearby Blaenafon Ironworks (National Museum Wales 2005).

The workforce at the Big Pit rose and fell over time. At the end of the 19\textsuperscript{th} century, 528 men working at Big Pit and this number rose to 1154 men by 1914 (NMW 2005). Workforce numbers slowly dropped over time and by 1979 that number had dwindled to 250 producing 72,000 tons of coal a year (Barber 2002); a number dwarfed by the five million tons produced in the Blaenafon region at the start of the 20\textsuperscript{th} century. Coal mining ceased at the Big Pit colliery in November 1979 and by February 1980 the mine had closed due to the exhaustion of workable reserves (NMW 2005). The transition from operating coal mine to mining museum was yet to come and by April 1983, the Big Pit colliery had become the Big Pit Mining Museum. This marked the first time in the Big Pit’s mining history that tourists instead of miners were taken underground to the pit bottom.

5.4.1 The Blaenavon Industrial Landscape

The Big Pit Mining museum is encompassed within a wider area of industrial ruins in Blaenafon which includes the remains of two hundred year old ironworks. The Big Pit is framed by its close presence to the remains of the Blaenafon Ironworks which makes up the second pillar core to Blaenafon’s World Heritage status alongside the Big Pit Museum. It too is a dominant feature of the area’s industrial landscape and is often visited by those that also come to see the Big Pit Museum. In November 2000 the World Heritage Committee of UNESCO inscribed the ‘Blaenavon Industrial Landscape’ on the list of World Heritage Sites.

The World Heritage Committee states:

\begin{quote}
The area around Blaenavon bears eloquent and exceptional testimony to the preeminence of South Wales as the World’s major producer of iron and coal in the 19\textsuperscript{th} century. All the necessary elements can be
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{23} Dram (or tram) as it is sometimes referred is the Welsh term for a small truck used to carry coal or supplies.
seen in-situ, coal and ore mines, quarries, a primitive railway system, furnaces, the houses of the workers, and the social infrastructure of their community (Barber 2002:13)

The rise of the ironworks is due to the area’s rich deposits of ironstone, limestone and coal, all elements required in the ironmaking process. It first started with three blast furnaces and from the late 18th century to the early 20th century one of the largest ironworks in the world (Barber 2002). There are substantial remnants of surviving structures still left on site, making it one of the best preserved blast furnaces of its period anywhere in the world (Barber 2002). Remains of other ironworks in the UK may be found in Shropshire, Leicestershire, Cumbria and Argyll yet none have survived as well as Blaenafon. The history of coal mining and ironmaking in the Blaenafon region demonstrate the area’s significance in its contribution to the rise of the Industrial Revolution.

5.5 The Cape Breton Miners’ Museum – Glace Bay, Nova Scotia, Canada

The Cape Breton Miners’ Museum is located in Glace Bay on Cape Breton Island, Nova Scotia, Canada. The museum opened in 1967 as a result of a community effort to preserve the story of the region’s industrial past. The museum is made up of a number of different features and attributes. The museum complex is made up of a main exhibition area, underground tours of a coal mine, and a small miner’s village that display replicas of period buildings and possessions from the mid 1850s onwards. The interpretive components in each of these areas are explained in more detail below.

5.5.1 The Cape Breton Miners’ Museum – Interpretive Elements

The Main exhibit area:

The main exhibition area of the museum is made up of a collection of different interpretive elements. Upon entering the main exhibit area, the story of coal formation from the carboniferous period to present is shown, with interpretive panels that detail a prehistoric forest and differing types of geological rock formations.

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24 As early as 1796 the Blaenafon Ironworks was producing 5,400 tons of iron a year compared to a peak of 14,000 tons of iron produced by five fully operational blast furnaces in 1812 (Torfaen Borough Council 1999).

25 See Appendix 6 for map of Canada and regional map of Atlantic Canada where Cape Breton Miners’ Museum is located.
Glass cases show examples of ancient geological rock formations dating back 4.5 billion years.

The main exhibit area also displays winding engine wheels found at pitheads that would lift and lower miners and coal in and out of the mine. It displays other items including: a hydraulic roof support used underground, an underground ambulance rail car, collections of period lamps and lanterns used underground, pit clothing, and various tools commonly used underground. Period photos spanning 150 years of the region’s history are also on display and include images of the mining communities and the miners working underground over the years.

Wall mounted maps and diagrams are used to show where coal deposits are located in Cape Breton. The Coalfields of Cape Breton Island are highlighted in this wall-mounted interpretation. The location of coalfields and seams worked are listed in Appendix 8.

The main museum offers the option to watch two short films. One is played in the museum’s main theatre area (12 minutes in length), a production of Canada’s National Film Board made in 1978, called ’12,000 Men’ depicting the rise of industry and labour tensions since the beginning of the 20th century in Cape Breton’s coalfields. The other film is in the main entry of the CB Miners’ Museum, and features an interview with seasoned coal miner about his typical working day in modern methods of mining until the mines shut in Cape Breton in 2001. Further video footage is shown at the far end of the museum and depicts regional tensions regarding the fall of industry through the 1990s.

Folk artwork and industrial portraits created by local artists lines the entrance wall of the main exhibit area and depicts the hardship of miners and the dangers of working underground. Also in the main entry area is the disaster log book, where details of all miners killed in the line of work are documented; which colliery, the date and nature of disaster.

Within the main exhibit area is a number of glass cases that display with numerous elements of the industrial past. Some of these include underground communication
devices such as speaking tubes (dating 19th century) in addition to old electrical mine telephones. Ventilation was equally a concern for underground workers. The display case also includes the cases used to carry canaries, Russian gas detector and more recent models used for gas detection. Modern and old rounded lunch cans (or ‘peases’ as they were known) are also on display.

In other display cases more industrial tools can be found: picks, mandrels, hatchets, saws, and explosive materials used over the years underground. The different types of lamps were also on display that included open flame lamps such as the carbide lamps which were common from 18th century onwards. Certain models would burn grease or animal fat in wick lamps shaped like teapots. Others are flame safety lamps used to detect dangerous gases. They were eventually replaced by electric lamps that show models used from the 1920s onwards.

The history of the use of ‘pit ponies’ in the Cape Breton collieries for hauling coal and supplies underground up until the mid 1950s is another feature of the exhibit area. The display cases highlight features artefacts such as photos and tools of those horses that worked underground, until being replaced by underground diesel or electric locomotives.

At the far end of the main exhibit area, period food-stuffs are shown in display cases that include: tea, sugar, flour, molasses, sweets, tobacco, liquor and cloth. This display of items sold to communities at the height of mining activity a century ago included this collection of ordinary and luxury items.

*The underground tour:*
The Ocean Deeps Colliery is a purposely dug coal mine located on site for the use of the Cape Breton Miners’ Museum to provide underground tours. The museum’s mine was itself dug out by retired miners in 1966 in one of many coal seams that were mined actively during peak industrial activity in the region. This underground mine lies beneath the museum and meets all of the legal and environmental specifications required of a fully operational coal mine. Once underground, the room
and pillar method\textsuperscript{26} of mining common in the area at the turn of the 20\textsuperscript{th} century is shown. A drift mine by design, it has a gradual slope dropping 1000 feet into the earth and leads to a coal face where retired miners take visitors to explain methods of mining from based on their first hand knowledge (Newton 1992). In contrast to the Big Pit Museum where visitors to the underground workings descend the shaft in an open cage lift, visitors to the Ocean Deeps Colliery at the Cape Breton Miners’ Museum walk down a gradual slope to enter the mine.

The Ocean Deeps Colliery is also unique in that it features an underground flower garden. This garden is a tribute to a German emigrant miner\textsuperscript{27} who came to Canada early in the 20\textsuperscript{th} century. The garden is a replica of one the emigrant miner maintained underground in his efforts to make the environment more pleasant for the other miners. With benches surrounding it, the garden is popular among visitors and acts as a meeting point for the miner guides to give commentary during their tours. Like the Big Pit underground experience, visitors taking the tour are required to wear helmets and protective capes while underground.

\textit{Exterior features of main museum:}

The miner’s village includes models of period homes (1880s to 1950s) that show how miners lived during this time. They are furnished with authentic artefacts from the time such as period coal stoves to provide heat, tin baths used for bathing, and beds made from rope. A Company Store is also found in the village. Owned by the coal companies, it sold all the materials\textsuperscript{28} the men needed to work underground along with selling other supplies for the home such as food and clothing.

The exterior landscape that surrounds the museum displays some of the heavy industrial equipment used at the mines such as a full winding wheel, industrial sized

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{itemize}
\item[26] Also referred to as pillar and stall method of mining – see Appendix 7.
\item[27] William Krause emigrated from Germany to Canada to work in the coal fields of Cape Breton. With the permission of the Coal Company management, he planted the garden underground in 1929. The original garden bed was 15 x 20 feet and heated by floodlights (Newton 1992). He attended the garden until 1940 when ill health forced him to stop.
\item[28] This would include all materials miners needed to work underground. It included things such as shovels, picks, mandrels, hatchet, saw, sledgehammer, and explosives to loosen the coal. Up until the mid 20\textsuperscript{th} century, it was common practice for the miner themselves to purchase the tools in which they needed to work. In most modern day collieries required tools and equipment are now provided to miners by their employers.
\end{itemize}
\end{footnotesize}
iron drill press, diesel locomotives, an Eimco™ miner and lifts (shaft cages that carried men and coal).

5.6 The Industrial History of Cape Breton’s Mining Industry

Cape Breton\textsuperscript{29} is a small island that lies at the north-eastern tip of the Canadian province of Nova Scotia. In terms of land mass Nova Scotia is slightly smaller than Northern Ireland, yet its coal production rivalled some of the collieries in operation in South Wales during their peak production periods in late 1800s and early 1900s. Cape Breton coal mines provided half of Canada’s energy source at the turn of the 20\textsuperscript{th} century. It differed from the of sort of mining common in South Wales in that it was submarine mining, where the seams of coal were layered in the underground strata and stretched for miles beneath the sea bed. The ability of the Cape Breton coal fields to contribute to the wider efforts of UK colonies in the Industrial Revolution more generally is illustrated below by English mining engineer Richard Brown\textsuperscript{30}. His following passage was written during the latter half of the 19\textsuperscript{th} century and reflects his thoughts on the potential growth of the coal trade on Cape Breton Island during this time:

I trust also that ship owners and commercial men generally will be glad to learn from these pages that Cape Breton, which, from its geographical position has been aptly styled ‘The Long Wharf of America’, possesses abundant supplies of excellent steam fuel, commodious harbours, and, in fact, every necessary qualification for becoming the great coaling station of the innumerable steamers which are rapidly superseding sailing vessels in the navigation of the Atlantic (Brown 1871:iii-iv).

Cape Breton Island lies on the eastern seaboard of North America and is geographically positioned just above the north-eastern United States. This makes the island’s location a practical shipping point of departure for sailing vessels and steamers bound for other parts of the United States and Europe. Cape Breton’s early demand for coal was fed primarily by a domestic market\textsuperscript{31} and throughout the 19\textsuperscript{th}

\footnotesize
\textsuperscript{29} See Appendix 6.
\textsuperscript{30} an English engineer employed by the GMA (General Mining Association) in the latter half of the 19\textsuperscript{th} century.
\textsuperscript{31} The domestic market was made up of the other colonies of British North America until all combined in 1867 to become the Confederation of Canada. This meant the coming together of three colonies in British North America into four Canadian provinces. The four provinces were made up of Ontario & Quebec (was province of Canada), Nova Scotia and New Brunswick; thus becoming the Dominion of Canada in 1867 with other provinces joining later.
century its biggest trading partner was the United States where a steady demand for coal was fed by US Civil War.

However during this time, some local business advocates in the Cape Breton mining region grew weary of the restrictive growth opportunities imposed by the General Mining Association (hereafter GMA) after 1826. As a result they pursued a campaign to endorse more control and input into colonial economic development. By 1858 they succeeded in restricting GMA’s rights over the minerals and control was passed over to the colony of Nova Scotia, thus beginning the expansion of smaller mining companies (Frank 1980). As the mining industry evolved and became more organised in Cape Breton, in 1893 the formation of the Dominion Coal Company was in place managing most of the region’s collieries.

After the First World War, the price of coal dropped spurring an economic crisis in Cape Breton’s mining industry that led to more change in the running of the collieries in the region. In 1921, the British Empire Steel Corporation (hereafter BESCO) assumed all control over the coal and steel industries in Nova Scotia. By 1928, BESCO was eventually grouped into a new holding and operating company called the Dominion Steel Company. Over time this company continued to come under different ownership until the federal government of Canada took over the full operation of Cape Breton coal mines in 1968.

Upon reflection of the history of coal production in Cape Breton, it reached its peak production after the Second World War with 25,000 miners working in thirteen mines. Therefore from the early 1800s through to the closure of the last mine in 2001, close to thirty mines opened and closed in Cape Breton with varying levels of production output and corresponding life spans during that time.

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32 A Reciprocity Treaty between the US and the British North American colonies allowed duty free trade with the US until 1865 which fed a steady market for Cape Breton coal to US Markets (Frank 1980). However after 1865 the treaty had expired ending a boom of supply to US markets.
33 Appendix 8 lists Colliery Production Data for the Cape Breton coal mines. At the end of the Second World War 13 mines were in operation in Cape Breton. Yet throughout the history of the region’s mining industry, it was comprised of close to 30 different mines.
34 Phalen colliery in New Waterford was the last coal mine to close in Cape Breton in 2001.
5.7 South Wales and Cape Breton: Their Common Ground

Both the South Wales industrial region and Cape Breton coal fields share similarities in social and economic aspects of their industrial pasts. These similarities provide an important underpinning to the respective stories told about the growth of their mining industries over time in each of their museums. Although each region is physically located in two different countries and the scale of their productive output during the Industrial Revolution also differs, a number of common links can be made. Along with Canada’s ties to the British Empire, the similarities between Cape Breton and South Wales spanned economic, social and political features. Drawing once again from English mining engineer and industrialist Richard Brown (1871) below, he captures a picture in time of how the coal industry was perceived on both sides of the Atlantic, and arguably long before either market was to realise peak production and corresponding economic growth:

As Canada and Prince Edward’s Island are quite destitute of coal, and New Brunswick and Newfoundland contain only some thin seams of no economic value, all these colonies must look to Nova Scotia and Cape Breton for supplies of fuel for steam, domestic and manufacturing purposes. Canada, it is true, receives a considerable quantity of coal from Great Britain (131,000 tons in 1869), in the form of ballast for ships employed in the timber trade; but this cannot last for long, because the consumption of coal in England is increasing so rapidly that all the most accessible seams are nearly exhausted, and the selling price must advance in the same ration as the difficulty of working. For the same reason, it is probable Cape Breton will ere long enjoy a share of the markets of the West Indies and South America, at present entirely supplied by Great Britain (Brown 1871:154).

Like South Wales, Cape Breton possessed early evidence of coal mining activity in the region before it began to exploit its natural resources more aggressively. When the French first settled in Cape Breton in early 18th century, as they approached the island by sea they spotted black outcrops of coal jetting out from the land. The French settlers then began to use this natural resource to help build Fortress

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35 This is in terms of output capacity in coal production in each region. For example during certain periods such as the early 20th century, the South Wales valleys dwarfed Cape Breton production. Yet in consideration of total output spanning over 150 years of mining in each region, their total output in tonnage is comparable to one another.
Louisbourg\textsuperscript{36} in the early 1700s. In the Welsh context, although much earlier forms of coal mining date back to the 13\textsuperscript{th} century, wide scale coal mining in the South Wales coalfields began in the latter part of the 18\textsuperscript{th} century (Egan 1987).

Due to their respective geographies, both regions experienced the growth of coal mining industries due in part to their geological assets (coal) and ideal location for shipping (on or close to water ports enabling global trade and shipping of minerals). These assets made each region prime candidates for industrial growth. Each region also had convenient access to iron ore (iron stone) and limestone, thus making the production of iron and steel sister industries to coal mining. As these industries grew and prospered, the economic benefits that went with it were passed on to the mining communities yet most of the wealth was realised by the coal owners. However, contrary to common perception, the coal owners did not in fact own the coal. In the Welsh context, the coal owners did indeed own the equipment and the buildings needed to mine coal, yet the land was often leased to them from landowners who were not interested in mining of coal themselves (Egan 1987). In Cape Breton, commercial mining began in 1826 under a GMA royal charter giving London industrialists exclusive control over mineral deposits in Nova Scotia (Frank 1980). It is believed the GMA was formed after the King George IV’s brother, the Duke of York was forced to sell leases to help pay for the extravagant expenses incurred by his mistresses (Newton 1992).

Another feature shared by each region is that Blaenafon (where the Bit Pit Museum is located) and Cape Breton both mined bituminous coal. Although no rival for the anthracite coal typically mined in other parts of South Wales and in the US coal fields of Pennsylvania, anthracite was favoured for its smokeless properties whereas bituminous coal was used for many other industrial uses such as commercial and household heating. Production output also rose steadily in both regions as the turn of the 20\textsuperscript{th} century approached. Over five million tons of coal was mined in the Blaenafon collieries in 1908 and Cape Breton Island reached seven million tons by

\textsuperscript{36} Fortress Louisbourg was a fortified town on the south-eastern shores of Cape Breton with its construction dating back to 1719. Under French rule at the time, Cape Breton was then known as Île Royale, and in 1763 was ceded to Britain from France in the Treaty of Paris. Louisbourg thrived on the local fishery and shipping to other French colonies. Britain later merged Cape Breton with its adjacent colonies of British North America at the time: Nova Scotia and New Brunswick.
1917. However, throughout the remainder of the 20th century changing market conditions and a corresponding decline in the workforce plagued both areas resulting in reduced productivity.

In 1947 an attempt to resurrect the coal industry in the UK was initiated with the creation of the National Coal Board (NCB). This meant a change of hands in ownership from the coal owners to the public hands of government. The nationalisation of the coal industry was welcomed by the collieries. In the Canadian context a similar change occurred, in that Canada’s federal government took ownership of the mines from existing coal companies by 1968. By that time in both countries the coal industry had been through decades of decline and pit closures were common. It was an effort of governments in both countries to manage more effectively the trade of coal in domestic and foreign markets. Yet rising operation costs and changing market forces persisted, continuing to plague the industry on both sides of the Atlantic. Presently there are no mines operating in Cape Breton and last operating mine in Wales, Tower Colliery in Glamorgan, ceased operations in January 2008.

5.7.1 The Social Similarities in These Mining Communities

Mining communities tend to reflect similar values (Bulmer 1975) demonstrating the relevance in discussing these shared features in both Blaenafon and Cape Breton context. That is to say there are common themes in the social, economic and political features that resonate in the stories told through their respective museums. Similarities exist in their day to day existence and their common way of life thus leaving specific impressions with visitors of the museums. The impressions that their common features leave with visitors is explored in more depth in chapter seven and eight in the discussion of the excerpts taken from the ethnographic diary. Yet in an effort to acknowledge the underpinning context of common influences on these mining communities, the existence of each region’s respective trade unions proves central to much of their moral beliefs and social functions practiced in the

37 The British ton is also referred to as a long ton or 2240 pounds, whereas in Canada the ton is referred to as a short ton, or 2000 pounds.
communities. The ‘value shaping’ influence of labour organisations in the daily life of these mining communities is discussed further below.

5.7.2 Trade Unions and Labour Unrest

During the rise of the coal industry in both Cape Breton and South Wales over time, variations of labour support organisations among the miners took shape in different ways, resulting in a variety of outcomes. Over the years, one implication of this was that the mining industry in both countries was plagued with strike action and labour unrest; at different intervals in time and varying levels of intensity. As early as 1831 in the South Wales Valley, trade unions looked no more like organisations made up of individuals with similar views on their own welfare, often referred to as clubs of Friendly Societies (Egan 1987). After this time, trade unions in Wales evolved and became aligned with other trade organisations in the north west of England such as the National Association for the Protection of Labour. Generally trade unionism in the Welsh Valleys was slower to start in the mid 19th century then it was in other areas of the UK. Yet by the 1870s the Lancashire based Amalgamated Association of Miners (AAM) built up a substantial membership in the Welsh collieries. However over time their collective strength waned and by the 1890’s fragmented membership among different unions in the region made collective representation weak. Therefore by the end of the 19th century fractured union representation was more common across the Welsh Valleys. Weaker labour support structures also saw an end to a six-month lockout that did not end in the miners’ favour. The miners were unsuccessful in obtaining increased employment benefits from the coal owners, a 10% wage increase, or the removal of the Sliding Scale payment system (Egan 1987).

By the end of the 19th century, a new union for all South Wales coalfields was formed in 1899 called the South Wales Miners Federation (hereafter SWMF). That year the SWMF had 104,000 members and became the strongest union in the area, even rivalling that of those found in the north west of England. By 1914, the SWMF had 200,000 members making it the largest single union in Britain (Egan

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38 The sliding scale payment system linked miners’ wages to the selling price of coal. Coal owners were of the mind that the price of coal should dictate the miners wages, and the miners felt their wage should determine the price of coal.
1987). In 1944 the ‘FED’ as it was known became the National Union of Mineworkers, South Wales Area. Over time it acquired a reputation of being one of the most militant trade unions, right up until the last great miners’ strike of 1984-85.

Labour unrest was no stranger to Cape Breton’s mining industry either. Military forces were requested by coal companies and were sent from other parts of Nova Scotia in 1876, 1882, 1904 and 1909 to dilute tensions between the miners and the mining companies. At this time a union called the Provincial Workman’s Association (PWA) represented the miners. The PWA had its beginnings in the 1870s and was the result of miners uniting to protest wage cuts. By the time the First World War ended, the PWA had amalgamated with the much larger United Mine Workers of America (UMWA) resulting in over 12,000 miners in the provinces of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick joining a bigger and more powerful labour organisation.

In 1925, a fall in the demand for coal meant workforce reductions for the miners in the Cape Breton collieries. Subsequent negotiations between coal company management (BESCO) and the workforce to address the matter and reach a mutually beneficial agreement eventually broke down. As a result tensions grew between the two sides and strike action was kick-started when BESCO demanded the miners accept a wage cut and also terminated their credit at the coal company owned stores. A walkout began by the miners in early March in 1925 and by the month of June miners earning no wages faced starvation. In desperation, the miners clashed with BESCO police leaving one miner dead and another seriously wounded. The violence continued leaving shops looted and company washhouses burned down to the ground (Newton 1992). As a well-known labour union leader J.B. McLachlan stated at time, ‘under capitalism, the working class had but two courses to follow: crawl or fight’ (MacEwan 1976). McLachlan’s timely phrase continued to resonate with the legacy of coal mining industry in Cape Breton and over time has often been referred to in accounts of mining industry turmoil linked to the region (Frank 1999).
5.7.3 Mining Disasters – The Human Toll

A defining feature of the social histories in each of the coal mining regions is the toll of industrial disasters realised by both. In each region, both the Big Pit Museum and the Cape Breton Coal Miners Museum highlight the toll of disasters and the resulting impact on the social and economic fabric to the mining communities. In all of the South Wales Valleys, industrial disasters hit the coal mining industry hard. Coal mining is notoriously dangerous work. Most of the time, underground disasters in these regions were often the result of methane gas explosions, coal dust explosions, fires and other industrial disasters such as roof falls. Between 1851 and 1920 alone there were 48 disasters in the South Wales coalfield, and 3,000 deaths (NMW 2005). In Senghenydd alone, one underground explosion in 1913 killed 439 men and 300 horses. Triggered by the presence of methane gas and ignited by an electrical spark, it generated a coal dust explosion resulting in huge loss of life\(^{39}\). By comparison the Big Pit colliery was more fortunate, as over the years it had only one fatal accident in 1913 when three men perished while fighting an underground fire.

In the Cape Breton collieries, records kept from 1866 through to 1975 showed that over 400 men died in the region’s coal mines (Newton 1992). More recently in 1979, twelve men died in number 26 colliery in Glace Bay and in 1992 another 26 men died in the Westray coal mine near Stellarton in Nova Scotia. The latter was determined to be caused by the neglect company managers who did not enforce proper safety standards resulting in an explosion caused by a methane gas buildup. The 1992 explosion is the most recent coal mining disaster in Nova Scotia and serves as a reminder of repeated accusations directed towards coal company management over time that human safety has often been sacrificed for the benefit of coal production.

Not unlike the disaster toll records kept of incidents in the South Wales coalfields, there are scores of other deaths and injuries in Cape Breton mines as the result of other industrial accidents such as roof falls that are not initially grouped into the disaster tolls.

\(^{39}\) The coal owner at the time was fined 5 and a half pence for each miner of 439 miners who lost his life. The total fine charged to the coal owner was £24.00 for neglect.
5.7.4 Miners and their Nicknames

One of the more light-hearted features of how mining communities are unique in their social characteristics is the creation and application of nicknames among the miners. In the everyday context, the giving and receiving of nicknames contribute to the wider social fabric created in these industrial communities. The use of nicknames is common in the mining communities, with nicknames commonly used among the tour guides at both the Big Pit Museum and the Cape Breton Miners’ Museum. The use and application of them are also more widely filtered into the stories told by the coal miner tour guides.

At the Big Pit colliery, one of the more popular nicknames of a former miner was *Hot Feet* because he was always rushing around. Another was called *Snow Shoes* because he trudged through deep snow to get to work. One miner from North Wales was named *Dickie North* and yet another was called *Dry Bread* because of something he said (NMW 2005).

Nicknames were also common in Cape Breton coal mines. They were often referred to where miners came from such as *Sandy Cape North* or *John Caledonia*. In other occasion their occupation was incorporated into their nickname such as the case with *Jim the Bottomer* who worked at the bottom of the mine or *Alex Cage* because he operated the elevator (lift) in the mine shaft (Davey and MacKinnon 2002).

Thus many of the miner guides to this day at both the Cape Breton Miners’ Museum and the Big Pit Mining Museum are similarly known by their nicknames, demonstrating the relevance of this construct in shaping the social context of the mining environment they continue to work in.

5.8 Other UK based Mining Museums considered in the Fieldwork

Other coal mining museums in the UK were considered for conducting fieldwork in this study. The sites under consideration included the Rhondda Heritage Park (in the
Rhondda Valleys of South Wales) and England’s National Mining Museum, Caphouse Colliery in Wakefield, Yorkshire.

The Rhondda Heritage Park has a similar history to that of the neighbouring Blaenafon region in that their rise as an industrial region began in the mid 19th century and also played a key part in the growth of the Industrial Revolution. The Rhondda Heritage Park captures the story of the Rhondda Valley’s mining history and its coal owner William Thomas Lewis, who later became Lord Merthyr. Lord Merthyr is famed for naming the two pitheads of his coal mines after his sons, Bertie and Trefor. Like the Big Pit Museum, the site is made up of a collection of refurbished and restored industrial buildings. Yet unlike the Big Pit Museum and the Cape Breton Miners’ Museum, it has a simulated underground experience as opposed to offering a ‘real’ underground mine experience.

England’s National Mining Museum at Caphouse Colliery was also considered as a fieldwork site. At Overton in West Yorkshire, the Caphouse Colliery began coal mining as far back as 1789. This region of Yorkshire’s social and industrial history resonates with that of South Wales, and Cape Breton. Subsequently, as England’s own National Mining Museum, Caphouse Colliery offers similar features to other coal mining museums such as period buildings including pit head baths, and also includes a tour of an underground mine. Their underground tours show models and machinery that depict methods and conditions of mining from the early 1800s to the present.

In the end, I chose to execute my primary research at the Big Pit Museum along with the Cape Breton Miners’ Museum. A deciding factor was that both sites offered their own unique combination of site features, along with their respective accompanying history of their industrial pasts. Also both of these sites offered the unique opportunity to descend into a previously operational coal mine. This in itself offers its visitors a unique opportunity to see a real working environment of a coal mine. This factor in itself is thought to add more value to both the consumption experience and identity forming aspects of visiting industrial heritage. However, although England’s National Museum of Mining at Caphouse Colliery also features the experience of touring a real underground coal mine, the expanded industrial
landscape in which the Big Pit Museum lies - within a UNESCO World Heritage Site - is thought to possess added appeal to its visitors.

5.9 Chapter Summary

The discussion offered in this chapter sets the industrial heritage context under study – the industrial remnants of coal mining regions active in tourism. Earlier studies of coal mining sites as tourist attractions have covered various angles. This includes the viability of transitioning former mining areas into tourist attractions. The silver mines in Bolivia are an exception as current mining practice is open to tourism. Other studies of coal mining sites as tourist attractions have looked at visitor demographics, in analysing the ‘types’ of visitors that come to these sites. It is this type of tourism research into former mining sites as tourist attractions that are able to better inform the management of heritage sites with practical applications. Nevertheless, the attraction to mining sites as places of tourism is of core interest to this study. What is it about leftover industrial remains, and how things ‘used to work’ are of interest in this research. Furthermore, what do these distinct interests in industrial remains relate to visitors, in terms of identity and meaning?

Visitors to coal mining heritage sites are studied in this research to see why they come to visit such places, and what makes consuming these sites meaningful to visitors in the process. Building a sense of identity and how visitors make meaning in social contexts is investigated, and underpins the research objectives. The next chapter lays the foundation for how the social phenomena of visiting coal mining sites was investigated and studied. Chapter six therefore sets the methodological and epistemological groundwork for the thesis’ research design, and how the fieldwork was approached and executed.
Chapter SIX

- The Research Design
6.1 Introduction to the Research Design

The aim of this chapter is to describe the research design that has been adopted and applied in this thesis. Each of the components that build upon the inquiry paradigm that underpins the research design is described in more depth below.

The research design is first framed from an epistemological position based in social constructionism. It is then informed by a particular theoretical perspective, namely interpretivism. In turn, the research draws on a methodological approach grounded in the principles of ethnography. Each of these components of the research design will be discussed in more depth below, in terms of how they have influenced the selection of the methods employed. The discussion then acknowledges some of the practical implications of executing the fieldwork, and their corresponding timelines. Factors associated with reflexivity, issues of access to fieldwork sites and their gate keepers throughout the research process are also presented.

