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Tourism Development in Rural and Urban North Yorkshire: a geography of social relations

Thomas James Mordue

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Submitted in partial fulfillment for the award of the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Geography, University of Durham, August 1998

2 4 AUG 1999

Abstract

This work is a critical analysis of tourism development in Goathland village, North Yorkshire, and York city centre. Although these two places are very different - one is a small rural village and the other is a city - they share a common characteristic in that both are increasingly popular heritage sites.

In the case of Goathland, besides its 'traditional' rural appeal, it has become the filming location for the Yorkshire Television series 'Heartbeat', which has instigated a manifold increase in tourist numbers to the village, and heralded a marked shift in the way the local environment is consumed by them. And since the early 1980s, York has seen a substantial increase in the number of heritage attractions it offers to an expanding amount of visitors. In short, heritage presentation, and representation in the form of nostalgia themes, have become so commercial and popular in both places that many local people believe their 'real' traditions and identities are being either threatened or compromised.

Drawing primarily on the results of qualitative research, in which interviews were held with tourists, residents and key informants, the thesis analyses the changes that tourism has brought about in Goathland and York. However, the study is not a straight forward assessment of tourism impacts. Rather, the focus is on the changing social and economic relations at the local, national and international scales which are embroiled in the way both Goathland and York have developed as tourist attractions in recent years. In this, tourism impacts are seen as local expressions of dynamic social, political and economic processes. This also means that respondents' views on tourism development and management are treated as arbitrary claims which can reveal the vested interests and value judgments contained within them. Furthermore, the research findings are linked to other socio-geographic concerns, such as the construction and consumption of Englishness, heritage, nostalgia, postmodern leisure space, rural and urban lifestyle identities, and so on, to illustrate how these can inflect the local tourism process and influence the way so-called costs and benefits are evaluated, managed and negotiated by different interest groups and agents.

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Declaration

I declare that this thesis, and the research behind it, is the work of no one else but myself and that it, or a part of it, has not been submitted for a degree at this or any other university.

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Acknowledgements

Firstly, I would like to thank both of my supervisors, Mr. Alan Townsend and Doctor Mike Crang, for their support, advice and critical input during both the research process and the writing up of this thesis. Professor Ray Hudson was also of great help with suggestions in the early stages when I was trying to decide on the type and number of case studies to include in the research.

While I feel it is important to thank all the respondents who took part in this research, a special thank you must go to Bill Breakall, the North Yorkshire Moors National Park Tourism Officer, for his enthusiasm and help in providing me not only with his personal opinions but with various tourism reports and publications.

The thesis would not have been possible without the University of Durham Studentship. I would, therefore, like to thank the university. And finally, I wish to give my regards to all the postgraduates and staff at the Geography Department who helped make my time there enjoyable as well as academically rewarding.

1 Introduction

Rationale

The aim of this thesis is critically to analyse tourism development in two different yet comparable locations; Goathland and York city centre (see Figure 1). These places in North Yorkshire are distinct from each other because Goathland is a small rural village in the North Yorkshire Moors National Park and York is, of course, a city and the county's largest town. They are comparable, however, because in their different ways both places are somewhat emblematic heritage attractions that are visited by millions of people each year. Furthermore, in recent years both of these places have experienced substantial increases in the number of visitors they receive, which has led to local concern about the relative costs and benefits of the type of tourism development each one is subject to.

Traditionally Goathland has been the haunt of visitors who enjoy the 'peace and quiet' and the scenic nature of its rural position and heritage. However, it has become much more popular with massed visitors who are attracted to the village because it is the filming location of Yorkshire Television's 'Heartbeat' drama series. This new fame is assured because various organisations, from the Yorkshire Tourist Board to bus tour companies and local hotels, have found it opportune to brand Goathland as the actual and metaphorical centre of 'Heartbeat Country'. This represents a rather sudden repackaging of the village's identity in which fiction, traditional rural heritage and reality are conflated into a unifying consumption theme. In this way Goathland has become a mass-market tourist product and an artefact of popular as well as traditional culture. It is hardly surprising, then, that many local commentators feel this almost instantaneously new association has meant that

Goathland is now often interpreted and consumed in a way which threatens what they see as its integrity as a moorland village.

York is also a place of heritage and tradition which has long been popular with visitors. It is especially renowned for the Minster, its medieval streets and museums which are mostly (though not exclusively) concentrated within the old city walls. However, in recent years its private and public elites have attempted to reinvent York's city centre heritage product by encouraging and developing new attractions, and new interpretations of old attractions. This, coupled to more aggressive place marketing, has led to substantial increases in the amount of people who visit York for leisure and tourism purposes. It has also meant that there are many different ways in which York city centre can be consumed by

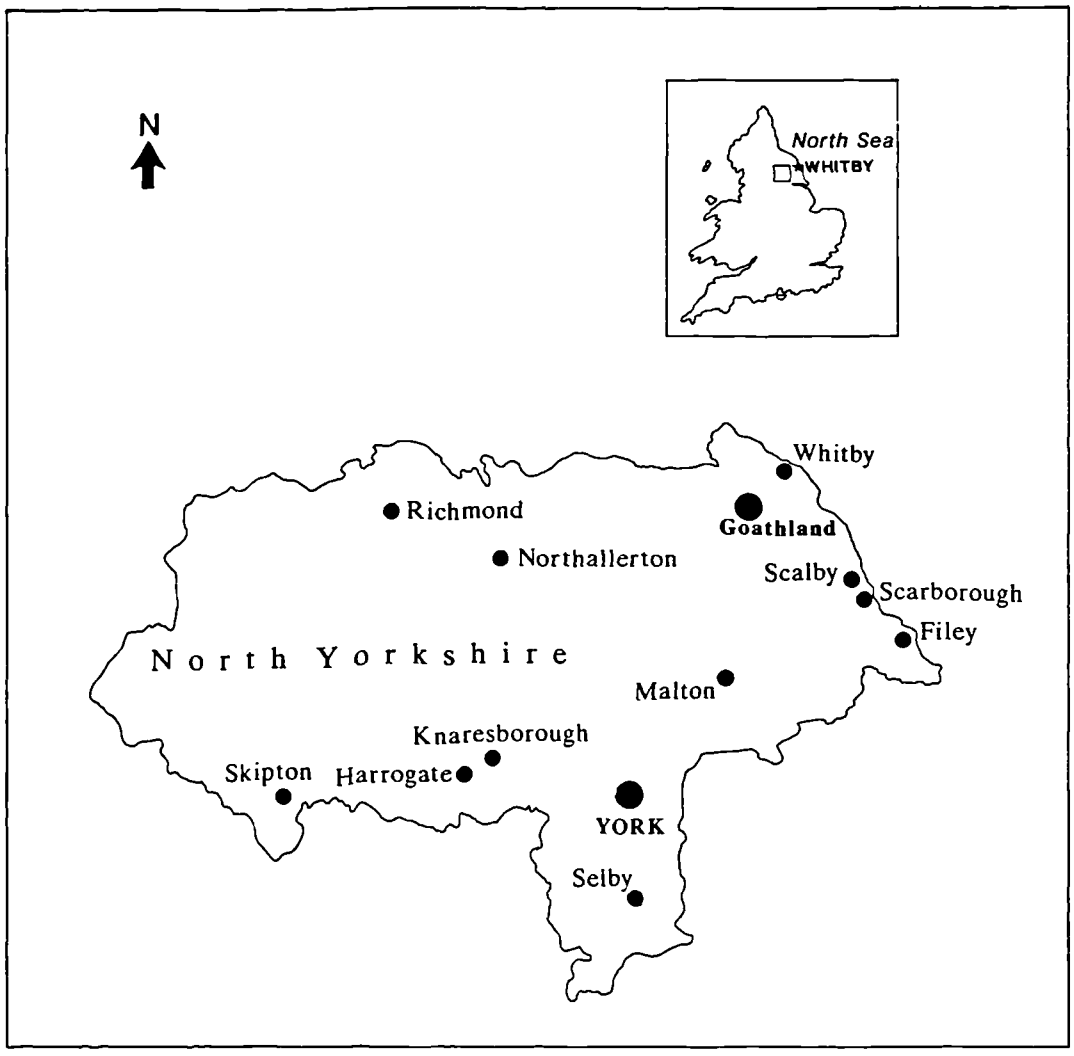


Figure 1 North Yorkshire

these visitors as more leisure 'experiences' are (re)constructed, orchestrated and aesthetically integrated into a general heritage theme. Again, not surprisingly, the way York is developing as a tourist attraction has also stimulated much debate in the local public arena, and a number of commentators have voiced concern about the impact that tourism is having upon both its cultural and economic integrity.

In both these places, then, tourism has given rise to fundamental conflicts and contradictions between their identities as populist heritage attractions and places where people live, and think of as home. However, while Goathland and York provide particular examples of how tourism uses theming, 'imagineering' and branding to create a distinctly recognisable product, they are not unique in this respect. Many different places in Britain are being repackaged and reinvented as potential tourist attractions (see Hewison, 1987; Urry, 1990). Because of their particular qualifying factors, Goathland and York are places which exemplify this phenomenon rather than being absolutely unique to it. As Shaw and Williams (1994) declare:

> The ideas of theming - which may involve falsification of both 'place' and 'time' - are strongly commercial forces within the modern tourism and leisure industries. Moreover, such ideas, and their associated developments, cut across much of the more traditional typologies of 'tourist environments'. The theme park, shopping mall and heritage centre are as likely to be found in rural areas as in urban ones. This also means that it is increasingly difficult to talk about tourist environments or tourist resorts, since tourism touches almost every type of place.
>
> (Shaw and Williams, 1994, pages 172-173)

Shaw and Williams' comment also indicates how difficult it is to define tourism. It is especially difficult when we consider that tourism is both a cultural and an economic phenomenon which is subject to changes in fashion, public tastes and perceptions, as well as changes in technology, the economy and social relations generally. Furthermore, as Urry (1990) and Thrift (1996) point out, its

growing ubiquity means that it now pervades so many different aspects of contemporary life, and because of this tourism defies neat description and categorisation. Having said this, however, in order to provide initial focus for the thesis it is useful to present a general definition of tourism *as an industry*:

> Tourism supply is the result of all those productive activities that involve the provision of goods and services required to meet tourism demand and which are expressed in tourism consumption.
>
> (Sessa, 1983, page 59)

To categorise the tourism industry in such a way is to treat the supply and range of tourism products holistically and avoids semantic problems of whether it is an industry or an amalgam of industries (see Britton, 1991). However, this definition does not have the scope to include the cultural dynamic of tourism, and it is the cultural and economic interaction in tourism production and consumption where the analytical focus of this thesis lies. Moreover, it is argued in this work that it is from this juncture that tourism's growth and complexity emanate. This means that from a critical perspective the cultural and economic relations involved in tourism development are not reducible to the convenience of an all encompassing definition (see Sessa, 1983; Gilbert, 1991; Przeclawski, 1993; Shaw and Williams, 1994 for discussion) - not least because it risks limiting the reach of a critical analysis before it is started.

The cultural strand of tourism in this study becomes even more complex when we consider that the main object of tourism production and consumption in Goathland and York is, in its broadest sense, heritage. Furthermore, because heritage in these particular places exists in different contexts, that is in a rural and an urban context, the complexity of the study becomes even more apparent. Having said this, however, there are general principles and characteristics of heritage which are common to both places, regardless of their particular geographical situations, thus it is important to examine references to the meaning of heritage. In this, Meethan's (1996) definition provides a useful, though somewhat limited, initial focus:

> Heritage can be viewed as the preservation or reconstruction of material objects, which isolates them from the flux of history through a process of recontextualisation in which abstract qualities (the nation, the people, the locality, the past) are attributed to, or embodied in, narratives of material culture and localities, narratives that emphasise the continuity of the past in the present.
>
> (Meethan, 1996, page 325)

This may be contested, for example, it does not specifically include 'natural' heritage within its cultural compass, and in both a 'natural' and cultural context, heritage is usually associated with inheritance; that which is transferred from one generation to another (Nuryanti, 1996). Thus, when considering heritage as a whole it is important to include 'natural', or perhaps more precisely rural, environments as part of cultural inheritance (see Chapter 2). This is especially salient when we bear in mind that 'an emphasis on the countryside, on the natural order and on rural life..., remains central to most heritage culture' (Corner and Harvey, 1991, page 52). A vital component of this is that the notion of heritage is imbued with an ideology of cultural conservation or conservatism which values established norms and institutions. Thus, 'the heritage' is not just about material objects, as the first part of Meethan's definitions suggests, it is also about how we might feel and think about the past (Bagnall, 1996). In this, heritage is a politically emotive concept and it could be argued that for certain groups in society it is also about disinheritance and discontinuity (for example, black people are not usually present in representations of British heritage). Therefore, what is deemed and presented as heritage, or what the status of heritage generally is in contemporary society, says as much about the present as it does about the past.

These deliberations set the initial conceptual foundations for the study, which examines how tourism uses heritage as a product and investigates the way this has become pervasive in Britain. More particularly, it analyses why, according to a number of commentators, tourism has become so materially and symbolically invasive in Goathland and York city centre. From this it attempts

to explain why certain tourism- related conflicts and impacts might be inevitable in these two places, given their social circumstances, the vested interests of different actors and agencies associated with them, and the particular ways in which their tourist products have been developed recently. This focus means that the thesis is not a straightforward assessment of localised tourism impacts, rather it views tourism as part of wider society. Hence, tourism impacts are not seen as linear outcomes of the tourism process but part of the dynamic of social change and conflict - locally and generally. Therefore, there is no *a priori* assumption in this study that there are easily identifiable positive and negative impacts of tourism which would be readily amenable to managerial and technical fixes. In contrast to most 'standard' tourism studies (Urry, 1990), notions of tourism impacts, and management strategies to either reduce or enhance them, are treated as politically resonant categories because they often involve both arbitration and conciliation between numerous agencies and actors.

With these critical, and somewhat dialectical, considerations at the forefront of the research - and to avoid the often descriptive, blandly pragmatic approach of the majority of tourism studies (see Britton, 1991; and Pearce, 1993, Pearce and Butler, 1993 for discussion) - the empirical undertaking here attempts to relate tourism development to broader debates in critical, political-economic human geography. This, as Peet and Thrift (1989) remark:

> does not imply geography as a type of economics. Rather economy is understood in its broad sense as social economy, or way of life, founded in production. In turn, social production is not viewed as a neutral act by neutral agents but as a political act carried out by members of classes and other social groupings...,critical geographers practice their discipline as part of a general, critical theory emphasising the social production of existence.
>
> (Peet and Thrift, 1989, page 7)

Therefore, the broad conceptual emphasis is on the social processes that construct and contest place in the context of contemporary leisure and tourism. Tourism development is treated as involving sets of social and economic

relations extant not only at the local level, where particular developments occur, but relations and processes which are multi-scaled (that is, local, regional, national and international) and which are highly complex in character.

Methodology

To ground the analysis, primary research is needed in particular tourism developments to reveal their micro dynamics. While the principal intention in this thesis is to apply critical theory to two particular cases, such research can be of practical use even though it is not specifically aimed at providing pragmatically convenient analyses and conclusions. Therefore, theory and practice are not presupposed as being mutually exclusive to each other. Crouch (1994) would concur, and, in discussing research projects which would be suitable for unpacking the complex relationships involved in tourism development, he emphasises the need to understand the social and cultural positions of the various actors involved in tourism development:

> There is an important practical project to unravel and reconstruct culture and landscape, history and lived culture, and to explore their appeals to both tourism and continuing cultural development. This empirical investigation could benefit both the debate about the gaze[1] and tourism development generally. Such a research process would be useful for practical policy makers if it used ethnographic investigation.
>
> (Crouch, 1994, page 100)

Ethnography is a way of writing about a particular social situation which is based on field research that aims for depth rather than coverage (Jackson, 1996). Various qualitative research methods, particularly participant observation and/or interviewing, can be used to establish the social patterns, processes and meanings in a given circumstance. This involves collecting data on these matters in an everyday lived context by informal conversations, which are often supplemented by local documentation (in this case various reports and advertising material, see below). The approach is unstructured in that it does not follow a detailed plan set out from the beginning; thus it is open and flexible so that data can be collected

Table 1 Sayer's Summary of Intensive and Extensive Research

	Intensive	Extensive
research question	How does a process work in a particular case or small number of cases ? What produces a certain change ? What did the agents actually do ?	What are the regularities, common patterns, distinguishing features of a population ? How widely are certain characteristics or processes distributed or represented ?
relations	substantial relations of connection	formal relations of similarity
type of groups studied	causal groups	taxonomic groups
type of account produced	causal explanation of the production of certain objects or events, although not necessarily representative ones	descriptive 'representative' generalizations, lacking in explanatory penetration
typical methods	study of individual agents in their causal contexts, interactive interviews, ethnography - qualitative analysis	large-scale survey of population or representative sample, formal questionnaires, standardized interviews - statistical analysis
limitations	actual concrete patterns and contingent relations are unlikely to be 'representative', 'average', or generalisable - necessary relations discovered will exist wherever their relata are present, e.g. causal powers of objects are generalisable to other contexts as they are necessary features of these objects	although representative of a whole population, they are unlikely to be generalisable to other populations at different times and places - problem of ecological fallacy in making inferences about individuals - limited explanatory power
appropriate tests	corroboration	replication

Source: Sayer (1992 page 243)

in a variety of forms and on as wide front as the local circumstances allow. Furthermore, the focus is small scale, which precludes representative sampling, although quantification is not totally inappropriate, and the analysis of the data involves interpretation of discourses and practices by way of verbal descriptions and explanations (Hammersley, 1990; Hannam, 1997).

Given these characteristics, ethnographic case study research offers a highly suitable method for uncovering the kind of qualitative information

required in this thesis. Specifically because it allows an *intensive* inquiry into tourism development relations as they are carried out in place. Sayer (1992) argues that intensive/qualitative research offers the possibility of causal analysis and contrasts it with extensive research (see Table 1), which is characterised by large-scale samples and statistical analysis used to map common patterns and properties of a population in a descriptive sense, even if those properties are related in a causal way (Stoeker, 1991). This does not mean that the two methods are antagonistic to each other or that they cannot complement one another in the same research (see Stoeker, 1991; Sayer, 1992). However, this research is not concentrated on the narrow facts of the two cases, rather it is about the human *interrelations* and *values* of tourism development in Goathland and York as they are expressed through respondents' opinions and statements. Thus, it is the gathering of qualitative data that is the main object of the field work in this study, and the research methods used reflect this.

Some commentators might feel uneasy about this approach in terms of its scientific validity. Indeed, Pearce (1981) reflects a typically positivist perspective in that he warns of the dangers of relying on the subjective accounts of people when researching particular tourism developments and the impacts of tourism. However, as Cook and Crang (1995) point out:

> Ethnographers cannot take a naive stance that what they are told is the absolute 'truth'. Rather, they/we are involved in the struggle to produce inter-subjective truths, to understand why so many versions of events are produced and recited. It is the ways in which people make sense of events around them, and render these 'true' in their own terms, that is most revealing about how their/our lives are embroiled in larger social, cultural, economic and political processes. Therefore, stories told in the research encounter are not simply to be regarded as means of mirroring the world, but as the means through which it is constructed, understood and acted upon.
>
> (Cook and Crang, 1995, page 11)

As an adjunct to the above, we may briefly consider the role of the case study in ethnographic research, especially as it is the central part of the research design framework in this study.

> A case study is a study of a situation or instance pertaining to individual persons[2] communities or societies. In its most simple form it may refer to the basic descriptive material an observer has assembled by whatever means available about some particular phenomenon or set of events.
>
> (adapted from Mitchell, 1983, page 191; and Stoeker, 1991, pages 97-98).

This loose definition does not mean that because of the particular nature of case study research generalisation and explanation are impossible. '"General laws" are about causation, not empirical correlation. They are as well if not better established in causal studies of the particular, the much-maligned "case study"' (Massey, 1984, page 120). And appropriate qualitative case study research selection and design can be a significant step in revealing the causal processes of social phenomena (Mitchell, 1983; Stoeker, 1991). Furthermore, case study research can not only explain how general 'laws' are expressed in particular situations, it can illustrate exceptions to deduced knowledge (ibid.). Stoeker (1991) maintains that although the relationship between the particular and the general in a given case is important for purposes of explanation, this does not mean that comparative case study research is unnecessary or that it should be abandoned because it would be too flatly descriptive. Rather, in order to avoid the pitfalls of straight comparison, the emphasis should be on the integrity, and the idiosyncrasies, of each case and on how they can inform theory, either collectively or singularly. In this sense, the case study is not so much a method but a design feature or research frame which determines only the boundaries of information gathering, not the use of that information. Comparison, generalisation and the testing of theory are thus not excluded by the selection of particular cases. This also means that objective-subjective and induction-deduction dualisms are rebutted, not least because 'we are no more able to walk theory-free into a social situation than we are able to be content with not adding variables as we research',

and because 'the general resides in the particular and...what one learns from a particular case one applies to other situations subsequently encountered' (Stoeker, 1991, page 104).

The research design framework

This section will describe the actual research methods used in each case study and discuss some of the important reasons why certain methods were chosen. It also points out why there are minor discrepancies between some of the methods used in each case.

Goathland

Personal observations were made during nineteen separate visits to Goathland between March and September 1995. Eighteen interviews were undertaken with around forty five visitors[3] over the same period (that is all the interviews except one were collective in that they were held with two to five people at a time, the exceptional interview was held with only one person). They were followed up by two focus group sessions with nine residents, and individual interviews with five 'key' informants ranging from the local vicar to the tourism officer for the North Yorkshire Moors National Park. All the interviews were tape recorded and later transcribed (see Appendix for discussion and background details of interviewees). Secondary data, by way of survey reports and various tourist publications, was also obtained from the North Yorkshire Moors National Park, Scarborough District Council, the Yorkshire and Humberside Tourist Board, the British Tourist Authority and from a variety of private sources.

York

The York study was conducted between May and November in 1996 when fifteen separate visits were made to the city. During this time numerous personal observations were made and fourteen interviews were undertaken with around thirty visitors (all but two of these interviews were carried out with two to four people, the other two were with one person only). Furthermore, two focus group interview sessions were conducted with a total of twelve participants and a further three individual interviews were carried out with residents of the city. Two of these residents were classified as key informants because they

demonstrated a unique knowledge and a strong personal interest in local tourism and the remaining one was mistaken for a tourist (see discussion below). Four further key informant interviews were undertaken with decision makers who ranged from a city councilor to the York Archaeological Trust's Director of Attractions. As with the Goathland study, all interviews were tape-recorded and later transcribed (see Appendix for discussion and background details of interviewees). Secondary data comprised of a variety of management reports, city plans and newsletters supplied by the York Tourist Bureau, York City Council, the York Archaeological Trust as well as a number of articles and brochures purchased privately.

Doing the research

It is worth pointing out that more interviews were carried out in Goathland than in York (especially with visitors) mainly because Goathland was the first case to be researched. Since there was no specific number of interviews set out at the beginning of the research in each place, their quantity was determined by the number and depth of the issues raised and the coverage of opinions on these issues across the respondents. Therefore, once it was felt that the important issues were uncovered and explored sufficiently, particular sets of interviews, and ultimately all the interviews, were stopped (see Cooke and Crang, 1995 on 'theoretical saturation'). At Goathland, diminishing returns from further interviews, and the repetition of respondents' views, were not appreciated early. With greater experience, this was not the case with the York study, and in this respect the research process there was more efficient, but of equal depth and quality to the research process in the Goathland case study.

With regard to the types of interviews chosen for the different categories of respondents, practical as well as academic considerations determined their selection. For instance, it would probably be impossible, or at least very expensive, to conduct focus group interviews with tourists unless the research focus was specifically on, say, coach parties or a similarly structured group. Even so, this would be very difficult to arrange (see Appendix). Furthermore, as far as I am aware, tape recorded interviews with tourists are rare, if not absent, in

tourism research. Again, this might be because of practical difficulties as it means 'cold-calling' on people who are, by the nature of their consumption, enjoying their mobility and are therefore hard to pin down for 'serious' conversation for any length of time. This was particularly the case in York because it is a bustling city environment with many different things for visitors to see and do. On the other hand, tourists in Goathland were more leisurely and more prepared to spare their time. But on the whole, questionnaire surveys are a quicker and more pragmatic means of gathering information, and possibly this contributes to their popularity with tourism researchers.

Regarding resident interviews, for several reasons focus groups were a feasible and complementary alternative to individual interviews with tourists and 'key' informants. Firstly, because they were convenient for the respondents who lived relatively close to each other; secondly because they knew each other and had an already established rapport, thus allowing them to discuss issues openly - although it could be argued that internal politics could produce the opposite effect, however, this did not appear to be the case in this research; and thirdly, for academic reasons, because focus groups research 'illustrates the intersubjective dynamics of thought, speech, and understanding' (Cook and Crang, 1995, page 59). Therefore, the focus group discussions with residents in Goathland and York allowed a very active investigation of the issues that concerned them.

Having said this, three individual interviews were conducted with residents in York: one was simply because the respondent was initially mistaken for a visitor but whose comments were valued and thus included in the thesis; and the other two were classified as 'key' informants because they were uniquely situated in that one owned an art gallery in Stonegate in York, which relied to an extent on tourist business; and the other was in the process of leaving York largely because of the impact of tourism and what she saw as a related dearth of 'quality' jobs in the city (see Chapter 11).

Finally, the amount of personal information given by respondents varied. Accordingly, when respondents are referenced in the text and listed in the Appendix, the information provided on the speaker(s) regarding, say, occupation or any other category can also vary.

Thesis structure

The thesis is divided into three major Parts - Part One, Part Two and Part Three. Each of the first two parts introduces and analyses its own case study; and both are of similar length and premised on a theoretical discussion that relates critical issues to their particular contexts. This means that Part One discusses tourism and rural heritage issues as they apply to the Goathland case; and Part Two does likewise with regard to urban heritage and tourism in York. This, however, does not mean that the issues of each case are mutually exclusive, rather that critical issues and concepts are applied to each case study in a way that pays particular attention to their different social and geographical circumstances. Furthermore, where the theory and conceptual issues relate to both rural and urban heritage tourism they are introduced as early as possible. Consequently they can be referred to as and when necessary without having to re-discuss their central meaning. How certain concepts figure in particular circumstances are, of course, explained as they are applied throughout the thesis.

At the end of Parts One and Two there is also a concluding discussion of the main points arising. These, in turn, inform the final chapter of the thesis in Part Three which concludes by comparing the main findings of the two case studies and offering some general observations from this. In this way the particular geographical context of each case is thoroughly taken into account, while heritage tourism development is treated as a general process with certain common traits and characteristics.

Part One

Introduction

This first major part of the thesis is about rural heritage and rural tourism in the village of Goathland, North Yorkshire. The primary aim is to provide an analysis of the tourism development relations in Goathland by way of examining the material and symbolic interactions between the village community and tourism in the village. In this, the way tourism has recently changed in Goathland to affect it as a lived space and as a long-standing visitor attraction is investigated and discussed.

To give the case study a theoretical grounding, Chapter 2 discusses the adoption of a critical analysis in tourism development studies. It introduces a number of theoretical issues and concepts that are not only important to this case study but also important to a general examination of tourism in western society. More specifically, it also applies critical concepts to tourism development in the English countryside, and, by extension, outlines critical social issues that directly relate to the development of tourism in rural locations like Goathland. Thus, the chapter is designed to be a comprehensive, though not exhaustive, theoretical preparation for the analysis of the empirical findings presented in the following four chapters. Inevitably, and as mentioned, by setting out general critical issues as a foundation for the micro-scale analysis, this approach introduces conceptual arguments that also are of relevance to the thesis as a whole. Consequently, concepts and issues discussed here are referred to, when relevant, throughout the thesis.

The empirical chapters set out the results and analysis of the research undertaken in Goathland. And in keeping with the theoretical discussion, the emphasis is on development relations and the illustration of the social processes that construct and contest place in the context of rural leisure and tourism.

The beginning of Chapter 3 introduces Goathland and describes its association with the Heartbeat television drama and subsequent 'Heartbeat tourism'. This 'sets the scene' for the next section of the chapter which is a discussion of residents' responses vis-à-vis tourism development in the village. Chapter 4 then analyses comments made by visitors on their Goathland 'experience' in order to assimilate and compare their perspectives as temporary consumers with what has already been said. Chapter 5 concentrates on the views of key informants regarding matters of tourist management in and around Goathland, and pays particular attention to their viewpoints on conflicts between the preservation and development of the local community and environment. Finally, Chapter 6 is a concluding discussion of the major issues raised in this case study, and draws out the key points of interest.

2 Tourism, the Rural and Wider Society

Tourism, commodification, political economy and culture

Tourism and commodification

Recently a growing number of authors has bemoaned the lack of critical examination in the 'standard' tourism literature and has consequently advocated approaches that redress this oversight (for example, Britton, 1991; Pearce, 1993; Shaw and Williams, 1994; Squire, 1994b; Urry, 1990). Shaw and Williams (1994, page 248) state that a critical perspective on tourism must be underpinned with the premise that 'within capitalist economies social and production relations are carried over into leisure activities'. In broad agreement with such a view, Britton (1991) discusses the relationship between tourism development and the 'wider structures' of society to place tourism explicitly within the general trajectory and dynamic processes of modern capitalism. Tourism, he stipulates, like other leisure pursuits, is prone to the logic of commodification, which can affect all its constituent elements:

> The commodification of travel and tourism involves, as with many other forms of recreation, the production of intangible goods (souvenirs, transportation vehicles, purpose designed buildings, consumables) as well as intangible labour services (waiters, reservations clerks, tour guides)...Most important the tourist industry sells experiences which are anticipated outcomes of [consumption] and the search for signs - instances in cultural practices- which indicate the (authentic) experience has been achieved' (Culler, 1981)...Commodities in this form become a means to an end: the purchase of a life-style; a statement of taste;...an invigoration of the body; an uplifting of the spirit; broadening of the mind; a signifier of status; a confirmation or challenge of attitudes (Featherstone, 1990).
>
> (Britton, 1991, page 454)

The study of commodification, whether it be in a tourism context or more generally, is not simply an endeavour driven to illustrate how ever more facets of modern life are turned into exchangeable goods and relations. It is a critique which has 'sought to balance the understanding of the material and imagined worlds of political economy and culture' (Cloke, 1993, page 55). The production and consumption of tourist commodities, then, are not only implicated in the transfer of capital but are also about the transfer of meanings given to those commodities by either producers or consumers. Therefore, power relations are also implicated at the political, economic and cultural levels of commodity exchange in tourist activities and environments. By acknowledging the multifaceted and complex nature of commodity exchanges in this way, the emphasis in this study is on the relations of tourism development rather than a simple exposé of the way tourism is involved in an eradication of once 'authentic' cultural goods and ways of life. This is to say that values attached to commodities (and their exchange) are socially ascribed, and are thus dynamic social entities without intrinsic value in and of themselves. Having positioned commodification this way it is appropriate to examine some important conceptions of the process and progress of commodification in modern western society. It is, therefore, important to highlight some telling critiques of commodification as expressed by (necessarily) a selection of commentators in this field of inquiry.

In a Marxian concept of commodification, objects (and services) take on exchange value over social use value, and as such become privatised, distanced and abstracted away from the social references of need for an object and of its qualities in social terms. In a tourism context this can premise an analysis of tourist places, such as Goathland, as lived places that become dislodged communities and abstracted into commodities which are then valued and compared in keeping with the laws of the market. Britton, following the logic of Marx, shows how places are assimilated into 'the tourism system', incorporated into products and treated almost like any other saleable item: a process he terms 'the commodification of place' (pages 462 - 466). A consequence of this is the

creation of 'leisure spaces' (Lefebvre, 1976) which can radically alter the social geography of rural environments:

> Leisure spaces are the object of massive speculation that is not tightly controlled and is often assisted by the state (which builds highways and communications, and which directly or indirectly guarantees the financial operations etc.). This space is sold, at high prices, to citizens who have been harried out of town by boredom and the rat-race. It is reduced to visual attributes, "holidays", "exile", "retreat", and soon loses even these. It is rigidly hierarchized from the crowded beaches up to the elitist places...Thus leisure enters into the *division of social labour* - not simply because leisure permits labour power to recuperate, but also because there is a leisure industry, a large-scale commercialization of *specialised* spaces, a division of social labour which is projected "on the ground" and enters into global planning. In this way the country takes on a new profile, a new face and new landscapes.
>
> (Lefebvre, 1976, page 84; emphasis in original)

According to Lefebvre there is no escaping the effects of commodification, and even at the time of his writing leisure spaces were caught up in rigid comparisons made by global capitalism. They are categorised landscapes that reaffirm and reflect prevailing capitalist relations of production. Furthermore, attendant social and state relations involved in their construction and provision are reaffirmed, as is the heirarchised values placed on their physical characteristics and symbolism.

With direct relevance to Goathland, one way in which leisure space can be commodified is by way of powerful meanings being given to 'place products' through associations with either particular television programmes, historical events or novels (Shaw and Williams, 1994). While this in itself is not new, the greater scale and frequency of such associations is recent and occurs through the basic economic mechanisms of advertising, packaging, and target marketing. Their essence 'is the conversion of experiences or images into exchange relationships' (ibid., page 244).

Furthermore, Britton (1991, page 463) suggests 'it would seem there has been increased investment by capital in "collective" attractions' and that there has 'also been a trend to integrate tourist and non tourist commercial

developments, thus breaking down the separation of tourism and other activities' - for example, shopping, and even farming in the case of 'farm tourism' (see Bouquet and Winter, 1987). All of which increases the potential for combining tourism development with various methods of capital accumulation by private alliances and the local state. And by making places popular as tourist attractions/commodities they can be repositioned in the social and market hierarchy. In the process, place identities are affected as they oscillate between different functions and different sets of values placed upon them. With regard to the Goathland case, as with many tourist places, this is particularly poignant as it is a tourist attraction and a filming location for a famous TV drama, as well as place of residence and farming. Moreover, for many residents, Goathland's identity and function as a tourist attraction is incongruous in a variety of ways with its identity as a place of residence and results in unwanted tourism impacts.

A related, but distinct conception of commodification is offered by Debord (1983). In his sense, commodification is a means of social control where the 'society of the commodity' is transformed into the 'society of the spectacle'. Commodified objects are produced to be consumed in such a way as to depoliticise these objects and induce a pacifying cultural hegemony where consumption of spectacle is actively encouraged. The concept of 'consumption of spectacle' refers to areas of life that previously have not been easily assimilated into the commodification process. The emphasis is on the visual and experiential aspects of consumption such as, for example in tourism, the enjoyment of the 'bright lights' at the pop resorts of the Mediterranean, or achieving a relatively immediate experience of the splendour of selected (and often cordoned) countryside environments. Furthermore, these spectacles are often enjoyed within the relative convenience of a package tour or specially prepared countryside leisure space. In Britain, for instance, many new rural spaces for leisure have come about through increased privatisation of the countryside during the 1980s and early 1990s. Consequently there has been an increase in pay-as-you-enter spaces in the countryside. Powergen's Dinas, Rheidol and Nant-y-Moch reservoirs in Wales are examples of how former publicly owned facilities are now packaged into attractions to provide a day of

leisure for visitors. They all promote the opportunity to 'buy a day's trout fishing' and some have extended their recreational services yet further - such as the Rheidol Power Station which sports an information centre and has an exhibition, a video room, a souvenir shop and also offers refreshments (see Cloke, 1993, pages 57-58).

With the aid of new technology, and no doubt helped by a generally favourable political climate in the west, commercial services in leisure and tourism at the different scales have been more able to offer spectacular developments to the visitor - from theme parks, heritage centres, historical re-enactments to various activity package tours (for example, wine tasting, botany, painting, walking, animal watching and 'nature' tours etc.). The important thing about such developments is that these cultural goods are (re)constructed or designed by others for the relatively passive consumer to purchase as ready-made and spectacularly themed items. Furthermore, as Britton (1991) notes, when such commodities are bought the consumer is also making a positional statement by conspicuously demonstrating 'taste', 'lifestyle', aesthetic or even 'natural' appreciation. Possibly what is most important about such developments in this view is that 'it suggests that commodification for spectacle is explicitly concerned with the production of illusive counterfeits of real objects and relations' (Cloke, 1993, page 56). Tourism consumption, then, can serve as a pacifying mechanism even more so because of its strengthening hegemonic, but spurious, association with freedom and choice in a market-driven context.

Finally, for Baudrillard (1983) concrete ideas of reality are stripped of meaning in the age of telecommunications. Commodification and exchange are now carried out in the 'society of the simulacrum' at the level of signs, images, and information. He goes some way beyond other ideas on commodification by suggesting that even the last traces of material worth in objects are negated by their sign and image value. All objects are merely signs and simulations of themselves. This gives another layer of reality to the cultural goods of tourism consumption in which the meaning of the commodity-sign is left for consumer interpretation and comparison in a universe of competing communications and images. The 'reality' and use value of cultural goods and services, then, are

absorbed directly into the sign which floats freely in a wider economy of signs and images.

In this sense the 'real' places and services consumed by tourists are not materially or psychologically based at all, rather it is their sign value which catalyses a depthless, technical relation to tourist commodities and experiences. This tourism 'hyperreality' (Eco, 1986) lifts exchange relations in tourism development beyond a conception that grounds their social significance in concrete notions of social structure and commodification.

> Baudrillard's is a yuppie political economy, premised on a model of an affluent consuming public. He also leaves us with an image of the human consumer as appendage to the commodity object, in technical rather than psychological relation to the commodity - in some kind of phase beyond exchange and use, in a '*sacrificial logic* of consumption, gift, expenditure, potlatch'[4], somehow beyond the realms of any rationalized economy of exchanges. Baudrillard's view of consumer culture reduces the human subject to the victim, the uncritical recipient of signs and messages which seem to emanate from some supra-human realm.
>
> (Tomlinson, 1989, page 20; emphasis in original)

While Baudrillard's view may seem exaggerated and somewhat premature, it points to a superficial direction in which many commentators would agree contemporary life is moving towards. From this perspective any contestation over the identity of a tourist place like Goathland would have to happen at the level of signs and images, because, as Rojek (1995) says of contemporary life generally, to argue a case for its 'traditional', 'authentic', stable, unitary, solid or 'authoritative' reality would simply be neurotic and end in disappointment, even bitterness.

Politics and ideology in tourism

To talk of contestation and struggle over identity, or any other aspect of leisure space, is to flag the political dimension of tourism. Politics, as Hall (1994) says, is all about power: who gets what, where, how and why. And because tourism is heavily implicated in the commodification and experience of place it is important

to consider who are the main actors in defining tourist places, and to examine what ideologies colour the relations of tourism development:

> Tourism depends on preconceived definitions of place and people. These definitions are created by the marketing arm of government and of private enterprise in order to induce the tourist to visit a specific area...Government and private enterprise not only redefine social reality but also create it to fit those definitions. This process is both interactive and dialectical. To the extent that this process takes place the category of everyday life is annihilated.
>
> (Papson, 1981, page 225)

It becomes evident that as definitions of tourist places mainly come from beyond the boundaries of the locale, through marketing and packaging in the public and private sectors, there seems to be little prospect for tourists to exercise autonomy in discovering or valuing place for themselves. It seems the structures of 'imagineering' are firmly set. Prior to the time a place is visited its image will be located in the mind of the visitor and on arrival its features stage managed to conform to that image. In this sense, the 'tourist trap' is designed to render the tourist an ultimately passive consumer, while tourist places, and their residents, become service products in which former identities and former categories of everyday life simply die because of their absorption into the tourism process.

This hypothesis raises serious issues about the coalition of private and public agencies in tourism development, and not least it challenges liberal and conservative ideologies which equate leisure choices with individual freedom and identity:

> The liberals and conservatives both locate leisure firmly within the private sphere, a region of life which the individual can engage in those integral and significant social relationships that are the building blocks of personal identity. The private sphere connotes freedom and autonomy, while the public sphere means constraint and alienation. In the private sphere the individual is in control; in the public sphere the individual is under control.
>
> (Wilson, 1988, page 9)

From a liberal and conservative perspective individuals engaged in leisure are seen as pursuing their self interest within the limits of the law. Society sanctions such self oriented behaviour because market mechanisms ensure order where the 'best' win through on merit. In the long term society as a whole benefits because the race for self interest in leisure and other spheres of life aggregate up to the collective good. Therefore, individuals who are either able or unable to access leisure activities and leisure spaces at their various heirarchised levels, are deserving of their relative positions in the social order, and the reflecting leisure order. Within the parameters of such a view, it is not unreasonable to expect government to encourage or even promote leisure but it is erroneous for government to control leisure activity. This is not to suggest that the public sphere is undeserving of a stake in leisure activity, rather the interests of the public sphere are best served by private means and enterprise. Kraus (1987, pages 15-17) lists six benefits of leisure and recreation for society as a whole:

> (1) *Social cohesion and adjustment*. Leisure enhances personal skills and therefore aids in the creation of satisfying social conditions. It develops social tolerance, personal happiness and caters to 'natural' needs of companionship and competition.
>
> (2) *Self realization*. The creativity and satisfaction which is often missing in the work place is liberated in leisure and recreation.
>
> (3) *Community renewal and restoration*. The cohesive values enhanced in leisure and recreation can restore pride and excitement in economically vulnerable and run-down areas. Thus society benefits from the creation of things like heritage centres in such places through conservation, education and the concomitant promotion of tolerance and enjoyment in the inhabitants of the social community.
>
> (4) *Citizenship and responsibility*. Leisure and recreation is associated with neutralising anti-social behaviour through breeding wholesome attitudes and habits of positive social conduct. At the same time participants would be inclined to see themselves as stakeholders in the social order.
>
> (5) *Personal health*. The body is said to benefit by the physical and emotional release leisure and recreation affords, which supplements and complements the course of everyday life.

(6) *Personal involvement and commitment.* Through voluntary and pleasurable free-time activity the ideals of society are strengthened. The individual benefits by adding to personal experience and by developing problem solving skills.

(also see Rojek, 1995, pages 40-41)

A critical perspective of leisure and recreation challenges the assumptions of the liberal and conservative approach. For example, the separation of work and leisure by the liberal/conservative tradition is viewed as a dualism which should be problematised. Britton (1991) reminds us that 'in earlier eras and other sorts of societies...work and nonwork activities were not so discrete' (page 452). It is a hallmark of modern capitalist society that leisure and work are seen as polar opposites, where individuals are subordinated to capital in the workplace and look to leisure for freedom of activity, as well as distraction from the drudgery of everyday routines. Thus, workers being partially reduced to commodities themselves look to nonwork for self expression and escape. Lefebvre contends:

> there is no doubt that today - in capitalist bourgeois *society*... - the most striking imperative as far as the needs of leisure are concerned is that it must produce a *break*... Thus there is an increasing emphasis on leisure characterised as distraction: rather than bringing any new worries, obligations, or necessities, leisure should offer liberation from worry and necessity.
>
> (Lefebvre, 1991, page 33; emphasis in original)

For Lefebvre there is no escaping the capitalist relations of production at work or at recuperating play. He also sees the relationship between work and leisure as dialectical where neither of these two realms of life can be negated through the other. Indeed, work and leisure are always co-present in everyday life, which precludes notions of escape:

> We cannot step beyond the everyday. The marvelous can only continue to exist in fiction

> and in the illusions people share. There is no escape... So we work to earn our leisure, and leisure has only one meaning: to get away from work. A vicious circle.
>
> (Lefebvre, 1991, page 40)

It would be reasonable to assume from this perspective that freedom and fairness in leisure cannot come about until they are present in the workplace and in other realms of everyday life. Leisure relations are part of the matrix of relations in everyday existence - especially so when we consider how tourism and the everyday can become absorbed into each other (cf. Papson, 1981, above) - and no matter what we do in our leisure time we have to return the world of routine and/or work. Additionally, there can be no such thing as 'free' leisure time, it has to be bought and paid for through work and more likely than not paid for at the time of consumption. Leisure thus gives rise to a whole industry which in turn can give rise to a host of externalities (for example, tourism impacts).

Many liberal and conservative commentators would argue that leisure time has increased in recent decades to the benefit of both the individual and society. Because of the liberation of 'free time', tourism has grown apace to meet the increasing demand for leisure which is afforded by more time rich consumers. However, Britton insists that such claims should be met with caution:

> it is only partially correct to argue, as is done in much conventional theory, that leisure (including tourism) is synonymous with "free time" remaining after commitments to work and "human maintenance" (biological necessities) have been met, and that the growth of tourism can be accounted for with the notion of an increase in per capita or aggregate social "free time". Not only does this notion miss the point of why and how leisure occurs in the socially prescribed activities and temporal forms that it does, and the social relations and functions embedded in them, but it is insufficient even on its own terms. Statistics suggesting the shrinkage of the working week are averages, with certain social groups gaining more "free time", others less.
>
> (Britton, 1991, page 454)

Inequality is embedded in access to 'free time', leisure and tourism, and formal indicators ignore the enforced 'free time' of the unemployed as well as the seemingly inseparability of the work of women as carers and domestic workers from their 'nonwork' time. Thus, from the very point of access to leisure and tourism, divisions of labour begin to be reflected. With regard to specific leisure activities from, say, visiting a local park, to playing sports, to walking in the countryside or taking a package holiday, class divisions are also mirrored, or are at least by what is demanded in leisure (Lefebvre, 1991). The lack of critical depth in liberal and conservative assumptions conveniently atomises individual and group leisure choices by seeing the social order as a product of perfect competition. Furthermore, they pay little regard to the social context in which such choices are made.

As referred to earlier, tourism developments are guided and enacted in either the public or the private sectors, or often in both simultaneously. This fact reinforces the necessity to understand the social context in which tourism activity occurs as a major part of contemporary leisure experience. Making doubly insecure any argument which associates tourism with freedom: 'the notion of the contextuality of tourism as a form of leisure implies the recognition that there is no such thing as freedom' (Hall, 1994, page 175). It seems as if freedom itself is reduced to the logic of commodification. For politicians, private producers and consumers, issues of freedom, especially concerning freedom of choice in the market place, are of enduring concern:

> It is in the sphere of consumption - conspicuous leisure on the basis of adequate disposable income - that many will seek to express their sense of freedom, their personal power, their status aspirations. The effect of such a trend on collective consciousness and cultural relations cannot be understated. Popular culture and everyday life have always been of great concern to our political masters. If popular culture can be reduced to a set of apparent choices based upon personal taste then we will see the triumph of the fragmented self, a constant lust for the new and the authentic among a population of consumer clones.
>
> (Tomlinson, 1989, page 6)

Concrete issues of cultural relations, access and choices in tourism and leisure generally, and more importantly for the Goathland study, issues of access and choice in tourism and leisure in the countryside, are infused with power struggles extant in both the political and the cultural realms of wider society. For example, the continuing debate about public verses private transport is important regarding countryside leisure, tourism and recreation because it impacts on who has physical access to the countryside and on which is the most appropriate way of seeing it. The countryside itself is also directly impacted by the outcomes of public policy with regard to traffic pollution and congestion, and by association, the visual effects and composition of various modes of transport. Therefore, notions of power and the recognition of ideological expression in group and user activities, strategies, opinions and vested interests need to be a prime consideration in the critical study of any tourism development process, especially in such value laden environments as those located in the English countryside.

While there are clear problems for the liberal and conservative assumptions on individualism and leisure in a critical examination of the structuring of tourism, it is problematic to assume the opposite extreme, that individual choices and actions are wholly determined by the system. In other words it is necessary to avoid suggesting that tourists are simple dupes or automatons of the tourism system, where pleasure, leisure and tourism are sanctioned by capital and its governing structures as nothing else but pacifying and recuperating functions of accumulation. This latter approach is said to be a main characteristic of the 'culture industry' (cf. Adorno, 1975; in Rojek, 1985) [5] thesis which implies that individual agency is subsumed or even eradicated both symbolically and materially by the imperatives of capital accumulation. Because of this stance the culture industry approach is often criticised as being too overarching, pessimistic and woefully desensitised to the difference that reflexive agency can make to the structuring of society (see for example Held, 1980; Rojek, 1985, on the culture industry; Lash and Urry, 1994; and Giddens, 1976,1984, 1991, on reflexivity and structuration). Such general concerns within social science discourses make it prudent to examine a theoretical position which is both useful to the study of tourism and at the same time avoids the pitfalls of a

dichotomy which either views people as objects of structured commodification, or as self determining subjects that can make voluntary choices within a 'free' market context. The next section will posit such a theoretical position.

Habitus and cultural capital

Pierre Bourdieu has written extensively on the sociology of culture in France and has done much empirical research there. Various features of his work are relevant to this study, but of special interest is the analysis of the impact that the cultural practices of one class has upon another.

In *Distinction*, for example, Bourdieu (1984) emphasises that social action is not a predetermined product of external rules of socialisation. For Bourdieu, individuals are neither objects nor subjects of society but *actors* operating within the boundaries of certain social groupings and classes. He shows how the 'powers of different social classes (and by implication other social agents) are as much symbolic as economic or political' (Urry, 1990, page 87). Each social class possesses a *habitus* which is the characteristic feature of the group and provides each class with a group distinctive framework of social cognition and interpretation, and is the system of classification that operates below the level of individual consciousness. It is the embodiment of the various *dispositions*, temperaments and cultural sensibilities (for example, tastes, distastes, deportment, style) that structure group and class behaviour, whilst simultaneously being a mechanism for individual group members to structure social experience for themselves. However, one should recognise that the habitus is neither a functional product of socialisation or group rules, or a random configuration of natural dispositions; it 'represents the structuring of cultivated dispositions into a matrix formation providing for a certain consistency or logic to everyday practices and actions' (Lee, 1993, page 31). Bourdieu defines the habitus in the following terms:

> The structure of a particular constitutive environment...produce habitus, systems of durable, transposable *dispositions*, as structured structures predisposed to function as structuring structures, that is, as principles of the generation of practices and representations which can be objectively 'regulated' and 'regular' *without anyway being*

> *the product of obedience to rules*, objectively adapted to their goals without presupposing a conscious aiming at ends or an express mastery of the operation necessary to attain them, and being all this, *collectively orchestrated without being the product of the orchestrating action of a conductor.*
>
> (Bourdieu, 1977, page 72; my emphasis)

Habitus, then, is about the culture of class and the structuring of cultural competences deployed in the classification of certain cultural goods and practices. Significantly, at the same time it is a system of recognition where the classifiers and consumers of cultural goods and practices can at once be classified by each other. While it is an ingrained affirmation of group membership and *distinction*, it is also an important apparatus for structuring self expression. The logic to the classification of everyday practices is homologous, that is it is equally applied, but is differently expressed, by various groups and classes according to their self defined mores, values and generative dispositions. In this the habitus plays a dynamic and enabling role where the cultural actor can apply a complex repertoire of methods for the classifying of new learning experiences, and, newly encountered people.

The habitus is never static, then, but evolves dynamically according to circumstances and conditions of time and space to enable new social experiences to be incorporated into group and individuals' classifying frameworks. It, therefore, allows Bourdieu to account for the diverse patterns of cultural classification that exist between social classes. Conceptually it can also account for the instances of cultural difference occurring between social groupings even if they are from the same economic class. 'Just as economic relations express networks of power, which can be quantified in economic capital, then so too do cultural relations express the differential levels of learned and empowering competences' (Lee, 1993, page 33). Bourdieu argues that cultural practices cannot be reduced to the symbolic reflection of economic conditions, however, cultural practices are more flexible than this and have sufficient autonomy from prevailing economic circumstances to create their own logic and exchange relations. Nevertheless, cultural knowledge is a valued stock in modern society

which makes it possible to convert such knowledge into economic advantage. Cultural competence, unlike capital, cannot be gained quickly, and because of this it is an importantly multifarious means of power and class reproduction within the social strata; 'classes in competition with each other attempt to impose their own system of classification on other classes to become dominant' (Urry, 1990, page 88).

In leisure relations this is expressed in the struggle to dominate access to leisure goods and services. By classifying certain goods, such as the English countryside, as being highly imbued with symbolic significance or *cultural capital*, dominant groups can assert their status by monopolising and restricting access symbolically and often materially. In Bourdieu's schema cultural capital refers to the *ownership* or 'possession of certain cultural competences, or bodies of cultural knowledge, that provide for particularly distinguished modes of cultural consumption and for the relatively sophisticated classification of cultural and symbolic goods' (Lee, 1993, page 33). Because cultural capital is about cultural knowledge and competence, its attainment involves a certain depth of understanding acquired through learning, thus, a central role is played by the institutions of culture, that is by education and intellectuals who are the brokers of cultural capital.

For those who are educationally privileged the cultural arena offers a gamut of possibilities for confirming distinction from others, even if the same cultural goods are available to be consumed by the wider public. In the consumption of films, for example, there are opportunities to display cultural capital by those with esoteric adequacy and the right disposition:

> This transposable disposition, armed with a set of perceptual and evaluative schemes that are available for general application, inclines its owner towards other cultural experiences and enables him [sic] to perceive, classify and memorise them differently. Where some only see 'a Western starring Burt Lancaster', others discover 'an early John Sturgess' or the 'latest Sam Pekinpah'. In identifying what is worthy of being seen and the right way

> to see it, they are aided by their whole social group...and by the whole corporation of critics mandated by the group to produce legitimate classifications and the discourse necessarily accompanying any artistic enjoyment worthy of the name.
>
> (Bourdieu, 1984, page 28)

Bourdieu's logic can be extended to tourism consumption via a number of routes, but one of note is the way bourgeois distinction is sought through a taxonomic splitting of tourist and traveller. In simple terms, tourists are often stereotyped as herded and vulgar intruders into environments they little understand or have the capacity to 'truly' appreciate. They are depicted as being easily packaged by tour companies into blocs and led to purposefully designed resorts, which inevitably are places reduced to sites of low order consumption to cater for them. Even if the typical tourist is independent enough to organise his or her own travel, instilled preferences will ensure they are the mass patronisers of pop resorts such as Blackpool, or for exotica, Benidorm in Spain. On the other hand the traveller is a romantic figure, independent, free and enquiring, and therefore able to learn from and adapt to the environments encountered. He/she is a self reliant observer of people and places who travels light and passes unobtrusively through the world, all the richer for his or her experience and able to relate that experience to others with some sophistication and insight. It would seem that to travel requires an independence of spirit, an enquiring fortitude of mind, self discipline, the pluck and character to 'win through', the adaptability and expansive taste for adventure and enterprise that is so revered by right wing ideologies (see Rojek, 1993; Wheeller, 1992, 1994; Munt, 1994; Mowforth and Munt, 1997; for discussions of travellers, tourists and 'ego-tourists'). Both categories of visitor may alight on the same place however, but their reading of that place will differ in accordance to their habitus and cultural capital: for one Blackpool would represent a chance to 'get away' to enjoy the 'bright lights' and possible transgressions of a carnivalesque atmosphere; for the other Blackpool could be a place *to go to*, in order to witness Britain's most famous modernist icon of mass leisure consumption.

While the stereotyping of tourist and traveller and their places of interest is problematic and poses an inevitable bourgeois dualism (again see Munt, 1994), it is evidence of a symbolic struggle for distinction between two classes or groups. How various environments are consumed by different sets of people can thus lead to symbolic conflict. In Bourdieu's terms, this can also exchange into material consequences as the differing actors and groups negotiate each other, and their relative social experiences and environments, armed with different stocks of values and cultural competences.

As already alluded to, the rural environment is especially replete with value laden investments and interests. Therefore, Bourdieu's schema is relevant to both a general examination of rural tourism and to the particular analysis of the Goathland case study. Rural environments are valued as 'positional goods' (Hirsch, 1976), goods which define relative social status in the higher stratas of society. As these goods become popularised, and thus culturally accessible to the lower stratas, their older meanings and value are re-negotiated by the elite. The 'usurpation of existing marker goods by lower groups produces a paperchase effect in which those above will have to invest in new (informational) goods in order to re-establish the original social distance' (Featherstone, 1991, page 18). For the countryside this means that more esoteric meanings and knowledge of the rural would have to be mobilised by privileged groups in order to maintain distinction from potentially invasive lower order groups. For example, the classification and dissemination of certain mores and competences regarding highly appropriate users and usages of the countryside could be used by rural property owners to protect their relative distinction as, say, 'country people'.

This type of distinguishing strategy can take various forms in various circumstances, of course, but is commonly used by 'aspiring groups who adopt a learning mode towards consumption and the cultivation of a lifestyle' (Featherstone, 1991, page 19). The 'new middle-class' - as identified by Bourdieu (1984) and other authors such as Pfeil (1988, 1990), Lash and Urry (1987), Featherstone (1987, 1991), Betz (1992) - are particularly relevant in these considerations, yet play a rather ambiguous role in the traditional valuation of the rural. Typically they value self-improvement, self-development, the ability to

manage property, relationships and a fulfilling lifestyle (Featherstone, 1991). And in terms of profile the new middle-class is usually described as a new professional-managerial class primarily composed:

> of middle-class whites from around eighteen years of age to upwards of forty, mostly college educated, with a greater parity of females to males than has ordinarily been the case in markets for 'avant-garde' works. We are speaking, then, of a significant minority within a generation and a half of consumer society, a group that has either lived its childhood or come to maturity through the long crisis and congealment of the sixties and seventies; a generation and a half, moreover, whose social destiny has remained clear: we are to be the switchpoints between capital and labour, the intermediary, administrative and reproductive component of a vast apparatus of exploitation and valorisation.
>
> (Pfeil, 1988, page 383)

Urry (1990) notes that such people are stronger on cultural capital than on economic capital. They are also the quintessential consumers of contemporary cultural goods and are the single most influential group with regard to 'postmodern' cultural expression in general (see next section on postmodernity). Significantly they are not hidebound by the cultural prigishness of the more traditional bourgeois and intellectual classes. Their relatively high levels of cultural capital affords them the ability to criticise these traditional middle and upper class groups for their elitism and tastelessness in the way they can crudely use symbolic means, as well as economic advantage, to vertically differentiate themselves from lower social classes. Working-class culture is equally criticised, however, because of its 'coarseness or lack of subtlety' (Urry, 1990, page 88).

While the new middle-class would value traditional symbols of the countryside and rurality such as the 'pastoral idyll', old houses, antiques, organic foods, real ale; and outdoor pursuits like jogging, cycling, fly-fishing, windsurfing and mountaineering (Cloke, 1993), they would enjoy them without necessarily fixing themselves to the meanings implied in modes of consumption that would traditionally depict class superiority. In other words they have a more 'decentred' habitus or system of classification than the 'traditional' classes:

> This 'decentering' of identity has many expressions, for example, in the transgression of boundaries through play, the casting on and off of identities and the opportunity to engage vicariously in other people's lives. Theme parks, medieval fayres and feasts, pop festivals and 'living' museums provide the opportunities to temporarily adopt identities which have new meanings for their participants... This dismemberment of group norms allows people to lead eclectic lives, unshackled by the legacy of tradition or collective expectation, and to respond freely to the market place.
>
> (Harrison, 1991, page 59)

Cloke (1993) says that although this decentred account of new middle-class consumption may be chaotic and confusing, the key point to remember is that the *motivations* behind their consumption choices represent a new departure from the norm. Rather than the actual goods and services that make up the objects of their consumption being different, it is the rather eclectic classificatory frameworks of the new middle-class groups that are new. He also suggests that the seemingly paradoxical, even ironic play between traditional rural symbolism and the rural consumption motivations and styles of new middle-class groups can provoke inevitable conflicts within and between themselves as well as with other, more traditional, consumers of the countryside. For example, consumption conflicts can arise in and between different countryside residents and other rural consumers such as 'travellers and 'ravers'. Therefore, the 'commodified countryside has become a site of cultural conflict and compromise in the respective buying and selling of cast-off identities' (Cloke, 1993, pages 60-61).

The new middle-classes are not only important consumers of cultural goods, they are also important producers within the cultural economy. As 'cultural intermediaries' (Bourdieu, 1984), they disseminate, circulate and exchange cultural goods and meanings. They are the media, design, fashion and advertising professionals who deal in 'para' intellectual information and are the brokers of potentially new valuations and interpretations in cultural commodities:

> Given conditions of an increasing supply of symbolic goods (Touraine, 1985), demand grows for cultural specialists and intermediaries who have the capacity to ransack various traditions and cultures in order to produce new symbolic goods, and in addition provide

> the necessary interpretations on their use. Their habitus, dispositions and lifestyle preferences are such that they identify with artists and intellectuals, yet under conditions of the de-monopolization of artistic and intellectual commodity enclaves they have the apparent contradictory interests of sustaining the prestige and cultural capital of these enclaves, while at the same time popularizing and making them more accessible to wider audiences.
>
> (Featherstone, 1991, page 18)

Thus, the activity of cultural intermediaries can be very paradoxical because it produces inflationary pressure on symbolic goods by ensuring oversupply which devalues their worth as signs of social status. This is, of course, at variance to the interests of cultural intermediaries themselves who need to constantly boost the production of cultural goods and meanings in order to maintain their own status. The 'paperchase effect' to which Featherstone (1991) refers is the result of this and creates a proliferation of media images and sensibilities, which, in extreme form, is akin to the depthless world of commodification that Baudrillard alludes to (also refer to the next section on postmodernity).

