Chapter 5

The Politics of Authenticity and Identity in British Heritage Sites

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Our American cousins are here to enjoy history, Tommy. Not to live it.
John Brady, A Carra King, p. 17

In the globalised economy of the post-imperial, post-industrial period, the United Kingdom has increasingly exploited a resource more plentiful than coal and iron: its eventful past. In Hewison's (1987) memorable phrase, Britain has developed a heritage industry that has become increasingly important for creating a global tourism industry as a replacement for the declining British manufacturing sector. The rest of the North Atlantic fringe is also finding that much of their potential for competition in a global economy is tied to heritage tourism. For heritage tourism, the so-called authenticity of experiences at heritage sites is often an important issue (Chambers 2000, MacCannell 1976, Boissevain 1996, Cohen 1988, Urry 1990). Do tourists wish to gaze on real artifacts from the past or be immersed in experiences that theatrically represent some aspects of the past? Or, on the other hand, are tourists satisfied with any kind of representations of a world or a period that contrasts with their own lives? The answer is probably yes to all three questions, although perhaps for different tourists and at different times. Not all tourism is heritage tourism, focusing on an interpretation of historical events, places, or cultural traditions. Tourists may come for sun and sand, mountain climbing, boating, skiing, birding, and other outdoor pursuits that draw on a location's natural qualities, but we regard this as a different kind of tourism, also found in many marginal regions, but one that we will not address here. Similarly, we are not concerned here with entertainment tourism, in which tourists may be attracted to gambling, stage shows, rides, spectacles, and other forms of entertainment. While these categories are not absolute, we consider them sufficiently useful to locate the phenomena that we wish to discuss. We will argue for a reassessment of the role authenticity in heritage tourism, particularly at a time of declining numbers tourists have electing to visit the UK.
The Crisis in UK Tourism

Not all is well in the tourism industry in the UK and not all of the problems can be traced to the outbreak of foot and mouth disease in the spring of 2001. Take the case of Scotland. Writing in The Scotsman (June 26, 2001), Bill Jamieson asks about what has gone wrong with tourism in Scotland. Under a headline “Time for a rethink as tourism crisis grows”, he notes the decline in tourism in the UK for the fifth straight year. Jamieson asserts that there is “little in Scotland that is not affected”, including

Food, and drink sales, catering, hotels, restaurants, pubs, clothes and giftware retailing, pubs, clothes and giftware retailing, arts events attendance, taxis, buses and trains and services in the broadest sense: tourism brings in (or did) £2.5 billion of income. It accounts (or did) for 8 per cent of all jobs, and a large number of Scotland’s 230,000 small businesses. When tourism is hit, much else suffers. (Jamieson 2001: 12)

Jamieson argues that the downturn in tourism from Europe is traceable to the strength of the pound against the Euro and this is not likely to change in the near term. His suggestion for coping with the threat of a long-term decline in tourism is a radical reassessment of Scotland’s tourism strategy, to target a more upscale market and high-income tourists looking for lifestyle holiday choices, including hotel retreats and healthcare facilities. In addition, Jamieson argues for more international sports events and “also arts, academic, and special interest events and conferencing”. Not surprisingly, Jamieson is more persuasive in his characterisation of the nature of the problem than he is about the proposed solution.

Jamieson’s warning to the Scottish tourist industry provides an occasion for a more detailed consideration of some of the issues involved in Britain’s heritage industry, and the prospects for appealing to an upscale, educated, and affluent customer. We turn our attention to the issue of authenticity, a concept that is often assumed to be the key to heritage tourism. MacCannell (1989) suggests that tourism is an attempt to escape from inaccurate every-day existences into a nostalgic world, usually pre-capitalist, of authentic goods and experiences.

