

Branding Barbarians.

**A Study into The Use of Renewable Heritage
Tourism Destinations as Platforms for
Decolonial Options.**

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Abstract

Branding Barbarians is a research project that uses decolonial theory and indigenous method to examine Archaeological Open-Air Museums (AOAMs). This thesis uses three cases in the United Kingdom and one in Sweden, each depicting either Vikings or Saxons, to test the potentials of AOAMs as renewable, resilient heritage sites which can foster decolonial options to European pasts and presents among visitors.

Using visitor interviews and sentiment analysis, and autoethnographic work, I examine how the cases re-present the past and can change visitor perceptions of Vikings or Saxons. I also analyse economic factors surrounding these sites, and their capacity as resilient, renewable heritage resources. I apply a mixed-methods approach to economic analysis of the value of AOAMs by examining public records and data collected during visitor interviews.

This research does not determine ‘best practices’, as I argue that these are antithetical to fostering decolonial options. However, it has found several challenges and opportunities. Capacity to meet pressures to be self-sustaining is an issue that affects AOAMs, as in much of the museum sector, which may be exacerbated by organizational structure and affiliations. Networks, diverse sources of revenue/funding, and risk-preparedness (e.g. maintaining insurance policies) were positive for site resilience.

Visitors came to the Viking attractions with strongly formed notions of what a ‘Viking’ was, but sites were still able to influence changes in their perceptions. Visitors to Saxon sites held comparatively nebulous understandings of what a ‘Saxon’ was, descriptions of them often including keywords like *History* and *Englishness* rather than other attributes. Post-visit perceptions still involved this, but also resulted in additional positive traits such as *Intelligent*. Sites that thoughtfully used narrative to create learning proved the most successful in altering visitor perceptions, with the role of costumed interpreters being central to the navigation of more difficult heritages.

Keywords: decoloniality; decolonial heritage; resilience; sustainable heritage; heritage tourism; economic impact analysis; museums; living history; museum theatre

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Declaration

I, Paul Edward Montgomery, declare that this thesis is a presentation of original work and I am the sole author. This work has not previously been presented for an award at this, or any other, University. All sources are acknowledged as references in Works Cited.

CHAPTER ONE

Of Barbarians

“Hail Vinland!” the man was reported to have posted on social media before fatally stabbing two men on public transportation for daring to protect Muslim women from his racial abuse.

But this was far from the first such report, and it was far from the last. For many of my friends and acquaintances, these behaviours were shocking to their very foundations. It was unfathomable how racism could still be alive and well. More shocking to them was that their close friends and family suddenly turned out to hold views that were, though not as extreme as was seen on that metro, too similar for comfort.

For me, there was nothing to be surprised about.

There was nothing very new happening. The shock that others felt was largely because it was the first time they were made to witness the realities of white supremacy in the Western world. It’s an advantage of a lot of people in the middle to not see or feel the bubbling and stirring that goes on around them. For people in the margins, it’s a good day when we don’t feel it. But the days when I don’t seem like betrayal.

The day of that news, American expats I knew half-jokingly (or in earnest) voiced considering seeking asylum in the United Kingdom, or Canada, to flee from the ‘horrible things’ that were happening. The comments rang sour in my ears: the child of an actual refugee.

It felt like privilege -and the callousness that comes from it- and moral weakness blended together to make people from central positions believe that every problem they could see would be gone by crossing imaginary lines. And worse still, that those escapes passed on responsibility to act. I guess that is a difference of cultures.

A barbarian killed those men in Oregon. Yet the image of the ‘Barbarian’, the very figure of the destruction of society, has been seemingly banished in academia and among the public. We now characterize those once called ‘barbarians’ as brave, strong, and independent people. The inheritance of the barbarians exists alive and well in Western society, in those values. This also exists in darker places; in places where murdering people who are ‘other’ is acceptable to preserve society from non-Western ‘barbarians’.

We as archaeologists and heritage professionals contend with troubled inheritances. Barbarians howl and have been howling for a long time. But not those we talk about in the past; those from now. I wonder how much of themselves would ‘Barbarians’ see in the people who use their names, symbols, and images. And I wonder who will take responsibility to act, and how.

•••

The word ‘barbarian’ conjures an image to those who hear it. Uncivilized, savage, and fearsome. This is, of course, notwithstanding the fact that Greeks used the word to describe Persians and Egyptians. In China, the term commonly rendered into English as ‘barbarian’ -which included Europeans- is 夷 ‘Yi’ (Pines 2005). Among the Mēxihcah, and in what is currently Mexico, the term ‘Chichimeca’ denoted much the same. But the aim of this work is not to debate semantics. That would contribute little. I go into this work fully appreciating the charged and pointed understanding and usage of the word ‘barbarian’; it is a phenomenon that this work embraces, troubles and all. Indeed, recognizing that there *is* an image associated with it draws us to the point.

These barbarians come in all shapes and brandings. But in focus here are ‘barbarians’ from whom dominant societies of the West (NorthWest Europe, and their settler-states) have claimed inheritance from. The Early Medieval Period is a cultural focal point of many modern states in Europe (Geary 2003; Kontler 2004). Regardless of whether a Scandinavian academic and audience would consider the period to be ‘medieval’, or the academic overlap between the ‘Early Medieval’ period, and ‘Late Antiquity’ or the ‘Early Byzantine’ period, this work is not concerned with the semantics of strict chronologies. Indeed, linear time really is of very little fixation (and as little consequence) to my writing and perspective within this work. What is important is the ways in which the ‘past’ is a dynamic part of our current times; how it bleeds into, and acts within our worlds.

Drawing on the European ‘Barbarian’ as the thematic inspiration, more directly this work examines two such groups: the ‘Anglo-Saxon’ and the ‘Viking’ -more terminology that has been debated by academics for its utility. Again, the occupational-over-ethnic nature of ‘Vikings’ and adoption of that terminology to designate groups of disparate peoples is something long understood. Re-opening these discourses and justifying their use over -for instance- ‘Person of the Scandinavian Iron Age’ or ‘Germanic Language Speaker of Post-Roman Britain’, would quickly descend into pedantry.

The Anglo-Saxons and Vikings each come with their own ‘brand identity’ – evoking images and sentiments. These brands are explored in this work, with a focus on public perceptions drawn from visitor interviews.

The ‘Vikings’ and ‘Anglo-Saxons’ feature in contemporary Western society to varying extents, and not always innocently. While not the sole cultural group tapped into (see, for instance, regarding so-called ‘Celtic’ movements in Europe and abroad, Dietler 1994; Johnson 2002; Hague et al 2005), the Saxons and Vikings continue to be utilized as instruments of ethnic nationalism among people in Western States. ‘Vinland’ was invoked by the man who carried out those racially-inspired murders in Oregon (Brown 2017; Perry 2017). According to the *Grænlendinga Saga* and *Eiríks Saga Rauða* (trans Pálsson & Magnusson 1973), Vinland is the name Leif Erikson’s companions gave to the land they came across in a debated location in Eastern North America, though there is evidence of settlement in what is currently Newfoundland, Canada (Ingstad & Ingstad 2000).

This tie to Vinland, and the colonizing Viking, has been a long-standing narrative among white settlers. Hoaxes such as the Kensington and AVM Rune stones and the Vinland Map, alongside other supposedly ‘Viking’ finds like the Beardmore Relics have provided settler populations a claimed legitimacy to their colonization of North America, and even positioned power against Catholic and Jewish immigrants (Mancini 2002; Krueger 2015). Simultaneously, the usurpation of Native American creations as ‘Norse’, such as claims that the Moundbuilders in Anglo-America were Vikings (Barton 1787; see Feder 2008, 161-189) or the Heavener Rune stone repurposing Indigenous inscriptions into ‘runic’ ones renders Native American peoples invisible. Among white settlers, the alleged Viking -or Celtic- ‘discovery’ of Australia and Aotearoa has

motivated pseudoarchaeologists to commit atrocities included the looting of Māori burials in search of ‘proof’ (Gilroy 1977; Doutré 1999; Salleh 2007; McClure 2017).

While it is archaeologically safe to say that there was Viking occupation in Newfoundland for a short period, this evidence risks being appropriated for coloniality. The trope of the Viking (as well as the Crusader -the Kensington Runestone hoax even maintaining that the Norse inscribers were affiliates of the Knights Templar) has long held a place in the language of white supremacy, with Norwegian settlers to the US “rewriting the very foundation myths of the American nation” (Mancini 2002, 868) to gain access to political power, which helped feed into anti-immigration and white nationalist narratives (Perry 2017). And within these groups, the romantic views of the ‘Viking’ as a brave, ingenious, and independent warrior (not to mention proto-capitalist) feeds white nationalists’ images of perfection: ‘white civilization’.

Saxons similarly fit into the frameworks of white supremacy, as another subset of the so-called ‘Teutonic people’. Indeed, even recent readings of material culture in England have at times fallen into ethnic essentialism, such as Inker’s (2006, 56) views that adoption of variation in the manufacture of goods in Saxon contexts could only have occurred with the presence of ‘sub-Romano-British metalworkers’, and Martin’s sentiment that “...the [Saxon] elites who used cruciform brooches evidently saw themselves as distinct from, yet related to, the inhabitants of the homelands cited in their origin myths. Essentially, they were more interested in drawing links with the Germanic world than the Roman world, which alongside ongoing population movement into post-Roman Britain, *created a growing sense of superior otherness from preceding Romano-British society*” (2015, 184; cited in and emphasis from Harland 2017, 114). Such academic leanings exist within the wider narrative of Saxon exceptionalism, be that through their ethnic purities or -conversely- through their cultural and biological absorption of Romano-British populations.