Bourdieu's insights are useful not least because they allow a critical evaluation of certain perceptions of tourism impacts and conflicts which have come about in and around Goathland recently. This is especially so when we consider the popularity of Heartbeat has vastly increased tourist numbers there, and has led to a marked shift in the way Goathland is currently negotiated, experienced, accessed and consumed both by its visitors and residents. However, Bourdieu's analysis to a large extent is restricted to lived culture, or micro cultural dynamics, which is only one dimension of cultural production. In order to widen the discussion it is perhaps timely to recontextualise the subject matter within the broad sweep of general cultural movements and change in western society.

Tourism, postmodernity and 'the tourist gaze'

Macro trends in the cultural milieu are also important to the case study, many of which are linked to what has already been said. Urry (1990) insists that it is only through the analysis of wider cultural changes that specific tourist developments

can be properly understood. His analysis of contemporary tourism is placed in the context of the much debated cultural shift from modernity to a 'condition' of postmodernity (see Harvey, 1989; Jameson, 1984; Lyotard, 1984, for discussion). While it is generally agreed that contemporary western culture has gone through significant changes in recent years, there seems to be little hard-and-fast consensus among commentators on definitions of postmodernity, if indeed it is wholly appropriate to attach this label to the new cultural condition that may be coming upon us. Nevertheless, while debates abound, there is general recognition that postmodernity is seen to include at least some of the following characteristics:

> a resurgence of cultural plurality, difference and otherness; a fragmentation and diversification of cultural values, beliefs and sensibilities; a certain abandonment of notions of interpretative depth and meaning in culture; and a foregrounding and celebration of the spectacular, the ephemeral, the facade, and the simulation.
>
> (Lee, 1993, page 138)

Not surprisingly many of these characteristics align with the 'society of the simulacrum' in which Baudrillard describes the rapid flow of signs and images that destable commodity values and saturate the fabric of everyday life. This in turn leads to what Featherstone (1991) refers to as the 'aestheticization of everyday life'. The importance of aesthetics to the everyday is not a radically new phenomenon, indeed various artists and intellectuals during the twentieth century have tried to relay this (see Featherstone, 1991, pages 66-67). But in this postmodern phase of cultural production where the sign-value of things has come to dominate exchange relations and consumer culture, the constant production and consumption of artful signs and images in advertising has meant that the everyday and art have ceased to be separate.

Urry (1990) stresses that elements of the postmodern can be seen in rural tourism settings because of the way they have become (re)presented as spectacles for 'the tourist gaze'. The idea of the tourist gaze is introduced by Urry in the light of his reading of Foucault's (1976) work on the 'medical gaze'. A central

tenet of this conceptual position of Urry's is that the prime means of conveying significance to tourist sites is through the visual consumption of culturally designated artefacts and places of importance. This process is aided by professionals in the leisure industry who work to cultivate the tourist gaze in particular ways so as to make a variety of sites/sights appealing and acceptable to the public. Therefore, the tourist gaze is not value-free, it interrelates with other social practices, it also varies by society, social group and historical period, and is an important aspect of the social construction of place. Different places are accorded different significances depending upon the way they are represented as sites of particular cultural appeal within a broadening portfolio of leisure experiences and places now available to the consumer. This allows tourists to 'gaze' upon - and appropriate - sites/sights of history, countryside, 'wilderness' and places of popular holidaymaking, depending upon their social position, cultural predilections and ability to 'read' and consume certain leisure goods and services. The objects of the tourist gaze

> are consumed because they supposedly generate pleasurable experiences which are different from those typically encountered in everyday life. And yet part at least of that experience is to gaze upon or view a set of different scenes, of landscapes or townscapes which are out of the ordinary. When we 'go away' we look at the environment with interest and curiosity. It speaks to us in ways we appreciate, or at least we anticipate that it will do so. In other words, we gaze at what we encounter. And this gaze is as socially organised and systemised as is the gaze of the medic. Of course it is of a different order in that it is not confined to professionals 'supported and justified by the institution'. And yet even in the production of 'unnecessary' pleasure there are in fact many professional experts who help to construct and develop our gaze as tourists.
>
> (Urry, 1990, page 1)

Urry further distinguishes between the *romantic gaze* of tourists who wish to find exclusivity, solitude and individual expression within their consumption choices and the *collective gaze* of the masses who flock to the popular resorts 'to see and be seen'. Thus, how we gaze upon certain tourist landscapes and display our predilections for the consumption of particular tourist

goods and practices, such as visiting the English countryside, is indicative of 'taste' and social position. It is not only rural sites/sights which are the objects of the tourist gaze, all sorts of places have become centres of spectacle and nostalgic display as the attraction of heritage - whether it be 'natural' or cultural - has gained popular currency via the activities of the leisure and tourism industry, the media and other cultural communications. Such activity ensures that tourism is an ever-present aspect of contemporary capitalist society and one of the quintessential features of mass consumer culture (Britton, 1991). According to Urry the popularity of tourism and the extending reach of the tourist gaze has meant that now 'people continuously seek ever-new images and hence ever-new places to visit and capture' (1992, page 5).

The search for these images can mean extending the tourist gaze through space and time in order to make an increasing variety of geographical and historical images accessible to present day touristic experience. The next section will discuss the general shifts in the technological sphere of (post)modern life that have helped to transform space-time relations in both tourism and wider society.

Time-space compression

The structuring and restructuring of place imagery by the tourism industry and its cultural allies not only increases the potential choices available to global tourists, it can alter tourists' actual experience of space and time (Crick, 1989). This leads to what Harvey (1989) terms 'time-space compression'. Hall (1994, page 187), states that 'time-space compression and the development of the "the present day image economy" (Sharrat, 1989, page 38) are regarded as central elements of postmodernity'. The concept of time-space compression refers to the way technological innovations in transportation and communications have enabled modern capitalism to 'annihilate space through time' by making the world smaller, thus collapsing spatial barriers or the 'friction of distance' to create what is commonly called 'the global village'. For example, space can be negotiated instantaneously through flashing geographical images served up on our television screens, or through computerised money transaction that traverse

the globe in milliseconds. Time horizons also become dramatically shortened as the past can be called into the present through long lost moments and historical events being replayed on film or re-enacted at heritage sites. With time and space increasingly used in such flexible ways, and in myriad combinations, the overall tendency is to shorten or speed up the turnover of both time and space. Tourism, of course, is an important component of this process, but it is not just tourists' experience of space and time which is affected, we are all affected, even on a fairly mundane, day to day basis.

There are various effects of time-space compression which Harvey notes: firstly, there is increased volatility and an accentuating of the ephemeral in products, fashions, ideas, values, technologies and so on in modern consumerism; second, there is the emphasising of instantaneity and disposability in a now 'throw away society', not only material goods but also values, lifestyles, relationships, and attachments to place can all be easily disposed of; third, short-termism is encouraged and 'everything is judged in and by the present'; fourth, signs and images most exemplify time-space compression because world wide industry produces and markets images, not only for products, but also for people, governments, places and so on, and there is now a plethora of images to be consumed, especially images of nature and the natural; and finally, certain of these images involve the production of simulacra, replications of originals more real than the original, and 'almost everything can now be reproduced' (Urry, 1992, page 6).

Harvey (1989, page 240) makes the important observation that 'the experience of time-space compression is challenging, exciting, stressful and sometimes deeply troubling, capable of sparking, therefore, a diversity of social, cultural, and political responses'. One response is a feeling of insecurity as more elements of contemporary time and space become captive to the commodifying logic of what Harvey terms as 'flexible accumulation'[6]. It is, therefore, difficult to sustain any notion of free time or free space in modern society; holidays and short trips to the countryside, for example, have to be paid for or earned. A sense of urgency also develops more as commodification impacts upon our leisure time and space, and we are compelled to ensure our ability to enter the market place

for such cultural goods in difficult conditions of production. In other words we have to work to earn and pay for our play in an increasingly unstable but technically sophisticated globalised economy. As Rojek (1993, page 49) puts it 'the annihilation of "free" space and "free" time through commodification, contributes to the sense of homelessness and uprootedness which many commentators remark is a general feature of experience in modern capitalism'.

While spatial barriers come down and more spaces open up to the tourist, feelings of insecurity and uprootedness can have the effect of making relatively permanent images of, say, the English countryside that much more important. With greater transport and communications options we can access those images more easily, through the tangibility of visiting a country place and/or through more vicarious experience via the television and other media. For instance, the Heartbeat television series brings home to the viewer nostalgic images of 1960s rural Yorkshire, and in a sense this is a mode of electronic time travel. Furthermore, no matter where the viewer lives, as long as he/she can access (afford) a choice of transportation, he/she can extend this type of virtual nostalgia into 'real' experience by visiting the location where the series is filmed. Although the technical ability to produce the images of time and space is not a barrier to their consumption, individual access to those technical abilities, in terms of the ability to pay for them, could be.

Harvey (1989, pages 293-294) also notes that the 'collapse of spatial barriers does not mean that the significance of space is decreasing', but on the contrary 'as spatial barriers diminish so we become much more sensitised to what the world's spaces contain'. More and more places are thus offered up to the tourist through the marketing arms of government and private industry who are concerned to give their places of vested interest distinction, and are at pains 'to make them consistent with particular contemporary images of environment and place, particularly those of nature' (Urry, 1992, page 7). In the context of this study, it can be expected that perpetrated images of a particular rural environment will be both standard, in the sense of widely held images of the English countryside, and unique, in that marketers will highlight distinguishing

local features as selling points or tourist attractions that cannot be easily replicated elsewhere.

The play on consistency and difference in a wholly marketing context homogenises tourist places in that they have to conform to the demands and rules of the market in order to compete effectively. Even so-called unique features of a tourist space, then, are only comparatively unique in a broad portfolio of what the market defines as tourist attractions. This points towards the nexus of sameness and difference in postmodern commodity production. There is no authentic or absolute difference between images of the rural, all differences are *relative* and open to the interpretation of the consumer. And as the potential reach of the tourist gaze extends the tourist market into previously non-tourist cultural forms such as art, architecture, heritage and sport, it becomes relatively unclear as to what constitutes tourism and what constitutes culture (Urry, 1990). Difference between cultural forms are being eroded, a process which Lash (1990) terms as 'de-differentiation' and which he refers to as 'the fundamental structuring trait' of postmodernism (page 11). One outcome of this process is that tourism consumption is capable of going almost anywhere, and as it does can reduce particular environments to themed attractions.

Consuming rural England

Although not uniquely so, idealised rural spaces have especially become centres of spectacle and leisure consumption rather than places of production, where traditional industries such as farming are inevitably sidelined. In rural England, for example, there is now a proliferation of varied but similarly themed tourist enclaves. In rural Yorkshire alone examples of themed places that relate particular landscapes to literary and/or television dramas include: Last of the Summer Wine Country, Brönté Country, Emmerdale Farm Country and Herriot Country, as well as Heartbeat Country (see Figure 2.). All of which conform to a type of de-differentiated Disneyland ideal of place making for the tourist.

As Eco (1986, page 44) notes, 'Disneyland tells us that faked nature conforms to our day dream demands'. This is aided by the output of the culture

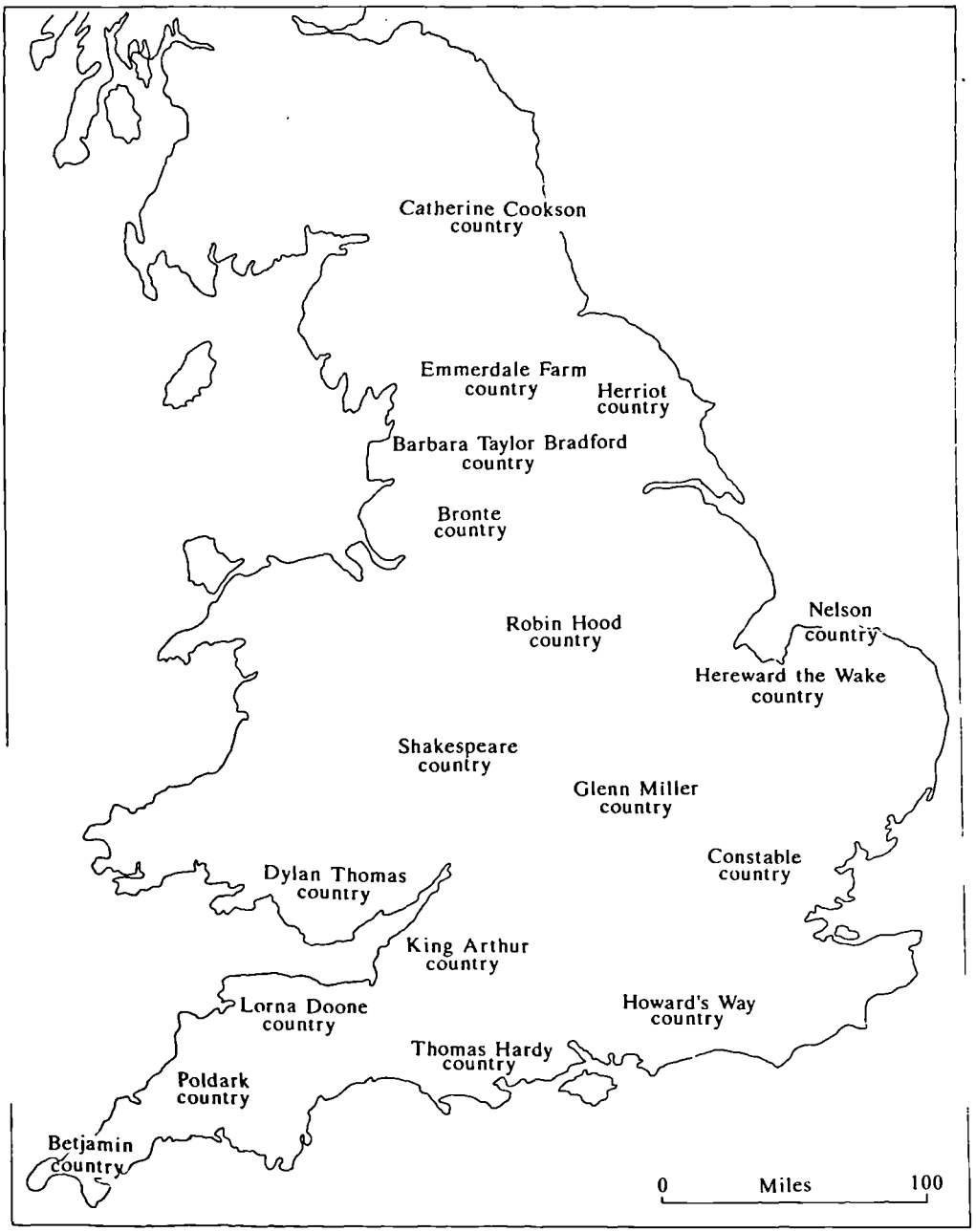


Figure 2. A Tourist Image of England and Wales (adapted from Shaw and Williams, 1994, page 172)

Original source: The Guardian, 11 November 1990

industry which constantly perpetuates images of a consummately English 'rural idyll' (Newby, 1979), replete with notions of a contented and relatively unchanging rural peace and tranquillity. In the Goathland case, this myth is supported and popularised by the television dramas 'Heartbeat' and 'All Creatures Great and Small' as both of these use that part of Yorkshire as a

location for filming. To complete the production of these dramas into actual places of tourist experience, the branding of North Yorkshire in general as 'Herriot Country' and the Goathland area in particular as 'Heartbeat Country' is done by both public and private agencies. Guide books, brochures, trails and maps are likewise published to implant the televised myths firmly in the imagined cultural geography of the consumer. In a dissolution or de-differentiation between sign and signified, the imagined and the real become absorbed into each other to create a packaged landscape commodity offering the promise to (re)live the rural community life depicted in the programmes themselves:

> Heartbeat's setting is true to the books (and the author still lives nearby). The majestic amber sweep of the North York Moors seems to fill the small screen and no less real are the challenges and characters faced by PC Nick Rowan (Nick Berry). This is hill country life head on - tough, unsentimental and faced with bluff Yorkshire humour.
>
> "Aidensfield" is real life Goathland, home to the Aidensfield Arms' and Heartbeat's base camp. The cast and crew are often out and about in Helmsley, Pickering and Whitby plus special locations only tracked down on official Heartbeat Country Tours.
>
> (Yorkshire Tourist Board, 1996)

Not only are the landscape and the real/fictional places lauded as 'locations' to be 'tracked down' but the film cast and crew, and their time and place of work, are also worthy 'game' for the tourist gaze. The implication that the tourist is an assertive hunter, or pilgrim even, with a quest is evident in the metaphors used. Furthermore, claims of authenticity are equally applied to the imagined and the real. If the 'authentic' experience of 'Heartbeat Country' fails to materialise for the independent tourist. 'authenticity' can be achieved by visiting actual sites or 'special locations' on 'official Heartbeat Country Tours'. Implying that the purchase of a commodity tour is the surest way to finding 'real' Heartbeat Country.

Staged authenticity

MacCannell (1973, 1976) argued that this kind of ambiguity concerning the authentic in 'tourist space' is probably inevitable. For him tourism is a quest to escape the artificiality and superficiality of modern life, and to seek out the real or authentic in our leisure activities. There is a need in the tourist to 'get behind the scenes' of a place or to see what Goffman (1959) termed the 'back regions' of social organisations where people relax and work. Anywhere that is not usually intended for public display can be considered a back region - a restaurant kitchen, for example, is an archetypal back region. And because the objects of the tourist gaze have become more to do with the behind the scenes areas of tourist space, the tourist industry is compelled to contrive and construct such areas in full view of the tourist. Authentic settings and activities thus become staged, and reality, therefore, cannot be part of tourist experience. Hence the term 'staged authenticity' coined by MacCannell in his analysis of tourist attractions.

The implication of staged authenticity in the Goathland case is that now the area is popular with mass tourists, especially Heartbeat tourists, certain facets of its village identity would be lost as it became compelled to display more of its features to cater for tourist needs. For example, residents' use of the village shops would be affected as the centre is inevitably turned into tourist space selling postcards of 'traditional' Goathland, as well as souvenirs of the Heartbeat series. At the same time everyday functions and services, such as those performed by the post office and newsagents, would be mixed with their function as tourist attractions in their 'authentic' settings. The villagers themselves would even become part of the attraction as the draw for tourists to witness 'typical' rural life impacts upon their day to day routines. All these things seem to happen in Goathland, but probably the most obvious demonstration of tourists getting behind the scenes of Heartbeat Country is the fact that when the cast and crew are filming in the locality they are accompanied by hundreds of onlookers. In the process Goathland and the surrounding countryside become sets both for the Heartbeat drama and for Heartbeat tourism.

The postmodern tourist or post-tourist

Many commentators now postulate that the emergent postmodern condition has given rise to a new kind of tourist consumer, the 'post-tourist' (Feifer, 1985). This new kind of tourist displays a demeanor towards the consumption of tourist environments and experiences that is typically postmodern, or, in the words of Cloke et al (1991), 'the attitude of postmodernism'. Cloke et al (1991) are at pains to distinguish the attitude of postmodernism from 'the condition of postmodernity' in a way that is both interesting and useful in terms of contextualising the characteristics of the post-tourist. It is, therefore, worthwhile describing what they mean before revealing how it might be expressed in contemporary tourist consumption practices.

According to Cloke et al, although the analysis and critique of the condition of postmodernity which Harvey (1989), in particular, has made is insightful at a general level, it is limited in the way that it ignores the complexity and autonomy of contemporary cultural expression. They argue that the condition of postmodernity largely refers to sweeping changes in capitalism and capitalist culture over the last quarter century, which Harvey, and others with a similar ideological leaning, explain in terms 'typical' of a Marxist macro analysis. That is they analyse postmodernity as a function of the economic base driving the political and cultural superstructure. Wishing to avoid the so-called overarching 'economic determinism' of such an analysis, Cloke et al postulate that much of postmodern culture is free floating and independent of the economy. In this sense, being postmodern also means being reflexive about ones possible place(s) within the disorder of present-day economic and social relations. Similarly, they argue, that postmodernism should also be thought of as a new attitude toward contemporary experience which is not hidebound by the 'meta-narratives', 'truth claims', and 'objectivism' of modernism and the Enlightenment. Much of their critique is premised on a reading of Lyotard's (1984) *The Postmodern Condition,* who defines the postmodern attitude as

> incredulity towards metanarratives... The narrative function is losing its functors, its great hero, its great dangers, its great voyages, its great goal. It is being dispersed in clouds of

> narrative language elements - narrative, but also denotative, prescriptive, descriptive and so on. Conveyed within each cloud are pragmatic valences specific to its kind. Each of us lives at the intersection of many of these. However, we do not necessarily establish stable language combinations and the properties of the ones we do establish are not necessarily communicable.
>
> (Lyotard, 1984, page xxiv)

In the universe of competing signs and images, notions of truth, fact, reality and such like, simply become discursive claims, nothing more, nothing less. Indeed, the very language used to communicate messages, claims and counter-claims, is ever changing, mutable and unstable. Therefore, such discourses are relative to their contexts in time and space and cannot be considered as viable in any but the circumstances in which they are produced. Universal claims are treated with a certain indifference, then, because they conveniently bracket out the many partially known and unknown contingencies and possibilities of existence. The world is too fragmented or messy to take meta-narratives and truth claims about reality, for example, too seriously. In this sense, then, the world is seen as so complex that it is probably unknowable, and definitely indescribable, in anything like absolutists terms.

To relate this rather philosophical underpinning to contemporary tourist consumption, it is probably best to consider the post-tourist attitude toward authenticity - which in itself is a form of truth claim or meta-narrative. Post-tourists are self consciously reflexive in that they are aware of their potentially ambiguous position within the tourism process, and revel in the many ironies of de-differentiation and the dissolution of once stable (modernist) cultural categories. They are no longer interested in authenticity, knowing that all tourist experiences are false and to that extent they enjoy the inevitability of staged authenticity in tourist space. They play semiotic games with the many commodified images available at tourist sights/sites and place their own interpretations on them. Therefore, they are not dupes of the tourism system but 'welcome the opportunity to explore back-stage regions and tackle the experience from many points of view' (Featherstone, 1991, page 102). Unlike travellers or

tourists, post-tourists are ambivalent about notions of self-actualisation or genuine discovery being part of their experience. Rather they identify with the intertextuality of tourist places and celebrate the accessories of the tourist experience - such as other tourists, coaches, gift shops, etc. - with the same sense of fun and equivalence accorded to the sight/site itself (Rojek, 1993). In many respects post-tourists qualitatively engage with tourist places in a fashion akin to watching television where subjective involvement often oscillates between ironic detachment, the suspension of disbelief and the joy of trivial amusement.

Given this typology of tourist and tourist attitude, there may be a radical shift in the way tourist places like Goathland would be valued by the consumer. If, indeed, Heartbeat tourists do view Goathland as a place of irony or possibly even an artefact of postmodern kitsch, its 'traditional' identity as a real upland rural village would seem to be under 'hyperreal' threat as it becomes a commodity-sign of the type Baudrillard describes. An important question to be considered in the case study, then, has to be: what sort of tourists visit Goathland and what do they come to see? Furthermore, do visitors have hierarchical preferences with regard to the authenticity of 'traditional' Goathland and its rural surroundings compared to the fictional identity of Aidensfield and Heartbeat Country?

Valuing the 'rural myth'

For some it can be expected that the staging of Heartbeat Country, or it being (re)presented and viewed as an emblem of postmodern signification, would be anathema to what the countryside is all about. It may be argued that this is tantamount to the falsification, disrespect and the onerous commodification of the rural to cater for mass appeal. According to Urry (1990) it is the middle-classes in particular which value 'true', 'real' or 'natural' countryside, this, he says, can be seen in the increasing attraction of both visiting the countryside and preserving it. This suggests that the middle-classes dominate notions of rurality and imbue the countryside with essential qualities. Furthermore, they might seek to legitimate their rural 'gaze' by claims of authenticity and 'naturalness' in what they see and do concerning the countryside. This does not mean that the

countryside is not important right across the social spectrum, Pigram (1993) states that eighty four percent of the population of England and Wales visit the countryside during the course of a year, and a recent UK survey by the Henley Centre for Forecasting revealed that as many as forty eight percent of respondents wanted to leave the city and live in rural areas (ibid.).

The development of English middle-class rural values has a certain cultural deliberation which can be traced back to the last century. Wiener (1981, chapter 4), for example, informs us that since then, and in particular by the early 1900s, the burgeoning middle-classes have readily took on 'country life' tastes that mimic the old aristocracy of the nineteenth century. While Wiener, rather sweepingly, cites this perspective as partly causal to what he sees as a woeful anti-industrial spirit in Britain - which is a debatable issue beyond the scope of this work - his historical account is useful and interesting. It is also interesting that during the pre-World War 1 period many rambling and cycling clubs were established, giving countryside access not just to the middle-classes but to a large section of the masses (Walsh, 1992). Nonetheless, rambling clubs had their roots amongst the professional classes of the nineteenth century: 'These outdoor pursuits, with their roots in academia, included a self improving dimension, emphasising an interest in botany, geology, archaeology and history of the districts visited' (Tomlinson and Walker, 1989, page 228; also cited in Walsh, 1992, page 120). Self improvement was thus a major requirement of any leisure activity, which was also a perspective consistent with a liberal/conservative ideology that stresses the primacy of individual enterprise and reward.

This 'fascination with old country life, real and imagined, spread throughout the middle-class after World War 1' (Wiener, 1981, page 72). It was also during the inter-war years that the advent of the motor car really opened up the countryside for the middle-classes to enjoy with greater mobility and freedom of choice than was ever before possible. Even if they could not experience the countryside with the same splendour of personal land and property ownership their aristocratic predecessors were able to afford, at the very least the middle-classes could access it regularly enough as a leisure playground. However, while undoubtedly more people were also able to live in the countryside, there was a

lingering disquiet among the inter-war middle-classes in their diffidence to the old aristocracy, which E. M. Forster captured thus:

> [The middle-class] has never been able to build for itself an appropriate home, and when it asserts that an Englishman's home is his castle, reveals the precise nature of its failure. We who belong to it still copy the past. The castles and great mansions are gone, we have to live in semi-detached villas instead, they are all we can afford, but let us at all events retain a Tradesman's Entrance... Our minds still hanker after the feudal stronghold which we condemn as unthinkable.
>
> (E. M Forster, 1939; in Wiener, 1981, page 72)

To some extent it might be argued that this may still be the case for many middle-class people. Importantly, however, even though there was no mass exodus from the cities, there was an exodus, 'chiefly one of sentiment' (Wiener, 1981, page 73). This rural sentiment has evidently continued and developed through the intervening years, which accounts for the popularity of the English countryside that Urry notes. As already discussed, however, what has changed is the many different ways in which we can access the countryside, probably more symbolically than materially it should be said.

One thing that seems to remain relatively stable though, is the enduring picture of the English countryside which the middle-classes have held dear for so long. This somewhat idealised, Arcadian vision of the countryside is premised on the 'rural myth', which is

> essentially...the way that urbanized and industrialized England, even now, is *recreated as a rural nation.* It is the "pretence that the Englishman [*sic*] is a thatched cottager or country squire at heart" (Hobsbawn 1968, quoted Wiener 1981: 46), the belief that... " there are 'real' country folk living in the midst of 'real' countryside in - that most elusive of all rustic Utopias - 'real communities " (Newby 1979, 14). It is, in short, the sense that the countryside is somehow special - the feeling that life is better, the people are kindlier, and the existence 'truer' there.
>
> (Humphreys, 1995, page 216 emphasis in original)

For Urry (1990, 1995) this is now linked to the postmodern disillusionment with many features of modernity such as industrialisation, urbanisation, and regimented and massive architecture. The rural myth can easily be experienced anywhere for the majority of us: in the comfort of home at the flick of a television switch, or through myriad advertisements promoting anything from cars to garden furniture. The 'landscape idea' (Cosgrove, 1984), which refers to a framing or way of seeing projected onto the land as reproduced in paintings, photography and other modes of visual composition,[7] is reduced in ever more sophisticated ways to a commodity. This is not simply because of an economic imperative, it relates to the postmodern cultural turn which has led to the de-differentiation of boundaries not only between different cultural forms but those traditionally separating high and low culture (Urry, 1990). Paradoxically, then, the increasing popularity of the rural means that it is being absorbed much more into urban society, especially through reproduced images and representations of rurality.

Although the town and country are often conflated in present-day society in multiple ways and through many different mediums, the anti-urban and anti-industrial sentiment in much current rural consumption is part of a traditionally dominant English cultural heritage:

> Whether or not the preoccupation of nature and rural life is in reality peculiarly English, it is certainly something which the English townsman (*sic*) has for a long time liked to think of as such; and much of the country's literature has displayed a profoundly anti-urban bias.
>
> (Thomas, 1973, page 14; in Urry, 1990, page 96)

From this perspective, the greyness of urban life is placed in stark contrast to a eulogising view of a bucolic English countryside, which is seen as a repository of national values that are drawn from the rural past or a mythical 'golden age' (see Cosgrove, 1984; Lowenthal, 1991; Newby, 1979; Williams, 1973). Importantly, these authors, among others (for example, Humphreys 1995; and Short, 1991), point out that this dualistic reverence of the rural idyll as national heritage is

most definitely a myth created from a specifically urban social perspective that brackets out such things as rural squalor and poverty, which have long been part of 'country life'.

North and south

The images conjured up by the rural myth tend to be those of the relatively domesticated landscapes of the south, not the uplands of the north in which this case study is set. Wiener (1981) describes how, stemming from the last century, even the once unfashionable 'wilder' and 'bleaker' countryside of the north (also see Short, 1991, page 15) is now incorporated into a 'southern metaphor'. He sees the urban, working-class and lower middle-class north as losing out to the south in a metaphorical struggle because of being seen as provincial, industrial and far removed from the metropolitan centre of London. He further argues that this view is not projected onto the northern countryside because it has been partially colonised by the south, at least symbolically (Wiener, 1981 Chapter 4; and in Urry, 1995, page 204). 'Things that are rural or ancient are at the very heart of southern English snobberies, even if they occur in the North. Provincialism is to live in or near an industrial town to which the industrial revolution gave its significant modern form' (Horne 1969, page 38; in Wiener, page 42). This has helped bring about a recasting of southern values in which much of the countryside is seen as an honorary member of the metropolitan centre. Urry (1995), discussing the rural north, notes that:

> This rather exotic and intimidating landscape has been turned into one that is safe for both being viewed and for relatively novel kinds of sport, especially the climbing and walking that became fashionable in the nineteenth century.
>
> (Urry, 1995, page 205)

Worsdworth, Turner and other eighteenth and nineteenth century romantics of course played a major role in popularising the 'wilderness' of the north in their writings and paintings, rendering it almost sacred as well as known and knowable. The northern uplands were portrayed in landscape art and

literature as 'picturesque', sublime, invitingly majestic and adventurous yet relatively tamed and safe. This too brought about a cultural shift which made the north country landscape more widely appreciated and part of dominant English high culture (see Urry, 1995, Chapters 13-14). It is noteworthy that the romantic movement in literature, art, music and drama was in many respects a reaction against the expansion of industrial capitalism. It also served to assert the values of the landed aristocracy which were being displaced by the new bourgeoisie that had become wealthy off the back of industrialisation. For romantics, industrialisation and its attendant large-scale urbanisation and enclosure of wild scenery for agricultural production degraded and despoiled the environment. They also thought it led to a spiritual alienation of the masses from the land and each other.

The ensuing penchant for romantics to value escapism from the ravages of industrialisation and materialism, and a concomitant quest for spiritual regeneration, was also an inspiration for the 'wilderness movement' in Britain and America which in its turn eventually led to the establishment of the National Parks (Pepper, 1984). Significantly, none of the Parks were created in the lowlands of Britain and America, this was in part due to the 'romantic legacy' in the perceptions of the key figures who strove for the Parks' creation. John Dower, for example, whose 1945 government-commissioned report on National Parks in Britain influenced the type of countryside to be included in them, was essentially an 'upland man' - raised in Northumberland and the Yorkshire Dales (ibid.). Shoard (1982) writes of the appeal of these landscapes which reflect qualities the romantics held close to their hearts: wildness, 'naturalness', an absence of humans and their 'handiwork', apparent freedom to wander, scope for individual communion with nature, simplicity of landscape form; and because of their height and open vistas, National Parks could facilitate a quasi-religious experience of communion with the creator.

Pepper (1984) notes that the American National Parks set a precedent for the type of spectacular scenery to be preserved by their British counterparts. More recently another example was set in 1972 when 'the American Conservation Foundation proposed a "Parks first" policy to preserve wilderness -

not primarily for tourism but for nature itself. Where the two interests clashed, it was proposed that public access should defer to the "rights" of nature' (ibid. page 88). Implicit in the romantic thinking behind the creation of the National Parks was the idea that nature, and thus wild scenery, had *intrinsic value* in and of itself - an ontological stance which is still held by the more idealistic wing of present-day, and notoriously middle-class, environmental movements (see Pepper, 1984; and 1993 on environmentalism, the middle-class and postmodernism). This very much serves as important legitimisation in their arguments about the preservation of nature from human activity. Similarly, rural preservation groups in Britain very often claim recourse to 'authentic' countryside and country living in their bid to stem the tide of various forms of development (also see Bunce, 1994). The important thing about this is while the 'rural myth' relies on cultivated scenery fashioned from the quintessential superiority of the (southern) English*man,* the appeal of northern upland scenery is equally culturally constructed but with particular reference to an innocent, yet wild and free, but, nonetheless, humanised nature.

As paradoxical as this may seem the southern metaphor as explained above is flexible enough for the culturally adroit classes, whether they live in the north or south, to lay claim to a variety of rights (and wrongs) in order to shore up their legitimacy regarding their views on the countryside. The crucial question is: whose, and what, activity is appropriate to whose countryside?

Shields (1991, Chapter 5) emphasises that the traditional construction of the north has been reinforced during the twentieth century by its own cultural output - through various novels, post-war British realist cinema and theatre, and television series such as Coronation Street etc. (also see Urry, 1995, page 206). The north is depicted by the southern based national press and articulated by the privileged as a place where 'one does not go...for high culture but for hiking, fishing, or for the British version of "unspoiled nature"' (Shields, 1991, page 231). And in contrast to those living in the south, the people of the north are very often stereotypically associated with working-class sociality, emotional warmth, rugged leisure pursuits, limited education and a lack of cultural sophistication or affectation.

Urry sums this stereotyped cultural construction of the north and south up nicely by saying :

> what this ...does is to transform differences of social class into a cultural geography. These different 'places' have become metaphors for different social classes *and* for the processes by which a landed, financial and managerial ruling class working in London and living in the South East has dominated the rest of Britain and has partly remade the countryside through its metropolitanism.
>
> (Urry, 1995, page 206; emphasis in original)

It seems that Heartbeat and Heartbeat Country have all the right cultural formulae to capitalise on both the southern metaphor as discussed by Wiener and the *gemeinschaft* and sporting country image as discussed by Sheilds, not to mention the lacing of 1960s nostalgia also provided for consumption. As a brochure describes the attraction of Heartbeat:

> A young London copper quits the Met to make a new start in deepest Yorkshire. Town meets country, north meets south. Weave action, romance and the sounds of the 60s together and no wonder YTV's Heartbeat flew to be the top rated drama series across all four British channels.
>
> (Yorkshire Tourist Board, 1996)

Such evocative mixing of imagery and dramaturgy calls for strong cultural and ideological emphasise in the critical study of tourism in Goathland. Moreover, 'tourism is not just an aggregate of merely commercial activities; it is also an ideological framing of history, nature and tradition; a framing that has the power to reshape culture and nature to its own ends' (MacCannell, 1992, page 1). The social construction of the rural, then, is an ideological framing which affects the production, consumption and reproduction of rural space for tourism, recreation and leisure. And as Cloke (1993, page 53) suggests, the underlying arguments and issues which relate to that construction 'are equally applicable... to people

wishing to "buy into" a rural lifestyle either in terms of residential status or the display of particular [symbolic] commodities'.

It is, therefore, evident that the relationship people have with the countryside -whether they be rural or town dwellers, tourists or television viewers - is caught up in particular notions of tradition and, of course, commodity relations, or to use Featherstone's (1990) phrase a 'culture of consumption'. Because of this, and as discussed earlier, different people will have varying abilities in accessing rural consumption, both culturally and materially, depending upon their relative market positions and cultural predilections. As both a large and comparatively privileged group in terms of material and cultural capital, the middle-classes, whether they are new or traditional, have considerable political, economic and cultural influence not only in British society but in western society generally (see, for example, Urry, 1990, pages 87-88). Therefore, they have weighty influence on how the countryside should be valued, appropriated and read. This is not to suggest that there is total homogeneity in middle-class rural values, the earlier discussion on new-middle-class and traditional middle-class valuations and usages of the countryside would belie that. However, the middle-classes can expect to access, appropriate and read the countryside more widely and intensively than other social classes - especially the working and unemployed classes as well as minority groups such as the disabled and the ethnic minorities. Hence, rural value conflicts between middle-class groups in the countryside may be more to do with matters of aesthetics and lifestyle choices rather than substantive issues of material access.

The country village

The centrepiece of the very humanised traditional English rural scene is the enduring symbolism of the village, which 'naturally' is seen as of the past and consequently under threat from the present:

> The English village was...a miraculous relic, like the relic of a great saint...That solid look of the village; the fact that the roofs and walls seemed to mingle naturally with the fields and the trees; the feeling of the naturalness of the inn, of the cross-roads, of the market

> cross - all these things were a very precious possession...in a real sense the Crown Jewels. These were the national, the normal, the English, the unreplaceable things.

(G. K. Chesterton, quoted in 'Preservation of Rural England, *The Times*, 30 April, 1931, page 11)

Bunce (1994, page 100) relates that in Britain the upkeep of the character of 'traditional' country villages is a major preoccupation with the 'exurban'[8] middle-classes whose 'aesthetic sensibilities and vested interests converge around strongly preservationist ideologies'. Thus, they tend to dominate village preservation and amenity movements. This, he says is 'entirely consistent with the values of those who have invested in the village and, indeed the countryside in general, as a residential ideal'. He goes on to say:

> The principal aim of preservation is the maintenance of landscapes and communities which have been fabricated by exurbanite lifestyles and values. This is at its most explicit in NIMBY-ism...which protects private amenity - space, seclusion, pleasant vistas, Arcadian settings - and residential exclusivity from undesirable land uses and people. Yet it is also consistent with the emphasis on the outward display of the style of country living; in attempts to replicate the landscape of the country gentry or the quaint atmosphere of country life. The latter has become a particularly popular aspect of exurbanite living in recent years.

(Bunce, 1994, pages 100-1)

Considering that living in the countryside is a powerful signifier of lifestyle, where exclusivity and the protection of private space and amenity are paramount, the sharing of the country village and surrounding landscape with tourists is likely to be at odds with this highly privatised form of consumption. However, as Britton (1991) informs us, the consumption of tourism is also a lifestyle signifier denoting taste and cultural capital. Therefore, the 'come and discover' messages to the wider and mostly urban public in the brochures and guide books could invite an ironic struggle between the public desire for countryside tourism and the private consumption of countryside by the rural resident. This is

especially ironic when we consider that it is the powerful attraction of the rural myth that (culturally) seems to drive both these consumption forms.

To discuss preservation and struggle in the countryside begs consideration of tourism impacts, a topic of significant importance to both the academie and wider society, and will be an ongoing theme of the thesis in general. However, to consider tourism impacts critically the concept needs to be placed in its social context, which the last section of this chapter will briefly do, with specific reference to the countryside.

Contextualising rural tourism impacts

It has been argued here that rural tourism can offer a suitable context in which cultural and economic value conflicts between different groups of people and between different activities can be examined (also see Britton, 1991; Bouquet and Winter, 1987; Squire, 1994b). Bouquet and Winter (1987, page 7) state that tourism 'provides almost laboratory conditions for exploring issues of practice where two or more cultural systems encounter each other'. However, much of the leisure and tourism literature speaks about tourism conflicts, in terms of tourism impacts, in a fairly unilinear and unproblematic way. It is generally assumed that host communities are authentic communities which are the recipients of any costs and benefits accruing from the development of tourism. Benefits are more often than not discussed in economic terms, while costs are placed in the socio-cultural realm as being a consequence of negative impacts imparted by tourists' activities on host communities' social and 'natural' environments. Tourists are invariably seen as outsiders collectively impacting on the sovereign space of residents, who are assumed to be somehow more authentic than tourists. Consequently, residents' views are given priority in most tourism impact studies while tourists more often than not remain silent. In some instances, however, this type of linear approach may be appropriate - for example, in the 'sex tourism' industry of the Far East where the lines of exploitation are clearly drawn - in others a lack of critical depth fails to draw out the vested interests, contingencies and the ideological conflicts tied up in notions of tourism impacts. As discussed above, the 'culture of nature', the 'culture of

consumption', and the 'culture of class' are drawn together and equally implicated in the way tourism has developed in the English countryside. Therefore, a study such as this, which critically evaluates the concrete circumstances of a particular tourist environment, needs to be sensitive to such cultural productions.

The following empirical chapters will outline important political, economic, social and cultural aspects of tourism development in Goathland, and will illustrate how tourism development impacts and the critical issues raised here, are experienced, described and opined by various tourism producers, consumers and residents.

3 Goathland and Heartbeat

Goathland

Goathland is a small village with a population of about 450 people (Cumberpatch, 1994), which is situated in the District of Scarborough and, as mentioned, the North Yorkshire Moors National Park. It is an open, quite spaciously spread-out village sitting 500 feet above sea level on a broad spur of the moors - unlike its neighbouring villages which tend to be nestled into the small dales thereabouts. At the village centre there are two general stores, a post office, a gift shop and a tea room, but in and round Goathland there can be found more than a dozen tourist accommodation establishments, ranging from hotels to bed and breakfast houses[9]. The expansive village 'common' or green, like the surrounding moorland, is owned by the Duchy of Lancaster. The whole area would be considered scenic, ranging from the moorland to the 'chocolate box' villages tucked into the dalesides, and has, since the nineteenth century, been popular with holidaymakers, walkers and hikers. There is also the attraction of the North Yorkshire Moors Railway, which was established in 1971 as a private trust to re-open the local line after closure in 1965, which mainly carries tourists and enthusiasts by steam train to Goathland and nearby villages from Pickering. Many people also visit Goathland by car and coach.

The earliest records of Goathland as a settlement date from 1100 when it was known as 'Godeland', which is either a Norse name meaning the land of Goda or a name signifying 'God-land', 'the home of a group of early Christian Brothers' (Hollings, 1971, page 11). In 1267 the settlement, together with much of the surrounding land, was given to the Earl of Lancaster by Henry 111 - hence, the Duchy of Lancaster's prominence as a local land owner. And for most of its existence Goathland has relied on agriculture as its economic mainstay. Indeed, until the last century it was little more than a collection of about thirty five

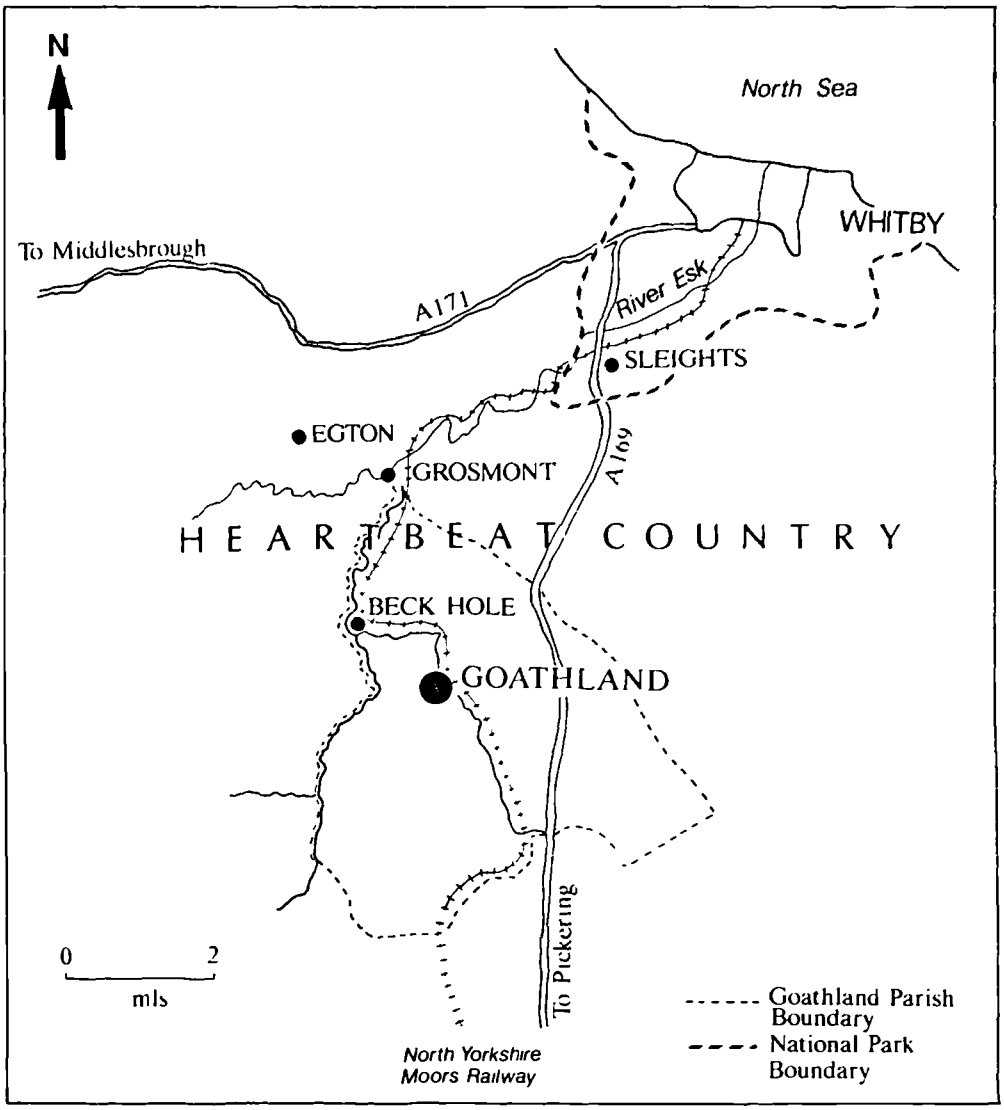


Figure 3. Heartbeat Country

agricultural small-holdings (Hollings, 1971). Its status as a village probably began in 1845 when the area's first steam railway was built, connecting Goathland directly to York. From this time on, Goathland's self-contained agricultural economy slowly diminished, and between 1841 and 1851 its population had increased by 70 to 451, with many of its men working on the railway (ibid.). The Duchy of Lanacaster also leased the rights to quarry whinestone in the area at this time to a York firm. The stone was used to build pathways and roads, and the quarry also provided vital employment to many of Goathland's men, which was eventually converted to a whinestone mine. It finally closed in 1951 (ibid.).

During the latter part of the nineteenth century Goathland also became known as a rural retreat, particularly for industrialists and their families from the nearby urban centres. Indeed, Hollings (1971, page 66), indicates that it was then that the first 'retired or leisured people' came to live in Goathland, and a number of wealthy people built holiday and retirement houses there. Many of these dwellings remain, and it is noticeable that the majority of houses in the village are quite large - although there is one street on the village perimeter containing around ten council built houses. As road and rail connections improved, Goathland's status as a 'holiday resort' increased and by the early part of this century many of its cottagers could 'eke out... scanty wages by taking long-stay visitors during the summer months' (Hollings, 1971, page 110). The fact that most visitors were either long-stay, or property owning holidaymakers and retirees, indicates that by this time Goathland was well established as a playground for the leisured class. Indeed, by 1890 a six hole golf course was built in the village, which was converted to a nine hole course five years later (North Yorkshire Moors National Park, 1994). Other facilities that had become established no later than the early decades of this century included tennis courts, bowling greens and a number of inns. With the exception of the inns, however, these facilities are now gone.

Hollings (1990) notes that especially since the second world war changes in Goathland have been rapid with better communications and modern facilities being installed. This has been accompanied by an even more marked decline in people working on the land. She alludes to the increasing status of Goathland as a tourist attraction, remarking that in the 1960s 'villagers began to cater for more day visitors and bed and breakfast', and goes on to say 'the whole social and economic structure of the village has changed and many retired people have come to live here' (Hollings, 1971, page 114). This trend has continued, and a recent survey carried out by the Yorkshire Tourist Board and the National Park suggests that around 44% of households in Goathland are occupied by retirees (also see Table 2) and that 2% of the housing stock are 'second homes' (Yorkshire Tourist Board and The North York Moors National Park Authority, 1997).

Table 2. The Age Ranges of Household Occupants in Goathland

16 - 24 years	1%
25 - 34 years	4%
35 - 44 years	13%
45 - 54 years	24%
55 - 64 years	24%
65 and older	34%

Source: The Yorkshire Tourist Board and the North York Moors National Park Authority (1997) *The Impact of Filming on the Residents of Goathland* (YTB, York).

Goathland and Heartbeat Country

As mentioned, recently Goathland has become the scenic home of the Yorkshire Television (YTV) drama series 'Heartbeat' which has inspired an upsurge in visitor numbers to the village from 200,000 per annum, before 1991 when filming began, to estimates around 1.2 or 1.3 million per annum at present (Gilbert, 1996; Tourism Officer for the North Yorkshire Moors National Park, pers. comm.). Heartbeat is loosely based on Nicholas Rhea's 'Constable' novels and is about the life and events of a country policeman living in 'Aidensfield', the fictional name for Goathland, in the 1960s. Its immense popularity is evident in that it is watched by around 16.7 million viewers per episode (Yorkshire Tourist Board, 1996). Originally the series was only planned as a 'one off' and to consist of ten programmes. However, because Heartbeat became a major success in this country and overseas, further series were produced and the story lines broadened to include other locations, particularly nearby Whitby (Yorkshire Tourist Board and the North York Moors National Park Authority, 1997). YTV also uses West Yorkshire for certain building exteriors, such as the Aidensfield police house, and some interiors are created in the YTV studios in Leeds. Nonetheless, 'Goathland remains the most easily identifiable setting for the series among the viewing public' (ibid., page 1).

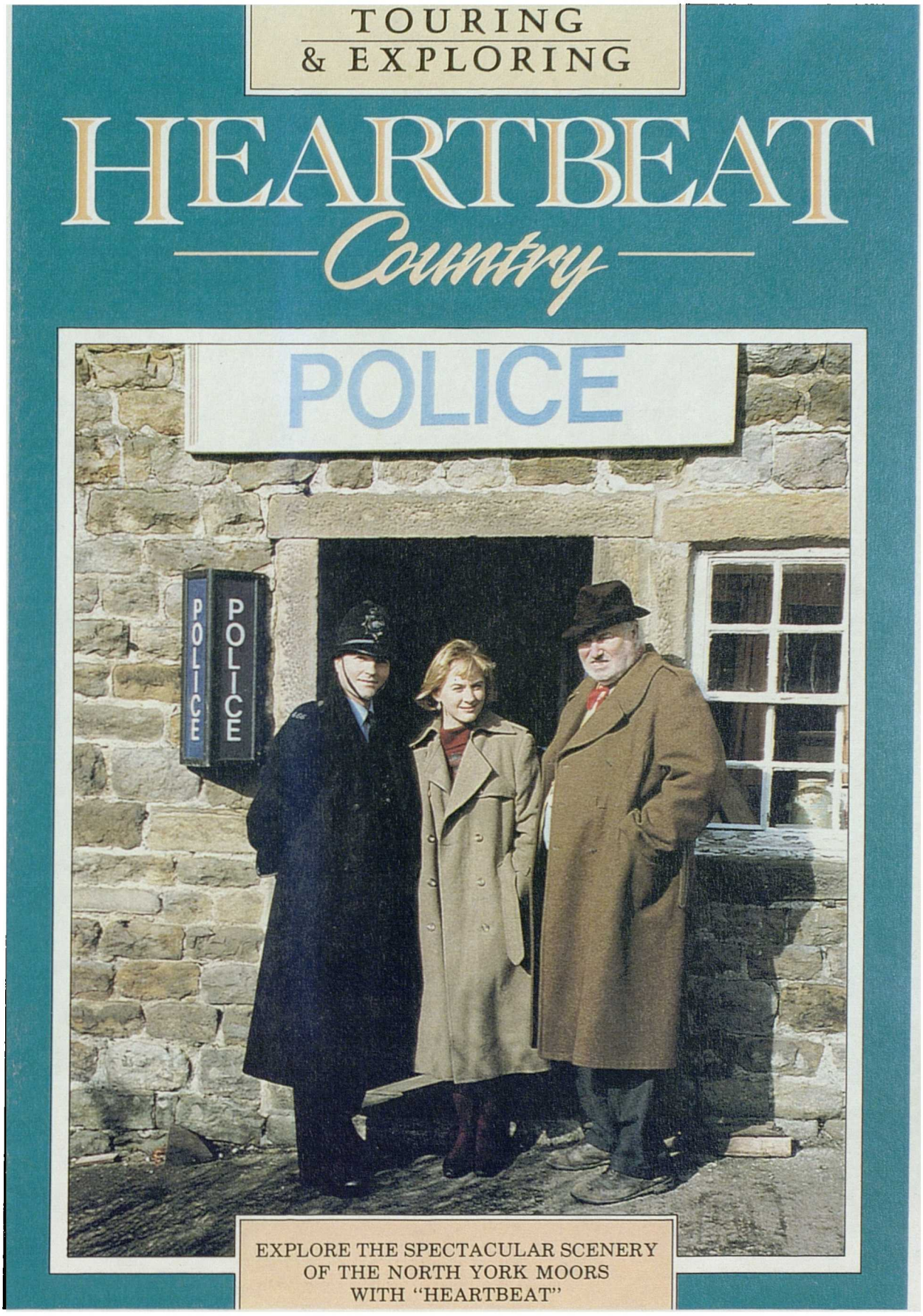


Figure 4. The cover of a Heartbeat Country guide book

Relatively permanent evidence remains of Goathland as a film set for Aidensfield. For example, the Goathland Garage bears the sign 'Mostyn's Garage', as it does when used as a prop in the television programme (see Photograph 2), and usually displays 1960s vehicles as well as the series' policeman's motorbike in its forecourt. It is still a working garage but mixes this function with its sign value as a tourist attraction and advertises a non-existent funeral service among its motor based activities, which is also a sign remnant from filming. The 'real' Goathland Garage does not operate such a combination of services. There is also the shop 'Aidensfield Stores' which again is left as it is when filmed and which makes its living from selling Heartbeat paraphernalia and souvenirs (see Photograph 1). The Goathland Arms is the 'Aidensfield Arms' in Heartbeat; all it takes is a quick exchange of the exterior sign to effect this (see Photograph 3). However, the interior of the public house has now been faithfully replicated by YTV at their Leeds studios to avoid clashes between its use as a real life public house and as a film set.

These visible changes to Goathland are more than superficial, they signify the power of television inspired tourism to make a rapid impact upon the identity of place. It seems the local people have also been surprised by the very public interest that Heartbeat has brought about, not only in that more than a million people visit their home village each year but that the majority of these visitors seem to want to enjoy an inherently false experience. That is they seem to want to visit Aidensfield and Heartbeat Country rather than Goathland itself. For many Goathland residents these peculiarities represent much more than tangible tourism impacts, they threaten the very fabric of their own everyday lives and the very existence of the village as an 'authentic' North Yorkshire rural community.

Because of these stresses, in recent years the National Park authorities have been trying to gauge the impact levels of tourism and to ascertain what they can do to alleviate any problems. This endeavor has produced quite a few surveys [10]. It has also produced a number of public meetings between the village community and the Park authorities to try and agree a consensus on what the nature of the problems are, and what should and can be done about them.

Photograph 1. Aidensfield Stores

Photograph 2. The Goathland/Mostyn's Garage

Photograph 3. The Goathland/Aidensfield Arms/Hotel. Note the front sign says 'Aidensfield Arms' as this picture was taken during filming.

Photograph 4. Cars parking on the common outside the Goathland Exhibition Centre. A matter which has caused much consternation in the village.

According to the Park's tourism officer, this has been no easy task because perceptions of impact problems and their solutions can be different between different people in the village. The lack of consensus does not break down to a simple bi-polar split between those in favour of tourism and those against. It is more complex than this. Indeed, the resident respondents in this research were unanimous in that Goathland is dependent on tourism and they pragmatically accepted this as inevitable. The widely agreed source of complaint was the way tourism had changed in recent years to a point where their country village life is in danger of being overwhelmed. As a retired male focus group member put it: 'Its the kind of tourism we've experienced in the last few years that has made the dramatic changes that everyone goes on about'. Because of this many local people are wishing to distinguish their 'rural' values over the contemporary consumer values of others who visit Goathland en masse from the towns as a result of the Heartbeat TV series.

4 Recent Changes and Residents' Dilemmas

This chapter mainly discusses responses from two focus group meetings, with the Goathland Residents' Association and the Parish Council. They are also interspersed from time to time with comments from key informants where appropriate. Before residents comments are discussed in detail, however, an abridged presentation of the executive summary of a survey report which was written and researched by the Yorkshire Tourist Board and North York Moors National Park Authority, entitled: *The Impact of Filming on the Residents of Goathland*, published in May 1997 [11], is given. This serves as a useful prologue to the chapter because it provides a synopsis of some the main issues which both this case study and the survey found were of most concern to residents.

It is apparent from the survey report that it is not the actual filming of Heartbeat in the village that is the main problem for residents, rather it is the visitors who come to Goathland because of Heartbeat. It relates that Heartbeat tourism means that 'almost all the residents feel that there is visitor pressure in the village' (page 3). This pressure is not only manifest in the numbers of people converging on Goathland but in the related 'parking problems and congestion caused by vehicular traffic' (ibid.). The report also indicates that it is changes in the type of visitor that worry residents, and that residents do not understand why people would want to visit Goathland solely because it is the televised 'home' of Heartbeat. On this it says: 'the residents are proud of their village and wish that visitors would more fully appreciate its other qualities not connected with "Heartbeat"' and that there is change in the 'nature of the village' (ibid.). On the positive side the survey report reveals that over half the residents believe that there are economic benefits, in terms of business activity and increased employment, to being used as a location for filming. The executive summary

finishes by saying 'most residents acknowledge there are no easy solutions to the many issues they are faced with' (ibid.). Interestingly, perhaps because the author's are aware of its political significance, the survey report does not offer a prescribed set of recommendations, but simply states that it is an 'objective view' of the impacts of filming in Goathland (page 2). It goes on to say

> It is hoped that the results of this survey will be accepted by all parties as an impartial view of the situation in Goathland and that it will act as a starting point for discussions in the future. These must be drawn up and agreed by all those involved in the village.
>
> (ibid.)

What follows 'fleshes out' the types of findings and issues raised above as well as other issues which relate to them. It also examines the social and ideological relations symbolised by residents views and the sets of values they revealed when discussing Heartbeat tourism impacts.

From quality to quantity

All the residents interviewed for this case study agreed that not only has the filming of Heartbeat brought about a massive increase in the number of people visiting Goathland but also a qualitative shift in the type of visitors. They revealed that there is a feeling in the village which amounts to a sense of loss of the predominantly middle-class tourists who can afford to stay in the village hotels and guest houses, and who have traditionally come for the scenery and 'peacefulness' of the place. These are people whom Urry would term as exercising a romantic gaze in their consumption of the environment. While Urry suggests that it is the middle-classes who value 'real' countryside, he also notes that 'finding pleasure in "dead" scenery involves acquiring a fair amount of cultural capital' (Urry, 1995, page 196). It could be expected, according to Urry's account, that the cultural disposition of these tourists would classify Goathland and its surrounds as a place of high cultural worth to be enjoyed contemplatively and with a degree of privacy. The general description of these

visitors by residents would seem to concur with this, and according to a retired male resident of Goathland:

> The people that stay in the hotels or small guest houses do take in the environment, they get on their boots and walk for miles or they take their car out and come back late in the evening. They explore the whole of the National Park and they spread themselves out thinly, they don't impact in a concentrated bus [type] manner.
>
> (retired male resident)

Even though the enjoyment of Heartbeat Country and walking in the moors does not have to be mutually exclusive, for these tourists it seems that Heartbeat would be of little interest and their main need of the village would be as either a place to park their cars [12] while they go off walking or as a base from which to tour the surrounding countryside. Consequently their impact on the village would be minimal, during the day at least, simply because they would hardly be there. However, their cars could take up valuable space during the day if they were left anywhere in the village except at the accommodation establishments where they may be staying. This is not to suggest that the village would hold no significance for these people other than as a place to park or as a base camp; it clearly would in the sense of it being Goathland - an 'authentic', 'picturesque' moorland village - and thus an important part of their stay. And according to the sentiments of residents' responses, the needs and activities of country walking and overnight tourists would seem to be totally acceptable and in keeping with the remit of the National Parks movement where these elite upland spaces are provided and protected for the requirement of quiet recreation. Which, as Urry (1990, 1995) reminds us, can demand quite a degree of cultural capital to 'appreciate' in a manner acceptable to the Goathland residents.