The discussion in chapter four is momentarily recalled in framing the choice for the nature of paradigmatic inquiry of the research design applied here. Chapter four discussed aspects of the heritage consumption experience, and presented the nature of current research to date which measure components of heritage consumption including authenticity and experience. However for some, little remains known about what visitors consume through heritage (Light and Prentice 1994), and what makes visiting heritage meaningful for the visitors themselves. Taking a moment to also recall a study discussed by Beeho and Prentice (1995), their work aimed to evaluate the heritage experience attained by visitors to the Blists Hill museum in the Ironbridge Gorge. An aim of their study was to measure the benefits associated with experiences acquired from visitors to this museum, “...it is possible to use the experiences and benefits identified during the analysis to provide the base of a more quantitative view of the experiences and benefits gained [from visitors]” (Beeho and Prentice 1995:250) to heritage sites. I assert that taking this approach to research heritage dilutes deeper meanings inherent in the complex ways in which the heritage experience is consumed. Therefore in comparison, this thesis is a qualitative study that is inductive and interpretive in nature, enabling a deeper level of analysis into the social phenomena underpinning the visitation of heritage. As the discussion in chapter four reveals, there is a gap in the methods employed in heritage tourism.
literature (quantitative vs. qualitative) in which deeper level of understanding in the consumption of heritage experience is obtained.

There are other gaps in approaches to tourism research this study aims to address. As Seaton (2002a) states, there have been comparatively few participant observational studies of tourists, either in that of a closed or open field. As far as tourism study is concerned, part of this research deficit is due to the influence of the seminal perspectives from both Urry (1990) and MacCannell (1976) who have grounded their theoretical assertions on reflections of their own accounts of tourism behaviour, as opposed to conducting broader empirical research. Accordingly for Seaton (2002a), these seminal perspectives (MacCannell 1976, Urry 1990) in the field of tourism have been heavily influenced by social theorists including the semiotics of de Saussure, Barthes mythologies (1972), and the structuralism of Lévi-Strauss (1967). Such approaches compartmentalise tourism behaviour into uniform broad strokes (i.e. the tourist gaze, authenticity) not drawn from direct empirical data. It is, therefore, how aspects of heritage are consumed in their respective setting and engaging in empirical fieldwork that is the focus for the research objectives (page 6).

The anthropological context and its relationship to tourism applied the thesis is discussed in the first two chapters. The impact of seminal anthropological ethnographic accounts (Malinowski 1992, Turner 1969) in shaping contemporary applications of ethnography as a form of qualitative research is also acknowledged. Both Malinowski’s and Turner’s anthropological studies40 were the result of prolonged exposure to their respective environments enabling detailed ethnographic accounts ‘from the native point of view’ (Malinowski 1922). Their approach is worth reflection in how more contemporary ethnographies have evolved since then, and more specifically in applications of tourism. Arguably in MacCannell’s (1976) work, an ethnographic eye was considered in his observations of tourist behaviour, yet unlike the work of Malinowski and Turner, tourists are much more transient in their nature as they are not confined to an existence in the remote villages as is found in the work of these anthropologists. Yet these seminal anthropological accounts are

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40 Malinowski studied the native people in the Trobriand Islands (1922) and Turner (1969) the Ndembu tribes of Zambia.
acknowledged for their foundational influence to ethnographic studies more broadly. It is, therefore, ethnographic techniques (Wolcott 1999) based on the foundations of traditional ethnographies that are applied in the execution of the fieldwork for this study. Tourists are transient by nature and are furthermore studied ethnographically in their settings; in this case the coming and going of visiting industrial heritage museums. It is then a contemporary approach to ethnographic style combined with theoretical discussions of tourism and anthropology more broadly (Burns 1999, Graburn 1977, 1983; Nash 1977, 1981; Selwyn 1994; Smith 1977, 1989, Turner 1969) that further influence the investigation into the heritage context of this study.

A unique aspect to the nature of inquiry in this thesis is that it aims to address how the transient nature of visiting industrial heritage sites is similarly investigated from an anthropological perspective. This approach is taken so that the qualitative anthropological context in which heritage may be studied helps to reveal deeper meanings inherent in the social nature of consuming heritage. Indeed, in her ethnographic study of national identity constructs at English heritage sites, Palmer states “[i]n terms of tourism there are a wide, and often complex array of social settings and interactions to be studied” (2001:310). This sentiment is echoed in the powerful representations that heritage can possess for people, helping to uncover in this study a broader understanding for the meanings heritage visitors take away with them.

Moreover, as addressed in chapter two, anthropological studies in tourism have tended to focus on certain aspects. The focus of tourism and anthropology literature has typically covered discussions of tourism development in developing countries; the host vs. guest nexus, and religious accounts of tourism. It is the work of this thesis to expand on this by applying the heritage context to anthropological study of tourism previously limited to the aforementioned areas of study. Therefore in making the link to tourism, how tourists consume their heritage experiences, and subsequently build meaning merits further analyses in tourism research. Indeed for Urry (1996), how societies collectively remember the past has not typically been central to theoretical inquiry in the social science. The research design used here seeks to investigate the significance of consuming heritage in tourism, and how this
helps to further inform our understanding of how heritage consumption shapes meaning and identity in socially constructed contexts.

Furthermore, given the anthropological nature of inquiry considered in the thesis, it is relevant to reflect on how meaning is made in social contexts. Here the work of Malinowski (1922) is useful. Malinowski describes how certain ritualistic traditions are cause for reflection in appreciating how social and cultural norms are adopted and practiced within a group. Malinowski also notes how these ritualistic traditions unfold naturally with and without the conscious awareness of those involved. He describes in detail the Kula ring, a ceremonial reciprocal exchange system practiced by the Trobrianders. The process of undertaking and displaying certain acts among the tribe in the exchange system reflect the naturally occurring social structure of Kula ring. These social acts are undertaken without a broader appreciation of their role in a wider social function:

Yet it must be remembered that what appears to us an extensive, complicated, and yet well ordered institution is the outcome of so many doings and pursuits, carried on by savages, who have no laws or aims or charters definitively laid down. They have no knowledge of the total outline of any of their social structure. They know their own motives, know the purpose of individual actions and the rules which apply to them, but how, out of these, the whole collective institution shapes, this is beyond their mental range. Not even the most intelligent native has any clear idea of the Kula as a big, organised social construction, still less of its sociological function and implications...(Malinowski 1922:83-84)

This passage reflects the natural social context within which the Kula ring takes place. The habits and rituals associated with the ceremony are driven by motive, a need to do it. What the Trobrianders are unaware of is a more complete outline of the social structure with which the tradition of Kula ring lies. They are not aware of its broader sociological function or implications, rather it is something that ‘is just done’.

Malinowski’s example is of interest for a number of reasons. Like the Trobrianders, the ‘purpose’ of the Kula ring exists under the surface (i.e. how it fits into broader social meanings) in much the same way that visiting a museum does not
adhere to “…laws or aims or charters definitely laid down” (1922:83). A museum or heritage site is visited because there is an innate social impetus for some people to do so, because it possesses meaning in the same way. Like the Trobrianders, visitors to heritage site might not be aware of the broader sociological implications of their actions, and only know the act itself is ‘meaningful’. Although meaning and understanding might be acquired through visiting the museum, it is not necessarily recalled that way. For example, for the mother who visits the museum with her son, she might not be aware of the powerful social constructions of identity that have been imposed upon her son who just learned ‘more about his regions industrial past’ as a result of visiting the museum.

In the case of this research, it is the presence of industrial heritage and the significance of the social context located in visitation that is put into focus. This means the study looks more specifically at how visitors identify with the sites, how they interact with each other, and how these encounters create meaning for them in the process. Nevertheless, although epistemological and theoretical foundations for the research design are discussed above, the ‘ideology’ supporting the research design is further reflected on here. Firstly, this thesis is a marked move away from an epistemological standpoint that is grounded in positivism, in that the findings are ‘interpreted’ for their underlying meanings by myself as author of the ethnographic diary. Secondly, as an ethnographic account, it is the purpose of the ethnographer to unpack the elements that make up the content - or empirical materials41 - in the ethnographic diary. The merit of the ethnographic accounts shared in this research is that they offer the ‘thick descriptions’ (Geertz 1973). In effect then, it is the rich detail in these thick descriptions that lend credibility to the underpinning inquiry paradigm of this research design.

However, there remain contested perspectives within the qualitative research methods literature specific to ethnographic methods. Therefore, I discuss the following perspectives to reflect the contradictory views in relation to the research

41 ‘Empirical materials’ is the term that Denzin and Lincoln (2000) use to refer to the content collected within the primary research instead of using the term ‘data’ (more typically aligned with quantitative methods of data collection). Therefore ‘empirical materials’ and ethnographic diary are used in this thesis in making reference to the primary research.
approach I propose. In the process I put the ‘validity of my broader research effort’ up for reflection here. I draw first from Hammersley and Atkinson (1995 [1983]) who state that ‘validity and reliability’ of ethnographic accounts is an attainable measure that contributes to their ‘worthiness’ as a qualitative account of research. I argue to the contrary, that that ‘validity’ and ‘reliability’ do not sit comfortably with the epistemological approach as adopted in this thesis. Indeed, such terms are referred to in qualitative methods of research, yet their roots are in quantitative approaches to research. Crotty (1998:41) is cited below in reflecting the conflicting nature of using the terms in research:

“[w]hen investigators talk, as they often do, of exploring meanings by way of qualitative methods and then ‘confirming’ or ‘validating’ their findings by a quantitative study, they are privileging the latter in a thoroughgoing positivist manner” (1998:41).

To compare, Denzin and Lincoln point out that the more common positivist criteria of “validity, reliability, and objectivity” is giving way to terms such as “credibility, transferability, dependability, and conformability” in qualitative accounts of research (2000:21). Indeed, it is the work of this thesis to investigate the broader social phenomena of consuming industrial heritage sites and their underpinning meaning so as to offer ‘credible’ accounts in qualitative research in heritage tourism. Also, it is not the purpose of the adopted research design to seek out absolute truth (Gadamer 1979), but rather offer in-depth examination, interpretation and analyses in addressing the research objectives. Further detail that underpins the research design inquiry paradigm is provided below, beginning with the social constructionist epistemological foundation.

### 6.2 A Social Constructionist Epistemology

The underlying foundation of the social constructionist epistemology adopted here is that meanings are constructed by human beings as they interact and engage socially in the world around them. Essentially, they are consuming and then interpreting their own experiences of the environment they are in. In a social context then, Crotty (1998:55) attests that “the ‘social’ in social constructionism is about the mode of meaning generation and not about the kind of object that has meaning” and constructionism in this instance is defined as “[t]he view that all knowledge, and therefore all meaningful reality as such, is contingent upon human practices, being
constructed in and out of interaction between human beings and their world, and developed and transmitted within an essentially social context” (Crotty 1998:42 italics in original). Accordingly for Burr (2003:4), the social constructionist perspective is one in which all ways of understanding are historically and culturally relative, and “particular forms of knowledge that abound in any culture are therefore artefacts of it”. Crotty (1998:43) supports this notion, stating that within constructionism “…meanings are constructed by human beings as they engage with the world they are interpreting. Before there were consciousnesses on earth capable of interpreting the world, the world held no meaning at all”. In essence, any sense of the objective world, or even subjective world is in need of mention here. There is a plethora of social theories that lend credibility to objective and subjective approaches to research, and both were considered in the development of the research objectives of this thesis (Malinowski 1922, Lévi-Strauss 1966). But to differentiate social constructionism more succinctly, Crotty further offers that “objectivity and subjectivity need to be brought together and held together indissolubly” and “[c]onstructionism does precisely that” (1998:44). In effect then, the epistemological position adopted here does not assume an objective or subjective perspective towards the issues under investigation, rather the study aspires to learn more about the meaningful ‘social constructions’ in the everyday scenario of consuming a heritage site.

In Berger and Luckmann’s *The Social Construction of Reality* (1967), what people think of as reality in everyday life is created through human action, and does not exist or occur independent of human thought. As Berger and Luckmann point out further, this was a common assumption of an objectivist perspective grounded in the Durkheimian tradition. Similarly, Crotty’s constructionist viewpoint states “meaning is not discovered but constructed” (1998:42). This epistemological foundation allows further insight into the tourism phenomena under study, specifically how meaning is created through the consumption of the heritage

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42 There are differentiations within the literature regarding the definition of this term. However, for the purposes of this research design adopted in this thesis, constructionism/constructionist is the term used consistently throughout the thesis in reference to the epistemological position adopted in the research design. That is to say that although Crotty (1998) makes a distinction between the terms constructionism and constructivism, Schwandt’s (1998, 2000) definitions of constructionism and constructivism are closely intertwined, and their meanings overlap. Elsewhere, Bryman (2004) offers an ontological distinction, one in which constructionism is in opposition to that of objectivism.
experience. The purpose being to uncover meanings associated with visiting industrial heritage such as building a sense of identity, and also how this occurs in the context of the everyday social encounters found in heritage settings. The practice of tourism as social phenomena thereby offers a window into the social milieu that may be unpacked further to understand underlying meanings. McCabe would appear to agree, stating that tourism offers an area of study where the “real social world of the everyday lives of ordinary members of society can be glimpsed” (2002:72). Thus, social situations in tourism offer a conduit in which the meanings inherent in the experiences and interactions may be understood further.

Therefore the notion of the ‘everyday’ in a social context is also an important element to be considered in the paradigm adopted here. As discussed in the literature review, theoretical perspectives of identity construction overlook the underlying significance of ‘everyday’ mundane behaviour (Jenkins 2004, Billig 1995) for its ability to reinforce a sense of identity. The notion of the ‘everyday’ similarly blends into the epistemological position of the research design, as it is the everyday experience of visiting museums that facilitates meaningful social constructions in heritage settings. For example as explored in chapter three, it is the everyday and seemingly insignificant daily habits that can help to construct a sense of identity (Berger and Del Negro 2004) and in other cases a sense of national identity (Billig 1995). Thus, it is the meanings visitors associate with in terms of their own identity and a sense of the industrial past that is explored within a social context in this study.

Woods (1994:5) reflects on the added fickle nature of studying social phenomena in that “social life is ongoing, developing, fluctuating, becoming. It never arrives or ends. Some forms of behaviour may be fairly stable, others variable, others emergent. Some forms of interaction proceed in stages or phases”. Similarly, Bruner would appear to concur, noting also that in social settings meanings do not unfold in any sort of time honoured predictability but rather they “…can only enter the world in the middle, in the present, then stories serve as meaning-generating interpretive devices which frame the present within a hypothetical past and an anticipated future” (1986a:18). This reflects the ‘messy’ nature of qualitative data, in that there is not a pre-determined beginning, middle and end in social phenomena. In essence, what is captured in the research setting is specific moments in time. This
provides a reminder of the social complexities that lie within the subject matter under study, and also sets the context for the theoretical approach adopted in the research that is discussed next; that of interpretivism.

6.3 The Interpretivist Perspective

The uniqueness of human inquiry is at the root of interpretivism (Schwandt 1998). Born out of Weber’s Verstehen tradition in sociology, an interpretivism is similarly fed by criticisms grounded in positivist and naturalist approaches to social science. Interpretivism separates itself from scientific explanations typically rooted in objective accounts of research by settling for an understanding or ‘meaning’ of social phenomena. In terms of the sites investigated in this study, it is the construction of meaning that visitors to industrial heritage associate with features of these sites such as landscape, experience and guided tours offered at these sites. As a sociological tradition, the accepted tenets of Verstehen are said to be aligned with how we make sense of the everyday world. Similarly then, in the context of this research, visiting a heritage site can be viewed upon as a seemingly everyday activity. This differs from anthropological studies in that the traditional, multi-year ethnographies of Malinowski (1922) and Turner (1969) as they are not appropriate for investigating the ‘everyday’ nature of museum visits made by tourists. However, the meaning making in visiting museums possesses the same inquiry potential that is found in traditional ethnographies. This study then, is more closely aligned to more contemporary adaptations of ethnographic research. It engages in an ethnographic account that looks at the transient nature of visiting museums in a day-to-day basis, as opposed to prolonged anthropological studies of tribal communities such as those undertaken by Malinowski and Turner. Therefore characteristics of ‘multi-site ethnographies’ as detailed by Hannerz (2003) and also aspects of micro-ethnographies (Wolcott 1999) that engages concentrated and focused study in condensed periods of time.

Weber described Sociology as a “science which attempts the interpretive understanding of social action in order to arrive at causal explanation of its cause and effects” (1947:88). Causal, in this context is also worth mentioning, as it is not

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43 Hannerz (2003) multi-site ethnographic research was conducted with foreign news media correspondents based in: Jerusalem, Johannesburg, Tokyo, New York and Los Angeles.
applied literally as Weber would have it to the interpretivist theoretical perspective adopted here. Rather, this research presents interpretations of the social phenomena underpinning the defined research objectives of this study. Similarly for Geertz, social activity and its manifestations in society is not something that can be “causally attributed; it is a context, something within which they can be intelligibly – that is thickly - described” (1973:14). In effect, this justifies the interpretivist approach for its ability to contribute to the arena of knowledge creation. The approach adopted here runs alongside Geertz’s interpretive anthropology, in that the analysis of human action can build on an “interpretive science of meaning” (1973:5) rather than a search for scientific laws common in natural sciences. Human action in the context of this research is the consumption of industrial heritage sites by its visitors.

In addition another component that is blended into the interpretivist element of the inquiry paradigm is Lévi-Strauss’ (1966) notion of *bricoleur*. In Lévi-Strauss’ *The Savage Mind*, the *bricoleur* is a person who constructs something new from a range of separate functioning materials, as to perform a newly specialist function (1966:17-22). This concept is integrated into the research design so that notions such as social action may be unpacked to uncover meaning. However, the *bricoleur* as a theoretical tool used in applications of qualitative research has been defined in different ways. Lincoln and Denzin (1994) have applied a literal English translation to the concept, naming it a ‘jack-of-all-trades’⁴⁴. According to Crotty (1998:49-50), Lévi-Strauss’ *bricoleur* is a person who “makes something new out of a range of new materials that had previously made up something different” and “not someone able to perform a whole range of specialist functions” as Lincoln and Denzin would have it. Comparatively, although Hammersley (1999) is in agreement with the ‘jack-of-all-trades’ English label that Lincoln and Denzin apply to *bricoleur*, he is more critical of Lincoln and Denzin’s interpretation and subsequent paradigmatic applications of it to qualitative research. Hammersley notes that Lincoln and Denzin’s notion of *bricoleur* is conceptually limiting and does not acknowledge the true nature of Lévi-Strauss’ originating concept:

⁴⁴ Jack-of-all-trades is a colloquial expression to describe someone who is skilled at many different tasks, yet is ‘the master of none’. Both Lincoln and Denzin (1994) and Hammersley (1999) have applied this direct translation of *bricoleur* to this expression. In effect, *bricoleur* does not have a direct translation into English (Crotty 1998).
[Lévi-Strauss] sees the bricoleur as solving problems by making do with whatever resources are at hand…the bricoleur relies on what is apparent, on the concrete, whereas the scientist seeks to uncover underlying mechanisms. Lévi-Strauss treats myths as bricolage par excellence, as an attempt to make sense of the world as a whole by blending together whatever is available to complete a story…(Hammersley 1999:575)

In effect then, the *bricoleur* performs tasks with tools and materials that are at hand, and acquired from “odds and ends” with a further distinction offered by Lévi-Strauss: “[t]he scientist creating events (changing the world) by means of structures and the ‘bricoleur’ creating structures by means of events” (1966:22). Thus, what should be taken from this conceptual approach and in reference to the epistemological position grounded in social constructionism, is the ‘blending together of whatever is available into a complete story’ that frames the inquiry into the social evidence under study. In the case of the ethnographic diary compiled from empirical materials from the industrial heritage sites under study, it is the combination of elements in social contexts studied that feed new knowledge in the field of tourism. The social acts considered are those that encompass visiting, talking, reflection, contemplation with and among other visitors at the sites. In the process, the visitors of heritage are constructing a sense of identity and finding meaning in the industrial past and what that represents to them. Visiting heritage is also about unpacking features of landscape, imagination and experience in discovering how meaning is socially constructed in the consumption process.

### 6.3.1 The Role of Reflexivity in the Research Design

This section acknowledges that I am exercising a reflexive position within the research design and the nature of inquiry executed in this research. I am, therefore, acknowledging my own personal involvement and reflections in the interpretations offered, and their ‘credibility’ in informing new knowledge.

Therefore the philosophical stance underpinning my reflexive account is acknowledged. With roots in philosophical hermeneutics, Gadamer (1979) perspective lays the groundwork for a reflexive account and also underpins the broader theoretical framework of the thesis. He supports the abandonment of a search for absolute scientific truth, in exchange for one’s own sensitive investigation of their responses to an unfamiliar environment and its surroundings. Gadamer
(1979) posits that it is indeed the engagement with the unfamiliar that indissolubly involves the negotiation of one’s own prejudices. In essence, a ‘researcher’ does indeed construct and interpret their own meaning from the subjects they have under study, and thus makes allowances that the knowledge gained is infused by the researchers depth of understanding; and contrarily, shortcomings in comprehension of the same – essentially, ‘one’s own prejudices’ as Gadamer infers. That is not to say that I, as researcher, was otherwise unfamiliar with the sites and environment in which I was studying, but rather I was unfamiliar with other broader aspects of consuming an industrial site until spending extended periods of time at each of the museums. The ‘unfamiliar’ as it were, involved appreciating the full scope of all the museum’s features, the nature of the social behaviour of the visitors, and how visitors socially constructed meanings for themselves through the process of visiting the sites.

Furthermore, as I suggested in the introduction to the thesis, my reflexive approach to the research is also aligned with ‘engaged interestedness’ (Jamal and Hollinshead 2001) as an element in exercising reflexivity in research. Jamal and Hollinshead (2001:73) also assert that a reflexive account in research is one that “…constitutes a dynamic tension between the topic which engages the researcher and the researcher’s own position, interest and role in the re-telling of the participant’s narratives”. Indeed, this blends into the interpretive theoretical perspective detailed above, and also reflects a researcher’s involvement in the creation of new knowledge through an interpretive account.

Moreover, Hammersley and Atkinson acknowledge that “…reflexivity thus implies that the orientation of the researchers will be shaped by their socio-historical locations, including the values and interests that these locations confer upon them” (1995:16). This positioning is echoed by Feighery (2006:270-271) in that a reflexive account is “…an attempt to bring to the fore the assumptions embedded in one’s perspectives and descriptions of the world”. It is relevant then, to reflect upon my own socio-historical influences and background in terms of how they impact upon the creation and evolution of this research. My background consists of growing up in a predominately working class industrial area in the province of Nova Scotia and underpins my interest in this study. In addition, the socio-economic, political and
cultural features unique to my own environment have shaped my understanding of the world around me and through time. This relates to the features of my community more generally including the industries (coal and steel production) that fed the local economy and how this shaped the communities they supported.

These elements feed into the socio-historical influence underpinning my reflexive position as part of inquiry paradigm embedded in the research design. In considering more specific personal factors, my first trip to a working coal mine was in 1979 at the age of 10 at the Princess Colliery in Sydney Mines, Nova Scotia. Beginning in the mid 19th century through to the early 1980s, the local steel mill and surrounding coal mining industry were the biggest employers in Cape Breton Island. At its peak economic activity in the mid 20th century, Cape Breton’s population of 180,000 people made up close to twenty percent of Nova Scotia’s total population. However, not unlike the decline of coal industry in the UK throughout the 20th century, coal and steel production gradually declined throughout Cape Breton during the same period. This was the result of a number of factors including competing market forces, shifting energy prices and alternative sources of supply, all of which triggered economic losses in the mining industry.

This brief historical socio-economic picture detailed above gives a general context to the environmental and social forces that have influenced my own knowledge base as researcher, combined with my interest in studying the phenomena of why tourists visit former working coal mines turned museums. The historical context of the industry downfall in both Nova Scotia and the UK was discussed in greater detail in chapter five (pages 98-103). That discussion is pointed out again here so to lend support to the reflexive components at play, and underpin the epistemological and theoretical perspective grounding the foundation of the broader design of the research.

45 Princess Colliery in Sydney Mines, Nova Scotia opened as a commercial coal mine in 1876 and shut in 1976. In the late 1970s it operated underground tours for visitors until safety concerns forced Princess Colliery to cease giving tours. At its peak the Princess Colliery coal mine had a lifetime output of over 30 million tons of coal.
Taking into consideration the themes that a reflexive standpoint can uncover, it is in the compilation of the ethnographic diary that social contexts become even more illuminated. The resulting ‘social constructions of meaning’ are revealed from the subjects under study. Therefore the related social themes are elaborated on in further depth in chapters seven and eight, where the evolving themes of the ethnographic diary are presented and discussed. Nevertheless, this purposeful reflection on the incorporation of reflexivity in the research design is acknowledged so as to shed light on how it helped shape the nature of the accounts collected in the empirical materials. For example, throughout the process of interviewing and observing visitors of the museums, visitors who engaged in a purposeful social encounter with me usually meant that the ‘heritage consumed’ had created a deeper meaning for them. What this means is that although the visitor accounts are unpacked and analysed further in the annotated ethnographic findings, applying my reflexive position as part of the research design has relevant methodological implications\(^{46}\) to the outcome of the findings.

That said, I argue further that it is the attentive and reflexive researcher who is able to reveal meanings embedded in the empirical materials. Therefore how visitors find meaning is theoretically unpacked in relation to the anthropological line of inquiry and helps to illuminate the significance of social acts practiced at the sites. To compare, a traditional anthropological account drawn from Turner’s study of the Njembe tribe of Rhodesia\(^{47}\) is considered here to appreciate how a reflexive account influences the creation of knowledge in research settings. Turner was invited on numerous occasions to attend tribal performances that marked the puberty rites of young girls. What is relevant to this discussion is that although Turner (1969:7) admits that he “…had tried to describe what I had seen as accurately as possible” it was quite one thing to observe and comprehend the activities of the tribe for yourself, yet another “…to reach an adequate understanding of what the movements and world mean to them” (italics in original). The engaged, reflexive researcher then aids in the interpretation of the meanings embedded in social and communal constructs. The methodology within which this practice is further shaped is brought

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\(^{46}\) An example of how my reflexive position plays a role in the creation of new knowledge is elaborated on in chapter eight, pages 216-217.

\(^{47}\) Now current day Zambia.
into context in the following section. The methodology and related methods used in the research design’s inquiry paradigm are described below.

### 6.4 Ethnographic Style as Methodological Approach

The foundations of ethnography are the adopted methodological approach used in the gathering of the empirical materials for this thesis. Ethnography on its own is defined as a basic approach in social research, and characteristically known to involve the ethnographer engaging in the daily lives of people for an extended period of time, overtly or covertly, and as Hammersley and Atkinson have described, “…watching what happens, listening to what is said, asking questions – in fact, collecting whatever data are available to throw light on the issues that are the focus of the research” (1995:1). As Denzin points out an ethnographic approach “…captures and records the voices of lived experience...contextualises experience...goes beyond mere fact and surface appearances…presents details, context, emotion, and the webs of social relationships that join persons to one another” (1994: 83). The engagement of an ethnographic approach in research is that it captures the realm of thick description.

This account then, in adherence to ethnographic styles of research as discussed by Tedlock and Wolcott below, adopts ethnographic ‘traditions’ and ‘representations’ as opposed to a ‘traditional ethnography’ in its methodological approach.

For example Tedlock (2000) draws points out that during the past two centuries anthropologists have applied ethnographic methods in the collection and analysis of their research; yet stop short of being a traditional ethnography. Wolcott (1999) echoes Tedlock’s view, stating ‘ethnographic techniques’ have been used throughout most of the 20th century by ethnographers in the collection of life stories and to help informants frame a context around their own tales.

In comparing this approach to traditional ethnography, Tedlock (2000) draws attention to classic ethnographies that include the work of Englishmen Verrier Elwin. At the beginning in the 1930s in India, Elwin went on to write a number of detailed ethnographies of his experiences of ‘marrying into’ and living among Indian tribes.
that spanned his most of his life. Preceding his work are other notable classic ethnographies including Malinowski’s (1922) study of the Trobrianders in Papua New Guinea and Radcliffe-Brown’s (1922) ethnographic study of the Andaman Islanders.

As a methodology then, Tedlock (2000) says that ‘ethnography’ and its subsequent ‘styles’ have evolved since the time of these classic writings and now include classical, modernist, postmodernist, and poststructuralist perspectives. In comparing ‘ethnography and ethnographic representation’ Tedlock goes on to say that there is debate surrounding the aforementioned ‘styles’ stating “…thousands of works written in many languages and genres have been encoded as ‘ethnographic’” (2000:459). What is relevant to Tedlock is that researchers go about inscribing ethnographic material in a number of ways, adapting different formats, styles and genres. Similarly for Wolcott (1999), ‘traditional ethnography and ethnographic tradition’ need not mean the same thing. He refers to some of his own ethnographic research in the field of education to say that it “…draws on an anthropological perspective, and offers a cultural interpretation; it is in the ethnographic tradition, but it is not traditional ethnography” (1999:162). More specifically and in relation to this thesis, it is an ‘ethnographic’ style diary that I have compiled as a result of the primary research, and hence which the findings are extracted and analysed from.

In meeting ethnographic criteria then, Wolcott (1999) says that ‘ethnographers’ are free to change the order in which the cultural topics they address are singled out or not. In effect, they may focus “…specifically on aspects of culture rather than attempting that elusive holistic view” (1999:127 italics in original). The ethnographic account need not be representative of an entire holistic view, rather it should ideally “…meld categories into a unified whole”, and be “integrated in the ethnographic account just as they are integrated in human lives” (1999:127). It is the position of this thesis to do similar, in that an ethnographic account melds the meanings that visitors integrate into their human lives with their consumption of heritage. Wolcott continues that there is a fine line to walk between ‘rich detail and endless detail’ in an ethnographic account. It is through the adoption of an ethnographic style to the fieldwork and findings in this thesis in which rich detail and thick description provide the backdrop for emerging themes uncovered in Chapter 7.
This approach has been implemented at the industrial heritage sites – the mining museums - under study by way of observing and talking in depth with the visitors at each site. In effect, they were watched, listened to, asked questions in direct relation to their consumption of heritage, and how they did these things in social contexts.