Not only within the United Kingdom did(does) the image of the exceptional nature of the Saxon exist. For instance, Thomas Jefferson proposed that the United States Seal should contain “Hengist and Horsa, the Saxon chiefs from whom we claim the honor of being descended, and whose political principles and form of government we have assumed” (Boyd 1950, 495). As Mancini (2002, 877) noted about the Anglo-Saxon elite in the United States, the figure of a Viking was an appealing legitimizing force in the face of newer waves of immigrants; the two being bound in an envisioned shared Germanic heritage. The post-Civil War American South also culturally linked themselves to the Anglo-Saxon, “the losers, the invaded, who still managed to hold onto their core identities and customs in the face of occupation” (Dockray-Miller 2017). These two groups, the Saxon and Viking, have a shared function as tools of coloniality (a term that will be explored in the next chapter).

Identity in the English core of the British Empire sustained a heavy blow with the imperial collapse. Whereas people in the extremities of imperial control developed and sustained their own identities, the core’s (read: English) hinged on the imperial nature of ‘Britishness’ (Gardner 2017, 19). The end of imperial power and ‘failure’ of the British identity constructed around it created cultural anxieties among English people that triggered anti-immigration and EU sceptic sentiments (ibid). It also pushed English people to seek identity as English -rather than British- and to (re)connect to the Anglo-Saxon.

As groups like the ‘Vikings’ and ‘Anglo-Saxons’ continue to be used in the creation of modern politics and identity-shaping, no small amount of responsibility falls on heritage practitioners, historians, educators, and archaeologists to contend with them. It is not enough to hold public lectures that discuss the politization of heritage and of pseudoarchaeology. This approach can only reach so many people. Alternatives must be sought. One such is the focus of my work.

The museum is and has been an instrument of learning; to inspire new ideas in a person, or to supplement their understanding. Their use as vehicles of social change, be that to 'educate' and discuss class or racial inequalities with the 'public', has been noted (Sandell 1998; 2003; Casey 2010). But with loaded phrasing of who museum frequenters are, such as DiMaggio's label of museum-goers' 'modern disposition' (1996), the image of elitism emerges rather rapidly. The former director of the National Museums Liverpool, David Fleming, gave a different perspective on the blog of the very museums he worked for:

"I have been interested in the notion of the democratic museum for many years. Indeed, it was because I believed that they are democratic institutions that I started working in museums in 1981 ... Encouraged by these childhood adventures [visiting museums] ... I got it into my head that I could use my history qualifications to empower working class people. Stupid boy!

My basic misunderstanding about museums was that I thought they were places where people like my parents and sister, who were brought up in rented back-to-back houses with shared toilets along the street; ... who lived in houses without books; who left school with no qualifications and with a limited confidence in their own intellectual capacity; could discover new avenues to learning and self-improvement.

In my naivety, I had got the idea that these great public institutions had been created for that end. I realised when I began to work in museums that I was being delusional. I realised that museums were dominated by elitists who didn't share my views ... It is interesting at least, and no coincidence, I fear, that so many museums were created precisely at the time when there was determined resistance to creating a more democratic political system.

Museums may have been set up in an atmosphere of enlightenment, but this does not mean that they were democratic in nature, and I believe that exclusivity is in their DNA." (2014)

Less than half (46%) of museums in the UK reported an increase in visitor numbers the year after Flemming's post (Museums Alliance 2017, 8). If the museum has inequality coded into its DNA then if they are to bring in new people and not only the 'cosmopolitan', evolution must occur. Adapting to the current times and needs of the public is essential. They need to answer a multitude of problems that face people: social issues and education, and must also advocate for marginal pasts and peoples. Not only this, but the 'lofty' social goods of knowledge and connecting with pasts are not isolated from that of helping to feed families through jobs. These are not few problems.

1.1 Weaving This Work

I first considered this research while I was walking through a museum. I must admit that many museums make me feel very uncomfortable. I cannot help but see typical displays as prisons, as cemeteries, haunted by the spirits of past and ongoing injustices. That DNA of inequality is ever-present. Visitors speak of objects, of treasure, of people, but what do they walk away with? Does it change them, or do they leave that prison and never think of those held there?

The inheritances of the 'Viking' and the 'Anglo-Saxon' must be contended with. The traditional museum is bound to colonial origins, that have sought to be addressed in several fashions (see, for example, Aldrich 2009 152-3). Still, my discomfort with these places inspired a search for alternative heritage sites, ones that more directly speak of these contested 'barbarians', ones that engage visitors in a way beyond the object and the display case. I agree with Harrison

(2010, 3) that “all heritage is intangible”. It is not the physical item behind glass, or on a pedestal. There is life that needs to be spoken of.

These issues raised several questions. For my needs, I had to find alternative sites to the traditional museum, so what alternatives breathed life into objects and made physical the intangible -even for only a moment? This question is a focal point over the next two chapters. Once found, though, the chosen alternatives themselves needed to help answer questions for this work. Namely, how might they be able to renegotiate the ‘barbaric inheritances’ of the Vikings and Saxons, and how these pasts are misused by modern groups. How could these sites work to address and alter perceptions of the past and peoples? And, are sites like this viable; can they form a path to be used elsewhere in the world that faces issues in presenting past peoples? Directly, are these sites viable as not only social spaces, but economically viable as part of a sustainable heritage tourism resource.

A Decolonial Perspective

To my mind, the ‘barbarian’ issue presented was one of decolonizing, rejecting a set of thinking and striving towards another that is less toxic and filled with dignity. It is something that I have come to experience in my personal and professional life (see Montgomery Ramírez 2019a; 2019b). Examining these ‘barbarians’ in this light was an organic, natural choice for me. To a person working to decolonize themselves, many of the same messages translated into the understanding and use of peoples of the medieval world.

This perspective of decolonial thinking and being is one that is novel to studies of European heritage revolving around Vikings and Anglo-Saxons. That is not to say that no aspects of decolonizing or so-called postcolonial theory have entered into heritage practice or medieval studies. Rather, these applications have been limited and certainly not done through the lens of an Indigenous and decolonial heritage practitioner (this will be discussed more deeply in the following chapter). Recent academic developments have seen the humouring (I will not readily say accepting) of non-Western and Indigenous methodologies (Kovach 2010; Chilisa 2011; Smith 2012; Wilson 2015). Decolonization of practice in education, archaeology, and heritage have also recently found a place within their respective industries (Mills & Kawelu 2013; González-Tennant 2014; McClean 2015; Schmidt & Pikiyai 2016). But these have largely been confined to non-Western worlds, heritages, pasts and presents.

The inclusion of Indigenous and decolonial thinking into the heritage industry brings novel opportunities to viewing the inheritances of the global NorthWest. It offers the chance to examine not only the inheritances of pasts and peoples we typically consider ‘colonized’ -that is Indigenous populations and those of the global South- but also onto pasts of those who tend to be viewed as the perpetrators of colonialism, particularly Western societies. In an effort to address issues that the modern world faces, approaching disciplines and industries (heritage and tourism included) from a decolonial perspective enriches the pool of potential solutions that practitioners can find. As mentioned, ‘postcolonial’ theories do appear in the literature and research of tourism and the humanities (again, this will be discussed in the following chapter). But perspectives from the global South and/or the so-called ‘4th World’ certainly have a place in the discourse of heritage. These areas of the world are not passive, nor is thinking and doing from there to be relegated as a peculiarity or curiosity strictly bound to those locations and heritages. To turn Urry’s (1992) thesis of the tourist gaze: those typically viewed are just as capable of gazing back. And those opinions matter. In the case of the Vikings and Anglo-Saxons, social movements -not only those limited to white nationalist agendas- exist and tap into similar issues in decolonization (see CH 2.4). Further integrating decolonial views into the studies and presentation of the ‘Viking’ and the ‘Anglo-Saxon’ is something that is of great import, not to

merely retrace the circles of the 'postcolonial'. We do not live in a 'post'-colonial world. That is not our reality.

From a decolonial vantage point (mine specifically), aspects of the creation of heritage spaces separate from the traditional museum, and what goes on within -and beyond- lend them to being more available to decolonial thought than a building filled with objects gained by colonialism and imperial power dynamics. It also embraces the innately spiritual and emotive aspects that shape these spaces, without overly intellectualizing or pretending objectivity. In Hampton's (1995, 2) words: "Emotionless, passionless, abstract, intellectual research is a goddam lie, it does not exist. It is a lie to ourselves and a lie to other people. Humans – feeling, living, breathing, thinking humans – do research. When we try to cut ourselves off at the neck and pretend an objectivity that does not exist in the human world, we become dangerous, to ourselves first, and then to the people around us". Research is spiritual, it *is* Ceremony (Wilson 2015).

This work interweaves technicalities of economics and 'value' of sites, along with the engaging perceptions of pasts, and what a Western audience might conceive as within the realm of the spiritual and metaphysical. It might then be tempting to view these as largely separate matters, with the latter being a whimsical insertion which detracts from the seriousness of research. Entering with the perspective that anything about this research is metaphysical (that is, transcending the natural world and its laws), would be a mistake. I have approached the topics within from a position wherein the distinction between in/tangible, past/present, un/real are not clear and binary.

This work itself is not just about decolonial options for heritage resources, but it is enacting decolonial options. Throughout, the heritages of Western societies are examined by one who does not consider themselves to be Western and conducts this research from a similar gaze. And yet, the methods and mechanisms employed come from foundations of Western scholarship and economics. Reflecting the West gazing at the subaltern, the goal is to achieve some clarity across audiences, and to acknowledge the realities of power we currently exist in.