It is also important to consider the practical value of such visitors to the village community. If they were staying overnight in a local hotel or guest house there evidently would be an economic benefit, at least to the relevant section of the local economy. However, if they were simply day-trippers themselves, as many walkers are, it is difficult see major economic significance in their activity

to any section of the Goathland community. It seems that the most valuable tourists, combining both cultural and economic considerations, would be the ones staying in the village for a number of days and nights and who would be there primarily for the 'peace and quiet' and the scenery: precisely the type of visitors it would seem are at a discount now. A retired woman explained that

> a lot of people who came ten, twenty years ago were like that, and sometimes [they would come] twice a year, and they would stay a week or a fortnight. And I don't know that there are so many people coming for a fortnight any more. [Unlike] the people who were loyal to Goathland and who came year after year and often to retire.
>
> (retired woman resident)

It appears that the most valued visitors are to some degree part of recent history, and were valuable because of their commitment to Goathland. Furthermore, they would often turn from being loyal tourists to loyal residents, as many of these respondents have done. Having said this it also seems that all is not lost regarding the patronage of this type of visitor as long as they can be persuaded that the day-time Heartbeat tourists can be avoided:

> A lot of our guests stopped coming when Heartbeat started because they felt the village had been spoilt by it. But quite a lot of them are starting to come back again and as long as we reassure them that they [Heartbeat tourists] are going away at 5 o'clock then we will be all right.
>
> (woman accommodation owner and resident, in her thirties)

In contrast to the walking and overnight visitors, the overriding picture painted by residents of the now dominant Heartbeat tourists is of people who are in the vast majority only transient day-trippers, and who spend their short visit in and around the village itself. They are in Urry's terms people exercising a collective gaze in their mode of consumption of the environment. It is widely felt among residents that these visitors are responsible for overcrowding in the village and are generally seen as intrusive. A strongly felt opinion was expressed

by another retired woman in one of the groups who would question the fact that by five o'clock the impact of Heartbeat tourists comes to an end, she described them as

> day-trippers [who] come..., one: because they don't pay for the car parking, that's a big factor; two: they bring all their own food - they sit out of one of the guest houses or a cafe, they eat their own food, [and] start coming in at 9.30 in the morning...We've monitored them going back at half past seven/eight o'clock [in the evening]. Now can you enjoy your village life if you are surrounded by cars, people playing football and transistor radios going, its murder.
>
> (retired woman resident)

Not only are Heartbeat tourists seen to be intrusive by spoiling the *quiet enjoyment* of rural village life and overstaying their begrudged welcome, but according to this woman their economic worth to the village is marginal at best. Not only do they come prepared not to spend money but they engage in activities which are out of place in what is meant to be a quiet rural village setting. These visitors also seem to be so conspicuous and unwanted that their movements have at some point been the subject of surveillance from the time the first of them arrive to when the last of them leave. And for this woman at least it is clear that they are simply a nuisance without possessing any redeeming characteristics at all.

From a standpoint of vested interest it could be expected that retired incomers, such as this woman, would dwell on the social and cultural costs of Heartbeat tourism, because economically they stand to gain little, if anything at all, directly from the activity of these visitors. Likewise, incoming people who make a living unconnected with tourism in Goathland may be more critical about the costs of Heartbeat tourism because they too would have little direct self interest in highlighting economic benefits. Therefore, notions of trade-offs between economic benefits and socio-cultural costs would probably be little more than generalised, community level considerations for people who have moved into the village mainly for a rural lifestyle. In fact all the residents

interviewed were incomers with their terms of residence lasting from six years to about thirty. And from the remarks of Bunce (1994), quoted in the previous chapter, it could be expected that groups like the Parish Council and the Residents' Association would be dominated by 'exurbanites', that is people who have moved to the village from elsewhere - especially larger towns or cities - and who are particularly active in the preservation of 'traditional' country village life. However, this dominance also seems to be reflected in the village population as a whole: the post officer estimates that well over 70% of Goathland residents are incomers, and the Yorkshire Tourist Board and North York Moors National Park Authority (1997) suggest that around 60% of household occupants in Goathland have lived there 20 years or less[13]. Consequently, the quantity of visitors now coming through Goathland, and their gregarious activities once they arrive, could hardly hold many benefits for the lifestyle invested in by the majority of residents. Although this could be said for many, if not most, places that suddenly become popular with tourists, the difference in character between Goathland the 'sleepy' rural village and Goathland the mass tourist attraction is particularly stark. Furthermore, the respondents' approval of walkers and overnight tourists was mostly voiced in terms of these visitors' acceptable behaviour and appreciation of the environment. And arguments about their economic benefits seemed to be used to support that approval. The residents interviewed, therefore, generally approached the topic of tourism impacts primarily from a behavioural and cultural perspective, and other arguments were brought in to support their positive or negative views.

This said, it could be expected that local shop owners, whether they were incomers or not, would benefit from the extra tourist numbers brought about because of Heartbeat and would thus view Heartbeat tourists more favourably. However, a woman general store keeper who moved to Goathland from York in the 1980s was convinced that her business had not gained from their influx:

> a lot of people that are coming now, it sounds awful doesn't it, are from estates out of towns and are used to shopping at Tescos and Prestos, all the big supermarkets, and they come out to somewhere like this and they have no conception of what its like pricewise.

> You know, the fact that we can't buy stuff at the prices they [supermarkets] sell them at. So they are unwilling to part with their money because they can get it so much cheaper at home.
>
> (middle-aged woman store keeperand resident

This is not a view unanimously shared by all shopkeepers though. A key informant man, who runs the post office alongside his newsagency business, explained:

> You've got to consider that this is two businesses almost. There is the post office side which works 5 days a week and we get quite good support from the village, there are still a lot of people in the village who don't use the post office at all. Why that is I don't know...On the private side of the business - the news agency and confectionery - once again we get quite good support from the village, especially the village papers... The village newspapers we are doing through the winter... are around £400 pounds a week; in the summer my weekly papers are around £650 per week because of the visitors. On top of that postage stamp sales are double in the summer to what they are in the winter... I would say our turnover in the shop in the winter is about a quarter of what it is in the summer. I think all the businesses in this village, if they're honest about it, rely on tourism. It might not be fashionable to say so but without tourism this village would be like Egton - Egton has no post office, no shop.
>
> (middle-aged male post office proprietor, resident and key informant)

Indeed, this respondent bought his business in the early 1990s encouraged by the fact that Heartbeat was attracting many more visitors to Goathland. It might be that the nature of his shop would suit the casual shopper more than a general store would, but the important thing here is that while both business people are economically pragmatic, and both their businesses look to be successful, each owners' tolerance of the larger tourist numbers differs. This may be because each bought into their rural lifestyle for different reasons. The woman shopkeeper said she came to Goathland primarily because of the relatively low price of her domestic property as well as the attractions of the village long before Heartbeat was established. Whereas the post office proprietor was looking for

that type of business anywhere in the region in the early 1990s and settled on Goathland because of its growing popularity with (Heartbeat) tourists as well as its attractiveness as a village. Therefore, while their cultural predilections for rural community life may be similar, their views on the way their business and economic interests lie with these predilections are different.

Residents are also worried about security, claiming that crime in the village has risen since the advent of Heartbeat - even saying that criminals from the nearby conurbations target certain properties, and particular things in them, that have been shown in the series.[14] Car crime is also said to be up, and shops are being more watchful than they used to be:

> I think you can say as a shop keeper Sundays aren't a very nice days for us, we have to keep our eyes peeled...We've always had lots of numbers coming through the shop, I think they came off the train and you could gear yourself up. Now its continuous, it sounds awful to say but there is a different class of people coming now.
>
> (middle-aged woman store keeper and resident)

However, when the Whitby police station was contacted to confirm the supposed escalation in crime, the reply was that crime had increased in Goathland but probably only to a level and type that could be expected from the numbers of visitors now moving through. While respondents also said that compared to towns their crime rate was still quite negligible, nevertheless, they thought that more people coming to Goathland has meant a general decline in standards: from intrusive consumption habits to an increase in petty crime. It is interesting that the so-called drop in standards is associated with the town and 'townie' type behaviour, rather than being specifically attributed to visitors who are perhaps on average of a lower social ranking than the ones who came before Heartbeat tourism took hold. The same woman shop keeper, who was reluctant to dwell on issues of class, tried to explain the cause of petty theft in her shop by noting the intrusion of behaviour which in towns, she believed, is readily accepted:

> Part of it has got to do with, if you like to use the word class, well class. But its not that, its the fact that in towns nowadays there is so much accepted theft. Supermarkets accept that they're going to lose a certain amount of their stock. And its how people perceive it, they look on everybody in the same way as the big supermarkets and say to themselves 'Oh they can afford it', and there is an element of that.
>
> (middle-aged woman store keeper and resident)

The implication is that the anonymity of the town, and the distance which town people feel in their relations with big businesses like supermarkets, is brought into places like Goathland by town borne mass tourists. This brings a lack of appreciation of the particular circumstances of small rural businesses and communities because town people, especially people from large towns, have fashioned a set of values which are impersonal and therefore different from those existing in rural residencies. Deviant behaviour, such as petty theft, is easier to accept in towns because it is commonplace and as impersonal as the towns themselves. In the summer when Goathland is most crowded it could be said that it too becomes impersonal and more town-like - and villagers are alive to the consequences:

> If you come in the winter... pretty well all of us can tell whose cars belong to who - what colour it is and whose it is. You might not know all the numbers but you pick them up and you say 'Oh yeah, that's native'. But you can't see in the summer because they are all mixed up in amongst it all and you don't know who is walking about.
>
> (middle-aged working male resident)

The self regulating mechanisms that exist in the village in the winter, then, are inadequate in the summer, and for better control they would have to give way to more systematised ways of local policing and traffic management. While a more formal way of handling the greater quantity of visitors coming into Goathland, especially at peak times, may prove effective, this of course would tend to further narrow the gap between the quality and 'freedom' of a rural village lifestyle and the large scale, technical structuring of life in the towns. Additionally, residents

may experience an unwelcome feeling of anonymity themselves in the summer as they encounter a fairly constant flow of strangers in the village.

According to one woman resident, in the longer term mass tourism can also have a slowly eroding impact on the very fabric of country life, to the extent that the quality of country lifestyles become hardly of the country at all:

> Tourism generally does have a long term effect on country life... Over a long period of time there becomes a different mix of people living in the countryside...This is not a criticism this is just an observation, and it has nothing to do with the railway or Heartbeat, its anywhere in the countryside, because I lived in a village before I came here. People that are coming to see the countryside have really loved it and, like a lot of people who come to Goathland, eventually move into the countryside... Then you get outsiders moving in, and most people in the past were customers with a real understanding of the countryside. But then you get it accelerated...You are watering down the countryside, this is my point, so that eventually you don't get the people who have a true understanding, you get a kind of suburban existence in the countryside.
>
> (retired woman resident)

This is a real dilemma for the residents of Goathland, because more than half of them are retirees (56%)[15] and incomers (estimated at more than 70% by the post officer, page 83 above) who initially would probably have been only visitors/tourists themselves. Paradoxically, the more tourists that visit Goathland, the greater the likelihood that more visitors would want to convert to being residents. And the upshot of this would be that exurbanism would further dissipate and dilute the 'country life' of current residents. Of course, as mentioned in the previous chapter, the understanding of the countryside to which this woman refers is coloured by the rural myth, which has been directly bought into by a large proportion of Goathland residents (cf. Cloke, 1993). In this sense many of them have simply upgraded from consuming Goathland's rural mythology temporarily as tourists to their now more permanent and more exclusive status of country residents.

This respondent is aware that the rural resident status of the majority of people living in Goathland has only come about through their purchasing power

in the property market, and that it is something which, disturbingly so it seems, a significant amount of Heartbeat tourists may be able to emulate. However, she intimates that the acquisition of 'true' rural values is something beyond mere economics, it requires cultural capital and a certain predisposition towards the countryside (cf. Bourdieu, 1984). Heartbeat tourists simply would not have the cultural competence to do this even if they had the economic clout to purchase property there. On the other hand, when current residents were tourists themselves they were suitably qualified because 'most people in the past were customers with a real understanding of the countryside'. Meaning that only middle-class people such as themselves who appreciate 'true' countryside (cf. Urry, 1990), and who once predominated as visitors to Goathland, could become 'authentic' members of such a 'traditional' rural community. Ironic double standards are much in evidence here.

According to residents generally, there was not only a distinction between the two types of visitor to Goathland but also one regarding the relative and potential impact which each have on the village. Walkers and overnight visitors are almost invisible and blend into the social and environmental background of the area, while Heartbeat tourists are perceived as highly visible with a strongly felt physical and cultural presence, and are classified as being incongruous to traditional country village life. They seem to be the antithesis of middle-class countryside tourists. Indeed the walkers and hotel/guest house patrons were seen as *guests,* sharing similar country values, which are threatened by the herded, and by implication, vulgar Heartbeat *tourists.* A woman accommodation owner put this in a nutshell when she said 'our guests complain about the tourists' (accommodation owner and resident, in her thirties).

Although the comments made by residents show a tendency to sharply classify and even stereotype visitors, a degree of sensitivity was, at times, shown for the plight of some 'collective gazers'. However, such sensitivity was more often than not ambiguously qualified. The following quote typifies the double edged attitude often shown by residents towards Heartbeat tourists who arrive by coach:

> I actually feel sorry for people who come on coaches... They get harangued by residents because they don't want them here. The coach companies sometimes only allow them fifteen to twenty minutes to actually look round the shops [and] take their photographs. We call them where I work the fifteen p people, all they have time to do is to spend fifteen p. Now that is not adding to the economy of the village really.
>
> (middle-aged woman shop worker)

The majority of people who come into Goathland by coach are of pensionable age and are either on a touring day-trip to Whitby and 'Heartbeat Country' or on a touring holiday which includes the area in its itinerary. While the woman shop worker shows a rather patronising sympathy for these people, she is also quick to question their worth - which is couched in market terms. These people seem to represent only a cost to the village and little consideration is given to their particular circumstances and needs. They are not really seen as mostly retired people, of not dissimilar age to many of those living in Goathland (see Table 2), who probably would have to use tours to access such relatively remote places. Both the coaches and their occupants were universally maligned in the focus groups. Of paramount concern was that these people and their mode of transport are highly visible in their *encroachment* on the centre of the village, even if their stay is a short one. 'Nobody wants a coach parked in their back yard and do we want a coach parked anywhere?' said the general store keeper.

Politics, values and symbols in 'the parking problem'

The recent history of local resistance to providing parking space for coaches is both indicative of the distaste for coach tourism in the village and illustrative of the practical need to accept Goathland as a now popular stop-off on the mass-tourist map. In 1993 the National Park tourism officer estimated there were roughly ten coaches per day coming into Goathland, and it was proposed as part of a recent upgrading that four coach bays should be marked out in the village car park - which holds around seventy cars. The local community strongly resisted this on the grounds that it would be inviting more intrusion and a lower order of tourist consumption. The residents capitulated, however, when they accepted the inevitability that coaches would come regardless, and the bays are now in place.

It is interesting that the local distaste for coaches is somewhat at odds with the National Park's publicly stated preference for people to use buses and the train rather than cars. Indeed, in various publications it tries to encourage visitors to forsake their cars and use their own subsidised 'Moorsbus' service, which connects the towns and villages in the area, in order to save congestion and to minimise environmental pollution. The following extract from the Park's newsletter conveys its position:

> Take the bus just once and you'll help to make the North York Moors a more peaceful and cleaner place. 153 million car miles are driven each year in the National Park by visitors, yet buses and trains give you access to most places. With the Moors Connections timetable it's easy to plan your days out....It costs just £1 for an all day ticket...So you're saving for yourself and saving the park.
>
> (Moors Visitor, 1995, page 17)

It is important to note that resident respondents were not vociferously antagonistic to this scheme at all, indeed it was not raised as either a positive or negative issue in the focus group discussions. It may be that the Moorsbus service is seen as a responsible public transport system which has benefits that go beyond simply selling Goathland as a 'honeypot' attraction. Besides this the service as it currently stands is new, not greatly patronised, and relatively infrequent, therefore, it has less impact on the village than several private coaches arriving at peak times. On the other hand it seems that private coach companies are resented because their activities are largely beyond the control of Goathland residents and are seen to profit from Goathland without directly putting anything back into the community. Furthermore, the lack of local control may be emphasised by the fact that Goathland is being sold in the tourist market place as Aidensfield, the home of Heartbeat, which is an identity created beyond the auspices of the community and their representative bodies. Therefore, the future of Goathland as either a place of residence or as a tourist attraction is subject to a large degree of uncertainty, depending on the vagaries of seemingly

distant market perceptions and subsequent tourist activity. Coach companies and coach tourists, however, seem to represent much more tangible and accessible enemies for residents to vent their criticism upon.

The National Park, to some extent, has attempted to placate residents and address the coach tour issue by producing a leaflet named 'Your Coach and Goathland', which is distributed to private coach operators and drivers, and which explains the problems that can occur in the village as a result of its popularity with tours. The problems are expressed in practical terms: for example, local roads were not created for today's levels or types of traffic, nor is there a location at which to create additional parking. The tone of the leaflet is conciliatory and stresses that local bodies are working together to relieve pressure on the village community and environment while wanting to accommodate visitor needs. The upshot is that coach drivers are asked to observe a voluntary one-way system for coaches in the village, as well as to drop passengers off and wait outside the village if the car park is full, in the hope that this will balance the needs of all who have a stake in Goathland's welfare and future. The final statement in the leaflet is interesting in that it re-emphasises the conciliatory nature of the scheme: 'The police stress that the system is voluntary and we look forward to your co-operation in trying to keep Goathland looking good for your passengers this year and in the years to come'. With the absence of better infrastructure arrangements for coach tours or a village-wide ban on their activity, in essence this proposal is a peace-making exercise. As much as anything, it illustrates the lack of power that exists at the local administrative level to intervene in a clash between certain (market driven) consequences of increased tourist traffic to Goathland and negative community level responses to them.

There are other, perhaps more symbolic, reasons why coaches are unattractive to Goathland residents; by their very nature they collectively package people into a mobile unit. This is a practice antithetical to what Rojek (1985) terms as the leaning towards 'individuation' in contemporary society where the trend is toward recognising the individual as being distinct from the group. In leisure pursuits individuation celebrates and encourages differentiation,

specialisation, the linking of personal status and individual identity with 'lifestyles' and experiences through the individual consumption of commodities (Britton, 1991). Conversely, it could be argued that coach tourism denotes economies of scale consumption; it is people collectively dependent on a driver and possibly an 'expert' courier, the passengers are, therefore, passive and lacking in the cultural capital needed to read the countryside for themselves. And for many villagers coach tours to Goathland seem to blatantly symbolise the popular commodification and packaging of place in that 'the village is *used* by certain tourist companies...who advertise it as a 'Heartbeat break'' (middle-aged male lecturer, resident).

Cars, nonetheless, are also seen as a blight on the village-scape by many residents, and there is a much greater physical problem with the parking of cars than there is with coaches. In the summer the car park is constantly full of cars, leaving the common the only feasible alternative for most drivers. This has led to heated debates, not only about the recent upgrading of the car park but about having another car park built to ease pressure on the common. Over several years the building of another car park has been met with divided opinions in the village which are as yet unresolved. The deepest divisions do not revolve so much around the need for another car park but about where it should be built. The issues surrounding site selection are basically fourfold; one, if a new car park was built outside the village it might not be used much by visitors who would prefer a central location; two, there is the worry that people living near a car park built in the village would suffer a drop in their property values; three, the same people would also suffer visual intrusion; and four; they could possibly suffer some congestion problems if it was not designed and managed well.

With the cooperation of the Duchy of Lancaster, the Park authorities and Scarborough District Council, as well as good traffic management, it is possible to envisage how issues one and four could be addressed - although it may take some quite strict controls, not to mention will and finance. Issues two and three are more vexed and are hardly amenable to local managerial, technical, or economic fixes because they involve private property capital, aesthetic 'nimbyism' and anti-urbanism. In the words of the post office proprietor:

> The problem with a car park is that if it was near someone's property they wouldn't want it. Nobody wants yellow lines, nobody wants fencing, nobody wants street lights...They don't want street lights because they don't want it to look like a city...I've even heard comments about the pavement, the footpath that's been put in now, and people saying it gets more like a town every day because we've got a footpath.
>
> (middle-aged post office proprietor, resident and key informant)

This comment picks out the real stumbling block to gaining support for any initiative that impacts upon the rural aesthetics of Goathland's environment. Residents want it preserved as an 'authentic' upland village which has escaped the vulgarities of rational management strategies practiced in towns. Furthermore, the post office proprietor's words illustrate that nimbyism in Goathland is operational at two levels, which are not mutually supportive. Firstly there is the desire to protect the village aesthetics from outside influences, which is felt at community level. And secondly, there is individual nimbyism regarding private property and the immediate vicinity of private property with regard to aesthetics, use and value. To illustrate this, if, for example, a practical solution was found to alleviate the parking problems by building a car park in a central location or by using a centrally located space as even a temporary solution, it could be expected that it would be met with fierce resistance by those living closest-by, even if the solution turned out to be of benefit and acceptable to the overwhelming majority of people in the village. The following case in point substantiates this hypothesis and reveals the depth of feeling that can be roused when private property and private space are deemed to be under threat in Goathland.

One of the local farmers (a key informant) who owns a field just off the centre of the village decided to use it as an overflow car park for tourist traffic in the summer of 1995. His initial idea was to try a pilot scheme for a few weeks, which did not need planning permission from the Park authorities. The parking charges were a pound per car per day, which the farmer maintained only covered his costs as he had to produce wooden signs which were placed strategically

around the village, and because he also employed an attendant while the scheme was in operation. The farmer insisted the main reasons for using his field this way was to relieve pressure on the common and the rest of the village, and to cut through the various wranglings about the building of a more permanent, tarmac car park. The scheme was successful in that it accommodated enough cars to empty the common of them and, in the farmer's words, his scheme was supported by 'eighty seven percent' of the Goathland population. He was confident of this figure because prior to the opening of the field as a car park he had written to the village community about the scheme and asked for responses. However, the scheme was ultimately doomed to failure because of the vigorous resistance of the owners of two houses adjacent to the field. Although they had no legal recourse to challenge the scheme, they made their feelings known by gathering and burning the road signs the farmer had placed in the village, and parked their own vehicles across the track that led into the farmer's field, thus blocking the thoroughfare. When the farmer approached these people about their actions they argued their position from the standpoint that they moved into the village for 'peace and quiet' and would therefore not tolerate such intrusive activity on their doorsteps. After sixteen days of operation the field was disused as a car park and planning permission was not sought to re-establish it on a more permanent basis.

Interestingly, the focus group respondents thought the farmer's scheme was effective and overall a good idea. However, it was noticeable that they were not critical of the actions taken by the owners of the properties adjacent to the overflow car park. Moreover, they simply accepted that it was unfortunate the scheme did not work, perhaps because they could empathise with the position these particular residents found themselves in. It is also important to note that, in such a small community, well motivated, highly vociferous and influential people can wield significant, yet informal power quickly in order to protect their interests. And after an episode of this kind, which could also serve as a warning about potential threats, such people may be inclined to put themselves in more formal positions of power to forestall infrastructure developments which could have unwanted effects on themselves and their rural village lifestyles. Indeed,

according to the farmer, not long after the car parking scheme collapsed, his protesting neighbours became members of the Parish Council.

Even though some of the residents interviewed thought an external car park could be an acceptable option, there seems to be little will and finance available for such a scheme from official bodies. Neither has there been any consensus in the village itself when this matter has been raised in public meetings between the village community and the National Park authorities. Therefore, the building of a car park out of the village does not seem to be a happy option for the Goathland community. Furthermore, the amount of ongoing management involved would itself represent capitulation to the mass visitor, urban rationality, the loss of 'rural' autonomy and a creeping commodification of the village as a resort or tourist trap. And, by providing more parking space in or around the village, a sign of welcome would be held up to the already swelling ranks of mass tourists.

While the parking problem is unresolved to the satisfaction of the majority of residents (and visitors), the finger of blame is often pointed at the most itinerant of car users in the village, that is tourists. One male resident was particularly derisory in his attack on the 'car culture' of mass tourists: 'the people in the cars, they all want to clone together... The great god car is abandoned in all directions...the car is decimating the village' (middle-aged male resident, lecturer). The problems of congestion and car parking have even led to a minority of villagers advocating tolls around Goathland where vehicles could be charged an entrance fee. This rather extreme view has not gained popular support - besides the fact it is not legally likely or even desirable in a National Park - possibly because it smacks of a managerial/technical fix and because most interviewed residents indicated it was tantamount to social control.

Although this might suggest certain undercurrents of liberal feeling in the community which connect leisure choices with individual liberty, paradoxically, at the same time there was a general and pragmatic view expressed by respondents that there is a need for greater visitor management and intervention in the way tourism is developing in contemporary Goathland. This is further complicated by a conservative wish to preserve the village as it was - that is as an

'authentic' rural space or even an emblematic example of what rural life is 'meant' to be like in an upland Yorkshire village. One focus group member related the paradox thus:

> I don't think people want burying [in cars]. They want a reasonable life in the village here don't they, and I think that sort of puts it in a nutshell really, so there has to be management. I think in our hearts we would like it to stay back five or ten years perhaps but we know in our own heart that reality exists and we've been exposed and we know what commercial people can do now. They can highlight [Goathland] to the point where it becomes saturated, the village then starts to tail in interest and they just drop you like a red hot brick and you are just left with the wreckage. I don't think that's what should happen, we should be thinking about the residents, what it should be like in five years time or ten years, the next century. Are we going to be left with the nucleus of a village as we found it, as we love, that's a terribly important thing to remember. Because once those ratings go, they will disappear will Yorkshire Television.
>
> (retired male resident)

It would appear that it is at the point of contradiction between the wish to preserve the rural myth of Goathland as a residential ideal, and the reluctant recognition that because of its popularity some urban-like, and lifestyle compromising management strategies may be needed, where many residents' dilemmas lie.

Other symbolic impacts, resident responses and avoidance strategies

As already mentioned, the impacts of Heartbeat tourism are felt mainly in the centre of the village, and in a personal bid to mitigate or ignore them a number of residents have changed the way they use the internal space of their homes. Many Goathland houses face onto the common and some occupants have literally turned their backs on the visual and physical intrusion by swapping their living rooms to the back of the house. By doing this these residents are giving themselves an aspect which contains few people and few cars, and which allows them to symbolically reclaim Goathland as it was before filming began, at least in their homes. By reversing the use of their houses they are not only trying to reclaim their privacy but are demonstrably resisting the process of

commodification that is turning 'their' village into a themed tourist attraction. While these residents may have little control over the staging of 'Mostyn's Garage' or 'Aidensfield Stores', they are asserting their sovereignty over their own privacy and over what they wish to gaze on themselves. Through their individual efforts they are trying to restore Goathland, their houses, and their country lives to back regions which would be beyond the prying eyes of tourists (cf. Gofmman, 1959; MacCannell, 1973, 1976). Commensurate with this is the (re)establishment of the boundaries between private and public space in Goathland.

It seems, then, to escape their tourist trap villagers are adopting strategies that are becoming somewhat arcane and more self contained. A retired woman was relating to this when she said:

> I stop in the house. I love to walk in the village but I don't walk in the summer, I don't enjoy it at all, or I might take the dog right up on the moors, but now cars have started going up on the moors.
>
> (retired woman resident)

Ironically, it appears that the only ways for residents to escape the hustle and bustle of Goathland in the summer is either to stay at home or to get out of the village altogether. However, if they go out to enjoy the moors themselves, like the walkers who come partially to 'get away' from urban life, even there people and cars blight the landscape. This might also serve as a reminder that the technical and cultural capability of late twentieth century urban society is extending its reach into places where many traditionalists, no doubt, would argue it does not belong. Not unlike Wordsworth in the nineteenth century with regard to the Lake District, the woman resident above despairs at the popularity of the North Yorkshire Moors because it cultivates a 'natural' world where modern people, and their means of transportation, are increasingly becoming part of its physical and cultural profile. And as Cosgrove (1984) tells us, the landscape idea is a socially inscribed picture composed with few people included in its highly selective frame and framing.

> [It] is a way of seeing which separates subject and object, giving lordship to the eye of a single observer. In this the landscape idea either denies collective experience, as in the case of the pleasing prospect, or mystifies it in an appeal to transcendental qualities of a particular area or region, as for example in the recourse during wartime in England to an image of unchanging English countryside, a landscape reflecting the unruffled harmony of its social order.
>
> (Cosgrove, 1984, page 262).

Whatever the personal benefits of solitude and the 'peace and quiet' sought by the lone upland walker, his or hers is also an activity inflected with a temporary rejection of industrial, urban, and in some cases secular life. Values it might be expected that many Goathland residents share. The respondent quoted above was particularly strident in associating Christian virtues with 'good' rural values, and illustrated how respect for the spiritual centre of the village, the church, is somehow analogous to a proper appreciation of the countryside. She also seemed to believe that Heartbeat tourists have inadequate respect for either:

> I spend quite a lot of time in the church yard for the reasons that I tend flowers for people who don't now live in the village...There are some lovely people who visit Goathland and you can chat to them and talk to them about the church - really nice people who appreciate the countryside. But then we get the other side of the coin who have a little leaflet which is sold at the gift shop and its something to do with Bill Maynard [actor in the Heartbeat series who plays 'Greengrass'] and the shop owner who devised this 'Greengrass Goathland Trail'. And they are walking up and down and they stick outside my house and they're wondering 'should I go that way, that way or that way', and they cannot follow this map. I haven't seen it or studied it. And they think 'oh no we won't we'll go through the church yard'. So they leave the gate wide open and we get x number of sheep in and they cause great damage there.
>
> (retired woman resident)

Without wishing to stretch the analogy too far, it appears that in their quest to retrace the steps laid out in an inherently inauthentic Heartbeat Trail, Heartbeat

tourists, unaware or simply not interested in 'the country code' - where, for example, gates should be left closed to prevent the movement of animals in or out - trample on sacred land. In this case it is the church yard, or even the frontage of a private house. Alternatively 'really nice people who appreciate the countryside' are visitors who are able to converse about the church and other things in a way which is met with approval. No doubt these visitors are able to relate their own predilections for things rural and traditional in a way which can be both classified and approved of by local people and other visitors who share similar sets of values (cf. Bourdieu, 1984).

Goathland as two places

The varied impacts of tourists on Goathland, and residents' responses to them, are underpinned by a general symbolic contestation between two place identities, one, Goathland as a lived community and as a space for quiet rural appreciation; and two, Aidensfield as a set for television production and as a space for mass tourism. For residents there is a clash between 'authentic' and 'imagined' rural space or between high and low rural consumption. A retired male respondent, who was particularly keen to discuss issues surrounding this, began to explain it in the following terms:

> Goathland isn't known as Goathland. To the point where people get on the North Yorkshire Moors Railway train at Pickering, they don't get off at Goathland because they're waiting for Aidensfield to come up... Well its only in their heads you know. You see them wandering around and they think well there's nothing here, why are we here?
>
> (retired male resident)

He linked this to the way the Heartbeat programme and the various advertisers sell and commodify the image of the rural myth:

> They are trying to encapsulate everything that everybody thinks about the countryside and they are trying to package it in the modern, contemporary way, [to] package an

> experience. The coach people are trying to package an experience and that's the thing that is causing the damage.
>
> (ibid.)

Somewhat typical of all the focus group respondents, this man is taking a side swipe at the coach companies as part of his overall comment. Interestingly, though, he is alluding to the general ability of the media and the various public and private bodies' advertising strategies to package the rural myth, and to pass it off as an instantly attainable, and legitimate, tourist experience. In his reference to the way 'they are trying to encapsulate what everybody thinks about the countryside', he is intimating that the picture of rurality generally propagated by such image brokers is false and that rurality cannot be accessed instantly through advertising imagery and mass tourist experience. Rather, rurality has to be known, learned and appreciated by living in the countryside, or through years of 'real' countryside experience, and cannot be attained through the instant gratification that tourist advertising promises. In other words it takes cultural competence and personal educational investment (in which empirical knowledge is highly valued) to understand the countryside for what it 'truly' is and to attain the individual distinction of being a 'country person'.

Again this suggests a qualitative split between the authentic and the imaged in identifying and gaining knowledge of the countryside. The inauthentic is part and parcel of the 'modern, contemporary way' of packaging in which solid categories, such as the countryside and country life, become caricatured and cheapened. Not only is this suggestive of a conflict between popular and high cultural evaluation of the countryside and country life but is also suggestive of the perceived damage done by (post)modern communications to 'traditionally' stable notions of rurality. That is, in the postmodern world the countryside is seen and sold as a sign that bears little relation to its reality, which is only knowable through (highly) cultured and immersed methods of understanding. Something Heartbeat tourists would be denied of right from their initial point of access to Goathland on the television screen because of its peculiar and false framing as Aidensfield. However, as already pointed out, the so-called

traditional and authentic understanding of the countryside is also culturally appointed and is highly selective in what and who is included in its own imagined world. In this respect the countryside is coloured by more than a century of cultural productions that have given rise to the rural myth and the landscape idea, which are steeped in romanticism, nationalism, pseudo science, class privilege, and quasi spiritual claims to communion with 'nature' as well as the quintessential superiority of the Englishman.

It seems, then, from the residents' standpoint that 'traditional' or 'real' Goathland is not only in danger of being physically overwhelmed in the short term by mass tourists, but is also under long term threat from a general cultural malaise that, via television and urban based tourism, is capable of reducing its identity to a crassly conceived artefact of consumer culture. In other words residents fear that, as an 'authentic' North Yorkshire rural village, Goathland is being emptied out and turned into a crudely populist tourist attraction. This is similar in outlook to Postman's (1985) thesis on television consumption generally, in which he believes that media borne epistemology means we are in danger of amusing ourselves towards 'culture death' through the perpetuated expansion of entertainment and trivia. In the process all heritage and tradition become part of the technically sophisticated, yet shallow and sanitised, aestheticisation processes of postmodern culture and commerce. Goathland it would seem, is only one tourist example of this.

The urban visitors who consume Goathland have their own opinions and cultural predilections, of course, which need to be examined in the light of what has been said. The next chapter will focus on comments made by them in order glean how they see their relationship with Goathland, its community and the surrounding environment.

5 Visitors' Ways of Seeing Goathland

All the interviews with tourists/visitors were carried out in the centre of the village, and all visitors were in Goathland on a day-trip as either part of an extended holiday in the region or as part of a days outing from their place of residence. The respondents were chosen at random and were aged between their late teens to well into retirement years.

Town and country

Something shared by all respondents was a strongly felt affinity with the English countryside; and the North Yorkshire Moors were generally seen as an idyllic prime example, 'within twenty miles of here I would have thought is one of the nicest parts of England' (retired male visitor from Stockton-on-Tees). Inevitably the countryside was contrasted with their own feelings on modern urban life; and mostly the comparison was spoken in terms that suggested the countryside is sacred to them and that, conversely, the town is its profane opposite. The idea that a sense of community is stronger in the countryside was something often positively expressed, albeit sometimes with a degree of uncertainty. A fairly typical opinion on this was recounted by a woman from Ashington in Northumberland:

> Where we live isn't a community anymore. Crime has increased and there is a bigger feeling of insecurity from all sorts of directions. Being in the countryside does remind you of community and times gone by, its more permanent than the town, but I guess that is threatened more as well. I should think there is more of a community spirit here and its nice to be in a community even if it is for a visit. Having said that I can't be sure if this place is a real community because we haven't spent enough time here, so we don't really know.
>
> (working, middle-aged woman from Ashington visiting for the day)

This respondent's comment seems to comply with much of the sentiment contained within the rural myth. She believes the countryside is aligned with permanence and with the upholding of wholesome and predictable community values which have endured from the past By contrast, the town is seen as very much of the present and engenders feelings of insecurity where shifts in contemporary society are played out with much more immediacy and uncertainty. Thus, visiting the countryside for this woman in a way is a short return 'home', or a return to the stable and the familiar in exchange for long term residence in an urban milieu which increasingly offers an impersonal existence. However, although this woman would like to think that Goathland is a 'real' community it is difficult for her to tell what lies beyond the facade and to know if the modern world also poses a threat to the quality of life there.

The countryside was seen by the majority of respondents as possibly a last bastion of community life in Britain because towns and cities are becoming more alienating and often dangerous. This is not to say it was generally expressed that country villages are somehow exempt from trends in modern society, but they were seen as a retreat, places where 'traditional' values are strongly felt and hopefully maintained. A response which varied little according to the age of the interviewee.

When people were asked if they would like to live in Goathland, responses were often partial and generally quite mixed between the affirmative and the negative. However, all indicated that a constraining factor would be the expense because of its location and the relatively large size of the average house in Goathland. They were generally aware of the 'exurban' factor in contemporary village life which some thought a problem. A factory manager from Northampton commented:

> I think what spoils it is when you look over there where the Range Rover is parked outside the cottage. You've got the villages now with really nice cottages and you see a couple of Range Rovers outside and that's what is bringing the higher crime rate into the

rural areas, because they assume that is where the money is.

(male factory manager from Northhampton, on a day-trip but holidaying in the area)

This man astutely points out that far from being cut off from the rest of urban society, and problems such as crime, many of the exurbanites who live in Goathland conspicuously demonstrate to others the accoutrements of their lifestyle as signs of their success. The fact that they have been able to buy into a rural lifestyle is itself a beacon of distinction which invites both wanted and unwanted attention. And because exurban living has become such a trend for the relatively affluent middle-classes, 'picturesque' villages such as Goathland are not unreasonably assumed to be wealthy places. That is not to suggest that this man, or any other visitor interviewed for that matter, seemed to resent the residents of Goathland for their perceived material success.

Indeed, material wealth was not a particularly strong issue in itself for tourists. Much more important, and a major part of the attraction of visiting the place for many visitors was the way that people living in villages like Goathland seem to have a chance of creating something resembling an organic community and a quality of life which modern towns appear to have by-passed. A retired woman from near Stockton-on-Tees remarked:

Even though the houses are spread out I would imagine [community life] is still there. Its missing with these modern houses on these estates and things...I would imagine it's a community, and I would imagine that whoever lives in that house there would probably know whoever was down the bottom end of the village, which you don't get in towns.

(retired woman from near Stockton-on-Tees, visiting for the day)

One of her female companions, however, was more sceptical about the community spirit of Goathland, doubting whether that could be bought into as readily as the houses or the location: 'I think the only thing about these places is that because of the price of the houses these days it tends to be business people who come to live in these villages. They wouldn't be the same as the old villagers' (working woman, in her thirties, from Stockton-on-Tess). This woman

is obviously suggesting that a rural lifestyle does not necessarily equate with community, possibly because exurbanism is not organic. And perhaps lending some support to her claim, it was shown in the last chapter how some incomers' concerns of private space and property can overtake those of community in Goathland when choices have to be made.

However, the previous woman went on to suggest that villages do offer the best opportunity for a less worrisome quality of life, largely because of their size and maybe because of the fact that incomers from the towns do have a vested interest in creating a friendly and more solid social environment than the ones they probably left behind. She posed the following example to uphold her hypothesis:

> Possibly you can [create community spirit] if you work at it, and I think you've got more chance in a small community, in a village. Even more so possibly with strangers coming into the village...Well, two of my children live in small villages - one in Dorset and one in Northampton - and they are both on new housing estates, and the majority of people on the estates are strangers in the villages and they seem to have this community spirit of their own. Their children are very much the same age. A lot of life revolves around the village school, the village pub, football, you know, this type of thing and they seem to be building up a community. But its small enough to do it, you can't do that in a town.
>
> (retired woman from near Stockton-on-Tees, visiting for the day)

Arguably, this woman could be correct in her assessment of the way a community can be created, and no doubt she would celebrate the possibility of such an endeavour, nonetheless, it is highly unlikely that the residents of Goathland would sanction such developments in their village. The picture of community life she paints is very active, and it would seem that people would spend much of their time doing things together. This contrasts with a rather solitary and contemplative valuation of the rural which, as outlined in the previous chapter, is a key feature of middle-class countryside consumption - probably more especially for those who have retired to the countryside for 'peace and quiet'. Furthermore, given the average age of the Goathland residents and

love of 'peace and quiet', centring their rural village life around children, the pub, football and so on, would seem anathema. Moreover, new estates and the provision for welcoming many more exurbanites in a relatively short period of time would be at odds with residents' organic picture of what rural life is all about. Indeed, the residents interviewed seemed to be worried that more tourism could herald the start of such developments. Meanwhile tourists are left to glimpse at the facades of country life and community in Goathland, not really knowing if they are as equally staged as Aidensfield Stores or Mostyn's Garage.

For a small number of (middle-aged) women visitors, a significant part of the appeal of rural villages like Goathland lay in the fact that women would be less likely to be working full time, and that this is a major factor in rural villages being important symbols of community life. By contrast, they believed that modern town life had badly impaired women's ability to play the pivotal role in creating 'real' communities. The woman from Ashington explained:

> Women are very important in creating communities. Town families are more separated on a daily basis because the woman has to work so they get together in their leisure time and enjoy it. Whereas here, I'm not sure but I would think that not many women here work but where we live every woman just about goes to work.
>
> (working, middle-aged woman from Ashington visiting for the day)

From this comment and further conversation with this woman, it is clear that for her women are central because when they do not work they occupy local space during the day where they can meet other local women face to face, and perhaps their young children, in a relaxed and regular way to form close bonds. In turn this would act as a catalyst for families and neighbours to be closer. And, on the face of it, Goathland provides an almost perfect example of a setting in which women could still act out these traditional roles. On the other hand, in towns where it is assumed that proportionately many women work, leisure and family time is of the essence and daily relations with neighbours have a poor foundation, thus families are likely to be more insular in their activities. Another woman

from Teesside would concur with this in her comparison of traditional communities and modern day life in towns:

> Well, what do you do [in towns]. You go out and get in the car and unless you pass, or your neighbour passes, you don't see them...I think its because everyone, women included, work. Whereas when we were kids our mothers didn't work and so they were always there. And if your mam did go out to work the lady next door was there.
>
> (middle aged woman from Teesside, visiting for the day)

This woman also went on to say that it is the pressures of modern life generally that encourage all family members to work 'because everybody wants to better themselves. Whereas in our childhood everybody was in the same position so there was no competition' (ibid.).

While these women could be criticised for their nostalgia and a certain conformity to female stereotyping, they do indicate how working time can dominate leisure time in terms of its content and allocation. Furthermore, the last comment also suggests that individuation and certain ideas of personal progress can bring competitive pressures which militate against the construction of communities. Although these women, along with a number of other visitors, could only assume that Goathland was a 'real' community, they commented that regardless whether it was or not real, one of the important pleasures of coming to Goathland on a day-trip was the *feeling* of being in a setting conducive to the creation of community.

A male student from Leeds though, like a number of other respondents, saw tourism as being problematic to the quality of life in Goathland:

> I wouldn't like to live here myself. I wouldn't mind being in a small village, but not particularly this village with thousands of tourists milling about. Its perhaps too commercialised, too touristy, it takes away the atmosphere that Heartbeat gives you of the place.
>
> (young male student from Leeds holidaying in the area and visiting Goathland for the day)

This points to the central dilemma said to accompany tourism, that it can ruin the very resource upon which it is based (Cater, 1995), and highlights a universally expressed concern by both visitors and residents in this case study that village life could be overwhelmed by tourism. Indeed, without exception, the visitors interviewed were sensitised to this issue and were keen to be seen as responsible guests rather than marauding tourists. It is also interesting how this young man expresses disappointment that Goathland falls short of Aidensfield in the television series because it is more of a contemporary tourist commodity or attraction than a 'timeless' country village. In this sense Goathland is like all other tourist attractions, it is fashioned in the context of the tourist market place which compares and contrasts places in the present, regardless whether they are in a rural or urban setting. Indeed Urry (1990, page 48) states that, because tourism is now so internationalised, 'all potential objects of the tourist gaze can be located on a scale, and can be compared with each other' no matter where or what they are. Goathland is more than a tourist attraction though, it is also a lived space signifying a rural authenticity and community that both its residents and tourists seem to want to discover and experience. And a major part of the appeal is the perceived contrast between Goathland and what is seen as the declining quality of life in more urbanised environments. Therefore, it is caught up in a cultural trade-off between town and country, the past and present, the sacred and profane, in which the countryside somehow represents a more wholesome, simple, and less technically sophisticated and confused way of life than that available in towns. While both the residential market and the tourism market may trade on these dualisms, not all consumers of Goathland subscribe to these stereotypes. A woman civil servant visitor from Norwich demonstrated a fairly critical response to what she sees of Goathland and country life:

> People live in towns and they want to get away in the country...They think life is somehow idyllic in the country, and I suppose when they come here they think life is still like it is shown on the television programme, but I don't suppose it is. Well it isn't, look

> at all these cars and the car park, all this tarmac...I just think the place has been used because its pretty and its harking back to the good old days, but I'm sure they weren't really like that.
>
> (woman civil servant, in her early forties, from Norwich and visiting for the day)

Symbolic and 'real' conflicts between public and private rural heritage space

Tourist respondents were generally adamant about their rights of access to Goathland, seeing the village and its surroundings as a public space as well as a place of private residence. For many it is an example of English country heritage that is of national worth and significance, which for that reason should remain open to all. 'Its part of the British heritage isn't it, the Yorkshire countryside. Its what makes Britain great, the country... I like to think we share it [Goathland] with them, the local people'[16] said a man from Hull. Not only is this man implying that the countryside is a public good but he is also reaffirming the idea that the countryside is also a repository of national values and distinction. From this it could be assumed that all British people have a cultural right of access to the countryside. However, as already discussed, this is not necessarily the case, and as the residents of Goathland make clear, notions of country life and appropriate rural consumption are highly selective in who and what is to be part of a traditional rural scene. These are not only esoteric cultural convictions, they are embroiled in private property relations which underpin conflicts between private and public space in Goathland. And the issue of parking in the village has been shown to be a subject of concern in which residents' symbolic and material interests were galvanised and defended with vigour.

When asked about their opinions on the parking issue all visitors thought a car park built outside the village that was aesthetically sensitive in its location and design, and which included a 'reasonable' parking fee, would be acceptable to them. A retired man from Sunderland, a keen Heartbeat viewer, described what he thought would be appropriate:

> They've got to keep it outside the village so they can take all the vehicles out. You see the people who watch the television think its Heartbeat Country so you've got to keep that. What we see on television we want to keep that, and I think everybody wants to see that...So if they build a car park and other facilities here, keep it out of the village where you can't see it and then walk into the village.
>
> (retired man from Sunderland visiting for a day

This rather serendipitous comment is revealing because it demonstrates that Heartbeat tourists also have a cultural investment in the rural idyll, (indeed, as explained in Chapter 2, that is a major part of the nostalgic appeal of Heartbeat), and would therefore want Goathland to keep its aesthetic integrity as a 'real' moorland village for people to witness. A car park built outside the village would facilitate that wish because many more cars and coaches could be hidden from view and Goathland would be more open for visitors to explore on foot. However, many residents would still feel a sense of trespass if this was realised. Furthermore, it would have nothing more than a visual effect on only some of their concerns.

Alternatively, any tourism or traffic management strategy that would curtail visitors' freedom of access to the village could be expected to be met with public hostility. The issue of rights of access was broached in all the interviews undertaken, and the woman from Ashington gave a particularly pointed response when asked whether access to Goathland should be limited in some way for the sake of its protection:

> Its no good that [limiting public access]. And if it really gets up peoples' noses they are just going to have to move I would say. You see there's not much you can do unless you take the freedom of someone away somewhere... I mean there again I don't know who lives here is it some tycoon from the London stock markets who has decided to buy a house here and has decided he's not going to let us Geordies or Yorkshire lads and lasses in here and he thinks he owns it? Well its not his. Its as much ours as it is his only I can't afford the house. I can and should be able to walk around the road - and I mean that truly from my heart
>
> (working, middle-aged woman from Ashington visiting for the day)

This woman forcefully makes the point that any means of exclusion or any barrier placed in the way of accessing Goathland would be an intrusion on her privacy, freedom of choice and movement. Furthermore, property ownership does not give residents the right to cultural ownership of Goathland. As a public good and as a public space the village belongs to everyone, at least nationally, both in a civil and a cultural sense. The man from Northampton concurs with this when he said:

> Its not really a sole right of the people who live here. I mean if you were born in the middle of London or Birmingham, unless you came on holiday you would have no idea of how other people lived, would you, and that's not right. All you would have is what you see on the television....But if you were born in a village like this you'd feel a bit protective towards it, but you don't realise that some people have never been to a village like this before. I mean if you lived in a high rise flat and were born in Birmingham you wouldn't understand what life was like in a place like this, would you.
>
> (male factory manager from Northhampton, on a day-trip but holidaying in the area)

Access within the village is also an issue for many visitors, especially those with small children and those who are physically disabled. The footpaths in Goathland are narrow and paved intermittently with single, large stone slabs, which means that to walk on them people almost have to keep in single file, or walk on the grass or road, which the majority do. Given the large amount of traffic congestion in the village at peak times, walking on the road can be hazardous. For the disabled and children, and their carers, who rely on either wheel-chairs or push-chairs, the situation is worse because the uneven surface of the pathways are very difficult for them to negotiate. However, this situation may be improved as the main footpath through the village is being upgraded, the shop frontages are also being tarmaced, and yellow lines are going down to help manage the traffic to better effect, even though many tourists and residents are reluctant to see such visible changes. As the man from Northampton put it: 'You really don't want the place to be covered in no parking signs and yellow lines, do

you. I mean it ruins a place straight away' (ibid.). Even so, Goathland is showing some visible signs that expedient tourism management is sometimes taking precedence over aesthetic predilections.

The Goathland 'experience'

Because for the majority of visitors the initial point of access to Goathland is through the television screen in its guise as Aidensfield, it is interesting to learn what these visitors were looking for and how Goathland lived up to their expectations once they had discovered the location. A Teesside woman explained:

> I expected to come here and see it how you see it on the TV, you know. But things look different, there's lots of things missing... Its nice, I like the place [but] we expected it to be more or less exactly the same. It should be more sixties-like really... I [wanted] to see things like the police station and the Aidensfield Arms so you could go in and have a sit down.
>
> (middle-aged woman from Teesside visiting for the day)

For this respondent the actuality of Goathland does not live up to the promise of the brochures or the TV image. Somehow she expected a convergence of reality and fiction to reveal an authentic window on the past in-place. Furthermore, she wanted to actively participate in Aidensfield cum Goathland by, for example, going into the pub and sitting down, not simply being content to gaze upon a film set or an 'ideal' rural scene. However, she, like the man from Sunderland quoted above, was one of the few tourists interviewed who admitted they had come to Goathland solely because it was the scenic home of Heartbeat. Which seems a remarkable silence given the level of popularity Goathland has attained as a visitor attraction since Heartbeat's showing.

It is difficult to assess whether tourists were generally reluctant to admit that their decision to visit Goathland was really determined by the draw of a fictional television drama. It could be that they did not want to appear as consumer clones or Heartbeat Country dupes. It may also be that they were simply responding to the many advertising markers that suggest the Goathland

area is in reality distinctive or unique, special or idyllic, and that its association with Heartbeat simply endorses that distinctiveness, rather than create it. MacCannell (1976) argues that it is signs or markers which create tourists attractions, not the sites themselves. For him the relationship between the site and its marker is a semiotic one in which the object cannot be separated from its subjective and cultural meaning. Because Heartbeat is such a powerfully contrived marker which contains many cultural and nostalgic triggers, all advertisers need to do is reveal where Heartbeat is filmed to implant that marker onto 'real life' Goathland itself. Heartbeat, then, is a contemporary and popular vehicle for a specifically northern upland rural myth which cleverly aligns that to 1960s nostalgia. And the fact that Goathland is the filming location for Heartbeat, might only validate Goathland as exemplifying 'deepest North Yorkshire' rather than it being the physical signification of Aidensfield or Heartbeat Country.

This is not to suggest that nearly all the tourists interviewed denied any lure of Heartbeat Country at all. It clearly did have some influence on most of them, but it was not the single most compelling reason why the majority of them visited Goathland. Indeed, many of the visitors interviewed who lived in the north east had been coming to Goathland for years before Heartbeat was filmed, while others were holidaying in the area and simply came to Goathland for a day-trip. Furthermore, a number of visitors interviewed were keen walkers going from village to village. Others also professed to be keen walkers but said that on this particular visit they chose to have a relaxing day in and around the village without expending the energy to go out walking on the moors - which blurs stereotypical distinctions between 'appreciative', responsible walkers and 'unappreciative', vulgar day-trippers or tourists. A couple from Hull fell into this category and said that the Heartbeat connection was of no real significance to them even though they did watch the programme; and what the woman said about walking is of particular interest:

> I think when you go walking you get a really nice class of person, real friendly and they say hello. You really do when you come out into the country. People who appreciate the

same type of thing, aren't they....I think its the people, nice decent people who appreciate nice things.

(middle-aged woman from Hull visiting for the day)

Although this woman was a day-tripper, her response shows the hallmarks of the type of middle-class countryside appreciation that residents would approve of, yet on this particular visit this couple were consuming the centre of the village in much the same way as all the other tourists interviewed. This suggests that there is no easy class fraction to which all Heartbeat tourists belong. Indeed, the visitors interviewed had a range of occupations from civil servant to university workers and students, and from a factory manager to office workers and the unemployed, and so on. In other words it is difficult to argue that consumption of Heartbeat Country is aligned specifically with the working-classes. However, it is fair to say that, from personal observation, on average Goathland residents were much more uniformly middle-class than the people who visit the village, who seemed to be more mixed in terms of social stratification, but in the majority were probably working-class.

Many respondents thought the village 'pretty' but 'quite ordinary' without its Heartbeat connection and would not have paid it any special attention otherwise. A number of them would also have preferred a heritage centre or generally more interpretation (or simulation) to bring Heartbeat and Aidensfield 'alive', saying that a well planned, quite extensive heritage centre and car park outside the village could fill the dual role of satisfying their curiosity about Heartbeat while helping to manage visitor and traffic flows. For these people Goathland did not appear particularly distinctive or special, and in many ways fell short of what was promised by the advertising and Heartbeat markers. Many others, however, disagreed about the benefits of a heritage centre saying that the village should not be stage managed any more than it is now. One woman in particular articulated this view very critically:

I don't like heritage centres. I don't like that sort of thing. I always feel when I go to places with a heritage centre that I am being exploited. I don't want card board cut-outs of

> things that happened in the past that might not necessarily have happened like that. I like to see the scenery and come and see where the television people came but I don't necessarily want it hyped up for me... Then you don't know what's real and what isn't real. Something is presented to you and its somebody else's idea what the place is like and what it used to be like here. It'll be more interesting talking to some of the old people than seeing a lot of card board cut outs and designer words written on some sort of interpretation display or hoarding... That's not what life is like is it, you don't want to be managed.
>
> (woman civil servant, in her early forties, from Norwich and visiting for the day)

This respondent is suggesting that heritage centres are a means of control of information, as well as a means of formalisation of the Goathland 'experience', which in turn limits individual discovery and interpretation. A heritage centre in Goathland, especially an extensive one, would also herald not only the exploitation of the visitor but would further signal the transformation of Goathland from its identity as a moorland village to a more hybrid identity as a tourist attraction. Goathland would, therefore, become more 'hyperreal' as such developments would proceed. Indeed, Rojek (1991) suggests that management of tourism through interpretation is an essential element of postmodern experience.

An extensive heritage centre is not a part of Goathland's tourist product portfolio however, nor is it likely to be, but a smaller one erected in the centre of the village in 1995 is. The same farmer who tried to organise the overflow car park gained planning permission to turn a stone barn of his into 'The Goathland Exhibition Centre' in order to transform a previously redundant building into an income generator. This was not his only reason, however; he also said he wished to inform visitors that there was more to Goathland than simply its Heartbeat connection. And in doing so he hoped that patrons of the centre would come away more disposed towards Goathland's social and natural history than they might otherwise have been. In turn this might encourage them to act 'sensitively' toward the village and its inhabitants. Heartbeat, however, could not be ignored, especially on commercial grounds. Thus, a key section of the

Goathland Exhibition Centre, which opened in the late summer of 1995, is devoted to Heartbeat and displays certain props used in filming, and photographs of the stars on location as well as other souvenirs of filming. The whole exhibition is introduced by a short video which has a prologue by Nick Berry and then the main section, which concentrates on local information unconnected to Heartbeat, is presented by a friend of the proprietor. From here the visitor moves through a variety of rooms showing other local artefacts and material.

The residents interviewed were generally enthusiastic about this project, saying it was tastefully done and that it gave the village an interpretative counter balance to Heartbeat, even though Heartbeat paraphernalia occupied a significant part of the exhibition. 'It's showing people that there is another side to Goathland, it's not Aidensfield, its Goathland' said a retired woman resident. Unfortunately, none of the tourists interviewed had visited the centre, because: a) they were either not interested, or b) had not seen it, or c) because it was not available at the time of their visit due to the fact it opened in the latter part of the summer season. Hence, it was not possible to gauge tourist reaction to this particular development. However, what is evident is that the Goathland Exhibition Centre is an exercise in juxtaposing sign-values associated with Goathland so that the consumer may be pointed toward the 'authenticity' of Goathland life even though its hyperreal identity is used as part of the centre's attraction. This is suggestive of a conflict or struggle carried out at the level of signs on the relative meanings of Goathland. Thus, the Goathland Exhibition Centre places popular culture and the 'real' culture of Goathland on equal footing in the hope that the latter will win through. Whether such a small interpretative display could have an impact on the way Goathland is consumed by the majority of visitors is doubtful. However, it is analogous to the way meanings of Goathland are contested and contrived by residents, Heartbeat, advertisers and visitors; and it could be argued that the Goathland Exhibition Centre is a microcosm of the overall dilemma of Goathland. That is for commercial reasons its 'traditional' identity has been melded with, or at the very least placed alongside, a highly synthetic, media borne place identity which local people feel is becoming more overpowering as time goes by.

6 Key Informant Responses

In order to focus on an overview of the main issues in Goathland the early part of this chapter will mostly be built around the comments of the North Yorkshire Moors National Park Tourism Officer. However, comments from other respondents will be used throughout to illustrate a variety of responses on the topics raised. As the section moves on, the local vicar will feature prominently. The other key informant interviews that have already been quoted will feature little, more for reasons of brevity and balance of opinion. However, one key informant interview with the YTV location manager for Heartbeat will not be used because it was felt to be more of a public relations exercise than a forum of expressed opinions. It is also important to note that the local agency for the Duchy of Lancaster declined to be interviewed.

The politics of tourism impacts and tourism management

As mentioned in the early part of this chapter, the Tourism Officer for the National Park has conducted a number of public meetings with the Goathland community over the last five years in order to identify the nature of tourism problems and to establish a consensus on what might be done about them. While these meetings have generally failed to secure any unanimity regarding tourism impacts and management, they have nevertheless proved informative for the Tourism Officer, and have generally been a window on the micro-political complexity of the relations of tourism development in Goathland. With the aim of involving the village community as early as possible in the decision making process, the Tourism Officer decided to embrace a strategy of local empowerment where the public meetings would be an open two way discussion between officials and residents. He described his thinking and the way the meetings went:

> We had an open meeting in the village in 1992 which was the first of our series of collective meetings with the village, and which incurred the wrath of many people because of the style of it. The idea really was to empower as many people as possible to have a stake in their village, as opposed to the traditional thing of someone from the National Park being up on the platform saying we want to do this, and half a dozen ranting and raving... Rather than do it in a formal way through democratically elected members, it's a way of trying to get them [residents] to understand that they were probably part of the problem as probably part of the answer. In a rural community like Goathland, albeit with a slightly more mobile population than others [in the Park], it's a process that isn't understood, this empowerment and getting involved in the decision making process.
>
> (North Yorkshire Moors National Park Tourism Officer)

Perhaps not surprisingly, these meetings proved difficult because residents wanted to hear National Park proposals first so that they could either agree or disagree with them as in a conventional public enquiry scenario. The political culture of many in the Goathland community - especially, it seems, the more vociferous - favoured the old, more confrontational approach in which the onus was on the National Park to identify problems and answers, and where residents could either voice their approval or disapproval without taking responsibility for conciliatory and active involvement in the decision making process themselves. Likewise, as the tourism officer alludes, neither would they have to scrutinise their part in Goathland's tourism development problems or solutions in conventional public enquiries. Some residents were so incensed by the new approach of the National Park that they would walk out of these meetings because their structure did not allow individuals with confidence and motivation to dominate them. Generally, though, and even without such protest, consensual agreement on tourism impacts and tourism management strategies proved to be stubbornly impossible. This, of course, added to the lack of any positive action on the issues of access and parking which were a major subject of debate in the meetings.