Furthermore, ethnographic research has an advantage in that it addresses “the richness and complexity of human life” and gets up close to “understanding the ways people interpret and experience the world” (Lees 2003:110). Some of the benefits associated with its use is that inquiry techniques may be executed in combination, and are able to span a range of field applications such as “…relevant visual accounts, flexible probing for insights when surprises arise, and skill in modifying the ethnographic guide as needed during the study” (Rosenthal and Capper 2006: 215). The power that lies within this form of social research inquiry becomes apparent, and its application into seemingly mundane activity such as tourism is reiterated by Roberts and Sanders “unlike the relatively closed world of natural scientific experiments, the social world is more contingent because of the unpredictable nature of human behaviour” (2005: 297).

By virtue of its role in building thick descriptions, Geertz (1973) says ethnography acts as a window for further insight into the behaviour of subjects. Equally, the reflexive practice of unpacking an ethnographic account is relevant here, as “…the process of ethnography itself is one of data collection, analysis and theorizing being carried out simultaneously while continually refining the analysis” (Jeffrey and Troman 2004:545-46). Ethnography approached this way provides a link between the investigation of the research objectives and the theoretical and methodological framework that lays the foundation for the inquiry paradigm informing this research. Hence, the emerging themes that evolve are evident in the annotated ethnographic diary (chapter seven and eight) that follows this chapter.

The empirical materials collected in this thesis were compiled as an ethnographic diary. The diary was compiled from a collection of fieldnotes taken from both interviews and observations of visitors. The diary also captured reflexive accounts of my own thoughts and feelings in conducting the research. Where
appropriate, the diary integrated further description into the ethnographic narrative when documenting interpretations taken from each site. This was done when visitors had meaningful encounters with certain features of the site such as the landscape or industrial equipment. It was these encounters that merited deeper exploration into the social role they played in the consumption of the heritage site.

The ethnographic diary then was a compilation of both handwritten notes and transcriptions of recorded material collected from using a hand held mini-cassette recorder. Alongside of annotated entries taken from the ethnographic diary, digital photos are occasionally included so as to capture meaningful moments of consumption in heritage. I caution that photos are included not as a core element in interpreting the empirical materials compiled in the diary, but rather to accompany a few sections of the diary narrative with a supporting visual element. It is felt that in some particular parts of the diary narrative, photos help to visualise instances of ‘meaning making’ in the consumption of heritage. However it also needs to be stated that the Big Pit Museum did not allow recording equipment or cameras\(^{48}\) to be used during underground tours of the mine. Although the use of recording equipment was permitted in other areas of the site, the empirical materials collected from underground tours were done so only in the form of handwritten fieldnotes. Further description of the methods executed in the ethnographic approach to the findings follows together with their associated methodological implications for the research.

### 6.5 Methods

The ethnographic principles adopted for this research involved the implementation of informal interviews as well as participant and non-participant observation at industrial heritage sites in Nova Scotia, Canada and in South Wales, UK. Secondary ethnographic activity included interviewing key informants (museum staff), analysing content in brochures, and compiling a site inventory of the museums (main features, components and items of collection at each site). Visitors to coal mining

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\(^{48}\) Cameras and other items that take dry cell batteries are considered ‘contraband’ and are prohibited from being taken into the Big Pit underground coal mine. This also included wrist watches, mobile phones, cameras; cigarette lighters, etc. because they are capable of producing sparks that could ignite naturally occurring methane gases underground. The well cell batteries used in miner’s headlamps and are the only type of batteries permitted underground at the Big Pit. This wasn’t the case, however in the Cape Breton mine.
heritage museums have been observed and interviewed as they interact with various elements of each site, which include audio-visual interpretation, simulated environments (mechanised mining), guided tours of previous working mines, and the physical assets left behind from the manufacturing of coal from underground such as the pit heads, a winding engine house, a winding wheel, pit head baths, and underground mechanical equipment such as diesel locomotives, and Eimco™ miners.

In the compilation of content for the ethnographic diary, as ethnographer I was cognizant of the fact that both my conversations with visitors and conversing with each other allowed ‘thick description’ to evolve readily. I drew on Malinowski’s *native point of view* in highlighting this point and in relation to the rich content it provides the narrative. There is a robustness of meanings in what ‘natives’ have to say that also reflects on the significance of their environment to them:

Besides the firm outline of tribal constitution and crystallised cultural items which form the skeleton, besides the data of daily life and ordinary behaviour, which are, so to speak, its flesh and blood, there is still to be recorded the spirit—the natives' views and opinions and utterances. (1922:25)

In this case it is the visitors to industrial heritage that are the *natives*, and they speak more candidly of the meanings they’ve constructed while visiting the sites. The implementation of interviews and observations enabled me to capture rich description of the visitors’ heritage consumption experiences. Indeed, my methods were similar to the ethnographic approach adopted by Bagnall whereby most of the interviews that took place were not with individuals visiting by themselves, but “[r]ather they entailed talking to all members of the visiting party…”(2003:96). Therefore in my fieldwork the bulk of interviews and observations were conducted amongst groups, families and friends visiting the sites together. These group interviews reflect ‘collective views’ shared by some of the respondents and are captured in the ethnographic diary. These type of entries in the dairy are also more common than ‘sole’ entries from those visiting by themselves. In effect and by default, I was able to determine among the visitors who they were visiting the site with and why. In most cases they were visiting the site with their family, friends or in other instances in groups with common ties: such as school groups or social
groups. Individual visitation and related interviews was therefore negligible, but they did occur on occasion and contributed to the compilation of the ethnographic diary.

Participant and non-participant observation was also key to capturing rich narrative recorded in the main ethnographic diary. The value of this method is noted by Seaton, “observational studies of closed field tourism events offer great opportunities for research that generates ‘thick description’ and emic understanding that are the ultimate goals of qualitative methodology” (2002a: 318). Observation as a method feeds the thickness of description and lends well to this research design because “all of the senses can also be fully engaged in this endeavour, from smelling to hearing, touch, and taste. Observation thus consists of gathering impressions of the surrounding world through all relevant human faculties” (Adler and Adler 1994:378). Therefore, observation as a method embedded in the ethnographic approach is useful to illuminate how meanings are constructed by visitors to the industrial heritage sites under study.

For example, in both of the fieldwork sites (the Big Pit National Mining Museum of Wales and the Cape Breton Miners’ Museum), visitors are invited to tour the underground workings of former coal mines with an ex-coal miner as their guide. As Seaton says, the notion of identifying with a person, or persons, is a pre-condition and constitutive element embedded in the role of a tourist (2002b). He furthermore ponders “[m]ight the quest to repeat what others have done, in ways they imagine others have done it, be a central identifying and defining characteristic of the tourist?” (2002b:136). This is relevant to the notion as to whether or not this is indeed a goal of visitors to industrial heritage. In a sense, does a visitor seek to ‘be’ or ‘experience’ what a coal miner did working underground? Or even emulate something from the first hand accounts given by the guides themselves, given the guides are ex-coal miners in their own right? Observational studies are of importance here, and as Graburn (2002) has acknowledged, covert observation is of value when the researcher assumes the role of tourist within and among tourists. As a result, the researcher is then able to give a “detailed and fairly reliable account” (2002:25) of what it is like to be a visitor or tourist in certain situations and as a result of certain events. Field notes compiled through observation in the
ethnographic based study and the meanings and interpretations associated with them are described in more depth in chapters seven and eight.

Before the two mining museums were chosen as the primary sites for the ethnographic study, the research objectives were first considered at other heritage sites as part of the process of fieldwork selection. This was done so as to ascertain if in fact, concepts of identity were constructed as part of the consumption experience in heritage. Therefore the research objectives and methods were piloted at heritage sites in Nova Scotia during the summer months of July and August in 2005. This involved spending eight days at Pier 21 Immigration Museum of Canada (Halifax, Nova Scotia), ten days at The Cape Breton Miners’ Museum (Glace Bay, Nova Scotia), and another three days at Nova Scotia’s Museum of Industry (Stellarton, Nova Scotia). I began conceptualising the ethnographic diary at these sites by engaging in both interviews and observations of visitors at these heritage sites.

Given the focus of my research at this time and keeping in mind that I was in search of findings that shed light upon the current research objectives, these sites were primarily studied for their role in how social identities are constructed by visiting heritage sites. In implementing the ethnographic methods, the visitors were interviewed and observed overtly and covertly as they interacted within and around the exhibits at the sites, and with each other. These heritage sites in Nova Scotia were chosen for their regional heritage significance specific to Nova Scotia’s past and their role, if any, in building formations of identity and if their visitors found meaning whilst visiting these sites. The purpose of collecting empirical materials at this stage of the fieldwork process was that it coincided with Nova Scotia’s ‘high’ tourism season. The peak visitor periods for these heritage sites were in full swing in the summer months, and catered more easily to compiling empirical materials. When compared to UK heritage sites, Nova Scotia’s heritage sites do not have the steady influx of visitors in large volumes per day as often can be found at UK sites. The charging of admission fees also plays a factor into the low volume of visitors.

49 The heritage sites in Canada charged an admission fee of no less than $5.00 CDN per person. By comparison, the Big Pit National Coal Mining Museum of Wales (where most of the empirical materials was collected) does not charge an admission fee to enter the site. Therefore this directly impacts upon the amount of visitors engaged in the study (numbers markedly higher in Wales) and indirectly contributes to the robustness and quantity of the fieldwork collected through the ethnographic methods detailed above.
at Nova Scotia sites, thus acting sometimes as a deterrent to visit a site. The execution of interviews and observation at the Nova Scotia based fieldwork sites was often times quite spaced out (i.e. one hour would sometimes lapse between interviewing ‘opportunities’). This varied greatly with UK sites as popular heritage sites have a steady flow of visitors thus presenting more frequent opportunities to engage in interviews and observation.

In the end, it was after this initial stage of the fieldwork detailed above that the heritage sites chosen for the main fieldwork would possess industrial features. Again, this choice was further detailed in my reflexive positioning of the research design. However, as a piloted qualitative study initiated early on in the research process, it did serve as an enlightening step at this point in the research. As a precursory effort to the main fieldwork, it revealed more clearly that the context with which the original research objectives were conceptualised did prove to merit further investigation by way of an in depth qualitative study.

The main thrust of the fieldwork therefore began in January 2006 with a site visit to The Big Pit Museum in Blaenafon, South Wales. Subsequent weeklong visits were followed up in March, April and May of 2006, and two weeks at the Cape Breton Miners’ Museum, in July and August 2006. Specific to the South Wales site (The Big Pit, National Mining Museum of Wales), I was onsite collecting empirical materials for a full week in each of the following months: March, April, and May 2006 in additions to March 2007. These weeklong visits also coincided with the site’s opening hours (typically 9.30 am to 5 pm) seven days a week. These particular periods of time spent at the Big Pit Museum also buffered school holiday periods including Easter 2006 and May bank holiday weekends, which took advantage of fluctuations of visitor flows. The planning of these fieldwork visits proved fruitful in the ability and opportunity to engage with visitors during this time of year at the Big Pit Museum. Visitation was typically ‘steady’ during these periods, with hundreds of people, if not a couple of thousand, visiting daily. As summer months approached, the numbers of visitors began to rise daily. In an effort to plan for

50 Average monthly attendance at the Big Pit was 13,000 people in 2006, for a total of 158,000 for the entire year (see Appendix 10). In Cape Breton, figures are much lower, averaging about 4,000 per month during the summer high season; the months of June through September (see Appendix 11).
optimal conditions for the ethnographic based study, it was presumed that the busy summer period meant for more crowded museums and decreasing opportunities to collect rich ethnographic content. Indeed, the large crowds during the May bank holiday weekend were an indicator of that. Therefore, it was during periods of more manageable visitor flows at the site that some of the richest content was solicited. This is because visitors were not crowded or felt rushed, and content collected from them was done in more relaxed settings. This often occurred when people were winding down and wrapping up their visit to the site.

In the case of the Big Pit Museum, these ‘more relaxed settings’ often occurred in either of the two on site museum cafés. As mentioned, there were some periods of time in which the museum was overly busy making these opportunities lost because visitors were crowded among each other and the exhibits. As a result, noise was a factor in these instances, and my interviewees could not hear me and I could not hear them well. On occasion, crowding also occurred at the onsite cafés, causing the café staff to discourage me from taking up the seating space of ‘paying customers’ in some instances. In the end, visiting the Big Pit Museum in the lead up to the summer months as opposed to during their busiest time (the summer holidays) helped to accommodate my efforts in building rich content for the ethnographic diary. Consequently it was during the spring season when visitors were not so crowded on site that offered better opportunities for me to engage in meaningful discussion and interaction with them.

As mentioned in chapter five, two other UK based coal mining museums were considered in the fieldwork. One was the Rhondda Valley Heritage Park in the Rhondda Valleys of South Wales. Although very effective in telling the ‘story of the region’s industrial history of coal mining’, this site was not considered for further field study, partly because its underground coal mining tour is a simulated experience, in contrast to the ‘real’ underground workings offered at both the Blaenafon (the Big Pit museum) and Nova Scotia site (Cape Breton Miners’ Museum). For the purposes of collecting content for the ethnographic diary, the working assumption was that an ‘authentic’ representation of the real environment - a former coal mine - elicits richer narrative from visitors. The other UK based coal mining museum considered for the fieldwork was Caphouse Colliery, the National
Coal Mining Museum of England near Wakefield, Yorkshire. This site possessed similar features to the other coal mining museums including an authentic underground tour, yet it was decided that given the scope, depth and varied experiences that the Big Pit as part of the Blaenavon Industrial Landscape, a UNESCO World Heritage site offered a rich feeding ground for compiling the ethnographic diary. An additional period of ethnographic study was also undertaken in Nova Scotia at the Cape Breton Miners’ Museum during the summer of 2006. Also, unlike the large influx of visitors encountered at UK sites during summer months, the peak periods at the Cape Breton Miners’ Museum usually drew about 200-300 guests daily, which was much easier to manage from a fieldwork perspective in gathering content for the ethnographic diary.

In the end the ethnographic diary was a compilation of empirical materials gathered during four weeks of fieldwork at the Cape Breton Miners’ Museum in Nova Scotia and another four weeks at the Big Pit Mining Museum in Blaenafon, South Wales. Ultimately it was these two sites that fed content into the ethnographic diary. When gathering content for the diary, interviews and observations were held in a variety of places including the main exhibition areas of both museums; their gift shops, exits, museum park benches, on site cafés and restaurants. In addition, I also participated in at least 50 underground tours of the coal mines, at both in the primary research sites (the Big Pit and Miners Museum) and at the Rhondda Valley Heritage Park in South Wales and the National Coal Mining Museum of England in Wakefield. Underground tours averaged about one hour in length at all of these sites. By participating in the underground tours, I undertook covert participation in tour groups averaging in size of about 20 people. It was during these tours that I primarily engaged in observation as a method of collecting information. Therefore I would sometimes take notes during the tour itself and in other cases after the tour was completed. In either circumstance, I tried not to draw attention to myself and did my best to avoid interfering with the feel and flow of the tour given by the miner guide underground with the visitors.

Nevertheless, there were on occasion instances in which my covert participation was essentially ‘blown’. This was sometimes to my doing, as I often opted to carry an arguably conspicuous clipboard to jot down field notes during the
underground tour. As well, on rare occasions visitors were sometimes perceptive about my odd presence (touring alone), and have asked me ‘What I was doing, exactly? Did I work there too?’ In other instances, the tour guides would introduce me as a ‘researcher’ to the rest of the group. Incidentally, the miner guides would almost always come to their own conclusions as to the purposes of my research, which was usually associated with ‘studying the history of coal mining’ or ‘learning about coal mining techniques’. Eventually, the guides began to make comments during underground tours such as ‘Mary, you’ve been down underground with us enough to give a tour yourself’, thereby again, planned covert participation turned overt. It was in fact, almost always my preference to remain an anonymous participant. It is my feeling that in most cases this did not hinder the quality of the empirical materials I collected, and in other cases it actually enhanced the quality of the accounts collected from visitors. For example some visitors wilfully approached me at the end of a tour to chat, and share their thoughts with me instead of me soliciting it from them outright. A final weeklong visit to the National Mining Museum of Wales (the Big Pit) occurred in March 2007 with the aim to contextualise some of the common themes arising out of the fieldwork, and also to reaffirm ethnographic ties previously established with the contacts on site.

6.6 Issues of Access in the Empirical Research

Issues of access and gate-keeping in the research are now discussed in this section so as to shed insight into their implications on the epistemological and methodological foundations of the research design. Issues surrounding ‘access’ and ‘gate-keeping’ in ethnographic research are real, and have the ability to impose limitations on the findings and outcomes of the study. For example, Hammersley and Atkinson have devoted entire sections in *Ethnography Practices and Principles* (1995) to the issue of access in ethnographic studies, as well as its implications to gate-keeping and field relations. Glesne and Peshkin have defined access as:

…a process. It refers to your acquisition of consent to go where you want, observe what you want, talk to whomever you want, obtain and read whatever documents you require, and do all of this for whatever period of time you need to satisfy your research purposes (1999:33).
Obtaining permission to access fieldwork sites is key to gaining entry to certain areas to conduct a study. There is, however, sometimes risk associated with gaining access to a site and a researcher is sometimes subject to unknown or unpredictable situations\textsuperscript{51}. This was also the case in my own fieldwork, and therefore further explored here. To begin, as Hammersley and Atkinson attest “…the discovery of obstacles to access, and perhaps effective means of overcoming them…provides insight into the social organization of the setting” (1995:54). Given that a core area of the study centres around involvement of the coal miner guides themselves as part of the heritage consumption experience, I needed to integrate with their own social organisation as part of gathering content for the ethnographic diary. My attempts to blend into the internal social structure the guides themselves impacted on the execution of my ethnographic efforts. As a result, issues of access and field relations in each of the fieldwork sites are acknowledged in more detail below.

As Marcus (1998) notes, acquiring and gaining access is the defining activity of undertaking ethnography, a ‘regulative ideal’ that is pursued in facilitating the aims of the research, and in the case of this thesis. However, in reality, issues of access do not always unfold neatly. A researcher should navigate the field of study with care, reflect upon it, and then acknowledge how and where issues of access impact upon the social phenomena under study. As Berg (1998) acknowledges, the efforts by which social researchers go about gaining access and thus collecting ‘data’ is in itself a topic area that lends well to further study in social science. This gap in knowledge is in part due to a paucity of research into the complexities involved in gaining trust and cooperation among research subjects. As Hammersley and Atkinson (1995) have similarly acknowledged, detailed accounts of the processes involved in building important relationships in ethnographic research remains largely fragmented in the research literature. Acknowledgement of the ‘issues of access’ as a process and how it is managed is necessary when reflecting on its related outcomes unto the interpretation of themes emerging out of the study.

\textsuperscript{51} Unknown issues of access were encountered for Wolf 1991 in his ethnographic study of Harley Davidson motorcycle tribe in Canada, and also for the work of Barbera-Stein 1979 in accessing classroom settings. Neither author ‘foresaw’ issues of access in advance.
The complexities associated with gaining access to fieldwork sites is relevant to my reflexive positioning in that I, as ethnographer, have due cause to reflect on both the theoretical and practical implications it has for gathering ethnographic content. For example, I had to give thought to whether or not I was able to build relationships with ‘informants’ and if it would have direct implications to the content collected in my empirical research. Of equal concern is that due to the lack of dialogue found in the ‘methods’ literature that addresses issues around access, researchers in general find little assistance in developing strategies for alleviating problems that come up during the fieldwork (Harrington 2003). Hence, in this instance it is also appropriate for me to apply Lévi-Strauss’s *bricoleur* concept to the issue of access, as it also feeds into the interpretivist theoretical perspective applied in the research design, as it is one of those ‘odds and ends’ applied in completing the story under study. Accordingly for Lévi-Strauss, “to understand a real object in its totality we always tend to work from its parts” (1966:23). In the case of the industrial heritage sites under study, it is indeed issues of access as an element of its parts, that contribute to what more can be known about the phenomena under study.

There were other factors that influenced issues of access that further impacted upon the sites ultimately chosen to conduct the empirical research. As this thesis was undertaken as part of a three year PhD studentship awarded with the School of Services Management at the University of Brighton, there were variables related to cost, time and effort considered in selecting fieldwork sites. The first heritage sites considered were based in Nova Scotia due to in large part to their symbolic significance of Nova Scotia’s heritage. They were also considered for their proximity to the primary home of myself, the researcher. Another factor in the mix is before undertaking doctoral studies, I was employed as a civil servant in the role of development officer for a federal government agency in the areas of tourism, arts and culture on Cape Breton Island in Nova Scotia, Canada. A network of contacts in the sectors of tourism, arts and culture had previously been established and was thereby used to gain permission to undertake empirical research at particular heritage sites. I acknowledge that because I had worked in the field of tourism in my

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52 ECBC (Enterprise Cape Breton Corporation) is a federal government economic development agency in Canada coming under the ACOA (Atlantic Canada Opportunities Agency) arm of the Industry Canada portfolio responsible for the economic development of deprived areas in Canada.
hometown area, this broke down some of the barriers that might otherwise be encountered in gaining access to conduct research at Nova Scotia based heritage sites. Therefore by early 2005, I had initially considered three Nova Scotia based heritage sites to carry out empirical research for the fieldwork. They were: the Industrial Museum of Nova Scotia, Stellarton, Nova Scotia; the Pier 21 Immigration Museum in Halifax, Nova Scotia; and the Cape Breton Coal Miners’ Museum in Glace Bay, Nova Scotia. In the end, and as was underpinned in my socio-historical reflexive position, the Cape Breton Coal Miners’ Museum was selected as the sole Nova Scotia based fieldwork site to be engaged in my empirical research.

Ultimately, gaining access to the Nova Scotia based site proved less cumbersome when compared to the Big Pit Museum (issues specific to access at the Big Pit Museum follow). Some of the Nova Scotia based barriers were broken down due in part to my family name – Gouthro. This is because my family name has long standing genealogical roots in the surrounding Nova Scotia community of Glace Bay (home of the Cape Breton Miners’ Museum) that goes back over 200 years. ‘Coal mining heritage’ is part of my own family history, as my paternal grandfather worked at a coal pier for over twenty years until his death in 1955. My uncle, married to my father’s sister, was also a coal miner for 40 years. His name was Isaac Lambert and was a founding and life long member of the only coal miners’ choir in Canada from 1969 until his death in 2002. It was because my uncle had lifelong established ties and associations with the regional industry and the local mining museum itself, that my relationship to him proved to be a benefit of access, and gaining permission to access visitors of the Cape Breton Miners’ Museum.

Gaining access to the Cape Breton site is however, in stark contrast to issues of access encountered at the Big Pit Museum, the National Coal Mining Museum of Wales. Initially, permission to access the Big Pit Museum to conduct empirical research was granted after negotiation with key staff including museum manager Peter Walker and marketing officer Kathryn Stowers. However, a different situation evolved around access after I spent prolonged periods of time on site with the coal mining guides, ex-coal miners53 themselves. To begin, it became apparent to me that

53 Appendix 12 compiles a full list of the names of guides at the Big Pit Museum and Cape Breton Miners’ Museum.
a loosely structured and unofficial sense of hierarchy existed among this group of ‘former miners turned tour guides’, and I did not immediately detect that this might pose issues to my fieldwork. These men were regular staff of the site, and as it turned out, not willing to support my research efforts even though I was granted permission from senior management of the Big Pit Museum to conduct research there. Hence, therein possibly lies the problem. It occurred to me that things became further exacerbated by the guides having suspicions towards the purpose of my research. Therefore I tried on occasion, albeit sometimes in vain I believe, to explain my presence and the purpose of my research. As Hannerz (2003:204) acknowledged in his own multi-site ethnographic research, it could be that the subjects of your research, and in this instance ‘ex-coal miners as guides’ were “…possibly too suspicious of an academic whom they might fear would always be inclined to carping criticisms of their work”.

It also became apparent that due to a perceived lack of power in the decision making process where museum management granted me permission to access them in their work, my assimilation into the guides’ existing ‘social organisation’ was indeed difficult. This became an increasing concern in the practical implications of conducting the research on site itself. For example, part of my fieldwork efforts necessitated accompanying numerous groups of visitors underground with the guides. My plan was then to observe the visitors during their underground tours with the guides as they became engaged in the guides’ stories, and interacted with one another. It occurred to me over time it proved more difficult for me to ‘win’ the trust of these staff and that there were ‘unofficial criteria’ for me to become accepted by this social group. This did not occur to me until after a certain amount of time passed, and it became apparent only after some time did pass.

In the earlier days of the fieldwork at the Big Pit Museum, these ‘group acceptance’ issues became apparent in particular ways. For example more often than not, the overseeing supervisor on any given day would see that I was ‘handed off’ only to junior guides in joining their tours. With well over 20 guides on staff, it was my wish to participate in as many of the staff’s guided tours as I could for a balanced representation, yet with time it became obvious to me I was being handed off to the same guides over and over with little or no access to more senior guides. I saw this
as a possible hindrance to developing content for my ethnographic diary for a couple of reasons. First of all the younger tour guides drew from a different sets of industrial experience to that of the more senior guides, as tales from the younger guides primarily elaborated on mechanised mining techniques used underground. It was my wish to balance this out with tales of more manual techniques of mining underground, of which the senior guides had more direct experience. It was, I believed to the benefit of my research both theoretically and methodologically, to round out my presence in tours and gain a diverse perspective as was possible in my fieldwork.

However, one day a breakthrough to gain further access appeared to have occurred. On the third visit to the Big Pit museum in April 2006, one of the senior coal mining staff, Alan Jones invited me to join him and the other guides in ‘their tearoom’. What happened next was predictable but ended up facilitating my eventual acceptance by the group. In this instance, I effectively ‘cleared out’ the tearoom, of about eight staff, all tour guides – and I was left feeling like a true outsider then, and perhaps overstepping ‘unofficial’ boundaries. However, over the next few days further invites to the tearoom by other tour guides occurred, and eventually I was going to the tearoom on my own volition to more welcomed repeated visits. I was now able to talk with the miners more freely, which also allowed me to gather more anecdotal information from them, thus feeding richer content into my ethnographic diary. As a result, on an ongoing basis the miner guides became more at ease with my presence as I spent more time at the museum.

My eventual acceptance by the miner guides was likely aided by, once asked, my agreement to help them ‘close up shop’ at the end of the day. My involvement in this facilitated the necessary building of trustful relationships with the guides. Towards the end of each day, or the miner guides’ shifts essentially, ‘closing up shop’ involved taking the head lamps and battery packs worn by visitors and recharging them on powered stations in the lamproom. I obliged, and this began what was a daily routine to end each day spent on the site. As noted by Harrington (2003) in reference to ‘tales from the field’, it is often the subjects of the research that will impose their own power and creativity on situations as to make them more comfortable. Therefore, the miner guides as research subjects imposed their own
power and influence upon me, so as to make “their presence more familiar, comfortable, and thus less threatening” (2003:609) while having me around. This socialisation process of being accepted among the guides did result in them being much more willing to integrate me across tours conducted by both junior and senior staff. This ‘acceptance’ to the field progressed to the point where I could tag along on tours of my choice, where previously I had to wait my turn and be assigned to a particular guide by the foreman in charge on any particular day. Another way of showing that a researcher invokes the right tools to get to the heart of access issues is through displays of empathy and involvement (Van Maanen 1988). Under most conditions, fieldworkers are expected by their readers, if their accounts are to be trusted, to like and respect those they study (and vice versa). Van Maanen captures this context below, in an ethnographic excerpt of his studies of the police force in Union City, California:

As I have described in some detail elsewhere, the novice in police organizations must cross several work boundaries, pass a series of social tests designed to discover something about the prudence, inclinations, and character of the person, and, of course, carve out a few intimate relationships with members of the organization upon whom the newcomer can depend (Van Maanen 1973, 1974, 1978a in Van Maanen 1988:85)

As detailed above, obtaining permission to access the fieldwork sites through certain gate keepers (i.e. museum management) may prove at the outset to break down some barriers in gaining access to the sites under study. However, it is quite another scenario – and certainly in my case - to encounter other layers of gate keeping throughout the sites (i.e. the former coal miners as tour guides). As was discussed, the amount of difficulty encountered in Nova Scotia at the Cape Breton Miners’ Museum site was limited. Again, this was in contrast to the issues of access at the Big Pit Museum in Blaenafon. The coal miner guides themselves and their tours were critical to feeding content into the ethnographic diary. As such, their social ‘acceptance’ of me proved vital and once ultimately won, gives further depth into my ethnographic diary. Also, epistemologically and methodologically, issues of access are important as they contribute to the reflexive nature of an interpretivist approach to the findings.
This concludes the discussion addressing the underpinning research design that guides the inquiry paradigm adopted in this thesis. The next two chapters present and discuss the findings in the form of an annotated ethnographic diary. In turn, the research objectives under study are put into their empirical context.
Chapter SEVEN

- The Ethnographic Diary PART ONE
7.1 Introduction to the Annotated Ethnographic Diary

Drawing on the principles of ethnography, the empirical research is presented in the form of an annotated ethnographic diary. The next two chapters discuss and analyse excerpts taken from the ethnographic diary. The findings are therefore discussed and presented as an annotated format. Diary excerpts are interspersed with theoretical discussion so as to underpin the focus of inquiry into the research objectives.

Chapter seven is presented as part one of the annotated ethnographic diary. Areas of inquiry as identified in the research objectives begin to be explored. By applying theoretical foundations established in the preceding literature review (chapters 2-5) and the methodological ones in the research design (chapter six), the following discussion begins by drawing on identity construction as it relates to the visitors’ consumption of industrial heritage. The discussion moves on to explore how meaningful acts such as pilgrimage, rituals and rites of passage resonate in the heritage context. These acts are considered for their parallels to the manifestation of consuming heritage in meaningful ways. From there the annotated ethnographic diary discussion moves on to reveal that certain themes - experience, imagination and landscape - resonate to the act of heritage consumption. Part one of the ethnographic diary concludes by presenting a consumption model of heritage (Gouthro 2007), based on the findings discovered in this chapter.