This work is something that is woven. Each facet is like a strand of fibre: reeds, and grasses. The hope is that they come together to form something whole and useful. Not a mat. That would convey power or authority. That is not what I wish to project through my work -at least not in the direction implied here. I do not wish to make *in petlatl*, *in icpalli* ('the mat, the throne' - rulership). Museums already create a mat for the elite to sit on. Rather, I hope that this will make a basket: an object that can hold something nourishing to be passed around a circle. This basket -it is my intention- will inform other worlds to options on how to create their own unique and beautiful woven vessels that meet their needs. The basket that can feed communities in the NorthWest might be like those that can feed and dignify those elsewhere.

Weaving Baskets & Tying Knots in Heritage

Where I describe spirits and weaving, Wilson described lights and knots (2015, 76-76) to explain the interconnectedness and relational natures of everything, including the researcher to the people involved in their studies. So, even the divisions which I conjure in the following chapters is not something that I consider separable. The practical, the physical, the economic, the culture-sustaining are all interwoven. They are all collections of spirits that bind together as distinct, but not distinct items -distinct in that a palm frond in a basket can be seen among many others, but not taken out without risking the integrity of the whole.

This is the way that I have chosen to view 'heritage', and its industry. McKercher and du Cros (2002, 6) noted that while the two are connected, cultural tourism is a matter of tourism, of

cultural heritage management. Heritage and commerce have been imagined as making up a pair (Corner & Harvey 1991; Johnson & Thomas 1995; Chhabra 2010). To continue my explanation of interconnections is the understanding of these as not being bound strictly within the physical (wherein one or another of this 'pair' could be both argued as being the physical or the immaterial). Just as we are made of lights/spirits collected into the apparent territory of our own bodies -with our flesh serving as borders- it would be tempting to consider certain aspects as organs and other forces of heritage external, but pervasive to this 'body'. And yet to return to Wilson's point, one only needs to encroach on another's personal space and create discomfort to recognize that the 'individual' extends well beyond their own body (Wilson 2015, 77). So, to a Western understanding, the transcendental could be viewed as an appropriate framing device.

In Western spiritual understanding, individuals are made up of a tripartite such as a body – mind – soul, or a body – soul – spirit. Again, this concept of a human does not fit, either. Non-Western (not only Indigenous) understandings to the composition of a person are far more appropriate. Rather than a person 'being' a soul in a body, many cultures hold concepts of people being containers of multiple, different spirits. These can range from spirits tied to familial lines, or shadow-spirits invested with prowess. Hun and Po are two types of souls in traditional Chinese religion, with a person having several of each (Yü 1987; Baldrian-Hussein 2008, 406-409). Some of these spirits are earthbound or ancestral, while others are of a more celestial nature. They each perform their own roles, whether having a nebulous or specific function varying between cultures. Spirits may not be entirely within the command of the person, and they may even possess a strong will of their own, traveling outside of and away from the body to act upon that will. This is known even among the cultures specifically researched in this thesis in the figures such as *fylgjur* and *hamingja* (Ellis 1968, 132-133; Andrén et al 2006, 137-138). Spirits in a non-Western perspective are not always uniformly divided up from person to person – some people may have far more spirits than others in their social circle. The loss or addition of a spirit may produce what a Western knowledge system would consider an illness; be it mental, physical, or otherwise. However, the loss or gaining of a spirit may not always be a malign prospect.

Within heritage literature, Holtorf (2005, 115-118) identified objects and landscapes as being given an 'aura' of meaning/feeling that is negotiated (and renegotiated) by archaeologists and non-archaeologists alike. This recognizes spiritual feelings as well as diversities and changes. In many ways, this may seem similar to what I call spirits. However, there is great distinction in that an aura is typically described as one thing (often in terms of colour) that radiates from and is connected to something. This, ultimately, is another Western spiritual conception that does not adequately conceptualize the separate-and-ever-interconnectedness of objects, places, people(s), and heritages.

This visualization of the functions of heritage (and the many forms that feed into it), its industry, and conservation of heritage remains is appealing because of its complexities and ambiguities. Not every heritage 'entity' is the same, one may have more spirits, another may have spirits (of conservation, or of an unseemly past) that do not function in unity with the whole. In fact, they could be spirits that bring harm. Regardless, these spirits (or Wilson's lights) make innumerable connections, and each connection presents options for future spirits to develop and interweave.

A Note on Time

Throughout this work, dates are reckoned in a particular fashion. Rather than using the common Western calendrics BC/AD or BCE/CE (which greatly obscures our depth of time), I have adopted the calendar proposed by Cesare Emiliani, the Holocene Calendar (1993). In using this reckoning of time, the length and depth of the human experience can be made more evident, with everything ever written (if we wish to privilege that mode of communication) falling within its dates. The beginning point of this dating system is the start of the Holocene Epoch, or 10000BCE. Simply put, to render a BC(E) date into an HE date, subtract the former from 10001. With AD/CE dates, simply add 10000. The year I began this thesis, 2015CE, then becomes 12015HE.

Structure of the Work

The work takes a novel approach to heritage tourism. It draws from foundations of renewability of resources, economics, and finally brings decolonial theories into the discourse -both as a work that discusses and one that practices decoloniality. Approaches to the writing of it flow through the author's perspective. Obviously, all research ends up as such, but my work seeks to embrace this, partly by using several vignettes which link to the emotional aspects of the sections from my narrative voice. *These are written in italics and are aligned centrally.* The chapters are broken down in conceptual and thematic ways as opposed to a case-by-case division.

This work examines renewable heritage sites through Three Assertions, resilience and sustainability, economic potentials and impacts, and providing platforms for decolonial options to heritage narratives. This research tests each, using public data from sites and local tourism bodies, interviews with museum staff and visitors, and my own personal experiences of the destination. Through mixed methods, this work examines economic valuation as well as develop an understanding of the ways in which visitors have their perceptions of cultures transformed by the sites they visit.

CHAPTER TWO makes up the first half of this work's literature review. It introduces decoloniality to heritages in the Global NorthWest. It also positions more firmly the coloniality bound to the image of the 'Viking' and 'Saxon', as well as the controversies of engagement -or lack thereof- with these in the disciplines of Viking and Anglo-Saxon Studies. From this, the chapter examines heritage work and heritage tourism as an avenue to engage publics. It notes the contested and interwoven nature of tourisms and briefly discusses them as economic and social tools. Finally, issues of sustainability and diversity are raised to consider a future for heritage tourisms.

CHAPTER THREE expands on the notion of striving towards sustainability in heritage tourism, through the diversification of resources -particularly through the creation of 'renewable heritage resources'. From this, a special kind of 'museum' is approached, the Archaeological Open-Air Museum (AOAM). The question of authenticity, commodification, and 'Disneyfication' of heritage is discussed. The use of intangible heritage in reconstructed tangible heritage locations is then focused on for its potential to present and re-present the multiplicity of pasts into alternative narratives for the benefit of marginal histories and peoples. This chapter, along with the previous one, culminate in the hypothesis of the Three Assertions of AOAMs, testing the potentials crucial to this work.

CHAPTER FOUR provides the methodological foundations of the work. As there are numerous levels of questions asked in my research, it quickly becomes a mixed-methods approach. Much

of the work relies on visitor interviews at four AOAMs. Each of these AOAMs correspond to a 'people' or 'culture' from the Early Medieval Period, namely the Saxons and the Vikings. Each site is specifically linked to one or the other, with two each. Three of the sites are in the United Kingdom, with a further Viking site in Sweden.

The visitor interviews touch upon several topics, from questions to identify groups among the total samples, along with both open and close-ended questions to inform economic analyses, as well as analysis on perceptions of the subject matter of the AOAMs. For the economic analyses, two methods become the main features: contingent valuation, and travel cost analysis. The decision to work with both rests in the tested nature and differing foundations of both forms of valuation. Analysis of visitor perception and understanding derives from a series of largely open-ended questions asking for descriptions of the culture in question, making connections, and drawing conclusions from their statements.

CHAPTER FIVE situates the case studies of the work. Broadly speaking, it highlights their origins, organizational makeup, the surrounding location. It is largely descriptive in nature, building up familiarity with the AOAMs that made up my fieldwork. Additionally, it also inserts a personal narrative of the sites, as experienced during my research and as a tourist myself.

CHAPTER SIX moves forward with the analysis. It corresponds primarily with Chapter Two, in that its focus is based on the sustainability and economic realities of heritage tourism sites - particularly of AOAMs. The beginning of the chapter highlights two of the case studies as samples of the renewability of AOAMs at risk of disaster: physical or managerial. It is formed by research undertaken beyond the interviews and comes from outside sources and is shaped by my conversations with the organizational staff at both sites. It discusses the options that the two different organizations have taken to restore their respective AOAMs from the threats that they faced. The second half of the chapter examines the AOAMs and their organizational records more directly, while also drawing their place within the local tourism economy into sharper focus. Here, the visitor interviews are first analysed, and the Willingness to Pay and Travel Cost for each of the cases are examined and discussed before tying each strand together to discuss the sustainability and options for each site.

CHAPTER SEVEN moves the conversation of decolonial theory into the global NorthWest. In doing so, I seek to point to the presence of the colonial matrix of power among European peoples and pasts; not merely as the beneficiaries of it, but also as targets. With that point drawn into focus, the final part of the visitor interviews comes into focus. Here, their views about perspectives of the 'Anglo-Saxons' and 'Vikings', and how those may or may not change from their time spent at the AOAM are analysed. It examines the ways in which participants were willing to describe these Early Medieval cultures before they had their museum experience, and after. Participants giving similar descriptions suggests that there is a defined image of those cultures in the public psyche. Conversely, vague or diverse responses may suggest the opposite. Lastly, it touches on the implications these findings have for the assertion that AOAMs can be platforms for decoloniality.