Adapted and Intentional Heritage Sites

In this paper we examine the politics of authenticity and identity in case studies of heritage sites in England, Wales, and Scotland. By “heritage sites” we mean locations and organisations that have developed information and experiences concerning an historical site, period, or theme to educate, enlighten, inspire, and entertain tourists and natives. Heritage sites normally charge an entrance or membership fee; some are managed by charities and others are run as for-profit ventures. Some adapt an existing structure or location (such as the Callanish Stones in the Western Isles, or the Bannockburn battlefield near Stirling, Scotland). Others, such as Canterbury Tales in Canterbury, or Celtica in Machynlleth, Wales, are intentionally developed to offer an interpretation of a literary text or the culture of a particular historical population. Both of the latter were designed by John Sunderland, an entrepreneur who specialises in creating theatrical heritage sites that rely on audiovisual media for their effect. These heritage sites are postmodernist in their attempt to draw a wider audience by emphasising “the spectacular, the popular, the pleasurable and the immediately accessible” (Featherstone 1991: 96-97). Intentional sites do not necessarily feature, as part of their exhibition, any historical artifacts that have a direct connection with the events or periods that they intend to interpret. Thus, neither Canterbury Tales nor Celtica are museums that house authentic artifacts; their authenticity resides in their effort to create an intellectual and emotional understanding of and empathy for the period and events that they depict. This distinction between intentional and adapted heritage sites is a matter of degree, since all sites are constructed but they may build on different components. We prefer this dichotomy to the authentic/inauthentic distinction suggested by Urry (1990: 83) since all heritage sites attempt to convey authenticity. Our distinction between intentional and adapted sites, in contrast, draws attention to the foundations for the site’s claim to authenticity.

We show how the reception, popularity, and the uses of heritage sites by different audiences are tied to the politics, both global and local, of authenticity and identity. We argue that the politics of authenticity and national, regional, or ethnic identity are closely connected. To assert authenticity of an artifact, performance, or interpretation is to make a claim about its importance as a way of viewing the past that might be contested by others. National or ethnic identity is often predicated on these claims for the authenticity of a particular interpretation of the past. Of course, these politics are fluid, responding to media events, cultural and political trends, and changes in the globalised economy. Finally, these politics are never just about the past, but about situating and interpreting the present and future as well.

Comparing Intentional and Adapted Heritage Sites

In contrast to some of the critical and theoretical studies of heritage sites (Urry 1996, Hewison 1989, MacCannell 1976) or case studies (Boissevain 1966,
since the heritage site tourists, like the senior author, become consumers of the primary product. In contrast, Bannockburn, another adapted site, has no direct continuity in its original product, with one exception, since the struggles for Scottish independence have been transferred to other fields, particularly with the devolution of a number of powers from Westminster to the new Scottish parliament in Edinburgh. The one exception is the annual meeting of the Scottish Nationalist Party on the Bannockburn grounds on the anniversary of the battle, June 23-24. This annual meeting has been going on since before the acquisition of the site by the National Trust for Scotland, who otherwise do not permit party-political uses of the site.

Success in an Adapted Site

A closer look at the transformation of Glenturret into a producer of both whisky and heritage values will enable us to envision a strategy for avoiding the substitution of nostalgia for products that so troubles Hewison. Glenturret combined the following dozen components that constitute a blueprint for a successful adapted heritage site. No single component, except perhaps the first, seems essential for the success of an adapted site, but the more components, the better the prospects for success. Table 5.2 shows the components, each illustrated with an example from Glenturret. The point, of course, of extracting these components is to suggest a trajectory for the development of other adapted heritage sites from current industrial or craft firms within the UK or other marginal regions to enhance both the tourist interest and the marketing of the primary products.

The twelve components can be glossed as (1) establishing identity, (2) creating an icon, (3) making a claim of authenticity, (4) establishing a narrative, (5) articulating the narrative in some medium, (6) reinforcing the narrative in another medium, (7) offering themed goods, (8) prolonging visits with meal opportunities, (9) offering further information to those interested, (10) differentiating the site from some negative group or idea, (11) enhancing the opportunity for hands-on experience, and (12) creating or allowing a media tie-in.

Let us consider each of these points briefly. While most peripheral regions will find it easier to claim the identity of industrial or craft sites on the basis of antiquity, rather than large size, it may be possible to claim the "largest remaining" or "once the largest" example of an industry. Creating an icon may be unproblematic: a founder, skilled employee, an imaginary being, or, in the case of Glenturret, distillery cat. Towser, of course, was a record-making mouser, but was otherwise normal in its feline habit of not reliably putting in an appearance for guided tours of the distillery. Now that Towser has passed on, a bronze statue of this noble cat stands at the entrance to the visitation