7.2 Identity in Industrial Heritage

Individuals and groups at each industrial heritage site were asked to comment on whether or not the site helped them connect with a sense of identity. This inquiry is guided by the identity literature discussed in chapter three. The visitor comments are kept in view for how they relate to theoretical aspects of identity discussed, including: social identity (Tajfel 1972); collective identity (Anderson 1983); national identity (Smith 1991, Billig 1995) and individual sense of identity (Bauman 1996 and Hall 1996). How identity is theoretically constructed (Craib 1998, Hall 1996, Jenkins 2004) further applies to the discussion.

In the diary excerpts that follow, a sense of identity is associated with different things. For some visitors identity resonated with the nation, for example
being Canadian, Welsh, or British. In other instances identity was linked to a direct family connection with the mining industry. For other visitors a sense of identity was reflected upon in recalling a past way of life, how mining communities functioned in the past. The following accounts reflect the varied themes:

**CB**[^54] -  
**Woman from Ohio, USA:**  
My grandfather was a copper miner, came from Italy to Chicago years ago. These miners had their own schools, churches, hospitals. They helped one another it was part of their identity. Schools today, children come from many different backgrounds, situations – don’t share that same kind of unity.

**CB** -  
**Woman from Toronto, Ontario, Canada:**  
My father was a miner, so I have connections to the area… I’ve been here before… It would be nice to see a demonstration of more modern mining like my father did. It was really good [otherwise] though…

**CB** -  
**Couple from Ontario:**  
*Man from nearby town of New Waterford, the woman from neighbouring province of New Brunswick:*  
**Man:** This needs to be kept alive – it is an important part of our heritage… Even when you go to Ontario and stuff you often hear stories of mining, even fishing. This was people’s livelihoods for years and years… It’s where they came from… it’s important to all of Canada… You hear the stories, but you learn a lot more just being here.  
**Woman:** His Dad was a miner, but you don’t know unless you’ve been here…

In this last passage, links to a sense of identity are made to ‘all of Canada’. This connection to the ‘nation’ is referred to in other instances, as the accounts below reflect. However, as ethnographer, I did on occasion prompt visitors to make more of a distinction in their connections to identity; was it national, regional or more than one factor? The accounts below begin to show overlapping connections of identity with nation, region and other factors such as having a sense of the past.

[^54]: CB notes that this excerpt is collected from the Cape Breton Miners’ Museum site. BP indicates that the excerpt is collected from the Big Pit National Mining Museum of Wales site.
**CB -**  
*Woman from Ontario:* 
It’s important to learn about other cultures. Canada has different cultures and histories right across the country. This museum is an important part of that…

**CB -**  
*Family of four from Ottawa, Ontario:*  
*Mother:* We wouldn’t be here if we didn’t think this was a big part of Canadian history…yes, it is very important and a bit out of the way!

**CB -**  
*Couple from Alberta:*  
*Me: Does this represent regional identity to you?*  
*Woman:* We want to experience Canadian history…We are travelling across the country. We wanted to see a place where industry was the livelihood.  
*Man:* We looked around Halifax, but it was this region we came to. We go somewhere, we plant ourselves there, then we saturate the area. That’s what we do. I’m a retired teacher from near Edmonton, this is what my wife and I do…

**CB -**  
*Woman from Quebec:*  
Miners worked really hard. These museums are very important.  
*Me: Is this related to regional identity?*  
*Woman:* Yes, of course it is, but it is Canadian history too.  
*Me: Do you consider this part of your own heritage?*  
*Woman:* Yes of course, people also come to Quebec to see our heritage, it is all part of Canadian history, isn’t it?

For other visitors to the Cape Breton Miners’ Museum, a sense of identity does not overlap, but rather is reflective of a regional identity only. Furthermore, visitors don’t always identify with the region personally themselves, but rather they are ‘consuming’ someone else’s identity, way of life:

**CB -**  
*Woman from British Columbia:*  
*Woman:* I didn’t realize they did so much mining under water. All of the miners must have been short to work here…  
*Me: Is this part of Canadian heritage?*  
*Woman:* Noo…I see it more as a regional thing…

**CB -**  
*Male visitor:*  
It’s more a regional thing – it is Cape Breton Island, isn’t it? My 8 yr old son loved it.
The diary excerpts presented to this point were compiled from the Cape Breton site, the Cape Breton Miners’ Museum. Comparatively for those visiting the Big Pit Museum, their visitors made similar links to a sense of identity. As the accounts retrieved at the Big Pit Museum below show, a sense of identity can be attached to a region, a nation, and in other instances connections are made with humanity to ‘how people lived then’:

**BP –**

*Couple from Oxfordshire:*

> *Me:* Does a place like this reflect a sense of identity to you?
> *Woman:* As far as culture is concerned, we’re all interested to know where our ancestors came from, and their after life. It is all linked to that, isn’t it?
> *Man:* it doesn’t make any difference to us, does it? What we have today, was built on the hardships and difficulties of those before us, isn’t it? I suppose that is what people want to see, isn’t it?

**BP –**

*Female visitor:*

> It [identity] is connected to the Welsh identity more than anything, isn’t it? It is their heritage, how they lived…

**BP -**

*Female visitor:*

> This is very much a welsh thing [identity], their history. You think of mining and you think south Wales, the Welsh miner, don’t you?

**BP -**

*Local couple:*

> *Man:* We live over the hill, 8 miles away in a small village…this is not a planned trip, first time we’ve been here.
> *Woman:* It’s evocative, informative, educational…it is a part of our Welsh heritage, a big part…

**BP -**

*Me: Is this site important to identity?*

*Male visitor:* Yes, yes. Quite powerfully for the Welsh, isn’t it? We can’t believe the children that worked underground we were talking about the mills, how children lost their fingers, hands doing work…it is good to see safety standards progressed at least…it’s important for children to see this to learn how people lived, isn’t it? They don’t know…

As the above passages reflect, the sense of identity can come from attachment to a region (i.e. being Welsh, or being from Cape Breton, Nova Scotia) in addition to, or in other cases separate from making a connection to a nation (i.e. British, Welsh, or
Canadian). In other instances the visitors reflect on the miners’ ‘way of life’; as a contributing factor in a sense of identity.

The accounts that follow are further examples in which the history of ‘a region’s industrial past’ adds another component to a sense of identity. These excerpts reflect the legacy of the industrial revolution on one’s sense of identity:

**BP -**  
*Couple from Neath, Wales:*

*Woman:* It is important for the young ones to see things, to understand how people lived in a different time.  
*Me:* Does it show a sense of social identity then?  
*Man:* Yes, if you are Welsh, it certainly has meaning, it has links.  
*Me:* What if you are British?  
*Man:* Yes, of course, it would be in the wider sense too, wouldn’t it…

**BP -**  
*Me:* is this site a reflection of regional identity to you, or is it broader than that, does it take in Britain as a whole?  
*Male visitor:* hmmm…..ahhhh…..ooohhh….its a bit of a deep one there, isn’t it? I didn’t come up here for that [humorous tone]. I don’t know, we’ve had a long history of mining throughout the country, haven’t we? Kent, Wales, Northeast, and even Pembrokeshire so mining is in British blood though, isn’t it?

**BP -**  
*Local couple:*

*Me:* Why do think it is important to save these things [industrial heritage], why do you think others need to hear about it, or see it?  
*Man:* it’s history, isn’t it? We ought to know how the people used to work years ago, the conditions and things they worked in.  
*Woman:* It’ll be gone when these museums are gone, and you won’t know what’s happened before…  
*Me:* Is it an indication of the Welsh people and their identity, or can you expand it beyond that, is it a British thing as far as heritage is concerned?  
*Woman:* I think so, it is more Welsh, but there are other things that you could do education…

**BP -**  
*Local couple:*

*Me:* As far as regional identity is concerned, is this important? Specifically to Welsh identity or is it wider than that, say British identity?  
*Woman:* I would think it is universal…  
*Man:* yes…I would agree. It’s part of history, heritage in general, isn’t it?  
*Woman:* Well, you could read about these things in books, but it is not the same thing, is it? You have to come and experience this for yourself. You have to pass it on to children, and likewise, they should do the same.
BP -
*Me:* Does this site represent regional identity?
*Male visitor:* Noo...it is not just Welsh. It is not a Welsh thing anymore than it is a British thing, you get the same sense of identity in the Northeast [UK], wouldn’t you?

BP -
*Two women from North of England (with their 8 yr old daughters):*
*First woman:* I come from the North of England, but here it is much more parochial [Blaenafon region mining heritage]...isn’t it?
*Second woman:* It is very important in general for our heritage...how do you know where you are going if you don’t know where you’ve been?
*Me:* Do you mean for the region only?
*First woman:* No – for the general public...This is part of our history, and history is important...

Enveloping identity within a wider context of society is more evident in the above excerpts. These accounts therefore demonstrate a sense of identity does indeed extend beyond the individual, region and nation to a collective sense of humanity.

In other instances, the following visitor excerpts show how the range of associations with identity could vary among individual visitors. As the account below illustrates, one woman makes a link to her family, yet her husband makes a link to industry. In his case, it is his interests in the technical aspects of the working environment that provide him with a sense of identity:

CB –
*Couple from Ontario:*
*Me:* Do you link this to your own identity, say – as a Canadian?
*Woman:* My father was a coal miner in Europe....I guess, I link it back a little bit. Their working conditions were appalling.
*Man:* I don’t know...I am an electrical engineer. I think of the technical aspects of it – that is what interests me. For example, my employees need to submit an incident report if they take a band-aid from the first aid kit.

Further still in other occasions, visitors to both the Big Pit Museum and Cape Breton Miners’ Museum removed themselves from associating the sites with a sense of their own identity altogether. They were indeed, gazing (Urry 1990) on ‘someone else’s’ identity, by reflecting on what they see as a representation of a ‘past way of life’:
CB –

*Man from Ontario:*
These people were oppressed. They had a strong community bond. They worked in really harsh conditions. It was really eye opening.

*Me: Do you consider this part of your own heritage?*
No, I am not from this region. I don’t consider it part of my heritage. I drive around this town [Glace Bay], seeing how it is – a recovering industrial town, it is completely different from my day to day world [in Toronto].

BP –

*Couple from Rhymney Valley, Wales:*

*Man: * People back then had no choice…couldn’t go anywhere, do anything. Up until 1814, you could be charged with vagrancy if you were walking about in a place like Swansea without a purpose…can you imagine??

*Woman: * These people were slaves. They had to work.

*Me: Does this place give you a sense of identity?*

*Man: * No. We are Welsh, but no direct mining links, but this is our history, isn’t it? You have to know how people before you lived.

The above excerpts show that some visitors disassociate themselves from the industrial heritage they consume. This is important because although these visitors have come for their own reasons, building on their own sense of identity was not part of their consumption experience. Therefore, not all visitors to the museum relate a sense of identity with their visit.

On the contrary, in other instances and as the excerpt below details, visiting the museum caused one visitor to want to change her identity from English to Welsh. The following dialogue occurred among a school group of teenagers from Gloucester:

**BP - Observed during Roy’s underground tour:**

Roy spoke of exploitation…how coal owners took advantage of cheap labour…

*Roy: * But they was English, wasn’t they [the coal owners]?

*Young Girl: * I don’t like being English.

*Another Girl: * I want to be Welsh.

*Roy: * Why?

*First young girl again: * …cause they’re cool.

*Roy: * Who won the rugby match last week, huh? England or…??!!? Wales? That’s right, Wales !!

*Teacher guide turns to me:* I knew this was not a good week to come here…

In summary, as the collection of diary excerpts up to this point indicate, identity has been associated with a number of different elements at both industrial heritage sites.
As the visitor accounts illustrate, associations of identity were often aligned with entities that included a relationship with a particular region; a nation; a sense of family or by simply reflecting upon the meaning of the past. Sometimes these entities were referred to in isolation i.e. ‘I am Welsh therefore this is part of my history’, yet in other instances visitors related a sense of identity to overlapping criteria - a region, nation and a notion of the past combined. Further still, on other occasions visitors did not associate themselves with the site at all, but rather were consciously aware they were consuming ‘someone else’s history or past’.

Some of these passages show that sharing common characteristics with another person or group reinforces a sense of identity (Hall 1996). The common characteristics shared here are among visitors who come from mining communities themselves or have members of their family who do. They ‘identify’ with the site and in turn, build on their own sense of identity. Some museum visitors thus relate to a shared social identity with other visitors who have a ‘mining’ past in common. For Tajfel (1972), belonging to certain social groups involves an emotional and value attachment to that group, and thus reaffirms a person’s shared sense of identity with others.

The industrial heritage of a nation is also able to facilitate a sense of identity for some visitors to both the Cape Breton Miners’ Museum and the Big Pit Museum. In this context, direct links are made between a ‘nation’ and its industrial past. In a sense, they are imagining a collective identity (Anderson 1983) among a people who share a common feature of the nation – based upon the nation’s industrial history. It is through a sense of the collective that visitors link industrial heritage to a ‘shared’ past amongst them. In these instances, the industrial past of a nation is connected to being Canadian (Cape Breton Miners’ Museum) or Welsh (the Big Pit Museum).

The mechanisms behind which these visitors construct a link to a sense of national identity are also reflected upon. Drawing on Billig (1995:8), it is through mundane behaviour such as “thinking and using language” that facilitate constructs of national identity for visitors. Therefore in the context of these mining museums, visitors are reinforcing their relationship to the nation just by visiting the site in the first place and by ‘thinking and using language’ in the process.
In summarising the various ways in which identity is constructed at the heritage sites, the last excerpt above taken from Roy’s underground tour is recalled. In this instance the fickle nature of identity construction is itself demonstrated, in the sense that a teenage girl ‘wished’ to be Welsh instead of English. As Gergen (1991) has similarly asserted, ‘our identities’ are ours to, erase manipulate and create at our discretion.

The next section in this chapter applies the anthropological context to the heritage setting. The anthropological context is considered for its relevance to the theoretical line of inquiry underpinning the research objectives. Social acts such as pilgrimage are therefore presented and discussed in the context of the heritage setting. They are considered theoretically for their ability to facilitate notions of meaning and identity for those who visit heritage sites. They are also considered for their underpinning features as a way in which heritage can be consumed in meaningful ways.

7.3 Pilgrimage In Heritage

The industrial heritage site is not - by nature - a religious site. Yet, where pilgrimage and related practice is interpreted to be meaningful, links are made to the heritage setting. Visitors make pilgrimage to a heritage site because the site is meaningful to them. The pilgrimage context applied to the heritage site here then adopts the notion that pilgrimage need not be religious (sacred) in nature (Digance 2003, Frey 2004). Rather as Eade and Sallnow (1991a) assert, the motivation behind pilgrimage is historically and culturally specific. The physical features of industrial heritage are also unique to pilgrimage. As Coleman (2004a:53) states, “…pilgrimage does not merely involve an intensified form of prayer”; but rather involves varying forms of engagement with the physical assets thus providing for meaning in pilgrimage. The physical assets engaged in pilgrimage here are made up of the remnants of industrial heritage.

The excerpts reflecting acts of pilgrimage are furthermore interpreted in terms of how the visitors expressed their own thoughts and feelings when asked questions related to their sense of identity. In essence, identity is reinforced among a
group by making pilgrimage together to the heritage site. The visitors become pilgrims of industrial heritage, because they find meaning in making the journey to the site with others. It is also relevant to point out here that throughout the collection diary excerpts, visitors were often interviewed in groups\textsuperscript{55} as opposed to individually, adding another variable to the narrative collected within the ethnographic diary. The nature of people to answer questions collectively presented other dynamics that sometimes enriched the content compiled as part of the findings for the diary. Individual interviews were also solicited from visitors to the sites, yet the diary captures dialogue from mostly from social groups, for example family and friends. On occasion, my own questions are dropped into the excerpts below, as to contextualise the content further for relevant emerging themes. The theme of pilgrimage below begins with an excerpt from a family visiting the Cape Breton Miners’ Museum in Glace Bay, Nova Scotia:

\begin{quote}
\textbf{CB - Family of 5 from Ontario:} \\
\...my father’s grandfather was a miner. Sheldon [miner guide] did a great job of bringing the danger to life, hard to imagine unless you go underground yourself. I’ll be interested to hear what my children [teenagers] think. They were not scared because she [youngest aged 9] knows her parents wouldn’t take them underground to anything that was unsafe. I was less taken with the exhibit area, it is standard. But Sheldon is an actual coal miner that speaks from first hand experience...\end{quote}


In this instance, the ‘father’ is speaking on behalf of the whole family. He brought his family here, or – as it is interpreted he is making pilgrimage to the site with them. Collectively, they have the opportunity to reflect upon a time long since passed, and they come to learn more about ‘how their ancestors’ lived and survived. He also comments on Sheldon’s involvement in this as the tour guide, in bringing to light first hand accounts of what it was like for his father’s grandfather to work as a coal miner. As this account illustrates an element of storytelling also emerges, in which he is curious to know what his children think about their visit. Nevertheless, he brought his family to this site to learn more about who ‘they’ are. Through this particular act of pilgrimage – going to the museum itself - a sense of identity is being formed among members of this family.

\textsuperscript{55} See Appendix 13 for photos of groups visiting together at each museum. These are included here to reflect the ‘group’ dynamic in collecting interviews. People were interviewed ‘together’ at the museum canteen and in other areas of the museum.
The above excerpt recalls comments from an elderly lady as visits the museum with her children and grandchildren. She also draws from a family connection to the mining industry. She moved to western Canada over 60 years ago in anticipation of an uncertain future for her family should she remain living in the Glace Bay area. As with the preceding excerpt, the first hand accounts from the miner guides make important links to her own past, her own identity and those of her family.

The following accounts capture narrative in which visitors make direct links to their families and the history - or mining heritage - of their families:

**CB -**

*Elderly Lady:*
I think it was fabulous (underground tour and the museum). I’m from the area, my dad was a miner, he pulled out one of the guys that was mentioned earlier, the fires in the Phalen. This place is not promoted enough, it is a real diamond in the rough.

**CB -**

*Young girl in her twenties from Dallas, Texas:*
It was a really good experience. I learned a lot. People had to work very hard for all they had, just to eat even. My husband’s grandmother is from here (Mabou) and his mother just bought a house in Port Hood. It is the first time I’ve been here. Lots of community spirit, the culture, you get out to the dances and things where everybody knows one another…

**BP -**

*Male visitor and his partner:*
*Man:* This is part of me, my family came from this region, so it is part of me.
*Woman:* going down underground was really interesting. You can hear about it, you can read about it – but there is no replacing seeing it for yourself and how they worked…it was outstanding.

In the passage below, a direct link is made between having family working in the area and also identifying with being Welsh:

**BP -**

*Young Welsh couple:*
We are both Welsh, proud of our heritage. My grandfather was a miner. It is really interesting to be underground. I am proud to be Welsh, (lifts up shirt sleeve to display tattoo of red dragon).

As mentioned most of the interviews compiled in the ethnographic diary were done among groups, families or friends visiting the site together. Therefore further links
to the mining past such as ties and associations with trade unions were for some groups the purpose of their visit:

**BP -**
*Party of four, 84 yr old man, born 100 yards from site. With wife, daughter and his son-in-law.*
*Son-in-law:* A lot of this nation’s history is found in the narrative of history books, you really need something like this to show the real thing.
*Elderly man:* I’m John Whitney’s grandson, before trade unions he represented the interests of the miners to management… Two other mines besides the Big Pit in this area. Very much tied into the iron production of this area.
*Elderly wife:* coal mining is all but over in this country, isn’t it? It will never come back.

The older gentlemen is making a link between his birthplace and the site, thus identifying mining industry with his birth. He is also making a direct association with his ties to the historic influence of trade unions on shaping the face of the mining industry in the Welsh valleys. He is also sharing this information with me, in the presence of his family. In essence, they all appear to relate to the significance of the site and the purpose of their visit. This man identifies with this site and thus shares this association with his wife, daughter and son-in-law. They have all made pilgrimage to this site together, in recognition of this. Coming to the museum has, in effect for them facilitated a sense of identity for each of them.

Unlike the above excerpts, the following account shows that it is the younger member of the family who brings an older member of the family to the museum. In the excerpt below a daughter brings her mother to the museum. In essence, they too are making pilgrimage to a site that is representative of their own family history.

**BP -**
*One woman aged in her 30s, brought her mother to the museum.*
*The daughter:* For the young ones it’s educational, and for the older ones its informative… my granddad was a small man, all of his uncles worked in the mine. One died there… (worked in Northumberland, Newcastle area…) The Welsh are proud of this, aren’t they?… you don’t have that sense of teamwork anymore, do you?
*The mother:* I barely know my neighbours. On the row of houses where my granddad lived, everyone knew one another. Everyone of those houses lost someone, didn’t they? But they all rallied around.
In the next passage, a direct family tie is not the association made by a visitor from Cardiff visiting with his girlfriend; rather, he makes an identity link the mining industry itself:

**BP -**

*young couple - girl from East Anglia, guy from Cardiff:*

*guy from Cardiff:* It is brilliant. You can see these things on TV, but it is not the same thing as experiencing it yourself. I’m from Cardiff, so this industrial heritage is part of my past, it is so important to keep it. This is the best museum we’ve ever been to, very unique. You go to London, and many things are the same…We would definitely tell others to come…

This young man has made the effort to *share* his industrial *past* or heritage with his girlfriend who is not from the area. Again, to use the pilgrimage analogy, he has made the journey here to share his past and show *who he is,* because he *identifies* with the history of the coal mining industry.

For some visitors to industrial heritage sites, it is not necessarily the coal mining industry per se that brings them to an industrial site. Rather, it is a link to the industrial past more generally, and in this case the exploitation of the earth - mining – being at one time the major employer in Wales. For example for the following visitors, the death of their father in the North Wales slate quarry and the relationship between him and heavy industry resonates at the Big Pit:

**BP –**

*Couple (brother and sister) from Scotland, he was 70, she was 61:*

Our father died in a quarry, he was the quarry man, the manager…he had two accidents, he said that if there was ever a third, he wouldn’t get out. There was a blast, he was hit from behind suffered a fractured skull and punctured lung…he didn’t make it. He couldn’t get away quick enough…children need to see this, to see how hard it was…our grandfather was a miner. And our dad a quarry man…I don’t think men would go down the mines today…would they? Not that they shouldn’t, mind you. Would be good for them. They had no choice then…did they…

This brother and sister made ‘pilgrimage’ to the Big Pit to remember the untimely death of their father in an industrial accident. These siblings were similarly asked about a sense of identity, to which these accounts were shared. Through a pilgrimage then, to an industrial site, they are remembering their family and also solidifying a sense of identity in themselves.
In a separate instance, a Welsh couple brought a visiting American couple to the Big Pit, and in making pilgrimage to the site with them they show their American guests more about the mining history of their region. These couples met through their children, who are now married. In essence, the family connection to the industrial past is thus extended and furthermore shared with ‘new’ members of their family. The Welsh lady shares a story about her personal connections to the industry and the area, and reminisces about times past:

**BP -**
My father was a miner, he went underground with his father, and his brothers were miners. But one of them had an accident on the coalface…my uncle and his father, they were miners in the valley where I lived, and he was one of the homeless men on the lifesaving, he had to go if their were any accidents around - there was a [roof] fall - something fell on his pelvis and fractured his spine – and he was a paraplegic for the rest of his life, yet he, was telling the best way remove the coal to get him out, he was, actually, in all his pain, explaining how to get him out. So you know, so much is mingled with coal mining, just the word coal.

In a separate account of below, three professors of American History who visited the Big Pit Museum reflect on the significance of the industrial heritage of the site has for them. The narrative that follows was the result of a rich discussion lending insightful perspective unto the experience of consuming industrial heritage. The passage below comes at the tail end of a lengthy exchange between the professors and me. In general, the excerpt captures a specific discussion linking pilgrimage with industrial heritage:

**BP –**
*Me: What do you think of the legacy of sites like this…how much of the preservation of our industrial heritage hold more value over time, even perhaps in an anthropological sense – for example in rituals or pilgrimage…will we get to a time where even more people will think ‘well how did our previous ancestors live and work?’…do you see a trend where [interest in this sort of thing] will grow or fade…what do you think?*

*Man (American professor):* As more people have resources, there is more tourism in general…I was struck by how many school groups are here…yes, this time year it is mostly school groups…so I just think that there may be more of that, although there is not a lot of society that looks back for that particularly or wants to tell a story of what it I was like, or you know – the losses that were involved in getting ahead….people are mostly almost always looking ahead and thinking ahead….

*Me: I should let you go….*

*(Continued on following page)*
Woman (Oxford professor): I would like to say that, for me the answer would be very much “yes” that I could imagine a pilgrimage site analogy where, I mean, for us as historians we are in this business because it as a kind of pilgrimage as a connection because we think there is so much value in the past… I guess I can imagine, on a sort of widespread popular level people having very much the same sort of feelings there is value for me in the past – that value is what is it to be human? You know…what it is to be human…so you know here in the mines….and in this community, I am sure you have every possible expression of what it is to be human….suffering, overcoming of suffering, achievement and so on….and so it becomes a kind of iconic compactness of a lot of different meanings…I can see it in the future being a place where even for people who don’t specifically related to coal mining find meaning in it because of the issues that they find here…

The sequence of dialogue captured in this account unfolded differently to the others collected in the diary. As self-professed historians both on professional and personal levels, their interest in the history of the Big Pit Museum and the surrounding industrial heritage is wide ranging. Similarly, they were prompted by me - as ethnographer - to ponder more specifically on the analogy of pilgrimage as linked to industrial heritage. Essentially then, the comments they share allow for plausible links into how pilgrimage can be theorised in relation to industrial heritage sites.

Although reference to pilgrimage has traditionally been associated with religious connotations, Graburn (1977) reminds that tourism itself has ancient roots in the act of pilgrimage. In the accounts described above, visitors to these heritage sites are engaging in ‘tourist’ pursuits yet they come to these sites of industrial heritage for particular reasons. For example, as Frey (2004), has noted, tourists who engage in pilgrimage do so for any number of reasons, including the cultural, spiritual, or personal. It is argued here that the history associated with industrial heritage sites resonates with some of its visitors, making the account meaningful because it is shared with family and friends. Visiting the site together also nurtures a collective sense of ‘belonging’ to a way of life that existed in the ‘industrial’ past.

Osterreith (1997) has noted that modern pilgrimage has the same values associated with it that traditional pilgrimage does; in either instance a sense of identity and spiritual re-birth is sought. Upon reflection of the above examples of ‘pilgrimage’, these visitors are making personal connections to the site, the history, and in effect, also sharing it with family members. This is echoed by Bauman (1996)
in his application of the pilgrimage metaphor, ‘identity-building’ occurs in it because it is done together.

Not unlike pilgrimage to Australia’s Uluru Rock to connect with its spiritual and emotional significance (McGrath 1991), so too does pilgrimage to industrial heritage possess similar appeal to visitors. It matters not then, if a pilgrimage is sacred or secular in nature, a person is able to make “a spiritual step forward” (Turner and Turner 1978) in recognising something they deem worthy.

Pilgrimage then, is a useful theoretical concept in terms of its applicability to postmodern manifestations of tourism. The concept of pilgrimage and its diverse practices show how it has evolved over time, thus reflecting more ‘secular’ examples in practice. Along these lines, a pilgrimage to secular sites such as those of heritage significance become applicable to the concept of pilgrimage. If a site gives ‘meaning’ thus connecting with a sense of ‘identity’; it can also demonstrate a spiritual connection (as it does for the 84 yr old man born near the site) then heritage and in this instance industrial heritage, has the ability to emit powerful meanings to visitors through the act of making pilgrimage. As such, an industrial heritage site can, in its own right, be considered a site or destination of pilgrimage.

7.4 Ritual in Industrial Heritage

The literature review explored aspects of the sacred and secular in the ritual context. Section 2.5 and 2.6 reflects upon the diverse ways in which ritual is practiced and exercised across cultures. A feature of ritual is the repeated nature of visiting some sites more than once (Franklin 2003) and also on an annual basis (Aitchison et al 2000). Examples of this were discussed among those paying homage to sites of spiritual significance such as Stonehenge, Uluru Rock (Ayers Rock) where secular ritual of visiting such sites possess deep meaning. For the following couple, coming to the Big Pit Museum has indeed become a repeated ritual in which meaning is created and reinforced:
BP -  
*Biker couple from Forest of Dean:*  
We’ve been a couple of times, we keep coming back. We like to take our time, take things in and not to rush. So we haven’t seen it all yet, but we check things out. As far as history is concerned, Napoleonic wars, what’s left behind is very general, with this it is very real.

The same is true in the account below for another local couple from nearby Abergavenny:

BP -  
*Couple from Abergavenny, Wales:*  
We’ve been here loads of times…we like to come back and see the reactions of people…that is why we come back…basically that is why we come back. The bangs and so on….I find it a very moving experience. I like to hear what the miners have to say, their stories. We watched people from Cambridgeshire here today, they’ve never been in a coal mine, they’re land is very flat so the scenery is very different from them too.

Through the ritual of repeated visits, these couples find new meanings each time they visit the museum. These meanings are contextualised each time from listening to different stories of the miner guides; through their own consumption and contemplation, and also from observing the reactions of other visitors. For a separate Welsh family below, bringing others to the site has become for them a ritual in itself:

BP -  
*Family from Caerphilly, Wales:*  
The underground tour is brilliant, isn’t it? This museum is a huge part of Welsh history, it is very important to keep it. We often have visitors from Ireland, Canada and so on and we take them here. We’ve been here before, a number of times. Because of that... It is great to have the former miner give the tour and hear about their experiences.

The site has the ability to impress upon younger children as well, as they share a desire to experience the site with friends and family. In effect, children also show interest in sharing their history and encourage others to visit the site. These inclinations of the children further reinforce a sense of ritual, in sharing something deemed ‘special’ to them:
Lady from Newport with son (age 7) and cousins from Gloucester (aged 9 & 13):

Lady: he is very keen to show his cousins ‘his country’…We were going to go to the beach today, but came here instead. The kids wanted to go to a climbing wall, or pool……but they can’t go down the coal mine there. My son (aged 7) was very excited to show them this…

In both industrial heritage sites - the Big Pit Museum and the Cape Breton Miners’ Museum – a ritual of storytelling appears to occur naturally among visitors. This becomes evident with the information they share with me and in the process they are also telling stories amongst each other. This causes these visitors to reflect on their own experience of consuming the site. In effect what happens is that the visitors then appear to encourage other people who they know such as other family and friends to come visit the site, and consume the industrial heritage for themselves:

Couple from Merthyr Tydfil:

Merthyr Tydfil was the centre of the Industrial Revolution…it is very important to keep heritage sites as this – you have to pass it on.