CHAPTER EIGHT draws together the two previous chapters to come to conclusions about heritage tourism. Not only does it look at the cases themselves and the inferences that can be made as being viable economic resources, but it also pushes further the discussion of renewable heritage tourism as a device which can provide decolonial options to the industry, and our understandings and engagements with the multiplicities of pasts. This final chapter discusses the spirits of AOAMs and the decolonial options which visitors can develop.

Decolonizing the Barbarians and the barbaric inheritances of the West is the heart of this work, done through Indigenous perspective and methodology. Researching tourism and visitor sentiments at AOAMs, this thesis explores ways in which tangible heritage can be made renewable and a work of the decolonial. Still, Western methods and realities are woven into it. This does not undermine the work, but like all decolonial options, can make use of the thinking and doing of the West to proceed in the world that exists.

CHAPTER TWO

Forces of Heritage Tourism

2.0 Introduction

Heritage and cultural properties can be powerful tools. Attachments to causes and identities are formed around specific narratives. As mentioned in the previous chapter, the American South connected itself to the Anglo-Saxons upon their defeat by the United States, and prior to that to the Normans with lionization of feudalism (read: slavery) and chivalry. Heritage is a tool of multiple layers and forces. This chapter addresses some of the powers behind the creation and fostering of heritage itself, and the agenda to aid in the promotion of heritage properties as tourism. The aspects that are drawn upon are those of assertion of power, unity, stability/sustainability, and economics. This chapter could easily become a lengthy discourse over the nature of tourism, but this research will only consider it briefly, while pointing towards previous research. Power, though, is one of the key strands to this chapter, and the theories of it that inform this work as a whole.

2.1 Seeing, Weaving Heritage

The practice of heritage has been long understood as intrinsically interwoven into politics -local, regional, national, state, international. The uses of the past by numerous groups, specifically the Vikings and Saxons as noted above, are all practicing heritage. This practice, heritage, is one that is not necessarily harmonious. Indeed, the very nature of heritage is one of contestation, struggle, and conflict. Smith (2006, 281) considered the process as “a struggle over power ... because heritage is itself a political resource”. Again, this is to be understood as political on multiple levels. Smith’s influential work, *Uses of Heritage* (2006), brought forth the concept of the Authorized Heritage Discourse (AHD). This is explained as “the proper care of heritage, and its associated values, lies with the experts, as it is only they who have the abilities, knowledge and understanding to identify the innate value and knowledge contained at and within historically important sites and places” (Smith 2006, 29-30). This AHD has been critiqued since then within the umbrella of critical heritage studies.

Holtorf (2016) considered three models to ‘doing’ public archaeology: Educational, Public Relations, and Democratic. The second of these, he noted as being directly politically-minded, and ethically difficult (ibid, 119). These first two appear to coincide with Smith’s AHD, with the direction of power to shape ‘heritage’ and create value resting with experts. The third, Holtorf admitted a lean towards. This approach, he stated, was the removal of expert command and the control being placed into the hands of stakeholders. This is a clear divergence from the understanding of Authorized Heritage. Indeed, a recognition of multivocality in the ‘doing’ of heritage is important to understanding the process and realities. Certainly, “heritage is produced through sociopolitical processes reflecting society’s power structures” (Logan & Wijesuriya 2015, 569). Heritage is born out of political interactions from all directions and places in society and in/across societies.

The Democratic Model of Holtorf still holds an intrinsic political dimension -as was said of the ‘expert led’ Public Relations Model- and can readily become grounds of contestation. As its name would suggest, it provides for the inclusion of multitudes of voices, views, opinions into the passage and use of archaeologies -into the fabrics of heritage. These very “narratives of conflict” are what Daly and Chan (2015, 429) stated as being the fabrics that create heritage.

This raises another important consideration, particularly for this work. Emerick (2014, 190) wrote that heritage is a process, not a product. That is, it is not physical, it is not bound to the stones of a wall or held within the confines of a displayed broach or sword, or pot, or ring. It is doing, conversing, connection, and interconnecting. An issue with Smith's AHD and first two Models that Holtorf considered is that they place power in the hands of experts and the powerful, while eliding that regardless of this, many of those on the 'passive' end of these models are anything but. Even in top-down productions of heritage, the outcome is not one singular entity – it is a being of many spirits. That is not to suggest that all spirits are given the same stage of presence to manifest. Smith (2006, 106) considered that AHD 'side-lines' the values of most of the stakeholders. Meanwhile, the ways in which negative histories of traumatic and genocidal pasts are negotiated is one that can be called "displayed withholding" (Onciul 2015, 190). That is to say that objects may be present, and portions of histories shown, but the sorrowful and negative spirits belonging to them are curated into silence. For the multivocality that exists in the weaving of heritage, power dynamics are very real matters, as in every other part of life.

Increasingly, heritage work(s) considers the many weavers and woven strands in the process. There is a recognition of power dynamics and of state/national uses and silencing of other narratives that feed into heritage. The process of heritage may involve 'all' people, but we must recognize that the presence of 'experts' is a significant facet in the weaving. There are many roles to be played, many spirits to navigate, by both the 'expert', and those from all positions within the societies that heritage is being woven. We must remember that to some, 'democracy' can be tyranny. The use of Medieval heritages (such as 'The Viking' and 'Saxon') by White Supremacists is, frankly, an aspect of the multivocality and 'democracy' of the heritage process. From this position (and further considered in CH2.4), the role of 'experts' should not be dismissed as oligarchy. They are a part of the societies they exist in and should play a role in fostering healthy dialogues that weave heritage. But if, as critical heritage writers express, heritage is a process undertaken by everyone, then Grosfoguel's question remains: "[w]hy is it that what we know today as social, historical, philosophical, or Critical Theory is based on the socio-historical experience and world views of men from [France, Germany, Italy, England, and the United States]?" (2013, 74).

It is not as if knowledge does not exist outside of the minds of these people. And this draws to a fundamental issue in heritage regarding expertise and knowledge creation. Holtorf recognized at an inter-disciplinary conference that "no matter how unconventional and innovative everybody wished to be, most of those present also felt very strong ties to their home disciplines of social/cultural anthropology or archaeology and their respective repertoires of methods and approaches" (2009, 310). These are the same methodologies that were questioned as being "simply new technologies of cultural assimilation, of governance and the disciplining of knowledge" (Smith et al 2016, 133). In other words, using the same tools and knowledges undermines both would-be well-meaning experts and 'democracy' of heritage by pretending that we are all the same.

If critical heritage practice is to take place, then certainly it must do more than just recognize that there is a world filled with beings that think. Smith et al (2016, 133) were correct in stating that it is easier to find success in publishing works that 'Other' Indigenous knowledges, than work that draws upon those knowledges and methodologies in their own right. While there has been consideration for non-specialists as experts of their heritage, is it not just as possible to view those who possess knowledges from other worlds as being not only having expertise in 'their' heritage, but of heritage more broadly?

2.2 Decolonizing & Heritage(s)

The last chapter introduced 'decolonizing' in reference to the so-called Barbarians of NorthWestern Europe. Indeed, this is a phrase that has recently entered into the realm of museums. Amy Lonetree's work *Decolonizing Museums* (2012) examined ways in which Native Americans as collaborators can -and do- change museum displays and exhibits to engage in re-telling and re-negotiating colonial narratives. Bryony Onciul (2015) also considered the engagement zones and Indigenous People at heritage sites, and the tensions of power dynamics within museums. Through the experiences of Indigenous people had in museum engagement, she questioned whether or not Indigenous voices could break beyond colonial powers in the narratives and functions of museums.

The concept of 'decolonizing', in the context of the European and Settler State museum has often been in lifting subaltern people, to make them visible. Most frequently, these institutes focus on literal, physical colonization: the genocide of Indigenous populations, and the enslavement of black and brown people. Bringing these peoples into view, and their voices into earshot, however is not decolonizing. The word is not synonymous with 'diversity', and to treat it as similar is to make the decolonial another powerless term. It is not about 'allowing' brown or black people into the story (where they had been all along), it is about delivering the means to instigate change in thinking, in the ways that we can exist. As Kasmani said: "It's not just about inviting ... marginalized people into the museum to help the institution improve its exhibitions; it's an overhauling the entire system. Otherwise, museums are merely replicating systems of colonialism, exploiting people of color for their emotional and intellectual labor within their institutions without a corollary in respect and power" (in Shoenberger nd).

There are numerous ways to undergo an action of decolonizing. Esquibel and Calvo (2013) considered a decolonial approach to diet in the Americas -with further works by them including a cookbook specifically to aid in such. Their work criticizes the 'American diet' as being largely unhealthy, unsustainable, and ecologically dangerous and calls for a movement away from this. Food, they argue, should be not industrialized, but local and representative of culture. This sentiment is encapsulated, for them, in the cooking of a pot of beans which "is a micro-revolutionary act that honors our ancestors and the generations to come" (Esquibel & Calvo 2013, 1). Similar conclusions and motivations surround the practices of chefs like Sean Sherman (founder of Sioux Chef) who have sought methods to address the food crises that face Indigenous peoples in Anglo-America (see, for example, Rudolph & McLachlan 2013 regarding food insecurity in communities in Manitoba). These are all actions taken to work against the enforcement of power, the colonizing power that comes from Western society and its norms.

Coloniality of Power

The maintenance and preservation of power is, according to the Latin American critical theory called 'Decoloniality', made possible through an underlying foundation which filters into many aspects of the modern world; a concept called the colonial matrix of power, or coloniality of power (Mignolo 2011, 2). This movement is informed by postcolonial and Latin subaltern studies and seeks to explain the legacies of colonialism within the modern world, which existed outside of the overtly colonial and imperialistic influence, in an allegedly post-colonial world.

The concept was popularized in part by Aníbal Quijano (2000), whose work has influenced the development of subaltern studies in the Americas (Poddar et al 2008, 508; Dabashi 2015) and has spread into Eastern European/Baltic subaltern studies (Boatca 2007). In this understanding, the coloniality of power (also called the colonial matrix of power, or simply coloniality) is made up of three parts: systems of hierarchies, systems of knowledge, and cultural systems.