When asked about this approach by the National Park, one retired male focus group member said the meetings were inadequate and had produced little:

> Yes there were two or three meetings in Goathland, here in the parish rooms, and the place was stacked to the back door. Meetings with the National Park, the tourist officers etc...They did a kind of seminar where people sat round tables, they had their own little chair persons and they made notes, and this great big heap of notes was put into a box and it went to Helmsley [North Yorkshire Moors National Park headquarters] and it disappeared into a big black hole..., and we are still complaining about the same things.
>
> (retired male resident)

A farmer's wife focus group respondent who also attended these meetings recalled them with some equanimity and described the difficulties of raising a consensus in the village:

> I think the National Park has rather a problem. They come to these meetings and they say 'what do you want'? And somebody will say 'well we want a car park at the top end of the village' and somebody else will get upset and say 'no we don't'. Nobody ever seems to have a concerted idea of what is wanted. As you go to the parish council meetings, as I do because I'm supposed to record it with a cassette, they just don't seem to be able to decide what to do because wherever you put a car park nobody wants it near them.
>
> (middle-aged woman resident and wife of a local farmer[17])

Again a certain clash of interests between personal nimbyism and community nimbyism looms large as a barrier to decision making. And the National Park was aware of the complexities of trying to implement a top-down management strategy that would be met with village or public disapproval. This is why they tried the new approach. Furthermore, elemental to it was an implied admission that the Park authorities did not have ready solutions to local tourism problems: 'what we were trying to do was...to talk with them [villagers] and to let them know that it is evident that I don't have the answers to the particular issues in Goathland' (North Yorkshire Moors National Park Tourism Officer). In

addition, there is no clear, consensual notion of positive and negative tourism impacts in the village, it very much depends on vested interests. The most sacred vested interest of all seems to be private property, especially when so-called visitor intrusion may also equate with a market devaluation in the price of private property in the village.

Correspondingly, notions of carrying capacity were inevitably discussed in the meetings and were proving to be highly contingent on vested cultural and economic interests. The North Yorkshire Moors National Park Tourism Officer explained: 'I would talk about how many more visitors can Goathland cope with. And of course that raises the opposing factors of those that were for monetary gain and those - again those that were retired most recently - who wanted to build the highest walls around it [Goathland]'. Thus, it would seem that those with the least to benefit financially from tourism, mainly recent retirees, thought Goathland's visitor capacity threshold was much smaller than those who might stand to reap economic reward from tourism. Likewise, it seems, they would be the ones most likely to favour stringent controls on tourist numbers.

Moreover, the tourist officer's comment illustrates the potential divide between the personal interests of a large proportion of the Goathland community and the wider interests of the village. Given this, local management 'solutions' to tourism 'problems' could only be arbitrary and partial. Toll gates, or something similar, however, possibly could go some way to solving the clash between the individual and community level vested interests and nimbyism that prevail in Goathland. At least this is the view of the local vicar who has strongly advocated and lobbied for tolls over a number of years:

> The one sensible suggestion which I put forward a lot of years ago was that we should put a toll on the village, but it would actually require an act of parliament to allow it...You've only got three entrances to the village, a gate [would be put] on each, a toll gate. Cars and coaches would pay a toll, residents would be given a pass of some description and anything that was obviously a trader's lorry, or delivery lorry, well, they would obviously get free passage.
>
> (middle-aged vicar of Goathland)

Even though the vicar's stance is remarkable because of its lack of public spirit, it seems to raise a contradiction regarding his own vested interest. The welfare of the village church is reliant on tourism income, which makes up ten percent of the total, and which the vicar said was 'crucial' and that without it the church would be 'struggling'. However, he probably anticipates that the toll would discourage Heartbeat tourists more than other types of visitor. His opinion is therefore somewhat kindred to that of the retired woman discussed earlier who separates the patronage of Heartbeat tourists from the welfare of the church and the village - although he approached the matter of welfare from a much more pecuniary angle. He also probably anticipates that such a radical measure would not lose visitor spend in the village, which pertains to a view on visitor quality that is shared by the majority of Goathland residents.

The Tourism Officer, however, at the time of the interview was still wrestling with the objective of finding a socially acceptable form of tourism management which could *balance* the needs of tourists, residents and business interests without undue discrimination. His problem with this has continuously centred round two difficulties: firstly, there is no consensus about tourism and its management in the Goathland community, and secondly, there is not a suitable site for a car park in or around the village that would allow a possible compromise solution where tourists could park and walk into Goathland. This has left him to ponder other possibilities, one of which is the expensive option of a park-and-ride scheme. The estimated shortfall of accommodation for car parking in Goathland is around 200 spaces, which would require substantial resources and space to rectify. Furthermore, it is by no means certain that a majority of Goathland residents would agree to a park-and-ride scheme, even as a reluctant compromise, and if they were to agree they would want it built as far away from the village as possible. When asked if he had put the park-and-ride idea to the Goathland community, the tourism officer replied:

> Yes at various times... Some people say 'yes you could actually do it by parking cars up at Sill Howes'; which is as you go down to Whitby on the main road., [also on a site] near

> Fylingdales, Ella Beck. But on both those sites they are exposed... therefore, you end up removing the problem from Goathland itself and putting it in a very visually obtrusive area again. Capacity is [also] fairly limited at those sites...If you actually took the car park further out than that you've got such a long journey time that you probably wouldn't get a lot of people wishing to use it. It would take around half an hour. Then you wonder if its better to give some additional support to the bus services and actually double the bus services from Whitby and Pickering. But that would cost, and is that going to be additional visitors coming into the village...How are we going to be able to say we are at saturation point, let's hold it? So in terms of sustainability and finding a way forward for Goathland it is exceptionally difficult. It also has a railway line which would present possibilities, but if you want to park at Pickering and bring your family in by train, its going to cost you twenty quid.
>
> (North Yorkshire Moors National Park Tourism Officer)

The park-and-ride scheme, it appears, would not be a wholly satisfactory compromise unless it was situated more than five miles away from the village, and that would impact on the surrounding area because it would be simply off-loading Goathland's visitor management problems. Furthermore, there is no guarantee that it would be successful with visitors as the scheme might be cumbersome, time consuming, out of context with their rural values, and over elaborate in both its design and implementation. Thus, it might have the effect of dissuading many people from coming to Goathland, which might be socially and culturally acceptable for many Goathland residents but would be a financial and operational disaster for the scheme and perhaps for the village itself. The farmer who owns the Goathland Exhibition Centre put a similar point in his own way:

> I think its a glorified toll, you would still have to have a toll to monitor and control it. But you will get people in the village who would say that the toll gates should be machine gun manned. That's not terribly serious but they are making a point. It is tricky though because again a lot of people who hold those sorts of attitudes then set their homes up as guest houses, they want the best of both worlds
>
> (local farmer, in his thirties and key informant)

Although it might appear that guest house owners and other businesses that rely on visitors who stay overnight might be affected by a park-and-ride scheme, it could be expected that they would lobby for their *guests* to be exempted because they would not be day-tripping *tourists*. In other words they could be given the temporary status of resident and would be allowed to drive and park in the village. Otherwise such a scheme would hardly be popular with many guest house owners, especially those who do not have car parks at their establishments and who rely on the common to provide convenient parking for their clients.

It seems that no matter what transport management strategy is adopted it has class implications, at least in terms of categorising desirable and undesirable tourists. For example, the Moorsbus service appears to be an equitable project in terms of price and accessibility, and if the service was expanded it might prove to be part of the answer to Goathland's traffic problems. However, even this scheme has ideological and social division connotations:

> One interesting point that came from the Moorsbus users last year is that in fact people who did choose to forsake their car and go on the bus came from a higher social group than the average, albeit unevenly spread. So in terms of who is easier to prize out of a car its Guardian readership and Independent readers. Telegraph readers, for instance, are very difficult to get out of their cars and onto public transport...[So] what appeared to be the case is that because we were getting people to abandon their cars, in effect we were then heightening these regressive social policies by getting higher social category people to come in.
>
> (North Yorkshire Moors National Park Tourism Officer)

What is implied here is that the more environmentally conscious belong to the intellectual and possibly more left wing fractions of society (cf. Bourdieu, 1984, Pepper, 1993); and that the freedom and individuation offered by the car are embraced strongly by right leaning members of the middle-class as well as the 'lower' categories of visitor who already come to Goathland by car. Thus, low price alone is not enough to attract visitors from all social stratas on to such a service, it needs to be culturally attractive on a broad scale too. However, this would mean overcoming certain barriers of class distinction and the

(re)constitution of consumption tastes by different groups of the kind Bourdieu (1984) and Featherstone (1991) refer to. No easy task because thus far the patronage of the Moorsbus service indicates that it might be a positional good (cf. Hirsch, 1976, and refer to Chapter 2).

Notwithstanding such concerns, the Moorsbus service could hardly be the answer to Goathland's more immediate problems. Not least because it is still a fledgling operation which as yet has not had the chance to gain wide renown and popularity. Furthermore, it is only a local 'solution' and could not be expected to overcome the use of private coaches in Goathland, which are component parts of package tours that originate from towns way beyond the boundaries within which the Moorsbus service operates. Neither are such operators likely to try and persuade their passengers to inconveniently exchange their privately hired coach for a Moorsbus upon arrival to the Park. Even if this were possible it would only be a practical measure and would not satisfy the Goathland community on a number of counts, because it is not simply the private coaches or the numbers of tourists they bring that residents disapprove of, as the North Yorkshire Moors National Park Tourism Officer said, 'they have this fear of coaches and the sort of people coaches bring, their social class'.

Interpretation as management

Other measures considered at the local level have been less to do with the physical management of bodies but with the education and modification of tourists and their preconceptions once they arrive at the village (as per the Goathland Exhibition Centre, for example). The vicar, who holds a Masters Degree in Heritage Management, sees interpretation as a key means of doing this, believing that it can influence visitor attitudes and behaviour through providing more understanding of the authenticity of Goathland. Indeed, he would like interpretation displays throughout the village in order to capture the attention of as many visitors as possible. In his own words, this would

> help the visitor, and indeed to some extent some of the villagers themselves, to understand what the village is about. Where it has come from, where it is now and where it is likely to go in terms of development or otherwise. I actually think that the Exhibition Centre

can play a large part in that if people can be encouraged to go through it. It's a very good project, it's probably open to improvement, but there again everything is. But I think as an idea it is right, it helps people understand that the village has a history and has got a present. I mean part of the problem is that people arrive in Goathland, and certainly some of them are drawn by the Heartbeat factor, there's no doubt about that, but they don't know what they are looking for when they get here. Visitors ten-fifteen years ago were coming because they wanted to walk, because they wanted to get into the open spaces and they knew what they were coming for. They'd come, they'd park their cars tidily, they'd put their boots on and disappear into the moors, and they'd come back down to the pubs for a meal or whatever. Now they are coming off the train at the bottom of the village and that's partly due to the success of the railway, its not really due to Heartbeat. The railway is getting busier and busier, they are marketing themselves better. [The passengers], they come along here [and say], 'Oh Goathland. that's the place where Heartbeat is made', they get off the train, you see, and say 'Oh, what's here?'. You know, there aren't lots of people in police cars driving around, and there isn't a police house, and even the pub is now a set....You know, all these things and they don't know what else to look for, they don't understand why the village exists. On the face of it there is no reason for the village to exist unless you know the history...[With interpretation] people will say 'Oh, this is an interesting place, perhaps we'll come back again and explore it properly'.

(middle-aged vicar of Goathland)

When the Vicar was asked if the general idea was to turn Heartbeat tourists into ideal visitors, he replied

Yes. Explore and spend some time here, and obviously in the process spend some money, but primarily to explore, spend some time here and enjoy the place. We enjoy living here, a lot of us came here because we wanted to, because its a nice place to be and we'd like other people to find that same kind of enjoyment, but they won't do if they wander in and out again.

(ibid.)

This passage from the interview with the vicar summarises the feelings of many in the village, and the fundamental principal of local interpretation for him is to educate Heartbeat tourists into ways of appreciating their surroundings 'properly'. And of course the proper way is that of the villagers who have

bought into their rural lifestyle, and the way of like-minded visitors who come to walk and appreciate the surrounding countryside. While the use of interpretation is a softer option than the controversial use of tolls it would, nevertheless, be an attempted means of control. It relies upon promoting Goathland's 'real' identity in situ as opposed to allowing the inauthenticity of the widely received image of Aidensfield to absorb Goathland in a semiotic power struggle. The power of interpretation lies with its self legitimating use of the past and natural history, coupled with the ability to frame images of Goathland's time and space in digestible gobbets that relay 'authenticity' and pre-judged, 'worthwhile' knowledge. Furthermore, it is the commissioners, authors and designers of interpretation who would judge what that knowledge should be and how it should be presented. And the underlying message which would be put across is 'intrude as little as possible and keep *our* village nice for *us*'. In this way it is hoped that residents' rural lifestyle and the traditional rural mythology of Goathland may endure.

As already made clear, this is as much a cultural product as Heartbeat Country, albeit with claims to a higher cultural order, and is replete with suggestions of permanence and residents' sovereignty, especially concerning the rural myth and Goathland's past. However, the great majority of Goathland's residents are relative newcomers with little claim to authenticity themselves, at least in their own terms with regard to tradition and historical connection with the place. It appears that their legitimacy as arbiters of what is 'proper' lies both with their habitus concerning rurality and their material rights/power of property ownership.

On a more practical note, the visitors who were most in favour of interpretation were the minority who wanted Heartbeat Country to come to life for them, the others mostly thought the village should be left as it is. Interpretation displays are, therefore, unlikely to reap the kinds of rewards the vicar would wish for because they intrude on visitors' own reading of Goathland's rural world. To recall the woman civil servant from Norwich, who was most articulate about her distrust of interpretation of any sort:

you don't know what's real and what isn't real. Something is presented to you and its somebody else's idea what the place is like and what it used to be like here. It'll be more interesting talking to some of the old people than seeing a lot of card board cut outs and designer words written on some sort of interpretation display or hoarding....That's not what life is like is it, you don't want to be managed.

(woman civil servant, in her early forties, from Norwich and visiting for the day)

Clearly, as mentioned earlier, this woman is protesting about the ideological content of management and interpretation practices, assimilating them as a means of control. Significantly, for her authenticity is important and cannot be had by consuming re-presentations whether they be of rural life or of the places and props of film making. The tourist experience is not about being a simple viewer or part of a relatively passive audience, it is about participation and interaction with people in place. Possibly most important of all, it is about using one's own judgement of the experience of place without being cajoled or manipulated by intermediaries or 'experts'.

While this woman makes a strong point about it being most interesting to learn of the past from elderly local people, Goathland has few elderly people, if any at all, who have lived all or most of their lives there, thus knowledge of the local past would have to be gained through secondary sources. As the vicar, who has lived in Goathland for about eight years, explained: ' It seems to me in recent years that a lot of people have come here to retire. I haven't met anybody yet who has actually been born and raised in Goathland'. The dilemmas of Goathland, therefore, are rooted in the present in terms of its continued production as residential and/or tourist space. The major arguments are about who has claim over Goathland's history and geography, which are articulated in terms of current cultural rights to the past and material rights to the local space of the present.

7 Concluding Comments on Goathland

Reflexive visitors and gazing tourists

The visitor responses display a capacity for reflexive monitoring that goes beyond the parameters drawn by stereotypical views of herding and vulgar tourists. They show that tourists, albeit to varying degrees, can not only be aware of their part in the tourism process, but they can be critical of other tourism elements and issues - such as control/management practices, sovereignty over place, commodification, residents' rights, and so on. Hardly the stuff of consumer clones or dupes. While it may be difficult to generalise about the responses gathered, it seems safe to say that authenticity is important to these tourists. For instance, Goathland would lose most, if not all, of its current appeal as a tourist attraction if it was empty of residents and crudely turned into a Heartbeat theme park. Goathland as well as Aidensfield is attractive to the majority of visitors. Indeed, it seems it would be a sacrilege for most visitors if the former was subsumed under a new hybrid identity. Moreover, the majority of visitors, regardless of age, seemed to be nostalgic for the loss of authenticity in urban life and hoped at least to witness, even experience, the reverse of this in Goathland, and to an extent do the same by watching the Heartbeat programme itself. Even so, visitors were generally resigned to and tolerant of a certain amount of staging and commercialisation in Goathland, which seemed to be accepted as inevitable in tourist environments. Nonetheless, evidence to support the existence of the post-tourist being ironically disengaged regarding matters of authenticity is missing in this case study. However, the very fact that people are attracted to Goathland because of Heartbeat demonstrates a certain ironic dramaturgy in the content of their visitor experience.

These observations question the role the tourist gaze plays in structuring and mediating tourist experience. It seems that visitors to Goathland do not

always believe, or rely on, what they see. By extension, tourist reflexivity seems to involve ritual performance and active engagement with the sight/site through, say, walking, touching, shopping, lunching and conversing with others, as well as simply looking. From a combination of such activities the tourist experience is judged and valued; and in this, participation and interaction are crucial. Thus, gazing is only one element in a repertoire of critically important tourist consumption practices.

Signs of authenticity and legitimacy: and private versus public space

It is plain that Goathland is now a themed environment bearing the markers of its media fame and its development as an artefact of popular culture. It is not only a contemporary moorland village with a community that cherishes a certain notion of rural tradition, but is simultaneously a shrine to a particular popularisation of the rural myth and to an innocent framing of 1960s nostalgia. The lifting of Goathland into popular culture by the successful Heartbeat series prepares the packaging of the area for the marketers of tourism to sell as Heartbeat Country, simply by revealing Goathland's location to the masses, whilst embroidering its place myth in brochures and guide books that mix romantic eulogy with 'fact' and fantasy. Heartbeat tourists are responding to the Heartbeat 'marker' (MacCannell, 1976), that is the place branding, not the place itself. This is not to say that the place itself is authentic in an essential way; it has clearly been made by an idealising gaze of the local community who legitimise their claims to Goathland through a middlebrow cultural appeal to 'real' interpretations of rurality. The Goathland residents, once flattered by the filming of the Heartbeat series in the locality, are now, at least at times, being overwhelmed by the area's new found fame. And the local enthusiasm which accompanied the implied distinction of YTV's choice to use the area as the setting for Heartbeat has waned significantly. Indeed, according to a very recent second interview with the National Park tourism officer, Goathland residents are now starting to turn their anger and complaints more directly toward YTV and the film crew, who were once embraced with open arms. This represents the latest round of finger pointing as indecision and nimbyism with regard to tourism impacts have

stubbornly prevailed, and residents look for tangible, linear cause-effect relationships which they can use to explain Goathland's problems and use as a platform from which to suggest remedial actions or solutions.

However, the social and political complexity of tourism development in Goathland seems to defy pragmatic analyses and limits the effectiveness of local tourism management practices. Not least because Goathland's identity is caught up in a broader cultural struggle between modern and postmodern signification. In this, its media profiling seems to represent a re-imaging of the area where its sign value as Heartbeat Country is challenging its more traditional identity. For the resident community Goathland is real and Aidensfield is definitely not. However, for some tourists these two places are not necessarily distinguishable in such clear-cut terms. Maybe because traditional notions of rurality and nostalgia underpin both identities. Or it could be that at the moment tourists in general do not see a real threat to the authenticity of the place by such a temporary, transparent and thus 'false' association. From this perspective, then, it would seem absurd to think of Goathland as having conflicting identities. And for the visitor the staging of Aidensfield may be no more significant or damaging than the extended staging of, say, a country fair or event. Nonetheless, the advertising of Heartbeat Country, and the reconstitution of local businesses as markers of Aidensfield, blurs the boundaries between the real and the imagined in such a way that it seems Goathland is becoming subjected to a certain amount of postmodern de-differentiation, which suggests that it has many characteristics indicative of Baudrillard's 'society of the simulacrum' (cf. Baudrillard, 1983). Residents seem particularly sensitised to this because of the way it has manifestly, and sharply, destabilised their cultural and material vested interests regarding rurality and the maintenance of a rural lifestyle.

This is especially ironic when it is considered that it is the rural myth as it applies to Goathland in its newly packaged form which has provided the inspiration for the masses to visit the area. The rural myth, and its allure as a lifestyle signifier, is also the very thing which the majority of Goathland residents have bought into, albeit by a more exclusive, and that much more self affirming right of access. It is apparent that although an idealised reading of the

rural now endures as a socially widespread cultural product, its manifestation and representation in both popular and traditional cultural output marks the symbolic terrain for struggles over claims of authentic and inauthentic access to, and 'appreciation' of, the countryside. Residents persist in their attempts to assert the righteousness and legitimacy of their brand of countryside consumption through claims that would naturalise and equate tradition with authenticity. This is not simply a strategy for cultural distinction or a display of difference, it is simultaneously a means of reclaiming Goathland for themselves and a way of adding political weight to their views on tourism impacts.

However, there is no escaping the fact that the increased media and leisure interest in the countryside, coupled to advances in mass transport, have led to a kind of market democratisation in which rural locations such as Goathland have become ever more knowable, popular and accessible to much more than just a significant minority of the British public. This is not to forget that whole swathes of Britain's populace - such as the transport poor, ethnic minorities and so on - do not share equal opportunity of access to either the countryside or the rural myth. Rather it acknowledges that as the use of rural images in advertising and the media have expanded and increased, and the means of physical access to the countryside have grown, the popular has imploded into Goathland's residential space and vies with it to create tourist space. In a bid to fend off the impacts of this process, residents not only claim greater cultural competence in matters rural but subscribe to an almost *a priori* assumption that associates such arbitrary knowledge with 'natural' rights of private property ownership and status. Therefore, claims of residential sovereignty are both materially and culturally hierarchised and validated, and are ultimately combined as weapons in a struggle against a variety of identified 'others' and their 'negative' impacts and influences - that is, mass tourists, urban conurbations, technical and managerial fixes, popular culture, and so on.

Not surprisingly, then, the two dimensional solutions put forward by the authorities to manage tourism in Goathland have faltered. Not only have they had to negotiate practical obstacles - for example, problems with site selection for a car park - they have had to encounter the multi-dimensional political and

cultural barriers outlined above. It is the way these factors constantly combine and intertwine that have caused the authorities to fail to inspire consensual and official support for their proposals. Consequently, many management strategies now seem to rely heavily upon the voluntarism of various users to follow 'appropriate' behavioural codes and the private use of interpretation as a medium to facilitate this. Although interpretation as an alternative management strategy would seem innocuous, it too is a form of control which is underpinned by the desire of the residents to reclaim Goathland in a manner which fulfills their mythical images and cultural predilections. In this way Goathland is caught up in a semiotic power struggle, which, nonetheless, has material manifestations and consequences. And to protect residents' perceived property and cultural rights, an intensified nymbyism seems to be rife in certain quarters of the Goathland community. In its extreme form this attitude would wish to have the village cordoned off by toll gates in order to reassert the boundaries of exclusion in both a material and a non democratic way. Cordoning off the village as a pay-as-you-enter space would not only be tantamount to social control, as some residents uncomfortably acknowledged, it would make its packaging that much more complete, whatever the arguments about its legal status and efficacy.

Class

This case study also shows that there is an implied class conflict in the cultural realm. Local people prefer a 'typically traditional' middle-class form of rural consumption (cf. Urry, 1990), whether it be by themselves or like-minded visitors, to the now predominant form instigated by Heartbeat. As demonstrated, both of these consumption forms are fashioned from a highly idealised view of the English countryside that cuts through class boundaries. In this rural context, at least, the collective and the romantic gaze are equally constructed through a cultural filter that cherishes nostalgia and the rural myth. Although not always voiced laudably, the expression of stereotypical views of residents that suggest Heartbeat tourists belong to the urban working-class are over simple and over generalised. Heartbeat tourists are less uniformly identifiable than this, which implies that mass tourist consumption habits are not necessarily an indication of

an overriding class conformity. While the majority of Heartbeat tourists appear to be working-class, they are not overwhelmingly so. This may reflect the wide appeal of the programme itself or other articulations of the mixed culture of class within wider urban society, but more extensive research would be needed to examine the social make-up of these visitors. Nonetheless, accessing the rural myth and the countryside itself is highly contingent on one's class position as well as one's status regarding age, physical (dis)ability, education and cultural capital, access to various modes of transport, race, gender, residence and 'free time'. Separating these categories to examine how they articulate with class in a tourism context, however, is beyond the scope of this work and would also be a useful agenda for further research.

Part Two

Introduction

This part of the thesis is about urban heritage tourism, specifically tourism in York city centre - which relies on its historic and cultural attributes to attract visitors. As in Part One, the focus is on tourism development relations, and on how various actors in the tourism development process voice their relative positions and perspectives on the consumption and production of heritage tourism in York. The structure is similar to that of Part One: a theoretical overview chapter forms the foundation on which the following four case study chapters are based. Overall, the aim of this part of the thesis is to complete a 'multi-scaled' analysis of urban heritage tourism in that local, national and international processes and relations of tourism development are examined to elucidate how the local is both a locus and mediator of wider influences and structures (cf. Britton, 1991; Urry, 1990; Hall, 1994).

It is important to note once again that the general concepts and critical issues relating to the production and consumption of tourism that were discussed in Chapter 2 are equally applicable to city tourism. They are, therefore, not reintroduced in this part, although they are referred to at appropriate times. More specifically the first chapter, Chapter 7, deals with urban issues relevant to heritage tourism development in cities. It sheds light on the varied processes that have impacted on the direction in which western city tourist space has developed in recent years, and examines in some detail the wider political, economic and socio-cultural dynamics that have important influences on the way tourism may be embraced by York.

The following four chapters focus on the processes and relations of tourism development directly acting on and through York city centre. The first of these chapters details the development history of York as a tourist destination,

while the next three chapters are empirically based and constructed around the comments of various interviewees. That is, they explore the reactions of a variety of residents, tourism producers and consumers of York as a tourist city. The specific aim is to assess how tourism development in York has been both steered and received by these stakeholders, and especially to assess their responses in light of the critical issues raised in Chapter 7 and, of course, Part One.

Chapter 8 is a short chapter which traces York's development history as a major tourist city. This provides a background for Chapter 9 which is an analysis of York's latest development initiative. Based on comments made by decision makers or 'key informants' associated with tourism development in York, it outlines the detail of a public/private partnership which has recently been formed in the city to lead a marketing and promotion-led strategy aimed at further tourism growth. It also explores the implications of this strategy in terms of employment and the ability of York to attract other forms of economic activity and capital investment.

The subsequent chapter, Chapter 10, focuses on York's heritage 'products'. It is founded on a mixture of key informant, resident and visitor responses, and examines the pivotal role the activities of the York Archaeological Trust - which owns such attractions as the Jorvik Viking Centre and the Archaeological Resources Centre (ARC) - has played in influencing the way York city centre is both produced and consumed as 'tourist space' (MacCannell, 1976). And finally, the way shops and shopping in the city centre are integrated into York's heritage tourism product is described and analysed.

Chapter 11 examines the everyday experience of York as a tourist city through the interview responses of residents not directly involved in the local tourism industry[18]. By way of comparison, the last empirical chapter, Chapter 12, also has an experiential focus, but the main subjects of analysis are tourists and their views on what they do and see during their visit to York. Arguably, the findings in these two chapters could be the most important of all in this part of the thesis because they reveal the levels of reflexivity, approval, conformity,

resistance, prejudice and so on of people who are part of the major community of consumers of York city space.

A brief conclusion to the section is then presented which draws out the major issues and findings of the York case study.

8 Development, Heritage and Tourism in the City

As mentioned, this chapter forms an overview of the wider socio-economic movements and structures which have an influence on the way a city such as York might develop its tourism product. The aim is to provide both a theoretical and a contextual background that situates urban heritage tourism development within general social and economic shifts in western society.

The first section examines how political and economic trends at the international scale have proceeded to influence the tourism development strategies of many western cities over the last three decades. This is linked to the emergence of a push toward city regeneration using 'cultural industries' to revitalise key urban spaces as consumption playgrounds. This demonstrates how culture has become a multifaceted economic resource for many western cities regardless of their various social and economic traditions. The British experience of urban tourism is discussed in the above context, with specific focus on the roles the arts and heritage play as means to attract new capital investment. All this is drawn upon later to illustrate how York is having to respond to increasing competition in the cultural market, even though it has the advantage of being a long-standing 'tourist-historic city' (Ashworth and Tunbridge, 1990). This means that York is compelled to compete with the success of cities which have less traditional value as tourist attractions by adopting a tourism development strategy which centres on cultural production, commercialisation and vigorous promotion.

That said, it is important to avoid lumping all western cities together for the sake of generalisation. Undoubtedly York is not only unique in terms of its social geography, as a heritage city it also occupies a particular place within the tourism market system. It is important, therefore, to consider the heritage city as

a distinct object of analysis within the wider context of urban tourism development; the penultimate section of this chapter does this. Consequently, this broad analysis becomes sufficiently attuned to provide a contextually layered background to the micro-scale focus of the subsequent empirical chapters.

Finally, the chapter closes by pointing out certain implications or possible risks of continued production and consumption of heritage in western cities.

Shifts in capitalist society and the restructuring of urban space

From Fordism to post-Fordism: the implications for place competition

It is widely agreed that since the early 1970s the capitalist west has gone through radical structural changes, moving from a predominantly Fordist regime of capital accumulation to post-Fordism (see, for example, Harvey, 1989, 1994; Soja, 1989; Urry, 1990). As an ideal type, Fordism was characterised by large manufacturing industries dominating coherent, nationally based western economies. Manufacturing businesses were mainly run on Taylorist principals of scientific management; the availability of consumer goods and services was largely led by the supply capabilities of mass producers rather than being market led; and commodities were little differentiated from each other in terms of market segmentation and niche advertising strategies. Latterly, through technological advances in transport and communications, a more flexible, global post-Fordist economic paradigm has emerged which has heralded a relative decline of manufacturing in the advanced capitalist nations. Manufacturing industries have tended to expand more in 'developing' countries, and in turn developed countries have seen a rise in the economic importance of the service sector.

Western markets are now said to be largely oriented toward consumer needs and choices rather than the supply capabilities of producers. Competitive forces favour industries which have the ability to be geographically agile and well located strategically at the points of production, distribution and service delivery to meet quick changing consumer demands. Post-Fordist consumption practices tend to orbit around ideologies of individuation and differentiation rather than following generalised patterns of mass consumption and production.

Urry (1990) usefully summarises the main characteristics of post-Fordist consumption as follows:

> consumption rather than production dominant as consumer expenditure further increases as a proportion of national income; new forms of credit permitting consumer expenditure to rise, so producing high levels of indebtedness; almost all aspects of social life become commodified, even charity; much greater differentiation of purchasing patterns by different market segments; greater volatility of consumer preferences; the growth of a consumers' movement and the 'politicising' of consumption; reaction of consumers against being part of a 'mass' and the need for producers to be much more consumer-driven, especially in the case of service industries and those publicly owned; the development of many more products each of which has a shorter life; the emergence of new kinds of commodity which are more specialised and based on raw materials that imply non-mass forms of production ('natural' products for example).
>
> (Urry, 1990, page 14)

Such customer orientation and flexibility are reflected in the way the tourism industry has restructured and diversified in recent decades. The old (Fordist) type tourism, as exemplified by the standardised mass package tour and the British holiday camp, has tended to give way to what Poon (1989) refers to as 'new tourism'. She describes this as a 'total system of wealth creation' based on segmentation, customisation, flexibility and 'diagonal integration'. Poon is not absolutely clear or specific in what she means by 'diagonal integration' but seems to be referring to a greater capacity within the 'new tourism' system for the integration of various sectoral and company activities or interests. This may happen by greater formation of coalitions and consortia, or even by simultaneously deploying both horizontal and vertical integration strategies in business mergers and take-overs. The key features of what she describes are that, ideally, multifaceted tourism-related businesses would be able to provide varied yet interlocking products efficiently and quickly to meet changing market demands; in turn there would be a greater realisation of economies of scale and scope as these businesses accrued mutual benefits through synergistic growth. Furthermore, all this coherence would take place within the context of a much

Table 3. Post-Fordism and Tourism

Post -Fordist consumption	Tourist examples
Consumers increasingly dominant and producers having to be much more consumer-oriented	Rejection of certain forms of mass tourism (holiday camp and cheaper packaged holidays) and increased diversity of preferences
Greater volatility of consumer preferences	Fewer repeat visits and the proliferation of alternative sites and attractions
Increased market segmentation	Multiplication of types of holiday and visitor attractions based on lifestyle research
Growth of consumer's movement	Much more information provided about alternative holidays and attractions through the media
Development of many new products, each of which has a shorter life	Rapid turnover of tourist sites and experiences because of fashion changes
Increased preferences expressed for non-mass production/consumption	Growth of 'green tourism' and of forms of refreshment and accommodation which are individually tailored to the consumer (such as country house hotels)
Consumption less and less 'functional' and increasingly aestheticised	'De-differentiation' of tourism from leisure, culture, retailing, education, sport, hobbies

Source: Lash and Urry, 1994 page 274

more sophisticated tourism system that would, however, retain the fundamentally crucial structural dynamics of internal competitiveness and diversity.

Trends displaying similar characteristics to those described above are evident in the way that urban tourism has radically altered in recent years. More towns and cities are now sold as integrated cultural products, with many offering a 'one-stop-shop' for a variety of cultural 'experiences'. The tourist market is increasingly international in scale where many different places are made more comparable and accessible to the potential consumer. This creates a highly competitive situation in which positive image, uniqueness and

distinction of place are highly valued commodities in themselves, and which would be developed and promoted to achieve market success in the emergent post-Fordist tourism system (see Table 3).

These changes in tourism are only part of post-Fordist demands on urban space, as virtually all business sectors are implicated in this new regime of flexible capital accumulation (cf. Harvey, 1989). In general terms, spatial barriers (such as physical, cultural, political and economic boundaries which can act as impediments to trade) have tended to collapse or are more easily negotiated as the friction of distance is overcome through technological and market advances. Consequently, spatial relations have radically changed as new development space has been made more available. For example, business, retail and themed leisure parks have arisen relatively unchecked in the capitalist west. A trend toward spatial decentralisation has occurred in line with new market demands of service space and the growing political acceptance of the need to accommodate highly mobile international investment. Space and place have thus provided a very important leverage for multinational capital, and, to be economically viable and attractive, western cities have increasingly geared themselves up as prestigious locations for corporate headquarters, service firms, research and development enterprises and so on. Conversely, many places in the third world have specialised in becoming cost effective production centres in order to induce and retain exogenous capital investment.

Although western cities also use incentives such as 'tax holidays' and the promise of supplying cheap flexible labour to induce inward investment, their development strategies are commonly dependent on aesthetics, especially in terms of using local culture and environment as vehicles for conveying 'quality' and distinction of place. Tourism can play a vital role in this as cities often see reciprocating benefits in enhancing their environments to attract the tourist market. By way of 'clean-up' strategies, urban interpretation and the innovative but 'sensitive' development of tourist facilities and infrastructure, a powerful image relating cultural and amenity value can become synonymous with a given city. In this way tourism adds to the prestige of the locality as a whole. Many western cities are, therefore, inclined to restructure and package themselves so as

to create a dynamic, consumer oriented social and economic environment. This, according to many city development advocates, would be beneficial not only to major corporations and service firms, but also to local businesses, as well as the many individual consumers of symbolically resonant city landscapes (Ashworth and Voogd, 1990; Hall, 1993, 1994).

Robins (1991) refers to these post-Fordist demands on urban space as the 'new urbanity' in its global context, and, of course, those cities with heritage to sell may be well placed to benefit the most. This implies that heritage itself is more or less authentic, different and distinctive in different places. Cities like York, then, with an urban fabric so visibly steeped in history and tradition, would be in an extremely advantageous position. Their cultural capital is assured by the authenticity of their preserved buildings and streets - notwithstanding that the current day usages of such physical structures may be completely different from those they were originally built for. However, in the postmodern world of de-differentiation a certain paradox now emerges where heritage can be technically produced and reproduced just about anywhere, leading to massive increases and repetition in the circumstances in which cultural products and productions are made. In this way heritage becomes more a product of the present than of the past. This means that although geographical difference and historical authenticity may be demanded in the urban heritage market, the forces of their production actually militate against them:

> An emphasis on tradition and heritage is... important in the development of tourism as a major industry. Here too there is a premium on difference and particularity. In a world where differences are being erased, the commodification of place is about creating distinct place-identities in the eyes of global tourists. Even in the most disadvantaged places, heritage, or the simulacrum of heritage, can be mobilised to gain competitive advantage in the race between places. When Bradford's tourist officer, for example, talks about 'creating a product' - weekend holidays based around the themes of 'Industrial Heritage' and 'In the Steps of the Brönté's', he is underlining the importance of place-making in placeless times, the heightened importance of distinction in a world where differences are

being effaced...In the new global arena, it is necessary, then, simultaneously to minimise and maximise traditional cultural forms.

(Robins, 1991, pages 38-39)

In 'placeless times' what is most important is the strategy of positioning one's product in the market rather than actually being different or unique or 'authentic'. Marketing, of course, is the means by which products are positioned. This enables, say, industrial Bradford to compete with 'olde' York in the heritage tourism market even though they are very different places. In other words Bradford can create and market itself as a heritage product with the same equivalence as York because it has the same technical ability to do so. Through theming, creating heritage trails and visitor centres, for example, Bradford can rise from the ashes of industrial decline as a place of heritage - literary as well as industrial. Moreover, as with any other heritage place, the success of Bradford's marketing campaigns, its market image and its portfolio of marketable heritage attractions, are at least as important as its unique history and culture. Indeed, as Robins argues, heritage product development and marketing equate with place making, and any city, even a culturally well endowed city like York, that does not develop and sell itself in such a market-orientated way is courting economic disadvantage, possibly even crisis if market share is significantly reduced. These competitive forces can thus put great pressure on York's public and private sectors to rework and package its traditional heritage in ever more consumer-friendly ways.

The new urbanity is not necessarily reliant on heritage tourism in gaining advantage over other places, rather heritage and tourism are part of an integrated approach towards economic growth and development in many contemporary towns and cities. Moreover, the now common emphasis in cities on enhancing the cultural capital of place and high worth investment opportunities (Harvey, 1989; Zukin, 1990, 1991; Griffiths, 1993) has brought in other 'cultural industries' as part of broad based economic development and restructuring strategies. This general trend is politically, economically, and culturally

important and deserves further explanation. It is, therefore, the topic of the next section.

Cultural industries as aids to development and regeneration in cities

The term 'cultural industries' is somewhat of an oxymoron which refers to many commercial activities and organisations that are to do with cultural production. Not to be confused with the much more overtly sinister term 'culture industry' (cf. Adorno, 1975; see Chapter 2), cultural industries is a relatively neutral categorisation of an economic sector made up of such things as tourist offices, heritage centres, exhibitions, theatres, libraries, museums, art galleries, the arts in general, film production and distribution, radio and television, sport and other recreational services.

Importantly, the use of the cultural industries sector as a central plank for economic development and restructuring is widespread in cities throughout western Europe and north America (see Bianchini, 1990; Zukin, 1990; Griffiths, 1993). Since the 1970s the US in particular has been a trend-setter in incorporating the arts and culture into more general economic development strategies in many of its cities. Molotch (1976) has described cities in the race for general economic advantage as 'growth machines' in that they compete with each other for capital to increase the returns of land, buildings and related products and services - ostensibly for their powerful elites (Madrigal, 1995). Cultural industries would be valuable in this respect because of the combined use they make of urban space, buildings, and a variety of products and services. The most dominant approaches in the US and Europe in the incorporation of cultural industries into economic development have centred on the arts - which can include the performing arts as well as galleries, museums, various exhibitions and events - as a catalyst for promoting a locality as a worthwhile target for capital investment (Griffiths, 1993). This is not to say that this 'promotional model' has gained universal currency across local and national boundaries, or indeed to say that it has always had unqualified success, but it has, nevertheless, become commonly adopted by a number of western cities which have wished to emulate successes achieved in using the cultural industries sector as an important

image boosting and promotional vehicle. Furthermore, although most of the cities that have used this approach have been ex-industrial cities, its analysis is applicable to York because even though it is somewhat of a classic heritage city, it has been economically reliant on a strong manufacturing base for many years, which is now in decline (see next chapter). Therefore, York might be considered as being uniquely positioned to take advantage of this particular trend in the economic restructuring and regeneration of western cities.

There are several factors and contemporary developments in the capitalist west which underscore the important role of cultural industries in the economic restructuring of cities. As pointed out above, post-Fordism, post-industrialisation and place competition have required many western localities to look towards service sector industries to boost their economies. Of vital importance is the ability of a city to offer local conditions that prove attractive not only to increasingly image-conscious corporate businesses but also to their middle to high ranking managers and professional employees. A significant cultural industries base is seen by many public and private sector agencies as an aid in the quality of life and the lifestyle provision demanded by relatively well paid company staff, whose needs of a locality surpass its ability to provide high standards of material consumption (Griffiths, 1993). Again, heritage tourism development is seen as integral in this because not only are middlebrow tourists prime consumers of heritage and lifestyle (Britton, 1991; Merriman 1991; Walsh, 1992) but 'tradition and heritage are factors that enhance the 'quality of life' of particular places and make them attractive locations for investment' (Robins, 1991, page 38). Tourism and the other cultural industries, therefore, combine to create the type of consumption and investment opportunities that are thought to be valuable not only in attracting prestige businesses but also the type of visitors and new residents that inject social status and high spending into a city.

It is important to specifically ask: what about key service workers in the cultural industries sector, how significant is their input in the development of tourism and heritage in cities? Zukin (1990), in her analysis of cultural and economic production and consumption in western urban society, states that 'much of the experience of consumption today is highly mediated by new

producers' (page 45). By this she is suggesting that the consumer is not wholly sovereign, as many market commentators would have us believe, and contrary to some analyses of tourism consumption that also emphasise consumer sovereignty, cultural producers play an important role in what, and how, cultural goods should be consumed. However, the relationship between production and consumption is not necessarily a one way, determinate process, but is subtle, intimate and dynamic. The 'new producers' identified by Zukin are akin to the new cultural intermediaries in Bourdieu's thesis, who are self-conscious and important arbiters of taste in the way they both produce and consume culture.

> Just as consumers' search for authenticity depends on authoritative, detailed information about a variety of consumer goods and services, so too does the pursuit of security rely on a technically consistent, highly skilled, presentation of a variety of consumer images. New cultural producers play an especially influential, though usually underpaid and undervalued role, in this regard. Not only do they master new skills and purvey new information, they also exemplify these goods and services in their own consumption fields. That they are producers may obscure their lack of social or cultural distance from the affluent consumers who they serve. Nonetheless as interpreters and creators of a market-based cultural capital, they actually form the tastes of higher social strata.
>
> (Zukin, 1990, page 45)

These new producers, then, even though they have relatively low levels of economic capital (Urry, 1990), can and do construct a power base by being at the 'cutting edge' of cultural production (for example, key workers in heritage attractions and other cultural industries), and by mediating the bounds of cultural authenticity and integrity (see section on heritage and museums below). In this way they secure the value of their intellectual property and create employment opportunities for themselves. Both they and the cultural enclaves they create and reproduce benefit from enhanced rates of symbolic and real (material) cultural capital, as symbolic capital attains a conversion rate to economic capital through the growth of the leisure and tourism market and consumer culture.

Significantly, Zukin (1990) points out that the new cultural producers match the class profile and lifestyle preferences of the major consumers of

heritage and culture whether they be residents or tourists. Taken together as a social grouping these archetypal contemporary producers and consumers of cultural goods display both the cultural and economic characteristics typical of the 'new middle-class' or 'new service class' (cf. Bourdieu, 1984; Lash and Urry, 1987; Urry, 1990). And because the new middle-class are the pivotal consumers and producers of the cultural economy (see Chapter 2), they are the cultural catalysts and arbiters with crucial sway on what is desirable in terms consumer choices and tastes. Therefore, they are key in the decision making process of how cultural industries, tourism and other socio-economic developments should mesh and take shape in many western cities.

Having said this, it is important to note that the importance of cultural industries is not limited to their appeal to the aesthetic tastes, desires and aspirations of relocating middle to high ranking staff, and their companies, as well as middlebrow tourists, new residents and new producers. Many indigenous organisations and individuals also see economic and political advantage in backing cultural industries. For instance, local businesses which are active in sponsorship, promotion and ownership of the arts can help attract target customers, boost public status, enhance property values, legitimate urban development projects and cement relationships with local elites (Griffiths, 1993). For local authorities, tourism, the arts and other cultural industries offer significant potential to create jobs through stimulating spending and high economic multipliers. Thus, many direct and indirect employment increases are seen as socio-economic rewards to be gained from embracing the commercial potentialities that tourism, the arts and other cultural activities can offer. Benefits are also often seen in more than narrow economic terms; not only do they extend to enhancing local aesthetics but encourage a culture of optimism within the community itself - which is perceived to have a reciprocal effect in attracting much desired inward investment. Furthermore, it is often argued by local public and private elites that what is culturally and structurally good for attracting external funding, highly valued personnel and consumers, is also good for the quality of life of the majority of local residents, because they also would be able to enjoy the benefits of a cultural industries and tourism infrastructure.

Shared beliefs and co-operation between private and public interests have been a characteristic of many 'promotional models' in the development of cultural industries, whose main actors and strategies often adopt the style and features commonly associated with 'growth coalitions'. Bianchini (1990) notes that, in many US cities during the 1970s and 1980s, arts groups became partners in growth coalitions which aimed to revitalise downtown areas as a major plank of their economic restructuring strategies. As already mentioned, the arts played a key role in enhancing a city's image by producing high culture in the form of theatres, museums and galleries etc. This, besides attracting outside elites and the service class both as visitors and as new residents, would induce local people to consume high cultural artefacts in previously under-utilised spaces. In addition, cities could capitalise on the growing and labour intensive tourism industry, local authorities would increase tax revenues and opportunities for employment, and private capital would benefit from raised property values and increased economic turnover. New cultural districts were created in central city locations which not only provided specific spaces for the consumption of arts and culture, but spaces where diverse consumption activities could be experienced through the physical juxtaposition of high cultural artefacts, tourist attractions and events with potentially more mundane commercial facilities - such as general, but varied, retail outlets and offices. Thus, mixed developments became a norm in many US cities where a diverse range of consumption opportunities in an identifiable downtown cultural district would be available to prospective relocating businesses, visitors and residents alike. Griffiths (1993) relates that Pittsburgh was a US pioneer of this approach in which a cultural district has been designed to give a 'cohesive identity and public image of quality and excitement' (Snedcof, 1985). Baltimore is also cited by some authors (for example, Shaw and Willams, 1994) as being a US leader in revitalising hitherto neglected space - in this instance the inner harbour area in 1964 - through cultural facility development in which tourism has increasingly played a major role. A waterside park was constructed in the early years, and by 1987 the area boasted a Convention Centre, the Harbour Place festival shopping centre, a World Trade

Centre, a science museum and 12 new hotels (Shaw and Willams, 1994; Law, 1985).

The North American experiences of developing cultural facilities and tourism have had a direct effect on developments in Britain, especially in industrial cities like Glasgow. Indeed, Falk (1987) suggests that the issue of tourism's role in urban regeneration has had strong international dimensions, including the transfer of ideas, and even stronger political ideological connotations in countries such as the UK (Shaw and Williams, 1994). Although York's central area is a long established place of historical significance in Britain and abroad, and to that extent would hardly need to completely overhaul itself as a place of culture, it is increasingly having to compete with, adapt to, even adopt, many of the commercial and cultural strategies used by other western cities. In this way it is just as receptive as any other city to strategies which establish ways of converting cultural capital into material and money capital. Furthermore, because other British cities have seen some success in the commercialisation of cultural amenities, it is important to examine the national context in which York is set in terms of cultural and economic production. The next section, therefore, details the particular importance of cultural industries in Britain. It traces the interconnected commercialisation of cultural heritage and the arts to illustrate how they have been seen as 'tools' in urban regeneration and urban tourism development. It also shows how such developments are ideologically mediated, and, to an extent, directly borrowed from US experiences.

Heritage, art and culture as resources for economic regeneration in British cities

History and heritage

The fact that heritage has gained increasing social and economic importance in Britain in recent decades can be seen in what Hewison (1987), somewhat disparagingly, terms as the growth of the 'heritage industry'. This refers to the way that Britain is now 'manufacturing' heritage as a commercial activity, which, for Hewison, adds to a cultural decline in the present. Indeed, the fact

that heritage is produced in the present by an industrial process is indicative of its falsity and crass commercialism. This belies the fact that 'real' heritage is inherited from the past not produced as a commodity in the present. Hewison also berates what he sees an increasing tendency of the British to look toward a simultaneously idealised and commercialised imagining of the past as a source of identity affirmation. This, he argues, stultifies cultural development at the same time as turning the country into a kind of open air museum.

Similar views are expressed by Walsh (1992) when he says:

> There is today a tyranny of a commodified, synchronic past, where all our yesterdays only exist as today's commodities. The heritage industry denies historical process, and radiates only historical surfaces.
>
> (Walsh, 1992, page 182)

This, of course, suggests that heritage has little to do with history and everything to do with commerce and economic exploitation of the past. Furthermore, many commentators believe that this recent trend for looking backwards is a means of holding on to old certainties in a very uncertain world. The sense of uprootedness and placelessness that is said to be in part a consequence of the commodification processes of modern capitalism (Robins, 1991; Rojek, 1993) is ironic because to 'experience' the past in more accessible and popular ways means that it is increasingly commodified. Corner and Harvey (1991) refer to the popularisation of history through heritage as 'pastness' in that contemporary historical representation is about making the past convenient to the present so that it can be marketed, segmented, made immediate, sold and consumed in enterprising ways. This is not to suggest that enterprise culture and the 'free-market' have subsumed all meaning in heritage representations, but that the proliferation of heritage representation during the 1980s and 1990s is unprecedented and that its relationship with history is problematic, especially since heritage is now such an ubiquitous and powerful part of our every day lives. The recovery of the past in buildings, artefacts and various reconstructions is very common-place and everywhere, not least in television dramas and other

programmes, in magazines and other forms of popular media. Thus, a variety of heritage producers and heritage productions have

> inserted 'pastness' into the popular by narrative representations which have drawn on, and then re-enhanced, the periods, events, characters, costumes and activities forming heritage's intertextual grid.
>
> (Corner and Harvey, 1991, page 49)

Because of this, history and heritage are highly political concepts in that they can, through narratives of the past, 'educate' the consumer not only in how we came to the present but also of the comparative benefits or disbenefits of what we do now. The popularisation of certain histories always involves choices by those with the power and ability to choose what is acceptable. Even to the extent that certain views of the past and present, in time, are prioritised and naturalised over others to become hegemonic or depoliticised. As Tomlinson (1989, page 6) points out, 'popular culture and everyday life have always been of concern to our political masters', and as heritage is now an almost intrinsic part of both the popular and the everyday, it is important to trace how the recent upsurge of heritage consumption has been embraced by the British polity.

British politics and heritage over the last three decades

On the whole, 'the heritage' has been supported by the British political elite. Since the late 1960s successive British governments have instigated various measures which have sought to preserve and protect a variety of urban landscapes deemed to be of cultural value. For example, the 1967 Civic Amenities Act gave local authorities the power to designate conservation areas where special restrictions on 'inappropriate' development could be put in place. They were also given the right to list individual buildings as having architectural, cultural or historical importance. Subsequent acts have reinforced this legislation and as a consequence the number of conservation areas and listed buildings has risen sharply (Meethan, 1996; also see Hewison, 1987, 1991; Urry, 1990; Corner and Harvey, 1991).

The reasons for the growth of protected areas and buildings are manifold and directly associated with what has already been discussed. Recently the Government has perceived urban heritage to be a *commodity* as well as a cultural good and has, therefore, encouraged its preservation on economic as well as cultural grounds. And, as alluded to in Chapter 2, the construction of urban heritage space could also be the expression of a postmodern aesthetic in reaction against the perceived uniformity of modernist architecture. Where new building or new uses of old buildings have taken place the result is a postmodern type of construction which emphasises local and regional vernacular styles in an 'aestheticisation of the past' (Cooke, 1990, page 54; Urry, 1990) and a synchronic replaying of the past in the present. The recent 'recycling' and recreation of urban heritage is thus often argued to be a political as well as a cultural and economic attempt to establish historical identity in the face of global change and uncertainty (Robins, 1991; Corner and Harvey, 1991). Additionally, de-industrialisation in Britain has led to a revaluation of redundant industrial buildings and areas as having historical significance. This is coupled to a de-emphasis on prestige or culturally high valued buildings and monuments, as well as a similar revaluation of history as scholarship. Therefore, as argued for rural heritage in Chapter 2, postmodern de-differentiation between high and low culture has taken place in the sphere of urban heritage. Some would argue that this democratises conventional history by expanding what can be classified and interpreted as heritage, which in turn helps broaden its appeal to a mass audience as a form of mass consumption. As we have seen, however, for others such as Hewison (1987), Walsh (1992), and Fowler (1989, 1992), the ubiquitous commercialisation of history as heritage represents the sanitisation and emptying out of history, and a shallow commodification of the past.

The National Heritage Acts of 1980 and 1983 gave official weight to these trends in mass consumption of heritage and signaled the shift in both governmental and popular attitudes towards culture. The formal recognition of heritage as an economic resource was especially evident in the subsequent creation of English Heritage, which came about as a direct result of these acts. Instead of being mostly concerned with the protection and preservation of the

environment, as had previously been the case with pre 1980s heritage legislation, the 1983 act created the Historic Buildings and Monuments Commission - later to become English Heritage - allowing it to promote public awareness of heritage and to establish commercial companies to market it. Thus, the commodification of the country's heritage was to become formally sanctioned from the political centre.

The arts as an economic resource in contemporary Britain

Similar attitudes towards the arts and the Arts Council were shown during the 1980s by the British Government. Traditionally the Arts Council has seen its *raison d'être* as being cultural enabler, and saw the arts and the economic spheres as two mutually exclusive realms of society. The social role of the arts, until recently, was broadly integrative; they played a civilising and ennobling role in which different social groups and identities could be integrated into a supposedly politically neutral 'national culture' (Bianchini, 1990). The Labour governments of 1974-9 also supported this view of the arts and produced *The Arts and the People* (1977) which implied that community and ethnic arts could help social cohesion, especially in the inner cities. However, while the socially integrative consensus has generally held reasonably firm at national level, the Thatcher administration of the 1980s introduced a new economic imperative for the Arts Council which saw its public subsidy substantially reduced. This shift in funding provision also induced a shift in attitude of the Arts Council which began to argue its funding case more on economic regeneration grounds (especially for inner cities) than on social grounds. Thus, economic pragmatism became part of a new official consensus on high culture, and with the inspiration provided by economic successes of cultural industries abroad (notably the US), a number of British cities, many of them Labour controlled, have pursued pro-active cultural policies in the hope of transforming ailing industrial sectors.

The official sanctioning of both the arts and heritage as legitimate means of gaining market advantage for one place over others helped create an ideological climate in Britain in which civic boosterism and 'spatial politics' (Pickvance, 1985) have been encouraged both centrally and locally by

government and private elites. Additionally, throughout the 1980s and 1990s, local government authorities have seen public spending cuts administered from the centre and have, in turn, been compelled to act more as public entrepreneurs than managers. As a consequence many cities - such as London, Sheffield, Newcastle upon Tyne, Liverpool, Bradford, Glasgow and others - have used cultural planning and private/public partnerships in developing cultural industries to boost their economic fortunes (Bianchini, 1990). Glasgow, in particular, represents an early and highly successful British model of a cultural industries led push toward economic regeneration (see Myrescough, 1988; Boyle, 1988; Bianchini, 1990; Berg et al, 1995). It has used certain development strategies and place promotion techniques that have been emulated by other kinds of British cities, including York, that have attempted to capitalise on their own culture and heritage (see Ward and Gold, 1994 on the recycling of various place promotion ideas and techniques).

The heritage city and cultural tourism

An important distinction between a city like York and Glasgow is that York has not had to wrestle so much with an image problem. As already alluded to, in many respects it is the quintessential heritage city or 'tourist-historic city' (Ashworth and Tunbridge, 1990), long established on the map of national and international cultural tourism. It is an old European city by virtue of its ecclesiastical status in that it has a Medieval cathedral located within walls that still define the boundaries of York as a pre-industrial city. Therefore, even though the economy of York has relied on manufacturing since the nineteenth century (see next chapter), it would seem to be on a different European tourism 'circuit of cultural capital' (Zukin, 1990) than, say, Glasgow, more in line with heritage or historic cities such as Edinburgh, Bath, Aix-en-Provence, Florence and Venice etc.. Nonetheless, because of the increasing expansion, diversification and integration of the tourism system, York is in competition with all other places that wish to attract tourists, especially other cities, no matter where or what type they may be. Thus, York needs to sell itself to domestic and

international tourists to maintain competitiveness in the seemingly all encompassing tourism market. To reiterate Urry (1990):

> The internationalisation of tourism especially in Europe means that every tourist site can be compared with those located abroad. So when people visit somewhere in their own country they are in effect choosing not to visit a site abroad. The internationalisation of tourism means that all potential objects of the tourist gaze can be located on a scale, and can be compared with each other.
>
> (Urry, 1990, page 48)

The next chapter dwells on the particular characteristics of York both in terms of tourism development strategies and cultural distinction. For reasons of generalisation though, it is worthwhile here to consider the heritage city as a distinct spatial category which has 'traditional' appeal for the 'cultural tourism' market.

Producing and consuming the heritage city

Heritage cities have long-standing cultural capital in that the very presence of a splendid and highly cultured past seems to be a part of their urban fabric. Zukin (1991) refers to this as the 'real cultural capital' of place because of the tangibility of having cultural value enshrined in physical form. This, of course, is a vitally important ingredient in the process of turning cultural value into a lucrative economic resource. So too is a legacy of being a place of high cultural consumption. From the days of the Grand Tour many European cities like Florence and Venice have been consumed by wealthy tourists with high levels of cultural competence, capable of reading and appreciating what these cities have to offer from a very exclusive material and cultural vantage point. This only adds to their status as centres of high culture. However, though 'cultural tourists' have been relatively common in Europe for hundreds of years, it is only in the last twenty years or so that heritage and cultural tourism have been identified as specific tourism markets (Richards, 1996). The high cultural antecedents to modern heritage consumption have meant that heritage tourism (barring

definitional arguments over 'natural' and cultural heritage) is generally seen as synonymous with urban tourism, especially with the 'old' cities of Europe.

This reminds us that, as with rural environments, there is nothing essential in heritage cities that imbues them with intrinsic value; they are social products given cultural value. Therefore, there have to be generally agreed attributes a city must possess before the appellation 'heritage city' can be applied to it. Urry (1995) states that there are three preconditions that have to be met by any heritage city worthy of the name:

> First, there has to be legacy of a number of attractive and well preserved buildings from a range of historical periods... Second, such buildings would have to be used for purposes in some way consistent with their use as tourist sites... The third condition...is that the buildings should in some sense have been significant historically, that they stand for or signify important historical events, people or processes.
>
> (Urry, 1995, page 161)

From this it is evident that the central characteristic of a heritage city is that it needs to have a rich reservoir of history enshrined in its buildings - not least in a cathedral as a foundation of its city status - which is made palpable to tourists in an aestheticised space of entertainment and pleasure. In other words it is an historical city in that its historical legacy is well defined in a substantive, well set-out space which is also the locus of cultural tourist consumption.

Thus, heritage cities are now both cultural artefacts and mass market commodities. This makes them subject to the post-Fordist economic imperative of simultaneously selling the historical uniqueness of a city while selling the more common-place tourist services and facilities that can be found in its many competitor cities (for example, restaurants, hotels, various entertainments and so on). Not only are heritage cities under continuous, and costly, pressure to conserve their past but they are also compelled to offer a modern tourist infrastructure. 'Heritage tourism has...become a tourism marketing and development "bandwagon" in Europe in recent years' (Richards, 1996, page 266). Therefore, more than ever before, the spectre of certain tensions in terms

of cultural and economic trade-offs, costs, benefits and compromises looms large for heritage cities.

According to Ashworth and Tunbridge (1990) the activities of tourists in the heritage city chiefly comprise promenading, eating, drinking, watching staged events and entertainments, and generally visually appreciating the heritage and culture of place. In order to cater for such practices the heritage city needs to be an environment redolent with signs relating both touristic and historic relevance. Inevitably this means that the whole environment, and specific buildings and cultural artefacts within it, are subject to interpretation or the creation of 'spatial narratives' (Zukin, 1990). As argued in the Goathland case study, the use of interpretation involves the use of power, especially as it applies to symbolic meaning being implanted upon or appropriated from particular culturally elevated environments. The heritage city landscape, then, as with any urban landscape, is subject to particular (re)interpretations and readings, and is a repository of certain contested values (Harvey, 1989; Zukin, 1990, 1991). Symbolic meaning given to a particular cultural place invariably reflects the dominance of those with vested interest and power in that place, as much as those who are valued residents or visitors (Meethan, 1996). Thus, the use of interpretation in the heritage city, as in any value-laden environment, involves contestation, strategies of inclusion and exclusion, and processes of selection between insiders and outsiders (the Goathland case demonstrates this).

As in the cities which have adopted strategies of re-imaging and civic boosterism, the dominant insider class fraction in the 'typical' heritage city is the service class or the new middle-class, whether it be made up of incoming professionals, longer term residents, visitors or 'cultural intermediaries' (Bourdieu, 1984) responsible for marketing, interpreting and creating heritage. The reasons why they are 'insiders' are also the same, that is they have cultural competence combined with a relatively affluent and stable economic position, giving them kudos as both consumers and producers. Harvey (1987) explains that even the most egalitarian left-wing councils have little choice but to conform to the place making demands of attracting capital investment in the now global race between places. Therefore, even labour-led British cities would need to

comply with the logic of accommodating the cultural tastes, lifestyle and career aspirations of the service class as the most prodigious consumers of culture in contemporary cities (see Griffiths, 1993). Conversely, outsiders to this process are those who are more lowly placed in terms of combined material and cultural capital, whether they be residents or visitors, and, therefore, would suffer attendant insecurities.