Me - What makes it important? You had a real sense of community then – your neighbours were your best friends. It’s important to pass on that history. My grandparents lives through this. It is important to know why they lived through. You have to know your history.

Yes – I would tell others to come here – definitely, its important people know how people lives and got on then…

Female visitor:

Yes, I would tell others to come…My father and law and his friend were here, and they raved about it. Of course, they should come.

The account below shares further perspective from the lady who moved away from the Glace Bay area 60 years ago so that her family might have more opportunities in life. At the same time, while visiting the Cape Breton region she made visiting the museum with her family a priority, due in part because she has spent most of her life living four thousand miles away on the Pacific Coast of Canada.
CB –  
*Elderly Lady:*  
I brought my family here today. My family originally came here from the Ukraine, at the foot of the Carpathian Mountains. We were scorned upon, we ate garlic, and in 1909, my father came here from Russia. Eventually, I had to take my own children away from here, what future were they to have?

I left Glace Bay in 1943, and remember making my brother’s their lunch when they started working in the mines. I was 13 years old. I tell my kids these stories, and they always tell me “g’way ma…you’re telling tales. That is not true…” they don’t believe me!

As the account below shows, former miners talk about coming back to the ‘mine’ where they once worked. This reflects the tendency of other groups of people, in this case former miners, to also engage in repeated visits to these sites. They come to these heritage sites to reconnect and remember a time past, a way of life, and remember those who lost their lives in industrial accidents:

BP -  
*One couple, and one man from Rhondda Valley, (the two men are former coal miners):*  
On June 17th in 1965, thirty two miners died [actual date May 17th]…very important to save such things, it is all quickly forgotten. Haven’t been underground since 1982….We knew the big Pit was here, wanted to see it. Wanted to go back underground…There was lots of noise in the galleries (simulated mine)….we didn’t use such things.

In the above excerpt it is noteworthy to mention that the men actually have the date of the explosion wrong by a month. In recalling the way that authenticity is debated in tourism literature, the ‘truth’ is sometimes a requirement of authenticity yet in other contexts it is a relative concept. As the above passage would appear to indicate it matters not then, that the date of the disaster referred to is correct but rather, that these men are remember the most important detail to them: their friends died. In this instance, it is a collective remembering of what these men risked in their chosen line of work; in remembering their friends who succumbed to the danger of the work. This is how they remember and make meaning from the past – by coming back and visiting this site. These men show that there are overall features of an event that are remembered, in this case it is that their friends died, and although they do not recall

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36 I take particular notice of this date because I asked the miner’s to verify the date of this explosion so that I might follow up on the event. Again, they mentioned June 17th not May 17th. Their account may not reflect the accurate date of this event, yet the meaning of such a disaster in the context of heritage being represented is not sacrificed (Waitt 2000).
the correct date it happened – this passage shows the context of information that heritage is able to trigger in making a place meaningful.

In the excerpt below a couple repeat their visit to the site so that they may experience the meaning of the site once more with family. In joining their son and his girlfriend, the parents are inclined to share their history with them also. In effect, they are all sharing in the experience of learning more about the region together.

**BP**
*Party of four, local family from Cwmbran (husband, wife, son and his girlfriend):*

**Father:** Too many of the buildings are lost, we liked our tour guide, he was witty and funny. Made it really interesting. My grandfather was an electrician at a different pit down the valley here...you have to save this stuff. It is more important to the history...

**Boyfriend:** I live away now, I wanted to show my girlfriend this place. This museum shows the history of this place...

**Parents:** Yes it does.

**My question to the girlfriend: Did you learn more about the region?**

**Girlfriend:** Yeah, yeah, I did...

**Parents:** We came here ourselves in January, February, yet they were not doing tours, they were doing underground maintenance. We couldn’t go underground then so we tagged along with them [son and girlfriend] today.

In reference to Turner (1968) it is through the acts of ritual that what is ‘important’ to a community and what they value become more obvious. Some visitors would not in fact, go to the museum unless it was ‘significant’ or ‘important’ to them. Furthermore for Douglas (1975) rituals are described as expressions “…of society’s awareness of its own configurations and necessities”. In the context of themes uncovered in this ethnographic diary, if rituals are expressions (Douglas 1975), and also reflect what is valued by a community (Turner 1968) then rituals manifest themselves through the act of visiting the heritage site. The excerpts also show revisiting to be a common practice, and is interpreted to be ritualistic in nature.

Drawing on the religious shrine as a meaningful symbol, so too does heritage have the ability to act as a symbol of meaning. As Eade and Sallnow (1991a) acknowledge, there is a diversity of meanings at the root of ritual behaviour, and these are not confined to religious contexts. The ‘spiritual’ meaning often associated with the religious context possesses similar attributes for those meanings found at secular sites. That is to say, that these museums as heritage sites are not religious per
se, but they have the ability to possess meaningful and spiritual significance for its
visitors.

As Badone and Rosman (2004) state, the once rigid dichotomies between
pilgrimage and tourism do not hold the same currency in postmodern forms of travel
and tourism. It is argued then that when compared to the sacred worship of religious
shrines, there are secular sites in heritage that are equally meaningful to its visitors.
In this case heritage sites can become important to their visitors and can provide as
much meaning as religious shrines do for their visitors/pilgrims. As the excerpts
show, these visitor accounts detail how they come to such sites to remember a family
member, an industrial past and previous way of life.

Of related significance is the fact that those who are ‘consuming the heritage
site’ do so with other people, thus experiencing the site together. Acts of pilgrimage
and ritual are often exercised in similar social contexts, in that they are done with
other people in their social group: family, friends, members of a community.

7.5 Rites of Passage in Industrial Heritage

This section explores how rites of passage (Van Gennep [1909] 1977) are practiced
in the context of tourism at industrial heritage sites. A rite of passage is a process
that can facilitate transformation through the practice of tourism (Graburn 1983).
This section combines rites of passage and industrial heritage by drawing from
excerpts where visitors are transformed in some way from visiting the site. Here
people have been brought together by family and friends and learn more about the
significance of these sites. A ‘rite of passage’ by experiencing the industrial past is
made. The excerpt below reflects what a group of visitors feel is important about
industrial heritage and why it needs to be shared:

BP –
Group of adults from Bridgend, Wales:
You have to pass this stuff on – it is so important. If you don’t, even over the course
of one generation it is lost – the understanding is lost. You have to know the
hardships, the conditions they worked in…you have to know…
For other visitors to these industrial sites, it is sometimes the children that are subject to being ‘exposed’ to the history of the site. Parents want to build on their children’s knowledge of 'what went before them' and ‘this is important’ in learning more about their social history. The excerpts below reflect this practice:

**BP – Father and son:**
I brought my children here, my 8 year old son…he put the battery pack on his waist, the helmet and light on his head, breathed the air underground….they have it too good today, too easy. That is what I wanted to show him. You can’t get the same thing in a book, you can look it up on the internet…but it is not the same thing as being here…again, you need to see these things. Reading about them is not the same…

**CB
Man with two girls (daughters):**
Wishie [tour guide] had great stories, this is part of our heritage, I wanted to bring my girls and show them, they’re old enough to understand and remember. This is our history, my family goes way back, right up until my father’s generation.
Two girls: it was dark, dirty and dangerous!

**BP
Young family of three from Sweden:**
I took my son because his great grandfather worked underground. It is important to see these things. The mining galleries are ok, but not as good as the real thing….I am from Sweden, this is my first trip. The underground guides are fantastic, aren’t they?

**CB – Family of 5, grandmother, father, mother and 2 children.**
Father: It was awesome…My grandfather was a miner. We wanted to bring them [the children], show them. I’m originally from Glace Bay, but no longer living here…

**CB – Father accompanied by two kids: one son, one daughter.**
Father: It was great. I wanted to bring my children, show them what it was like. My father was a miner.
Son: I really liked it.

In these excerpts of the diary, the children are exposed to moments of ‘transition’ typical in rites of passage (Van Gennep [1909] 1977) as imposed upon them by their parents. These examples demonstrate that parents have an opportunity to impose a change of ‘age’ or even ‘state’ (Turner 1969) just by visiting the sites with their children. The museum visit allows the children to experience a ‘rite of passage’ into
‘the industrial past’. Once the children have been to the site, they further have the tools to reflect upon their visit afterwards and what it means to them.

As Graburn states, forms of tourism exhibit rites of passage. That is to say that common forms of rites of passage are socially sanctioned rituals (as in marriage) but in tourism they are usually self-imposed “…and thereby more exceptional and often personally meaningful” (1983:13). In these excerpts there resonates a transition by way of a rite of passage in one’s personal life.

By showing the children the way things were, these parents share with them the story of how ‘tough’ making a living was in previous generations. For other parents, it is more about sharing ‘lessons learned’ with their children as an excerpt above captures: ‘they have it too good today, too easy’. It reflects the notion of a rite of passage in that they have ‘learned’ something meaningful about the past in the process.

The following diary excerpt illuminates an example of ‘rite of passage’ in industrial heritage. An older woman takes the initiative to bring her (adult) nephew to the site. She mentions that although the site brings back painful memories for her, it is a way to recall the past and the specific meaning it has for her and her family:

| BP – Welsh family visiting Big Pit: |
| Older lady: I grew up with collieries all around me, my nephew is here visiting, he has no idea what it was like, we brought him here, he’s with my family underground now. |
| Me: Are you going underground [tour]? |
| Older lady: Oh, no…I couldn’t. I grew up with a mine shaft across from me, it brings back bad memories…this is sad for me. It was hard times, I’ve known people who have died in there… |

It matters not that the site represents bad memories for her, but rather she willfully subjects herself to these surroundings so as to share the industrial history of the area with her nephew. In effect, she facilitates a situation where her nephew is offered a ‘moment of transition’ (Turner 1969); something that he can reflect on himself, and leave the heritage site ‘changed’. Through a process of transition, the nephew is thus
offered the opportunity to leave the museum having learned something more about his family, his past, and who he is as a result.

The next passage provides an account in which a visitor to the Cape Breton museum actively seeks more information on his own family’s past, as both father and grandfather were miners. As he engages in a lengthy discussion with a tour guide, this visitor and his partner view a mining disaster log book only to find a record of his grandfather’s death due to a mine explosion in the region some years ago. By visiting the museum, he learns more about himself, and his family. In learning about the death of his grandfather, connections between his mining heritage and a sense of identity is made:

**CB -**

*Couple visiting from Ontario:*

My father was a coal miner, you can imagine what it might be like, but you just don’t know unless you go down yourself. I found it really good…you know…(interrupted by miner guide Donnie)…Donnie ‘Cow’ brings visitor to disaster log, found grandfather who died in 1917, Michael Curry.

The excerpts presented in the section of the annotated ethnographic diary show that properties associated with rites of passage (Turner 1969, Van Gennep [1909]1977) can be applied in the tourist context (Graburn 1983). These excerpts reflect examples of contemporary manifestations of transition through rites of passage (separation, liminality, reincorporation) where an individual’s social state (Turner 1969) is able to change as a result. The first stage being *separation*, whereby an individual is separated from its usual environment (i.e. home) and its related cultural influences (i.e. family functions). The second stage, Turner addresses the liminal period, the ‘betwixt and between’ stage between *separation* and *reaggregation*. It is during this transition that a change in social state occurs, as the tourist reflects the meaning associated with consuming the new environment (i.e. the industrial site as museum). Through reaggregation or reincorporation, the subject (tourist) is reintroduced to its previous surroundings (i.e. home). Digance (2006) comments on this reaggregation at the final step of a ‘secular’ pilgrimage journey. In effect, it is only afterward the encounter happens that the tourist takes time to reflect on the meaning and significance of the ‘journey’ itself. In Holden’s (2005:147) reference to ritual in tourism, he also acknowledges how tourism facilitates “…an implicit desire
for reflection, recovery and recreation before moving on to the next stage in one’s life”.

Furthermore, the accounts above show how the theme of family resonates in these excerpts. Parents introduce their children to the museum, and share the experience with them. It is a social rite of ‘becoming’ through transition and transformation. In the process these children learn more about who they are by gaining a sense of identity and meaning by experiencing the industrial past.

7.6 Emerging Themes – Consumption Elements in Heritage

In the compilation of the main ethnographic diary, the ‘thick description’ inherent in the diary’s content evolved continuously. In the process, by addressing the research objectives further themes within the ‘heritage consumption experience’ began to emerge. More specifically, I have identified these themes to be experience, imagination and landscape. The elements that are inherent to these themes are also built upon, e.g. experience (being underground, wearing miners’ kit); imagination (darkness, timber creaking); and landscape (viewing an industrial site). Below, I begin by exploring the narrative that revealed these themes in the diary, beginning with ‘experience’ as a theme in the consumption of industrial heritage. Discussions of ‘imagination’ and ‘landscape’ as the other themes follow. Therefore the diary excerpts below are drawn from for their ability to illuminate the emergence of these themes. Supporting literature is also incorporated into the discussion so to illustrate connections between visitor accounts and the emerging themes. In so doing, an interpretive step in the methodological process is also applied.

7.6.1 Consuming Experience

Both the Big Pit Museum and the Cape Breton Miners’ Museum offer visitors opportunities to consume features unique only to the leftovers of an industrial era. For instance one feature of both museums is the underground tour. This offers visitors a chance to consume a unique environment of an underground coal mine. The value of the underground ‘experience’ in consuming something ‘real’ is expanded on as a theme of consumption. The excerpts below reflect a preference for
going into a real coal mine as opposed to a simulated environment. It suggests that an authentic ‘experience’ is preferred to one that is not.

BP –
It is very clever how it is done, you can read about it, or even see it on a screen but it is not the same thing as being there, is it?

BP –
Going underground is a real eye opening experience – you can read about this in books but being there makes it more real.

CB –
The metaphor really comes alive - that hard work ethic- having the ex-miners give the tour.

CB -
*Mother and Daughter from nearby town of Dominion:*
Just to be in there and hear the water, dripping down, the bending over. It was scary – I’d never go down under there again. I have a new respect for coal miners. I had it before, but to see it on television is different, isn’t it? You have to go underground, don’t you…

The difference between an authentic environment and a simulated one is commented on further. In the excerpts below, some visitors go so far as to discredit the simulated mining environment to voice their preference for one that is ‘real’:

BP –
*Male visitor:*
At Rhondda Valley [Heritage Park]…put you in a tram car, shake it up and down and would have you believe that you are in a mine. It is not real, this is.

BP –
*Male visitor:*
We’ve been to Rhondda Valley…you get in a cage, then you have the sensation that you are dropping, but I don’t think you do. My wife reached out to touch the coal, only to realize it was plastic. It was a bit of a let down, really…

The following four young men from a university in New York collectively recall their thoughts and experiences of a real mine. For them, the authenticity of experiencing something ‘real’ adds to value to the consumption experience:
**BP -**

*Four students from Colgate University, State of New York:*

**First student:** It is really authentic, the underground I like how they’ve kept that the way it is. You have to work for the tour, crouching, it gives you a real feel for what they went through…

**Second student:** Great to have former miners give tours, they lived this, they are very enthusiastic about it.

**Third student:** For me it was very scary, I banged my head, my lamp fell off, it got very dark. You had to wear a heavy battery pack, carry your own light, breathing apparatus…just like they had to do…

**Fourth student:** These mines are a huge part of Welsh history, you have to save it. I like the fact that you have a former miner give the tours.

**Second student again:** And when the lights went out, it must have been soo scary

Although the excerpts above show a preference to experience ‘authentic’ features of the museums, other visitors thought the simulated mine environment (the mining galleries of the Big Pit Museum), was equal in its ability to demonstrate the work environment of the underground mine. Such a perspective shows how the ‘inauthentic’ also provides a meaningful consumption experience in the same way the ‘real’ underground does:

**BP –**

*Male visitor to Big Pit:*

The underground mine experience was just as good as the galleries [simulated mechanised mining]. The galleries gave you a sense of the machinery used, the noise and the men working…that is good.

Other visitors see the value of being underground as it permits them to experience exactly what the miners did during their day. The excerpts below reflect on more specific attributes of the underground experience that make being underground meaningful and memorable for visitors:

**CB –**

*Man from nearby town of North Sydney:*

It’s completely different being down underground. The whole experience of it – you can see it, touch it, feel the coldness of the walls.

**BP –**

*Older gentleman from Wales:*

The walking, hitting your head, eating your lunch underground…turning your light off, you experience the way it was.
Some of my observations underground:
Our guide encouraged to shut off lights, told stories in pitch black dark of six year olds, with candles often going out, string tied from wrist to door handle, can you imagine the sounds/timber creaking, water running, rats squeaking, stones falling…all in the dark. There were many ooo’s and ahh’s among the crowd.

In the observations mentioned above, tour guides would often get the children on the tour to role play children that used to work underground. The guides explain that the job of ‘trapper’ boys and girls to open and close doors underground for passing horses and trams of coal and supplies. In adding to the value of consuming the underground experience these occasions of role play were encouraged by the underground tour at both the Big Pit Museum and the Cape Breton Miners’ Museum:

My observations:
John Perrett (BP Miner Guide) gets student Michelle aged 7, to role play a trapper child. She opens and closes trap doors as the rest of us pass by.

It was through the descriptions given by the miner guide that helped visitors imagine how bad the conditions were at one time for those children who had to work underground. Michelle’s actions were able to stir reflections shared by the visitor below. Seeing a child in this environment first hand builds on this visitor’s experience of the mine:

Female visitor:
To think that the children worked underground, in cold wet conditions. To hear carts come rumbling through in the darkness and hoping that they jumped out of the way in the right direction. It helps people to see, to understand how things were done…

The excerpts above highlight the varied nature of the consumption experience in industrial heritage. More specifically, the unique aspects of consuming a previous industrial environment reveal the multi-faceted nature of experience and the wide range in which experience is practiced becomes evident. O’Dell (2005) supports this perspective, stating experiences are organised spatially and created by manipulating the surrounding material culture. Indeed then as the above excerpts show, visitors experience heritage in a variety of ways and recall their consumption of heritage in equally diverse accounts. Consequently, this reflects how ‘experience’ as an entity
in its own right is highly personal, subjective in nature, intangible and continuous (O’Dell 2005).

This is evidence that visitors experience and consume heritage in different ways, and differs in regards to intensity, or meaning. Take for example the shutting off the headlamp underground and experiencing darkness. Not all visitors will recall the experience in the same way. Some visitors might reflect on the darkness only, while others will make a direct connection with the danger miners are in while working underground. Yet, the fact that such experiences are diverse in nature is important in pointing out how visitors experience industrial heritage differently. This is key to deepening an understanding into the diverse nature of the heritage consumption experience.

Imagination is the next theme of the consumption experience that is explored in the following section. The visitors’ ability to engage in imagination is important element in the wider context in consumption of heritage, as this also facilitates in the process of building meaning and identity in consuming the industrial past.

7.6.2 Consuming Imagination

The following accounts demonstrate how imagination comes into play in the consumption experience. The ability of heritage sites to trigger the imagination reflects how it is embedded in the consumption of heritage, and thereby influences how meaning and understanding is built among the visitors. (Plates 7.1 and 7.2 that follow add visual context to what the visitor below is referring to).

BP –
Male visitor:
You can simulate all you want, use computer graphics and otherwise, but how do you compete with the true coal mine experience? You can’t – the damp, the cold, the smells. There is no comparison. That is the authentic experience… I remember my grandfather’s pit, going into the medical room – it immediately brought me back – I could ‘see’ someone laying in the bath hammock [visualisation]… I could even smell the same ones I did then… not here, but they came right back to me…
It is through the use of imagination that the ‘medical room’ comes to life for this visitor. Imagination acts as a conduit is establishing meaning, and constructing a sense of identity for him, as it reminds him of his grandfather.

Imagination is contextualised by other visitors in similar ways when consuming the industrial heritage of the museums:
**BP:**

*Young couple from Yorkshire (Girl's father was from Wales):*

The experience of being underground – the smells, seeing the stables…a very valuable experience. As we get older, you come to appreciate your past more, don’t we? You start to realize how hard they worked here…

**BP – Female visitor to Wales:**

You can imagine the damp, the smells underground….72 horses…that must have been awful, wasn’t it….

Below reflects an account where a father is able to build on his daughter’s sense of imagination. This adds to her own effort in building knowledge and meaning from the industrial heritage that she consumes:

**BP – My observations:**

*Young daughter (8 yrs old):* Did they get paid?

*Father:* Yes they got paid

*Daughter:* Was it a good job?

*Father:* Noo….it was a dangerous, horrible job, they worked in awful conditions…

In the next passage, Donnie ‘Cow’ as miner guide at the Cape Breton Miners’ Museum provides narrative allowing visitors to imagine for themselves the circumstances of time past. He triggers their imaginations in gaining a sense of ‘the way it was’ and ‘the way things were’ while working underground:

**CB – Family from New Brunswick:**

It was a very real experience because Donnie worked in the mine. We were not aware of hardships in industry in the early mines, and how much control the companies inflicted on the miners [e.g. company-owned store]. Our kids love history - this is very interesting to them.

For the following American visitor, she makes a link between the museum and a famous coal mining song by an American country singer. For her, she is able to imagine the lyrics of the music and make a connection between the song and the industrial site she is consuming:

**CB – Woman from New Jersey:**

It is just like the song by Ernie Ford – “Sixteen Tons and what do you get? Another day older and deeper in debt” – it has regional significance. Very informative, very much enjoyed the tour by retired coal miner.
Imagination is an element in the consumption process that the industrial heritage sites as museums are able to mediate for visitors. As they wander around the site and reflect on the experience before them, they are able to imagine for themselves the way things were, the way the miners worked, the way people lived. This is an important contribution in the construction of meaning and identity for visitors.

As Bremer similarly points out (2006:33), the meaningful aspects of a person’s existence depends on how they imagine themselves within their own cultural and historical contexts:

[t]he meaningful content of an individual’s being depends on her or his association with various social groups as imagined in her or his own cultural or historical contexts. At the same time, an affinity of meanings provides a basis for imagining a distinct community to identify with.

The experience of consuming the heritage site is thus enriched through its ability to initiate imagination. Therefore, visitors are able to socially and culturally contextualise the meaning of the site for themselves, thereby identifying with mining communities in their own way.

For Gregory (1994), landscape has the ability to stimulate the imagination. There are various components at each museum that make up the features of landscape. These can be the manmade features (buildings) natural landscape (surrounding property) and the imagined landscape, as created by visitors themselves. Both the real and imagined features of landscape are powerful in their ability to stir important constructions of meaning for visitors of industrial heritage. Indeed, landscape on its own emerges as a relevant theme in the process of heritage consumption. The next section presents landscape as the third emerging theme inherent in heritage consumption.

7.6.3 Consuming Landscape

Landscape is another dominant feature of the industrial sites that is mediated in the consumption experience by visitors. Landscape proves to be an influential catalyst in its ability to conjure up meaning for visitors in the industrial past. There are a
number of unique features that make up the components of the landscape at both the Big Pit Museum and the Cape Breton Coal Miners’ Museum.

At each site, remnants of industrial equipment\textsuperscript{57} are strewn about around the surrounding property of the landscape. This industrial equipment is an extension of the fixed exhibits found in the main museum sections found at each site. These tangible leftovers of the industrial era found outside of the museums act as additional displays of heritage beyond the standard museum features.

The landscape that surrounds the Big Pit Museum in Blaenafon shows wider evidence of extensive industrial activity practiced over time in South Wales. Along with the Big Pit pithead and remnants of iron blast furnaces, remnants of previous coal tips and slag heaps dot the surrounding Blaenavon Industrial Landscape (UNESCO World Heritage Site). The coal tips and slag heaps are unused portions of the earth that are removed from the inner workings of the mine, and are piled in areas that surround the mine. In the past these were piles of black waste yet since industrial activity ceased they are being reclaimed by nature with the re-growth of native flora and fauna among them. Yet the dominance of unnatural land contours that remain as part of the surrounding landscape show lasting evidence of the region’s previous industrial purpose and function.

In Cape Breton, the physical leftovers of mining itself are less obvious then in the Welsh Valleys, as most pit heads have been dismantled and coal tips removed from the local area. Most of the mining that took place in Cape Breton was submarine mining (under the ocean) where industrial waste\textsuperscript{58} was sometimes left behind. Although Cape Breton also possessed above ground slag heaps and coal tips, they are not a prominent part of the existing landscape to the same extent they are in the Welsh mining valleys.

In addition, as with the previous mining towns of the Welsh Valleys, company ‘row’ housing remains behind as further physical evidence of Cape

\textsuperscript{57} This includes heavy equipment used underground such as Eimco™ miners, iron forge drill presses, diesel locomotives, shearer machines, haulage engines, ventilation fans and other industrial tools.

\textsuperscript{58} ‘Retreat’ mining in submarine methods meant that some of the coal ‘slag’ was left behind when exhausted seams were flooded and closed off.
Breton’s industrial era. Most of this type of housing has been transformed into upgraded accommodation for the current local population. Yet many of the exterior features remain the same, leaving physical remnants behind of the type of housing used during the rise of industry. In either case, the surrounding towns and landscape of each museum show obvious physical reminders of a time when the mining industry was the core of the industrial activity in their respective regions.

Unlike other representations of heritage such as unspoiled natural landscapes or stately homes, the industrial features of these sites are unaesthetic in nature. Yet it is the unaesthetic qualities of these industrial landscapes that remain a big part of the appeal for visitors to these sites (see plates 7.3 and 7.4 for visuals of industrial features of sites):

**Welsh Male Visitor:**
It’s easy to see, slag heaps and coal tips. Look around, the leftovers of the industry are obvious. We are just now getting fish back in our streams…everything was black. The women would hang out the washin’ and it would get black…it is like London smog, isn’t it?

**Couple from Bridgend, Wales:**

*Me:* What about the landscapes, you see their old rusted out equipment lying around, does that make the museum more appealing, more real, do those things need to be tidied up?

*Man:* oh no, no, no…

*Woman:* I don’t think so, you got to see them as they were left really, if it was all clean…it would look as if they had just been put there…

*Man:* oh no, the more back to nature the better it is, isn’t it
Two women:

First woman: At first you might think it is replicas, but then you realize it is not – even the steam engine out front. It is as it was, they don’t need to tidy it up. They shouldn’t….it is very well done.

Second woman: Should not be forgotten…the machinery lying around, it is not junk, it is heritage, isn’t it? You come out of the mine, you see old equipment lying around, very untidy – you think, this can’t be very safe, it should be tidied up, but then no – it shouldn’t be, it is the conditions they worked in, haven’t they? It should be kept as is. Bit of a safety hazard underground, isn’t it? Hitting your head and stuff.
The significance of landscape to a Welsh man is described below in regards to its personal meaning and significance to him. He is in the company of his wife and visiting American guests, and he shares with all of us (I include myself as ethnographer in the context of ‘us’ here) what makes it important to him:

**BP - Welsh man:** I can sit here, and I can look across there, and say over there, buried is Foxhunter [Sir Harry Llewellyn], only won the only gold medal for Britain in the 1954 Olympic Games in Helsinki….here is a commemorative plaque, all around, I can look around I can look and see, and say, this is me. If I was in Yorkshire, I couldn’t say that… that is not me, I haven’t got that background. But I can look around, This is Wales. I grew up here, but I didn’t grow up here, but I grew up with my grandfather, and he told me all about these things. It is a rich inheritance…We live in five miles from Cardiff, down the coast... towards Barry. But we are not from the Cardiff area, I am from Aberystwyth, mid-Wales university, my wife is from the rich coal mining area of Afan Valley.

This excerpt reflects the power of landscape to prompt personal connectedness and meaning for a person. It is an explicit account of how powerful meanings are made between land and people. This resonates with a point made by Aitchison et al (2000) in that people build cultural meanings into landscape. The meaning given to a landscape is made significant from cultural codes assigned to it by society (Rose 1993).

Further links between visitors and their impressions of landscape are captured below. In these excerpts, visitors make meaningful links between the landscape (above and below ground) of an industrial past and its implications in present day contexts:

**BP – Young couple from Cardiff:**
Guy: I come from the Valleys, interested in this sort of thing…come to see what industries shaped this landscape. You see it all through the valleys.
Girl: I like to see how the communities were built, they were put here because of the mines, weren’t they?
CB –
*Man from Ontario:*
People are hard on unions, they don’t like them. But when you see what has happened here, you see why they grew, don’t you? They had to fight for everything. Coal industry might start up again, soon they will be liquefying coal, won’t they? Look at the price of gas now. It’s crazy.

BP –
*Older couple from Kent:*
It is important to see how people lived. The underground experience is a nice complement to the simulated mine…you see how the machinery worked, and the sounds….the miner (via audio-visual guide) was really good…very animated…that was very well done.

The accounts above show how visitors make unique links between industrial landscapes and how these shape their understanding of the region. Recollections of the landscape appear as a common theme when visitors are asked to reflect on the meaningful aspects of consuming industrial heritage. Visitors to industrial heritage build on their understanding of landscape by reflecting on the lives of the people who lived on and worked the land. In their accounts landscape is therefore extended to include reflections of the human element as it integrates with its industrial features. Constant parallels are made by visitors between the ‘people’ of the industry, and the ‘land’ itself. This reflects what Aitchison et al (2000) and Rose (1993) contend in that cultural aspects are assigned to landscape by people themselves.

Two sub themes of landscape have evolved within the diary and are unpacked further below. Although landscape is often conceptualised as an entity above ground, it is indeed the underground nature in industrial mining sites that possesses equal relevance in the attributes of landscape. Along these lines earth appears as the first sub themes within the context of landscape. Secondly, the theme of horses is also integrated in landscape. Horses feature as a dominant theme in the industrial function of a region’s mining history, having been a permanent fixture both above and below ground in industrial landscapes.