Reinforcing power, these systems are based around an ideological foundation of Eurocentrism, founded in Renaissance thought and the so-called-Enlightenment (Quijano 2000; 2007; Mignolo 2011). For these systems to work, one must believe in the difference (and superiority) of Europe and the rest of the world as being based on biology and inherent values from those, as opposed to accumulation of power through history (Quijano 2000). The first system created race and the divisions of value based on them. This work will not consider more about the numerous hierarchies created in themselves, but the implications and continued resonances from those.

More insidious than the establishment of European superiority based on biology is that of the second system, which normalizes this in the minds of people (loc cit). The global power that Europe took was -and is- maintained through concentrating “all the experiences, stories, resources and cultural products ... in a singular cultural order around European and Western hegemony ... as part of the new pattern of world power, Europe also concentrated under its hegemony control of all forms of control of subjectivity, culture, and especially knowledge, the production of knowledge” [my translation] (Quijano 2000, 209). From this, European standards and understandings are made to be a natural, universal way of things. This then controls the thoughts of people in most aspects of their lives, from racism (as either the recipient, or deliverer), to the belief that Western gender binaries are normal and natural. This is so entrenched that even groups that seek to revive their cultures, and cast aside foreign influences, often do so through ideals originating from Western convention and Neo-Liberal values (Nandy 1976; Mignolo 2005, 115-7). Coloniality also controls the past, our understanding of it, and the experiences of countless peoples from different backgrounds. It does so, as it places bias against those who do not share common traits that support the coloniality of power. It even retroactively places those values into pasts where they do not belong.

The application of one experience into a universal format, which is not limited strictly to the ‘West’, but just as much to Communist and Leftist movements, continues an implication of one view being ‘true’ (Mignolo 2005, 117). There is, though, a concept in opposition to the coloniality of power, called decoloniality. This is a diverse set of options -practical and theoretical- to confront, disobey, resist, de-link from, and restructure the colonial matrix of power (Quijano 2000; 2007; Mignolo 2007; 2011). Decoloniality differs from the concept of postcolonial from its very origins. While there is overlap between postcolonial theories and decoloniality, the circumstances under which they came to be formed are distinct. Postcolonial theory emerged in independent India, while decoloniality has its origins in Latin America. The circumstances of these worlds informed the development of both responses to colonization. Post-colonial is that: something which is ‘after’ colonial power, often after the direct physical occupation of territories. The stress of Decoloniality is that of actions of resistance against the colonial matrix of power. It arose directly as a force of opposition after colonialism began, and Mignolo (2007, 87-88; 2011, 56) argued that it is better equipped to address subjects in the history of colonization. In essence, acts of de-linking/decoloniality began when the first Indigenous person disagreed with a would-be-European-colonizer. The reorganization of Indigenous spiritualities to grapple with the decimation of their societies from disease and genocidal forces is decoloniality. Retaining or returning to one’s Indigenous identity is decoloniality. Insisting on teaching and communicating with family members in a non-dominant language, rather than letting it fade away, is an act of decoloniality. Hiding traditional knowledge from dominant society in ‘folk dances and plays’ is decoloniality. Just as the Native American Studies term *survivance*, which is “an active sense of presence, the continuance of native stories, not a mere reaction, or a survivable name. Native survivance stories are renunciations of dominance, tragedy and victimry” (Vizenor 1999, vii), decoloniality is intentionally ambiguous. This is done to not limit options to those who resist, those who decolonize.

Mignolo (2011, 306-312) discussed the Quechua worldview called *Sumac Kawsay* (translated to *Buen Vivir* in Spanish, which in-turn translated to 'Good-Living' in English) as an example of decoloniality, of de-linking from Western Modernity and the colonial matrix of power, and existing on different terms. Sumac kawsay stresses the placement of nature and the world within community, and the rights and responsibilities of community to act together. This action of de-linking from Neo-liberal concepts of development has entered into Ecuador and Bolivia's constitutions (Gudynas 2011), reshaping the rights and relations those countries have with nature. Buen Vivir is also present among Indigenous communities in Nicaragua, but explanations of what it means differ. There is no one, universal way of Buen Vivir, nor should there be. Just as with decoloniality, the actions should be born out of a place(s), community(ies), and the needs that they experience.

Decoloniality brings action (be that action in the physical or otherwise) and is immediately armed to discuss layered colonizations that flow into all aspects of the Modern world, through time, and into the experiences of genocide and epistemicide. I consider it to be more suited to grapple with issues across time, and through the perceptions thereof, if only because it speaks from a world that I have intimate knowledge of. That it examines the rippling and interwoven effects of coloniality upon the world, this approach is one that has the capacity to find applications in multiple worlds -their knowledges and stories, and their pasts and presents- and how we can re-negotiate them.

2.3 Europe & Decoloniality?

Postcolonial theories often feature into work that primarily examine areas that have been the targets of physical colonization, such as Latin America and Africa. These works recognize that such colonization not only shaped the lives and existences of those colonized, but of the colonizers themselves (Dirlik 2002, 430). In this sense, an understanding of coloniality, as forwarded by decolonial thinkers such as Quijano and Mignolo, discusses the European experience. Of course, it does so largely considering Europe and the West as colonizers, rather than as colonized. Jilani (2018) is correct to remind that "There is a recurring mistake in much of the public discussion surrounding decolonization: that it is something to be done by, about and for people of colour. But decolonization is different from diversification: it demands fundamental change rather than mere representation".

Within Subaltern Studies -particularly Baltic Studies- the European experience has recently had a 'postcolonial' lens focused on it. Decolonial responses in the literature and art in former Soviet states, as well as the colonial forces that have inspired folk dance, have been examined (see Peiker 2016, Kangilaski 2016, & Kapper 2016, respectively, for their research about Estonia). These works stressed the necessity of the use of decolonial theories to further the understanding of the way states in Europe – not only in the Baltic, but in Central and Eastern Europe at large – have been, and continue to be, shaped by coloniality (see introduction by Annus 2016). These works discuss colonization as a physical act but serve to bring recognition of coloniality into Europe.

Spain and Portugal (the first modern European colonizing powers): while not having suffered the physical act of colonization, have had their existences made subaltern to 'Northern' European powers -such as England, France, and Germany. The European 'South' was cast as unable to be properly 'modern, by use of *La Leyenda Negra* (The Black Legend), political propaganda that advanced images of Iberian brutality, repression, and backwardness (Alvar 1997; Juderías 2014). To attach to modernity, Iberians often must -even now- make social

strides to affiliate with the histories and knowledges forwarded by the 'North' (Suárez-Krabbe 2014, 163-4).

In Western Europe, coloniality and decolonial responses among those called 'colonial citizens' (Bhambra 2014): including Muslims, Afro-Europeans, Roma, and immigrants have been approached by scholars and organizations (Suárez-Krabbe 2014, 155; DIN 2017). Decolonial discourses can also be placed among so-called Celtic cultures, which "enables a modern British person to shake off the yoke of the conqueror and identify with the conquered" (Crockford 2010, 147). This is exemplified by Scottish culture which served as both colonial target and instrument of outward -British- coloniality against others (Littler 2005, 6-7). Yet even here, the physical action of colonization is stressed.

Many examinations of the colonial matrix of power have done so from the worlds of physically colonized states such as those of former Ottoman, Soviet, and/or Habsburg imperial rule. However, recognition of coloniality reflected upon the colonial powers, Spain and Portugal, by other Europeans moves beyond this physical focus. Including coloniality against 'colonial citizens' helps to support the coloniality's presence in Europe as more than a physical, or outward act.

Coloniality can be better placed within a NorthWest perspective by first highlighting what have been called the four genocides of modernity (Grosfoguel 2013; Suárez-Krabbe 2014). Decolonial theorists have addressed the fall of Al-Andalus, the genocides of Indigenous populations of the Americas, and the foundation of the modern slave trade as forming blocks to Modernity (Quijano 2001; Mignolo 2005; 2006; 2011; 2012). The fourth 'genocide', European witch-hunts that took place during this same period, is worth greater focus. For the sake of this work, the term genocide will not be used to refer to these trials and massacres, but epistemicide.

Those deemed to be witches by European states (and their settler colonies) also fell afoul the colonial matrix of power (Wright 2001; Grosfoguel 2013). It must be noted that accusations and trials of witchcraft were not, as is commonly understood, entirely an act of femicide and female oppression; male bodies met similar fates. For instance, Icelandic witchcraft accusations were almost exclusively made against men, and approximately two thirds of those put on trial in Moscow were men (Gibbons 1998; Scarre & Callow 2001, 29-30). This certainly is not an attempt to negate the tribulations of large populations of women, or that in many instances they formed most of the accused. Rather, it is to draw out the fact that while women were 'obvious' targets of these persecutions, any who possessed certain lifeways and knowledges were potential victims – regardless of gender in a modern binary view. More on this, and on gender identities of the men persecuted, has been addressed by other scholarship (for instance, Kivelson 2003). Raising this distinction and matter does serve a purpose for this discussion.

By bringing the persecution of both male and female-bodied Europeans into focus in this thesis, an understanding of self-inflicted coloniality among Western populations can be extracted. Coloniality was placed on Europeans, in the instances of witch-trials, through the logic of creating "the connection between the idea of purity of blood (Al-Andalus), the separation of the 'proper' human from nature (Americas), and the naturalization of 'inferiority' to legitimate exploitation and violence (transatlantic), that came back to Europe to 'indigenize' non-elite women [and men] as carriers of savage and pagan knowledges" (Santiago-Valles 2003, 61-2; Federici 2004, 165-9; quotation from Suárez-Krabbe 2014, 162). Europeans who were entirely local – not yet 'colonial citizens', ethnic minorities, nor a 'lesser race' – to their regions had the colonial matrix of power applied onto them. Those carrying out the coloniality were people of the same lands who sought the benefit of and maintenance social advantage. This 'indigenizing', and then marginalizing people who existed in the European continent establishes that the

European experience is one of coloniality; not only as strictly speaking the benefactors of such, but as the victims thereof.