This is reminiscent of what Griffiths (1993) terms the new 'dual city'. In this the urban economy and its labour force have become polarised into two distinct but closely interconnected elements. Outsiders or peripheral workers are those excluded from service class occupations and are typically employed in low-skilled, casual jobs or taken out of formal employment altogether. Insiders are the relatively secure service class working in managerial or professional jobs in the corporate sector - particularly in commercial and financial services. As consumers the latter are the primary target of niche marketing strategies and techniques, which are designed and targeted with service class concerns of lifestyle and cultural capital uppermost in mind. By extension, outsiders would consist of low paid, low skilled workers, or the unemployed who are little valued either as producers or consumers. This is not to say that such outsiders would be absent in heritage city space; they would be present, especially if they lived reasonably locally, and most likely would be employed as waiters and waitresses, hotel porters, security workers, shop assistants, street cleaners and the like; or perhaps would be low ranking consumers from, say, strollers and 'window shoppers' to very low spending day-trippers. What makes such people outsiders is that they are not the reason why heritage space is produced or marketed. They are simply peripheral employees and marginal consumers of the heritage industry, although as employees they often play a central role in its activities and (re)productions - for example, as low-paid interpreters and service workers.

Not all peripheral employees will be lacking in cultural capital though, in many interpretative jobs certain educational and cultural competencies may be needed. Even so these workers will most likely be 'casual' or temporary employees (for example, students and volunteers), and thus economic outsiders in terms of their earning and spending capabilities - which would be conditioned

by their low-paid jobs as heritage producers. However, if these workers had more substantial economic means gained from other sources, they would be valuable consumers of local culture and heritage because they would be armed with economic as well as cultural capabilities. On the other hand permanent outsiders, like full-time/permanent waiters/waitresses and shop workers, will be unable to take part in heritage production and consumption to any significant or self empowering degree; and even if they could they would almost be interlopers because of low levels of both cultural and economic capital. Therefore, as there are core and peripheral producers in the heritage city, which can be ranked in order of importance, so too can there be core and peripheral consumers.

Walsh (1992) quite emphatically states that the general upsurge of heritage tourism in western society is largely due to the cultural demands of the service class or new middle-class, and unequivocally associates the proliferation of heritage 'experiences' with nascent postmodernism:

> A number of authors have identified the emergence of what can be labelled a service-class culture (for example see Thrift, 1989). This new class of people, as their label suggests, tends to be employed in the service sector. They, along with other groups which, in a post-material First World where most life-sustaining wants have been satisfied, can afford to increase their consumption of leisure services, and thus develop a new group identity through the incrementation of their cultural capital. There is no doubt that the consumption of heritage, in both its traditional conservative form and the post-modern 'experience' genre, has gone some way to satisfy the cultural demands made by this recently expanded group.
>
> (Walsh, 1992, page 125)

Walsh is suggesting that the service class value both traditional cultural heritage and its representation in postmodern form, that is through interactive displays, re-enacted histories, and 'hyperreal' museums such as the Jorvik Viking Centre in York, which uses a variety of 'high tech' methods to convey the sights, sounds and smells of a re-created Viking settlement. This rather eclectic taste bursts the boundaries between conservative high culture and popular culture, which is in part a reflection of the general postmodern cultural turn in which the new middle-

class are major stakeholders (refer back to Chapter 2). Merriman's (1988, 1989, 1991) work on museum visiting supports this hypothesis and demonstrates that the new middle-class are major consumers of postmodern heritage. He explains this in terms of heritage consumption being relatively accessible and easily absorbed into new middle-class predilections for a lifestyle which indicates to themselves and others possession of cultural competence. Museum visiting, Merriman says, 'has in fact more to do with status affirmation in the present than it has to do with the past' (Merriman, 1988, page 299). However, if heritage presentation is too scholarly, remote and dull the new middle-class could easily recoil into other more entertaining cultural practices and/or places. Therefore, certain cities which rely upon their cultural heritage as a major source of income would see market advantage in presenting their particular pasts in ever more entertaining, 'user friendly' and technical ways.

Furthermore, Walsh (1992, page 124) states that 'those who visit museums, and other heritage attractions, are also more likely to attend theatre productions, concerts, ballet and opera'. Therefore, cities which provide a 'pick-and-mix' of venues of high art and culture alongside supposedly more populist attractions are providing consumer choice with convenience, and can do so without diminishing their cultural capital. The history and culture of these cities may not necessarily be 'postmodernised' but the way they are (re)presented, in terms of aesthetics and style, would be. This brings us back to the issue of authenticity in heritage presentation, because making the past an aesthetic experience could imply that heritage privileges style over content and entertainment over academicism. Therefore, maintaining the authentic integrity of what is displayed in heritage attractions is an especially vexed issue, and one in which the contemporary museum is particularly implicated.

Heritage and museums

In recent decades there has been an unprecedented growth in both the number of museums and in what they present as history/heritage. Hewison (1987) informs that out of 1750 British museums that replied to a survey in 1987, half had been started since 1971; and that during the 1980s new museums were opening at the

rate of one per fortnight. The British Tourist Authority has estimated that there could be up to 12,000 museum-type venues in Britain (Baxter, 1989, Urry 1990), the vast majority of which are pay-as-you-enter, and many privately owned. While not all of these museums have been city based, urban centres nevertheless feature strongly in the list of openings (Griffiths, 1993). Furthermore, in 1994 visits to museums in the UK accounted for sixteen percent of all visits to tourist attractions (Bagnall, 1996). A similar growth rate and popularity of museums have been witnessed throughout Europe in recent years (see Richards, 1996, page 274). And, as noted above, there has been a trend to adopt high-tech, spectacular, performance and 'hands-on' based experiences in the new 'postmodern museums' (Urry, 1990), as opposed to the rather passive, contemplative, glass case and high art displays of traditional museums and galleries. These latter establishments traditionally focused on the aura of the authentic historical artefact, and in many instances functioned as a metaphor for the power of the state, the learning of the academic scholar and the genius of the artist (ibid.). Tourists' experience of these museums and galleries has been fashioned accordingly. They are told what they are seeing, and often in what order, in a pre-planned ceremony in which the fame of the object becomes its meaning. With regard to traditional displays of pictorial art, for example,

> tourists with little or no knowledge of painting are expected to pay their respects solely to the fame, costliness and authenticity of these sacred objects, remote in their frames. As 'works of art' from which tourists must keep their distance, the value of paintings can depend not on their nature, but on their authenticated scarcity. The gap between 'art' and the tourist's own environment is thereby maintained.
>
> (Horne, 1984, page 16)

Conversely, postmodern museums overturn much of the rigidity of traditional displays and are very catholic over what can be shown. They are also catholic in the way they present heritage, and are especially renowned for their use of electronic media and so on. In addition, the very term museum can also be

stretched to include heritage centres - which confounds a rigid classification of one over the other, similar to the way history and heritage are de-differentiated.

There are a number of significant changes which have led to museums being reconstituted and consumed in different ways. First, in place of national history in large museums there has been a proliferation of alternative or vernacular histories on show to the public. Museum themes can extend from the socio-economic to the populist, ethnic, industrial, and feminist (Urry, 1990). Many of these histories are presented in the local context of where the museum actually is. Very recent time periods, say the 1960s for example, can also be considered as worthy of historical categorisation and representation. This, it could be argued, is a reflection of the wider commercialisation process of time-space compression (see Chapter 2; and Harvey, 1989) in which the turnover of cultural products is shortened and condensed in time and space to attain faster profits in a much more flexible cultural economy. In addition, any objects on display do not necessarily have to be originals, they can be simulacra or recreations suggestive of the past. For instance, the Goathland Exhibition Centre is a good 'rural' example of how the 1960s can be a central re-presentational theme even though the artefacts and history on display are nothing more than props used locally in the filming of Heartbeat. In this case the authenticity of the objects lies in their very recent use in the locale for film making even though they recall a fiction based nostalgia for 1960s Aidensfield. It is also interesting how these objects are set adjacent to more authentic objects, that is objects which relate to Goathland's past and not Aidensfield, suggesting the authentic and the inauthentic have equal status as tourist attractions.

Other contemporary museums such as Beamish in County Durham which re-presents a 'snapshot' of 1913 north eastern life, and the Wigan Pier Heritage Centre in Lancashire which attempts to 'bring to life' Wigan's industrial past, are prime exemplars of the themed re-creation of history as heritage. What is preserved can include almost anything, and ranges from moving images, radio, television, photographs, cinema, the environment as well as television soap operas, dramas, and remnants of everyday pasts.

> No longer are people interested in seeing either great works of art or artefacts from very distant historical periods. People increasingly seem attracted by representations of the 'ordinary', of modest houses and of mundane forms of work. Glass-blowing, engine driving, shop working, candle-making, cotton spinning, salt-making, cobbling, chemical manufacture, holiday-making, lace-making, domestic chores, coalmining and so on, are all deemed worthy of representation in contemporary museums, as are mundane artefacts often associated with each of these activities.
>
> (Urry, 1990, page 130)

The postmodern museum, then, is much more capable of being empathetic with the everyday lives of 'ordinary' folk than traditional museums, even celebrating the mundane as heroic and noble. Inevitably this identifies with the 'silent majority' missing from much traditional history and brings the 'average' consumer closer to the exhibition in that they can both understand and enjoy *their own* nostalgia without deference to auratic, and rather distant, historical displays. 'One could summarise this shift as being from "aura to nostalgia", and it reflects the anti-elitism of postmodernism' (ibid.). Featherstone (1992) too makes the point that postmodern culture is about reevaluating traditional cultural stratifications and demystifying esoteric practices:

> postmodernism has little time for elevating artistic, intellectual and other cultural pursuits...[that make] grand statements. Conceptions such as the artist as hero with their associated notions of genius...have given way to a less elevated valuation of the popular and the detritus of everyday mass and consumer cultures. Postmodernism has also been associated with the positive evaluation of local and popular cultures, the minor traditions and the 'otherness' excluded by the universalistic pretension of the modern.
>
> (Featherstone, 1992, page 159)

Indeed, it could be argued that the postmodern museum is one of the vanguards of postmodern culture because it collapses hierarchical differentials between the exceptional and the ordinary, not least in terms of the production and consumption of knowledge.

An important, and potentially empowering, aspect of postmodern museums is that visitors are often encouraged to 'interact' with the displays. Computerised imaging and display management systems can allow the consumer to choose and visually 'enter' the worlds on show, through time-car rides, touch button displays, virtual reality and 3D imaging. Actors can also be used to play historical roles to 'breath life' into 'dead' surroundings, where they interact with visitors and speak to them 'in-character' using local and forgotten dialects, thus encouraging visitors to be part of the theme itself. This flattens the distinction between the past and present as well as the production and consumption of history as heritage. For example, at Beamish actors play out scenes in re-created shops selling old brands of everyday items and use old coinage in simulated exchanges; at Wigan Pier an old schoolroom lesson is 'experienced' by visitors. These interactive displays are used as a means of active communication and entertainment, rather than a linear means of education used in traditional museums where the visitor passively receives information via an often dull scholarly display. 'Edutainment' is the catchword associated with postmodern museum re-creations, and succinctly expresses one of the many de-differentiating qualities they posses.

Critics of postmodern museums and heritage centres tend to organise their disapproval around what they see as the dual erosion of scholarship and authenticity in what is being shown to the public. In essence, popularisation equates with the commodification, conveniencing and cheapening of what museums are about. To put this in one word, museums become 'Disneyfied'. The authenticity of content seems to take second place to presentation and style in what these new museums have on display - and that for many commentators is troublesome. Moreover, postmodern museums rely heavily on simulation and theatre rather than substantive collections of actual artefacts. Historical depth can thus be lost:

> The ultimate logic of the new type of museum is the museum that has no collection, the Heritage Centre. Here the original purpose of having a museum, which was to preserve

> and interpret a significant number of objects, has been almost entirely displaced by the desire to give the visitor some more or less pleasurable 'experience'.
>
> (Hewison, 1991, page 166)

Interestingly, Hewison cites the Jorvik Viking Centre in York as exemplifying a postmodern museum without collection, and goes on to say:

> The significant finds from the archaeological dig that produced the Jorvik Viking Centre could be displayed on top of a single table. But that is not the attraction that draws so many visitors, any more than it is the industrial bric-à-brac and domestic bygones that is the attraction of Wigan Pier.
>
> (ibid., pages 166-167)

Spectacular presentation seems to be the most important commodity in these museums for attracting the public, not the history on display. In a vicious circle of popularisation through commodification, education has given way to entertainment rather than both being co-present in an historically rich environment. Museums thus become theatrical, even televisual, virtual and vicarious environments. Consumers, it is argued, are compelled passively to absorb junk history, even though the industry and its enthusiasts refute this. Similar to Postman's (1985) thesis on contemporary television consumption, critics believe that the upshot of such practices is that they precipitate the death of 'real' culture.

Although in the context of heritage production the aestheticisation of history is of vital interest, it is also geographically important. This is not simply in the way museums are laid out but in the places where they are set; which involves particular spatial relations that can rapidly spread the aestheticisation of heritage in urban space. An important development in this respect is the increasingly common strategy of clustering cultural facilities in urban heritage enclaves (see Jansen-Verbeke and van Rekom, 1996). 'Museumparks' or 'museumquarters' are planned in spatial concentrations in order to encourage

synergies both in marketing strategies and in mutual turnover of visitors. Other cultural attractions in the vicinity may also benefit from tourist activity in a defined cultural space, creating an highly aestheticised environment offering varied facilities where heritage is the ambient theme. In such environments the influence of the museum can spread everywhere:

> there is a changed relationship between what is considered a museum and various other social institutions. Those other institutions have now become like museums. Some shops, for example, now look like museums with elaborate displays of high-quality goods where people will be attracted into the shop to wander and to gaze. In places like the Albert Dock in Liverpool, which contains the Tate Gallery of the North, a maritime museum and many stylish shops, it is difficult see what is distinctive about the shops as such since people seem to regard their contents as 'exhibits'.
>
> (Urry, 1990, page 131; also see Zukin, 1990)

Bailey, from the new Museum of Design in London Docklands, has commented:

> the old nineteenth century museum was somewhat like a shop...a place where you go and look at values and ideas, and I think shopping really is becoming one of the great cultural experiences of the late twentieth century...The two things are merging. So you have museums becoming more commercial, shops becoming more intelligent and cultural.
>
> (quoted in Hewison, 1987, page 139; and in Urry, 1990, page 131)

A large number of British pubs and cafe's, likewise, exhibit many of the characteristics of museums with seemingly authentic, or to be more accurate, simulated displays premised on particular themes, such as Hollywood stars, 'typical' Irish pubs, rock cafés, and the like.

There is one common element that runs through all these postmodern environments, that is the celebration of spectacle. Indeed, as Featherstone (1991) observes, everyday life itself is similarly aestheticised and made more spectacular than before. And Jameson (1984) argues that this restructuring of symbolic life is the cultural logic of late capitalism in that a major part of its

recent expansion is not only in the invasion of public culture and leisure but also in the invasion of private life and personal expression. Hewison (1991) takes this up to argue that the invasion includes the restructuring and commodification of private memory itself, something that postmodern museums and all the other themed attractions of the heritage industry are deeply implicated in. Pastness is everywhere and heritage space gravitates towards theming and the Disneyfication of history. Through this process of 'heritagisation' the real and the imagined are reduced to arbitrary concepts.

Because the US is the home of Disney and the most powerfully capitalist country in the world, not surprisingly Eco (1986) and Baudrillard (1989) argue that the US is the country par excellence in displaying this type of 'hyperreality' (Eco) and simulated existence (Baudrillard). For example, Eco notes that in the US various theme parks, museums and heritage attractions dislodge reality in this way. Describing the full-scale model of the Presidential Oval Office he says that, typically:

> Absolute unreality is offered as real presence. The aim of the reconstructed Oval Office is to supply a 'sign' that will then be forgotten as such. The sign aims to be the thing, to abolish the distinction of the reference, the mechanism of the replacement. Not the image of the thing, but its plaster cast. Its double, in other words.
>
> (Eco, 1986, page 7)

According to critics of heritage attractions, such hyperreality and simulation only represent further technical sophistication in the effacement of history and the educational integrity of the museum. Museums and heritage attractions are said to be nothing more than businesses selling a commodity, and as such history is processed, made convenient and disposable. The organiser of the Armada anniversary spectacles of 1988 illustrated this when he said 'if you've got something to sell, then package it up, and sell it, and what's history if you can't bend it a bit?' (The Times 30 January 1988 in Hewison, 1991, page 174).

As the above suggests, museums now tend to mirror other businesses, especially shops and stores, because they are organised as profit centres and have

become very commercial. Not only are entrance fees the norm in museums but so too is the museum shop, and they often have their own cafés or restaurants. The growth of tourism and leisure consumption has ensured the commercialisation of museums, and in order to compete with each other and other cultural businesses, such as theme parks, shopping malls and varied heritage centres, they have to be very market oriented. Their staging thus becomes more interactive and theatrical. This confounds the traditional rubric regarding authentic displays of sober history and historical artefact. And the social role of museums is less the arbiters of an authentic past designated by a high cultural gaze, which mainly those with only very high levels of cultural capital are privy to 'appreciate'. The postmodern museum is more accessible to the wider populace, especially to middlebrow consumers. This is not to suggest that the postmodern museum is lacking in cultural capital. As already discussed, postmodern representation does not have to equate with low cultural capital, and the contemporary museum retains cultural value because of its association with traditional high culture, even though it has been decoded in a consumer-friendly way. Thus, history as heritage has made the past more 'readable' to the wider audience and has helped museums to become important in redefining the authentic and in arbitrating good taste (see Merriman, 1989; Urry, 1990; Walsh, 1992).

The authenticity of place, and the conversion of symbolic to 'real' cultural capital

Cultural products, however, cannot simply be made willy-nilly; their authenticity is highly dependent on place, or in Zukin's term on 'spatial embeddedness'. If the context of a museum, for example, is not sensitively placed then its success can be seriously compromised. In other words being in the 'right place' is vital in providing contextual realism for heritage artefacts and attractions. Urry (1990) supports this, and referring to contemporary museums like a pencil museum in Keswick, a chemical industry museum in Widnes, a former Gestapo prison cells museum in Berlin, and a dental museum in London, states that:

> such museums appear to work because some connections between the past and the present are usually provided by place. It may sometimes be provided by occupation, industry, famous person or event. However, some museum/heritage centres do not work, such as a wild West heritage park which was located in the Rhondda Valley in South Wales; it seems that potential visitors did not view this as an appropriate location.
>
> (Urry, 1990, page, 134)

Similarly, Euro-Disney in Paris has had problems in relocating the formula which has proved so successful in the US, because it did not sit so well in its French context. Various changes - such as, for example, allowing the purchase of wine on the premises - had to be allowed that deferred to its cultural location. Otherwise an almost immediate and catastrophic collapse seemed inevitable.

According to Zukin (1990), even though there may be a global market for developments like the Disney World theme park and the McDonald's fast food chain, spatial constraints and opportunities define how they are consumed in quintessential ways. 'They establish standards of authenticity and contextual (i.e. local) propriety, by requiring, for example, that the design of a fast food franchise "fit into" a prevalent architectural mode' (Zukin, 1990, page 40). Likewise, establishments such as Chinese, Indian and Greek restaurants located in England have to be physically well placed to attract their target market as well as accommodate the palates and eating habits of the people who make up that market. Thus, menus and dining protocol are modified accordingly. 'Once these spatial norms have been incorporated in the experience of consumption, they legitimise other sorts of appropriation - notably, of the space of consumption itself - by consumer groups' (ibid.). As a major part of this process such consumption space becomes more valuable through 'sensitive' and successful development of other complementary cultural productions - which can range from, say, wine bars to various sorts of galleries and so on. In this way a loosely clustered, and aesthetically self conscious, cultural enclave is formed of the type alluded to in the previous section. The process of exchange between symbolic and real cultural capital is thus dependent on a certain habitus that values

reproduction of cultural competence which is valorised in property relations and defined in place.

This is also very important in gentrification, a phenomenon inextricably linked to the revaluation of city centre space through its heritagisation and appropriation as a middle-class playground. Primarily a 'process of neighbourhood regeneration by relatively affluent incomers' (Johnson, 1994, page 216), gentrification typically takes place in central city locations that reflect an earlier era of commercial development. The authenticity and cultural capital of place are thus important to middle-class gentrifiers (see Zukin, 1990) who buy and renovate old properties that usually have suffered some deterioration in quality (Johnson, 1994). Both authenticity and cultural capital are, therefore, interdependent and reflected in the historic time inhering in selected sites and buildings, whether they be 'run-down' or otherwise. Moreover, gentrifiers exercise their own cultural competence by faithfully preserving the historical buildings they occupy as either households or business premises. This is not to say that authenticity is dependent on the recreation of old usages and living conditions in these buildings. 'Authenticity today, moreover, coexists with an historically high level of creature comforts' (Zukin, 1990, page 41). With specific regard to houses, 'gentrifiers want both hot and cold running water, indoor toilets on every floor, central heating and working fireplaces' (ibid.). Furthermore, gentrified shops and galleries may be converted warehouses or residences with all the modern facilities required by the consumer, but with restored structures, facades and decor. And in catering for gentrified consumption such aesthetically rich shops

> displace existing, lower-income residents as surely as higher rents. Shopping thus joins with architectural restoration to create a coherent space of consumption...Unlike traditional upper-class shops, that deal in custom, personal relations, and prior knowledge of routine, shops associated with gentrification are accessible to a larger groups of relatively affluent consumers. They also appeal to consumers in search of an unintimidating but relatively uplifting 'good time'.
>
> (Zukin, 1990, page 41).

Additionally, conservation areas are often created to protect the cultural and economic values embedded in gentrified space - a process which is closely bound up with the development of heritage tourism, particularly in historic city centres (Ashworth and Tunbridge, 1990; Richards, 1996). On the whole gentrification illustrates the cultural and economic ability of the middle-class to revaluate and dominate choice urban space both as residents or visitors. In the process it simultaneously displaces and excludes lower-income groups because they are little valued either as residents or visiting consumers.

Because historic cities like York are 'rich with time' (Urry, 1994, page 236), then, they offer prime territory for the interrelated processes of gentrification and heritage tourism development. Despite the competitive pressures provided by ex-industrial cities which have pinned their economic futures on re-imaging strategies, the historic city is uniquely placed in the cultural market because of 'sedimented real cultural capital' (Richards, 1996). They can take advantage of both traditional and postmodern forms of heritage re-creation as long as cultural attractions are sensitive to their spatial context. This can, however, oscillate between the local, national and international - as in the case of capital cities like London. Indeed, the multifaceted qualities of capital cities gives them considerable scope in attracting tourists. Richards (1996) states that the bulk of heritage-related investments take place in capital cities because they are the traditional centres of cultural and economic power, and, therefore, offer the best conditions to capitalise on heritage. Thus, despite the postmodern heritage industry - and a resurgence of regionalism in Europe, and the decline of uniform national cultures, that may invite the presentation of regional and local cultures as heritage - traditional cultural centres remain the predominant tourist attractions. 'New' heritage attractions have not replaced traditional urban centres of tourism heritage production but coexist with them in a relatively expanding and de-differentiating cultural economy. However, tourism and cultural hierarchies still remain among cities, and the historic city remains best placed to profit from this. As Townsend's (1992) work confirms:

> What this British study shows is that beneath the promotion and the propaganda, the most successful urban sites are the pre-industrial ones; that is even in a European country which had the earliest Industrial Revolution and a more modest pattern of earlier historical architecture.
>
> (Townsend, 1992, page 32)

Moreover, it is the cultural intermediaries which unlock and exploit the real cultural capital present in these traditional centres. And they are strongly represented in the centres of old cities, being especially close to the key sites of cultural consumption and real cultural capital production (Richards, 1996; Verhoeff, 1994).

Cultural and economic risks of heritage tourism development

While the middle-classes may be beneficiaries of the expanding cultural economy, there may be prices to pay as a result of overproduction. For example, there is danger of both a cultural and economic devaluation as the heritage market expands geographically and technically to produce conditions of over-supply. In this context heritage would become a somewhat standardised, banal and empty commodity as it became more subjected to market values with homogenising tendencies. Furthermore, as Featherstone (1991) tells us, cultural intermediaries or new cultural producers, paradoxically, are also caught in a similar, contradictory cycle of risk. While they would wish to maintain and enhance the cultural capital of both themselves and the cultural enclaves in which they have a vested interest, they are driven to popularise these enclaves to make them more accessible to a wider audience. This would leave themselves as well as the heritage attractions they produce open to both economic and cultural discounting. In addition, heritage city life and environments may suffer 'negative' tourism impacts because of their expanding popularity: through overcrowding, traffic problems and other externalities. Ironically, it would be the new middle-classes, as the major producers and consumers of heritage, which would be centrally caught in a downward tourism development spiral, especially as residents and tourists. The new middle-class would both instigate and

continue to make up the demand for heritage, and thus, would be the among the most likely perpetrators as well as recipients and complainants of heritage tourism development costs. From a similar perspective, Zukin remarks on the activities of middle-class gentrifiers:

> Their consumption space is so closely connected to high art rather than High Street criteria that it attracts more polymorphous consumers and larger property investors - the very yuppies and speculators, not to mention week-end visitors and tourists - who are later accused of changing the character of a gentrified neighbourhood.
>
> (Zukin, 1990, page 41)

In general, the main effort of cultural producers in heritage cities is focused on promotion rather than the management of tourist flows and tourist impacts. This leads to excessive pressure on the vitality of local economies, the integrity of heritage and the quality of life of residents (van der Borg, Costa and Gotti, 1996). However, better management of tourism in local space may not be enough to stem the consequences of heritage tourism development because it is also a product of socio-economic forces that emanate beyond the boundaries of a particular heritage city. As this chapter has shown, there are several interrelated elements to the growth of heritage tourism in Britain: first, post-Fordism and flexible accumulation have meant a decline in manufacturing industries' employment in the capitalist west and a rise in the economic importance of services, which in turn has resulted in a major restructuring of urban space and the expansion of the service class; second, places are more than ever in direct competition for capital investment, increasingly on an international scale as well as within their own national boundaries; third, the commodification of culture and the built environment has meant that heritage has become a tangible economic resource; and finally, the emergence of the heritage tourism market/industry has been accompanied by formal political sanctioning of culture and heritage as 'vehicles' for enterprise and economic growth.

Even though these interrelated processes may be exogenous to a particular heritage city, they can, however, be mediated by locally specific

conditions and strategies of preservation, control and exploitation of the heritage of place. In order to examine how a particular place might mediate the forces of heritage tourism development, the next five chapters focus on heritage tourism development in York city centre, and investigate how this prime heritage space is encountered and negotiated by various producers, consumers and residents.

9 The Development of York as a Tourist City

It is important to place the development of tourism in York in its historical context, because this situates the empirical data in the following four chapters in a development chronology. It also helps in understanding the history of certain issues that can influence both the tourism development process in York and the comments made by the interviewees. Using secondary sources, this chapter provides a chronicled overview of the current 'state of play' of tourism in York by detailing the local post-war developments that have given rise to the way York is now presented as a heritage or tourist-historic city.

Background

York has a population of approximately 100,000 residents (Madrigal, 1995) and receives an estimated 3,953,000 visitors each year, making it the leading city tourism destination in England outside of London (Touche Ross, 1994). The annual income generated from tourism is claimed to be in the region of £257 million (ibid.), and there are around 6000 tourism-related jobs in the city (Census of Employment, NOMIS, 1998)[19]. This means that tourism is easily York's

Table 4. The Growth of Tourism Employment in Relation to Manufacturing and Total Employment in York Between 1981- 1996

	Tourism-related	*Manufacturing*	*Total*
1981	4100	17800	59100
1991	5500	11700	58000
1991*	5500	11300	57600
1996	6000	8500	59600

* denotes a change of classification of job types, thus, 1991 figures shown twice.

Source: Census of Employment (NOMIS), 1998.

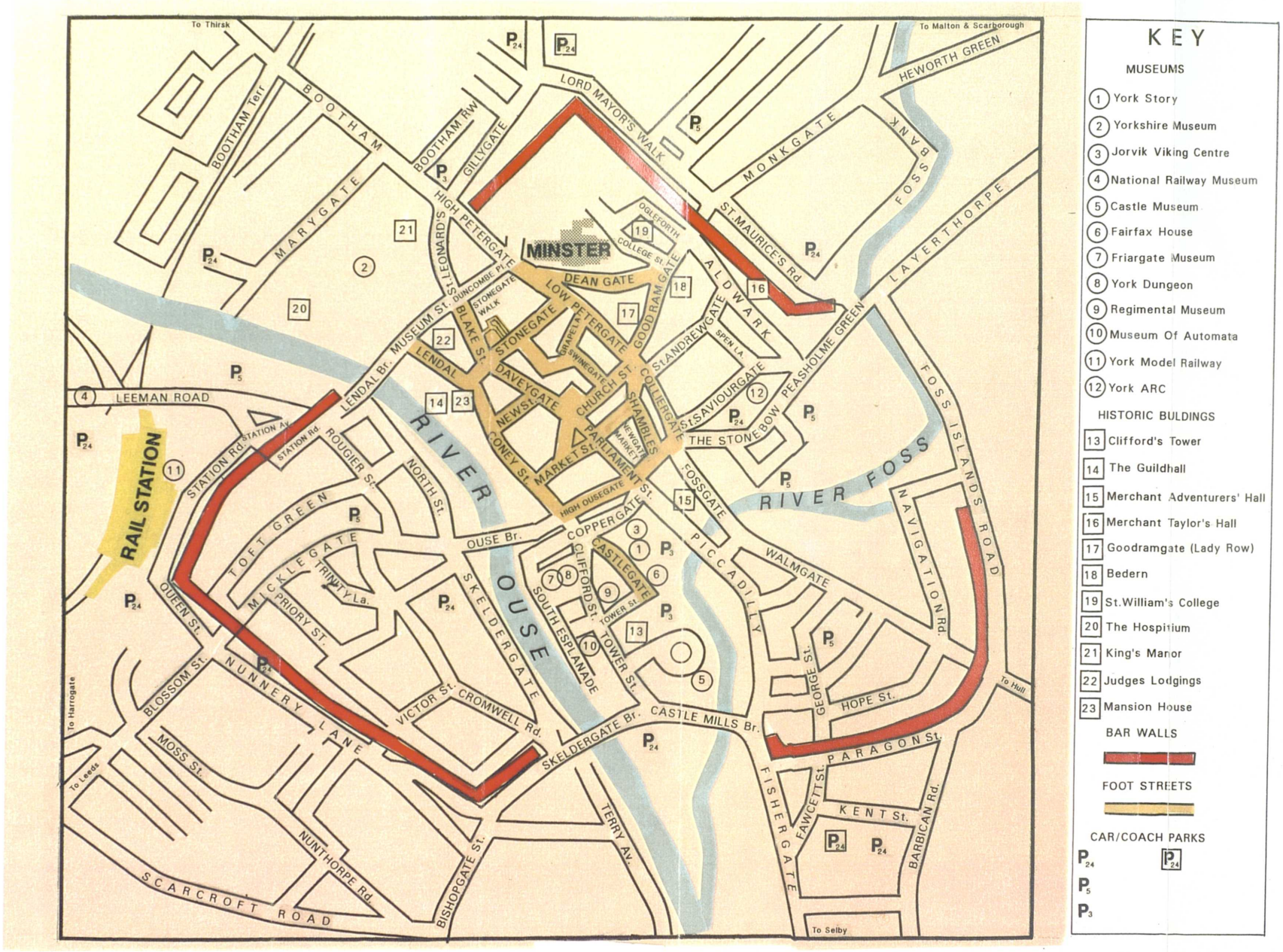
Table 5. Top Five Visitor Attractions in York, 1990-1991

Attraction	*No. of Visitors*
York Minster	2,500,000 (estimated)
Jorvik Viking Centre	846,228
Castle Museum	601,925
National Railway Museum	518,827
Yorkshire Museum	200,000 (estimated)

Adapted from Yorkshire and Humberside Tourist Board (1991 and 1992) *Facts of Tourism*

fastest growing economic activity which now rivals manufacturing in order of importance (see Table 4.). Among York's premier 'draws' for the tourist are the York Minster, one of the largest Medieval cathedrals in northern Europe; the famous Jorvik Viking Centre; a wealth of other museums including the Castle Museum, the National Railway Museum and the Yorkshire Museum (see Table 5 for relative comparison of visitor numbers); the old city walls and bars (gates); the Medieval street plan; a variety of building types with architectural styles that date from the 15th century to the present; and a number of historical events and festivals which occur regularly each year. The locus for these attractions is the city centre, which has been carefully preserved and manicured in such a way the visitor is invited to explore and consume the various heritage 'experiences' on offer with relative ease and convenience (see Figure 5).

Until the 1950s and 60s tourism played a comparatively minor role in York's economy, which was heavily dependent on the railways as well as two confection manufacturers, Rowntrees and Terry's, for employment and income generation (Meethan, 1996). While industrial production has long been important to the city, it is evident that York escaped the massive urban restructuring caused by industrialisation so prevalent in many British cities during the nineteenth century. What development there was mostly took place outside of the 'historic core' (Esher, 1968; City of York, 1994), that is the central area inside the old city walls, leaving the Medieval street pattern, the old



KEY

MUSEUMS

1. York Story
2. Yorkshire Museum
3. Jorvik Viking Centre
4. National Railway Museum
5. Castle Museum
6. Fairfax House
7. Friargate Museum
8. York Dungeon
9. Regimental Museum
10. Museum Of Automata
11. York Model Railway
12. York ARC

HISTORIC BULDINGS

13. Clifford's Tower
14. The Guildhall
15. Merchant Adventurers' Hall
16. Merchant Taylor's Hall
17. Goodramgate (Lady Row)
18. Bedern
19. St.William's College
20. The Hospitium
21. King's Manor
22. Judges Lodgings
23. Mansion House

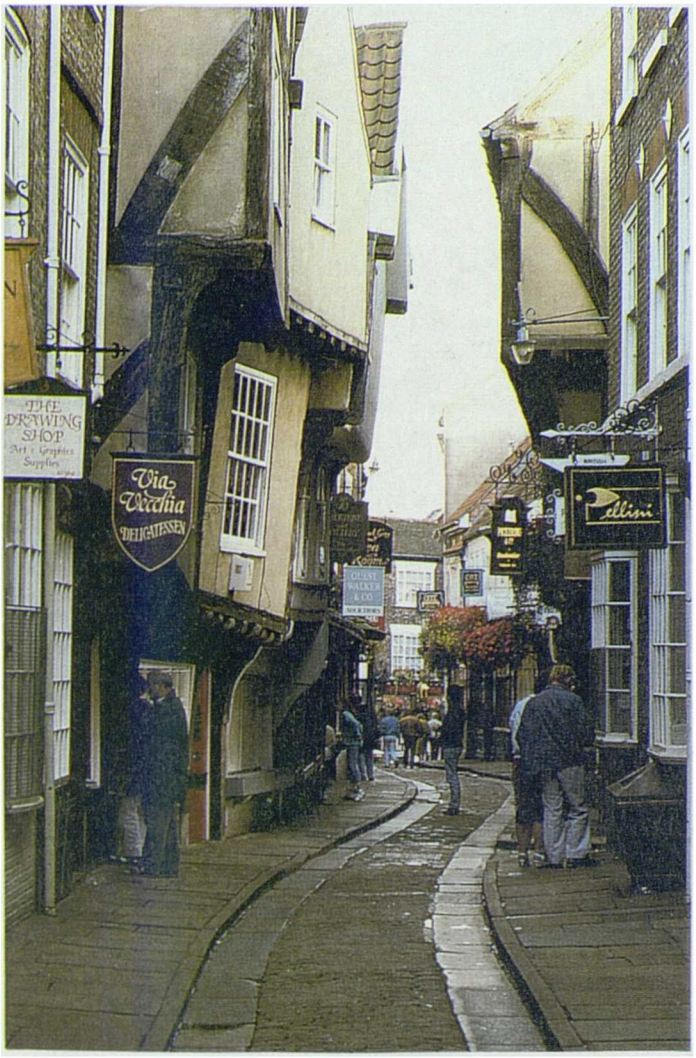
BAR WALLS

FOOT STREETS

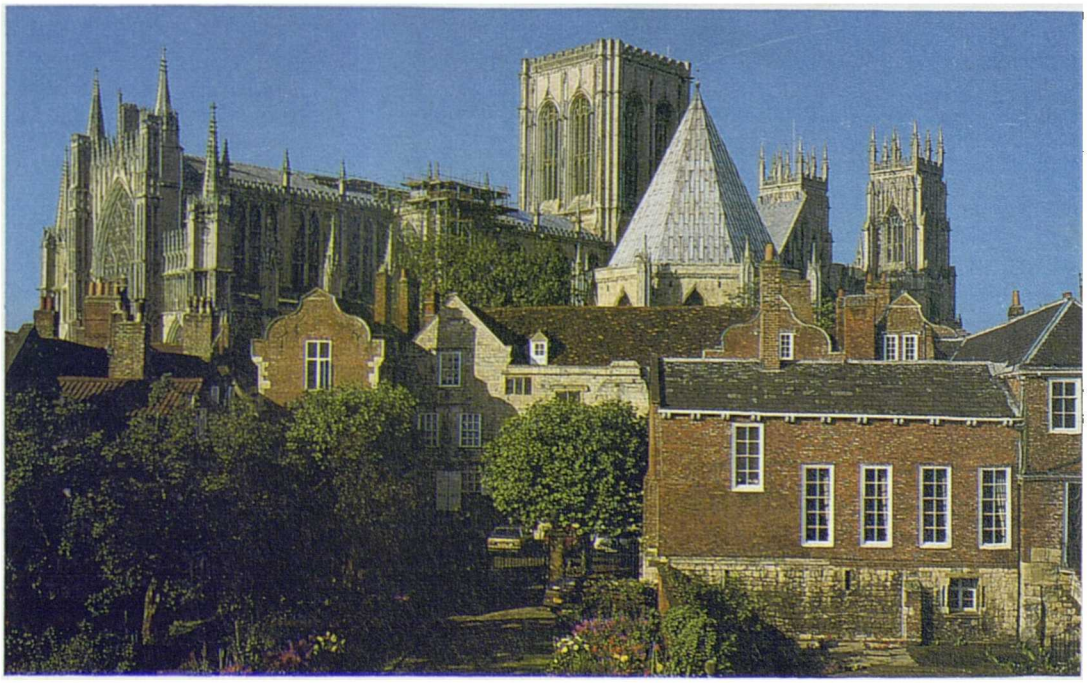
CAR/COACH PARKS

P24 P24 P5 P3

York city centre



Photograph 5. The Shambles



Photograph 6. The York Minster

Photograph 7. Petergate

buildings and historic townscape relatively well preserved and intact. Any industrial development that did take place inside the city walls was mostly small-scale and had little impact on the core's general historic character. The railway station and carriage works were located outside the historic core and in the early years of this century both Rowntrees and Terry's were re-sited away from the centre altogether, which in effect has left York a city with two distinct zones separated by the old city walls: 'the industrial and the pre-industrial' (Meethan 1996, page 327; and see Figure 5).

York was still an important place of economic activity during much of the nineteenth century and the early part of the twentieth century, when York remained an inland port. The banks of the River Ouse provided a convenient location for many warehouses and other small businesses at this time and the retail trade as well as other small services provided significant employment. By the 1950s and 1960s, however, the core began to suffer some depopulation due to increased suburbanisation and many central areas became derelict (Esher, 1968). It was also at this time that tourism began to emerge as economically important to York, and the historic core became a prime focus of this new activity. In 1965 tourist numbers, including day-visitors, were estimated to be half a million (Aldous, 1976), by 1976 this had increased to 1.5 million (Meethan 1996), and, as Touche Ross (1994) informs, the current figure is estimated to be just under 4 million.

Three stages of tourism development

According to Meethan (1996) the emergence of York as a heritage city, or tourism-historic city, comprised three important phases of development: 1) from the post-war years to the mid-1960s; 2) from the mid-1960s to the mid-1980s; and 3) from the mid-1980s until the present. During the first phase York had little to offer the visitor beyond the Minster by way of then tourist pursuits. The majority of visitors were from overseas, many of them reported to be American and Canadian ex-service-men who had been stationed in the UK during the Second World War and who had returned to visit with their families. Tourism in this first phase was thus very small scale and *ad hoc*, and, even though the city

was advertised as a tourist destination at that time, there was no continuous or systematic strategy either for tourism development or destination marketing.

The second phase of tourism development in York was characterised by rapid growth of tourist numbers and tourism-related activity, as well as subsequent local concern regarding tourism management. It was also influenced significantly by wider social changes, such as relative increases in leisure time, but of particular importance was the sharp growth in car ownership from the mid-to-late-1960s. This carried a concomitant impact both upon the number of visitors coming into the city and upon the internal fabric of the city itself. Nuttgens (1976) described York as being at a cross-roads in the 1960s in that the capacity of the old and winding narrow streets in the historic core, which retained much of its traditionally compact urban character, was being overwhelmed by large numbers of cars and visitors, leading to 'conflict between *preservation* and *development*' (Nuttgens 1976, page 110; my emphasis):

> On the one hand there was an increasing number of tourists following a trail that led between the Minster and the castle. On the other hand there was the development of York as a regional and local shopping centre...But underneath it all the question posed was what kind of place York was to be. Was it to be a regional centre for offices and shopping and cultural activities ? If so their needs were in conflict with the preservation of the old, obsolete historic fabric.
>
> (Nuttgens, 1976, page 110.)

York was not the only historically important place to suffer such a conflict at the time. In 1967 the government commissioned a study of five historic towns, of which York was one, in order to gauge the types of preservation/development conflicts they were experiencing. The following year a report, the Esher report (Esher, 1968), was published based on the findings of the study, and for York it made five major recommendations. First, it attempted to address the population decline in the city centre by maintaining that it should 'remain alive' and that housing development should be encouraged within the old city walls. Second, it advocated that 'decay, congestion and noise' should be

eliminated to improve the environmental quality of the centre. Third, any land-uses that conflicted with these aims should be removed from the core. Fourth, the historic character of the city should be secured and enhanced. And fifth, only new buildings of 'the highest architectural standard' should be allowed within the city walls (Esher, 1968, page 41; and see Nuttgens 1976).

While the report is now acknowledged as marking a watershed in attitudes toward environmental preservation and management (Meethan, 1996), its findings and recommendations were not initially well received by the local council (Aldous, 1976). Nevertheless, the council's response to the report very soon became sympathetic and they subsequently acted upon its general recommendations. For example, it was recognised that remaining light industry and warehousing would have to be removed from the city centre and restrictions would be needed on out-of-town shopping (City of York 1969). In the intervening years the Esher report's recommendations have become fundamentally entwined within the principles underpinning the environmental policy of the City Council (City of York 1970, 1986, 1993, 1994; Meethan 1996).

Preservation of the historic core has thus been a continual concern of the council since the late 1960s. As early as 1968 (the year the Esher report was published) the environmental management ethos of the council was made patently known by the designation of part of the city centre as a conservation area, which was extended in 1975. In 1976 Stonegate, a prestigious shopping area in the historic core, was pedestrianised and other policies were made that encouraged owners of historic buildings to restore and maintain them. For the council such measures served a dual purpose: not only did they form an important part of the overall plan for conservation but they also enhanced York's status as a tourist centre. A 1972 English Tourist Board study provided support for this view when it found that what visitors valued most was the historic character of York and that conservation policies would enable the council to capitalise on this asset. It also found that the growing number of 'speciality' shops in the central area were an important attraction for visitors (English Tourist Board 1972; Meethan 1996).

By the mid-1970s two important tourist attractions were added to York's growing stock: the National Railway Museum was opened in 1974 in the former goods station, and St. Mary's Heritage Centre, which is housed in a disused church in Coppergate, was also opened. Owned by York's Civic Trust, St. Mary's Heritage Centre was one of the first interpretation attractions where visitors could walk through and learn about the social history of York as well as its architectural heritage. The pedestrianisation of Stonegate was also seen to be a success and was subsequently extended to allow both visitors and residents to shop uninhibited by traffic. Although these schemes seemed to be popular and successful in balancing the needs of tourism development and environmental conservation, it also seems that the growth of tourist numbers in the city was causing resentment among some local members of the public - especially resentment of a particular type of tourist.

> Many informants recalled this as a time when anti-tourist sentiments within the city ran high, and there were calls for the numbers to be limited or, at least, better managed. This was especially seen to be the case with day-trippers as opposed to long-staying visitors, as the former were seen to provide little to the local economy while the latter were regarded as big spenders (Yorkshire Evening Press, 1976).[20]
>
> (Meethan, 1996, page 329)

From this it is plain that although the council had, to an extent, become successfully pro-active in its attempts to balance tourism development with environmental preservation, the complexity of tourism impacts was beginning to become apparent. Social costs and benefits were now an important part of the preservation/development equation. However, while certain limitations on tourism were being called for by the public, these new pay-as-you-enter attractions demonstrated the growing significance of tourism to the city's economic future.

The third phase of tourism development, which was underway by the mid-1980s, saw an increased commercialisation of heritage in York city centre. Meethan (1996, page 329), after Corner and Harvey (1991), describes this phase

as the local exemplification of the emergent 'heritage-enterprise couplet' in wider society. The Jorvik Viking Centre is the quintessential attraction of this development phase in York and had a pioneering influence on the new creative input and commercial success of heritage presentation in much of the historic core. Owned by the York Archaeological Trust (YAT), Jorvik opened in 1984 in Coppergate next to St. Mary's Heritage Centre and became an 'icon attraction' for the city (Touche Ross, 1994). Its then technically sophisticated re-presentation of the Viking past - where the visitor could travel in an electric 'time car' through a re-created Viking street - proved to be a massive success with the public. In its first year alone around 600,000 people visited the museum (Director of Attractions, YAT, pers. comm.) and since then it has averaged in the region of 850,000 visitors per year (Meethan, 1996). The impact on the local economy was significant, even in its earliest days, and since then many other attractions, locally, nationally and internationally, have tried to emulate the Jorvik Viking Centre's style of historical re-presentation and success.

York is now awash with pay-as-you-enter museums, festivals and various tours that attempt to bring the past 'to life' in a highly experiential and entertaining way, similar to that of Jorvik. For example, the York Dungeon uses a variety of audio and visual media to display the nature of crime and punishment in York's past, presenting 'history in its blood curdling richness' (Drake, 1995); the YAT sponsors and organises a week long Viking Festival every February, which attracts an international audience that come to see a march by 'Viking warriors' through the city centre: a re-enacted 1043 battle between Vikings and Saxons also takes place outside the Castle Museum, which is followed by the burning of a re-created Viking longboat on the river Ouse; there are also various guided tours on a daily basis which are structured around different themes: Roman, Viking and Medieval York, Christian Heritage, plus several Ghost Tours. What these tourist attractions collectively signify is an aggregate view of the past as spectacle, and the whole historic core is devoted to various interpretations or 'spatial narratives' (Zukin, 1990) telling the consumer of York's heritage in a highly illustrative fashion. Moreover, the rendering of York city centre as a place of readily consumable history is the central pillar on which

Photograph 8. Queuing for the Jorvik Viking Centre

Photograph 9. A Viking street scene from inside Jorvik

the city is marketed to potential visitors. It seems, then, that the long standing trend of de-industrialisation in the historic core has reached this almost inevitable phase where the area within the old city walls is almost completely turned over to tourism and related consumption, especially shopping.

The deliberate development and promotion of tourism in recent years have inevitably impacted upon the nature of retailing in the centre. There are now many gentrified specialist shops geared toward satisfying tourist retail demands - that is, shops selling souvenirs, antiques, specialist clothing and jewellery - which tend to be clustered around the major attractions, such as the Minster (cf. Jansen-Verbeke and van Rekom, 1996). Furthermore, there are numerous cafés, restaurants, fast food outlets, tea and coffee houses. The integration of such consumer services within the historic core has made central York a heritage tourist's and leisure shopper's playground. The extensive pedestrianisation within the city walls also indicates the primacy of the tourist and the leisure shopper and allows an array of street entertainers and buskers, which the council encourages, to ply their trade in a purposefully conducive, and somewhat theatrical, setting for tourism and leisure consumption.

These varied activities are mutually supportive in that they provide a portfolio of consumption choices within a clearly delineated heritage enclave or place of pastness. To that extent it could be argued that York city centre is now virtually a theme park specialising in bringing the past and the present together in a convenient and entertaining way. It is a coherent space, even though there are multiple historical themes for the consumer to 'experience' and discover, where present-day facilities, such as modern shops, aesthetically and functionally complement York's urban heritage in an almost corporate spatial synergy. Therefore, within the historic core there is visual suggestion that this latest phase of tourism development is at least partially the result of careful and concerted tourism development planning.

This observation begs questions regarding the nature of the relationship between local private and public agencies and elites in developing and promoting York as a tourist-historic city. In particular: is there any evidence, in terms of

Photograph 10. A scene from York's Viking Festival

Photograph 11.
York City's town crier

policy and practice, to suggest that development strategies used in York are reminiscent of the 'growth machine', 'promotional model' and 'growth coalition' types introduced in the previous chapter; and to what extent do the local public and private sectors act in unison with regard to mutually determined tourism development strategies and goals?

In order to answer questions of this type, and to update the tourism development chronology of York, it is necessary to examine the city's current tourism development strategy. The next chapter thus investigates how both the local public and private sectors of York have approached tourism development in recent years and sets out what they hope to achieve now and in the future. In this it is also revealed how York is being positioned within contemporary (post-Fordist) economic, cultural and spatial relations.

10 The 'First Stop York' Tourism Strategy

As already discussed, place promotion is vital to the tourism development process, not least because it triggers certain spatial relations and perceptions of place. York is no exception to this and, more than ever, place promotion seems to be playing a much more dominant role in the city's tourism development plans. It is important, therefore, to analyse the formulation and the aims of York's latest tourism development strategy. This chapter does this using the responses from interviews with four 'key informants' to uncover the thinking behind tourism development and promotion in York. It also discusses how this activity affects employment in the city and whether tourism might have a so-called positive or negative effect on inward investment. In essence, then, this chapter overviews present tourism development in York as well as the dominant ideas of those responsible for making local development decisions.

First Stop York

The most significant tourism development strategy to be implemented on behalf of the city in recent years is the 'First Stop York' initiative. Similar to the 'Glasgow's Miles Better' campaign, First Stop York is a marketing-led initiative. It is also the strategy's corporate brand name and appears as a logo on all the promotional output of a new private/public partnership aimed at simultaneously achieving growth and 'quality' in York's tourism sector. Other similarities to Glasgow's 1980s strategy are evident in the original structure of the partnership arrangement. For example, management consultants were called in to assess York's heritage industry and made recommendations which influenced the way various private and public agents became development partners (see Myrescough, 1988; Boyle, 1988; Bianchini, 1990; Berg et al, 1995 on Glasgow).

Early in 1994 the Labour-led York City Council's Directorate of Development Services commissioned Greene Belfield-Smith, the tourism consulting division of Touche Ross & Co., to advise the council on a reformulation of its existing tourism strategy (Touche Ross, 1994). Prior to this the task of marketing the city to potential visitors was left to a private consortium known as the York Visitor and Conference Bureau (YVCB). This was set up in 1987 with 'the intention of creating a partnership between the business community and York City Council' (YVCB, date unknown, page 1). However, the city council was reluctant to form closer bonds with the private sector, preferring to keep to its central task and area of greatest expertise, the management of tourism in York and not tourism promotion. This reflected the council's traditionally sceptical view of the tourism sector in that it doubted the quality of jobs tourism offered. It also did not want to be seen as favouring development for tourists over community provision in the city centre. Likewise, even though the council owned some tourist attractions (for example, The Castle Museum) it saw no need to invite potential conflicts of interest in marketing facilities primarily to tourists which performed a civic as well as a commercial role in the city. This ambivalent attitude toward tourism marketing also stemmed from the fact that, without aggressively promoting the city to tourists, in recent decades tourist numbers had grown regardless. Therefore, for its own political and economic reasons, the council kept a prudent distance from the market oriented approach of the local private sector.

Although failing in its aim to form a private/public marketing effort, and still insisting that York needed to be marketed to the outside world, the YVCB decided to promote the city alone, relying on membership subscriptions from various local businesses to fund its activity. This situation continued until the central findings contained in the Touche Ross report, which was published late in 1994, were digested and subsequently acted upon by the council and the local tourism industry. The report recommended a new tourism strategy to the council which was designed to attain five main objectives: 1) the further development of good quality hotel accommodation; 2) the development of a new 'icon' attraction; 3) the provision of marketing intelligence and monitoring; 4) the

improvement of job quality and training; and 5) the continuation of visitor management (Touche Ross, 1994). To achieve these objectives in a cohesive way, it was strongly recommended that the council form a much closer liaison with the tourism industry in York with a view to the ultimate formation of a partnership arrangement with the private tourism sector.

The council was in broad agreement with these recommendations, with one notable exception: the objective concerning a new 'icon' attraction, which was an allusion to the slowly-eroding visitor numbers to the Jorvik Viking Centre in the few years leading up to the report [21]. In this the word icon refers to the need of a new market beacon which would stand out as being somehow special and distinct yet symbolic of what York can offer visitors, and thus draw many more to the city. The Castle Museum, which displays 'everyday' items of the past from the York area, was singled out by the report as having the potential to take over Jorvik's mantle as the city's major 'pull' tourist attraction. The council was not alone in disagreeing with this particular aspect of the report however, the 'York Strategy Group', a coalition of leading local figures in the private and public sectors, which was assembled to analyse the report[22], also expressed doubt:

> On several occasions it [the report] seemed to criticise the performance of the Jorvik Centre, but did not...really explain why that all of a sudden the Castle Museum was the ideal opportunity for developing an icon attraction...The lack of reference to York Minster was a bizarre omission,...because if there is an icon attraction in York it's York Minster. The only reason it wasn't mentioned, presumably, was because it is a free attraction, but it seems crazy not to mention it because surely and inevitably the Minster will have a central role. There was also some discussion and widespread disagreement about the idea of a single icon. They [the Strategy Group] simply could not understand the value of the icon, the council took the same view in its own internal discussion about the Touche Ross report. The proposals of putting their eggs in one basket, which is effectively the way it reads, really didn't make sense. Not least because the group felt that York itself is an image, the word York and the whole ambiance of the city and the collection of attractions along with the Minster and the free attractions like the walls and the Shambles and all the rest of it, is surely a stronger message.
>
> (Economic Development Officer for York City Council)

The 'icon' concept was, therefore, rejected by both the council and the Strategy Group.

After several meetings of the Strategy Group and the city council the First Stop York campaign was announced in 1995. It was originally intended that the campaign last for three years, however, since then it has been agreed that it will be extended way beyond this. The main organisations which initially supported this venture, to the tune of £773,400, were: the City Council (which is the major partner in terms of capital outlay), Yorkshire and Humberside Tourist Board (although their support has now been withdrawn due to their own financial constraints), York Visitor and Conference Bureau (now York Tourism Bureau, see below), North Yorkshire TEC, York and North Yorkshire Chamber of Commerce, York and District Hospitality Association, Greater York Association of Hotels and Guest Houses, Historic Attractions Group, York Tourism 2000, and the General Municipal Boilermakers Union (GMB).

Although First Stop York is primarily a promotional campaign it is sold to the city as a 'development package' with six encompassing and integrating strategic goals, aimed 'to create, through partnership between the public and private sectors, a tourism industry in York where:

- Economic and employment benefits are maximised.
- The city is recognised as a high quality tourism destination that is continually being enhanced, both in terms of product and customer service.
- A wide range of quality jobs are available - with training and career opportunities.
- The potentially negative environmental and social impacts of the tourism industry are managed so that both the quality of life for residents and the enjoyment of York by visitors are enhanced.
- Local citizens can appreciate the benefits of tourism in York and therefore give it their support.

- Those engaged in the industry in York possess the means to understand and respond to national and international trends in their business.

(Tourism Strategy Group, 1995)

The annual distribution of funding to a variety of key activities, however, illustrates how marketing is the main priority of the scheme. There was £37,000 for market intelligence gathering (for example, through surveys etc.); £86,500 for product development, by way of promoting York to inward investors and promotion/encouragement of local tourism development and annual calendar events; £387,000 for 'product marketing and packaging' at home and overseas; £92,500 toward a better accommodation booking service via Tourist Information Centres (TICs), and visitor management initiatives; £96,400 for employee training; £52,000 to secure residents' support for the campaign by way of relaying to them benefits of tourism etc.; and £22,000 for administering and promoting the strategy - total £773,400 (ibid.).

The YVCB is responsible for the main marketing function of the campaign and has recently changed its name to the York Tourist Bureau (YTB) to reflect its new status as a broader based destination marketing organisation with public as well as private backing. Its promotion activities vary from attending travel exhibitions to brochure production and public relations aimed at the home and overseas markets. For synergies on costs and effectiveness in overseas marketing the YTB tries to link up with other organisations that promote Britain abroad. That is via British Tourist Authority campaigns and campaigns jointly organised and funded with other British heritage cities such as Bath, Chester, Dublin and Edinburgh. While such international campaigns tend to be general awareness raising ventures, they involve product positioning and market segmentation to attract target customers:

> With the American market we've joined forces with Edinburgh, Bath, Chester to have Britain's heritage cities promoted and to have a specific campaign targeting particular

groups. This year [1996] it's seniors in the American market. So there are workshops, PR, advertising and things specifically for that campaign....The other markets we are targeting this year are Norwegian, Dutch, ...and Irish...What we've tended to do [in the past] is...try and do a lot of activities and probably trying to be too many things to too many people. The BTA looked at what they were doing overseas and saw that they needed to have much stricter segmentation for the markets...We have followed on from what they were saying...its targeting and segmenting and positioning your product where you feel you are going to get your best returns.

(Marketing Executive at the York Tourism Bureau)

With regard to marketing campaigns within Britain, cities that may be collaborated with on international campaigns become direct competitors. Thus, marketing on the national scale is much more independent and oriented toward creating comparative distinctions between York and other British towns and cities. As with international marketing, there is also targeting of specific visitor groups, especially those regarded as being of high value to the city. For example, First Stop York produces a brochure aimed at the national and international conference market, 'York for Conferences', advertising the city's historical distinctiveness as well as the up-to-date conference and business 'packages' and facilities offered by the city's larger hotels. On the leisure and recreational side, an overall aim of the First Stop York campaign is to attract the 'quality' end of the market by targeting people who will be staying visitors rather than day-trippers. When asked if this meant that day-tripping visitors would be ignored or even discouraged by new marketing strategies, the marketing executive for the YTB replied:

No. I don't think we could afford to yet. OK, yes, when the hotels are full and the restaurants feel they are full then yes, maybe we can start being more selective, but I don't think we can. As long as we are aware that is what we are trying to get - people staying and spending - I don't think 'right, we are not going to do a promotion in the Metro Centre because people might not have as high incomes as people in New York'...Some [businesses] are very interested in the day visitor market, some of the attractions especially. The shops need people to stay because the research proves that its not

> necessarily the first day that people actually spend money in the shops, they go to the Minster then perhaps Jorvik and then maybe start shopping.
>
> (ibid.)

Although high spending and staying visitors may be the most desirable to the First Stop York campaign, the city cannot afford to turn its back on the various segments of the mass market, whether from home or overseas. This is borne out by another brochure produced under the umbrella of First Stop York, ' The York Travel Trade Directory 1996', which is aimed at national and international tour operators and travel agents which organise package holidays and tours for domestic and foreign visitors. While the brochure clearly targets coach parties which may be persuaded to stay for one or more nights, it is careful not to discount the value of more itinerant groups which may stop for a matter of hours: 'Whatever the length of stay or the size of group, York should be the first stop for your next visit' (First Stop York, 1996, page 1). The brochure also states that 'York welcomes coaches' (First Stop York, page 3), and details the provision of two major coach parks and three coach rendezvous points close to the historic core. In addition, the YTB invited 65 coach operators to York for a meeting in September 1996, 'to tell them why York welcomes coaches' - even though locally there has been a lot of 'bad press' regarding coaches in the past - and to consider, through consultation, ways of addressing the restrictions on entering the city centre (Marketing Executive for YTB).

Inevitably, most coaches that come to York will be occupied by day-trippers of one sort or another (i.e. touring groups or parties on a special one day-trip to York). Indeed, day-trippers are very important to York, making up sixty seven percent of York's total visitor count, the rest are overnight visitors (Touche Ross, 1994). It is thus a mass market destination, and probably will be for the foreseeable future. However, with segmentation and careful targeting, the mass market is differentiated according to criteria such as age, social class, lifestyle, activities and so on, and tailor-made images of the city and its facilities are propagated to match the tastes of each segment. In this way the various

marketing strategies of the YTB both specify and broaden York's appeal to maximise commercial opportunities.