### 7.6.3 Consuming Landscape – a) Earth

The context of mining is inextricably linked to the earth. Mining coal is indeed mining the earth. The earth in this context was of heightened interest to many
visitors participating in underground tours. Visitors were often encouraged by the
tour guides to touch the coal. They were also encouraged to rub it on their faces, and
many did. The following accounts reflect connections made between earth and
visitors:

**BP –**  
*My notes from observations of a tour group underground:*  
There are often instances of people being encouraged to touch the coal, even rub it
on their faces. Visually, this is an obvious indication of the visitors ‘connecting’
with their experience – they are encouraged by the guides to touch it, even rub it on
their faces, they do – there is something primitive and tribal about their inclination to
do so…  

**BP –**  
*My observations of a tour group underground:*  
The guide encouraged the children to rub coal dust on their cheeks, then apologized
to the parents for making them dirty. It was often just the children who were
couraged to do this.

**BP -**  
*Overheard a group of students:*  
*One student to the other:* look, have I got a black face?

**BP –**  
*Observed a father (a former miner) and daughter at Big Pit:*  
Father: Look Ellie. That is a coal seam.  
7 yr old daughter: Reaches out to touch the coal seam as she passes by it.

**BP –**  
*My observations during a tour guide commentary underground:*  
Gavin brought the group into one of the horse stable stalls, asked the group to collect
there. Then asked he asked them to look up “Do you see the pattern in the coal?”
Quite visible in the ceiling of the horse stall was a tree fossil. Visitors were very
intrigued, and were encouraged to touch it, which they did.

The earth is often a main topic of discussion in telling stories of danger underground.
As a subject it is integrated into the commentary offered by many of the miner
guides. The earth is the topic of danger in the commentary guides share with the
visitors. The earth as a subject often peaks visitors’ interest prompting them to ask
further questions about the dangers of being underground:
**BP –**

*My observations during underground tour with Gavin as guide:*

There are many questions about the safety of the wood and steel arches supporting the underground tunnels. Some of the guests asked how safe this was. Gavin explained that wood is best, it will make noise, will creak. Steel doesn’t, and doesn’t offer any warning.

*Woman visitor:* Could the roof fall? How long will it last?

*Gavin:* It could last 5 minutes or 20 years, we don’t know…they are not repaired, replaced only when they give way.

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**BP –**

*My observations during underground tour with Peter Hardin as a guide:*

*Woman visitor (who asked a question in a deep, cramped part of the mine):* how do we know this won’t come crashing down? How safe is it?

*Peter Hardin:* It’s inspected every day, ma’am. Every day. This is no show. You think that I’d come down here if we had to worry about that?

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**7.6.3 Consuming Landscape – b) Horses**

The horses also featured prominently as a topic of interest to the visitors at each of the sites. Horses were used extensively for hauling equipment and coal and worked both above ground and below ground. Visitors often wanted to learn more about their working conditions and how horses were cared for in the mines. Many times, visitors became more animated and engaged with discussions around horses which displayed their heightened interest in their usefulness among the industrial landscape.

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**BP –**

*My observations underground:*

A tour guide encouraged groups to feel, touch coal, and iron ore, passed around rock blocks so people could feel, touch them. The guide told people to observe the coal seam, many viewed it, touched it. Brought group into stable area, pointed out the names of the horses as they were hung in individual stalls. Groups walked through, calling out the names of horses to one another, some even double backed to a stable section not covered by the guide to see the posted names of other horses for themselves. This pattern has been observed to happen on other tours before, where visitors double back from the crowd to check the other stalls not covered by the guide.

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**BP –**

*Underground tour with Roy, a group of school kids from Exmouth, 11-13 yrs old. Another group goes by rhyming out names of horses as they go by their stalls and calling out the names: Dragon, Hercules, Shergar, Lightning, Victor, Prince, Bullet…*
Observation of French students during underground tour:
The students were brought into underground stable area where horses were kept. The teenagers were taken with it. The tour guide explained how at 4 yrs old, horses are taken underground, and stayed there until 1943, when they were allowed to go above ground during miner’s holiday, which was always the last week July and the first week of August. One exclaimed…‘Jamais?!?’ Translated from French jamais means never in English.

Male visitor:
To think of women and children underground, conditions were awful. They only came out when they started using horses underground. You have to save this sort of thing, how do you move forward without knowing where you come from?

The use of horses within the industrial landscape was often worked into conversations of visitors as a topic of interest. Along with the hardship of the miners, the welfare of the horses was of comparable concern to the visitors. Visitors were able to contextualise further the various work conditions found in the mining industry by learning more about the use of horses in their industrial surroundings.

Observation of family of six, parents and four young children in museum:
Father says to children: That’s the trapper boy he’s talking about…remember?
Mother to children: And the horses – they actually treated the horses better than the miners themselves. Horses had to be paid for, miners were easily replaceable. Look at the old shovel, copper shovel, need to replace them often as they wouldn’t spark… They had to use those.
Daughter (5 years old): Look! That is what coalers do right there! (as she watches video footage of older mining methods – turn of the 20th century).
Mother to daughter: Number 12 colliery, that is where your granddad worked, we moved to number 16…

The topic of rodents and other animals in the mining environment were also of interest to visitors and guides alike. The following accounts reflect this:

Underground tour with Colin:
Colin to visitors: God made canaries and canaries don’t lie.
Observed questions asked of John P. guide underground:
First child: Are there any rats here?
Second child: Have you been bitten by rats?

Children were especially inquisitive about animals in general. Often times the guides were fielded questions and queries about them:

Child visitor underground:
Is this a real horse?

Comments from Roy, miner guide:
I get questions about the horses, what kind, etc?
Welsh cobs [type of horse]
No tour is the same, tour guides have all different stories to tell. People come again and again to experience something different again and again…

Horses and other animals common to mining therefore uncovered to be a relevant theme in the concept of landscape. Visitors young and old alike took an interest into how horses were involved in working the ‘land’, both above and below ground.

7.7 Summary of Part One – Annotated Ethnographic Diary

This concludes part one of the annotated ethnographic diary. In summary the purpose of developing this section of the diary is to first link the theoretical discussion captured in the literature review to the empirical findings themselves. Secondly, the actual findings uncovered in the visitor excerpts are presented with accordance to the set methodological framework outlined in the research design. As a result aspects of identity, pilgrimage, rituals and rites of passage are interpreted for the relevance to the research objectives defined in chapter one. Collectively, the overarching theme in the discussion reflects on these practices for their role in the consumption of heritage.

Following on from the discussion to this point, the themes that evolve from the diary excerpts are considered for their role in heritage consumption. Specifically, these are: experience, imagination and landscape. As ‘themes’ in the consumption experience, they are intertwined into a ‘model for heritage consumption’ with the other elements explored above (identity, pilgrimage, rituals, rites of passage). The
model is presented next, and is meant to provide a deeper understanding into how the consumption of heritage is made meaningful. Indeed, it is the ability of the heritage consumption model (Gouthro 2007) to offer a theoretical framework into the ways in which identity and meaning are constructed in heritage settings.

7.8 A Consumption Model for Heritage

The preceding discussion offered in chapter seven to this point lays the foundation for the heritage consumption model presented in this section. As the underlying theoretical foundation explored in the literature reflects, identity and meaning emerge from a varied domain of social influences: other people, objects, institutions, places, events, time and space. By adopting the interpretivist perspective set out in the research design, the heritage consumption model (Gouthro 2007) presented in Figure 7.1 applies Lévi-Strauss’ (1966) *bricoleur* concept in bringing together the themes explored throughout the chapter to this point.

*Figure 7.1: The heritage consumption model*
The above model integrates theoretical concepts as functional layers in contextualising a consumption process of heritage sites. At the core of the consumption model is the construction of a sense of identity. This centre is comprised of aspects of social identity (Tajfel 1972); in addition to national identity (Smith 1991, Billig 1995) as well as identity concepts related to the self and individual (Bauman 1996, Hall 1996). The core of the model posits that identity is constructed by any one of these areas on their own, or a combination of them. For example: one might see themselves as an individual; as part of a social group (collective identity); or as having a national identity. Furthermore, the core also allows for different identity concepts to overlap: an individual, social or national identity, in the act of consuming heritage. Indeed for Smith (1991), in a world of ‘multiple ties and identities’ a person can associate themselves with different markers of identity at the same time.

This central core of identity construction is fed through another layer influenced by anthropological concepts. The concepts applied consist of pilgrimage, ritual and rites of passage. They act as filters in the process of identity construction, acting as mediators in the consumption of heritage. In practical terms, what this means is that the act of visiting the heritage site itself demonstrated by making a ‘pilgrimage’ to the site. Comparatively for ‘ritual’, its acts are manifested by behaviour practiced once at the site. Ritual may be practiced in seemingly ordinary ways such as acknowledging the industrial past with oneself and with others. Finally, ‘rites of passage’ represent the types of transition that takes place of a visitor as a result of visiting and consuming the heritage. A person’s perspective of himself or herself has the ability to change as a result of consuming a heritage experience. Therefore a transition can occur because meaning from consuming heritage has been gained.

The outer most layer of this conceptual model is comprised of heritage elements that feed the anthropological layer and then through to the ‘identity’ centre. These elements are made up of landscape, experience and imagination and filter through to the anthropological layer (pilgrimage, ritual and rites of passage); and then to the identity core (the social, individual and national). As the diary excerpts
have revealed, it is the aspects of landscape, experience and imagination that are able to mediate meaningful constructions of identity through the consumption of heritage.

7.8.1 - The Outer Layer of Heritage Consumption

a) LANDSCAPE:

The features of the landscape play a prominent part in mediating meaning in heritage consumption. As Aitchison et al (2000) assert, landscape is more than a physical or objective reality. Rather, it is also an important symbol in which cultural meaning is attached to it. Although it is the features of industrial heritage that is under study here, landscapes in heritage environments possess unique features and attributes of their own. Indeed, they can be made up of both natural and manmade features, in isolation or in combination. The sites investigated here combine natural features of the surrounding landscape with the manmade entities of the industrial heritage found on each site. Landscape is a relevant entity in the main features of a heritage setting.

As was uncovered in the discussion of emerging themes, the interpretive elements related to landscape trigger the meaningful consumption of heritage for the museum’s visitors. Each site is a mix of natural and manmade features, both inside and outside of the museum complex. A sense of meaning and identity is able to be aligned with such things as viewing ‘real coal’; seeing row houses, rusting equipment, and old slag heaps now blended into the existing landscape.

b) EXPERIENCE:

Experience is another component that feeds the heritage layer of the consumption model. On its own, ‘experience’ as an element of heritage possesses a complexity of factors. As Crouch (2000:64-65) points out, experience happens to people “…wherever they are, whatever they are doing”. It also occurs to people whether or not they are in “…a town park, a field, a historic site or a theme park, a pub, club mountain range or a beach” (2000:64-65). In considering this process, visitors to industrial heritage create their own experience based on actions and thoughts they construct for themselves along the way. In addition, ‘experiences’ are thought to be subjectively perceived, intangible and ongoing, and “…more than randomly occurring phenomena located entirely in the minds of individuals” (O’Dell 2005:15). Consuming heritage then is triggered by the given components of a
specific heritage site as part of fulfilling an experience. It is in the context of this heritage consumption model then, that experiences are mediated through various social processes. These processes include such things as interaction, contemplation, and storytelling in the heritage setting.

The experience of consuming industrial heritage sites is therefore manifest by certain interpretive elements. The act of wearing a battery pack, being underground and feeling like a miner builds on the consumption experience of the site. The fact that these ‘experiences’ also occur in the social context of being shared with family and friends is also relevant to how meaningful consumption occurs. The ‘experience’ of hearing miner tales, and wearing their equipment demonstrates how certain interpretive elements found at each site are able to enhance the consumption experience.

c) IMAGINATION

The third component of the heritage layer of the consumption model is that of imagination. This element of the model is comprised of the mental images mediated through the visitor experience, and is triggered by consuming heritage. A visitor is able to use their imagination to expand upon their experience of heritage. Indeed, as Palmer (2003) contends, the concept of identity can be understood and experienced through the imagination. It is therefore mediated through acts such as recalling the past, and also through visual images triggered by stories told at the heritage site.

Like ‘landscape’ and ‘experience’, imagination is manifest through the interaction with interpretive elements. Those that have played a role in imagination are: the mining disaster log book, realising the darkness of the underground, hearing noise underground – timber creaking and water running, the sight of and noise of the pithead baths. Once blended with the imagination, these interpretive elements often relate to circumstances of hardship and danger among visitors thus emitting certain meanings to them. These interpretive features of the museums and their underground tours therefore help manifest the meaningful consumption of these sites.
In this conceptual model for consuming heritage then, it is the outer most layer - experience, imagination and landscape - that act as catalysts to the inner layers of the model. Using landscape as an example, it is the presence of the past within a landscape that is a strong motivator for leisure and tourism pursuits (Aitchison et al 2000). Drawing upon the iconic example of English heritage, Stonehenge as a Neolithic structure has a number of theories associated with its meaning. Aitchison et al (2000:106) reminds us that these meanings are linked to “a ceremonial place where rituals linked to birth, death and fertility were played out by a society trying to make sense of their world”. Therefore in the context of present day, Stonehenge is a heritage site that reflects aspect of humanity more broadly and in relation to what is known about a time since passed. In comparison, industrial heritage sites possess the ability to symbolise similar meanings for its visitors. Like Stonehenge, industrial heritage sites are a place where visitors are able to make sense of their world, by reflecting on a time past, a way of life, the role of family and the importance of community. Although the social history associated with the industrial past is more recent than that of the Neolithic period, the meaning that the past brings to visitors is comparable.

7.8.2 The Inner Layer: Constructing Identity in Heritage Consumption

Chapter three of the literature review revealed the complexities underpinning theoretical concepts of identity construction. There is theoretical overlap in terms of what collective and individual notions of identity assert (Hall 1996, Jenkins 2004, Mead 1934). That is to say that collective notions of identity blend into individual notions of identity and vice versa. The heritage consumption model presented here reflects this, in that notions of identity associated with self, nation and the collective have the ability to overlap and blend into one another for visitors to heritage sites. Therefore, a visitor may experience any one of these ‘identity’ labels in isolation (i.e. this site means I am Welsh) or alternatively, the site can represent multiple identities (i.e. I am Welsh, the son of a miner and I am part of a former mining community) in the consumption of heritage. In essence, a visitor might relate to a shared ‘national’ industrial heritage; feel attachment to a social network of mining communities; and also link themselves on an ancestral level: ‘a son of a coal miner’.
It is the nature of heritage sites to be engaged in relating representations of identity (Ashworth 1994, Hewison 1987). Heritage facilitates the construction of identity through various representations, be it a historic landscape or a landmark monument; or in the case of Smith (2006) an oral story. Therefore representations of identity resonate as symbols of a society’s culture. The symbols of a society’s culture can be imagined (the intangible) or real (the tangible). The presence of meaningful symbols of heritage has the ability to build a sense of belonging, and inject meaning into constructions of identity.

A sense of identity is therefore constructed through the practice of consuming heritage. This is facilitated by visiting heritage in the first place, and interacting with site and with other visitors. The fact that an individual knows they belong to certain group facilitates emotional attachment and value to that group’s identity (Tajfel 1982). For the visitors to industrial heritage sites, attachment is made through identifying with the industrial past, thus bringing value to a collective sense of identity. This model then is reflective of how identity ‘works’ (Jenkins 2004), in that it builds upon the contexts in which identity practiced at heritage sites.

Conceptually, the theoretical relevance of the model is how a heritage site is able to nurture the need to build a sense of identity. Furthermore, a sense of identity is not necessarily fixed, but rather fluid in nature and changes over time. Equally, identity is best viewed as a process (Craib 1998, Hall 1996, Jenkins 2004); a layering of complementary and sometimes contradictory elements that contribute to one’s sense of identity. Heritage sites enable identity to be constructed through just such a process. Therefore in the consumption process, an individual adds pieces of heritage of their choosing to associate with their identity, and takes away others they choose not to associate with. Identity construction then, is continual and ongoing. Indeed, the industrial heritage sites studied in this model reflect how other examples of heritage sites - a stately heritage home, a historical monument, or area of natural beauty – are comparable for their ability to facilitate meaningful representations of identity in contemporary society.

7.8.3 The Middle Layer: Anthropological Entities in Consumption
The middle layer of the consumption model utilises theoretical notions from anthropology as a bridge between identity construction (inner layer) and the elements
of heritage (outer layer). Therefore the notions of pilgrimage, rituals and rites of passage act as mediators in the construction of meaning in heritage settings. In relation to the use of their context in this model, they reflect the more secular practices found in tourism, and are not limited to religious connotations found in sacred practice.

The concept of pilgrimage in this model is unique because its practical context is grounded in “historically and culturally specific behaviours and meanings” (Eade and Sallnow 1991b:5) as opposed to sacred worship typical of religious sites. Upon reflection of Porter’s (2004) discussion of pilgrimage, there are places that are clearly not typical of historical types of pilgrimage journeys. On the contrary, some journeys of pilgrimage are to places in which people are in pursuit of collective ideals (2004). Heritage sites are known to offer similar features in that they represent something important. A visitor to a heritage site goes there in search of meaning and identity, in the same way a pilgrim seeks similar things through religious pilgrimage.

Upon reflection of the context in which contemporary pilgrimage is practiced, ritualistic practice neither resonates solely in the religious domain (Graburn 2001, Moore and Myeroff 1977). Acts of ritual investigated at industrial heritage sites studied here show their role in mediating meaningful encounters in the consumption of heritage. For example the significance of the site is recognised through the ritual of visiting the site, and in this case with those people who mean something to the visitor, such as family and friends. There is an innate social nature in ritual practice, in that it is often times shared in the company of others. What this means is meaningful experiences are often shared amongst people who have attachment to one another. Consequently, as the individual consumes heritage, anthropological concepts of pilgrimage and ritual provide a window unto a practice in which meaning and identity get constructed.

In an effort to further contextualise the anthropological elements of the model Turner (1968, 1977) reminds in his studies of tribal societies that it is the weaving of religion, economy, law and politics which make up the cultural domain of these societies. Their underpinning meanings are linked throughout the tribal society’s symbols, rituals, and religious beliefs (Turner 1977). In effect, contemporary representations of heritage are recognised in similar ways, through symbols, rituals
and ‘spiritual’ beliefs. More broadly, like Turner’s tribal community, the cultural domain of a society is also made up of similar entities - religion, economy, law and politics. Contemporary representations of heritage are reflected and recognised in similar ways.

7.9 A Summary: The Consumption Model for Heritage

The layers within the conceptual model of heritage consumption offer a way to illustrate how the construction of identity and meaning are experienced in heritage settings. Lévi-Strauss’ (1966) concept of the *bricoleur* is revisited here. It helps to underpin the model as it combines the ‘odds and ends’ of the industrial heritage site with the social context of visiting to understand more about how this heritage is consumed. As Lévi-Strauss intended with the term, the concept of *bricoleur* helps to make sense of the world by blending together whatever is available to complete a story (Hammersley 1999). The concepts that are ‘available’ in this instance make up the functional layers of the consumption model; the heritage elements (outer layer), the anthropological concepts (middle layer) and theories of identity construction (inner layer). The model is able to show that visitors mediate constructions of identity and meaning by way of consuming the heritage site, amongst themselves and with others.

Furthermore the elements of the model are not static; rather they are conceptual so that the ways in which consuming heritage is practiced can be understood. For example, a visitor may come a heritage site only to consume and find meaning in the surrounding landscape. In this sense, only certain elements in the model are activated. On the contrary, a separate visitor might consume all three elements of heritage – the landscape, experience and imagination - so that a more holistic visitor experience is realised and other model elements are activated in unison. To expand on this example, the visitor has gazed upon the landscape; experienced an underground tour; and has shared a meaningful visit to the heritage site with family members. Nonetheless, the three layers of the conceptual model are meant to act as catalysts (outer layer) mediating filters (middle layer) and constructions of meaning (inner layer) in building a meaningful experience in the consumption of heritage.
In relation to the focus of this research, the profile of subjects under study merit further discussion. More specifically, the study reflects on the profile of those ‘visitors’ who have been interviewed and observed at these sites. The term ‘visitors’ in this research applies to those individuals who have visited each of the fieldwork sites.

Within the ethnographic diary, excerpts capture information on ‘types’ of visitors. Some make it clear that they are visiting the region for the day (p. 147, 158, 161), others stayed overnight (p. 142, 143, 146), and others are residents, some of who make repeated visits (p. 152, 157, 160). Although not a direct objective of carrying out the fieldwork, the profile of the visitors under study merits further acknowledgement.

In terms of tourism research, a ‘visitor’ can be considered a tourist, a resident or a ‘same-day’ visitor (WTO 1991 in Theobald 1998). All three of these ‘traveller’ types were found to visit these sites. That is to say, given the definition of ‘visitor’ and ‘tourist’ in the context of WTO definitions, certain trends have the potential to be located in the empirical evidence. Visitors to both sites were asked questions in relation to the meaning the site had for them, and if a sense of identity was attributable to the site. In the process, visitors would mention if in fact they were ‘visiting the area and staying overnight’ and in some cases, a day trip or casual visit applied. In these scenarios, whether labelled a same-day visitor, resident or tourist - all shared similar interests and motives in visiting the sites. Although the social phenomenon of visiting the site underpins the main focus of the study, it is important to note that in the consumption of heritage similar sets of experience occurred in each type of these visitors (same day, tourist, residents).

Upon reflection of the empirical materials collected for the ethnographic diary, similar sets of experience in each of these groups of visitors emerged. In terms of meaning, the findings also show that constructing ‘meaning’ and ‘identity’ is evident in each of these visitor ‘types’. For example, the interpretation of certain acts, pilgrimage to the heritage site was undertaken by those who lived far away, or

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61 In its classification of ‘travellers’, the WTO (1991) defines same-day visitors and tourists as a subset of ‘visitors’. As for residents, they themselves are a subset of same-day visitors.
locally. In relation to ‘emerging’ themes of landscape, experience and imagination, each aspect triggered similar moments of meaningful consumption as a result of visiting these sites. As a result, each type of visitor (same-day, tourists, residents) are shown to interact with industrial heritage and its interpretive elements in similar meaningful ways.

Another function of the conceptual model is to show how consuming heritage constructs individual meanings amongst different visitors. Each visitors’ meaning of the heritage site is made unique through their own negotiations of what they see, feel and essentially experience. Along the way, these industrial heritage sites offer the opportunity for visitors to imagine, remember, forget, hope, discover, and feel sad or frustrated throughout their consumption experience. Indeed, these ‘experiential processes’ become embedded in the conceptual model for heritage consumption.

Representations of heritage have the ability to become important symbols in contemporary society. Drawing again from Turner’s studies of tribal societies, it is the symbolic representations of a people and community that act as “…a set of evocative devices for rousing, channelling, and domesticating powerful emotions” (Turner 1969:42-43). The model presented here shows that the features of heritage sites are able to mediate similar ‘evocative’ devices in the visitors’ pursuit of meaning in heritage.

When visitors engage these ‘devices’ Turner mentions such as emotion and feeling, knowledge and meaning is gained. Indeed for Shotter (1993b) knowledge and meaning is acquired through what people are doing; what action they take and how they negotiate their social and cultural relations. This is an important undercurrent to the consumption model, and underlies the acts practiced in the consumption of heritage. The ‘devices’ are mediated by consuming heritage, and allow visitors to build meaning and identity in the process. As Crouch (2000:67) states, the human as subject “…constantly negotiates the world in terms of relationships, emotions and feeling” in an attempt to make sense of the place they are in. Indeed, this is also happening in places of heritage.
This negotiation of understanding, knowing and meaning also occurs in seemingly ordinary everyday ways. In the case of heritage it is happening in the process of consumption be it visiting, thinking and gazing upon the heritage. It is everyday mundane behaviour such as visiting museums that is relevant to understanding the significance of the social context in the consumption of heritage. Indeed as Shotter (1993a) argues, there is deep-rooted significance in how modern society constructs meaning from everyday experience. The heritage consumption model presented here reflects the significance of the social features in consuming heritage. When engaged in the consumption of heritage with one another - people build knowledge, meaning, and understanding because they are doing it together.

Part two of the annotated ethnographic diary is presented next. It draws on other elements in the consumption experience by uncovering the underpinning social contexts inherent to the making of meaning and constructing identity. The next chapter is therefore presented at this stage to offer a deeper analyses and elaboration into the social features of consuming heritage in further depth. In so doing, insight in shed unto the social contexts of the research objectives in relation to behaviours and actions visitors take in finding meaning and constructing identity in places of industrial heritage.
Chapter EIGHT

- The Ethnographic Diary PART TWO
8.1 Introduction to the Annotated Ethnographic Diary – Part Two

The first part of the annotated ethnographic diary establishes links between the theoretical and methodological nature of inquiry with the actual findings uncovered in the empirical research. It discusses notions of identity constructions with the aim of addressing the research objectives set out in chapter one (page 6). At both industrial heritage sites, the Big Pit Museum and the Cape Breton Miners’ Museum; the mediating nature of pilgrimage, rites of passage and ritual in building meaning and identity was explored and presented. These anthropological concepts were then intertwined with the evolving themes of experience, imagination and landscape to present the preceding model for heritage consumption in section 7.8.

Part two of the annotated ethnographic diary reflects more broadly on the social practice observed of visitors at the museums. In the sections that follow, the other factors contributing to meaningful encounters in heritage consumption become evident. Although the model for heritage consumption presented in section 7.8 (page 182) conceptualises how experience, imagination and landscape act as catalysts in heritage consumption, the social features of heritage consumption are analysed further here. Below, the social nature of ‘sharing’ and ‘story telling’ are expanded on from excerpts of the ethnographic diary to demonstrate how meaning is built from consuming these industrial settings; and how its consumption is also able to build a sense of identity. This chapter begins by discussing the role of miner guides in socially constructing meaning and identity through industrial heritage. It shows that the interactive social nature of heritage consumption occurring between visitors and tour guides is integral to discussions put forth in the focus of this chapter.

8.2 Miner Guides – Mediators in Meaning

The underground tour guides at both museums are former coal miners. The underground tours have repeatedly been commented on by visitors as being one of the best things about visiting either the Big Pit Museum or the Cape Breton Miners’ Museum. As previous research has shown (Fine and Speer 1985; Pearce 1984) tour guides provide visitors with physical orientation to a site, engaging in verbal interaction with them to provide a relevant context. For Krishenblatt-Gimblett (1998), tour guides are able to refer to those things that cannot be seen, and ‘animate
a phantom landscape’. Although there is limited amount of research to demonstrate that touring a site with a guide enhances the visitor experience and a capacity to learn more, there is widespread belief that this is indeed the case (McArthur and Hall 1993).

Therefore guided underground tours play an integral role in shaping the consumption experience of visitors. The passages below reflect some of the thoughts shared by visitors of the value of these experiences:

**CB - Woman from Ohio:**
I’ve been in an iron mine, copper mine – this one was different. Very nice and special to have a real coal miner who lived it give the tour, and not some university student as like the others.

**BP – Male visitor:**
These men are fourth generation miners, this is not a museum to them – this is their way of life – it is an extension of who they are….It does not compare to the simulated mine, you can’t replace that experience….they are sharing their way of life – their camaraderie, and so on….this is their testimonials, aren’t they?

**CB – Female visitor from Florida:**
We had no idea there was this much coal mining in this part of the world. It was great to have a former coal miner tell the stories. He really got people involved…using the shovels, and the machinery, it was great.

As the following excerpts illustrate, the guides are also able to get visitors engaged in the consumption experience by encouraging them to become more interactive in the tour. In recalling the earth as a theme of inquiry among visitors, guides often told visitors stories of the dangers of working underground. They explained how important it is to come to appreciate the power of Mother Nature. During tours, visitors were encouraged to look at the coal, feel it and touch it. This was done with both children and adult visitors. This connection between earth and visitors was often encouraged by the guides themselves:

**CB – My observations:**
Abbie (underground tour guide) instructs children on the tour to take a lump of coal in their hands, press lightly. He tells them to raise their hand, then told them that it would turn to diamonds! All were quite taken with this, and believed him. A family of four, two young girls probably 4 and 6 years old, stayed behind to pick up loose pieces that Abbie let drop. Abbie also told stories of how he is still using coal to heat his home.
My observations:
During an underground tour at Big Pit, tour guide Glyn explains the dangers of working underground to the visitors:
“Once you start to hear earth dribbling…” (he scooped up some earth and let it fall on the ground slowly). No one spoke, the group was transfixed on his story. He says “Mother nature is talking to you….move out of the way…don’t look up!”

John Perrett is another tour guide who also lifts loose stone from the ground, and lets it trickle from his hand to the ground. He explained that this is Mother Nature’s warning, and you should pay heed to it.

The power of Mother Nature is a common theme in the stories miners share with visitors. It is typical of visitors to ask them more about the dangers of working underground. Visitors also ask questions about other matters related to the working environment such as safety and the personal circumstances of living in a mining environment, such as health and pension benefits.

At both museums, it is the underground tour that enables visitors to engage directly with guides. The remaining features at both sites are comprised of static interpretive displays. In essence, interacting with tour guides is the only part of the museum ‘experience’ where visitors are able acquire first hand accounts of what working in the mines was like. The excerpts below capture the type of questions visitors ask guides, reflecting the topics of interest in underground features of the mine:

Me: What types of questions do you get from visitors?
Glyn:
How long have you worked underground?
How did you get the coal then?
It’s how you come across, you can’t complicate the information, with visitors coming from all over the world, you could tell them that coal is red – how would they know the difference?
And the Davey lamp – I tell the boys, keep it simple – don’t complicate it for them. Don’t show them as you have learned (all the details) share the basics with them.
Up north, you get the wool museums and things now, they want to show the way things were done. This is the way things ‘used to be’. People want to see that, don’t they??
**BP –**

*Me: What types of questions do you get from visitors?*

*Roy:*

Are we really underground 300 feet?
How long have you worked underground?
What is coal for?
Self-rescuer, hopcalite, what is it for?
Do you still get gases underground?
Kids had lots of questions about the horses… Did they go above ground? What if there was a fire, did anybody take them out? Did they die? If so, how?

**BP –**

*Me: What types of questions do you get from visitors?*

*Tony:*

Is this a real coal mine?
What is coal used for?
Are you a real coal miner?
Did you do this?