Svanberg's work, *Decolonizing the Viking Age 1* (of which there was no following volume), sought to engage with postcolonial theory applied to the so-called Vikings (2003). The thrust of this work surrounded the diversity of graves and assemblages in southern Sweden (Skåne) positioned to deconstruct romantic and nationalistic notions of homogenous 'Viking' society. It, however, did not follow beyond artefact study, nor did it conceive broadly of European narratives as being colonized.

Svanberg (2003, 36-66 & 92-99) stressed nationalism as the colonizing roots in the Viking Age. However, this section highlighted that coloniality as a force, predating nationalism, sought to enforce binary or universal options onto Europeans by eliminating divergent systems of knowledge, the 'Vikings' themselves becoming monolithic rather than diverse populations. The most overt is the physical subjugation of ethnic groups by imperial powers, as in the cases of the former subjects of the Osman, Hapsburg, Hohenzollern, and Romanov dynasties. Secondly, is the expression of coloniality against other states, which did not experience the same form of physical and political subjugation. It is beginning with this expression where recognition of the systems of coloniality need to be stressed.

If, then, coloniality can be understood to exist in these contexts from the beginnings of the creation of the colonial matrix of power, so too must decoloniality exist and must be brought onto a greater stage.

2.4 Barbaric Inheritances

One of the hierarchies in the colonial matrix of power is that of knowledge: colonizing human pasts and steering them towards a Eurocentric narrative. Of course, this research is focused entirely within a NorthWestern geography. This may seem counter-intuitive that a work on decolonizing would focus on Eurocentric thinking of past cultures that are accepted as a prominent part of the heritage of current European states; not Al-Andalus in Spain, but the 'Viking' in Scandinavia. However, for the colonial matrix of power to truly function, it is imperative that dissenting narratives among Europeans be exterminated. The process of nationbuilding in Europe -and settler states- has been suggested as an act of colonization (Weber 1976; Braudel 1990). This accompanied a turn towards Modernity in a 'whitening project' which othered divergent practices and ways of thought (Suárez-Krabbe 2014). Quijano remarked that "The Europeans generated a new temporal perspective of history and relocated the colonized population, along with their respective histories and cultures, in the past of a historical trajectory whose culmination was Europe. From then on, there were inferior races, capable only of producing inferior cultures [. . .] From then on, they were the past" (2001, pp. 543; 552. Cited in Boatca 2007, 370). While this comment was aimed towards the subaltern worlds and pasts, the commentary rings true in the shaping of Europe, out of many alternative 'Pre-Europeans'.

The creation of this Modern Europe contained its own 'inferior cultures' resigned to the past. Whether labelled as 'barbarian' in the pre-modern and unfolding modern periods (similar in scope to the term of 'savage' used to systematically marginalize Indigenous peoples), or a culture in opposition to those undertakers of national projects – as the Occitan people in the south of France – numerous European pasts and experiences were made inferior and silenced in the development of a 'Europe'. Still, some of those resigned to 'barbarism' were given a second life through romanticism in nationbuilding.



Screen shot from 'The Thirteenth Warrior' (Touchstone Pictures 1999)
fig 2.1



Screen shot from 'Pathfinder' (20th Century Fox 2007) fig 2.2



Screen shot from 'Vikings' Season 2 (World 2000 Entertainment et al 2014) fig 2.3

So-called barbarians have taken on a diverse set of shapes over the course of their use in histories. They have provided antagonists to the 'civilized' world and have been idolized as the embodiment of desirable (not to suggest this is synonymous with moral, or 'good') qualities. The barbarian has been both destructive and noble, disgusting and sensual. One merely needs to look as far as cinematic depictions over the years to draw clear distinctions: violent and womanless society as seen in films such as *The Vikings* [1958] and *The Long Ships* [1964] (Kelly 2011, 9-10; Hoffman 2011, 33); aggressive, jovial, culturally nuanced and semi-permeable in *The Thirteenth Warrior* [1999] (fig 2.1); black-clad and horned monstrosities in *Pathfinder* [2007] (fig 2.2); highly sexualized quasi-gangsters in the series *Vikings* [2013-] (fig 2.3). These figures are many things, depending on time and need. They have been attached to in many ways, the strong narratives surrounding them offering a powerful spirit to build identities from.

Cultures of the Early Medieval Period have often been invoked in the projects of nationbuilding and continued expression of nationalism among Europeans (Reynolds 1998; Noakes 2007). The 'barbarians' that took the place of Roman power blended with the 'civilizing' inheritances of the empire (and, by proxy, later

concepts of modernity bound to the Renaissance). In this way, modern populations created national lineages with more 'perfect' spirits. The 'freedom and strength' of the 'Viking' helped to feed into the Noble Savage trope which has found traction as a 'cultural champion' in post-Roman heritage narratives of Europe (Sindbaek 2013).

Unlike the projects in younger states in Europe, England did not need a 'modern' national movement, as it was initiated by a proto-nationalist movement (McGlynn 1996; Lavezzo 2003). With this, the Saxon had already been placed within a narrative of state creation. A united

England and the Saxons extending back into the Early Medieval period was further enforced by the Hundred Years War (Hastings 1997, 47). Still, folkloric tales – Arthurian and Robin Hood legends – place the Saxons in differing sides of protagonism and antagonism. The later Arthurian cycles by Malory (11485HE) underplayed that belligerent standing of the Saxons and instead placed women, betrayal, and ill-born children as major causes of worldly woes. Underplaying of negative Saxon depictions within these works has been viewed as a suppression of non-English identities (Davies 2000, 31-53; Paphitis 2014). The national standing of the Saxon –as opposed to, say, British– has fluctuated, from one of fascination to one of seeming silence, and not only in educational material (Henson pers com). Meanwhile, ‘British’ has functioned as a stand-in for English identity –and its Saxon roots– with imperial appropriations of culture (Gardner 2017, 8-11).

Vikings (and Saxons) enter history as the ‘barbarian’. Roman and Romano-British narratives called the Saxon as much; the Saxons and Britons did the same to the ‘Viking’. Their position as monstrous beings, sent as a wrath of an angry god to punish the unrighteous lords of Christendom, has dominated contemporary narratives about them (Magnusson 1980, 61). Well into the later Medieval and the Early Modern periods, the Viking evoked a being of cruelty and godlessness (loc cit). Of course, this viewpoint was one not shared by Scandinavians, namely those once Lutheranism took hold in Northern Europe.

Colonial & ‘Indigenous’ Barbarians

A statue in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, was torn down and thrown into the river by ‘vandals’ on the evening of 1 October 2018HE. It was the statue to an Icelander named Þorfinnur Karlsefni Þórðarson, who according to sagas, explored and lived on Vinland, and was father to the first European child born in the Americas (trans Pálsson & Magnusson 1973, CH7). The statue has been the focal point of local white nationalist groups, including Neo-Nazi rallies and wreath-laying ceremonies (Madej 2018). This is not the only such ‘Viking’ statue that has served both as a point of convergence for white supremacists and as platforms of action by their opponents. For instance, a statue to Leifur Eriksen in Duluth, Minnesota, had the inscription “Discoverer of America” covered over with paint (Iceland Review 2018). The irony of describing opponents to white supremacy who physically act upon symbols they rally around as vandals (the term originating from a ‘barbarian’ people who sacked Rome in 10455HE) should not be lost.

It would be wishful thinking to imagine that the vignette that opened this work, the violence carried out, and the linking to ‘Viking’ culture was an isolated case, but that is tragically far from the truth. The manifesto of the terrorist who, on 15 March 2019HE, massacred fifty Muslims – and injured another fifty– in New Zealand was filled with the language of white supremacy; the title itself was a reference to the conspiracy theory of ‘White Genocide’. Entangled in this was reference to ‘Viking’ religion. The terrorist’s final phrase: “I will see you all in Valhalla!” sparked condemnation from modern religious organizations and the attention of newspapers (Bustamonte 2019). Though it was the only direct reference to ‘Viking’ elements, this was latched onto by media outlets. And, indeed, the language of white supremacy frequently is woven in with expressions relating to medieval societies like the Vikings and Anglo-Saxons. These elements also bring together the language of indigeneity to fuel anti-immigration and pro-white agendas.

The former chairman and president of the British National Party (a far-right political party in the United Kingdom), Nick Griffin declared that “The Indigenous people of this island are the English, the Scots, the Welsh and the Irish ... We are the aborigines here,” (Mackay & Stirrup 2010). Henry Bolton, the former leader of the United Kingdom Independence Party (UKIP) said

that “in certain communities the Indigenous Anglo-Saxon population is nowhere to be seen” (Dorling & Tomlinson 2019, 38). Religious groups and leaders have also made use of this concept of the ‘Indigenous European’. The Odinist Fellowship in England formally demanded the repatriation of ‘Saxon’ holy sites that had been taken by the Christian church and are currently held by the Church of England (Williams 2017). This action is undeniably evocative of Indigenous rights laws like the Native American Grave Protection & Repatriation Act (NAGPRA) in the United States, whereby Native Americans and Native Hawaiians can see the return of their cultural objects (including sacred objects and ancestral remains) from the hands of federally-supported agencies and institutions.