<table>
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<tr>
<th>COMPONENTS</th>
<th>EXAMPLE FROM GLENTURRET</th>
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<tr>
<td>1. Be a superlative example (the oldest, the largest, the best, the last, the only) of that type of site or at least a &quot;typical&quot; example of that kind of site</td>
<td>1. Oldest distillery of single malt whiskey in Scotland</td>
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<tr>
<td>2. Adopt an icon or character to represent the site or industry.</td>
<td>2. Towser, the cat, the Guinness Book of Records champion mouser (28,000 + mice)</td>
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<tr>
<td>3. Claim authenticity: evidence of an historic product, process, event, or a representation thereof.</td>
<td>3. Traditional distilling process for manufacturing of single malt whiskey</td>
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<td>4. Narrated the site with (single or multiple) morals, consequences, lessons, or outcomes.</td>
<td>4. Tour guide: We honor the traditional distilling methods to obtain the best product</td>
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<td>5. Articulate the narrative in audiovisual displays, exhibits, and or demonstrations.</td>
<td>5. &quot;The Water of Life&quot; audiovisual presentation; exhibition of traditional crafts associated with distilling.</td>
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<td>6. Reinforce the narrative using symbols in a different medium than the audio-visual presentation.</td>
<td>6. Tour guide shows the tartan of the distillery: Green for the surrounding woods, blue for the water, gold for the</td>
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Macdonald 1996, Macdonald and Fyfe, 1996), our approach is broadly comparative, drawing on participant observation and interviews with staff members at a sample of both intentional and adapted heritage sites in England, Wales, and Scotland, as shown in Table 5.1.

Table 5.1 Intentional and adapted heritage sites

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>International Site</th>
<th>Adapted Site</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Canterbury, England</td>
<td>Canterbury Tales</td>
<td></td>
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<td>York, England</td>
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<td>York Minster</td>
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<td>York, England</td>
<td>Jorvik, Viking Village</td>
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<tr>
<td>Machynlleth, Wales</td>
<td>Celtica</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Stirling, Scotland</td>
<td>Wallace Monument</td>
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<tr>
<td>Stirling, Scotland</td>
<td></td>
<td>Bannockburn Battle Ground</td>
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<tr>
<td>Stirling, Scotland</td>
<td>Stirling Highland Games</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Crieff, Scotland</td>
<td></td>
<td>Glenturret Distillery</td>
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Canterbury Tales, Jorvik, Celtica, and the Wallace Monument all offer interpretations of a way of life inscribed in a text (Canterbury Tales), an archaeological site (Jorvik), an empathetic story of a marginalized population (Celtica), or in historical records of a martyr for national independence (Wallace Monument). The first three sites were conceived by John Sunderland and a team of heritage designers in the 1980s and 1990s, while the Wallace Monument, a product of Victorian romanticism, was constructed by public subscription in the 19th century.

The Stirling Highland Games is not a heritage site, but an annual heritage event. It began more than 30 years ago as a summer fun fair, a carnival with a few main events. Later, the elements of typical highland games, including heavy athletic events, bagpipe band competitions, and highland dancing, were added. These highland events take place on the periphery or corners of the
grounds, with the main programme directly in front of the grandstand. These main events may include parachute teams, motorcycle team demonstrations, falconry, terrier races, and other crowd-pleasing events. All of the grandstand events are highly accessible to tourists and others and require little cultural knowledge or background as do many of the highland events. The novice may not know what to look for in highland dancing or in the other competitions, but everyone can appreciate the efforts of parachutists to land closest to the prize bottle of whisky that marks the target in the middle of the field before the grandstand.

Thus, the Stirling Highland Games combine two kinds of heritage events, the "fun day out" carnival and the events of the typical highland games. In the local context, the latter is an "appropriated" tradition rather than an "invented" tradition (Hobsbawm and Ranger, 1983). In terms of historical depth, the "fun day out" is more authentic local heritage than the second, a reversal of the usual assumption. In addition, it is more accessible to the global tourist, although the romantic tourist may be attracted to the so-called traditional events. The combination seems selected to interest the local residents as well as add a variety of tourist "gazes", to use Urry’s (1990) word.

The Wallace Monument is a fanciful Victorian tower built from locally quarried stone on Abbey Craig, overlooking the site of the Battle of Stirling Bridge, where William Wallace defeated an English army in 1297. Braveheart, the highly romantic 1996 academy-award winning film starring Mel Gibson, sparked interest in Wallace's life and death, bringing a flood of visitors as a consequence of the popularity of the film internationally. In contrast, York Minster, one of the most spectacular medieval cathedrals in England, has attracted hundreds of tourists and visitors annually over the centuries.

The last two sites are Scottish. Bannockburn monument overlooks the field where the Scots, lead by Robert the Bruce, defeated the English army in 1314 and established their independence. A small visitors' centre, cafe, and gift shop are housed near the parking lot. Glenturret Distillery, near Crieff, Scotland, has transformed itself from a small business, employing three persons in the manufacture of single malt whisky, into a heritage site that continues production. Having visited this distillery a number of times over more than a decade, the senior author has observed this transformation from a distillery that gives tours into a heritage site that makes whisky.