**BP –**

*Me: What types of questions do you get from visitors?*

*John:*

Were you scared? No.
Did you ever get lost? No.
What about toilets? You find a quiet place.
Where does the water go, come from? Natural drainage…

*Gavin’s tour (participant observation):*

Primarily Americans on this tour. They asked questions about safety of flames, about children working underground….About the horses walking through, crouching down in tunnels. They were encouraged by Gavin to observe a seam of coal on either side of them as they walked through…many touched it. Many gazed at the sparkly shine coming from the seam of bituminous coal as they walked past.

**BP –**

*Me: Why do people do it? Why do visitors want to go into the mine?*

*Andrew:*

What chances do people get to go in a mine? It is a unique experience. You learn from hearing about other’s experiences [underground]…People can learn from books, but this offers first hand experience.

The above excerpts demonstrate the topics and level of interest shown by visitors while in the underground mine. Their questions span the industrial domain, the human aspects (fear, safety) and the practical implications of the day to day such as where to go to toilet. In essence, some visitors assume the work is dreadful and not a
line of work the miners would choose if given a choice. The following account reflects this:

**BP –**  
*Me:* Did you enjoy your experience at the museum today?  
*Swiss man:* I was surprised today to see an ex-miner was on the underground tour with us, why would he go back down into the mine? It seemed like a dreadful place to work, why would you [work in a coal mine]?

In this instance the visitor concludes for himself that the conditions of working underground are very undesirable. On the contrary however, Peter as tour guide at the Big Pit Museum shows mining is in his blood and would return to the industrial nature of work without hesitation if the opportunity presented itself. His point of view is captured here:

**BP –**  
*Underground visitor asks Peter (guide):* But things are better now, you’d rather be doing this right [being an underground guide vs. mining coal]?
*Peter:* Hell no! I’d go back to the mine tomorrow…Well, that is where all the action is, right?

This sequence of excerpts shows the experience of consuming industrial heritage is enhanced for visitors as a result of interacting directly with tour guides. The features of the museum are brought to life among the visitors by hearing first hand accounts of mining experiences within the industrial landscape.

### 8.3 Connecting to the Human Aspects

Another common feature of interest among visitors in the museums is the depiction of the human aspects underpinning the region’s industrial social history. Visitors want to know more about how did these people live and survive? How did they overcome hardship and conquer times of trial? These themes are important in building meaning and identity, because it is the human aspects of the industrial communities that current visitors seek to relate to. Therefore, the social features of the human aspects are shown to be important to the underlying motivation to consume a meaningful experience.

In conversation with Peter Walker, site manager of the Big Pit Museum he explains how he and museum curator Ceri Thompson came to determine what thematic areas of interest would be developed for museum interpretation. It was
through this effort that Peter and Ceri, as managers of the museum, came to know more about what features make the site more meaningful for visitors of industrial heritage:

**BP -**  
*Peter Walker (site manager of Big Pit):* You look at what you’ve got, but you decide what you can or can’t have. What are interesting bits [for visitors]? Features? Is it the technical aspects, or is it social? Ceri our curator and I are drawn to the technical aspects, we wanted more of that, but we were swayed otherwise and it works. So it’s not the technical story, no…it is the human story…

As a former miner himself, Peter Walker notes that he is drawn towards the technical aspects of mining and initially thought that the museum should focus on that for its interpretation. This view was also shared with the curator Ceri, also a former miner. However, as Peter explains below, they looked at visitor comments in their guest books to help determine what ‘stories’ visitors were looking to be told in the museum setting. Taking this step revealed that the humanistic features of the industrial past visitors to the museum are looking for:

**BP –**  
*My fieldnotes:*  
Peter and Ceri looked at the visitor guest books (what did people say) what were the questions underground and went from that…  
*Peter:* We asked people what would you like to see? Like…Where do you go to toilet? Where did you wash your clothes? and not ‘how long was the line of wire that ran to the explosives’? There was a whole range of things we could talk about. Know your [museum] product, and know your limits.

Peter’s modified conclusions about what visitors wanted to see at the Big Pit Museum are located in other visitor passages found below. These include aspects of the human condition: how people felt, lived, what they thought about. These are social features of the industrial past that are of interest to visitors, and the same features that visitors construct meaning and an understanding from. In the excerpt below a woman touches on the theme of humanity in the lives of the miners. In doing so she captures the ‘human elements’ that Peter Walker similarly alludes to above:
**BP – Female visitor:**

My great grandfather was from Abervale…
These people lived functional lives…did they experience love? Did they know what it was? Did they have meaningful conversations with one another? Us…we are always trying to find ourselves, aren’t we? We have so many choices today…This is where they lived, this is where they walked…we are following in their footsteps, aren’t we?

You can’t look towards the future, if you don’t know your past.…
My parents wrote letters to one another, you don’t have that anymore, do you?

The fact that people are ‘lost’ or trying to find themselves through representations of the past resulting in a ‘search’ for identity, is picked up again in the excerpt below. For the following visitor to the Cape Breton Miners’ Museum, reflecting on the human aspects of the past holds appeal in consuming heritage:

**CB – Australian man:**

This is of tremendous social and educational value. I watched the film62, and the struggle between labour and capital was significant. In a sense, it is still going on today. I think today where people disconnect is from the stories, they don’t know who they are, where they come from and it is the root of many of our problems today. The rise of the unions, and such…it is very much a reflection of humanity …

The interest and appeal in the human aspects of the industrial past is evident again in this account, and the ones that follow below. It is the everyday lifestyle of the previous industrial communities that visitors further seek to relate to, make meaning from, and identify with:

**BP – French woman:**

We wanted to see more…what was it like to live as a miner? What was the houses like? What happened when you got sick? What was it like even to loose a day’s pay?

**BP – Male visitor:**

Its history, non-mining people, you wonder what it is like. It’s curiosity, to come and see.

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62 This is 12 minute documentary film shown at the Cape Breton Miners’ Museum theatre called ‘12,000 Men’. The name of the film makes reference to the peak of employment in the Cape Breton coal fields, and offers a brief documentary of the mining history of the region. It is a production of the National Film Board of Canada (1978).
The working conditions of the former mining communities hold further appeal when it comes to the human aspects of industrial heritage. For three professors of history who were visiting the Big Pit together, one shared her perspective below reflecting upon the importance of the humanity theme in the industrial past. This excerpt also shows how the making of ‘meaning’ is able to unfold through the telling of stories from the industrial past:

**BP -**

*Oxford Professor of History:*
It’s a very important to understand how human beings provided for themselves and supported themselves and made use of the earth and its resources. Obviously at an industrial site or a mining site you get insight into how that worked and what it meant for the people here and the kind of lives they constructed. You have to study a site like this along with the pit villages that must have been around here. To put in the social as well as the technological and economic kind of things.

It is visitor excerpts such as this that illustrate how visitors reflect on the social and the economic influences that impacted the lives of the mining communities. Consuming the ways of the past gives visitors a deeper understanding of what the industrial past means to them and how they choose to identify with it in present day terms.

### 8.4 Emotion in Heritage Consumption

In the social properties underpinning the consumption of heritage, emotion evolves as a relevant conduit in building meaning for the industrial past. In social contexts, it is through displays of emotion that a sense of meaning and identity further come to light for visitors.

In the excerpts that follow, the role of emotion in building meaning through social engagement is furthermore evident. As these excerpts from the ethnographic diary illustrate, emotion factors into the socially constructed nature of building
meaning. Indeed for Harré, “…many emotions can exist only in the reciprocal exchanges of a social encounter” (1986:5). Bagnall points out the relevance of emotion specifically in heritage settings; “…emotions can enable visitors to explore the past themselves and make history more meaningful to their lives and personal experience” (1996:237). Drawing on emotion for its social context instead of a more psychological analysis allows for an appreciation for its role in the social conditioning of making meaning.

The accounts below reflect examples of animated emotion, showing the social dimension of making meaning in consuming industrial heritage. Below, Margaret Thatcher’s role in the closing of the mines in the mid 1980s as a controversial time in UK’s mining history triggers an emotional response in these visitors:

**BP –**

*Couple from West Midlands:*

*Me:* Can you tell me what you think is the social significance of this site?

*Man:* I will tell you what the social significance of this site is – Margaret Thatcher ruined this country…!

*Woman:* The whole region is a testament to how politicians can ruin an entire country…

*Man:* Put it this way, I am a conservative and I loathe Margaret Thatcher!

This particular passage captures an emotive response from this couple visiting the Big Pit Museum. It becomes evident what the industrial past represents to them - in this case a legacy of Margaret Thatcher - and its meaning to them personally. These visitors are able to establish meaning and understanding through their own emotions. Emotion is therefore a social property in the consumption process, shaped by a shared experience.

Both the Big Pit Museum and the Cape Breton Miners’ Museum show examples of evoking emotion among their visitors. Emotion is able to mediate a visitors’ ability to build meaning in the presence of industrial heritage. Displaying emotion as part of the heritage consumption process has implications for building on

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63 Margaret Thatcher served as British Prime Minister from 1979-1990. It was the policy of her Conservative government to close many collieries across the UK for economic reasons due in part to the growth in petroleum based industries. This made Margaret Thatcher highly unpopular in the mining communities of the UK. During the mid 1980s, pit closures sparked riots and clashes between striking miners and police. The miners judged Thatcher’s decision to shut the mines to be in retaliation against the perceived influence of the miner’s trade unions in the overthrowing of the Conservative government in the mid-1970s.
a sense of identity in social contexts. The following story recited to me from Big Pit site manager demonstrates how emotion resonates with identity:

BP –
*Tales shared with me as researcher:*
Peter Walker (Site Manager) told me a story about an elderly Argentinean gentleman he met who visited the site. In very broken English, this man explained his grandfather emigrated to Argentina from Wales in 1911. His father used to work at a Welsh pit…he tried to explain to Peter he gestured with his hands, bouncing his fingers off his chest. The man said to Peter, “This is very emotional for me…very emotional”.
He then would raise his arms and eyes to the view of the pithead [see Pithead image in plate 8.1 below], and the winding wheel suggesting this was part of him also.

In this instance, this elderly Argentinean man was experiencing emotion in his consumption of the Big Pit as an industrial heritage site. In essence, he was identifying with the site because his father worked in Welsh mines, and thus making a connection to his ‘mining roots’ and his Welsh connections, his identity.
In the account the follows, two women leading a tour group visiting the Big Pit compare a BBC television programme to that of their visitor experience:

**BP**

*Two women leaders of tour group:*

*Me: What brings you to the museum today?*

*Leader One: We do it for understanding, don’t we?*

*We can’t understand the present, unless we understand the past…and we can’t plan for the future unless we understand the past…*

*Leader Two: Have you seen the BBC programme “Who do you think you are?” People like Jeremy Paxman on there…these are hardened people reduced to tears…It shows how important our past is.*

*Me: does that make visiting this museum an emotional experience?*

*Leader One: Well, no…not necessarily, but it gives meaning.*

Although this woman does not make an ‘emotional’ link per se, she does acknowledge how the past is important in its ability to facilitate meaning for people. Also, by using the comparison to the BBC programme, these women reflect upon how the past helps to mediate an understanding of our present sense of identity, and who ‘we’ are today. Consuming industrial heritage has the ability to do the same, generating meaning and a sense of identity. In the sections that follow (8.5 & 8.6), the social dimension of consuming heritage is expanded on. Sharing in the context of storytelling and the wider social constructions of meaning found in the consumption of heritage are acknowledged in more detail.

### 8.5 The Sharing of Storytelling in Heritage Consumption

In terms of behaviour, certain types of actions manifest meaning for visitors. The ethnographic excerpts revealed consistently that visiting museums was indeed *shared* among other family or friends. This reflects the importance of consuming and experiencing heritage *together* with those people who mean something to one another. When visiting the site with people you know, family or friends; a shared sense of understanding for the industrial heritage is built together. Visitors are able to begin to grasp for a sense of who *they* are (the mining communities), and also who *we* are (as a result of the industrial legacy) through a collective sense of consumption in the heritage.

The diary excerpts below offer examples of how ‘sharing’ in the heritage is unveiled as an integral part of the consumption experience:
BP –

_Couple from Devon:_

*Man:* We’ve been before, and we’ve told others to come.
*Woman:* It’s important that it is free, make people come, doesn’t it?
*Man:* Very good that the Welsh Assembly funds this CADW doesn’t it.

CB –

_Observed young couple in museum exhibit area looking at mining lamps together (she was originally from a nearby mining town, and he was not originally from the area):_

*Woman:* what do you think, bud?
*Man:* oh yeah, it is great!
*Woman:* pretty neat, huh?

In this last excerpt, the woman was sharing her ‘heritage’ with her partner. This exchange was followed by further conversation about the region between them. By sharing and discussing her experience of ‘growing up in a mining town’ with him, she was building on her own sense of meaning and identity. Finnegan has drawn on the relevance of personal narrative and one’s sense of identity. The self is a story of its own and “…has direct implications for the study of identity” (1997:69). It is through the engagement of storytelling with others that visitors to industrial heritage come to understand more about who they are, due in part to sharing the experience together. The social practice of consuming heritage with others reveals that storytelling facilitates meaning in industrial heritage.

Excerpts presented below illustrate how _meaning_ and _identity_ is embedded in the storytelling narrative of those visitors’ studied. In the first passage, it is the blending of industrial elements, landscape, experience and imagination that permeate the narrative of a Welsh couple visiting the Big Pit Museum with their American friends. The Welsh couple detail what the history of mining in the region means to them, and to the American couple accompanying them. The excerpt below is presented to help frame how a visitor’s ‘story’ facilitates a sense of meaning from the industrial past. It begins with dialogue between the Welsh man’s wife and myself after I prompt her to elaborate on her own sense of identity:
Welsh lady: I’m from a mining area northwest of here…they mined anthracite coal. Very good quality coal…so many of the mines when I was a child, I could see the lime beds, and the trips being pulled and the little trucks taking the coal up to the top… [I] could hear at night the hooter going. I could hear the miners crunching with their feet, their boots all the way passed my house…the man next door used to be a miner and I could remember his kit…

My father was a Baptist minister, and he administered these soup kitchens when these people had nothing…families came to have food for the day…and when my father retired, I heard that he had been buying shoes without my family knowing about it, for the children who didn’t have any and could go to school.

I love visiting a place like this because of my childhood memories I can appreciate it more how these colliers worked, the conditions that they worked, because I remember as a little child, I can remember these black men going passed the house, of course they didn’t have pit head baths then… looking at these museum, it effects how things have changed and what has happened, over time and history…

When I asked this Welsh lady to elaborate on her sense of identity, her narrative makes overlapping reference to industrial elements in the region’s mining past. She incorporates various components including imagination (her own memories of the past); the family context (her father); and industrial features of coal mining; all of which are anchored in her storytelling narrative. Yet it is the act of storytelling that reinforces a sense of meaning to all because she is engaged in a collective social encounter with us as a group. In essence, it is the social setting of us being together for its ability to facilitate a meaningful encounter. Below the Welsh lady’s husband expands on the identity theme embedded in their storytelling, thus expanding on meaning through his own narrative:

Welsh man: My grandfather used to talk to me about coal mining cause he worked in the mines…it gives one a chance to come to the area, and I am very familiar with the area…many many times I’ve been here … this is a world heritage area, you are not coming to a British heritage area, or a welsh heritage area … you care coming up to one of the foremost areas in world industrial history, so you come here to enrich your own life…what has happened here, and has happened to us…

These excerpts thus reflect what the industrial past means to the Welsh couple more broadly. Yet due to the social context of storytelling, their narratives bring meaning and deeper understanding unto the Welsh couple themselves; and for their American
visitors. The American visitors are then inclined to reciprocate with their own storytelling, by reflecting on what this industrial past means to them:

**BP –**

*American lady:* It gives a sense of who the Welsh people are, and why they are the way they are today, because of where they come from. Also, [because we have] ancestors that came from the British Isles, kinda gives you a throw back as to why our ancestors did what they did when they got to the States….because that was their heritage, and that is all they knew or that is all they wanted to do.

*Welsh Man:* A nice thing about this type thing, when we have friends staying with us and we have them over, we can always bring them out to see our roots [italics my emphasis].

In this instance, meaning is socially constructed through storytelling and industrial heritage is brought to life. The consumption of heritage then, is made more meaningful by sharing it with others and indeed engaging in storytelling as a way to create identity from the industrial past.

Indeed then, the discussion to this point shows “[s]torytelling is a way of keeping alive the cultural heritage of a people” (Baker and Greene 1977:23). Storytelling is a shared experience, and when done with others “…creates a common experience” (1977:17). The art of storytelling has a long history. During ancient times the spoken word preceded the written word making stories the only means of communication and an essential part of everyday life.

Colwell (1991:9) recalls the days of primitive man, where the absence of written records meant that history and laws of a tribe were “…remembered and passed on orally, often in the form of stories” (1991:9). Early Hindu and Buddhist traditions often encouraged the practice of storytelling both in social and religious contexts (Pellowski 1977). Comparatively early Judiac, Christian and Islamic tradition frowned upon storytelling as a form of entertainment. Particularly to Judiac and Islamic custom, religious stories were only to be passed down by those with orthodox authority (1977).

The purpose and function of sharing stories and telling tales has evolved over time. By the fifteenth century for example, the advent of printing brought an end to
the telling of tales ‘by professional minstrels’ (Colwell 1991). This was followed in
the sixteenth century Europe by mass distribution of printed stories and tales
(Pellowski 1977). By the nineteenth century, tradition associated with the handing
down of old stories began to be collected for the purposes of folklore “…rather than
as living material to be shared and enjoyed” (Colwell 1991:13). Indeed in the
excerpts above, stories are told to be shared and enjoyed amongst those consuming
heritage.

Colwell discusses further the legacy of the printed word; and one that is
seemingly ironic in this thesis: it was the Industrial Revolution itself that began to
suppress traditions related to the telling of tales as part of an everyday custom:

One theory holds that storytelling declined because the rhythm of life
changed with the Industrial Revolution. No longer did men and women
carry on their traditional working skills at home in the evenings while
someone told a story (Colwell 1991:13).

Yet in the latter part of the twentieth century, storytelling has generally experienced a
re-birth particularly in schools, libraries and workshops (Baker and Greene 1977,
Colwell 1991). In the case of the industrial heritage sites under study, it is the
visitors themselves engaging in informal, yet meaningful exchange of storytelling.
Meaningful storytelling therefore occur in structured (i.e. libraries) and unstructured
(i.e. heritage sites) environments.

Storytelling reveals itself to be an important theme in creating meaning in
social contexts of consuming heritage. By reflecting on the historical roots of
storytelling more generally above, the societal influence of storytelling among
people is contextualised. Storytelling therefore uncovers itself to be a significant
theme in the making meaning through heritage. More diary passages are offered
below to expand on this point. In the excerpts that follow, storytelling is shown to
offer more examples of making heritage consumption meaningful:
BP –
My observation of woman sharing a story in museum:
Another woman intently observes the museum section on Aberfan64..she brings it to the attention of the person visiting with her and they discuss the disaster amongst themselves.

BP -
My observations:
A middle aged man talks to his family about the Aberfan disaster. He then went to find his daughter (aged 13 or 14) who strayed on to further exhibits and brought her back to explain his memories of it to her. He told her how they had to dig for three days before finding all the bodies buried under the coal tip that covered the school.

BP –
Overheard in the canteen, a grandfather with two young grandsons:
Grandson: Granddad…granddad…was it fast, like….? Was it fast….the lift? Grandfather: (Response inaudible). Grandson: Oh, I like fast things !! I want to do it !!

In the passages above, it is the sharing of stories underpinning meaningful consumption of heritage. The fact that visitors engage in ‘storytelling’ with one another facilitates the construction of meaning and identity. For Finnegan (1997), there is theoretical relevance to the ‘story’ as personal narrative for its ability to facilitate “…the active formulation of personal experience and identity”. Take for example the references to Aberfan above. This disaster is discussed among visitors in a personal way, as they recall the memory of the tragedy themselves. They identify with Aberfan because they remember it and engage in storytelling about it with others. In the last excerpt between a Grandfather and his two grandsons, he is asked by them to share memories of his own experiences of mining (i.e. what it was like to go up and down the lift). Therefore through storytelling he impresses upon them his own sense of identity, and his grandsons in turn identify industrial heritage with him.

The social scenarios found at each of the museums uncover the practice of storytelling to be a common denominator in the process of ‘sharing’ in the consuming of heritage. Visitors not only share stories among themselves, but are also delivered stories by the miner tour guides as well. In the excerpts that follow,

64 Aberfan is the story of South Wales mining community where in October 1966 a coal tip slid down into the village burying a school house killing 144 people; 116 children and 28 adults.
visitors comment on the appeal of the ‘miner’ stories told by the guides. For some visitors it is the former coal miner ‘stories’ told by guides that is highlight of their visit to the museum:

**CB –**
*Me: What did you think of the museum?*
*Polish visitor: Its not that great…but the tour guide was very good, it was very interesting. It is the little stories that are most interesting, you know? The stuff that doesn’t make it into the books. The anecdotal stuff is most important – you can tell from that alone that he is an experienced miner, but it is stuff like the rats at your feet and pulling pranks on your co-workers you don’t hear about…*

**BP –**
*Couple from Cornwall:*
*Woman: We are from Cornwall where there is tin mining … we wanted to go further deeper into the coal mine….*
*Man: The ex-miner made it more real, he talked of his own personal experience underground, you can’t replace that.*

These excerpts show the ability of the former miner as tour guide to offer rich storytelling narrative, thereby enriching the visitor’s heritage consumption experience. Miner guides are mediators in meaning because they engage in storytelling. Below an excerpt from miner tour guide Abbie Michaluk (CB) tells a story of his early years as a miner at shift’s end. It is stories such as this as told by the tour guides that visitors are drawn to – anecdotal accounts - and as the Polish visitor above alludes to:

**CB –**
*A story as told by Abbie (underground tour guide):*
*You’d run to the wash house65 because you were young. Old fellas would hide your clothes on you once they reached the wash house, or, greet you after a nice hot shower and hug you, and rub blackened work clothes all over you again so you would need another shower, this time a cold one. There was only so much hot water to go around.*

65 The ‘wash house’ as it was known in Cape Breton collieries is similar to the ‘pit head baths’ used in Welsh collieries. Both are purposefully built bathing facilities on the colliery site where men shower and bathe once the have finished working a shift at the coal mine.
Fieldnotes of an underground tour with Martin:
Martin spoke of the dangers, collapse and mine rescue. He brought in humour, how he would lose people on tours on occasion. He also spoke of using the loo underground, how miners would play pranks on one another, and related stories of camaraderie among the miners.

It is common for the guides to bring children into the story, telling a 7 yr old girl that she’d be a trapper kid…

Martin went on to instruct attendees to turn off their lights and imagine the darkness. He also passed around iron stone, handling the stone and also told tales of women, children working underground.

Stories of disaster, safety issues and hardship often spurred further interaction among visitors of the museums. Spontaneous social gatherings would occur either underground or above ground when a meaningful story was being told. As a result visitors became engaged with the storytelling, therefore constructing meaning for themselves for heritage in the process. What follows shows other instances in which visitors were able to construct meaning of industrial heritage through storytelling:

Observed during an underground tour:
There were people taking part in this particular tour who had personal connections to two miners who had died in the 1979 explosion66: Freddie Matheson and Fabe Young…discussion and stories ensued with the others and the guide himself.

Two visitors from Toronto:
I had a friend from Cape Breton, Gary MacDonald. He used to tell me stories about picking up coal along the train tracks to heat the house, can you imagine? They didn’t have enough to heat their house. They’d collect the coal that fell off the trains as they went by and bring it home.

Observation of a father and daughter about to explore Miner’s village:
Father: Dad, where are we going?  
Daughter: they’ve got these little houses over here that I want to show you. Where the miners’ used to live.

Observed father and daughter as father recites entire letter67 to his daughter. The father and daughter then go on to discuss the letter afterwards, talking about what mining was like back in Cape Breton in 1942.

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66 In February 1979, 12 miners died in an explosion in number 26 Colliery in Glace Bay, Nova Scotia.
These last two excerpts reflect occasions where fathers are ‘sharing’ and ‘storytelling’ with their daughters about the history of the region. In effect, it is through this sharing in the consumption of heritage that the young girls are able to build meaning for themselves and a sense of identity for industrial heritage. The girls are able to do so because of the underpinning social nature to share such encounters with their respective fathers.

The above section captures the emergence of storytelling as a relevant theme in the social nature of consuming heritage. In so doing, the social aspects found in storytelling illuminates its ability to make meaning. The next section discusses the wider context of how meaning is socially constructed at industrial heritage sites. In keeping with the underlying epistemological position of this study, how meaning is socially constructed in the context in heritage consumption is discussed further.

### 8.6 Socially Constructing Meaning Through Industrial Heritage

As Crotty (1998) maintains, meaning is constructed in social contexts and is an underlying premise of a social constructionist epistemological position (pages 113-116). Hence, because this epistemological position is at the foundation of the research design (Berger and Luckmann 1967, Burr 2003, Crotty 1998), a social constructionist perspective informs the way meaning made in everyday contexts. Nevertheless, what is relevant to the discussion presented here is how meaning is made through the social processes found in consumption of industrial heritage.

Tenets of social constructionism offered by Burr (2003) and Gergen (2003) are drawn on to reflect how meaning is made in social situations. Indeed for Burr (2003:8) “[w]hen people talk to each other, the world gets constructed”. In the case of industrial heritage museum as social setting, an understanding for heritage is constructed by talking to each other and within social contexts. As Gergen says, “[d]escriptions and explanations of the world themselves constitute forms of social action” (2003:16). Through this Gergen demonstrates the two-way nature of

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67 See Appendix 9 – a copy of the text in a letter on display at Cape Breton Miners’ Museum dated 1942 from a miner by the name of Angus who describes to his sister Rebecca about his typical day of working underground.
building meaning through one another. The fact that people describe and explain things to one another reflects the social properties inherent to making meaning. Therefore negotiations of understanding are linked to daily activities, and are “…of critical significance in social life” (2003:16). For those consuming industrial heritage, it is their understanding of one another; and what heritage means to them that is negotiated in the social process of sharing the experience together.

As Burr (2003) and Gergen (2003) further concur - interaction and speech applied in social contexts construct meaning. As people engage with each other in social situations, meaning is constructed through talking, interacting and sharing descriptions. Indeed, the heritage site itself becomes a social institution (Jenkins 2004) whereby identity comes to be understood. Meaning and identity therefore can become socially constructed in the consumption of industrial heritage.

The diary excerpt below is drawn upon to reflect the dimensions of meaning making, including identity in social situations. By applying a deeper analysis into the passage that follows, further dimensions of the social context are revealed to show how meaning is made. In this instance a woman is visiting the museum with her young son, another lady and her child. I asked her about the purpose of her visit to the museum that day:

BP -
_How was your visit to the mine today?_
_Mother: It’s a picture of the social and political history, it is important to keep this._
_6 yr old son: The underground was good, I liked the baths too._
_Mother: It is important to know what the social repercussions are…_
_Me: Social repercussions?…which are?_
_Mother: All the things that happened because the mines shut. Throwing so many people out of work. The miner guide told me stories of many of his friends who committed suicide because they lost their jobs, it is quite sad, isn’t it? It is a very poignant reminder of our past, isn’t it? It made me angry, really angry, brought back memories. I remember the miner’s strike and what they went through, I supported the miners. And I remember what Margaret Thatcher did. I hate the old cow, I shall open a bottle of wine when she dies. Everything Arthur Scargill68 said was true, wasn’t it? Everything the miners said was true…_.

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68 Arthur Scargill was president of the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) from 1981-2000 and president of the Yorkshire region NUM from 1973-1981. His leadership platforms were known to be highly vocal and his related tactics controversial; common features in the UK miner strikes of 1972, 1974 and 1984-85.
As this woman recites a story from the industrial past as it relates to her, she is doing so in the company of her son, two others and myself. As she recalls what the mining heritage means to her, she is overcome with emotion and also anger. In the process she is sharing her story with us. Her views and emotion were also echoed earlier in others relating to Margaret Thatcher’s legacy in the UK’s mining industry.

Yet what is singled out in this occasion is the underlying social context of the situation. In this instance, she is able to impress her views upon others with her, most notably that of her six year old son. This is important because as Berger and Luckmann (1967:152) point out it is through socially constructed contexts that children are able to take on the role and attitude of significant others and “…by this identification with significant others the child becomes capable of identifying himself”. Through the process, her son has therefore been ‘socialized’ in this industrial heritage and begins to learn what the industrial past means to him, and how he might begin to identify with it.

I also observed this group for awhile in the museum before the above exchange occurred. I took note of the fact that the mother guided her son and the other’s woman child to an exhibit that presented various viewpoints of those participating in mining industry disputes. Although the children are young, this feature in the museum was presented at a level comprehensible to them, as caricatures of each: Margaret Thatcher, the miners, and company management; each make ‘a statement’ of their position on industry disputes. She guided the children to this display and subsequently pointed out the various viewpoints (see Plate 8.2 below). Although she appeared to let them ‘consume’ this museum exhibit on their own, I would interpret this action to be an act where ‘understanding’ of industrial heritage starts to be formed with the children. Not only are they old enough to read on their own, they begin to conceptualise for themselves the content that they are consuming. Therefore, because my interview with this group happened after this particular observation, it is my interpretation that guiding the children to an exhibit in the first place socialises them with these ‘political’ statements on the exhibit. In so doing the children begin to shape what industrial heritage means to them and how it begins to manifest a sense of identity for them.
In effect, many of the social encounters observed at the heritage sites could be unpacked in a similar way to the encounter detailed above. The preceding excerpt is drawn on to point out the social features of it, and how meaning becomes constructed. Social nuances are common in the consumption of heritage, and therefore underpin how meaning is socially constructed in consuming heritage sites.

Plate 8.2: Statements on the state of ‘Mining Industry’: Margaret Thatcher; the miners, and Company management.