In a more direct link of the ‘Indigenous European’ to law is the case of Kennewick Man in what is currently the state of Washington. In 1996, a person’s body was found, dating to Prehistoric times. Under NAGPRA, the descendants of that person are supposed to be contacted and consulted for what they wish to become of their ancestor. However, in the case of Kennewick Man (as the person came to be called by archaeologists and Settler society), analysis returned with anomalies that suggested similarities to ‘Caucasoid’ biology (Chatters 2001, 150). This caused controversy and a debate over who The Ancient One (the name used by Indigenous People) ‘belonged’ to.

The founder of a religious group -The Asatru Folk Assembly (or AFA)- filed a lawsuit for the repatriation of Kennewick Man, citing Europeans as the descendants of this person (Gardell 2003, 150; McNallen 2004, 212). This man, Stephen McNallen, advances a racially based understanding of religion, that is based on pre-Christian religion imagined to be practiced by ‘Vikings’ and ‘Anglo-Saxons’ (this will be discussed in greater detail in CH7.5). His view of this religion was that of an ‘Indigenous religion’ of Europeans, and specifically of White People, through a concept he called metagenetics (McNallen 2015). In the end, his view of The Ancient One was that this person proved the belief in the Solutrean hypothesis, that considers the first migration into the Americas as being from Europe -based on the similarity in appearance of the Solutrean (in modern Europe) and Clovis (in modern North America) stone tool industries (Stanford & Bradley 2012). Further research has considered the validity of this hypothesis from the examination of DNA over material culture (Oppenheimer et al 2014). Advocates to this hypothesis exist within the discipline of archaeology. O’Brien et al (2014) challenge support of this on the foundations of ‘poor science’. And while this is an entirely useful stance to counter the hypothesis, there is no real mention of the impacts that it has socially. The Solutrean hypothesis is at its core dangerous and harmful; a tool ready-made for weaponization by White Settlers and white supremacists in general against Indigenous people and immigrants. This hypothesis often feeds into a belief that the original ‘European’ inhabitants of the Americas were massacred by the ancestors of Indigenous Peoples of the Americas. It is a notion that McNallen (Gardell 2003, 282) himself embraced, concluding that if a ‘White Genocide’ could happen in the Americas in the distant past, then it could happen again. From this view of the ‘indigeneity’ of Europeans (and by extension, White Settlers, as the ‘original inhabitants of the Americas’), the cause of white nationalism and coloniality is made to adopt the language and statues in the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP).

White Settlers and Europeans have, through the aid of archaeology and of heritage narratives connected to both prehistoric and Medieval peoples, moved to colonize the concepts and linguistics of Indigeneity. Such conceptual manoeuvring has gained traction, in ways that have been made overt to some sections of the population only more recently, while black and Indigenous people of colour have known this to be true for much longer. The Nouvelle Droite (New Right) has its origins in the 1960’s, while the nationalistic ideals like ‘*Blut und Boden*’ (‘Blood and Soil’) have had a longer existence. These movements, along with some aspects of religious

organizations like the AFA, draw on academic concepts in archaeology, and social sciences such as Indigenous studies to further their agendas. Language of being 'Indigenous' fuels movements that are anti-multiculturalism and pro-White ethnostate (see works by Nouvelle Droite writers Sunić 2011 & Krebs 2012). Appropriation of this language compounds harm and danger, particularly to marginal people. It makes use of concepts developed to protect people (and cultures) who face genocide and twists it to further advance privileges that dominant Western societies have.

Viking & Anglo-Saxon Scholars' In-Action

It would be misleading to suggest that the enforcement of coloniality, in tying the language of indigeneity to the causes of white supremacy, is perpetrated by right-wing politicians, independent researchers and philosophers, and organizers alone. It is categorically untrue to imply that a fringe has carried this out, and that scholars in the academy are also not perpetrators, or at the least, complicit.

In the case of the Solutrean hypothesis, archaeologists and their discourse have enabled Settlers to buy into a falsehood; a lie of 'White Genocide', the legitimacy of carrying out colonization and actual genocide against Indigenous Peoples, and the advancement of anti-immigration rhetoric. That opponents of the hypothesis do not raise this very real and dangerous impact in their scholarly critiques is troubling to say the least. Like this, academics within the disciplines of Viking/Scandinavian Studies, Anglo-Saxon Studies, and the larger Medieval Studies do not readily engage with the coloniality bound to the subjects they study. The work by Svanberg (2003) held initial promise to it, in that its premise was to highlight the diversity among the people who would come to be understood as 'Vikings', and to expand an understanding of a plurality of cultures rather than a monolith. The result of the work, though, was disappointing. Rather than extensively engage with decolonial theories in renegotiating cultures of the Viking Age, the work sought to examine and illustrate difference through artefact study. But recognizing the existence of difference (through the means of archaeological method, no less) can hardly be called decolonial.

Within the disciplines surrounding Vikings and Saxons (such as Medieval Studies, Viking and/or Scandinavian Studies, and Anglo-Saxon Studies) decoloniality has not found much of a home in scholarship. In fact, journals like *Viking & Medieval Scandinavia*, *Saga-Book*, *Anglo-Saxon England*, *Journal of Medieval History*, and even new journals like *Scania: Journal of Medieval Studies* have published no articles relating to colonization of the period, modern perceptions, or appropriation of the 'Viking' and 'Saxon' by right-wing and white supremacist elements. It must be said that the journal *Scandinavian Studies* held special issues on museums and heritage performance (Gradén & O'Dell 2018) and cultural memory (Hermann & Mitchell 2013), but the subjects within were by no means limited to the heritage of the Viking Age. The same can be said of *Postmedieval: A Journal of Medieval Cultural Studies*, which has regularly published on the Medieval Period (though, again, not only to regards of Viking or Anglo-Saxon Studies) through postcolonial lenses. Concisely pointing to the presence of postcolonial theory (or perhaps more appropriately critical race studies) in Medieval Studies is in this journal: Hsy and Orlemanski's (2017) "partial bibliography" of works within the discipline regarding race. Of course, postcolonial theory has been a part of scholarly work in Medieval Studies arguably before Cohen's (2000) edited volume. Critical race theory has found its place as well, under authors like Heng (2018). But, narrowing the scope of 'Medieval' Studies into Viking and Anglo-Saxon Studies, the picture changes. In formal capacities, grappling with the coloniality pervasive within those disciplines has been lacking. More directly to this work's perspective, is that

engagement with literature of decoloniality and with actions of decolonizing -even adoption of the term as a buzzword- are scarce in Viking and Anglo-Saxon Studies. More recent political and social uses of the Medieval, in particular, the 'Viking' and the 'Anglo-Saxon' and a recognition of the need to decolonize has not gone unnoticed, though.

Symes (2017) remarked on academic calls to grapple with the usurpation of the Medieval Period by far-right and White supremacist/nationalist movements, along with the relative inaction to do just that. Efforts to 'decolonize' and/or diversify the discipline of Medieval Studies (including Viking and Anglo-Saxon Studies) have not met with great success. The International Medieval Congress of 2017HE, held in Leeds, had the theme of 'Otherness'. This congress was quickly criticized by non-white attendees for the comment of the first moderator wherein he joked that "If audience members thought he was just another old, white man, they should just wait until after his holiday at the beach" (Chan 2017). This was not the only moment of downplaying or undermining the views of people of colour, as a roundtable session on 'decolonizing' the Medieval Period and on Otherness in the period had all-white panels (loc cit). At the 2017HE International Society of Anglo-Saxonists conference, an effort was made to address racial issues within the discipline. This effort, however, did not include any black or brown voices (Rambaran-Olm 2018).

The position of subaltern people in knowledge production in these disciplines is precarious. Rambaran-Olm (2018) noted the difficulty of working in Anglo-Saxon Studies as a person of colour, where their presence or capacity to research and teach the subject is immediately scrutinized by others. Though not himself a Medieval History scholar -but an assistant professor of Classics- Afro-Latin@ academic, Dan-el Padilla Peralta was verbally accosted by a member of the audience at the 2019HE joint Archaeological Institute of America – Society for Classical Studies meeting who told him that the only reason he had his position at Princeton University was because he was black. Of the ordeal he later wrote:

"What will be stored in the vaults of my memory are not just the accusatory words themselves, but the expression on the face of their white-supremacist purveyor as she relieved herself of them; my fellow panelist Sarah Bond's attempts to intervene critically, and the efforts of Michael Gagarin and others to reclaim the mic; the shocked immobility of those colleagues who could not will themselves to intervene; and the looks on the faces of students of color in the room. Most of all, I will remember ... my rage on realizing that her personal assault would divert attention from the paper I had just delivered on the whites-only neighborhood of journal publication in classics" (Padilla Peralta 2019).

And while this attack was publicly condemned (largely following the event, of course), and the perpetrator being identified as an 'independent researcher' with no place in mainstream academia, this is not a case in isolation. Influential academics, like Mary Beard, have proposed that their disciplines are "politicized" but do not themselves have "politics", a stance on which Padilla Peralta (2019) and I disagree. Their very existences are built upon colonial foundations and are intimately bound. Failure to recognize the political gravities that pull the knowledge production and perceptions within (and beyond) these subjects is to give them ever-greater power. Cohen, editor of the first collected volume to apply postcolonial theory to Medieval Studies: *The Postcolonial Middle Ages* (2000), said "there is a small but stubborn minority of professors who insist white supremacy doesn't have any connections to the medieval period. Another position is that if there is a connection, both sides ought to be listened to instead of having one side -- white supremacy -- driven out" (in Roll 2017). The act of not 'taking a side' by either ignoring the existence of a colonial and potentially oppressive element, or by permitting its presence under the guise of 'free speech' or freedom of thought is, in fact, taking a side. It is taking the side of the colonial.