A major reason why York cannot afford to discourage certain elements of the mass market is that now many more towns and cities are more active in the tourism system. Competition is coming from many directions which hitherto would have seemed unlikely. They are the

> new towns that are in a more competitive position than we are - like Glasgow, Manchester, Bradford - because they are spending a lot more money - their councils etc. - and because its something different, its almost as if they have to try harder. Glasgow had to battle against a terrible image and they have done it very successfully. And I think that is almost the trouble that when you have got so much, as we have in York, you tend to not have that extra bite, you can be complacent.
>
> (Marketing Executive at the York Tourism Bureau)

York is, therefore, compelled to act in the face of competitors which have successfully adopted marketing practices designed to achieve greater market share. And for York to compete effectively, it too has to adopt tried-and-tested place promotion techniques. This is not to say that York has surrendered its traditional advantage because of sophisticated marketing campaigns used in less established tourist towns and cities. But it is indicating how York cannot take its traditional appeal to tourists for granted. It too has to distinguish itself in the market by delivering messages which not only maintain its competitive edge over less traditional rivals but also mark it out against other heritage cities that represent strong national and international competition.

It also seems that increasing competition has had a major impact on the council's traditional attitude toward tourism marketing. This, coupled to the fact that manufacturing is in steep decline, has acted as a major spur for the council to explore new ways of securing York's economic future. A city councillor, with a specific eye on regional competitors, explained:

> I only moved up here in '85 myself and I wasn't involved with the Labour Group as much at that time, but what I pick up on is that tourism was something that was tolerated but not necessarily encouraged, and it was doing quite nicely on its own at that time because there was less competition. I mean since '85 the number of new tourist attractions that have cropped up in Bradford, Grimsby, Hull, Leeds has obviously made a difference but at that period of the '80s we were streets ahead of the rest. I think over time there has been some sort of attrition of that position.
>
> (York City Councillor and Chair of the Leisure Services Committee)

Even with regional competitors that may not be considered as classic heritage towns and cities, York is facing stiffer competition. The expanding market is demanding more product choice and is ambivalent to hierarchies based on high and low cultural bias. In the race for custom, places can succeed or fail as much on their marketing campaigns as they can on their actual cultural attributes, something which York's elites have come to acknowledge and accept. It seems that the type of promotion strategies used by Glasgow and other successful places in realigning and enhancing their market image have become somewhat of a base model for other towns and cities to emulate. York is no exception in this even though it starts from a relatively privileged position. While it offers a tourism product that relies largely on its unique past, it presents that product in a way that is very much of the present and not unique at all.

York, it would seem, tends to fit the promotional template of the new urbanity as laid out in the previous chapter. It is important to ask, however, how far does this approach integrate tourism development in York with the enhancement of employment opportunities, and how does it fit in with other development aspirations within the city? The next two sections broach these questions and explore the issues they raise.

Tourism employment and training

Although the council has moved closer to the tourism aspirations and strategic goals of the private sector, it has not abandoned its concern about the type of employment prospects tourism might bring to the city. However, instead of being somewhat dismissive in this regard, as may have previously been the case,

it has been pro-active in influencing its private sector partners on the need to improve the quality of tourism employment. It argues that good employment practice serves several objectives in that it benefits the employer as well as the employee, and at the same time improves the quality of the overall tourism 'product':

> I think there is a recognition that part of the experience for a tourist coming here is the quality of the human encounter they have, whether it is in a shop or in B&B or in a hotel or in a pub. If the person behind the desk is rude and grumpy and badly paid and badly trained, that is not very good for the individual's business or the business of York as a whole. So I think there is more recognition these days that the people side of it is quite important.
>
> (York City Councillor and Chair of the Leisure Services Committee)

The means by which the council has attempted to spread this tourism philosophy is by way of providing incentives, through good employment practice awards, to local tourism-related businesses:

> One of the things which helped, I hope, start this process of partnership between the council and private sector in tourism, was an award scheme that we started about four or five years ago which was the Tourism Employer of Distinction Awards... The thinking behind that was...that the image and perception of employment in tourism was a poor one in terms of long hours, low pay and all that. We wanted to address that situation but felt that just shouting at the tourism industry locally, saying that you've got to pull your socks up, was no way forward. And what happened was that we started with a small working group which involved... some of the people who are around the table at the Strategy Group meetings. We find that what you could call the more enlightened element in the tourism industry actually recognised that from their own company development point of view, and from the point of view of ensuring visitors have a good holiday, the existing situation is untenable. That is the perception of tourism jobs being low-paid and [low] - skilled and so on, is a non starter in this day and age. For a start there are obvious costs involved in having to continually recruit and retrain staff... [Also] there was the expansion of further education, so lots of young people were staying on at school rather than taking the first waiting job they could get. There was also the expansion of other types of employment in York, such as office employment, and other sectors... There are,

> therefore, fewer quality people coming onto the job and it makes it difficult for the tourism industry to maintain the level of quality of service that is required by an increasingly demanding consumer/visitor base in York... So we ran the award scheme which consists of an application form procedure where companies identify their recruitment and training policies and the pay and conditions of service of the staff, and those applications are assessed by a panel of judges and the award system goes ahead.
>
> (Economic Development Officer for York City Council)

This award scheme is now run in conjunction with the First Stop York campaign which, by utilising the expertise of various partners (for example, the local TEC), intends to make York a 'centre of excellence' in employment conditions and customer service. It aims to do this by : 1) increasing the take-up of the 'Tourism Awards'; 2) auditing good practice; 3) auditing training facilities; 4) forming a partnership between training providers to form a 'York Tourism Training Forum' which will create a 'Centre of Excellence' for tourism training and enhance York's reputation; creating a 'Tourism Careers Manual'; 5) increasing the take-up of 'Investors in People', NVQs, 'Training for Work' etc.; and 6) by monitoring customer care improvements through customer satisfaction surveys (Tourism Strategy Group, 1995).

In a sense this scheme is a marketing exercise, it is premised on persuasion as well as the self interested voluntarism of the business community. The argument for good employment practice is couched in terms of quality; that is that well rewarded and trained staff produce quality work and customer satisfaction, and in turn this adds value (profitability) to the business and will aid the development of York as a quality destination. Essentially it is attempting to use the market axiom of the private/public partnership to influence employment practice and to boost the image of the York product in the face of increasing competition. And it signals the more entrepreneurial stance of the council which stands in stark contrast to its previous attitude of managerialism.

Tourism and other investment

The 'quality' objectives of York's new tourism strategy are seen not only as benefiting the local tourism industry, they can help to create a 'quality'

environment and a 'quality of life' that could induce investment activity from other sources.

> Now on the inward investment front. In a way York has a major advantage in the sense that if, as we are led to believe, the quality of life is seen by potential inward investors as a key ingredient they are looking for, then York scores heavily on that. York is a familiar place to people, British people in particular - we concentrate on British inward investment...We believe that is the case, that it has been a major selling point of York, though there are many others that we have been pursuing. But what we have been concerned about is to certainly avoid any risk of the perception that York is an area that is a no go area for development purposes. In other words we don't want York to be seen as a place stuck in aspic where development isn't possible. So we made great efforts about four or five years ago [by] starting to identify office development sites - in particular in the city centre even, within the walls - that are capable for redevelopment for office[s]...Because we suspected that the selling point of York at the time was the city centre - out of town sites after all can be anywhere. The city centre offers a strong selling point in terms of access to the railway station with a superb service to London and elsewhere, and the quality of life goes without saying...
>
> The council has [also] appointed an archaeologist ..., because one of the things about the Viking and Roman heritage of York is that there are loads of archaeological sites all over the show, again we have to make developers and end users confident that their development is not going to be stopped because we are going to find a Roman forum at the bottom of their office. There are up and down sides of this heritage scene, but certainly we have never wanted to pursue a solely tourism policy to the detriment of trying to get other types of activities into York, we've always adopted that view. Maybe perhaps that's one of the reasons the council did not concentrate very much on tourism other than on a visitor management position, because it didn't want to concentrate on tourism jobs in the future, it wanted to provide high quality jobs to replace those that were being lost in other sectors of the local economy.
>
> (Economic Development Officer for York City Council)

Instead of seeing tourism and other forms of economic activity as separate, the council is attempting to sell a total quality environment 'package' to businesses of varying descriptions. As with ensuring the continued success of the tourism industry, the creation of an aestheticised, prestigious central location with good

access, is pivotal in attracting prestigious non tourism-related ventures - and by extension, white collar work and workers.

In recent years York has had some success in attracting new industries which, on the face of it, are unrelated to the city's tourism activity. New, prestigious bioscience initiatives, such as Smith and Nephew Group Research Centre and the Sand Hutton Central Science Laboratory for the Ministry for Agriculture Foods and Fisheries (MAFF), have located at the York Science Park (next to the university) which is a venture the council and York University have developed in tandem. These high tech laboratories obviously provide high quality jobs, although not necessarily for York residents: 'there is always a bit of a balance because when somebody moves perhaps half the staff come with the company so perhaps if you get two hundred jobs a hundred of them are transfers, that is something you always have to weigh up' (York City Councillor and Chair of the Leisure Services Committee). Nonetheless, these businesses are seen as a welcome diversification to the increasingly tourism-dominated York economy.

This recent success has been achieved despite the fact that York receives very limited grant assistance and is not given any special development status from central government. The York City Council Economic Development Officer felt confident that tourism in the city has played a major cultural role in attracting the new bioscience industries - especially in the way it has helped to re-create the city's environment. He also believed, somewhat vaguely, that the tourism and science link could be closer and more mutually beneficial in the future:

> We are trying to, on our inward investment side, attract more science and knowledge based industries to York on the back of the success of the University's science and research initiatives. The bioscience initiative in particular... This may open up opportunities from a tourism point of view that perhaps we haven't begun to explore yet, but which may offer a radically different way of marketing York. Instead of looking at the past we will be looking at the future.
>
> We will try to have a more modern approach to...[pause for thought] marketing attractions in York. Perhaps using new technology, that sort of thing. There may be something in that, we haven't thought it through fully yet but we think it could offer a

> useful tie-in between the science base that is being established in York and the traditional strengths of the tourism industry.
>
> (Economic Development Officer for York City Council)

While any specific content in this assertion is lacking, indeed the Economic Development Officer displays a general lack of confidence in what he is saying, it is plain that the intention is to explore ways of corporatising and packaging York further. In many ways this is suggestive of Poon's (1989) concept of a total 'system of wealth creation' in which disparate activities diagonally integrate to provide new synergies (see Chapter 7). In York's case, and in whatever form of integrated packaging it adopts, the key is to supply a prestigious location in terms of aesthetics, environment, consumption opportunities, and, of course, knowledge and academic kudos, in which the University plays a vital role.

Professor Tony Robards, York University's Director of Industrial Development and External Relations, who was appointed as the President of York and North Yorkshire Chamber of Commerce in 1996, would endorse the view that York's environmental and prestigious qualities are vital in attracting new businesses. Speaking about related matters in a local newspaper near the time of his appointment he referred to the city's need for more private capital and the lack of grant aid available to inward investors in the York region:

> I don't know how one overcomes that. All you can do is try to show the added value business can achieve by moving here. The fact that we have Smith & Nephew Research here is a perfect example of a major international company thinking this is a good place to site a crucial part of its organisation.
>
> (Yorkshire Evening Press, 'Business Report', September 18 1996, page 3)

The 'added value' to which the professor refers is inextricably linked to his reference about York being a 'good place'. That is, a good place in which to do business, a good place to live, a good place to visit, and so on - all qualities which can add value both to the cultural and material capital of potential investors and their employees, not to mention the city itself.

With regard to tourism in York, however, Professor Robards expressed a hint of caution:

> York to a large extent is a city which relies on its volume base. What I mean by that is it is driven by tourism and retail which means a lot of people coming through and a lot of them having money to spend. The problem is they are not staying long enough to deposit it. We have to look at York through their eyes. Our standards may be different from theirs. It is no use imposing our expectations upon them.
>
> (Professor Robards, ibid.)

The editor of the newspaper article then remarked, 'he believes York's greatest asset, not only in tourism but in a wider sense, is the city itself':

> We have a unique advantage, which I don't think we always value as greatly as we might, in having a tremendous environment. In a way we are victims of our own success because we are seen as a tourism city. If we are to catch big fish then we have to modify that image. We have to portray York as not only a city of the past with a heritage. York is a city of the future.
>
> (Professor Robards, ibid.)

Even though the style and content of this article are deliberately 'visionary' and optimistic, it seems a little ambiguous about the image of York as a heritage city. It does suggest that the quality of York's environment is of paramount importance to its success, and that tourism has contributed to this. However, it also implies that corporate York may be teetering on the edge of over-dependence on heritage tourism, which could impinge upon other developmental aspirations.

Professor Robards' comments are suggestive of some of the important tensions that continue to occupy those officially responsible for York's vitality and economic success. Namely, tensions surrounding trade-offs between preservation and development, the past and the future, production and consumption, services and manufacturing, day-tripping 'volume' based tourism

versus staying 'quality' tourism, low skilled/low paid work and high skilled/well paid work etc., and, of course, tourism development versus other development - all areas of potential conflict which, as yet, York has not been able to substantially overcome.

The view that tourism has the ability to support or even enhance other investment is thus not a view generally shared with great confidence. Neither are tourism development protagonists clear on how well, if at all, tourism connects with other economic sectors to stimulate inward investment. Rather it seems they *hope* that mutually beneficial links between tourism and other sectors may be forged, or at the very least they *hope* that tourism may grow without jeopardising the ability of York to grasp new economic opportunities. Uncertainty about these matters often drew qualified responses, as the Economic Development Officer for York City Council demonstrated. Another example was provided by the marketing executive for the YTB when she considered the links between tourism and other forms of inward investment:

> A lot of the things wouldn't have been developed if it hadn't been for the visitor coming, so its quite a cyclical thing really, you need the visitor numbers to get the improvements... Although I'm not totally certain about this. Would [tourism]encourage people to relocate here? I don't know. I need to do more work on that in my MBA to see whether companies relocating are put off by York as a tourist destination, in the same way that some conference organisers are put off holding a conference in York because it is seen as a leisure tourism destination So we have to do some work on that.
>
> (Marketing Executive at the York Tourist Bureau)

What does seem certain is that York's perceived identity, in terms of being a multifaceted city of culture and commerce, could be crucial not only to the type of tourism it can most successfully develop but also to the type and level of investment it may attract from other industries in the future. Furthermore, the fact that this particular marketing manager is studying for an MBA, and applying this study to the relationship between tourism and other economic development,

indicates that entrepreneurialism is definitely holding sway over managerialism in York's new private and public tourism development partnership.

At present, though, heritage tourism remains the city's strongest activity in terms of economic growth. And because tourism is not simply an industry but also a cultural phenomenon, issues about the status of current cultural production and consumption in York are important, both economically and culturally. The nature of cultural and economic relations in the tourism development process is also an enduring concern of many commentators who write about the commodification of people's experiences in western society. In particular it is a major topic in the debate about the re-production of heritage as a tourist commodity (cf. Hewison 1987; Fowler, 1992; Walsh 1992). It is, therefore, important to examine how cultural production and consumption sit with economic development in the context of heritage tourism in York. The next chapter focuses on this as it traces the development of major heritage attractions in York in recent years.

11 Heritage Production and Consumption in York

The Jorvik Viking Centre

The attraction which has most exemplified the latter phase of heritage tourism development in York is the Jorvik Viking Centre. Located in Coppergate in the city centre (see Figure 5), Jorvik has not only been a very successful attraction in its own right, it has also been a major influence on the rest of the historic core, not least in the way it has led heritage presentation in York for more than a decade. Its influence also goes well beyond the walled city: Jorvik has inspired, and some of its creators have helped produce, 'The Oxford Story' in Oxford, 'The Canterbury Pilgrim's Way' in Canterbury and the 'Edinburgh Story' in Edinburgh (Addyman, 1990). Its presentational style has also had an impact, nationally and internationally, on many other contemporary heritage attractions: 'the influence of the Jorvik style is meanwhile everywhere apparent, in museums and across a range of other past-users' (Fowler, 1992, pages 116-117). It is thus an inspirational attraction and a paradigmatic example of what Urry (1990) terms a 'postmodern museum'. An account of Jorvik's success is, therefore, an apt starting point in the analysis of contemporary heritage production and consumption in York city centre.

The Jorvik Viking Centre is owned by the York Archaeological Trust (YAT), which was started in 1972 as a grant aided trust to carry out 'rescue' archaeology in the city and to educate the public through its work (Addyman, 1990; Director of Attractions, YAT, pers. comm.). From the first day of the Jorvik Viking Centre opening in 1984 it has been a success with visitors, and it soon earned an international reputation for the original and novel way in which it re-presented a part of York's Viking past. It is situated on the site of an archaeological dig carried out by the YAT in the 1970s (see Figure 5) which

uncovered well-preserved remains of a Viking street dating back to the tenth and eleventh centuries. The excavation itself captured the imagination of the public, to the extent that throughout its duration, between May 1976 and September 1981, half a million people had stood and gazed at the work being done (Addyman, 1990). 'Their entry fees and souvenir purchases contributed substantially to the costs of the excavation. They also expressed a desire to see the site preserved' (ibid., page 258). It was this public fascination, and the willingness of the public to pay to enjoy it, that alerted the YAT to the potential of opening a heritage centre:

> People were generally very interested, there were many who came to simply watch the dig in process...At the time of the dig half a million people went to look at it and that's when we suddenly realised that there was so much public interest in this. And so many people said 'can't you preserve it ?', so we came up with [the Jorvik Viking Centre] concept. The impetus was very much an archaeological research exploration.
>
> (Director of Attractions, YAT)

The YAT then formed its own management wing, named Cultural Resource Management Ltd, to organise its financial affairs and to market its activity. When the whole area around the dig was redeveloped by Wimpey Holdings between 1981 and 1984, to provide a mix of shops and flats, provision was also made for the Jorvik Viking Centre to be built right on top of the dig, at a cost of £2.6 million (Institute of Marketing, 1987). Within the centre a heritage shop is located at the end of the tour for visitors to browse and purchase souvenirs. The whole Coppergate development thus mixes heritage and shopping in one scheme, which is a microcosmic illustration of the way both of these activities have been generally integrated within the historic core in recent years.

The tour of the Jorvik Viking Centre costs £4.95 [23] and begins with the time car ride into a totally reconstructed commercial area of Jorvik, containing street-front shops, workshops and yards (Addyman, 1990). As already briefly mentioned, this Viking scene is 'brought alive' by manufactured sights, sounds and smells of the time and place, in the form of mannequins of Viking people

and animals, along with 'authentic' smells and 'typical' pre-recorded noises. The Jorvik Viking Centre, then, creates 'a spatial narrative of the city not as a survival but as an immediate experience, a simulacrum of the past' (Meethan, 1996, page 331). This type of hyperreal presentation, founded on scholarly research and coupled to sophisticated marketing, has ensured Jorvik's accessibility, integrity and popularity with the public. As Fowler (1992) puts it, the main achievement is through:

> superb marketing and presentation of a popularly little-known past arranged, like burgers, in a convenient, instant and easily assimilable form. Given the research-based academic integrity of the product, it is difficult to resist the argument of its creators that Jorvik is good, popular education. Many critics have failed to distinguish clearly between that objective and the overtly Disney-inspired mechanism designed to achieve it.
>
> (Fowler, 1992, page 116)

The Viking street is not the only simulation within the Centre; toward the end of the time car ride the visitor is 'brought back into the twentieth century' as the tour enters a section of the display which re-creates the original 1970s dig. The recent and the distant past are, therefore, treated with de-differentiating 'absolute equivalence' (Rojek, 1993, page 151). Furthermore, the simulated dig is reminiscent of MacCannell's (1976) concept of 'staged authenticity' in that the re-created 'back region', or the behind the scenes activity of the dig itself, is brought to the fore as a legitimate tourist spectacle. Therefore, the research process not only lends integrity and authenticity to the display, as Fowler (1992) argues, but is integral in its commodification - especially by being ossified or 'frozen' in an instantly 'visitable' time. For Rojek the presentation style of the Jorvik Viking Centre is typical of a (post)modern experience because certain divisions are undercut, and once stable boundaries are dissolved, 'back regions are turned into front regions, hidden areas of life become items of exhibition, the past which is "lost" is "recreated" in the present' (Rojek, 1993, page 152). And, importantly, the authentic and the inauthentic are displayed as equivalent terms.

For some, however, Jorvik does not represent real history, it is a watered down snap-shot of the past and is somewhat spurious, although clever, in its dramatised effect, which invites passive consumption of heritage. A resident in one of the focus groups expressed this type of objection:

> I think it is very artificial personally, but it does appeal to people and it's manageable. People who come with their kids want something they can get a grip of. It's very professionally done. I wouldn't pay to go into it, I've been around it but only with a group who was invited there and I wouldn't go back to look at it now...It may be on the site where they found the village, but it's not actual things, it's not the actual field itself, they are trying to dress it up too much. They put these figures and various other things in there and you can't walk around at your own pace to look at it. You are led through it, it's more like watching a television programme really... I don't want it dramatised, it's too generalised and too particular at the same time, it's presenting one person's ideas as too representative of that time. It's value laden and is reinforcing some idea of what they think people come for. It's giving people what they think people want rather than what it is. On the other hand it's very professionally done. It's very popular and I think it's what quite a lot of people come to York to see, the queues are nearly always full...If they'd been able to get grants and other things they would not have bothered with Jorvik.
>
> (middle-aged male resident, archivist)

The implication here is that because Jorvik is operating in the context of the free market it is Disneyfied and entertaining rather than educational or rigorous. The comparison with television viewing and the passive consumption of a pre-programmed display of knowledge is also interesting, indicating that the medium of communication, or the interpretation, is not only controlling but probably more important than what it is referring to (cf. Baudrillard, 1983 and the absorption of objects by their signs). Thus, traditional reverence for the aura of the historical object has given way to technical sophistication and transferred to a typically postmodern enjoyment of the nature of the display.

In reply to criticisms of artificiality in the way Jorvik re-creates and interprets history, the director of attractions for YAT said:

Well inevitably in any interpretation there are going to be alternatives...With the buildings in Viking Centre they weren't just interpreted up from holes in the ground. There were timbers standing a few feet high, sunk in mud for a thousand years and there's not much doubt about the walled structure of those buildings. Sure the roofing might not have been like that, it might have been gable ended or it might have been a flat roof, we can't tell whether it was either so we put one of each there. But we know that the chickens were that shape and size and colour because we found the bones and we did detailed research on Viking age and Scandinavian fowl antecedents, so we can justify everything that you can see in there. We keep the integrity that way. The faces that you see as you go round the Viking Centre are not just [made up],...the first group were modelled from the staff of the trust, now techniques have developed through some research done at the University of Manchester whereby you put an ancient skull or a murder victim through a computer scanner and the machine matches the skull to create a face. We put Viking age skulls that I found on my site [another local dig],...but not at Coppergate, we took them and put them through this scanning device and created faces, so they are now as accurate as is possible to be of a Viking face. We don't know if [a male] had a beard or a moustache or if he was fat or thin, spotty or whatever but that is as accurate as it possibly can be given the limitations. So this is the best hypothesis we can provide and we can justify why we have done it like that...

The thing is in the Viking Centre the detail is there presented in another way. If you were a specialist, say in ancient textiles, and you were allowed to go round the Viking Centre as many times as you want or even not go in a time car and stand there and stare at it, you will see a bit of experimental archaeology. We put clothes on those models, the wool that we use was from sheep that were only available in the Viking age, it's been hand woven and hand pickled in urine, and things like this. We've even flown to Nova Scotia for the lichen to dye the colours in exactly the same way as the Vikings did. It is all based on academic research. But for people like my mother in the time car she wouldn't know it was interesting, but it is there because the detail is there. Just because it's a superficial experience and designed to be an all encompassing thing it doesn't mean it is inauthentic or not properly researched.

(Director of Attractions, YAT)

With the charge that the picture of Viking life presented in Jorvik is pandering too much to popular expectations and the demands of the market at the expense of educational integrity, the reply is equally adamant:

> The YAT set it up because we wanted to tell the message to as many people as we could in as authentic a way we could, we didn't realise it was going to make all this money. It took us by surprise, we were really delighted when we made money, and now we depend on it, but that wasn't the primary reason we did it, we primarily did it to educate the public in archaeology, whether anyone believes that is neither here nor there, I know why I do it.
>
> (ibid.)

This, it would seem, squares with Merriman's (1989) account that rather than museums simply trivialising history to gain market share, the market itself is changing in breadth and sophistication, in part because museums have become educationally 'incorporative'. 'This is because greater numbers of school visits, improvements in museum display and the general lengthening of education have socialised more people to be competent in ''reading'' museums' (Merriman, 1989, page 170).

The fact that the YAT were surprised by the amount of revenue generated by Jorvik - about one million pounds per annum at present (Director of Attractions, YAT, pers. comm.) - equates with their surprise in its instantaneous popularity from the very beginning. Their first year attendance expectations were around 200,000 visitors, which in fact was exceeded by more than 400,000 (ibid.). Cynics may argue that the fourteen minute time car ride is a means of getting vast numbers of people through the exhibition with minimum educational effect and maximum economic efficiency. However, it is a mechanism of through-put brought about because of reasons of safety and visitor management - which also proved to be a key ingredient in Jorvik's success:

> It was essentially a crowd control thing. We were going to have people walking through but the fire officer said that we couldn't do that and that we had to have a control mechanism and we've got to make sure that people don't hang around in great gaggles. The funny thing is that if we look back, having time cars is one of the things that persuaded people, especially young kids, to be interested in Vikings...This was new and exciting.
>
> (ibid.)

Indeed, the appeal of Jorvik to children was a major plus for almost all visitors interviewed. The fact that it was thought to be entertaining as well as educational was seen as a real boon in comparison to static display museums where children tend to be bored and restless.

> It was very well done. It was easy to understand and I'm a retired teacher, I taught eleven year olds until a year ago and so I still see things in terms of an eleven year old's eyes, and I would have loved to have had my class with me...And you can read. There's very little in that exhibit that I didn't already know but the fact that you are seeing and hearing and experiencing those things is very nice. If I had taught it to my class and had given them that experience it would have been wonderful.
>
> (retired female visitor from California)[24]

Judging from tourist interview responses it seems that many adults also find static glass case museums stifling, unappealing and, therefore, unlikely to receive or stimulate their patronage (see Merriman, 1988, 1989, 1991). By contrast the vast majority of those interviewed had visited the Jorvik Viking Centre and enjoyed their experience even though most thought the time car ride too short. A female visitor from Germany expressed a generally positive opinion on Jorvik, which was, in the main, shared by the majority of tourist respondents:

> I found it pretty interesting how they put things together when you go in, and you have to go backwards in the time car. You go physically backwards at the same time as going backwards into history [passengers sit with their backs to the forward motion of the time cars as they listen to the narration]. It doesn't really make you feel as if you are going back in time but I thought it interesting and a nice idea. Then history stops and you suddenly stop and then you go into the Viking village as if you are in the present and I found it entertaining and you learn through being entertained... I usually found museums boring so I think that was nice... I thought I would like to go again because I am sure I missed quite a few things because of the language and because I had the front seat so I thought I have to go again to get everything clear. I would go again for that...
>
> When I came in I spent some time firstly at the introduction and I found this very interesting that they had a video clip showing that the Vikings had craftworks and this sort of thing, because I know the Vikings were very brutal and things like that, so I've learned

quite a lot. I didn't know what to expect when I went into this museum so when I went onto this little car I was surprised, I didn't know what to expect, so I was looking around more than listening, that's why I would go again. And then when you go off the car you can spend some time looking around...

The only thing that I found very annoying is that you have to go through a shop. I felt as if they were trying to get money off me and I found that very disturbing. Its a proper little shop where you can get all those little souvenirs and I found this not very nice. It was not my free choice to go into the shop, I had to go through, that's what I didn't like...[However], I think they tried to make it as real as possible and I think they did a good job and I didn't think it looked like Disneyland at all.

(young woman from Germany, visiting York for one day)

This respondent's dislike of the shop at the end of the tour was not something which seemed to trouble most other visitors to Jorvik, perhaps because it is almost a standard part of the display in contemporary museum attractions and thus it is expected and possibly welcomed. It is interesting how this respondent used 'Disneyland' as a reactive metaphor for turning something quite real into an inappropriately false place. Something the Jorvik Viking Centre had successfully avoided doing. It is also interesting that she seemed pleasantly surprised that the Vikings had an alternative side to their widely publicised reputation for rape, plunder and pillage. Addyman (1990) suggests that this is a common response of visitors to Jorvik, citing a survey of eighty people questioned after their visit where eighty one percent of them 'admitted that they now thought differently of Vikings, for instance, considering them more civilized' (page, 262).

For the YAT's director of attractions such discoveries are an important educational aspect of the display, although the more widely received image of the Vikings also serves to make Jorvik a popular attraction. Despite the novel way in which history is presented in Jorvik, he thought there were wider cultural and political aspects to its ability to draw the public:

First of all the word Viking is an instant marketing hit. Everyone has an association with the word Viking, when you hear it you think of blood and guts, rape and pillage and helmets and swords and all these things and let's face it Hollywood loves the Vikings and so do the general public. Its totally different to the word Anglo-Saxon or Roman or

Medieval, they are just old. Viking, its capitalism, going to new lands and conquering people, it's everything we're into if we are going to relate it to politics, it's everything the Thatcher era wanted. So Viking sells itself, the fact that this was a detailed archaeological piece of research helps to maintain that appeal, its not just a Disneyland experience, it has total integrity because we have made a big thing over the years of we can prove every last thing in the museum down to the seeds, its all evidenced....

We are really pushing the authenticity angle more than we ever did. So there is a plaque as you stand in the queue that says 'everything you are about to see is based on actual archaeological evidence'. I think we've always made something of that but perhaps not enough and now we are really going for it, so I think it's believable. And once people get there there is not a sword to be seen, there's not a horned helmet, there's no blood, there's no rape and pillage.

(Director of Attractions, YAT)

However, now that Jorvik's attendance figures have been declining in recent years there is pressure to re-examine its presentation style in order to protect the commercial benefits the YAT receives because of its popularity as a tourist attraction. And, in order to do this, new ways of bringing York's Viking past 'alive' to stimulate both repeat and new visits are being sought[25]:

It is not going to go on for ever and you do need something new and you need something big. You need something new so you can do PR on it, never just to persuade people to come back, you've got to keep it in the public eye. The press are sick and tired of hearing about the same old things...We are looking for a large wedge of money which will allow us to revamp the gallery, and what we are looking at is state of the art presentation...We are going to put out a design competition all to do with interactive technology. What we want to do is contextualise the displays. Lets say you touch an artefact and then all of a sudden you are surrounded by all the pigs and the geese and all the noises from the place. An idea that I've got, it cost too much though, is that you can go through the middle of the house, you get a holographic effect of what you saw on the other side for seconds and all the noises etc. and you can see the people sitting there on the hearth and you can understand that that is what you saw on the other side. You can go onto the next house and that comes alive, you go to the next one and you make these connections all the time. Now that is sophisticated holographic effects and that to me is something that people can get excited about. So the press get interested, and the TV cameras come down and all the rest of it and you've got new interest.

> No one has worked out exactly what we are going to do regarding the objects but *context is the absolute key to it all.* That is the way we really forge the way ahead is objects in their context, it is already very strong so lets finish that connection with the artefact. There might be a possibility that we would expand the building too. We can't dig up any more really, the city wouldn't allow it. The whole thing of archaeology is preservation, no matter what, so the things down there are for future generations. But there is no plans to expand it out in that direction, what we have got is strong and we want to make it even stronger.
>
> (Director of Attractions, YAT)

As an initial part of this new strategy, in 1996 Jorvik started employing actors to play the part of Vikings, who interact with visitors from the time they start queuing. The idea of employing actors in the Centre belongs to an outside company named Heritage Projects which was brought in 1994 solely to 'manage' and market Jorvik. Interestingly, Heritage Projects was set up by part of the original team that created the Jorvik Viking Centre (Addyman, 1990), and their experience in managing other heritage attractions - as already mentioned, such as The Oxford Story, The White Cliffs of Dover Experience, and Canterbury Tales - was seen as an important step in ensuring Jorvik's continued success. Though in the interests of authenticity, the Director of Attractions for the YAT oversees their activity and aims to guarantee they do not compromise the historic integrity of the centre for the sake of gaining market advantage. In his own words: 'I essentially look after Heritage Projects and make sure they don't put horns on the helmets because the marketers say that's what's needed'. Traditionalists no doubt would say that the planned measures to make Jorvik more popular, coupled with the employment of a specialist private company to achieve this, cheapen York's Viking heritage even further. However, there is little question that in order to extend the product life of Jorvik, most scope lies within revamping the way it is presented rather than adding to the content of the artefact itself. More digging is not possible anyway because of site restrictions, and probably unnecessary with regard to the YAT's commercial needs of Jorvik.

Furthermore, the above comments from visitors and the YAT's director of attractions make it clear that the presentation style of Jorvik is equally as big

an attraction as the artefact itself. Thus, further commodification of Jorvik through product enhancement techniques and more intense marketing appears inevitable. The way forward lies in the use of more theatrical and technologically sophisticated displays in order to boost Jorvik's entertainment value. Whether or not this will compromise the historical value of Jorvik is a live issue and one which the YAT seem destined to continue to wrestle with.

The Archaeological Resources Centre (ARC)

Since Jorvik was first discovered and introduced as a heritage attraction it has had a profound impact on the activity of the YAT. Not least because the income derived from Jorvik was to allow the YAT more independence and developmental scope. Other projects soon came about which built upon the YAT's task of mixing original archaeological research with public education. The jewel in the YAT's missionary crown came about in 1990 when the self-funded Archaeological Resource Centre (ARC) was opened within five minutes walk from Jorvik in the heart of the historic core. The ARC received over 50,000 visitors in 1995-1996 (YAT, 1996), and represents 'almost an institutionalisation of that educational goal' (Director of Attractions, YAT, pers. comm.). It presents a 'hands-on' experience of archaeology to adults and children, of which children comprise seventy five per cent of total visitors (YAT, 1996). Housed in the Medieval church of St. Saviour (see Figure 5) the ARC aims to make archaeology exciting by allowing paying visitors to handle real archaeological finds and learn some ancient techniques, like Viking cloth weaving, as well as take part in mock digs.

> The ARC adds to the Jorvik experience by allowing visitors to participate in archaeology through a pioneering combination of exhibits they are positively encouraged to touch. Handling Roman roof tiles or Medieval pottery fragments, searching for beads, coins, fruit pips or tiny bones among actual excavation material or experimenting with age-old techniques like weaving on a Viking warp-weighted loom puts the visitor in touch with the past. Technology is there too in the form of computers, one a touch-screen interactive video tour of the Coppergate Dig on which the Viking Centre is based.

> Archaeological demonstrators provide the link between visitors and objects handled at this special and absorbing Centre where you can hold history in your hands.
>
> (Jorvik Viking Centre Guide Book, undated)

There is also a section of the ARC where academic research is undertaken on stored artefacts unavailable to the public. However, the public can see this research being done from the visitors' section through windows purposefully placed to allow them visual access. On the whole the style of the ARC holds many similarities to Jorvik in that it is experiential and entertaining, but it has one crucial difference: the visitor experience is much more tactile or 'hands-on'. The visitor is allowed to participate much more in the museum in an inclusive and relatively empowering manner, thereby allowing scope for greater reflexivity. Thus, many more barriers are broken down in the ARC: between authenticity and the inauthentic, the aura of the object and the passive gaze of the consumer, education and entertainment, the production of the scholar and the consumption of the public, and so on. In all, and very important, is that the general experience turns a once-distant, exclusive and highbrow back-region into a front-region with relative ease of public access:

> We built the ARC but it was actually built for two reasons: one because it further puts the message about archaeology over, secondly it provides an antidote, it answers that criticism...about the Viking Centre being a show where people can't get behind the scenes. Well this is their opportunity to go and handle the pottery, handle the bone, play with Viking materials, weave the cloth, stitch Viking shoes and do Viking spinning. It's to allow them to understand how we reconstruct the Viking centre in the way we do. They can compare Viking cow bones with modern cow bones, the Viking ones are tiny and the modern ones are huge... The ARC is the antidote then, the thing that would allay all these criticisms in some ways saying that the YAT do care about explaining things to people. But not everyone wants to know that so here is a place where you can explore that, you can go behind the scenes and as it is an archaeological store as well where archaeological research takes place you are not just doing your own Mickey Mouse stuff, behind the scenes you are actually seeing archaeologists researching away in the corners.
>
> (Director of Attractions, YAT)

As noble as the educational aim of the ARC may be it has, nonetheless, experienced problems with regard to combining the attainment of 'hands-on' knowledge by the public and its other activity of furthering academic research. Many visiting academics have complained about the noise emanating from the public gallery, saying that it interfered with their concentration. Because of this, while visiting scholars still use the facility, they tend not to stay for long and move on as quickly as they practicably can.

What is more, according to the Director of Attractions, even though there is an entrance fee for the ARC the objective was never to do more than break even. It is very much seen as the next step from Jorvik where visitors with a whetted appetite for history and archaeology can follow their interests further at little cost.

The YAT is keen to be seen as a responsible body and tries to communicate its educational and preservationist mission in some of its guide books and brochures. A quote from their Jorvik Viking Centre brochure provides an example of how the YAT puts its message across to the public:

> the Jorvik Viking Centre was created in pursuit of its [YAT's] aim of introducing as many people as possible to archaeology. The Trust puts all profits from the Jorvik Viking Centre towards this important task. Ancient remains like those found here exist below the streets of many English towns. The countryside too is rich in the number and variety of buried remains...The Trust believes that it is vitally important too that they should be excavated and studied before destruction by modern development.
>
> (Jorvik Viking Centre Guide Book, undated)

The conservationist sentiment behind the above statement seemed to strike a popular chord with a number of tourists as well as residents interviewed. And the use of Jorvik as a money-making venture to fund other projects was generally met with pragmatic acceptance, even approval, both by tourist respondents and residents - none strongly disapproved.

A female visitor from Scotland demonstrates her support for the preservation of York's archaeological heritage when she said: 'the first time I was in York...they were starting to excavate Roman remains, and they found these Viking remains and they didn't just build over it like they would do in a lot of towns, they turned them into the Jorvik Viking Centre' (young woman from Scotland, visiting York for a few days). Another woman visiting from Essex showed resigned acceptance of the £4.95 cover charge for Jorvik: 'if you've got to make money to pay for other things to be done that's the way you've got to do it...I don't think you make money these days unless you do that,...its the times we live in isn't it' (woman from Essex visiting York for a week). And a female resident focus group respondent remarked: 'the whole thing has to make money,...to fund and carry the academic side, which is no bad thing I think' (young woman resident, arts administrator). Thus, even if the commercialism of history in Jorvik was somewhat regrettable for these respondents, they did not dwell on it or discuss the issue contentiously. The general attitude was that, in the absence of public funding, the money for the YAT's valuable work has to come from somewhere, and probably the market place is the only viable source at present. Rather than signifying blind acceptance of commercialisation, this indicates that the level of commercialism taken on board by the YAT is tolerable because it is a trust with a noble aim.

The impact of Jorvik and the YAT's other activities on the historic core

The influence of Jorvik on the style of tourism development in York has also been profound. Indeed, it could be argued that the Jorvik Viking Centre has been the single most important local component in the process of moving York into the 'heritage-enterprise couplet' phase of tourism development (Meethan, 1996). It has been estimated from research undertaken by the English Tourist Board that, through the multiplier effect, for every pound spent in Jorvik a further seven pounds are spent by visitors in the community (Institute of Marketing, 1987). Furthermore, the way Jorvik thematises Viking York as living history has led the way to a general theming and re-creation of York's past within the historic core. As a postmodern museum it employs 'methods of presentation [that] owe more

to the fantasy theme park than traditional archaeology' (Ashworth and Tunbridge, 1990, page 155), and Meethan (1996, page 331) states 'increasingly, this description applies as much to the city of York as a whole'.

The director of attractions for the YAT offers his own opinion on the tangible impacts of Jorvik on its local environment:

> Well this is only a personal perspective, I know, but I think clearly when you have 600,000 people coming to York, and maybe half of those people would have come to York anyway, but you have to cater for those extra numbers, and I dare say that if you did a survey of bed and breakfasts and other accommodations around here about when they were established you would see a correlation between the Viking Centre and a boom of York's bed space availability. Maybe there is research on this - I don't know - but I can't help feeling from an amateur's perspective that that's when York really went into a new league and things really took off. As I say from my own perspective I certainly noticed a difference in places like the Shambles [26], where you could buy a pound of meat and now you can't, its all postcards and trinkets...The Novotel was built in 1986, the whacking great Holiday Inn opposite the council was built in 1985, that period saw all these big hotels go whizzing up.
>
> (Director of Attractions, YAT)

The opening of Jorvik was also followed by other fee-paying and privately owned museums. Inevitably, they sought not only to duplicate the success of Jorvik but also to take advantage of the large number of visitors that Jorvik attracted (Meethan, 1996). The YAT itself has extended its involvement in attractions beyond Jorvik and the ARC, albeit with less spectacular success. Barley Hall, a reconstructed fifteenth century Medieval Hall just off Stonegate (see Figure 5), is an example of a major investment of two million pounds that eventually proved to be a financial failure. Visitors were supplied with audio tapes that re-enacted a series of tableaux through the eyes of imaginary characters based on an historical family who once occupied the house. In 1996 it also employed actors to play the Lady, Lord and servant of the house in the form of open theatre. During opening hours the actors constantly remained in character so that visitors could experience how the residents of the house, as well as the

house itself, 'lived' and functioned in Medieval times. Like the ARC, it is less of a passive experience than Jorvik, visitors could take their time to wander through the hall and were allowed to sit on the furniture and handle the objects on display. The venture failed, however, because of its obscure location (Director of Attractions, YAT. pers. comm.), which meant that the public had difficulty or reluctance in finding it via a small alleyway which ran from Stonegate. It was, therefore, closed in 1996.

A similar fate met the YAT's Thomas Gent's Coffee House. Adjacent to Barley Hall, it was a simulated Georgian Style coffee house of around 1770 which employed waitresses in period costumes to serve the public in a dimly lit alcove furnished with hard wooden benches. The YAT hoped that these two attractions would be mutually supportive, however, Thomas Gent's proved to be a commercial failure before Barley Hall and closed in 1995.

A more lasting project has been the annual Viking Festival which was initiated in the mid-1980s and continues into the present. A reconstructed ancient Viking festival called Jalablot, it is held for a week every February, the slackest time of the tourist season, in order to boost tourist trade to the city and to reinforce the Viking theme in which Jorvik is a major stakeholder. Although the original intention of the YAT was to hold the Viking Festival as a marketing ploy to raise the profile of Jorvik, it has grown beyond original expectations and is now very much a part of the city's calendar of events. The festival's centrepieces are a march through the city centre by costumed 'Viking warriors', followed by a re-enacted battle of 1043 between Vikings and Saxons [27] that takes place outside the Castle Museum; this is then followed by the burning of a 'Viking longboat' on the River Ouse after sunset. The city itself, then, becomes centre stage for the playing out of past events where tourists are the audience and history becomes an openly spectacular drama.

However, the Viking festival has now become too big and costly for the YAT to organise on its own, and it is looking for support from the rest of the city.

> It has developed from being a marketing thing to being almost a cultural festival. Because, having built up contacts from Scandinavia, we now get representatives from every region of Norway...and they've all brought a boat with them at their own expense. So it turned into a cultural thing from a marketing thing, a cultural thing in turn takes ages to set up, you've got to keep the people entertained for a week and you've got to have hotels to put them up... What we have decided is that we are trying to cut back, we are trying to make things more cost effective... Now if anybody else in the city would like to join in? And after all the Viking Centre has been doing this single handed since it started, apart from help from sponsors. What we are saying now is we want your help but we can't do it ourselves any longer, so if you want to have razzmatazz, if you want to have leg wrestling in Coppergate Square, great, but you provide the staff.
>
> (Director of Attractions, YAT)

Such annual events are seen as important mechanisms for flattening the peaks and troughs in tourism activity throughout the year and the council is quite prepared to step up its involvement with them, especially, it seems, with regard to their organisation and financial support.

> I think events and initiatives to encourage off-peak breaks are very much seen as a good thing. I'm talking of conferences and special events, and an annual calendar of events is being developed which will hopefully attract visitors throughout the year. There are events of course which are already taking place but we will support them and hopefully build them into more substantial things.
>
> (Economic Development Officer for York City Council)

With specific regard to the Viking Festival, there has been a response by the council and potential partners to the request for assistance by the YAT, and they are exploring ways to boost and secure the event for the future:

> There is a new sort of steering group which has been established involving the council and other parties as well as to try to make that event, first of all, more financially secure, because it is at the moment depending on the will of largely one sponsor, and secondly, to ensure that it takes its place in an annual calendar of events which, therefore, offers the

> opportunity for more repeat business. So...the Jorvik Viking Festival is very important and it is very much seen as something that should be safe-guarded for the future.
>
> (ibid.)

Although large events and festivals are important in the creation of York city centre as a theatre for spectacular consumption, there are daily open air events and attractions which maintain an almost carnivalesque ambiance within the streets of the historic core. For example, there are the numerous buskers and street entertainers which the council actively encourage 'in order to recreate the city centre as an experience in itself' (Meethan, 1996, page 331). There are also the many history and ghost tours undertaken on foot through the city. Indeed, these guided tours have been one of the fastest growing areas of tourism activity in the city in recent years (ibid.). Furthermore, the central areas that are open to motorised traffic provide the main routes for open-topped bus tours in which guides narrate the city's heritage to visitors. All this activity, as Meethan (1996) argues, combines to create York as a place of spectacle and entertainment, and the retelling of history as instantly consumable heritage provides a Disneyfied gloss on York's past.

While Jorvik and other YAT initiatives may have been an important inspiration for the theatrical style of heritage presentation and recreation that abounds in York, heritage tourism in general has come to dominate the city centre to such an extent that very little of the city's past and present activity seems to have escaped its overwhelming grip. Retailing in York, for example, has also been the subject of dramatic changes in recent decades, of which many are directly attributable to the way tourism has developed in the city. This is not to suggest that tourism has overwhelmed shopping in York city centre, rather retailing and tourism have combined in such a way that they are now inextricably linked in the commodification of the city as a consumption 'paradise'. This has added another dimension to the York 'experience' for visitors and residents. The next section explores this further in order understand the dynamics and consequences of the relationship between retailing and tourism development in York.

Retailing and tourism in York

In common with many other British towns and cities in the 1970s and 1980s, certain kinds of retail activity that was formerly located in the centre of York, most notably the retailing of convenience goods, have relocated to out-of-town sites (Bridges, 1976; Meethan 1996). Nonetheless, the city centre has also seen an absolute increase in retail outlets over the last two decades, but this has mostly been in comparison or specialist shops. The relative decline in one retail activity and the increase in another is reflected in the amount of floor space given over to comparison and convenience goods in York city centre: approximately eighty thousand square metres for comparison goods and under ten thousand square metres for convenience goods (City of York, 1994). Undoubtedly, the growth in tourism is directly responsible for these changes. The council formally recognised this in 1986, saying that without the volume of visitors York 'would probably not have the range of shopping facilities it enjoys today' (City of York, 1986, page 6). It has been estimated that twenty five million pounds per annum (not including food or drink) is spent by tourists on retailing and, in addition, it is estimated that retail distribution, hotels and restaurants account for twenty one percent of the city's workforce (City of York, 1994). Therefore, the changes in retail function are significant and signal the growing economic importance of tourism and retail to the city as well as indicate how much of a dominant force they have become in the spatial arrangement of the city centre.

The (1985) *Goad Shopping Centre Report: York* remarked that there was a tendency for comparison shops to be clustered in the vicinity of the Minster, that levels of trade were above the national average and that turnover of floor space for recreational goods was forty percent above the national average, 'all of which are attributed to the demands of tourists' (Meethan, 1996, page 332). However, despite the apparent success of retailing in the city centre, there are continuous pressures from out-of-town retail developments and other regional centres such as Leeds. The council has thus attempted to meet the challenge presented from nearby competition by ensuring that shopping in York centre is a 'special experience' and that 'a combination of its superb environment, cultural, administrative and financial facilities coupled with improved and expanding

shopping facilities would provide an unbeatable combination' (Geoghiou, 1991, pages 75-76)

Stonegate and Petergate, near to Barley Hall within the heart of the historic core conservation area (see Figure 5), are two of the core's prime focal points for tourists and tourist shops, and are among the oldest surviving Medieval streets in the city. High rents and the central location have resulted in a concentration of specialist shops dealing in goods such as jewellery, expensive clothing, arts and crafts (Meethan, 1996). These goods are in the realm of 'tradition' (MacCannell, 1992, page 219), 'which is conceptually located in this case somewhere between the English rural idyll (flower arrangements and folksy cottages) and the lost nostalgia for childhood (teddy bears and Beatrix Potter franchise), although exotica from other realms (ethnic folksiness) is also evident' (Meethan, 1996, pages 333-334). Furthermore, the shops are built on land that was occupied by former workshops and warehouses and are constructed in pseudo-Victorian style. And the whole area in and around Stonegate is paved with traditional materials and furnished in a style exhibiting a patina suggestive of heritage and 'olde worldiness'. 'In the case of Stonegate Walk, a covered arcade, potted shrubs and plants, a "traditional" phone box and piped music add to the ambiance of contrived nostalgia' (ibid., page 334). This rather spurious, purposefully designed recourse to a bygone era, although a prime example, is typical of the aesthetic styling evident throughout the historic core.

The goods on offer in the shops of Stonegate also attempt to gain a credible lustre of uniqueness because of their contextualised association with heritage and nostalgia. And as noted earlier regarding the YAT's Thomas Gent's Coffee House, stylised retailing and heritage are seen as mutually supportive in York. Peter Addyman, the Chairman of YAT, endorses, and no doubt influences this perspective when he writes that heritage sites provide 'cultural foci in the midst of commercial zones, enabling adjacent developments...to have a better chance of succeeding' (1991, page 80). Furthermore, the city council has formally expressed its approval of the aesthetic mutuality of modern retailing and traditional heritage in York: 'Much of the charm of the City's townscape stems from its shops because by virtue of the positive nature of retailing they lend it a

visual variety and liveliness which forms an attractive foil to the nobility of the architectural set pieces' (City of York, 1990).

Such mixing of modern retailing outlets and genuine heritage combine to blur boundaries between the authentic and the inauthentic as well as the cultural and the economic. And the way that tourism and retail combine to form mutually supportive consumption experiences, enveloped in a spatial aesthetic of nostalgia, has served to deeply ingrain the commodification of the whole of the historic core.

These changes have not only impacted upon the urban fabric of the historic core, they have inevitably had an effect on the way both residents and tourists experience York. The next two chapters concentrate on how residents and tourists receive and view York as a heritage city, and will thus give them more of a voice than has so far been possible in this case study.

12 Living with Tourism in York

This chapter examines the way in which heritage tourism development has affected those who mainly create and consume York as a lived experience, namely, residents. So far the discussion has mostly centred on the responses of key informants who are instrumental in setting the formal consumption agenda for residents and tourists. Here the focus is switched to the recipients of development decisions made on their behalf, and on highlighting their own perspectives on contemporary York as a tourist destination.

Although the chapter is based on issues and views raised by current residents of York, it is not exclusive to this group. Salient comments made by key informants, former residents and tourists are used when it is felt they contextualise and/or add to the known topics of concern to current residents.

Retailing and tourism

One danger of developing the type of retailing and leisure facilities in York city centre which deliberately cater for the visitor and the leisure shopper is that residents may feel somewhat alienated from the historic core. The zonal divide between pre-industrial and industrial York, as delineated by the old city walls, could now also represent a symbolic and economic division between tourists and residents. That is, cultural and economic sovereignty over the city centre may have been given over to the tourist in such a way that it has altered York residents' sense of place. This poses the question: have the combined changes in tourism and retailing impacted on the way residents both use and feel about the city centre?

Such a query was put to the Economic Development Officer of York City Council in order to gauge the kind of feedback the council had received from residents:

> The council's view is that very much it wants to continue to see a successful city centre... I think it would like to avoid the situation of the centre becoming tourism oriented shops. There's pressure from residents, especially those without cars, public transport is always easier into the city centre, they would rather see the city centre with the shops they were used to. One of the criticisms of tourism in York is - as well as the practical criticisms of traffic congestion, litter, environmental issues - almost the philosophical argument that people have is that long time residents especially... feel that the city is no longer theirs. Somehow it belongs to outsiders. As I said it is a philosophical argument but you can see what they are getting at.
>
> (Economic Development Officer for York City Council)

Notwithstanding the fact that most residents' convenience shopping facilities are now out-of-town, an important reason for residents feeling that the city centre is somehow removed from them is that many independent, locally owned shops have been pushed out because of the higher rents and competition from multiples. The Economic Development Officer continued:

> The very fact that York city centre is no longer as it was is because a lot of independent shops have closed and have been replaced by multiples. Not necessarily multiples that we wouldn't desire, but all the same there is quite a change. Its a complicated situation, its not as straight forward as it might seem. On the one hand specialist independent retailers are what one would hope tourists would enjoy in York, that which is different from a normal city centre, but these are the people who face the biggest problems with business rates issues because if York's city centre is successful, and the fact is...York city centre is one of the top twenty in the country as I understand it in terms of provision of major stores and, therefore, is a success in economic terms. But it doesn't disguise the fact that a lot of small businesses find it difficult to manage the business rates which are driven upwards because of the success of the centre. This is one of the problems the council can do very little about because it's a national issue. As I said before there is a feeling that the council should do more to attract the right kind of shops to the city centre but frankly that is quite difficult to do, you really are faced with market forces with a vengeance.
>
> (ibid.)

The Economic Development Officer is highlighting the major problem facing York's economic planners: it is the market which chiefly determines the balance of all tourism development in the historic core (not simply the shops) both in terms of ownership and form. The council can exert aesthetic control with regard to building facades and the like, as well as certain controls regarding opening hours, change of use and the appropriate use of historically valued buildings. However, as with other authorities, there is both internal and external political and economic pressure for the council to accommodate the market as best it can. This makes the council little more than an enabling partner in the corporatisation of York rather than the main arbiter and regulator for beneficial development on behalf of residents - that is in terms of jobs and cultural integrity. This is reflected in the dominance of multiples in the historic core and in the way tourism development is now fashioned by 'growth coalition' type partnerships. Consequently locally owned shops and facilities are being priced out of the centre.

The way retailing and tourism have developed in York in recent years has not gone unheeded by residents of course. An extract from one of the focus group interviews illustrates some of the local disquiet about the fact that York city centre is dominated by multiples selling comparison goods, and specialists which now tend to cater almost solely for tourists - developments which are not necessarily synonymous with quality or diversity:

> *First respondent*: I think what has happened in the city centre is that most of the small shops, the family owned businesses, have closed down and most of the big stores in the city are now owned by firms outside the city. You've got Laura Ashley and places like that, London owned firms, and York is an expensive shopping centre now and tourists are attracted to that with the up-market names and all of that.
>
> (young woman resident, arts administrator)

> *Second respondent*: If you'd have come ten years ago in York you'd have found that Stonegate was a high quality, high class street full of quality shops. To my mind now its a

load of tat, Stonegate. You've got all sorts of tacky second rate shops. There's one shop, Mulberry Hall, which is a quality shop and that's all.

(middle-aged male resident, health trust worker)

First respondent: There is a load of these little souvenir shops.

Third respondent: There was a fruit and vegetable shop in Stonegate ten years ago, Hammonds, it was expensive but it was fruit and vegetables which you wouldn't get now.

(middle-aged male resident, archivist)

Second respondent: There was one or two good book shops, there was Godfrey's book shop which was a beautiful book shop but its gone...

Third respondent: A lot of people do go to the market... I used to go regularly to the market to shop.

Fourth respondent: Well it used to be good but now there is no comparison with the supermarkets with their prices. I live out of town, three miles out, and we have two supermarkets near us and I think most people use the supermarkets. Its prices, but in the centre of town there is nothing now, the only shop is Marks and Spencers in the centre of town. There's no grocery shops, there used to be the lot.

(retired woman resident)

It is not only people living in York who rue the changes that have taken place in retailing in the centre. It seems that some visitors who have shopped in York on an occasional basis for a number of years also have some regret about recent changes. A retired married couple from Pontefract, who have combined leisure and shopping in their trips to York for over 15 years, described changes they found regrettable:

Man: Some of [her] favourite shops have gone.

Woman: Oh yes the individual shops. The individual dress shops. That's been one of the things that's spoilt it for me, they are all stores now.

Man: Its the same all over now though isn't it.

Woman: That's been one of the things that's spoilt it for me. They are all stores now you see and they all sell the same things... There used to be lots of little shops up these little streets, individually owned dress shops and they've all gone or turned into clothes for the young ones. They are department stores now really.

Man: You got a little bit of personal service in them shops.

Woman: They had different clothes whereas now you find the department stores are all selling the same things, for people like me especially.

(retired married couple from Pontefract)

It seems that even for certain comparative goods such as clothes, York is more homogenised than it once was. And while there may be a greater range of shops in the centre, as the council claims, they offer little, if anything, which is distinguishable from goods that can be bought in any other town or city - with the probable exception of York souvenirs. Although their facades are 'sympathetically' stylised to 'fit' their unique heritage environment, their content is not unique at all. This fits Zukin's (1990) thesis about gentrified shops being more mass-market and depersonalised than the more exclusive shops that seem to have been much more of a feature of York's recent past. Now, however, market forces and gentrification have contrived to de-localise and depersonalise shopping in York in terms of ownership, patronage, goods on sale and cultural reference.

Authenticity, difference and the development of tourist space

Probably the most photographed street in the centre, and thus the most synonymous with York for tourists, is the one the woman from Pontefract mentions, the Shambles (See Figure 5 and Photograph 5). It is almost exclusively the domain of specialist souvenir shops with facades and decor offering a veneer of heritage or the suggestion of a bygone era similar to that of Stonegate. Even though each individual shop in the Shambles offers a

Dickensian 'old curiosity shop' aesthetic, in an authentic sense they are out of place with the traditional usage of the Shambles as a street of butchers. However, they are in keeping with present day York as a tourist destination. The Director of Attractions for the YAT related how, like so much of the historic core, the Shambles has changed to take on a new identity:

> From my own perspective I certainly noticed a difference in places like the Shambles, where you could buy a pound of meat and now you can't its all post cards and trinkets.... I'm not really a resident as such of York. From an archaeological angle I think towns are organic, they move with the times and they serve who ever is coming to them at that time and you can't hold a place still... [The Shambles] used to have butchers all the way along it, there is still one butcher, I hope they keep that butcher because it's to be able to keep something traditional. You say to people when you take them on tours that this is the only butchers left and there used to be butchers all the way along the Shambles. It is a viable butchers I think, just about. I live in the past slightly anyway and I prefer things not to move on but I realise that life has to move on.
>
> (Director of Attractions, YAT)

A former resident of York, who was interviewed individually, also recalled with some regret how he thought the Shambles was typical of how York had moved on in terms of shopping and shop aesthetics:

> If you take the Shambles that still is a period, or meant to be a Medieval, street. But then they throw in places like Waterstones, that front anyway tries to give the shop an air of an historic style book shop with all the wood and everything. So that blends in quite well with [places like] the Shambles. Around the Jorvik Centre, if you go around to the other end of the square you've got shops there that weren't there before...[They are] commercialised in the sense that shops have gone there to attract and make a living out of tourists, like cafes and things like that.
>
> (young male student, and former resident)

In comparison to the 1970s and early 1980s, when he lived in York, the same respondent remarked:

> Taking the wall and the castles and the fort, I always perceived those things as Medieval, and of course the Minster as well, and the church opposite the Minster where Guy Fawkes lived, that was all perceived as Medieval, the Shambles too. Then you'd get the other side where the shops were separate from the tourist areas it seemed, so you would have specific areas for shopping and you would have other areas for the history and the tourist. It has all been integrated now.
>
> (ibid.)

These comments illustrate how tourism development has changed the city centre into a consumption 'paradise' in which rather spectacular attractions are superseding ordinary, mundane facilities. In this the heritage theme is integrated with modern shopping facilities in a way which conflates the past and the present to provide a galaxy of varied but complementary consumption opportunities. It would seem the desires of the heritage tourist and the leisure shopper are paramount and the greyness of everyday life is banished to the periphery beyond the confines of the old city walls.

This said, the mixing of seemingly disparate entities in the historic core goes beyond the aesthetic integration of shopping facilities and heritage attractions like museums and old buildings. As mentioned, street entertainment in York is also a major part of the tourist product and can range from traditional spectacles, such as Morris Dancing, to cultural displays from around the globe, such as South American pan pipe ensembles and other 'exotic' entertainments. The individual attractions/performances change frequently but the multi-cultural theme of the street entertainment is a constant part of the York experience, especially in the summer months. This transforms much of the historic core into an open-air stage that attempts to radiate a carnivalesque atmosphere for the shoppers and tourists. For some residents, however, this is totally incongruous with what York is really about:

> The centre is given over to lots of specific tourist things, you go in one square and you've got fire eaters and jugglers and conjurers, and the next square its the same or similar. I was walking through Parliament Square the other day and there was a Highland group playing bagpipes at one end and some Brazilian/Spanish samba band or something at the

other end. I mean that's fine and a lot of people like it and there was a lot of people watching it, but what's it got to do with York, what's it got to do with York?