We devote special attention to Glenturret since it represents a special type of the adapted site. Recall that Robert Hewson (1987) complains that British manufacturing industries have collapsed and have been replaced by heritage industries that produce only nostalgia. Glenturret is an exception to this trend since it continues to manufacture its original product as well as heritage values. The relationship between the two types of production is reciprocal,
<table>
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<th>Regional Development on the North Atlantic Margin</th>
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<tr>
<td>whiskey, and black for the illegal still</td>
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<td>before the beginning of the legal operation.</td>
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7. Make themed souvenirs of the tour available for purchase.

7. Souvenirs range from bottles of whiskey to "Towser" pens.

8. Prolong the visit and offer meals or snacks.

8. Range of meal possibilities from snacks and bar to full-service Smuggler's Room and conference facilities.

9 Make further information available for those who have a greater interest, the lore or history of the site should be thought to be rich, even if the tourist does not want to pursue it.

9. Books about the industry on sale in the gift shop.

10. Draw attention to conflict between the locals and some other dominant, class, region or level of government.

10. Depicting skirmishes with tax agents of the English Crown during the illegal period, 1717-1774.

11. Enhance the opportunity for hands-on experience.

11. Whiskey tasting at end of tour.

12. Create a media tie-in, with the site serving as a backdrop or setting for a film or TV program.

12. Distillery used as set for a feature film.

centre where it cannot be missed. The claim of authenticity of the product or process could be modified by showing "the way we used to do it" in contrast to current production methods. The greater the distinction between those two, however, the more fragile the claim for authenticity. Formulating a narrative or story is a major task, although not necessarily difficult, but needs to be undertaken with the other points in mind. A story that can be articulated in audiovisual terms is most appropriate, given the increasing emphasis on the visual in postmodernism (Urry 1990: 138-140). From a semiotic perspective, the more that the narrative or story can be reinforced in other media, the more rich and memorable it will be. Themed goods have always had this function, whether it is a shirt or cap with the company logo or a Towser pen. Most heritage sites have found that their cafes, tearooms, or restaurants not only prolong the time at the site, and hence the possibility of selling more themed goods, but are important sources of revenue themselves. Unlike sites that intend to dispense pure entertainment, heritage sites need to convey the richness of the information and experience on offer, with a clear indication of how the visitor might gain additional information on the topic, whether that involves purchasing a book or pamphlet, coming back next month when there will be a new exhibit, and/or by visiting another heritage site. The site may also wish to note or emphasise – there is a continuum of possibilities – an opposition to some cultural force, group, or agency. Noting the conflict between Glenturret's 18th century founders and the king's taxmen is harmless enough, while giving dramatic impact to the narrative. Finally, any hands-on, participatory activity or media tie-in is likely to engage postmodern tourists. Becoming a set for an episode of a TV serial or feature film, particularly given the global distribution of English-language entertainment, is a heritage site publicist's dream.

Politics of Authenticity

Culture and history and heritage, they're all very hot issues now. We're responsible for a lot more than digging up an oil pot and putting it in a glass case for a busload of schoolchildren to gawk at now. The way histories are handled and researched and presented is all very contentious.

John Brady, A Carra King, p. 109

While a number of theorists (Featherstone 1991: 102, Metcalf 2001: 166, Urry 1990: 11) argue that no heritage site is truly authentic, and some argue that tourists are interested only in the appearance of authenticity (Zarkia 1996), our experience suggests that the issue of authenticity, nevertheless, constitutes an important contested ground for tourists, critics, and interpreters and managers.
of heritage sites. For example, Urry contrasts the traditional museum, where authenticity is a property of real artifacts, with new-style heritage centres (intentional heritage centres in our terminology), including Celtica, Jorvik, and Canterbury Tales.

The new-style heritage centres, such as Jorvik Viking Centre in York or the Pilgrim's Way in Canterbury, are competitors with existing museums and challenge given notions of authenticity. In such centres there is a curious mixing of the museum and the theatre. Everything is meant to be authentic, even down to the smells, but nothing actually is authentic. These centres are the products of a York-based company Heritage Projects, whose work is perhaps the most challenging to existing museums who will be forced to adapt even further. (Urry 1990, 132)

The newly-renovated exhibit at Jorvik Viking Village, which was closed for renovation when we did our fieldwork, is taking pains to revise errors in the previous interpretation. Many of these revisions involve technical issues that would not be of noticed by most visitors, but a passion for accuracy in small things helps to convince that the main experience, too, is genuine.