8.7 In Summary – The ‘social’ theme in the making of meaning

This chapter has uncovered the ‘social’ nature of how meaning is made at these industrial heritage sites. The visitors to heritage engage in social encounters, to create meaning and identity. The heritage sites act as mediators in these social constructions of meaning because of their presentation of the past. The ‘social’ is a facilitator of meaning in a number of ways. This can include: visiting the site with others, sharing stories, and displaying emotion. It is also the ‘social’ features of the past that are of equal interest to the visitors of heritage such as human aspects (e.g. hardship, tragedy). For example, how did communities come together to support one another in times of hardship? It is these ‘stories’ that appear in their ‘social’ histories are of interest to visitors.
Storytelling is therefore uncovered to play a significant role in socially constructed meaning. For example excerpts taken from the annotated ethnographic diary were discussed that show the ‘social’ significance of the heritage sites as facilitators in storytelling. Those that deliver and participate in the storytelling are both the visitors themselves and the miner guides. By engaging in storytelling with one another, this ‘social’ act proves to mediate constructions of meaning and identity in industrial heritage. As Bruner states “[s]tories make meaning. They operate at the level of semantics in addition to vocabulary and syntax” (1986b:140).

Nevertheless, using ‘stories’ to inform new knowledge in social research has had limited scope. As Crotty (1998:64) maintains, although the telling of a story is in fact “…the voice of our culture” approaches to social inquiry have not been successful in keeping that in theoretical view. Finnegan echoes Crotty’s position saying that although scholarship is divided on the study of narrative “…one essential theme recurs…to put it at its simplest…human beings are story-telling animals” (1997:70). Theoretically speaking, the practice of storytelling is an important consideration in heritage consumption. By studying the ethnographic narrative exposed in the diary and its emerging themes, how people interpret their past and make meaning out of it becomes apparent. The social ‘features’ of the heritage consumption experience become illuminated.

8.7.1 The Relevance of Ethnographer as ‘Storyteller’

As ethnographer, it is further relevant to acknowledge my role in compiling the annotated ethnographic diary. In essence, my involvement in creating the ethnographic ‘story’ is an element in the methodological process that informs the creation of new knowledge from this research. In this way, I am exercising my ‘reflexive’ position in the research process as it is detailed in chapter six (pages 118-122). Myself as ethnographer, my findings are shaped by what Bruner calls an ‘implicit narrative structure’ whereby ethnographers are guided “…by a story we tell about the peoples we study” (1986b:142). The ethnographic diary itself captures a collection of stories from the visitors themselves. Bruner continues on: "[s]tories are interpretive devices which give meaning to the present in terms of location in an ordered syntagmatic sequence…” (1986b:142). It is from the ethnographic narrative
that I am able to interpret how meaning and identity is constructed from what the visitors have shared with me. By transitioning the interpretations of the diary excerpts into findings the creation of new knowledge is able to be contextualised.

Nevertheless, ethnographer as storyteller is also acknowledged for its ‘contextual’ limitations in the written narrative form. It is an obligation of this research to present the work in the written of a thesis, yet ‘contextual’ limitations to the new knowledge created may occur because certain complexities are not captured in the written form. In this sense, Malinowski is useful. As seen below he was critical for example of studying ethnographic narrative on paper as opposed to its function in real life claiming:

It is easier to write down a story than to observe the diffuse, complex ways in which it enters into life, or to study its function by the observation of the cast social and cultural activities into which it enters (Malinowski 1926 in Cruikshank 1992:6)

In studying how meaningful constructions of heritage occur I was, in essence, observing ‘the cast of social and cultural activities’ to which stories enter life. The written ethnographic narrative in my diary is meant to capture as much detail as possible in the process. As a result the diary is a compilation of stories that reflect the relevance of the activities in building meaning in our lives. It is also the aim of writing the diary to capture the diffuse and complex ways a ‘story’ is made meaningful in life. Yet as Malinowski has alluded to, it is easier to write down a story than to capture all of the complexities in which it enters life.

The chapter that follows presents the concluding arguments of this research. In the process, the findings resulting from the original research objectives are put into context. Each research objective is addressed for the contribution it makes to knowledge in the field of tourism as a result of undertaking this study. The concluding discussion is therefore a summary that culminates from the theoretical platform explored in the literature review; analysed by the research design, and then unpacked and discussed in both chapters seven and eight. The resulting contribution to knowledge is therefore clarified in the process.
Chapter NINE

- Conclusion to the Thesis
This ethnographic study probed how visitors to industrial heritage sites find meaning and construct identity in the presence of industrial heritage. The concluding arguments begin with a synopsis of new knowledge created in the preceding two chapters. This helps frame where the research objectives were met and addressed. The research objectives set out to: 1) explore how consuming industrial heritage tourism facilitates the construction of social identity; 2) understand more about the types of behaviour and actions engaged in the process of finding meaning and identity in places of industrial heritage; and finally 3) to contribute to knowledge in terms of the role of industrial heritage tourism in the construction of identity and meaning in social contexts. Periodically literature sources supporting earlier discussion are re-visited to illuminate the ways in which the research objectives were met and addressed. Moreover the wider purpose of the concluding arguments is to contextualise the wider contribution to the body of knowledge derived from the research undertaken for this thesis.

The research design of the inquiry paradigm has provided the epistemological and methodological structure to which the social phenomena underpinning the research objectives were unpacked and studied. The links between the social phenomena studied and those uncovered in the ethnographic diary are supported by underlying epistemological foundation of the inquiry paradigm. By adopting a social constructionist approach to this qualitative study, the contribution to the body of knowledge further takes shape. More was learnt about how social phenomena in heritage settings create meaning in the everyday context of visiting an industrial heritage site.

Part one (chapter seven) and Part two (chapter eight) of the annotated ethnographic diary differ in two ways. Part one takes the research objectives into consideration, by first taking into account notions of identity and how visitors construct identity in the consumption of heritage. Anthropological concepts used in tourism (pilgrimage, rites of passage and ritual) are then applied to frame further how representations of industrial past are made meaningful for their visitors. Once these concepts are considered in the heritage context, they are then used as elements to frame a consumption model of heritage. These anthropological concepts filter through to notions of identity (the social, national and individual) and are further
influenced by evolving themes (landscape, experience, imagination) to show a way in which mediating identity and meaning for the industrial past can be understood.

Part two of the annotated diary reveals the significance of the ‘social’ aspect as an underlying theme embedded in the research objectives under study. The objectives explore constructions of social identity, as well as behaviour and actions that possess ‘social characteristics’, revealing the relevance of the social context in consuming industrial heritage. As a theme, the social context becomes further unveiled as a result of applying the inquiry paradigm set forth in the research design. For example it becomes apparent that the sharing of storytelling appears consistently as an underlying social practice in the consumption of heritage. Storytelling acts as a mediator in many diary excerpts where discussions of identity construction and finding meaning were uncovered. Storytelling is therefore revealed as being a facilitator to social constructions of meaning by visitors to industrial heritage. Visitors make sense of their world by engaging in social encounters with others such as in storytelling.

9.1 The Social Context Unveiled

The social context becomes unveiled for its theoretical relevance into the making of meaning in the seemingly everyday notion of visiting a heritage site. People come to understand who they are and what they are by interacting socially with other people. Indeed as forefathers to tenets of social constructionism Berger and Luckmann (1967) have acknowledged, the sociology of knowledge is first concerned with the social construction of reality. An understanding for the reality of everyday life is constructed socially, from interacting with ‘other humans’. A great deal of what we do and what we think is influenced heavily by our social environment. Meaning is thought to be produced, constructed as opposed to simply being ‘found’ (Hall 1997). The social mechanisms underpinning constructions of meaningful reality are contingent upon ‘human practice’ (Crotty 1998) and result from interacting with others. The interaction with others at industrial heritage sites reveals the theoretical relevance of the social context into how visitors make meaning.
A way in which meaning can therefore be found is the result of social interaction with others. For Gergen (2003), how the world comes to be understood are ‘social artefacts’ in themselves and is the result of social exchange between people. The ways in which things come to be understood within a culture are not contingent on ‘empirical validity’ but rather on elements of social process such as communication, negotiation, and conflict. Things that are considered to be ‘true, real or authentic’ are socially constructed (Bruner 1994) irrespective of the era we live in. How people construct a sense for the world is innate to social practices in society, further justifying the theoretical relevance of studying social forms of conduct. It was the aim of this work to investigate more specifically the social processes at play to help illuminate the research objectives places under study.

A significant way in which meaning has shown to be socially constructed amongst visitors was through the engagement of reciprocal storytelling. The interaction between visitors and with tour guides resulted in a social practice of reciprocal storytelling. The power of storytelling to build meaning in social settings was uncovered, also for its role in the act of consuming heritage sites. Storytelling has shown to be core to the social contexts of making meaning and identity in representations of the industrial past.

Equally relevant are the topics of interest that facilitated the exchange of stories shared by visitors to industrial heritage settings. The ethnographic diary findings have shown that it is aspects in humanity (how did the people of the industrial past live, survive?) resonate repeatedly in the visitor diary excerpts. Visitors to industrial heritage seek to make a connection to a human way of life that precedes what they already know about their present-day existence. When visitors make direct links from the industrial past to their own lives, they are able to ‘identify’ with the industrial past and ‘see it as part of themselves’. In regards to the latter, many visitors were quoted as saying ‘the past cannot be forgotten, and needs to be handed down’. In the first instance, they are not letting the past be forgotten by visiting the site to begin with. Visitors to industrial heritage will often bring other family members and friends to a site and so that they can ‘share’ in its history together. Visitors thus mediate an understanding for humanity during industrial
times by socially constructing a meaning for it whilst visiting the heritage site with others.

9.2 Social Constructions of Identity

Specific to the research objectives, how the consumption of industrial heritage in tourism helps to construct a sense of social identity was explored. The visitors to industrial heritage were found to establish a sense of identity in a number of different ways.

In some instances, community ties were established in making links between the ‘industrial past’ and a collective sense of identity. This forged a sense of a social ‘belonging’ to a common group, to those descendents who ‘have gone before’ and lived and worked in coal mining communities. In other cases, visitors made direct personal connections to the site, through a father, brother or other relative who worked in the mining industry. It is the consumption of this information that a more personal sense of identity and belonging for these visitors was contextualised. Associating an identity with ‘family’ and ‘community’ ties is manifest through consuming industrial heritage. Notions of identity are therefore discovered and constructed through the act of a ‘consumption’ experience. The heritage consumption model (section 7.8) helps to contextualise how this occurs. The model also demonstrates how a heritage consumption experience can facilitate identity construction, and that it occurs in various ways.

The ‘social’ context embedded in identity construction was therefore uncovered to be consistent feature located in the consumption process. For example the construction of identity occurred when a tourist discovered a written record of his grandfather’s death in a disaster log book (page 164). The resulting social encounter with his partner and tour guide turns into a meaningful experience because more about his identity is learned. In finding out more about his grandfather’s death and engaging in discussion about it with others; a construction of a sense of his identity is established in the encounter. Other examples of identity construction occurred from personal reflection, contemplation. This manifests itself in ways where visitors gaze on features of the industrial landscape, such as viewing a colliery pithead. In the
instance of the latter, an example of this was displayed by the Argentinean man
whose emotions are triggered by the sight of the colliery pithead at the Big Pit
Museum. It was because his father emigrated from Wales to Argentina one hundred
years previous, that this man ‘sees his own identity’ in an industrial past just from
gazing on the colliery pithead.

Visitors were not only able to reflect on a sense identity through family
connections, but social ties to ‘nation’ were also made by visitors i.e. our ‘Welsh’
collieries, or ‘our nation’s [Canada] industrial history’. The concept of ‘nation’ on
its own provides a conduit for a social bond where shared values and traditions are
reinforced through meaningful ‘symbols’ (Smith 1991). These meaningful symbols
for nation take the form of things such as anthems, uniforms and monuments. In the
context of this study, ‘symbols of industrial heritage’ offer visitors a similar
meaningful bond to ‘the industrial past’ from the assets of mining heritage. This can
include the presence of pitheads, miner tools, lamps, trade union flags, rusting
underground locomotives, and blacksmith forges. Like symbols of a nation, symbols
of industrial heritage are shown to possess a similar ability to reinforce a sense of
identity and belonging for those consuming industrial heritage.

It is important here to mention my original focus on ‘social identity’ in
relation to my research objectives. I was doing what Finnegan (1997) refers to as
seeking ‘one interpretation of identity’; often characteristic of studying a particular
socio-cultural context. However, in so doing, I found theories of ‘social identity’ to
overlap with others related to the ‘individual’ and ‘nation’. Indeed, the findings also
revealed this overlapping of theory in practical terms. In studying industrial heritage
tourists and their behaviour, it became evident the complex nature of identity
construction they engaged in. It was rare for a visitor to associate identity with any
one thing such as ‘nation’. Visitors often built on ‘layers’ of identity. Indeed from a
qualitative research inquiry perspective, in a postcolonial world it is necessary to
think ‘beyond the nation, or the local group as the focus of inquiry’ (Denzin and
Lincoln 2000a). The findings in the annotated ethnographic diary show the visitors
link a sense of identity to different things and in various contexts (spanning the
theoretical domain of individual, social and national ‘identities’).
This study therefore revealed that constructing identity engages a dynamic process that involves notions of self-discovery and growth (Morgan and Pritchard 2005). The engagement of ‘process’ was uncovered to be a conduit in the construction of identity. The findings revealed that social constructions of identity in the industrial heritage context show a way in which identity ‘works’. In excerpts taken from the ethnographic diary, thick descriptions uncovered ways in which identity is constructed. For example just ‘talking’ about the industrial heritage helps them to find meaning in the past, and relate it to a sense of identity. Also, ‘sharing’ industrial heritage with others helps them to connect to a sense of identity. This could manifest itself in ways where visitors remember former loved ones who once worked in the industry or in more a collective sense - visitors connect to a human race and ‘way of life’ that has gone before. In a postmodern context the notion of identity is indeed one of ‘process’ (Hall 1996) and always in negotiation (Craib 1998). Identity is not fixed but rather in a constant state of flux. This is evidenced in the ethnographic accounts, in that identity construction is multilayered and multifaceted.

9.3 Finding Meaning in the Consumption of Industrial Heritage

The study showed that certain actions and behaviour were common in taking away meaning from the industrial past. Whether constructing a sense of identity or searching for meaning – many encounters were made purposeful for visitors by experiencing it together and through each other. Here, anthropological discussions of tourism were useful to help frame the inquiry for how meaning is taken from the industrial past and how it was aligned with certain actions, behaviour. Again the heritage consumption model helps to conceptualise certain behaviour at heritage sites. For example, making pilgrimage to sites of significance (industrial heritage) with other people who have meaning to the visitors (i.e. other family members) was common. Also, the ritual of repeated visitation to the heritage site appeared as a theme for some visitors to industrial heritage. Findings show that visitors become ‘pilgrims’ of heritage because they ‘experience’ and ‘consume’ a heritage site with others who mean something to them. In such practices, meaning for the industrial past is thereby found together. In relation to rituals and rites of passage, meaning becomes passed on through oral tradition (Turner and Turner 1978), therefore
establishing a link between the relevance of storytelling and ritualistic behaviour in tourism.

The legacy of the industrial past therefore gets ‘passed on’ to others by bringing people to heritage sites with them, sharing in its consumption and engaging in storytelling. Notions of transition and transformation (Turner 1969) are able to occur in consuming heritage. A person can be transformed through acquiring a ‘new sense of identity’ or ‘finding meaning’ in the social processes inherent to the consumption of heritage. This happens because they are learning more about themselves and ‘who they are’ through consuming the ‘industrial past’. A number of elderly visitors to the industrial heritage sites engaged in this practice – they brought younger family members; sons, daughters and grandchildren so that they may learn ‘more about their past’. For some visitors, there also is a spiritual quality to experiencing a heritage site. Visitors are ‘moved’ by what they learn, as they are also able to reflect on what it might mean to their ‘identity’. This shows that finding spiritual meaning is not limited to the religious domain, rather it also has a place in the meaningful consumption of heritage sites. A heritage site can have sacred significance for some visitors because it is deemed to possess deep meaning. Regions displaying remnants of the industrial past become sacred because they represent a place where descendents ‘lived, worked, and prayed’. Heritage sites such as these are recognised and consumed by those who wish to ‘relate’ to the industrial past, and search for meaning from it.

The ‘industrial pasts’ of both Cape Breton and South Wales have left behind a notable industrial heritage legacy. Both caught up in the rise of the Industrial Revolution from the 18th century onwards, their historical significance in the rise of the coal mining industry is easily implicated – both socially and economically –in each of these regions. The way of life of the people who endured this period in history is testament to the interest and curiosity of present day visitors to these sites, and those that continue to visit places of ‘industrial heritage’. Yet whether the motivation to ‘consume heritage’ is steered by a direct personal link to the past or a more latent interest for the ‘ways of the past’, the fact remains that these industrial heritage sites have the ability to represent deep meaning and appeal for some of its visitors. This is of significant interest to future studies in social research more
generally. It is of more specific interest to the study of heritage tourism whereby investigations into the significance of heritage visitation as social phenomena may be explored further.

9.4 Advancing Perspectives in Qualitative Tourism Research

This study has engaged more than simply ‘methods’ in the form of interviews and participant observation when undertaking the fieldwork. Although these methods are at the foundation of ethnographic methodological approach, it is an epistemological foundation underpinned by social constructionism that guide the wider inquiry of the research objectives.

It was mentioned in the introduction chapter (see page 22) that PhD dissertations based in tourism show little evidence of in depth engagement with epistemological advances in tourism research. In the history of qualitative tourism research, perspectives have typically approached qualitative research as a set of methods as opposed to ‘a set of thinking tools’. It has been the work of this study to approach qualitative inquiry ‘as a set of thinking tools’. In so doing it addresses a methodological void that hitherto applied in tourism research: it adopts an established epistemological foundation as a component of the research design. Therefore this thesis fills a gap by offering a tourism-focused doctorate level dissertation that has an in depth epistemological grounding which hitherto remained uncommon in PhD studies of tourism. It also makes a contribution to the tourism knowledge by adding reflexive accounts to tourism research which have likewise been scarce in tourism literature (Franklin and Crang 2001, Hall 2004, Jamal and Hollinshead 2001, Morgan and Pritchard 2005, Tribe 2006).

The underpinning methodological foundation has thus looked specifically at the social milieu of consuming industrial heritage to see what can be learned about how meaning is found and identity constructed in consuming industrial heritage. From an interpretivist perspective, Levi-Strauss’ bricoleur concept proved useful in this regard. First informed by theoretical perspectives explored in the literature review and then built on a set inquiry paradigm, the social context of the findings were ‘unpacked’ en route to creating new knowledge. Visitors were observed and the meaning interpreted from their social actions associated with visiting, talking,
reflection and contemplation whilst spending time at the industrial heritage sites. The interpretations in part one (chapter seven) and part two (chapter eight) of the ethnographic diary are subject to *bricoleur* concept. That is, the social context within which visitors were observed were subject to ‘the blending together of whatever was available to a complete story’. The resulting compilation of the ethnographic diary and the unpacking of themes through diary excerpts are a product of this approach.

The ‘thick descriptions’ captured in the diary are a product of constructing my own ‘ethnographic narrative’. By also engaging in reflexive research, I have gone further to acknowledge my own embodied involvement in the solicitation of ‘thick descriptions’ from my ethnographic subjects. I have not separated myself from the content captured in the ethnographic diary thereby ruling out the authorial view of a ‘god’s eye’ researcher$^{69}$. Rather, by applying ‘engaged interestedness’ as a feature of reflexivity, my personal interest in the subject matter is further established in this study. This also means my socio-historical positioning (see pages 119-121) played a role in gathering and shaping the visitor narratives and I do not claim to be disembodied from the compilation of the ethnographic accounts.

Previous studies of heritage consumption were discussed earlier in the thesis and acknowledged for their systematic approach in the way they report their findings. These studies are easily distinguished by the ‘set of methods’ employed in their research and void of specific epistemological foundations ‘as a set of thinking tools’. For example, in both quantitative and qualitative studies of heritage consumption, criteria such as ‘motivation to visit’ are measured alongside of factors such as socio-demographic characteristics. These types of studies do offer value by way of applied solutions to industry in marketing and managerial contexts for the management of heritage attractions. Yet a pre-occupation in the literature towards ‘applied’ research as compared to advancing theoretical perspectives in qualitative tourism research impacts upon what more can be understood about the making of meaning of ‘consuming heritage’ in social contexts. Rather, this study has focused on

$^{69}$ The ‘god’s eye’ researcher is a specific criticism made by Jamal and Hollinshead (2001) of authorial texts in tourism such as the work of Dann (1996), Munt (1994) and Urry (1990) where the author is a disembodied analyst from the tourism phenomena under study. To the contrary, in engaging reflexivity I claim to be involved in the methodological process of creating new knowledge in this research.
understanding how meaning is made in the social context of consuming heritage. Therefore this research goes some way to advance alternative theoretical perspectives applied in social research studies of heritage tourism.

This thesis closes a gap in the body of knowledge in qualitative tourism research by uncovering more about the complexity of social factors underpinning motivation to ‘consume heritage’. This study uncovers a new layer of understanding, where the social milieu of consuming industrial heritage is able to facilitate identity construction and help visitors find meaning in the industrial past. In studying how social action is manifest in heritage settings, more is learned about how visitors create meaning in their consumption experiences. In so doing, tourism research expands its breadth and depth in accounts of qualitative research.

Being a ‘tourist’ is firmly rooted in the practice of everyday life. By diversifying approaches to qualitative tourism research, more about the significance of tourism as social phenomena in modern life becomes known. Tourism resonates with common features of everyday life, and manifests itself in certain ways: in search of escape or identity; appeasing restlessness; enabling mobility and gazing on the authentic.

It is through sharing in the practice of heritage consumption that we come to know more about ‘who we are’ in a contemporary world. In the consumption of heritage we come to identify more with ourselves, find meaning in industrial heritage and through those we care about: family, friends, and descendants. Arguably, in a modern world where disorientation, change and uncertainty is increasingly common, ‘sharing’ meaningful encounters with others establishes a firmer sense of having purpose and meaning in life.

Future studies of tourism and in the context of heritage provide fertile ground for developing social theory, and creating new forms of knowledge in the field. Taking into consideration the industrial heritage context under study here, the thesis reveals more about the social process involved in finding meaning and identity for heritage tourists at ‘the point of time’ of this study. Studies carried out subsequent to
this one in the future might go on to uncover different meanings and interpretations in the investigation of similar social phenomena.
LIST OF REFERENCES:


APPENDICES
APPENDIX 1 - TYPOLOGICAL FRAMEWORK OF INDUSTRIAL TOURIST ATTRACTIONS

Appendix 2

Framework for Phillimore and Goodson’s (2004) further review of Riley and Love’s Study (2000) of the state of qualitative research in tourism:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Questions</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Research design</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>What methods were chosen and how creative were they? That is, to what extent are unconventional methods such as the use of images involved? How do the chosen tools fit with the overarching objective of the research? That is, are the methods fit for the purpose? Was the research governed by a deductive or inductive agenda? That is, at what stage were the question and framework for analysis formulated? Was the approach formulated/directed by specific rules?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Methodological reflexivity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Was there sufficient detail about the methods adopted and how they were applied to understand how the research was carried out? Can the reader follow the chain of inquiry? Does the research process appear transparent? Was the methodological approach considered from a critical perspective, with possible alternatives being evaluated? Was there any insight into the personal/intellectual biography of the author?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Analysis of findings</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>How was the data interpreted? Who/how many people interpreted the data? Did participants have opportunity to contribute to the process in any way? Were any feedback mechanisms put in place to enable participants to reflect on, or add to, the interpretation of the findings and conclusions?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Presentation of findings</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>How were the findings written up? What sort of language has the author used to represent their findings? Has space been made for the voices of the participants to be heard? To what extent were findings generalised? Where does the power and authority within the research process appear to lie?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scale of the research</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>At what level (local, regional, national, international), was the research undertaken? What sorts of respondents were involved? What geographical area or groups are the findings said to represent? Are the findings offering a snapshot in time or conclusions that apply regardless of temporal moment?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Source: Phillimore and Goodson 2004:8)
## Appendix 3

Relationship between Phillimore and Goodson’s (2004) post-1996 research review framework and Denzin and Lincoln’s five moments of qualitative research:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Moment</th>
<th>Traits</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Traditional</td>
<td>• Positivist</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Objective colonising accounts of field experience</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Depersonalised accounts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Researcher seen as ‘expert’ – their judgement determines the validity of the findings</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Research findings represented as fact</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Modernist</td>
<td>• Move away from natural science notion that ‘reality is out there’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Attempts to formalise qualitative research and maintain positivistic rigour</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Interested in ways that people categorise the world and the meaning people place on events</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Phenomenology, ethnomethodology, grounded theory</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blurred genres</td>
<td>• Indistinct boundaries between disciplines</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Recognition of multiple approaches</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Theories, techniques and approaches mixed and matched, e.g. more creative methods such as photography and advertising used with more conventional qualitative methods, such as participant observation, in-depth interviews and ethnography</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Use of different theoretical models – feminist, ethics, semiotics</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Crisis in representation</td>
<td>• Researchers knowledge challenged</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Rigour and generalisability of social research questioned</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Reflexivity, embodiment and personal biography of researchers critical</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Recognition of multiple interpretations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Questions raised around issues of gender, class, race e.g. what kind of impact embodied characteristics have on the kinds of questions researchers ask and the ways they interpret data</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fifth moment</td>
<td>• End of grand narrative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Focus on specific delimited local research – seen as a snapshot of a particular time</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Theories are context specific</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Authority of the researcher as ‘objective expert’ rejected</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Researchers voice is one among many</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Source: Phillimore and Goodson 2004:9)
Appendix 4

Plan Legend

1. Reception and Gift Shop
2. Waiting Rooms
3. Toilets
4. Underground Tour/Pit Head
5. Tram Circuit/Lamproom
6. Saw Mill and Mortar Mill
7. Winding House
8. Mining Galleries
9. Fan House
10. Pithead Baths and Exhibitions
11. Canteen
12. Toilets
13. View Point
14. Explosives Magazine
15. Toilets
16. Blacksmiths Shop
17. Education Room
18. Café
19. Operations and Resource Building
20. Conservation Workshop and Stores
Appendix 5

Appendix 6

Location of Cape Breton Miners’ Museum in Glace Bay, Nova Scotia, Canada:

The Province of Nova Scotia in Canada:
Room and Pillar (Canada) or Pillar and Stall (UK) method of mining.

Source: United Mine Workers of America
# Appendix 8

Cape Breton Coal Mines Colliery Data from 1833 - 2001

![Colliery Data Table]

(Source: Cape Breton Miners’ Museum)
Appendix 9

Copy of personal letter on display at
Cape Breton Miners’ Museum

Dear Rebecca,

How is my younger sister? I hope this letter finds you well. I can’t believe I’ve been living in Glace Bay for 8 months already! Will you soon be able to visit? I’ve thought about what it is like to be a coal miner. As a response I thought I would describe a typical day for a miner in the pit.

My day begins at 4 am. I get the kitchen fire started and have a bite of breakfast. By 5, I’m at the wash house changing from street clothes to pit clothes, and then it’s a rush a catch the first rake of the day. The ride in the rake is fast. I try not to let thoughts creep into my mind, but I can’t help think ‘what if the rope breaks’ or ‘what if the breaks are out of order?’ by that time the ride is over and I can breathe a bit easier.

I pick up my drill and other tools and start the mile and a half walk to the workplace. Even though the workday has not yet begun, I’m already sweaty and tired. Now comes the job of cutting, shooting and loading the coal! I usually breathe through my mouth because coal dust plugs my nose. While working, I’m in a constant state of alert just waiting for a dislodged timber that could bury me and my buddy alive!

My place is now cut and it’s time for boring. After boring holes, I can usually feel my teeth grating on the coal in my mouth, but the job has to be finished before the shot firer arrives. I swallow some tea that was brought from home, which always seems to provide some relief from the dust. Now it’s time to load the coal. My legs usually cramp up because of hunching over. From roof to pavement is only 4 feet you know. A quick bit of lunch and another swig of tea and it’s back to work. The coal is all cleared out, but now it’s time to bore the brushing. More powder smoke to breathe in, and more dust to inhale, only this time it is rock dust.

Finally the day is finished and it’s a rush back to the rake and then the walk home. I hope this gives you some idea of what coal mining is like. Not a job I’d like to see you doing! It’s tough work, that’s for sure, but I work with a great bunch of guys. I hope to see you soon – say hi to Jimmy for me.

Yours, Angus
Appendix 10

The Big Pit Mining Museum
Visitor Numbers from 1998-2006

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Booked visitors</td>
<td>4664</td>
<td>4156</td>
<td>4085</td>
<td>45075</td>
<td>54721</td>
<td>51816</td>
<td>61587</td>
<td>64383</td>
<td>69296</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Casual visitors</td>
<td>3854</td>
<td>3657</td>
<td>3693</td>
<td>74426</td>
<td>64294</td>
<td>60229</td>
<td>79540</td>
<td>92594</td>
<td>88818</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grand total</td>
<td>8518</td>
<td>7814</td>
<td>7778</td>
<td>12013</td>
<td>11901</td>
<td>11204</td>
<td>14112</td>
<td>15697</td>
<td>15811</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* marks first year no admission fee to the museum as it came under the management and direction of the National Museums and Galleries of Wales (NMGW).
Appendix 11

Visitor Numbers
to the Cape Breton Miners’ Museum
Glace Bay, Nova Scotia, Canada

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>2004</th>
<th>2005</th>
<th>2006</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total Visitors*</td>
<td>22,915</td>
<td>21,916</td>
<td>18,855</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* The majority of these visitors come during the months of June-September.

(Source: Tom Miller, Director, Cape Breton Miners’ Museum)
Appendix 12

Coal Miner Tour Guides (as of 2006)

The Big Pit National Mining Museum of Wales

Tony Barlow  Mark Thomas
John J. Perrett  Leonard Howell
Barry Stevenson  Roy Wilmot
Mike Curtis  Alan Jones
Andrew Williams  William Richings
Pete Richings  Glyn Hallett
Gavin Rogers  Martin Davies
Eric Marshall  David Williams
Albert Mason  Colin Dunne
Terry Mason  Desmond Harris
Peter Hardin

The Cape Breton Miners’ Museum

Albert ‘Abbie’ Michaluk
Aloysius ‘Wishie’ Donovan
    Sheldon MacNeil
    Sheldon Gouthro
Donnie ‘Cow’ Campbell
Hinson Calabrese (deceased June 2006)
Appendix 13 – Photos of groups at museums

The Big Pit Museum – Museum Canteen

The Cape Breton Miners’ Museum – Underground Storytelling