(middle-aged male resident, archivist)

This resident's comment suggests that this type of cultural pastiche is reducing the centre to a kind of liminal no place, or, to put it another way, a place with a depthless, postmodern, hybrid tourism identity lacking local context. He also went on to suggest that this is a phenomenon which is seeping into the very heart of York's traditional identity, rendering it bland and general rather than interesting and particular. Indeed, he was worried that this had come to such a point that the people of York themselves seem apathetic about their sense of place and belonging.

What's it [all] got to do with Yorkshire? When somebody comes in there's nothing, no context, its as if the people in York aren't really proud of York. People come for these [York] things and we are offering things that you can get just as well in Southend, Whitley Bay, Blackpool or even Glossop or somewhere like that. You can put that sort of thing anywhere, its television entertainment.

(ibid.)

In effect, this resident rather graphically portrays how, in his opinion, tourism is making York an undifferentiated, even virtual, place. This is reminiscent of Robin's (1991) thesis that heritage tourism, in the context of global capitalism and the new urbanity, paradoxically effaces difference while seeking place distinction; to the extent that it makes the world placeless, timeless and standardised, the more it is developed.

On the other hand it could be argued that York's de-localisation, in terms of multi-cultural entertainment and non-partisan ceremony, coupled to the international mix of visitors, could be re-evaluating and emancipating its identity in a way that reflects a new cosmopolitanism in postmodern society. This might not necessarily be threatening to York and its residents, rather it could signify York's worldliness and international tourism status. It could even be seen as

being uplifting for residents and encouraging a new type of cultural democracy. This was the view of another middle-aged male focus group member when he said: 'when I'm in the city I quite like to hear all these sounds and make my way through Parliament Square, I like to see people from different countries, I like the cosmopolitan atmosphere and think York is a very parochial, dull place without such things'(middle-aged male resident, health trust worker).

Regardless of the international spread of visitors to York, there needs to be a lot of caution exercised when considering the cosmopolitanism of the city. Like the patina of age manufactured in places like Stonegate and the Shambles, the cosmopolitan atmosphere which is mentioned above is a selectively placed part of the tourism product, even a side-show to the main attractions of Jorvik, the Castle Museum, the Minster and so on. And the street entertainment that is responsible for much of this atmosphere is merely a back-drop adding 'colour' to so much of the recreated English tradition and heritage that takes centre stage.

An independently interviewed resident (who was in the process of moving away from York for work) had very strong views on many tourism issues, and expressed doubt about such cosmopolitanism. In particular she bemoaned what she considered the projection of a stereotypical white, middle-class image of the city by policy makers and tourism developers:

> Well its not really cosmopolitan but its nice to see people walking around and enjoying themselves but I think for me there is so many downsides... I don't like the fact that so much emphasis is put on tourism so that in a way other problems don't get looked at so that we get things done for tourists and then there's nothing done for residents... There is a massive cultural issue that the city has become... to be seen as a pretty place, a middle-class, white place and... all the tourism policies are somehow culturally steered to that, all those elements are emphasised... There is an Asian population that lives here. They are part of our city and all this emphasis on tourism, where is that reflected in terms of what we are doing culturally?

(independently interviewed woman resident in her thirties, a graduate of York University and moving to Manchester for employment as a community development worker)

For this woman, the cosmopolitan aesthetic in the city centre, then, is nothing more than a facade to entertain the tourists. Furthermore, it simultaneously masks the multi-cultural nature of York's population while not presenting any challenge at all to the conventional stereotypes. And in similar vein she was equally forthright in her criticism of the widespread nostalgia for 'olde England' that is deliberately rekindled in places like Stonegate and the Shambles:

> This Englishness thing is a struggle. The thing for me anyway is that most of us have these hyphenated identities anyway now in England so why are we doing this, so why is York doing all of this stuff. I am sure that its almost like a strange thing like Christmas that we all want to believe in but we know father Christmas doesn't really exist. So we build up this picture of a pretty little city that escaped all the difficulties of the second half of this century and here we are and we are having bands to prove it [a brass band was playing in St. Mary's Square at the time] and nice little olde worlde shops to make people feel secure, its got this security feeling, lets make everybody feel totally secure that there is still somewhere that represents this ideal that everybody wants. I think that's what it is about... And I think there is obviously a lot of tourists here, but a lot of people want to buy it, buy that ideal, but I personally go for realism.
>
> (ibid.)

These sentiments reveal a critical agreement with Meethan (1996) in that an important part of the appeal of York city centre is the presentation of an English idyll, which, as already discussed, relies on rural imagery to convey notions of permanence, security and national identity. The way the old buildings and winding narrow streets in the historic core are garnished with period street furniture and flowers, to convey nostalgia for the past, makes it distinct, not only from other city centres but from the rest of York itself, because it is able to encompass many aesthetic stereotypes reminiscent of the quintessentially English rural village. However, this woman believes that, as with the air of 'false' cosmopolitanism, such imagery presents an impression of both York and 'Englishness' that is little more than artifice to engender maximum consumer spend.

Tourism jobs and class of tourists

A very important part of this respondent's view was that she believed such aestheticisation not only masks certain realities but fails materially to contribute to the quality of life of the majority of York's residents. Indeed, she maintained that her reason for leaving York was to do with the difficult local employment situation, which she insisted was created by the growth of tourism. She felt that as a graduate wanting to pursue a worthwhile marketing or managerial career either in services, the arts or community development, York's tourism-oriented economy offered little scope for her. Furthermore, she was convinced that this would not change in the long term, speculating that if her young children were to remain in York they too had little to look forward to in terms of good career opportunities. In her opinion, and from her experience, tourism is dependent on low-skilled, low-paid, casual work, and, therefore, employment choices in York were very restricted indeed. Significantly, her view throws doubt on the ability of the heritage tourism industry to satisfy the career aspirations of anything more than a very limited number of the service class (also see Table 6 regarding the amount of part time and full time tourism-related jobs in York).

Table 6. Part Time and Full Time Tourism-related Employment in York 1991-1996

	Full Time	*Part Time*
1991	5500	3200
1996	6000	3700

Source: Census of Employment (NOMIS), 1998.

On a wider perspective, this respondent also believed that because York had concentrated so much on heritage tourism, it had become backward looking to the point where it was in real danger of being stuck in aspic, both in a cultural and economic sense. Culturally, because of the reasons outlined in the last section, and economically, because she believed that tourism had already developed to a level that would preclude other investment. In this respect her argument voices similar concerns to those of Professor Robards, although she

was very pessimistic whereas he was simply being cautious in his assessment of York's economic future. Another former student at the University of York also endorsed the perspective that tourism in the city offered little by way of good career prospects. And when he was asked about his experience of opportunities in the local job market, he replied:

> There is some [work] but it tends to be in the same sort of things. There's a lot of part-time work, it depends on what sort of job market you are looking at and at what scale, you know career or casual and everything, but most jobs do tend to be shop jobs and seasonal things. There is a couple of factories as well, its not an industrial place so it's limited really... I really can't see there being many career opportunities in York. Luckily at the moment I'm not looking for a career... If that's what I wanted I wouldn't stay in York or I would look to commute to Leeds or one of the larger cities.
>
> (independently interviewed young male resident)

Interestingly, this young man seems to believe that in terms of career opportunities the service sector in York is not compensating for the loss of manufacturing. He also suggests that York is a fine place to live if you want a casual lifestyle, but, like the previous respondent, concludes that for serious career progression he would need to look, and probably live, elsewhere.

Similar scepticism regarding the prospects for improving the quality of jobs available in the tourism sector tended to be endemic in all the interviews with residents, even though the clear majority were generally pragmatic about the overall economic need to develop tourism in the city. For example, while there tended to be much agreement in the focus group sessions that tourism in York must be good for the local economy, especially in the face of the decline in manufacturing, residents were uncertain on exactly how much 'ordinary' local people really benefited. As the following extract from a focus group discussion reveals:

> *First respondent*: A lot of people who work in the tourist industry work as volunteers of

course, or are very low paid.

(young woman resident, arts administrator)

Second respondent: I would agree they are low paid, people like chefs etc.

(middle-aged male resident, part-time health trust worker)

First respondent: The ARC, which is part of the YAT, nearly everybody who works there are volunteers. They charge to get into the ARC as well so that isn't bringing money to York is it.

With such scepticism apparently widespread among York's residents, the development strategy of the public/private partnership faces a difficult conundrum. It needs to increase consumer spend while increasing the quality of the jobs in the tourism sector. This is something which does not seem to have been achieved to any significant degree so far, at least in the perceptions of the residents. Furthermore, this would have to be achieved without compromising the quality and the integrity of the environment in which current residents live. To add to these difficulties, it also seems that the publicly stated belief, that the public/private partnership has the ability to introduce measures that would improve job quality in the tourism sector, is not shared by those who might be well qualified to take up the more responsible positions.

Perhaps predictably, a related issue which surfaced in the resident discussions was to do with the quantity/quality split of tourists currently coming into York. Inevitably, opinions were exchanged regarding the costs and benefits of 'high volume' based tourism development as opposed to those that might accrue from encouraging low volume, high spending visitors. Some respondents were very concerned about this and reflected on the way that the quantity of tourists in the city centre impinged on their everyday lives. As the following shows:

> I worked in a book shop in the Shambles a few years ago and we used to hate it in the summer because you'd get far more people coming into the shop and you'd get a 100 people buying one postcard and that left the real book buyers struggling or unable to get through the door. Even the manager used to say the summer was the worst time, we sold far more books when the tourists went away, now they are here all year. We hated it because no-one could get in and tourists were just milling round and buying cheap, worthless things.
>
> (young woman resident, arts administrator)

In a separate part of the discussion this last respondent also said:

> It's very difficult to get through the town because of people cluttering up the pavements... Pedestrianised streets is one thing but in other streets too they are just wandering, especially in the narrow streets and it just stops you from getting anywhere. Also having to queue in shops, it just makes everything take a lot longer, and I don't think they bring money to the town because they don't spend that much. I live in the suburbs where there is a lot of guest houses and I don't know how they keep in business because they are virtually empty. So there isn't money coming in, I mean they spend it in places like the Disney store, which isn't going into the York economy.
>
> (ibid.)

The concerns voiced here mirror some of those that were found to be of great importance to the residents of Goathland. That is, like the Goathland residents, this respondent complains that a large number of the tourists spoil local people's use of the centre while deterring the quality consumer through overcrowding. Similarly, she also argues that the cheap consumption habits of massed tourists add little to the local economy, because not only do they spend little in the shops but they tend not stay in the city overnight. Although not explicitly made, the underlying point seems to be that there are too many tourists in York enjoying an inappropriately cheap time.

Another focus group member was much more explicit on this:

> The key issue here is quality. What we need is not day-trippers who come in, go round the town, go into the Minster, look at the free attractions, perhaps buy an ice-cream, some

> fish and chips, a jacket potato for lunch, that sort of thing. You know, out for a cheap day out. That's not what we need, what we need are people who are going to stay overnight, possibly for more than one night. So you've actually got some hard cash coming into the economy and if you concentrated on the value end of the market, rather than the cheap day-tripping, you would also have a lot less congestion, and congestion is the issue for residents within the city centre area, and also traffic congestion.
>
> (young male resident, insurance administrator)

The sentiment here is that mass tourism is undesirable because it caters for day-trippers, who are more trouble than they are worth. They spend little and, whether they are on foot or in cars, clog up the centre for other users. Therefore, costs accrue much quicker and with more force when the mass market is encouraged. By extension, this type of reasoning says that the 'value end' of the market is both smaller and more discerning, so by concentrating on this market there would be less turnover of people accompanied by greater total spend.

This is a simple enough argument. However, notwithstanding its social implications, it is difficult to see how such market selectivity could work in practice without hiking up prices of goods and services in the city centre, or by somehow restricting access by physical means, say, by installing a pay barrier. And if local people were not to be priced or locked out of the centre themselves, intrusive measures such as resident identity cards would have to be introduced. Furthermore, any strategy of restriction would more sharply divide the historic core from the rest of the city, as well as the resident from the tourist. Such measures would not only have implications regarding direct social control but would have the overall effect of creating a consumption space as clearly defined and managed as any Disneyworld or theme park.

An independently interviewed resident, who owns a small art gallery in Stonegate and who was a former chair of the York Group for the Promotion of Planning, offered his opinion on the vexed matter of tourism costs and benefits:

> [What] York is suffering from is a superfluity of museums and the like, of everything from the York Dungeon up to the Castle Museum. Some of them are excellent in the work that they have been doing for many years but there is a lot of commercial type so-called concerns which aren't museums at all. There just isn't enough money to go around

> from what I call trippers rather than tourists, because they come here in vast numbers from the West Riding. Well this is a long tradition that went on long before the First World War when there was a wakes week in the West Riding where they would get on a cheap day return to York to get away from the horrible industrial surroundings in which they were living presumably. And who can blame them, and they came to York which was seen as a lovely place for a day out, but they were not money spenders, they'd buy their fish and chips and their beer and they'd go back home. And York, I'm afraid, still suffers from that.
>
> (independently interviewed resident of retirement age who owns an art gallery in Stonegate)

This passage is interesting because, similar to one resident's comment in the Goathland study (page 89), it reveals a condescending sympathy for day-trippers and their perceived class based circumstances. Furthermore, like this respondent, the residents of Goathland also tended to speak of the 'Ridings' in a way that reaffirmed these now defunct administrative boundaries[28] as having traditional and enduring cultural meaning. In this the West Riding was typically seen as an industrial, working-class place, whereas the East and the North Riding were seen as mostly rural and, therefore, more symbolic of Yorkshire's 'other', perhaps more elevated and unique, cultural and mythical (rural) identity.

Possibly as part of this cultural or mental mapping of Yorkshire, the above respondent rejects day-trippers as worthwhile consumers while he squarely situates them as being part of the York region's industrial tradition and heritage. In this he regards most, if not all, day-trippers as possessing a certain authenticity in their rights to the city. He also illustrates how notions of tradition can be highly selective in terms of value. For example, the tradition for the Yorkshire working-class to take a day-trip to their regional capital is something that York 'still suffers from' while the Castle Museum and its ilk is ranked as being of high value. The suggestion is that one way of discouraging day-trippers is through raising the cultural stock of York's tourism product by ridding it of the overtly commercialised 'museums' and heritage centres which require relatively little cultural competence to understand or enjoy. In this regard it seems hardly to matter that probably the majority of day-trippers to York are much more local than those who would be overnight stayers, and for many commentators this

would give them greater rights to the city, especially as it is a regional capital. What is important for this respondent is that the consumption capabilities of day-trippers, which are stereotypically judged on class lines, are out of place with the cultural and economic status of York. Therefore, people's local/residential status and rights of access to the city are not only matters of geography but, as with other (e)quality issues regarding tourism, are matters of class.

The political content in this last respondent's assertions was not lost on him, and he quickly moved on to pin-point a related, but more formal, political dilemma he believed York had also found itself in in recent times:

> [York] also suffered for many years from a hung council where nobody would do anything, so nothing got done, in a way that helped preserve the best of York because nobody could afford to do anything, they couldn't even afford to demolish old buildings far less put up new ones... One thing I ought to say is that the tourist board [bureau] and the hotels have been trying desperately over the last five years or so to extend the visitor season and to get a better class of tourist coming to stay for three or four nights...The last Conservative [council] we had was on a very slender margin and was an absolute disaster. I think this council is well run and efficiently run. Their attitude towards tourism development is much more benign than it used to be. They were all for bread and circuses for the masses without any other priorities. If I had suggested to them that they what they wanted was a better class of tourist they would have chucked me out... I think they are on the right track now.
>
> (ibid.)

Ironically, it seems that part of the reason why York's historic buildings have been so well preserved is because of a lack of management caused by the political inertia of successive hung councils. Now, however, the Labour council is applauded because of its new found efficiency and its shift in ideology toward accommodating the market. And with specific regard to tourism development, the council's attitude is seen as 'benign' because of its reluctance to intervene in market processes. Indeed, as has been demonstrated, the council is positively entrepreneurial now, especially in the way it has initiated development partnerships with the private sector. All these things have apparently inspired this respondent's belief that the council is taking steps 'in the right direction'

toward improving both the quality of the tourist product and the quality of its consumers. Quality in these terms, of course, would be determined by social stratification and market based socio-economic criteria alone.

It is evident from the residents' comments that tourism management is an enduring concern for them. Recently, however, the council has been more preoccupied with the side of the development equation that deals with tourism promotion and economic growth, rather than being concerned with the type of socio-economic impacts residents have identified here. This is not to say that the council and its partners are unconcerned about such issues, and they would argue that they do try to balance tourism development and economic growth with the preservation of York's social and historic environment. Similarly, residents seem to accept that there is a need for tourism growth and development but they do have concerns, which seem to surround issues of identity and quality on three counts: first, regarding what York offers the market by way of attractions, second, regarding the type of tourists being attracted to the city, and probably the most important concern of all, regarding the type of jobs that tourism actually brings to the city. Furthermore, it seems to be assumed by many residents that each of these issues are directly related and are somehow 'manageable' in a way that would give rise to a number of mutual benefits. That is, it is assumed there is a reciprocating loop between better quality tourists, better quality shops and attractions, better quality jobs, better quality of life for the residents and so on. Although specific management strategies were not put forward by any of the residents, as was done in the Goathland study, the type(s) envisaged, assumed, or even preferred, would primarily focus on the quality of the tourists themselves. And, inevitably, they would involve marketing strategies that would aim to select, deselect, include and exclude those deemed socially and economically desirable or undesirable, as judged from the residents' point(s) of view.

Having said this, the temporary consumers of York, the tourists, have their own agendas and points of view. And the comments of those interviewed for this case study provided valuable insights into the kinds of consumption values, practices, concerns and expectations that play a major part in their short-lived experience of the city. Although some tourist comments have already

featured, it is timely to concentrate more fully on what the research revealed about tourists' views on York both as an historic city and as a tourist destination.

13 Visitors' Consumption of York

The visitors interviewed for this case study were much more varied than those interviewed for the Goathland study. They were made up people from more countries, (indeed four out of the thirteen interviews were with people from outside the UK), and their length of stay in the city ranged from a few hours to a week. Whereas in Goathland visitors were mostly British and were there only for the day. Although the sample of visitors to York could not be described as representative, their mix does give some indication of the variety of people that York appeals to. And while all the visitors seemed to be generally happy with their visit to the city, this did not mean they were uncritical about their experience. Indeed, many of them displayed a thoughtful awareness about what they had seen and done, and raised a number of interesting issues concerning the development of heritage tourism not only in York but more widely. What follows is both a synopsis and a discussion of their thoughts and opinions.

Preservation, heritage and tourists' impacts

Without exception, all visitors were concerned that heritage cities like York should be preserved in a way that would guarantee their historic integrities whilst allowing visitors to enjoy them with some convenience. However, it should be said that this was not expressed as a demand by anyone, rather as a strongly felt wish. Furthermore, it was generally felt that York was a fine example of an historic English city and, therefore, a symbolically important example of the nation's heritage which holds international significance. A north eastern visitor, however, was also at pains to stress York's significance to the north east itself:

We might as well have something up here rather than it all being down south or up in Scotland. I mean Edinburgh is a big tourist place now and we like popping up there. York is part of the national heritage and it is important to us born and bred in Middlesbrough.

(retired woman visitor from Middlesbrough, visiting for the day)

This comment reveals a certain pride in the prospect that the region's image would be enhanced by having a heritage city with kudos in the national and international cultural market. By being on a similar circuit of cultural capital as, say, cities like Edinburgh and London, York's reputation and popularity as a tourist destination would be a great asset to the 'north east' as a whole. The inference is that there are not only economic benefits for the region, but that the cultural capital of York also has a region-wide cultural multiplier. Some argue that this could go a long way towards providing an antidote to the industrial and grimy stereotypes to raise the profile of the north east well beyond its images of a cultural and economic backwater. All opinions which imply that the assessment of a place in terms of its relative position on an hierarchical cultural continuum is important to the tourist as well as the resident.

Somewhat paradoxically, however, the woman's above comment did not necessarily mean that York would be a desirable place to live. Both this woman and her husband thought that York's popularity with tourists would deny such a prospect:

Woman: I don't know about living here, no.

Husband: Possibly not, well its always crowded isn't it.

Woman: Well if you came to work where would you park. The tourism might annoy you after a time, if you go in Marks's [Marks & Spencers] you are queuing aren't you but where we are its only local people so its not so bad. That might be annoying

(retired couple from Middlesbrough, visiting York for the day)

The majority of the other tourists who were interviewed relayed similar concerns. For example, a woman from Middlesex said:

> I don't know if I would like to live here with all the tourists and things. I think it would annoy me. I wouldn't want all the people around me. I wouldn't want them to infringe on my privacy - that's a bit selfish really isn't it. I think that's how I would take it.
>
> (woman from Middlesex visiting York for a few days)

While these quotations are taken from conversations with English visitors, it was interesting to learn what non-British people had to say about the prospect of living with tourism in a place like York. A woman from Turkey typically opined:

> I would be annoyed if I was living here because so many people are coming and the streets are overcrowded, lots of people coming and going, nothing is stable, it seems like a free floating boat with lots of people coming and going. Still, it is within a reasonable range at the moment, but if it goes further I think it will become really bad.
>
> (young woman from Turkey, visiting York for one day)

This view was fairly representative of most visitor responses, regardless of nationality. The overriding impression was that, as a tourist destination, York was not inordinately overcrowded, over-commercialised or exploited, but as a place to live, tourism had possibly given it too many drawbacks.

While such comments also indicate that visitors felt that the centre of York had been given over to tourists' consumption needs more than those of residents, it did not follow that tourists thought themselves to be intruders or pests. Indeed, the tourists interviewed were well aware of their economic value to the city, and in that alone they generally felt their presence was justified. Furthermore, with regard to potential trade-offs between tourism development and the preservation of local history and heritage, a certain commercial realism

was also evident in the attitude of a number of tourists, as the following extract demonstrates:

> *Woman*: I don't see anything wrong with selling history as long as it is reasonable and accurate.
>
> *Man*: I think it's part of modern life but you've got to ask yourself on the other hand that if this hadn't taken off as a thriving tourist area, what the hell would all the buildings be like, what kind of state would they be in, what else would you have here instead?
>
> Woman: Yes, because the money isn't forthcoming from other sources, from public funds.
>
> (couple from Scotland in their twenties, visiting York for a few days)

In a commercial world, then, tourism is seen here as the primary reason why York is well preserved. That is, the historic core is viewed as a resource with value in the heritage tourism market and, despite such things like cutbacks on public sector spending on the arts and culture, this ensures that its heritage is well maintained and preserved. Without any recourse to moral arguments regarding access to the city, consumer rights are almost unconsciously seen here as more relevant and powerful than the civil or moral rights of the visitor, even suggesting there is symbiosis between tourist consumption and the preservation of York's historic buildings.

One visitor from Germany speculated that, besides attracting tourists, the historic core would also attract rather more powerful and permanent interlocutors from outside the city, whose requirements of the place would have potentially very significant effects. That is new residents and business proprietors would inevitably buy property in the centre and, as a consequence, would have a much greater impact on the day-to-day, lived culture of York than the consumption habits of 'mere' tourists:

> Because it takes too much of the tradition away... If I would live in York I would try to go a little bit more on the outside because all this pretty stuff in the centre will probably be overtaken by outsiders with money. It could be too much and I think the place could lose

its authenticity. Its not the tourists that make the place lose its authenticity its the people who come in and buy property. The local culture is then badly affected. As a tourist you don't have time to do damage really, you don't have time to take something away from the place.

How many people want to be part of the locality as a tourist? I think tourists just want to come here, see what they want to see and then go off again... They want to be entertained, they want to see something different from their routine everyday lives, and I think to be a tourist is nice as long as you can go back to your own home, where you feel at home.

(young woman from Germany, visiting York for a day)

It is clear from these comments that this respondent is referring to the likelihood of incoming middle-classes gentrifying York's city centre space, which already seems apparent in the city. For her the kind of aesthetic that gentrifiers enjoy and create is nothing more than a facade, but which costs the integrity of the locale dear. Incomers would only buy into the historic core because of reasons of lifestyle, cultural capital and/or business, not because they were indigenous to the place. And in the process the city centre would become materially and symbolically removed from the majority of local people. Reminiscent of Zukin (1990), this respondent seems to believe that it is inevitable that gentrifiers come to dominate such prime central space, with the effect of displacing local people and their culture to the socio-spatial periphery. Indeed, the focus group discussions tended to endorse such an opinion because participants quite unanimously agreed that, along with the changes in the centre regarding retailing, the housing in the historic core was mostly owned and inhabited by incoming middle-class people. Furthermore, they also said that a large proportion of these incomers were retired.

On the other hand, the woman from Germany believed that tourists simply would not have the time or the inclination to become so deeply immersed in a place. Therefore, there is relatively little potential for them to have such an impact upon local people and their cultural development. Although tourists might demand entertainment that would not necessarily be local, it would not become embedded in the way that gentrifiers physically stamp their economic

and cultural superiority onto the landscape. In this way the eclecticism of, say, the street entertainment in York is not seen as damaging to local culture at all because it is ephemeral, ever-changing, footloose and not tightly embroiled in property relations.

Authenticity and the historic core

These latter concerns relate to the complex and important issue of authenticity in the historic core. As already pointed out, to a significant extent authenticity in heritage attractions is, at the very least, partly dependent on their location. Furthermore, visitors can become shy of heritage attractions that have been developed without recognition of this. Therefore, not only might the historic integrity of the city centre of York be very much dependent on how its tourist attractions fit its traditional context, but its continued commercial success as a heritage site could also be affected by issues of authenticity. On the other hand, however, if tourism developers were hidebound by tradition and authenticity, the centre could simply become a static memento of the past and be detached from the socio-economic realities and needs of the present. These concerns prompt a number of questions, but of particular interest here is: has tourism in the city centre developed to the extent that, to visitors, it has become a rather placeless tourist destination or theme park. Furthermore, does it really matter to them?

When discussing such issues with the young woman from Germany, she made a very interesting statement about the tourist shops in the Shambles, which she also used as a metonym for the whole of the historic core:

> You don't expect to have the real old shops in there because then it really would be an open museum. As it is now, it is more real than that. If the shops weren't there as they are now, kind of modern, it would be a dead place, like a museum... Even though its not historically accurate it still fits aesthetically...overall it fits the present and the past at the same time.
>
> (young woman from Germany, visiting York for a day)

This is a very similar opinion to that expressed by the Director of Attractions for the York Archaeological Trust (see page 90). Prima facie, it also seems to

contradict some of what this respondent had said about gentrification. However, it needs to be recognised that it is not the tourist aesthetic of such shops that she finds problematic or inauthentic, rather it is the prospect that such shops would not be locally owned. Moreover, she seems to feel that the authenticity of place changes with time, particularly in the way that different times would require different uses of a place and its buildings. For instance, if the Shambles was recreated as it was in Medieval times, that is as a street of butchers, it would be out of context with the contemporary use of the historic core. Tourists, for example, would have much less use of butchers than gift shops, and residents themselves would probably find it cheaper and more convenient to buy their meat from supermarkets, making such a concept practically redundant. Furthermore, if absolute authenticity also meant faithfully recreating the conditions of Medieval times - for example, including sanitation conditions, and meat quality etc. - it would simply be impossible. The only way that recreating a street of butchers could be considered is if the street itself was turned into a rather sanitised but technically accurate open-air museum or exhibit - including, say, the synthetic reproduction of 'typical' smells and sounds. However, as this respondent suggests, it would be a 'dead place', because it would involve changing a street that is now lively, and apparently successful as a tourist attraction, into a lifeless reminder of the past that would probably be experientially uninteresting, uneconomic and out of context with the present.[29] Making it more interactive by employing actors and putting a pay barrier onto the street could be a further option though. However, it is difficult to envisage why this would be at all popular, viable or indeed any more authentic than it is now. In short, the authenticity of place is contingent on what its appropriate use is in the present as well as on what is a principled framing of its past.

From this perspective, authenticity seems a somewhat relative concept fraught with duality and ambiguity with regard to the past and present. It suggests that changes in the use of an historically rich place and its buildings are perfectly acceptable as long as they do not interfere with the architectural and physical integrity of the structures themselves. In this, authenticity is seen to be embodied in the physical presence of the buildings and streets, and, if conserved

well, they would be quite immutable reminders of the past. This is not to say that old buildings and streets should not be updated and modernised with more efficient fixtures and fittings, as with gentrified property they can, but they should retain their historical 'character' and appearance. This also means that any new developments in and around the old stock should defer to their forebears' historical aura and architectural heritage, even if this means that the appearance of the new structures would be of the past and, therefore, ironically inauthentic.

Referring to the way that many of the facades of the shops and other buildings within the historic core are given a patina of age or countrified 'olde worldiness' for tourists and leisure shoppers, a visitor from Scotland remarked:

> But that's what you want on a holiday. They've obviously created something for different walks of life, people can go and see that then five minutes walk down the road you can go into Marks and Spencers and go back to normality or the time that it is now. It could be anywhere then, but the buildings themselves fit in with the surroundings. We've been to so many places where the 1960s buildings, with their concrete structures, are still evident...
>
> There wouldn't be nearly so many people coming here if it had dozens of different styles of buildings from different eras that didn't match into York itself as an historic town. Everyone knows the new ones and the old ones, and as far as I'm concerned most of the new ones complement the old ones, they've used the same materials, the same set of building lines. Its fairly obvious that they are new buildings but I don't think they are out of place
>
> (young man from Scotland, visiting York for a few days)

The aesthetic predilection here is one favouring a certain uniformity and continuity in the re-creation of pastness in the buildings of York city centre, whether they be old or not. It would seem, then, that authenticity hardly matters from this point of view. However, it does matter when it is to do with buildings of a certain age, that is buildings which are old enough to be thought of as part of the heritage, and not when modern(ist) buildings are considered. Rather than

celebrating, say, the eclecticism or the ironic juxtapositioning of the past and present in the way buildings are laid out in York city centre, the modern is only aesthetically acceptable when it copies the past, or, for that matter, a generalised pastness. Thus, the postmodernisation of architecture in the heritage space of the historic core is praised for its conservatism rather than for anything it might say about a new hyperreal aesthetic. Furthermore, if new buildings were not vernacular in their styling and not made to fit visually with their old surroundings, York city centre would become just like any other city centre and, therefore, would not be distinct or particularly cultured at all.

Such conservatism within the aesthetics of heritage space seems to fly in the face of familiar accounts of hyperreality in the academic literature. For example, Rojek (1995) typically omits any conformity to the status quo that the production and consumption of hyperreality might have:

> hyperreality means the abolition of the distinction between the real thing and the imitation, the signifier and the sign..., [it] imbues everyday experience with hallucinatory and ironic qualities. The consumer becomes the connoisseur of a kitsch culture composed of infinite reproductions and simulations. He or she retains a sense of the artificiality of life but does not translate this into a quest for the underlying order of things. Instead, hyperreality is savoured as an end in itself; and enjoyment derives from the fusion of nominally incommensurate signs and symbols.
>
> (Rojek, 1995, page 149)

Contrary to this claim, if there was no underlying order to the rather ironic qualities of pastness in the historic core it would not have meaning as a place of heritage. The simulation of past styles in the facades of new buildings, for instance, works because it reflects, and defers to, the historical authenticity of the old buildings. In this way there is no aesthetic rupture between the past and the present that accompanies the symbolic rejection of the past in the styling of modernist structures. Furthermore, as mentioned, it is exactly this kind continuity that tourists both in this study and the Goathland study valued most about heritage space. In this context, then, the medium (sign) does not efface the

underlying meaning of the message (signifier) but packages it in a fairly seamless manner.

These observations imply that staged authenticity is not only inevitable in heritage tourism sites but welcomed by tourists. More particularly, they suggest that the pretense and staging of heritage in either old or new buildings within the historic core is perfectly acceptable as long as it is not overbearingly false or seen to be out of context with its location (cf. Zukin, 1991). In this way staged authenticity, if 'sensitively' constructed, can create either a pleasing backdrop or an accessible window on to the real history that is embedded within the core's structures and spaces.

On a practical note, some respondents even thought that the whole of the historic core could be stage managed much more than it appeared to be at present. Their argument was that if the individual attractions were more integrated and coordinated than they are at present, entrance charges could be reduced and patronage would subsequently increase. Indeed, Touche Ross (1994) also pointed out that there is 'limited exploitation of synergies between attractions' (Touche Ross, 1994, page iii). If, for example, all the attractions cooperated enough so that a single price could be paid to visit them all, or at least a selection of them, there might be a greater throughput of visitors in all the participating attractions. There would also be cost-control synergies because of the joint marketing and ticketing. And for the customer, there would be synergies because they would be able to budget their visit better while gaining the opportunity to see more of what York had to offer.

A woman from Essex advocated such a scheme and said: 'when you've got to pay for all these separate things its very expensive... If you want to visit these places they could give you a set price and then you could go into all of them' (woman from Essex, visiting York for a week). This indicates that this woman was not aware of the scheme that is now in operation in which a discount ticket book can be purchased for £2.95 from the Tourist Information Centre. It allows the visitor savings on entrance charges to certain attractions in the historic core, as well as savings on a number of other amenities. However, two women

visitors from Scotland (mother and daughter) did take advantage of this scheme and were duly impressed with its benefits:

> *Mother*: We would recommend this: 'York for Less'. It's a York discount book in which you get vouchers with up to 25% discounts in them.
>
> *Daughter*: As two adults we have already saved 18 pounds even though my mother gets senior citizens discount... The Viking Centre is in this one, Fairfax, The Yorkshire Museum, The Castle Museum, Cliffords Tower and lots more. Its well worth getting.
>
> (mother and adult daughter from Scotland, visiting York for a few days)

While such a scheme offers valuable savings to tourists, it also seems to signify the onset of a rather blatant commercialism within the historic core. The City Council, which owns most of the attractions mentioned in the above quotation, is obviously comfortable with this as it is prepared to enter into agreements with other attractions operators (for example, with the YAT, which owns the Jorvik Viking Centre) in a way that would package much of the historic core as a unified attraction, even theme park. Indeed, Disney have long used a block book ticketing system in their theme parks, in which a book is purchased on entrance and each ticket represents one ride or one visit to one attraction within the park.

The comparison between the historic core and a heritage theme park was put to the mother and daughter from Scotland and was then followed by the suggestion that perhaps York was becoming too commercialised. The daughter replied: 'well, I think it is very commercialised but we are on holiday, so we came to do the commercial stuff, to see the sights'. This comment reveals an obvious tolerance of, and even enthusiasm for, the commercialism within the historic core. Indeed, the current level of commercialism in York city centre was similarly accepted by almost all the tourist respondents, although perhaps not with the same relish shown by the woman from Scotland. For example, a couple from Turkey remarked:

> *Woman*: Of course it is commercialised because people want to make money out of it, but I think its within a reasonable range here.

Man: I can see that there is a balance here.

(young couple from Turkey, visiting York for one day)

Likewise, a couple from Norway said:

Woman: I think they've done it in rather a good way because they don't have those neon signs. They have small signs and, yes, I think its done in a good way...[but] it is a bit touristified.

Man: It is a balanced development.

Woman: Maybe but we haven't seen that many towns like this but I think if you compare it to some, yes I think it's good.

Man: I am very impressed with going around in the centre without cars, that's very good.

(married couple from Norway, visiting York for a few days)

This last comment is interesting because it celebrates the fact that the pedestrianisation of the streets allows leisurely movement in and around the historic core. Indeed, pedestrianisation seemed to be a unanimous success with the visitors interviewed. And a woman from Oxford favourably compared York centre with the centre of her home city because of the way York better accommodates pedestrians:

Oxford is absolutely teeming with tourists at the moment. It seems much more crowded than here even though there is a lot of people here, maybe that is because of the pedestrianisation... You don't feel so crowded, there's a lot more space and you are not jostling for position on the pavement like you are in Oxford. Its less stressful.

(mother and daughter from Oxford, visiting York for a day)

Pedestrianisation obviously suits the tourist, not least because it makes walking through the crowded centre safer, and, as was pointed out in Chapter 8, because it also helps in making the historic core a tourist's and a leisure shopper's

playground. The extra space also allows more street entertainment, which adds to the themed ambiance of the city centre, and, importantly, it conveniently allows the tourist to combine visits to attractions with shopping. All this flags up issues surrounding the relationship(s) between tourism, shopping and entertainment in the city centre, and, in particular, invites the question: how important is shopping to visitors to York, is it a significant part of the tourist 'experience'? The next section explores and analyses visitor comments that related to these matters.

Shopping and heritage

With specific regard to whether or not shopping was a significant part of their experience, the respondents had mixed opinions. For some, shopping was quite a central part of their visit, for others it was no more than an incidental distraction and for a very few shopping was of no interest whatsoever. Probably the most avid leisure shopper of all the visitors interviewed was the woman from Pontefract, West Yorkshire (quoted in the last chapter):

> Yes we come often because we come for the shops. Especially in the winter, we come mostly in the winter to go to the shops,...we like York, its a day out. We don't come for weekly shopping, I come for clothes, clothes shopping... I don't buy much from [souvenir shops] really because we are retired now so we have to spend our money sensibly, we have to spend it on things we need. But we do buy clothes here.... Even if we don't buy anything we just like walking round York, up the Shambles and round the little streets.
>
> (retired woman from Pontefract, visiting York for the day)

Even though comparison shopping is the central activity of the day, it does not appear to be the main purpose of the trip. The 'day out' is what is most important, which hinges on enjoying the different types of shops and the different types of goods they might sell *within the particular setting of the historic core*. Therefore, even if nothing was purchased the day would still be a success. The key is the *different* experience shopping in York offers in comparison to the everyday experience of shopping in Pontefract. In this way

shopping becomes special and the goods sought similarly need to be special or different.

This was born out by the other respondents who thought shopping was an important part of their trip. They also tended to compare favourably York's shops, and the greater opportunity to buy specialist goods in an aesthetically loaded heritage setting, with what could be found closer to home. As the retired woman from Middlesbrough demonstrated:

> We haven't got the lovely little boutiques like they have in the Shambles, and the gorgeous little old jewelers you know. Ours are the more modern ones aren't they.... I like jewelry, I like rings. I keep my eye open for something nice, something antique, something really unusual, that's what I look for, the old coloured gold and things like that. You can't really get things like that in Middlesbrough, its a bit more functional, we have a few little second hand junky places but nothing really worth while. But here I think there is, and its lovely.
>
> (retired woman from Middlesbrough, visiting for the day)

For this woman the significant difference between shopping in Middlesbrough - an industrial town with a busy, modern shopping centre - and shopping in York, is that the latter is an experience to be enjoyed whereas the former is more of a functional necessity. Thus, the 'olde worlde' aesthetic and apparent gentrification of York's specialist shops, and the goods they sell, are all part of a pleasure package. And within this her particular penchant for jewelry can be indulged in without the apparent constraints of normal everyday life (for example, everyday time and money budgets). The everyday is, therefore, suspended in order to make way for the tourist experience. However, as Lefebvre (1991) reminds us, such suspension has to be worked and saved for through everyday work.

The contrast between everyday and tourist experience is important because, as Urry (1990) states, in order for the tourist experience to happen there needs to be an exchange between that which is normal, mundane and everyday for something extraordinary. For the above respondents, shopping in York

fulfills this requirement because it is qualitatively and experientially different, and is therefore an important tourist activity. Similarly, the backdrop of the historic core provides an ideal setting for tourism and shopping, even if it contains many of the same multiples that can be found in any other major town or city. And by the same token, the high aesthetic of the tourist 'boutiques' and specialist shops in York also adds an aura of high culture not only to the shopping ritual itself but, perhaps, also to the goods they have on sale. Thus, goods purchased under these conditions, no matter how cheap or 'tacky', might have added value or cultural capital. This might be especially because they are place signifying artefacts/souvenirs, and objectified reminders of a particular leisure experience or flight from the mundane.

This might partly explain why shops in heritage space are able to resemble museums, and that the goods within them can assume the status of artefacts and exhibits. Furthermore, the tourist shopping ritual itself might be so different from the everyday, mundane, necessary shopping trip that it is more a journey of discovery, qualitatively akin to touring art galleries or museums. The most important distinction between museum visiting and shopping is that the artefacts in shops can be bought and taken home rather than gazed at and left behind. Thus, the shopper is that much more empowered and interactive in his/her consumption. Postmodern museums, through the use of entertaining displays, interactive media and merchandising, do try to overcome such differences, but, as has been discussed, they run the risk of not sufficiently differentiating themselves from their competitors, which now include shops.

Another consideration is that the very act of shopping in heritage space might allow a greater immersion in the place than would be possible by, say, simply looking at preserved but quite dead buildings. Shopping allows the visitor to be relaxed in the way they consume heritage, because they can browse and walk in and out of old buildings without having to negotiate formal pay barriers or 'switch on' to a formal narrative. Although both shopping and attractions/museum visiting are commodified experiences, in this way shopping gives the consumer more (relative) freedom and choice. For many of the visitors interviewed, it seemed that the cultural differences between shopping and

museum visiting were less important than the differences in the way they compared regarding their relative demands on the holiday budget. As one couple indicated when asked if shopping in York was important to them:

> *Man*: Yes, to take something back from York, yes.
>
> *Woman*: We probably wouldn't have worried about the shopping if the things hadn't been as dear as they were. We probably would have gone into the [Castle] Museum and gone up there into the fort and the time would have gone and we wouldn't have worried about the shops.
>
> *Man:* So we are going to spend the money in the shops that we might have spent in the museums.
>
> (couple from Essex in their thirties, visiting York for a week)

For this couple, even though they are not keen leisure shoppers, shopping is not incompatible with a heritage experience. Indeed, in terms of choice it is an acceptable and comparable alternative to visiting what is, in general, a highly regarded museum. Therefore, considering relative costs as well as cultural value, shopping in York is simply a step down and not a completely different experience at all.

The young woman from Turkey was much more indifferent about visiting museums and heritage centres than the couple from Essex, and associated visiting the shops with a more 'real' and personal heritage experience than the rather scripted experiences offered by the formal heritage establishments:

> I think the most attractive part of the city for people is the shops actually. To me it seems like history is embroidered in the little shops here and there But it's not functional. The history is not functional. When I say functional history I mean if you can live in it, if you can experience it, then its real history, functional history. Having concerts in old castles, for example, if you visit Ephasus and if you hear a concert then you experience the past along with the music, it's functional history. And when you visit, say, a place and you are able to touch things or hear the story of things, not the official history, not the official

stories, the story that comes from the walls, then you experience history, that's functional history

(young woman from Turkey visiting York for one day)

While this rather complex and phenomenological view seems to suggest that the buildings which house the specialist shops are of historical interest, leisure shopping itself is not a good way to experience the history 'embroidered' in them. Their history would need to be somehow drawn out of them through an appropriate activity or 'function' sensitively attuned to the past. Shopping, it would seem, fails to do this. This is perhaps because it is more to do with consumer culture in the present than about recovering something of the past. Furthermore, rather than deferring to the history inherent in the buildings themselves, shopping emerges as the dominant force and the history enshrined in the buildings merely provides a backdrop. This would preclude a meaningful engagement with the history of a particular place. Similarly, official presentations and interpretations would hamper individual communion with the past because it is a depersonalised experience.

Although such an account seems to imbue old buildings with essential historical value, which is something of a contestable philosophical position, this respondent also seems to suggest that 'really' experiencing an historical place is a very tactile and active thing. While she may argue about what is an appropriate activity in a given historical place, in common with other respondents' opinions (for example, the woman from Germany), she suggests that a valuable tourist experience seems to be an active rather than a passive one. Thus, only 'gazing on history' (cf. Urry, 1990) would hardly seem to be a worthwhile option for some visitors, regardless of the distinct social and ethnic differences visitors might have.

Other visitors, however, clearly do put their trust in the more formal representations of the past and enjoy the knowledge which they appropriate from such a highly structured tourist gaze. The mother and daughter from Scotland who purchased the 'York for Less' ticket book were particularly keen on this

form of consumption, having visited most of the major heritage attractions in the city. And, in order to become as familiar with the history of the city centre as they could, they also took part in a three hour guided tour of the historic core - which was free of charge and organised through the Tourist Information Centre. Interestingly, they were also completely disinterested in shopping, and did not see it as part of their tourist experience at all. When talking about the Shambles, they said:

> *Daughter*: We are just not shoppers, we don't collect trinkets and things like that. Its nice to look at the windows outside but what was more interesting was to learn what the Shambles had been used for in the past.
>
> *Mother*: When you see the butchers hooks and things it was interesting. We got the information from the guide, I've been up and down the Shambles off and on for a period of years I suppose, and I had never seen these until he pointed them out
>
> (mother and adult daughter from Scotland, visiting York for a few days)

While they enjoyed the superficially attractive ornamentation of things like the shops, the street furniture and facades, for them the history of the place was most important, which was authenticated and 'brought alive' by the well researched narrative of the guide. Moreover, they went on to suggest that this was an authentic experience because they were made privy to local knowledge provided free of charge by a local volunteer. Thus, it is clear not only that the educational element of their visit was of real value to them but so too was the fact that they were made to feel as welcome and involved as a guest. Indeed, Ryan (1991) claims that in order to achieve the highest levels of satisfaction tourists invariably wish to make the transition from being paying customers to welcomed guests, and often try to befriend local people in order to achieve this change in status. It is, therefore, an attempt by tourists to move from experiencing only front-regions to the more authentic back-regions of a host area or society (cf. MacCannell, 1976) - and in the process rid themselves of the stigma of being a 'vulgar' tourist. Although, to an extent, these women did achieve this through their

guided tour, it was staged and formalised. Nonetheless, even though they had earlier said that they had 'come to do the commercial things', it was immensely fulfilling for them because they learned a great deal and, for a time, they transcended the usual commodity relations that tourists have to negotiate.

This indicates that these tourists care about the content of heritage above its presentation, and were very keen to participate and interact with the place via a local, if formally appointed, volunteer. Thus, although these women were conservative in that they were generally inclined to gaze upon and trust the official interpretations of York's heritage - as shown by their visits to formal attractions as well as their participation in an official tour - they wanted to interact with the place in an active and reflexive way. In this, authenticity was important and education was their main pleasure. However, in their own minds, their didactic experience was not conflated with obvious consumer oriented activities and entertainments, such as shopping.

While these women might seem to represent the more 'serious' heritage tourist, for which shopping seems an incongruous activity with visiting a place like York, for another mother and daughter shopping in York was a part of their day, although 'serious shopping' was better left for another time and place. When asked if shopping would play an important part in their visit to the city, they replied:

> *Mother*: No because we are going shopping tomorrow in Leeds because its near where my daughter lives.
>
> *Daughter*: We are going to the Shambles because there are different sorts of shops there. But we are not doing chain store, city centre shopping, nothing serious

(mother and daughter from Oxford - the daughter had just moved to Leeds - visiting York for a day)

This seems to sum up the most common attitude of the visitors interviewed. For them the day was not about shopping, but to visit areas like the Shambles also meant enjoying the tourist oriented shops there. In this way such shops become

almost 'must see' attractions because they are thoroughly integrated with the place and are firmly ingrained on the York tourist's mental map. Thus, to visit them is to follow a pre-prescribed tourist performance or ritual.

As shown here though, tourists do not always follow this rubric. Therefore, tourism and shopping are not always synonymous in heritage environments; often tourists will pick and choose between what they believe to be a genuine heritage experience and that which they believe to be entertainment - and move back and forth from one to the other on the same visit. Furthermore, it seems that for all the tourist respondents, regardless of how important shopping was to them, the level of commercialism and 'tackiness' in the old streets of York does not really detract from a cultured experience. Rather, as with the street entertainment, it presents them with choices between novel pleasures and a smattering of historical education, all enclosed within a now rather purposefully convenient tourist enclave. In this way it seems that York city centre has combined its past and its present in a way that is generally inoffensive to the tourist and financially profitable to itself.

14 Concluding Comments on York

Tourism development, promotion and management

It is clear that, even though York has many traditional cultural advantages over the majority of towns and cities in the heritage tourism market, it has had to adopt place promotion techniques in order to ensure its continued popularity. The rise in regional, national and international competition between places and the relative demise of York's once very strong manufacturing base, combined with an increasingly *laissez-faire* political and economic climate in Britain, have shaken the city's public representatives out of their scepticism of tourism to form a growth coalition type of partnership with the city's private sector. This arrangement has effected the First Stop York tourism development strategy, which is more formally inclusive of private interests than any of the city's earlier tourism strategies. It is primarily a place marketing initiative which also links in with a wider aim to attract more inward investment to the city. In this, York's elites have been particularly influenced by the success of the 'Glasgow's Miles Better' campaign of the 1980s, which was also the product of a private/public partnership arrangement and based on a 'promotional model' pioneered by cities in the US.

This approach has set a number of precedents which have been useful to York, even though it has mostly been used by ex-industrial cities with flagging economies and images. Besides skillful use of place promotion techniques, the most significant characteristic of this approach for York has been the fact that cultural industries are seen as key. In this, York has sought to boost the capital accumulation prospects of the city, which have been affected by a decline in local manufacturing, through more commercial use of its established cultural capital. Heritage tourism is particularly advantageous because, not only is it a major income generator in its own right, it thrives on a suitably aestheticised

environment which is thought to be a major incentive for prestigious non tourist firms and their core staff to relocate to the city. Being an already established 'tourist-historic city' (Ashworth and Tunbridge, 1990), then, would seem to put York in a prime position in which its cultural capital and heritage can be utilised to draw investment from a variety of sources. Accordingly, the manner in which the official policies and strategies of York's newly formed partnerships attempt to integrate different internal elements into an investment package, and present York to the outside world as a unified corporate entity, tends to follow the entrepreneurial conventions of any contemporary city. Therefore, York is not only a traditional heritage city but is also a 'growth machine' (Madrigal, 1995 after Molotch, 1976) caught up in the competitive demands of flexible accumulation and the post-Fordist space economy (cf. Harvey, 1989). With specific regard to the First Stop York strategy, its function and form lend support to van der Borg, Costa and Gotti (1996) who suggest that heritage cities are increasingly concentrating on tourism promotion rather than on tourism management.

The different and separate organisational structures of tourism promotion and management in York reflect the promotional priorities of the city's major tourism stakeholders and elites. For instance, there is not a tourism development unit, department or organisation in the city which is simultaneously responsible for promoting *and* managing tourism. Rather, the First Stop York strategy is coordinated and administered by a single body, the York Tourism Bureau (YTB), which was originally formed by a private consortium; whereas the management of tourists and tourism activity in the city is spread across the standard municipal functions of the council - such as planning, leisure services, transport and traffic management, and so on. Therefore, there is little attempt to coordinate both tourism promotion and management within the public/private partnership, in which the responsibility for anticipating and managing the potential costs and benefits of tourism development would be shared by both parties. The partnership arrangement only pools resources to sell York in the tourism market place, while the main responsibilities and costs of managing the consequences of that activity are externalised to York's public sector. Indeed, when the YTB's

marketing executive was asked about the management of potential tourism impacts, she related that such considerations where not part of the Bureau's remit.

Tourism costs and benefits in York

Another potential area of contradiction lies in the fact that some of York's economic development protagonists do have private doubts about the ability of tourism to be successfully integrated with other investment objectives. Indeed, for one influential commentator outside the tourism sector, Professor Robards, tourism might even be a threat to the future development of York as a dynamic, forward looking, quality place in which to do business, work and live. This is similar in logic to Hewison's (1987) argument regarding the selling of national heritage at the expense of developing a thriving cultural and economic national future. Furthermore, even the city's Economic Development Officer and the YTB's Marketing Executive were both very uncertain about a positive relationship between tourism and other investment. Similar doubts were also shared by certain residents of York who worry that the city is in danger of eroding its 'real' cultural integrity, while simultaneously threatening the quality of its environment and becoming overly dependent on heritage tourism for its economic well-being.

Despite this, the majority of residents interviewed thought there were strong economic benefits for the city in developing a major tourism infrastructure. However, they were extremely sceptical about how those benefits actually 'trickle down' to local people by way of providing quality employment. The city's Labour-led council has also traditionally adhered to this view, but its members now seem to have officially accepted the market ideology of their private partners, that heritage as enterprise can remedy the quality deficiencies of most tourism employment in the city. Yet while the First Stop York strategy aims to encourage training and career development in the tourism sector, it falls short of being specific on how this can be achieved. Furthermore, it relies on its partners to voluntarily adhere to vague notions of establishing York as a 'centre of excellence' in tourism employment, in which employers win self regulated

awards for 'good practice'. In this, First Stop York is long on 'visionary' statements and marketing platitudes, but short on substance about 'quality' tourism careers and employment prospects. Hardly inspirational in changing the opinions of sceptics among York residents.

That said, when discussing the costs and benefits of tourism to the city with residents the majority did not carp about official policies and strategies. In the main they were sanguine about the efforts of their public and private representatives, but in the same breath they were concerned about tourism impacts. They were also inclined to see them as a function of straightforward cause and effect relationships. Most notable in this was that the quality of the majority of tourists coming to the city was often cited as being crucial in determining the costs and benefits of tourism. This was implying that if only high spending tourists who stayed overnight were encouraged, and by extension day-trippers discouraged, not only would the economic prospects of residents concomitantly improve but so too would the environmental quality and the quality of life in the city. In other words, residents believed that there could be a simple trade-off between quality and quantity tourism, which would start with discriminating between desirable and undesirable visitors.

The issue of class is, of course, central in these matters. It seems that a proportion of York residents would wish all consumers who are not replete with economic and cultural capital to somehow disappear from what they see as their actual and symbolic home territory. That is, residents want to share their place of heritage only with visitors who hold similar values to themselves by having a 'true' appreciation of what York is about. In this way the outlook of a significant body of residents interviewed in York mirrored that of the residents interviewed in Goathland. Even apart from the social arguments against the assumed sovereignty of residents, it is difficult to see how a process of visitor discrimination and vetting by the authorities and tourism development agencies would be at all practical or possible. Indeed, the marketing executive for the YTB insisted that York simply cannot afford to ignore the mass market in favour of attracting the higher spending visitors who stay overnight. Therefore, even in marketing terms alone, it is unrealistic and undesirable to see these two groups as

being opposed to each other. It seems certain, then, that York will remain a mass tourist destination - which will no doubt continue to vex a significant proportion of its residents as well as figures like Professor Robards who champion the cause of securing prestigious investment capital.

Consumer issues

There is little doubt that the centre of York is given over to the activities and aspirations of tourists and leisure shoppers. This is reflected in the landscape of the historic core where comparison shops intermingle with heritage attractions to render it a distinctly spectacularised place of leisure, pleasure and, at times, learning. In the process the ordinary, everyday lives of both residents and tourists are relegated to the times and spaces beyond the old city walls. To enter the centre of York is to enter a consumption 'paradise' which, by virtue of its themed aesthetic and layout, promises escape from the ordinary world of today into an extraordinarily de-differentiated reconstruction of the past *and* present. The historic core is, therefore, a place reserved for doing and buying special things that would not be a usual part of daily life - for example, buying jewelry, antiques, a ride on a time car, a night in a hotel or simply gazing at the old buildings.

These activities are all established component parts of the tourist performance or ritual which, as shown, can be a means for tourists to interact reflexively with a place or attraction. However, in the same way that tourist consumption is a performance so too is its production, in that there are definite, yet evolving, scripts, formulaic norms, practices and conventions in the creation of economically successful heritage tourist space. It would seem that York's tourism developers have played their parts very well in this. But, as the Economic Development Officer related, this success has meant that residents now feel that the city centre is no longer theirs, and their everyday needs of it seem to conflict with the spatial (con)text of the centre as a tourist attraction. This illustrates the enormous power of tourism to symbolically uproot a place and distance its residents before they can become incredulous about its effects. However, once they do it seems that residents want to combat the 'negative'

impacts of tourism by asserting their own consumption rights as citizens of York over those of certain visitors, that is day-trippers, which are seen as consumption pariahs. By doing this, residents attempt to legitimise their arguments for the exclusion of most day-trippers from the city altogether. Moreover, the tourists in this research tended to argue automatically their rights to the city on grounds of their economic value rather than by considering their presence in the city as being a civil right. In this it seemed that their consumer values and value as consumers were felt to be the most potent and relevant consideration. Thus, the perspectives of both residents and tourists tended to reduce the political, economic and cultural relations of tourism development to their relative rights and value as consumers.

From these observations it seems that Debord's (1989) thesis about spectacular society depoliticising consumption and commodification to something natural is indeed relevant. Further evidence in support of this is that there was a general consensus among the tourists interviewed that the commercialisation of York's heritage was no bad thing as long as it was 'sensitively' done. However, while tourists felt that the commercialisation, and therefore commodification, of the city's heritage was inevitable in such a commercial world, some of them did relate that given the general shortfall in public funding in Britain it was hardly surprising, even justified. This, of course, is a political observation. And one respondent in particular (the woman from Germany) was very politically astute with regard to the impacts of gentrifying middle-classes. This demonstrates that consumers can be critically aware of the political circumstances in which they seek their pleasure. However, though some respondents would broach political issues freely and enthusiastically, others would discuss them with some reluctance because they were in the process of 'having a good time' which, for them, involved suspending such matters of wider society.

In general tourists were much more forthcoming and eager to offer opinions about matters which seemed more directly related to the quality of their particular holiday experience - and in this they were often both reflexive and critical. Indeed, the fact that many were acutely aware of their importance as

consumers reveals that on this level, at least, they were reflexive. However, as might be expected of post-tourists, this did not extend to accepting that their experience was ironically inauthentic, because of the inevitability of it being mediated by competing spatial narratives and/or exchange relationships. Rather, the tourist respondents not only thought that they could have a worthwhile, albeit staged, cultural experience, but that they could discern and choose between mere aestheticised commercialism and real cultural heritage. Thus, authenticity was important to all the tourists interviewed, and activities tended to be judged on a continuum in which trivial and meaningful pleasures were categorised and compared. However, what each tourist valued as more or less experientially authentic or inauthentic in terms of culture and heritage could sometimes vary significantly.

One constant feature seemed to be that tourists wanted an active engagement with the place, regardless of whether they were indulging in shopping for trinkets and souvenirs or taking in the obvious heritage attractions. In this, many more senses and social competencies would be employed other than sight and looking to make the experience worthwhile and enjoyable. For instance, shopping would involve exploration and selection via touch, conversation (with, say, shop assistants) and walking; and even Jorvik invites people to smell and hear certain artefacts of York's Viking past. Therefore, not only were ironically disengaged post-tourists missing from this study, so too were tourists that were entirely reliant on gazing in their consumption, especially ones which could be categorised as indulging in either a romantic or a collective gaze. York's tourists, it seems, have multiple gazes and play multiple roles, depending on what they choose to do under the prevailing circumstances or what they can feasibly do within the parameters of the script.

Part Three

15 Comparisons and generalisations

By way of providing a conclusion to the thesis, what follows is a discussion of political, social and economic themes and issues that seem to be common to both cases. By re-examining them here it is hoped that a step is taken toward informing prevailing knowledge at a more general level than has so far been the case in this work. This is not to forget, however, that each place is unique in terms of geographical context, but certain issues do arise in both case studies that suggest they could also be important in comparable tourist places, and important to the theoretical explanation of tourism development as both a cultural and economic process. In this, the chapter reconsiders the relationship between urbanity and rurality, the media and tourist places, the politics of tourism impacts and management, tourism and democratic development, and finally, the critical capacities of tourists as consumers.

New urbanity, new rurality

The Goathland case study supports authors like Lowenthal (1991) and Humphreys (1995) who argue that popular notions of the English countryside are part of an urban social construct rather than being about an intrinsically real rurality. It also supports Cloke (1993) who remarks that 'rural people' are culturally urban and that changes in the countryside are largely due to political and economic decisions, dynamics and signals that originate from well outside the area concerned. And in a heritage tourism context, both the York and the Goathland case studies illustrate how urban and rural environments can be subject to related commercial and cultural forces. For instance, just as the 'enterprise-heritage couplet' (Corner and Harvey, 1991; Meethan, 1996) would seem to indicate that York is part of an emergent new urbanity in western society, where placelessness vies with place distinction to create newly

commodified urban identities for tourists (cf. Robins, 1991), the Goathland case illustrates how similar processes might be at work in certain rural environments. Indeed, the fact that Goathland seems to be metamorphosing into a 'real life' facsimile of fictional Aidensfield indicates that 'place making' (ibid.) can be particularly intense and consequential in rural locations - especially those that become associated with widely popularised fictions and place idealisations.

As Shaw and Williams (1994) indicate, contemporary media and advertising increasingly convey the type of idealised place images that are so potent for tourists. And more powerfully than any other medium, television, the 'quintessence' of postmodernism (Collins, 1992; Storey, 1993), instantaneously transports spatial narratives directly into millions of people's homes. Its mode of distributing such virtual worlds means that at the moment of consumption it is usual for television viewers to engage narratives conveniently without externalising any consequences of their activity beyond the confines of their own houses. This is something, of course, which alters once viewers exchange the hyperreality of the television screen for a more tangible, sensorial and immersed experience in the 'real world' as tourists. That is not to imply there is a direct exchange from inauthentic to authentic consumption in the transformation from television viewer to tourist. The Goathland case illustrates that, paradoxically, the exchange would be relatively meaningless unless many of the signs and signifiers of Heartbeat were left or put in place as facades on buildings, 'official' Heartbeat Country tours, trails, brochures, guides and other narratives. Without these Goathland would not much relate to Heartbeat - which, after all, is the initial inspiration for the majority of people to visit it - and the gap between the real and the hyperreal would probably be too great for most of its visitors. In this way the signs and signifiers of Heartbeat that are consumed in the living room are recreated as tourist spectacles in and around the authentic location where they were originally produced.