Celtica, which is an intentional heritage site also designed by heritage entrepreneur John Sunderland, features an audio-visual programme as its main attraction. Because Sunderland wanted to help project his audience back into an oral, story-telling culture, rather than print culture, so the entire exhibit is "told" through earphones by a narrator and mannequins representing Celtic village characters: the bard, the warrior, the druid, the blacksmith, the wife, and so on. There are no written texts for the visitors to read. In its characterisations of the Celtic peoples, past and present, narration in Celtica is essentialist and fails to reveal the source of its authority. For example, when the programme identifies innovativeness as one of the notable characteristics of the Celts, the observer wonders whether the intention is to suggest that the Celts were more innovative than other populations. However, the goal of this section of the exhibition is to provide an aesthetic and emotional experience, to help the viewer to empathise with the Celts, who have been romantically cast as history's martyrs and have great nostalgic appeal for many contemporary individuals who may be alienated from contemporary consumer capitalism. The visitor can supplement these interpretations by examining the extensive written documentation in the Interpretive Centre and in the web-based Historium that cites extensively from standard scholarly sources. We found, however, that the development of the web-based interpretation had not been revised to take account of more recent scholarship, including some that questions the continuity of a "Celtic" culture into the present (e.g. James 1999) nor, perhaps understandably, does it mention that there is much historical evidence to suggest that the idea of Celtiness, and what we now take to be its attributes, are largely mythical: the products of nineteenth-century European nation-building and the Victorian romantic imagination (e.g. Chapman 1992).

Canterbury Tales, like Celtica, is an intentional site whose sense of authenticity lies in characterising the historical period through the tour of an exhibit and an audio narration of only four of the tales in Chaucer's work. Intentional sites, unlike traditional or static museums, tend to have set programmes, so that each visitor sees the whole audio-visual presentation. The visitor witnesses a theatre performance, not a museum exhibition. In static museum displays, of course, the visitor is usually free to spend as much or as little time with each exhibit as he or she wishes. The theatre agenda of the intentional site puts a heavy burden on the audiovisual technology, which needs to be upgraded every five years or so in order to avoid appearing dated. Obsolete or non-functional technology tends to underscore the artificiality of the intentional heritage site, threatening the aura of authenticity that the designers intend to create. Authenticity appears least contentious in the case of the York Minster. The heritage aspects of this structure are carried out side by side with its continuous functioning over the centuries as a religious centre. In that sense, the Minster is not representing a particular period in time. It belongs to a continuous stream of lived history, and is both contemporaneous as well as medieval.

Perhaps the greatest battle for authenticity related to our sites has been fought over Braveheart, Mel Gibson's academy-award winning film about the life and death of Scottish patriot William Wallace. The film, which premiered in Stirling, Scotland, had an enormous impact on regional tourism, especially the Wallace Monument. After the film opened in the United States, according to the manager of the site, Americans swarmed to the monument, often coming directly from the Glasgow airport. Formerly a sleepy little Victorian national romantic edifice, the Wallace Monument was overwhelmed with pilgrims to this shrine of Scottish heroism and resistance. A new shop, pavilion, and expanded coach and car park were constructed to cope with more than 160,000 visitors a year. The debate about Braveheart centred on its historical inaccuracies and the fact that it was filmed mainly in Ireland, both of which were grounds for rejecting its authenticity by Scottish middle class intellectuals. "Just a bunch of Irish men in skirts" was one contemptuous comment by a Glasgow University student. Scottish nationalists and many working class people, however, tended to be less offended by the historical inaccuracies and more persuaded of the authenticity of the portrayal of the injustices suffered by the common people at the hands of the English and the Scottish nobles.

In 1996 the Monument gift shop implicitly participated in this debate by selling videotapes of the film as well as erudite brochures that detailed the
inaccuracies of the film. In a 1999 survey of 100 diverse respondents in the Stirling region ("Braveheart Country"), virtually everyone had seen the film and had a strong opinion, pro or con. By the year 2001, people had tired of the controversy and the Wallace Monument gift shop no longer stocked videotapes of the film or copies of the critical brochures. In 2001, however, the critics of Braveheart launched a guerrilla campaign, rather than a frontal assault, in the name of authenticity. The management of the Wallace Monument contracted with retired Army weapons specialists to create a display of weapons from the Wallace era and to lecture about their use. Previously, a much-restored two-handed long sword allegedly belonging to Wallace had been the only weapon on display at the monument. Mel Gibson used a replica of this weapon in the film. The lectures by the weapons specialists obliquely attack Gibson's interpretation of the way that the two-handed sword could be used in battle. For good measure they also attack the interpretation of the equestrian statue of Robert the Bruce at near-by Bannockburn. Bruce's horse could not possibly have gone to battle in the fetlock-length, skirt-like cloth protection depicted in the sculpture. The point is that heritage sites such as the Wallace Monument offer almost endless possibilities for the thrust and counterthrust of the politics of authenticity. From the perspective of the visitor, the development of revisionist interpretations at Jorvik or the Wallace Monument can be an important incentive for a return visit to the site. Given the emergence of our popular game-show culture where we are rewarded for knowing things, preferably things that others don't know, the visitor can be pleased to learn new interpretations, large and small, significant and insignificant. The accumulation of this kind of cultural capital (Bourdieu 1984) may be seen as part of postmodern class competition in consumption of symbolic goods (Urry 1990: 111). Heritage sites, it appears, never are completed or finished, but must be open to new interpretations, as well as new technology, in order to attract a new or repeat clientele and to contribute to the contestation or affirmation of identity.

Politics of Identity

People are coming to Ireland for a lot more than forty shades of green now. They want to see nature, yes, but they want to see a place and a people full of history too, people on the periphery of the continent. I'm not sure that we know what we're sitting on here.

John Brady, A Carra King, pp. 120-121

The politics of identity deal with the manipulation of heritage so that it influences interpretations of national or ethnic identity. It emerges most clearly in the National Curriculum for schools in the England, Wales, and Scotland. To pick one example, the curriculum for England and Wales previously focused on the Roman invasion rather than indigenous populations of the time. Now, as Mytum (1999: 189) has noted, the new syllabus has been important in increasing the interest and attention of schools and teachers to indigenous Iron Age ways of life, including forts such as Castell Henllys in Pembrokeshire, Wales. Instruction linked to site visits can focus on the topics of tribes, hill forts and chieftains, on farming and daily life, or on Celtic religion.

Before the 1960s, English and British history — not Scottish history — were taught most extensively in Scottish schools. Because the Wars of Independence between Scotland and England are now an important part of the curriculum, school groups often visit such heritage sites as the Wallace Monument. School parties heavily book in June at Bannockburn, the battle site where Robert the Bruce defeated the English in 1314. Similarly, many school parties visit Celtica, in Wales, to enrich the teaching about the ancient Celts of Wales and elsewhere. Many heritage sites have education officers, animateurs, or re-enactment specialists to run their special programmes for school parties. Sites may send teachers a packet of information and study guides when they book a visit. At Bannockburn, for example, schoolchildren often arrive, pencils in hand, ready to fill in the information in their study guides. One example is a "Wanted" poster that invites the imaginative pupil to draw a picture of outlaw William Wallace and fill in the following information: name, description, crime, issued by. The pupils who provide this information often have an ironic interpretation of Wallace's crime; while Wallace may have been guilty of killing the sheriff of Lanark and disobeying King Edward I, Wallace had good reason to do so!

British educators sometimes complain about the selectivity of the national curriculum. The heritage sites that benefit from the current focus of the curriculum could be out of favour after the next revision. For the foreseeable future, however, some sites such as the Wallace Monument and Bannockburn should enjoy continued popularity. Bannockburn receives more school visits than any other National Trust for Scotland site. The Wallace Monument, owned by Stirling District Council, also helps provide revenue to supplement the costs of supporting other less-visited heritage attractions.

Canterbury Tales hosts many French school parties. Strategically located on the rail line to the continent, Canterbury, and the heritage site, are part of the defence of English language and literature within the EU. While the designers of the attraction may not have had French tourists and the politics of the EU in mind, Canterbury Tales is an important representation of Englishness for visitors from the continent. The UK has been a reluctant
partner in the European Community in many ways, and the celebration of English language and literature can be considered one form of resistance to European dominance. Chaucer was not himself nationalistic (Pearsall 1999: 90-93), but that does not prevent others from using his works in a different way in the current generation. Globally, of course, Anglo-American culture has been notoriously hegemonic.