This particular process of place making means that 'staged authenticity' (cf. MacCannell, 1976) is created in Goathland from popular media which reconstruct it and implant new associations and a new identity on it - indicating that the 'society of the simulacrum' (Baurdrillard, 1993) is imploding into

Goathland to render it both a virtual, placeless place and a famous place of populist distinction. This is not to forget the irony that traditional notions of rural heritage are a major part of the appeal of Heartbeat Country. Hence, while media representations do not change the traditional cultural message, they threaten the particular distinction of Goathland as a 'real' place and as a 'traditional' North Yorkshire moorland village.

A similar type of metamorphosis is increasingly common in many parts of the British countryside (see Figure 2), although what is happening in Goathland may represent a peculiar example of the aestheticization of place in which popular (postmodern) art and the everyday are becoming de-differentiated (cf. Lash, 1990; Urry, 1990; Featherstone, 1991). As is well documented, 'movie maps, 'literary trails' and a whole battery of advertising media announce to the world a new geography of hyperreal places like 'Last of the Summer Wine Country', 'Brontë Country', 'Herriot Country', 'Constable Country', 'Thomas Hardy Country' and so on (see Figure 2). Furthermore, as Cloke (1993) tells us, many more rural spaces are being privatised, themed and sold as spectacular attractions which offer 'experiences' that range from teddy-bears picnics and steam and vintage rallies to numerous country museums and craft fairs etc. Thus, a new rurality seems to be emerging in Britain as more rural spaces open up to tourism by way of simulating the worlds of television, literature and all sorts of representations and idealisations generated by the mass media. What these simulations represent is a new way of consuming the countryside in which nostalgia, fantasy, 'fact', heritage and various time-space compression themes are created as playful rural toys that can both celebrate and mock their locations with characteristically postmodern irony. Increasingly, then, the rural is less a traditional escape from urban society, but an extension of it where a multitude of popular and traditional images, imaginings and values collide and compete.

The Goathland study illustrates that these developments represent an invasion of 'real country life' for certain relatively privileged countryside residents who have a vested interest in maintaining and propagating traditional rural heritage myths. As the urban seeps further into the countryside through leisure and tourism, these 'country people' attempt to redefine 'authentic' rurality

in ever more arcane ways in order symbolically to distance so-called 'town people' and their consumption habits from the countryside (cf. Bourdieu, 1984). However, in the contemporary world the mystery of English rurality is further shattered because, as Poon (1989), Urry (1990), and Britton, (1991) note, all tourist attractions are becoming more available and comparable in an increasingly integrated international tourism system. In this new post-Fordist tourism context, many of England's rural spaces are treated with the equivalence of any of the other tourist products, which realise their value through their ability to attract what Robins (1991) terms 'global tourists'. These new competitive circumstances mean that highly mobile consumers face an almost bewildering array of choices as they scan the media for promised 'experiences' and 'adventures'. Hence, rural attractions are compelled to be more commercially inventive and disperate urban attractions such as Catherine Cookson Country, the York Dungeons, the Jorvik Viking Centre and the Oxford Story, which relate different 'real' and fictional historical and spatial narratives themseleves, are as much their contemporaries as their rivals. In that context the authenticity or inauthenticity of place simply become either commercial advantages or disadvantages.

That said, one must be careful of negating the importance of geographical difference or the fact that tourists themselves, at least the tourists in this research, seem to want to have as authentic an experience as possible (which is something that will be returned to later in this conclusion). As Harvey (1989) notes, as the ability to exploit space increases so does our sensitivity to what different spaces contain. The rapidly growing penchant for travel and tourism in capitalist society is only one testimony to this. Thus, the issues of tourism development are similar in scope and connected to other areas of geographical debate concerned with local/global relations in politics, economics and culture (cf. Lefebvre, 1976, 1991; Britton, 1991; Hall, 1994; Shaw and Williams, 1994). Indeed, tourism is a major force in the globalisation of economies and cultures which also thrives on the heterogeneity and peculiarities of the world's 'real' and possible places.

Politicising tourism impacts and tourism management

One general difference between rural and urban tourist environments might be that the consequences of creating postmodern tourist space could be much more severely felt in small rural places than they would in reconstituted urban areas. This seems to be illustrated by the two cases in this study, especially when we consider the cultural power behind the extremely popular Heartbeat television drama which is at the root of Goathland's new hyperreal identity. Therefore, the way in which both York and Goathland deal with their respective tourism development impacts, and the way local people and tourism practitioners react to them in each place, are of particular geographical and social interest, not to mention practical significance.

For Goathland, the small size of the village has undoubtedly contributed to its relative powerlessness in absorbing the rather immediate impacts of Heartbeat tourism since 1991. Moreover, the cultural resistance of the local people to many of the ameliorative tourism management practices proposed by the authorities has enormously exacerbated the tourism issue. York, on the other hand, has not had to suffer such a sudden destabilising impact upon the city; its marketing effort and product development have been much more considered, planned and negotiated between its private and public agencies over a number of years. Neither has it suffered the explosion in the ratio between the numbers of tourists per resident that Goathland has. It appears, then, that given York is a city with a social and physical 'carrying capacity' way beyond that of Goathland, and which is also more predisposed towards economic growth, it can absorb the impacts of tourism development much more successfully than Goathland.

While this may be true in relative terms, the concerns of the residents of York are not dissimilar to those of Goathland. For instance, the case studies reveal that each set of residents is worried about the quality as well as the quantity of tourists visiting their respective places, and a number of residents in both case studies wanted the authorities to effect polices that would amount to excluding lower income groups in favour of high spending middle to high income groups. Significantly, the discourses of residents on these issues did not directly recognise the social divisiveness of their opinions. Rather they tended to

use market rhetoric and certain class and cultural classifications (for example, 'nice people who appreciate the countryside', 'trippers', 'the masses' etc.) to differentiate various elements of the tourist populace in order to press the logic and efficacy of their preservationist claims. In somewhat similar fashion, tourists tended to see themselves as valuable consumers, rather than citizens supplied with rights, and a certain cultural equity, with regard to consuming heritage and accessing public space. However, this was much more pronounced in York than it was in Goathland. This might reflect the fact that for British people (who constituted all but two tourist respondents in Goathland) notions of rurality are directly tied up with national identity and thus a rural location like Goathland would invoke more emotional responses to questions of rights and cultural investment than they would in an urban location - albeit one of such obvious heritage value.

On the whole, taking the responses of tourists and residents together in the two cases, there seemed to be an attitude of consumerism, or what Featherstone (1991) calls a 'culture of consumption', which accepts commodification as normal and inevitable in tourist space. What tended to be at issue, although there were exceptions, was the type of commodification and consumption that were appropriate in heritage environments. For example, buying into a rural lifestyle was seen by the Goathland residents as perfectly acceptable whereas mass tourism in the countryside was not; and in York the idea of paying to visit heritage centres and museums was never questioned by tourists or residents, but the way certain heritage attractions were seen as being either authentic or inauthentic was an issue for both groups. Within the consumerist mind-set accessing heritage space is about rights of consumption rather than issues of social equity and civil liberties. This lends credence to Harvey's (1989) general argument that in postmodern society aesthetics are given primacy over moral and ethical questions while underlying social divisions and tensions carry on unabated and ignored.

Such matters have implications for the way tourism impacts are both evaluated and managed in heritage space. Tourism management strategies which consciously or unconsciously tie themselves to classifications of desirable or

undesirable tourists, and tourism impacts based on a habitus or an inverted class culture which relates market pragmatism to preservationist ideologies would, at best, serve to support the status quo and, at worst, add to the various social inequalities extant in wider society. For example, quantifying carrying capacities, and then using market mechanisms to prevent tourists exceeding them, would create spatial divisions of tourist consumption which would be even greater than at present. Just as production relations are reflected in residential space (cf. Harvey, 1985, 1989), the affluent would have their tourist areas, working-class theirs and the poor would become ever more invisible in tourist space. As Lefebvre (1976) has stated, such hierarchisation augments social divisions in specialised leisure spaces and visibly projects 'free' time inequalities onto the physical and cultural landscape. And following the logic of Zukin's (1991) argument on gentrification, these projections would take the form of spatial narratives that affirm the class boundaries of both the local inhabitants and the people who would be welcomed as *guests* just as clearly and divisively as any physical barrier.

The politics of heritage tourism impacts, then, is all about privileged user groups occupying and controlling spaces of social value, lobbying for strategies that secure vested interests, creating notions of insiders and outsiders, and restricting and challenging any developments that erode prevailing advantages in local space. Moreover, as the middle-classes are the groups with the most cultural competence and political power in these matters, their opinions as prime producers and consumers of heritage, and their ability to influence tourism planning as well organised residents and potentially valuable incomers, are key to the way the political and cultural processes behind heritage tourism development evolve and materialise as spatial power struggles.

An important aspect of this is that heritage presentation and interpretation inevitably reflect the predominantly conservative values of the white middle-classes who produce it. Thus, it is hardly surprising that studies on tourist consumption consistently document the absence of ethnic minorities in heritage space in Britain and show how heritage attractions are mostly consumed by middle-class groups (see, for example, Urry, 1990; Merriman, 1991; Squire,

1993, 1994a). In this study not one black person was interviewed as either a resident, tourist or key informant, and all the heritage visited, discussed and analysed in this thesis has been 'mainstream' regardless of whether it could be considered popular or traditional. Thus, from an ethical and moral point of view, tourism management and planning should be about encouraging and facilitating heritage consumption and production across society, and not be about promoting localities which represent dominant culture, and managing the local impacts on behalf of the most powerful local interest groups. Furthermore, such a project would require a redefinition of 'the heritage' to reflect the plurality of cultures in British society.

As noble as this might sound, it would mean that if the market were to expand in a socially inclusive way, dominant heritage could be devalued and much of its exclusivity would be eradicated. This would be against the interests of many powerful middle-class groups. For example, the new cultural intermediaries who have a monopoly on interpreting and disseminating cultural meaning would suffer a problematically new democratic twist to the already existing 'paperchase effect' (Featherstone, 1991). For the traditionalists, like so many residents in this research, the popularisation and broadening of heritage would represent the greatest cost because it could threaten the dominance of the cultural foundations on which they build their social status. Indeed, all other notions of 'negative' tourism impacts such as overcrowding are judged by these groups from their particular social elevations. And the clarion call of the majority of residents in this research was that 'we only want to attract people like us'. Thus, intentionally or unintentionally, class and racial divides were often covertly expressed in their preferred solutions to 'negative' tourism impacts, although they were cloaked by references to 'townies', trippers' and the like.

At an institutional level, such social considerations do not seem to be part of 'real world' tourism development strategies. By necessity the development logic is rooted in economic and political pragmatism in which heritage space is exploited as a tourism resource, and *then* the consequences are absorbed/'managed' by the local authorities as best they can. In this, private agencies might invest in promotion strategies either individually, through

consortia or through private/public partnerships. Whatever the individual circumstances of any tourism-related business, it is expedient for all of them to attempt to externalise what is deemed as the social and environmental costs of tourism development to the public sector while simultaneously internalising the economic benefits as profit. This is no different in either Goathland or York. For example, YTV use Goathland and the surrounding landscape as a free resource and contribute nothing to the management of the extra tourist activity they have induced in the area. Similarly, private companies in the First Stop York partnership only participate because of the direct business benefits they might receive from consortia based tourism promotion and product development, while York City Council is solely responsible for tourism management. Thus, it is extremely efficient and convenient for the private sector to use public, 'natural' and cultural amenities as free resources, while the taxpayer, which includes tourists, supports their activity. However, this is not immediately apparent because the political and ideological climate in Britain, and the market rhetoric surrounding pragmatically driven tourism development practices, attempt to neutralise and mask the very real antagonisms between the imperatives of private profit and public provision.

To an extent, then, it is understandable that amid all the political, economic and cultural complexities surrounding heritage tourism development, easy targets are sought and blamed for any unwanted consequences of tourism. Hence, the quality of tourists becomes the most pressing concern for residents, not to mention other commentators, and distinctions arise which applaud 'people like us' and demonise 'people like them'. To put it another way, the 'other' is sought out, identified and vilified as being mass day-tripping tourists who apparently provide the least economic benefit to the locality while inducing the greatest environmental and social costs. Moreover, in the absence of physical restrictions which would keep them out of local space, the prevailing reasoning among a number of residents in this research calls for strategies of demarketing (which means using marketing to discourage certain groups) and/or educating the mass tourist in 'real' heritage appreciation through more and 'better' interpretation displays and the like. However, this does not mean that day-

trippers or mass tourists would be awarded some kind of cultural capital if they slip through the demarketing net, rather it means schooling them out of their ignorance towards displaying the correct deference to a supposedly 'common heritage' so that they might consume it in an 'appropriate' manner.

This, of course, is not a new concern or particular to postmodern tourist environments. Gruffudd (1994) relates that during the Second World War thousands of Londoners and denizens of other major cities in England were relocated to the countryside to escape the urban dereliction; and in order to prepare them for rural life a number of the travel books published at the time assumed the role of didactic texts in order to socialise these new rural residents into appreciating the ways of the country. In other words, these people were patronised and treated like ignorant children. In the two cases here, perhaps particularly in the Goathland case, these *traditional* sentiments are still alive and well. This is ironic when reading contemporary authors who suggest that part of the draw of the countryside as a tourist attraction [and possibly as a place to live] is the nostalgic references it has to the childhood memories of many people (see Turner and Ash, 1975; Squire, 1993, 1994a; Dann, 1997).

'Inclusive' tourism development in heritage space

Various authors have advocated a less prescriptive top-down approach to the development of tourism, and the cultural industries sector in general, in favour of a more democratic, inclusive model of local decision making (see, for example, Bianchini, 1990, 1991; Griffiths, 1993 on urban cultural industries and Murphy, 1985; Dann, 1997 on community and rural tourism). Although there are some differences in perspective between authors, the nub of such views tends to be that consultative mechanisms should be the norm, to allow constructive dialogue between various communities of interest at the local level and good representation in the form of democratically elected planning bodies. The upshot is that public forums would be constructed that involve free roaming dialogue between local people and organisations operating at the varied scales, with the emphasis being placed on a locality's social and economic long term needs. Dann (1997) even suggests finding a way of including tourists in such a process.

While development projects based on these principles might be intuitively desirable, under prevailing socio-political and economic conditions in Britain, and the capitalist west generally, it is difficult to see how such a deepening of democracy would be allowed to progress in the type of valued environments under examination in this thesis. Indeed, the failed attempts of the North Yorkshire Moors National Park to instigate a shared approach to tourism development in the Goathland area illustrate the difficulties quite starkly. For example, both community level and private property nimbyism, which can be antagonistic to each other, could militate against inclusive decision making. Furthermore, there is also a danger of failure in such schemes if they assume there might be such a thing as authentic communities where common values are shared, because given the levels of social displacement through processes of exurbanism and gentrification which seem endemic in heritage tourism space, that is probably a myth. Thus, the present socio-spatial patterns and circumstances of heritage production and consumption favour the politically adept and powerful middle-classes who could not be expected to compromise their vested interests, which was partially demonstrated in Goathland by the disruption of the 'inclusive' meetings organised there. In addition, this research shows that market rationality and culture, rather than matters of civil liberties and social justice, seem to dominate much of people's thinking on tourism whether they be producers, residents or tourists. And on a more general institutional note, the financial and legal powers in Britain are geared towards the priorities of private capital which compromises planning and increasingly allows the use of culture and 'nature' as free resources. Finally, because the cultural investment in the national heritage is part of the configuration of the British class system, in many instances it can serve to symbolically naturalise the tradition of inequality on which so much of the nation's history is built (cf. Debord, 1983).

Whether these and related caveats are surmountable is open for debate, but what is certain is that the issues are not limited to tourism as a discrete activity. In fact they illustrate that tourism is not an especially peculiar activity at all, rather it is a social phenomenon which graphically illustrates wider social relations in particularly intense ways.

Critical tourists and heritage space

A particularly vexed social relationship which remains important to a number of academics is the one tourists have with the objects and places they consume (see, for example, MacCannell, 1973, 1976, 1992; Urry, 1990, 1995; Britton, 1991; Shaw and Williams, 1994; Munt, 1994; Mowforth and Munt, 1997). And of special interest to this study has been the level of critical engagement tourists have had with the rural and urban heritage spaces and 'experiences' under examination. In this, the two case studies revealed that tourists can be both critical and reflexive in the way they consume heritage, although 'consumer culture' (cf. Featherstone, 1991) seemed endemic among them. Furthermore, a physical and emotional immersion in place seemed vital in realising a satisfactory experience, in which being able to assimilate and differentiate what they believed to be culturally authentic and relatively trivial tourist pap was important to all the tourists in this research. However, peoples' views on what was simply trivial fun and what was an authentic heritage experience varied quite a lot, implying that there is not a homogeneous visitor experience.

Moreover, the gaze was only one way that tourists derived meaning from and through a site or attraction, which suggests that all the senses are combined with numerous social competencies during the interaction, immersion and negotiation with tourist space. Thus, social and physical performances, as well as a certain emotional involvement, are integral to the constitution of a meaningful tourist experience (also see Bagnall, 1996), which seemed to be both personally and socially inscribed. That is, engagement of the senses, emotions and social skills allows tourists reflexively to decide the level of authenticity of their particular experiences because they can compare them with past experiences and the personal knowledge they have accumulated as individuals. Therefore, the variance in the life experience and knowledge of individual tourists might account for the variance in their own interpretation of what makes an authentic tourist experience.

This is not to suggest that authenticity is a matter of individual subjectivity or competence on behalf of the consumer, although the way that a particular experience is assimilated as being of value by an individual tourist

could be. In general, for tourists to choose what cultural experiences to consume, and how to consume them, they need to be able to assess the integrity of the attraction or activity. Thus, whether the attraction or activity is sold as a 'serious' experience in its attempt to interpret accurately a piece of culture, or whether the emphasis is on fun and pleasure in which authenticity is not an issue, is of great importance. Moreover, tourists rely upon the producers of heritage to offer them an honest and plausible interpretation of a particular past or place which can be differentiated from, but not necessarily separated from, less educational experiences such as, for example, shopping for souvenirs. This does not preclude the mixing of education and pleasure. Indeed, the Jorvik Viking Centre has shown how a potentially esoteric subject matter can be made available as a pleasurably exoteric experience without compromising its academic integrity. On the other hand, the simulated artefacts of Heartbeat in Goathland are physical reminders of a fictitious place; however, they do not pretend to be anything else and are anyway props used in the filming of Heartbeat. The important thing is that tourists are equipped with enough knowledge to decide for themselves whether a particular experience is valuable or not, and whether it is intended to be authentic or not. In this, the producer's role is crucial, and if ulterior motives such as profit or consumer control were to compromise the integrity of a site the relationship between the site and its well intentioned consumers could easily break down. If this were to happen, heritage tourism in that particular place could itself become a thing of the past.

Postmodern interpretations, then, do not compromise historical and geographical integrity in and of themselves, and on the whole tourists in this research seemed to be more aware of this or more sympathetic toward postmodern heritage than local residents. This is probably because in general tourists have more to gain from the demystifying of English cultural heritage and residents have much more to lose. However, this is not to suggest that tourists and residents inevitably belong to different social groups or share different sets of values. What many tourists appeared to value about postmodern representations of heritage was that they related historical narratives in a way which was often pleasurable, convenient and conservative in content. In this way

traditional messages and values are not negated by postmodern media, just as traditional social divisions are not eradicated by their aesthetic effacement in postmodern heritage space.

[1] Please refer to Chapter 2.

[2] Studies of individual persons are probably more accurately described as 'life histories' but can also be considered as 'cases'.

[3] The words tourist/s and visitor/s are interchangeable in this thesis with no definitional separation. For discussion on the definition of tourists and tourism see Sessa (1983); Gilbert (1990); and Shaw and Williams (1994).

[4] Baudrillard J, 1986, "The ecstasy of communication" in *Postmodern Culture* Ed H Foster (Pluto, London)

[5] For Adorno, Horkhiemer and Marcuse, the culture industry - which includes: cinema, music, commercial theatre, sport, television, magazines and related forms of mass entertainment - is highly important to consumer capitalism 'because of its power to structure leisure relations in accordance with the requirements of the social interests which control it' (Rojek, 1985). See Britton (1991); Rojek (1985); Held (1980).

[6] Harvey (1989) sees flexible accumulation as integral to post-Fordist capitalism (see Chapter 7 on post-Fordism). It refers to the way in which capital has become extremely agile, 'footloose' and global in orientation during the last few decades. Capital is now able to use space and time in more flexible ways because of the technical expansion of markets and production where, for example, multi-national corporations can locate almost anywhere which suits their interests. This enables them to play one place, and its workforce, off against another as sites of production, while at the same time allowing multi-nationals to respond to their markets without suffering the same limitations of proximity as was previously the case. Management and working practices have consequently had to adapt to these new conditions where fast and flexible responses to quickly changing markets can be made through, for instance, 'just in time' management and temporary working contracts so material stock and workforces can be utilised as and when circumstances dictate. The growth of the 'service sector' in the west is also implicated in flexible accumulation as manufacturing increasingly is done in 'third world' countries. In the west capital is therefore concentrated more on service provision rather than material production. Furthermore, in order to attract capital places and their workforces increasingly need to demonstrate their flexibility and willingness to compete in the global market for manufacturing and/or services.

[7] The landscape idea 'is a way of seeing which separates subject and object, giving lordship to the eye of a single observer. In this the landscape idea either denies collective experience, as in the case of the pleasing prospect, or mystifies it in an appeal to transcendental qualities of a particular area or region, as for example in the recourse during wartime in England to an image of unchanging English countryside, a landscape reflecting the unruffled harmony of its social order' (Cosgrove, 1984, page 262).

[8] Bunce borrows this term from Spectorsky (1955) to describe the penchant of peoples of the western world to make an exodus from metropolitan centres to live in the not-too-distant countryside. 'With it has come the broadening of the country place ideal beyond its elitist roots, and the redefinition of the character - social and economic, as well as visual - of the metropolitan countryside' (Bunce, 1994, page 89).

[9] The exact number of these changes, depending on the season and the number of private establishments periodically entering and exiting the accommodation market.

[10] For example, see:

North Yorkshire Moors National Park ,1991 *Visitor Survey* (NYMNP, Helmsley);

North Yorkshire Moors National Park, 1993 *Goathland Visitor Survey* (NYMNP, Helmsley);

Goathland Residents, 1994 *The Impact of Filming on the Residents of Goathland of Tourism Impacts in Goathland* (unpublished)

Breakall B, 1994 *Goathland Car Parking* (unpublished)

Breakall B, 1996 *Heartbeat: media headlines and National Park action regarding the impact of TV-generated tourism in Goathland* (unpublished)

Yorkshire Tourist Board and North York Moors National Park Authority (1997) *The Impact of Filming on the Residents of Goathland* (YTB, York).

[11] Yorkshire Tourist Board and North York Moors National Park Authority, 1997 *The Impact of Filming on the Residents of Goathland* (YTB, York).

[12] There is no charge for car parking in Goathland, either in the official car park or otherwise.

[13] According to the Yorkshire Tourist Board and North York Moors National Park Authority (1997) *The Impact of Filming on the Residents of Goathland* (YTB, York), 10% of Goathland residents have lived there for 0 to 3 years, 7% for 4 to 5 years, 19% for 6 to 10 years, 24% for 11 to 20 years, and 40% for 21 years and over.

[14] YTV pay residents when filming their properties, as they do when residents are used as extras.

[15] See Yorkshire Tourist Board and North York Moors National Park Authority (1997) *The Impact of Filming on the Residents of Goathland* (YTB, York).

[16] Middle-aged laboratory technician from Hull, visiting Goathland for the day with his wife.

[17] This woman is not the wife of the farmer who tried to make a temporary car park in Goathland.

[18] The focus groups were not organised around this as a criterion. Thus the fact that none of the respondents were employed in the tourism industry was largely coincidental.

[19] The classification of tourism-related employment used by NOMIS is as follows:

- Hotels and motels, with restaurant
- Hotels and motels, without restaurant
- Youth hostels and mountain refuges
- Camping sites, including caravan sites
- Other provision of lodging
- Restaurants
- Bars
- Activities of travel agencies etc.
- Library and archives activities
- Museum activities etc.
- Botanical and zoological gardens etc.
- Operation of sports arenas and stadiums
- Other sporting activities
- Other recreational activities

Source: Census of Employment (NOMIS), 1998.

[20] It is noteworthy that the sentiments expressed here are exactly the same as those of the Goathland residents regarding day-trippers and the desire for tourism management solutions.

[21] For example, in 1990 Jorvik received 863,024, by 1992 this had shrunk to 785,028 (Yorkshire and Humberside Tourist Board 1991, 1993), and by 1993-4 it was again down to 691,514 (YHTB 1996). As already stated, in 1995 the expected figure was a little over 600,000

[22] The fact that the Strategy Group was formed specifically to review the Touche Ross report, with some independence from the council, is indicative of the council's growing predisposition towards closer alliance with the city's private sector at the time the report was commissioned.

[23] This is the entrance charge to Jorvik at the time of the research in the summer of 1996.

[24] This respondent was interviewed in Goathland. However, at the time of the interview she and her husband were staying in York for a few days, and came to Goathland for a day-trip from there. She had, therefore, visited Jorvik within two days of the interview.

[25] The exact ratio of repeat visits was not disclosed by the YAT as they preferred to keep that information confidential. However, it was clear that repeat visits are important to the Jorvik Viking Centre.

[26] The Shambles is York's most famous Medieval street and was once populated with butcher's shops. Now these premises have been overtaken by tourist souvenir shops. The main reason for the appeal of the Shambles is the peculiar twist and narrowness of the street (10 feet) and its tall timbered buildings which lean over and nearly meet. Many of the shops have Georgian style fronts which give them a rather nostalgic and romantic air.

[27] According to the director of attractions at the YAT, enthusiasts, that is clubs and individuals from around the world, notably Scandinavia, take part in the battle. Various representatives of Scandinavian towns also donate hand built Viking long boats to the festival.

[28] The East, West and North Ridings of Yorkshire were replaced in 1974 by two new metropolitan county councils (West and South Yorkshire), the county of North Yorkshire, Humberside and numerous district councils as a result of the 1972 Local Government Act which gave rise to a two-tiered restructuring of local government throughout the country - see Hall P, 1989 *Urban and Regional Planning* (London, Unwin Hyman); and Cullingworth JB, 1988 *Town and Country Planning in Britain* (London, Unwin Hyman).

[29] This does not apply to the Jorvik Viking Centre because the site was already earmarked for redevelopment when the original dig took place. Subsequently the Viking Centre was incorporated into the redevelopment scheme.

Appendix

Notes on the Research Methods, Research Process, Data Analysis and the Interviewees

The conceptual reasoning behind the research methodology was discussed in Chapter 1. Here I wish to outline the mainly practical aspects of choosing and implementing the research methods, demonstrate how the data was analysed and interpreted, and illustrate by way of brief biographical information who participated in the research. This allows some personal reflection on, and provides a more in-depth account of, the research process itself, as well as providing more of a contextual backdrop to the responses used in the main text of the thesis. From this the iterative, less than pristine, and evolving nature of the research process (which is an almost inevitable part of empirical social investigation) should also be made explicit.

To relate these aims clearly the Appendix is divided into three main sections: 1. The justification and implementation of the research methods; 2. The analysis and interpretation of the data; and 3. Background information on the interviewees and focus group members.

1. The justification and implementation of the research methods

In this section I present a discussion of each group of interviews - that is, tourist interviews, key informant interviews and focus groups with residents - which conforms to the chronological order in which they took place in both case studies.

Tourist/visitor interviews

With the exception of one individual interview in Goathland and two individual interviews in York, all the tourist interviews were carried out with collectives of between two to five people at a time (see section 3). The interviewees were chosen in a random, ad hoc nature (see below for more detail), which was advantageous in that visitors were interviewed during the act of consumption or, to put it another way,

within the actual context(s) of their own tourist performances (see Hughes, 1986; Bagnall, 1996 on avoiding decontextualisation in qualitative research). Initially, however, it was intended that all the interviews with visitors and residents would be focus group based. This, it was reasoned, would not only impart a richer intersubjective dynamic on to the investigation of the issues with visitors and residents than would individual interviews, but they would also maintain a certain parity between methods used with these different groups. However, it soon became evident in the first case study (the Goathland case) that the practical difficulties of trying to organise highly mobile visitors was going to be the decisive factor in this, one which ultimately called for the rejection of using focus groups to glean information from visitors in both case studies. The problems that arose are detailed below.

Firstly, there was not an indoor space in Goathland that I could use at reasonable expense to provide a group interview room. The only possibility was to hire the village hall. However, this would have been very costly on a PhD studentship budget, especially considering that refreshments would also have to be provided for interviewees as both a courtesy and as an incentive to participate. Furthermore, due to the fact that the village hall is set a little way out of the centre of the village, it would have been somewhat difficult to persuade visitors to participate. The formalisation of such an approach also added to the likelihood of failure. The alternative of trying to gather people together at a strategic outdoor area of the village for focus group interviews was also considered, but rejected. It could have been embarrassing to the visitors and to myself because it would have meant trying to 'herd' people together as they passed by - which might easily have amounted to invading their private and personal times and spaces. This approach would also have been dependent on good weather conditions.

In an attempt to overcome all these obstacles, I approached coach tour companies to gain permission to participate in a 'Heartbeat Country day trip' and conduct group interviews with visitors at an appropriate juncture of the trip (possibly at lunch or at the end of the day). While the companies were relatively sympathetic toward the research, they were concerned that it might encroach upon their activity and detract from their clients' freedom to enjoy their day. Alternatively, in search of a

seemingly less intrusive but effective method, I also considered purchasing disposable cameras so that people attending this type of trip could keep a photographic diary of their day. They would then be asked to participate in a focus group session at a later date in the town/city where the trip had originated (for example, Durham) in which they could use the photographic diaries to recall their impression of their trip to Goathland. However, this idea was rejected because it would have been very expensive to purchase the cameras, have films developed, hire a hall and provide refreshments etc. Furthermore, participants might have reasonably expected payment to go to such efforts - which would have been way beyond the means of the research budget. In addition, even assuming that I could have persuaded people to agree to participate in focus groups held at a date after their visit, without material incentives I would have perhaps been too dependent on the personal reliability of participants for the research to work.

Moreover, because tourists would be seeking pleasure from their visit, it was important that they should not feel coerced or intimidated by any efforts to persuade them to take part in the research. This would not only create a poor atmosphere for the interviews but would greatly increase the likelihood of being refused them in the first instance. Given these and the other difficulties mentioned, I began searching for simpler approaches to tourists that would appear relaxed and informal yet effective for the aims and objectives of the research. Reluctantly, then, focus groups with tourists were ruled out in favour of a more scaled down interview approach.

During the early observations of tourist activity in Goathland it became obvious that on hot days around lunch time visitors would tend to sit on the village green for picnics or simply to relax. This presented me with the ideal opportunity to approach people and ask them about their impressions of the village. Indeed, on the first unrecorded 'pilot' interviews the respondents were keen to talk about their day to me. If the weather was at all inclement, however, gaining interviews with people was virtually impossible as they were much less likely to remain stationary outdoors for any period of time. Hence, all the interviews with visitors were selected and conducted at random on warm days in and around the village green or common - which, because of the unpredictability of the weather, also meant that I had to be as flexible as possible regarding my own availability to conduct the field research.

It is also worth pointing out that, to an extent, the fact that almost all the interviews were held with two or more people somewhat compensated for the lack of intersubjectivity that would have occurred in interviews conducted with one person at a time. In this, the compromise of using this type of flexible method of approaching visitors and gaining unstructured interviews with them, as opposed to pre-arranging highly organised focus groups, did not present a disabling problem for the research methodology. Indeed, as alluded to earlier, because tourists were approached informally, in which their consumption performances were not unduly interrupted, contextual realism was added to the research.

The problems of conducting focus group interviews with tourists in York (that is, regarding expense, organisation and so on) were also very much the same as in Goathland. Therefore, as well as being a unique case in its own right, the Goathland case study provided a research methods 'template' for the York study. The lessons learned in Goathland allowed me to settle on research methods that could also be applied to the York study - which, importantly, also afforded parity between the research methods in both cases. Thus, for similar practical and methodological reasons, and because of similar constraints, tourists were interviewed on exactly the same basis in York as in Goathland. That is, on warm days visitors would tend to picnic, rest and relax in certain areas within the historic core (for example, on the green outside the Castle Museum) and were quite approachable because of this. However, because visitors to York tended to want to do and see a greater variety of things in their allotted time than their Goathland counterparts, (largely because of the greater availability of different attractions), they tended to have tighter schedules than the Goathland visitors. Consequently, interviews with visitors were generally harder to gain in York.

The tourist interviews in both cases lasted between fifteen to thirty five minutes, with the majority lasting around twenty five minutes. This enabled me to gain a good coverage of the issues in all the interviews without labouring the points of discussion. It also meant that the interviews did not take up obtrusive amounts of respondents' time. Furthermore, to ensure that the issues were equally addressed across all the interviews, each one was underpinned by a prepared agenda of discussion topics. The early interview agendas were based on the issues I had

identified as being most important and relevant in both the literature and the pilot discussions I had had with residents and tourists. The respondents were also encouraged to raise issues themselves, and from this future discussion agendas were either amended or added to in a rather protean process of opinion and issue investigation. The agendas were kept hidden during the interviews, however, in order to allow the conversations to flow, and if the relevant issues had not already been broached by the respondents, they were introduced by me at appropriate times.

Finally, the tourist interviewing process itself was ended when a significant degree of repetition became evident in the way interviewees opined on both the issues I had raised and on the ones they had brought into the discussions themselves (see page 20 of the thesis on when to end a series of qualitative interviews).

Key informant interviews

The key informant interviews were the most straightforward to arrange. Their selection was based on identifying people who were either pivotal members of both communities, in that they could be regarded as 'bellwethers' of certain interests and opinions within the community (for example, the vicar and the post officer in Goathland who occupy unique social vantage points there), or had a role to play within the local tourism development decision making processes. All these interviews lasted about one hour and were quite intense, one to one situations. I also tried to gain a mix between private and public interests in the candidates chosen. In hindsight, however, I could have added to the private sector informants in York, by interviewing investors/industrialists there, in order to ascertain first hand how important were local tourism-related aesthetics in persuading them to locate their commercial activities in York. That said, although interesting and relevant, such an addition would have been ancillary to the thesis, but it would provide a useful focus for supplementary research.

On the whole, all the key informant interviews went ahead without difficulty and proved to be very valuable indeed. And again, prior to each interview, a flexible agenda was designed by me in order to help keep the interview on track - if needed. Each key informant agenda was the same in that they all equally covered the main issues that arose out of the tourist interviews, but each one was individually tailored by having further categories and topics of discussion added that were specifically

relevant to the person being interviewed. The agenda was also kept hidden in each of these interviews to allow the conversations to flow and to facilitate an atmosphere in which each respondent felt able to pursue issues they thought important in any order they wished. In this way, as with the other interviews described in this research, the agendas mostly provided a check for myself in order to ensure that all the main issues that I had identified had been addressed as fairly as possible across all the interviews.

Focus groups with residents

As discussed in Chapter one, focus group interviews with residents in the two cases were feasible both for practical and academic reasons. They were practical because they were held locally at a mutually agreed time and were thus convenient for the respondents in that they would not have to upset their usual routines too much to participate, and, academically, the group dynamics would allow a highly interactive and in-depth exchange of opinions and views on the issues, which were brought into the discussion either by myself or by the respondents themselves. In this way focus groups are ideal for attaining both depth and coverage in investigative research (see Cook and Crang, 1995).

It was significant that these interviews/discussions were conducted after the tourist and key informant interviews had been completed in each case study. On this basis I could be fully versed in tourists' and key informant perspectives on tourism issues in each place, as well as be familiar with each place myself, by the time I engaged with residents' knowledge(s), opinions and experiences of local tourism development issues. From this information I devised an agenda or discussion topic framework for each focus group session. As with the tourist and key informant interviews, the agendas were kept hidden in order to allow the conversations to flow, and I introduced the salient topics and issues at the appropriate times..

There was also equivalence in the way the focus groups in both Goathland and York were arranged: that is, in each case two separate sessions were held with two different groups of residents. However, there was a better turn out of individuals in York than there was in Goathland (a total of twelve people were interviewed in focus groups in York whereas in Goathland there were only nine). It is usually recommended that between six and twelve people form a single focus group (Cook

and Crang, 1995) and that a single session should last between one and a half to two hours (Bellenger et al, 1979). Nonetheless, while all sessions in Goathland and York lasted around one and a half hours and three sessions were made up of the minimum recommended six participants, the remaining one session, in Goathland, was made up of only three people. This reflected the difficulty in organising focus group sessions and the dependence of the researcher, without the budget to offer incentives, on the goodwill of potential members to turn up. Even though all the focus group sessions were organised with pre-existing groups (see below) in order to increase the chances of recruitment success (see Cook and Crang, 1995), the one focus group session organised with Goathland parish councillors failed to meet the minimum of participants because less people turned up on the day than had promised to attend. This was particularly disappointing given that that the chair of the parish council insisted that all focus group sessions be organised through her, and that the hiring of the village hall where they took place also be done officially through her. Generally, her help was a pre-requisite due to her ability to coordinate people locally. It was, nevertheless, made clear to me at the time that, because of the difficulty in organising and recruiting participants, I would be given this one only chance to interview Goathland residents in a focus group context. However, both sessions were generally successful, and even the poorly attended session worked well because all three participants were very forthcoming with their opinions and were keen to explore as many tourism issues as possible.

The least successful residents' focus group, in terms of content and quality of information, was the one organised with the York Pensioners' Association. Although Bellenger (1979), Greenbaum (1988), Cook and Crang (1995) advocate the kind of homogenous social group selection described here, the group dynamic can break down or stutter for a number of reasons which might be related to individual differences (ibid.) - for example, age, gender, ethnicity, personality and so on. However, the very homogeneity of the York Pensioners' Association Group, in terms of the age of the members and their long term residency in York, meant that they had a tendency to discuss issues in a way that invoked shared reminiscences and experiences among them, which made it sometimes difficult to keep the session on track. Furthermore, the tape recorder had to be stopped twice because of interruptions

through members spontaneously entering and leaving the room, again this had an impact upon the coherence of the discussion.

As with the focus group session with the York Oral History Project, the York Pensioners' Association session took place in York City's Guildhall prior to one of their monthly meetings. Organising these groups in this way - that is, of using a pre-existing schedule and venue as well as a group - greatly reduced the chances of recruitment failure, not to mention the reduction of costs (all organisational lessons learned from the Goathland case study). Thus, practical considerations dictated the selection of the focus groups; if target sampling of resident populations was to be the priority it is highly likely that given the practical difficulties in organising focus groups it might have been necessary to abandon them in favour of individual interviews. This applies to both cases equally.

These considerations raise the most central problem that I found with conducting focus group interviews with residents, that is they can limit the types of respondents that can participate in them. In particular, unless some sort of sampling is amenable to the focus group researcher, focus groups can privilege apparently middle-class groups who tend to organise themselves around specific issues and interests. It was discussed in Chapter 2 of the thesis that middle-class rural residents often organise themselves into groups around issues concerning village amenities, preservation and so forth (cf. Bunce, 1994), and the apparent social make-up of the focus group participants in Goathland case seemed to endorse this. Likewise, judging from the groups that I tried to organise focus group sessions with in York, it seems reasonable to suggest that middle-class people in heritage towns and cities are also more likely than others to organise themselves in similar fashion, and for similar reasons. Thus, the practical difficulties of arranging focus group interviews, which led me to use pre-existing groups of people, meant that less organised (which, by implication, means less privileged) groups of residents were almost automatically excluded from the research process. The only way to redress this would be to go back to each case study and actively target, search and sample residents from less privileged members of the local population. This, however, would involve considerably more time and money than was available in the PhD research. It must be stressed that this is not to suggest that the focus group sessions conducted were

somehow failures or were meaningless - they were both useful and valuable - but it is saying that deliberately seeking out less well represented or lower profile members of both communities would have added further depth as well as range to the study. This might provide a fruitful agenda for supplementary research.

2. The analysis and interpretation of the data

As discussed in Chapter 1, the interviews were tape-recorded and later transcribed. From here the transcripts were imported into *HyperResearch*, a software package especially designed for qualitative data analysis and management, in which the contents of the interviews were coded. Coding involves the selection of interview extracts which relate to a particular topic, issue or theme that can be given a name or code. One section of text can, of course, be classified under different codes depending on how it simultaneously interrelates with, or refers to, other topics, issues or themes that warrant their own separate codes. This helps in recalling and analysing the text within the context(s) the speaker has situated his or her comments. Once selected, the extract is memorised by the software package under the code heading. Subsequently, various codes can be electronically selected against particular interviews, a group of interviews, or all the interviews, and the software can produce correlated 'reports'[i] based on these codes from which the corresponding comments can be readily analysed, related, compared and contrasted. Indeed, numerous reports were produced, examined and cross-referenced in order to ensure the integrity and rigour of the data handling and analysis.

The most crucial and difficult part of the coding process was devising a standardised coding system that was refined enough to respect the individual detail of what people had said, but which could be applied with impartiality to all the interviews in each case. I estimated that for each case study the standardisation and refining of the codes took about five weeks, or two hundred hours of work after the transcription process was completed. Once a satisfactory coding system was constructed it became possible to both assess the frequency a particular subject/issue was discussed in the interviews and, arguably more importantly, perform an intensive analysis of the lengths and depths at which the various respondents discussed particular issues from similar or differing perspectives. To achieve a satisfactory level

of rigour in this, without inducing a coldly objectivist account of what was said, a thorough rereading of the transcripts was required which served as a reminder of the contexts from which particular comments were made; and, as a further check, at salient times the tape recordings were played back to recapture the intersubjective richness and nuances of the conversations (Portelli, 1981; Hunt, 1989; Cook and Crang, 1995). Furthermore, continuous trial and error was called for in the selection of the appropriate interview extracts to be coded under appropriate headings in a rather iterative, refining and open ended process - Cook and Crang (1995), after Strauss (1987), refer to this as 'open coding'.

Once the coding process was satisfactorily completed, particular extracts from conversations were chosen and used in the thesis for quotation, which either exemplified or in another way competently illustrated specific opinions or specific bodies of opinion. In this way the quotations are used not only to illustrate and even highlight specific responses but also, at times, they serve as depictions of response types to particular issues. It must be noted, however, that the extracts were not selected on the basis of representativeness or on being the last word on a body of opinion, they were chosen because they allow a relatively clear, and evidenced, insight into certain modes of thought as expressed by respondents. On some occasions though, where it was felt to be apt, it is pointed out in the thesis that a particular extract expresses a 'typical' opinion among a population of interviewees. For example, on page 100 the thesis describes the quotation at the top of the page as being 'typical of all the [Goathland residents] focus group respondents' in that it takes a 'side swipe at the coach companies'. Thus, where it is felt that a particular quotation seems to express a widely felt opinion amongst a group of respondents, it is explicitly stated in the text.[ii]

Although handling the data electronically did allow for relatively speedy comparison and analysis of the comments and opinions of different respondents on the main issues, the preparation involved in getting to this stage was extremely time consuming, taking, at the very least, as long as the data collection itself (see Cook and Crang, 1995). Finally, it was estimated that well over 200,000 words of interviews were transcribed, coded and analysed before writing up could begin.

3. Background information on interviewees and focus group members

The following list is by no means an attempt to categorise resolutely the respondents in terms of their socio-economic profiles, rather it is provided as a background aid for the reader to contextualise easily the respondents (and their comments) in the research process and within the thesis itself. Having said this, perhaps it is prudent at this point to reiterate that although the analysis of responses in the main text of the thesis centres on the *values* they reveal (see page 17), which are often discussed in relation to certain class cultures, such an analysis does not necessarily fix the various respondents' socio-economic positions. Rather, in socio-cultural terms it locates the kind of values which the respondents are espousing at the time, and specifically it relates these values to the social theories discussed in the thesis. On this particular note, a useful agenda for further research, as suggested on page 133, might be to add a more systematic appraisal or categorisation of the socio-economic status of respondents in this type of study to supplement the findings with a more materially grounded analysis. However, this would be no easy task given the complexities and various arguments regarding the definitive identification and ordering of particular class groups (see Giddens, 1973; Walker, 1985; Thrift and Williams, 1987; Pratt, 1996).

Moreover, as explained in the introduction to the thesis, the information on each respondent can vary due to the discursive and open ended nature of the interviews. That said, the information provided here is itemised in a way that allows a certain consistency and equity in terms of its range and depth across all the interviews.

The Goathland case study respondents
Category a) Visitors to Goathland:

1. Male and female couple from Leeming in North Yorkshire
   Occupation(s)*:* Man in RAF based at Leeming; woman's occupation unknown
   Estimated age(s): Both in their late twenties
   Length of visit: Visiting Goathland for the day
   Repeat visitor(s): She was a repeat visitor. He was a first time visitor
   Heartbeat viewers?: Occasional Heartbeat watchers
   Holiday status: Were touring in the area by car
   Transport: Arrived in Goathland by car

2. Husband and wife from the Borders of Scotland with teenage son
Occupation(s): Unknown
Estimated age(s): Both in their fifties
Length of visit: Visiting for the day from Scarborough where they were holidaying
Repeat visitor(s): Had been once twenty years ago
Holiday status: Staying in Scarborough for one week. On a coach trip and touring North Yorkshire on day-trips
Transport: Came to Goathland by coach

3. Husband and wife from Sunderland
Occupation(s): Both retired
Length of visit: Visiting for the day
Repeat visitor(*s):* Visit Goathland around six times per year, winter and summer
Transport: Arrived in Goathland by car
Other: Came because of Heartbeat

4. Husband and wife from Stockton on Tees
Occupation(s): Both retired (the man was a delivery driver)
Length of visit: Visiting for the day
Repeat visitor(s): Yes (see below)
Heartbeat viewers?: Avid Heartbeat viewers
Transport: Came to Goathland by car
Other: Came because of Heartbeat and wanted to see how Goathland had changed in the twelve years since they were last there

5. Husband and wife from Scotland
*Occupation(s):*Both retired
Length of visit: Visiting for the day as part of their trip
Holiday status: On a week-long coaching holiday in North Yorkshire (staying in a hotel in Scarborough as a base)
Repeat visitor(s): No
Heartbeat viewers?: Avid Heartbeat viewers
Transport: Came to Goathland by coach
Other: Had never heard of Goathland before, neither did they know that Heartbeat was filmed in the area until they came

6. Two young women from Hull
Occupation(s): 'A' level students
*Estimated age(s):*Both eighteen years old
Length of visit: In Goathland for the day but were staying in a youth hostel in the area for three days
Repeat visitors: Knew Goathland from previous visits and recognised it when watching Heartbeat on the television
Heartbeat viewers?: One was a regular Heartbeat viewer, the other was not
Transport: Came to Goathland by mini-bus - travelling with a group
Other: On a Duke of Edinburgh award trip

7. Female Duke of Edinburgh Award leader from York
Estimated age(s): Aged about twenty five
Length of visit: Visiting Goathland for the day but staying three days in a youth hostel in the area
Repeat visitor(s): Knew Goathland well
Transport: Came to Goathland by mini-bus - travelling with a group (see below)
Other: Organising a Duke of Edinburgh Award group

8. Husband and wife from Pontefract
Occupation(s): The man was a factory worker and the woman a housewife
Estimated age(s): Both in their fifties
Length of Visit: Visiting for the day
Repeat visitors: Repeat/regular visitors (first came 20 years ago)
Transport: Came to Goathland by car
Other: Walked to Malam Spout and into the countryside. Came because of 'the place and the walks', and said they were regular countryside walkers

9. Young male/female couple from Leeds
Occupation(s): Both students
Estimated age(s): Both early twenties
Length of visit: Visiting for the day
Repeat visitors: No
Holiday status: Holidaying in the area (Whitby and Robin Hoods Bay) for a few days
Heartbeat viewers?: Both said they watched Heartbeat quite often
Transport: Came to Goathland by car
Other: Walked to Malam Spout and Beck Hole using a National Park leaflet. Came to Goathland because they heard it was where Heartbeat was filmed

10. Five women from Stockton on Tees
Occupation(s): Four women retired and one aged about forty
Length of visit: Visiting for the day
Repeat visitors: No
Heartbeat viewers: Yes
Transport: Came by bus in a group of fifty to Gromont and then by train to Goathland
Other: On a walking trip (did a six mile walk on a loop around Goathland). Trip was organised by their local church which organises a country walk each month

11. Husband and wife from Hull with teenage son
*Occupation(s):*The man was a research administrator at Hull University. The woman's occupation is unknown
Estimated age(s): Both in their late forties
Length of visit: Visiting for the day
Repeat visitors: Repeat visitors on quite a regular basis

Heartbeat viewers?: Heartbeat not a factor in their decision to come to Goathland, but said they do watch it sometimes
Transport: Came to Goathland by car
Other: Stayed in centre of village on this occasion but were regular walkers. Came to Goathland 'for the countryside'

12. Woman, her mother and two daughters from Norwich and Darlington
Occupation(s): Woman, a civil servant. Mother, a retired home help
Estimated age(s): Woman, in her early forties. Mother, retirement age. Children, aged seven and eleven
Length of visit: Visiting for the day
Holiday status: Woman and two daughters from Norwich but were visiting mother/grandmother in Darlington
Heartbeat viewers?: Both adults had seen Heartbeat 'once or twice'
Transport: Came to Goathland by car
Other: Came for the general countryside and because had heard that Goathland was the main filming location for Heartbeat

13. Young male/female couple from Leeds
Occupation(s): Both students
*Estimated age(s):*Both aged nineteen
Length of visit: Visiting for the day
Holiday status: Stayed near Pickering in a campsite for four days
Heartbeat viewers?: Both watch Heartbeat occasionally
Transport: Came to Goathland by car

14. Husband and wife from Northampton
*Occupation(s):*The man was a manager of an oil depot. Woman's occupation unknown
Estimated age(s): In their forties
Length of visit: Visiting for the day
Heartbeat viewers?: Heartbeat viewers on a regular basis
Holiday status: Holidaying (touring by car) in the area for a week
Transport: Came to Goathland by train three days previously, liked the area so came back by push-bike (which they hired from Castleton, near Danby, about eight miles away)

15. Family of four from Ashington, Northumberland: grandfather, grandmother, mother and daughter
Occupation(s): Both mother and daughter, office workers. Grandfather and grandmother, both retired.
Estimated age(s): Grandmother and grandfather, of retirement age. Mother, mid forties. Daughter, about twenty
Length of visit: Visiting for the day
Repeat visitors: Was the first time in Goathland for all of them
Heartbeat viewers?: All regular Heartbeat viewers
Other: Part of a disabled group pre-booked tour, because of grandfather who is/was in a wheel chair. Thus, came to Goathland only because the tour was

going there. The tour was of the area (Helmsley, Whitby) and Goathland was one of the stop-offs. It was advertised as a Heartbeat Country tour. The trip was full with thirty four passengers.

16. Husband and wife and mother from Teesside
Occupation(s): Husband, unemployed factory worker. Wife, shop worker. Mother, retired
Estimated age(s): Husband and wife both in their forties. Mother, of retirement age
Length of visit: Visiting for the day
Heartbeat viewers?: Avid Heartbeat viewers and came because of Heartbeat
Transport: Came to Goathland by car

17. Group of four from Sunderland (two husband and wife couples)
Occupation(s): All retired
Length of visit: Visiting for the day
Repeat visitors: Had been to Goathland on several occasions
Heartbeat viewers?: One couple watched Heartbeat the other did not
Transport: Drove from Sunderland to Middlesborough, caught the train to Gromont. Walked from Grosmont to Goathland and back to Grosmont.
Other: Members of the Rotary Club. Were regular walkers, and walk somewhere in the countryside once a month

18. Husband and wife from Pasadena, California
Occupation(s): Both retired. Woman was a teacher and the man's previous occupation is unknown
Length of visit: Visiting for the day
Holiday status: On an exchange visit (swapped houses with a couple in Looe in Cornwall). Holidaying in the UK for one month. Were staying in York at the time of interview and came to Goathland on a day-trip
Transport: Drove by car to Pickering then came on the train. Walked from Gromont to Goathland
Heartbeat viewers?: No
Other: Steam train and the walks were the main attraction. Also talked about their stay in York quite a lot

Category b) Goathland resident focus group members
Focus group 1) Members of the Goathland Residents' Association

1. Female hotelier (small hotel with about ten rooms) in her thirties. Lived in Goathland for six years
2. Retired woman, lived in Goathland for twenty three years
3. Retired woman. She and her husband (not at the interview) lived in Goathland for nine years.
4. Retired woman, lived in Beck Hole for thirty years
5. Retired man, lived in Beck Hole for thirty years (married to the woman above).

6. Woman shop worker. Lived in the village for seven and a half years. In her fifties.

Focus group 2) Goathland Parish Councillors

1. Woman shop keeper and Chair of the Parish Council. Lived in village for nine years
2. Male lecturer in electronics at a college in York. Aged about fifty. Lived in Goathland about ten years.
3. Housewife (married to a local farmer - not the key informant farmer in this research), lived in Goathland for twenty one years.

Category c) Goathland key informants

1. Vicar of Goathland. Lived in the village as vicar for seven and a half years, previously vicar at Robin Hoods Bay. Has an MSc in Heritage Management and is on the Church of England advisory committee for the care of churches. Aged in his fifties.
2. Post Officer. Lived in Goathland for two years. Was in the RAF for twenty five years before coming to Goathland. Aged in his fifties.
3. Owner of the Goathland Exhibition Centre which opened in August 1995. Aged about thirty. He had inherited a local farm but rents most of it out. Moved from Oxford with his wife about three and half years prior to interview date.
4. North Yorkshire Moors National Park Tourism Officer. Late forties (interviewed twice).
5. Location manager and first assistant director of Heartbeat. Used to work on the Emmerdale television series. Had been working on Heartbeat for five years.

The York case study respondents
Category a) Visitors to York

1. Husband and wife from Waltham Abbey, Essex with a twelve year old son
   Occupation(s): The woman had an administrative job at a 'leisure park' near their home. He is/was a factory worker.
   Estimated age(s): Both adults in their forties
   Length of visit: Visiting for the day
   Holiday status: Were staying near Bridlington for a week
   Repeat visitors: Had never been to York before
   Transport: Arrived in York by car
   Other: Came because they were in the area and thought York was a 'must see' place, and because they were particularly keen to visit Jorvik

2. Family of four (husband, wife, daughter and son) from Norway
   Occupation(s): Occupations unknown
   Estimated age(s): Parents in their late forties and two teenage children

Length of visit: In York for one day and one night - staying in a B&B guest house
Holiday status: In Britain for three weeks. One week in the Orkney Islands, one touring the Scottish mainland, and one week touring England.
Repeat visitors: The woman had been to York once before, the previous year, and wanted to return
Transport: Touring by car

3. Male and female couple from Scotland
*Occupation(s):*Both were architectural technicians
Estimated age(s): Both aged in their late twenties
Length of visit: In York for three days as part of a ten day car tour of England
Repeat visitors: No
Transport: Arrived in York by car

4. Husband and wife and their daughter (in her thirties) from Stockton on Tees
Occupation(s): Husband and wife retired. Daughter's occupation, unknown
Length of visit: Visiting for the day
Repeat visitors: The retired couple were regular visitors to York (four to six times per year, winter and summer)
Transport: Arrived in York by car
Other: Did not come for shopping or the museums but to walk, sightsee and picnic

5. Male and female couple from Ismir in Turkey
Occupation(s): The woman was a psychiatrist and the man an engineer
Estimated age(s): Both in their early thirties
Length of visit: Visiting for the day
Holiday status: In Britain for ten days and touring by train
Repeat visitors: The woman had been to York before (twelve years ago) and had family in Stockton on Tees

6. Family of four (husband, wife, daughter and son) from Grimsby
Occupation(s): The man ran his own garden centre business and wife said that she helps him. Daughter and son were students
Estimated age(s): Both parents were in their late forties with a nineteen year old daughter and a nineteen year old son
Length of visit: Visiting for the day
Repeat visitors: Parents had been before, about twenty years previously
Transport: Arrived in York by car

7. Husband and wife from Middlesbrough with son aged twenty two
Occupation(s): Both husband and wife were retired. Occupation of son unknown. Previous occupation of man unknown. Woman 'helped out' with supervising children in a local school
Length of visit: Visiting for the day
Repeat visitors: The couple said they visit York once or twice every year
Transport: Arrived in York by car

Other: Came to sightsee and picnic, not to visit the museums

8. Mother and daughter from Oxford and Leeds respectively
*Occupation(s):*Daughter had recently moved to Leeds and taught at a primary school there. Mother's occupation unknown
Length of visit: Visiting for the day
Repeat visitors: Mother had been to York once 'a long time ago'
Holiday status: Mother was staying with her daughter in Leeds for several days. They were also seeing other parts of the area such as Whitby and Halifax on other days.
Other: Came for the museums and to walk, browse and sightsee

9. Husband and wife from Pontefract with grandchild (about four years old)
Occupation(s): Both husband and wife were retired
Length of visit: Visiting for the day
Repeat visitors: Were regular visitors to York over more than twenty years
Transport: Came to York by train
Other: Came to sightsee, shop, visit the Castle Museum and picnic

10. Mother and daughter from Scotland and London respectively
*Occupation(s):*Daughter, a civil servant. Mother, retired
Estimated age(s): Daughter, about thirty five. Mother, of retirement age
Length of visit: Were staying for three nights in a small hotel
Repeat visitors: First time in York for mother but daughter had been once about fifteen years previously.
Transport: Both arrived by train
Other: Daughter was in York on business and met up with her mother there 'for a short break'. Both very keen museum visitors

11. Husband and wife from Middlesex
Occupation(s): Unknown
Estimated age(s): Both in their fifties
Length of visit: Were staying in York for four days in a small hotel
Transport: Arrived by train
Other: Came for museums, attractions, sightseeing and 'places of interest'

12. Family of four (husband, wife, daughter and son) from Derbyshire
Occupation(s): Occupations unknown
Estimated age(s): Parents in their forties with daughter and son (both about sixteen years old)
Length of visit: Were touring the area by car and were in York for the day only
Transport: Arrived in York by car
Other: Came to sightsee and visit some of the attractions

13. Woman from Germany
Occupation(s): A nanny for an English family living near Newcastle upon Tyne
*Estimated age(s):*About thirty

Length of visit: Visiting for the day
Repeat visitor: No
Transport: Arrived in York by car
Other: Came 'out of curiosity' as part of getting to know the north eastern area of England

14. Man from Manchester
*Occupation(s):*Student
*Estimated age(s):*In his mid twenties.
Length of visit: Visiting for the day
Repeat visitors: Former resident and visited the university as a prospective student
Transport: Arrived in York by train

Category b) York focus group members
Focus group 1) York Oral History Project members

1. Twenty eight year old man. Insurance administrator. Lived in York all his life
2. Twenty six year old woman. Research student. Lived in York all her life.
3. Man in his fifties. City Archivist. Lived in York for sixteen years
4. Man in his fifties. Worked part time for the York Health Trust. Apart from five years, lived in York all his life.
5. Woman in her mid sixties. Housewife. Lived in York all her life.
6. Woman aged about thirty. Arts administrator. Lived in York most of her life.

Focus group 2) York Pensioners' Association

1. Retired woman. Lived in York all her life
2. Retired woman. Lived in York for sixteen years
3. Retired man. Lived in York for twenty five years
4. Retired woman. Lived in York all her life.
5. Retired man. lived in York for sixty years
6. Retired woman. Lived in York for ten years

Category c) Independently interviewed resident in York

Unemployed ex York University student (male in his early twenties)

Category D) York key informants

1. Chair of Leisure Services for York City Council (in his forties)
2. Economic Development Officer for York City Council (in his forties)
3. Marketing Executive for the York Tourism Bureau (in her thirties)
4. Attractions Director for the York Archaeological Trust (in his forties)
5. Owner of an art gallery in Stonegate (retirement age man)
6. Woman resident who was about to move to Manchester for a job in community development (in her thirties)

[i] The word report is used in the HyperResearch software instructions to describe the coded correlations of text that it produces, which can be printed out in 'hard' copy.

[ii] By way of reference, below is a set of indicators demonstrating the level of coverage the quotations in the thesis represent:

- 65% of all tourist interviews were quoted directly in the thesis
- All key informants were quoted directly except, as stated on page 117 of the thesis, the location manager for YTV
- 58% of all residents interviewed were quoted directly in the thesis (including the individually interviewed resident in York not classified as a key informant)

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