Connecting the Politics of Authenticity and Identity

In the case of both Scotland and Wales we have stateless nations embedded within a larger state. As McCrone, Morris, and Kiely (1995) note, the heritage sites in Scotland have the potential of conferring (and confirming) identity for local residents. Heritage sites are not just for foreign tourists, but also for local residents. In post-devolutionary Wales and Scotland, heritage has assumed greater importance in confirming the identity of these nations that have been granted more powers by central government. During the buildup to devolution and the establishment of a separate Parliament for Scotland and a separate Assembly for Wales, the promotion and interpretation of heritage sites has tended to emphasize the distinctness of the national cultures in contrast to English or British heritage. After all, if the heritage of Scotland and Wales fit neatly into a grand narrative English or British history, devolution would be much less defensible. John Urry (1996: 61) made a similar point more generally, suggesting that "The key then for the post-modern cultural performer is to offer strategies of resistance and to emphasize traces of non-dominant cultures which fit awkwardly with nationally dominant cultures". Concretely, this means that in periods when the identity of non-dominant cultures—such as Wales and Scotland—is contested, the examination and interpretation of heritage is likely to be connected with the examination and interpretation of identity. In the wake of devolution in Scotland, one young Scot was overheard to say in awe and reverence at the view from the top of the Wallace Monument, "I've lived here for more than 18 years but this is the first time that I have been to up here". The lad's tone of chagrin suggested that he regretted his delay. Each person is likely to have a partly idiosyncratic, partly shared interpretation of the experience of a heritage site that influences their understanding of their national identity.

In the construction of Welsh and Scottish heritage sites, a bit of anti-English sentiment (but not too much) may be good for business. Too much anti-English sentiment might be thought to drive away English tourists. For example, locals speculate that the withdrawal of the Welsh Tourist Board and Welsh Development Agency from sponsorship of the development of Celtica may have resulted from the allegedly anti-English tone of the script. The end of the audiovisual programme shows a local Welsh choir dramatically singing a protest song that translates as "We (the Welsh) are still here". Written in the 1980s, the song is a forceful condemnation of Thatcherite policies and cultural politics. An ethical issue arises concerning this point, which we have raised earlier in discussing transformation of adapted sites. While we would discourage any attempt to inflame intergroup enmity as a means of increasing the popularity or notoriety of a site, we would encourage attempts to create greater empathy on the part of tourists for the circumstances of marginal or disadvantaged populations.

The Stirling Highland Games also incorporate a bit of anti-English sentiment in at least one of the featured presentations in front of the grandstand. In 1999, one of a growing number of Scottish battle re-enactment groups used assorted weapons of the 12th and 13th centuries to stage several (unnamed) battles in which the Scots decimated the English. The games are held on a field less than a few hundred yards from the site of the Battle of Stirling Bridge, Wallace's great victory in 1297, so we would expect as much. In the final battle re-enactment, however, the cowardly English ambushed and killed all of the Scottish men, only to be dispatched by vengeful Scottish women. The crowd, which included many tourists, loved it.

The linkages between authenticity and identity within Scotland or Wales are not necessarily winning combinations when it comes to generating local customers for heritage sites. Early in our fieldwork at one site, Marie, one of the young waiters in the cafe, asked me what we were doing. "Studying heritage sites, like this one", I began. She wrinkled her nose in disgust and said "Don't you find that dead boring?" Our conversation convinced me that she was not interested in anything resembling "Tartanry" (McCrone et al. 1995), the highly romanticized, constructed "tradition" of Scotland that is so dear to the hearts of many older Scottish-Americans and Scottish-Canadians who come to Scotland in search of the nostalgic remnants of the pre-diaporic culture. For Marie, intentional heritage sites, with their dramatic audiovisual presentations might be more entertaining, but she might not be sufficiently motivated to go through the door of such an establishment. Heritage, for this young working-class person, is for the affluent who can afford to indulge in the consumption of symbols irrelevant to her life. Coming from the opposite direction, other consultants have told us that they had no interest in the intentional heritage site in their town since it really had nothing authentic, in comparison with the local museum. It was too focused, they thought, on entertainment and insufficiently attentive to substance. In addition, the site was created and managed by people from outside the community. Clearly, there are multiple modes for experiencing heritage sites, by locals, by other tourists from the same nation, by international tourists of the same heritage, and by other international tourists.
Conclusion

Let us return to the problem articulated by Bill Jamieson (2001) concerning the decline in UK tourism and Scottish tourism in particular. Remember that Jamieson recommends developing a new focus for tourism, on "arts, academic, and special interest events and conferencing" aimed at attracting the affluent visitor from abroad. While it seems wise to seek an additional clientele that is less sensitive to economic downturns, we are convinced that the upscaling of the tourist industry in the UK should not be done at the cost of marginalising and alienating the local population. We have seen how fragile community support and goodwill can be for heritage sites. Perhaps relationships with the local community should be higher on the agenda of heritage sites in order to encourage synergistic relationships within the local economy. In Machynlleth, Wales, a visit to Celtica is sometimes followed by a visit to the Alternative Technology Centre, or visa versa. A synergistic relationship could develop if visitors were also encouraged to visit the Owen Glendower Parliament building museum as well as the local art gallery. Visitors might also get in a round of golf at the local club and keep in contact with friends using the local cybercafe. In Stirling, which has a high density of heritage sites, the tourist board has encouraged this kind of synergy, with discounts for attending multiple sites. Stirling is envisioning an additional tourist focus that resonates with Jamieson's recommendations. They want to develop a greater reputation for the arts, theatre, and culture. Their "Stirling Festival" during the summer before the Edinburgh Festival is both well-timed and well-situated to help build that reputation. Glasgow, which has reinvented itself as a city of culture, escaping its earlier image as a decaying industrial slum, also provides a model. Because our study, thus far, has confirmed what Urry (1996: 54) hypothesised as the multivocality and multiplicity of uses of heritage sites, we would be reluctant to suggest that agencies pursue strategies that marginalise existing heritage sites. The appropriate strategy, we suggest, should be to increase the synergy among heritage sites and other economic interests. Where there is a potential for turning a business or industry into a heritage site, that possibility should be pursued, using the checklist of components described earlier. Sites need to speak to locals as well as foreign tourists. Any community or region with a portfolio of heritage sites, some intentional and some adapted, should be able to pursue a synergistic strategy that will attract a broad range of visitors, provide that they avoid the kind of factionalism that is all too common is developing regions.

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Notes

1 Featherstone (1991: 102) asserts that, "Post-tourists have no time for authenticity and revel in the constructed simulational nature of contemporary tourism, which they know is only a game". We are unconvinced by this homogenising, totalising, deterministic interpretation since it fits so poorly with our ethnographic experience. Rather than uniformity, we find great diversity in tourists' degree of attention to issues of authenticity. We agree with Metcalf (2001: 166) that anthropologists "now begin with a presumption of invention, and are automatically skeptical of any claim of authenticity". For that reason we prefer to avoid Urry's proposed dichotomy of authentic/inauthentic in order to examine the processes or foundations for the claims for authenticity. In this paper, in short, we attempt to problematise that which Featherstone and Urry have, in different ways, made unproblematic. In addition to authentic/inauthentic, Urry (1990: 83) also draws our attention to the classificatory dichotomies of historical/modern and romantic/collective. Different taxonomies are useful for different purposes, of course.

2 Urry (1990: 111) criticises Hewison's assumption that "certain meanings, such as nostalgia for times past, are unambiguously transferred to the visitor". We agree and are careful to argue for the plasticity and multiplicity of meanings at heritage sites. These meanings may change rapidly in response to current events and media events.

3 Participants in the 2001 Seminar on Marginal Regions in Alesund and Volda, Norway might, for example wish to consult the list to consider the possibilities for turning Ekorness Furniture into a heritage site. The participants toured the factory in Sykkylven, Norway. The first component is easy: Ekorness is the largest furniture manufacturer in Norway. It would also need to develop an icon, a clear organisational story, and so on. This story
might be narratised by a video that describes the furniture-making tradition of the region, along with the small factory system, emphasising the relations among peripherality, sparse population, the geographical challenges of the fjord environment, and Sunnmøre innovation. One could imagine constructing a success story of a firm in a peripheral region that, against all odds, triumphs in a global market place, while retaining a social and environmentally responsible approach to production of high-quality goods. The target, of course, would be the kind of up-scale tourists that Bill Jamieson wanted to target for Scotland.

4 We are indebted to Amy Kucera for this quotation.

5 The research team that collected these data in the summer of 1999 included Anna Painter, Assistant Project Director, and Brooke Heaton, Elizabeth Neerland, Laurelin Muir, Lara Ratzlaff, Sarah Silberman, Kristina Valada-Viars. The research was supported by Grinnell College under an experimental Mentored Advanced Projects Program administered by Associate Dean Paula Smith.

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