Criticism of the written and stated views of, then Breitbart editor Milo Yiannopolous, was followed by a post from a tenured Medieval Studies professor who wrote for the far-right news outlet, ending in her condemnation: “*Shame on all of you. You spineless cunts. The bullies are YOU*” (Fulton Brown 2017a). Indirectly related, an untenured Asian-American lecturer wrote a public piece on the necessity of lecturers in Medieval Studies to actively strive to work against white supremacy in their classes and works (Kim 2017). This proved controversial when the former academic took ire (Fulton Brown 2017b). Further, from this came attacks on Kim from the fanbase of Yiannopolous, following his violently-titled article on the events (Roll 2017). There were calls to ‘restore civility’, with a petition by the National Association of Scholars gaining eight-hundred signatures in a two-week period in support of Fulton Brown (Wood 2018). One of Kim’s critics claimed that: “What is at issue is that Fulton Brown loudly opposed turning medieval studies into a ritual castigation of racism and sexism, as so much of the rest of the humanities has become. She championed instead the traditional idea that it should seek out the truth about a time and place inhabited by the usual complement of saints and sinners” (ibid).

That line of commentary, to ‘seek truth’, is in itself a colonial statement whereby ‘truth’ is held by those in power and calls to do better as a discipline are an attack on the false assertion of objectivity and truth. Calls for civility are soft demands to return to orderly behaviour, to a status that favours those in central positions and silences marginal voices of dissent. In the exchange, and others, a glaring fact seems to be escaped by the defenders of the so-called truth-seekers. Often, these people -like Fulton Brown- are themselves figures who hold power. As a tenured academic, she was able to publicly call those she disagrees with ‘cunts’ and incite a man -well-known for using his fanbase to harass and threaten women of colour- to lash out against her critics without any consequence to her academic position.

Support in these examples is not, thankfully, one-sided. Nor is academic silence on the issues facing these disciplines universal. There is a network in Medieval Studies at large, called Medievalists of Color that serves as a supportive platform that raises marginal voices. They provide pedagogical resources, links to funding opportunities, and also organize events that raise awareness of racial issues and promote practices of inclusion (MoC nd). Additionally, attempts are recently being made to write more openly in scholastic platforms, like Ellard’s (ed. 2019) volume discussing the integral role of colonialism, misogyny, and racism in the foundations and continued existence of the ‘Anglo-Saxonist’. Beyond this, the spaces to discuss these pressing matters do not strongly enter into the ‘scholarly’: that is, academic journals. They are voiced through electronic sources like blogs, and in public journalistic platforms like *Times* (Kim 2019) or *The Economist* (SN 2017). Removing discussion from typical academic platforms (i.e. journals) implies that the disciplines at large do not view the subjects important enough to engage with in their professional capacities.

Baker (2018) is right to say that Anglo-Saxon Studies is a discipline that does not ‘belong’ to everyone, and it will not without “adjusting its boundaries in space, time, theoretical approach, and ... changing the kind of space it is”. Much the same can be said for Viking Studies. Placing voices of dissent outside of the places where the creation of ‘acceptable’ knowledge in these disciplines exists is troubling. Kim (2019) maintains that “Despite the fact that real Viking history was multicultural, academic medieval studies have historically been to blame for the upholding of that imaginary past”. But as shown above, academics accepting that responsibility seems to be a divisive matter. Who, then, are the responsible parties one is forced to wonder.

Beyond Academic Actions

An article in *The Economist* (2017) stated that “Academia's presentation of a nuanced view of the Middle Ages may reach more bookish white supremacists: Derek Black, son of the founder of the website Stormfront, has written about how he broke with his father's racial separatist vision while pursuing a graduate degree in medieval history. It is unlikely to reach those whose view of the era is mostly filtered through movies and videogames”. This statement is striking as it somewhat implies that academia is not particularly responsible to engage with people to help counter white supremacy. I would suggest that it is a commentary painted with elitism. The author places the onus of struggling against the coloniality of the Vikings and Anglo-Saxons on popular culture and media. To this, Kim (2019) noted the presence of the television series *Vikings* in recent white supremacist narratives and interactions with the period, citing the need for academics to produce counternarratives, and that “the most widespread, concerted and effective way to fight back against this historical white supremacist Viking genealogy has come not from academics or journalists”. They both recognized that media is a source from which narratives are shaped. But to the former author, academia itself plays a nearly negligible role. However, to continue with the series *Vikings*, it is simply incorrect to suggest that viewers are uncritical or unwilling to conduct their own search for information about the past.

Examining traffic to Wikipedia clearly shows a correlation between the airing of episodes of *Vikings* (and other historical dramas) and accessing pages regarding topics covered in those episodes (Montgomery 2016). Unique visits to the Wikipedia entry on the historical figure Rollo spiked from under three thousand to nearly eighteen thousand the day an episode aired wherein the character became the Duke of Normandy. As a recurring figure, visits to that page spiked each week -timing up with airing episodes. More indicative of the series' capacity to instigate research is the page on the *Oriflamme*. Prior to its mention in the series, unique visits numbered approximately one hundred per day, however the day coinciding with its mention saw visits increase to around two-thousand-five-hundred.

Simply, there is no such thing as being devoid of responsibility. Suggesting that academics do not feed into media and do not inform the public, but only an ‘elite’, ‘bookish’ populace is not only ill-informed, it is actively harmful. Of course, a classroom can only be occupied and accessed by a limited number of people, but academia must use the existing tools available. Media is one avenue through which large groups of people take narratives and use these in the process of weaving heritage. Local and state education systems (primary and secondary more often than post-secondary) also feed into this. Equally, though, cultural or heritage tourism entangles with these other sources into the sources and places of vocalizing negotiation of heritages. None of these are isolated from one another. Popular screen media's role is extensive; the first season of *Vikings* had a budget of US\$40m and premiered with 8.3m viewers (Goodman 2013; TV by the Numbers 2013). In Kim's critique on the failure of Medievalists to work against White Supremacy, she noted that one of the most successful efforts was *Thor: Ragnarok*, directed by Taika Waititi (Māori of Te Whānau-ā-Apanui), which “was a multiracial and postcolonial counternarrative to the white Viking narrative circulating through the alt-right digital ecosystem” (2019). It had a budget of US\$180m and grossed US\$854m (IMDb 2019).

The spirits of what we call heritage are interwoven in many ways. The process of heritage-weaving is based on ever-changing circumstances and worlds. Academics and heritage professionals only supply some of the strands to be woven. Many more spirits enter in to be woven into the practice, to create and re-create our pasts, presents, and futures. Ignoring these only makes for angry or confused spirits and baskets that can hold nothing.

2.5 Heritage Brands

The 'Viking' and the 'Saxon' are brands as much as they are bound to designate cultures. Beyond the tools of intellectuals and politicians, brands like these are underlying forces to the advancement of national narratives, tied to shared myths and identity. States are even ranked on their brand, a 'Nation Brand'. The 12010HE Nations Brand Index (NBISM) rated the UK at number 4 of 50 and 4 in 12017HE (Waterton 2013, 69; Place Brand Observer 2017). Nation branding is "the application of corporate marketing concepts and techniques to countries, in the interests of enhancing their reputation in international relations" (Kerr & Wiseman 2017, 354). The NBISM is partly calculated through 'cultural and heritage' and 'tourism'. The image of what is 'French' is stereotypical, to be certain -as is much of the shorthand to consider depictions of times and peoples. 'Marketing' these images is what creates a strong brand, so much so that these brands can be tapped into by localities searching for access to new revenues to rejuvenate their economies (Brandth & Haugen 2011). Considering them from a 'brand' perspective can help to facilitate relations and impact broad areas and peoples.

'Post-colonial' political movements in numerous parts of Latin America, collectively called *indigenismo*, seek to strengthen ties between the state, modern 'Latin@' nationhood, and Indigenous inheritances (Gould 1998; Serna 2011). This has often been expressed as akin to nationalism that lionizes images, stereotypes, and perceptions of Indigenous cultures. It has its roots in the creation of difference to aid in anti-imperial narratives, and creating identities divorced from Spanish rule. However, it also often consigns both the admired features and the contemporary peoples to a nostalgic past (Gould 1998; Montoya Uriarte 1998). *Indigenismo* can take a racist, and not infrequently fatal, turn when the movement demands that native peoples are beings of the past, that they no longer exist or have 'relevant' identities. This is the myth of *mestizaje*.

In a Peruvian context, one brand of *indigenismo* local to Cuzco, unsurprisingly called *Cuzqueñismo*, recast the small city as a 'Cradle of Peruvianness' through tourism of the 'Golden Age' of the Inca and the romantic reconstruction of a religious event called Inti Raymi (Silverman 2013, 130). The alleged finding of Machu Picchu in 11911/2 HE and excavations of Cuzco in 11933-4HE when the city was designated the Archaeological Capital of South America by the International Congress of Americanists helped *Cuzqueñismo* to flourish (loc cit). Inti Raymi itself was as much a venture to instil local pride through past glory as it was about politics and economics. The celebration was made with it in mind to turn Cuzco into "the leading tourist centre of the continent and the great celebration of Inti Raymi could become one of the greatest celebrations in the world" (Silverman 2013, 131). The local politics are strongly tied into the celebration and the brand it fosters. Cuzco's mayor performs for the public -who judge this as part of the re-election process- and is charged by the Inca Emperor to serve the people (ibid, 138 & 144). It both feeds into the political life of Cuzco, and folds into the connectedness of tourism and identity.

Reflecting brands onto the considerations of expert-led and Authorized Heritage, it becomes easier to see that gravity of fostering mono-narratives is not limited simply to a desire for control by the powerful. The image is more complicated, as a strong brand can translate into tourism money and in making international relations a smoother process (with the understanding that those outsiders have an 'understanding' of the other). The lure is great for the elite mono-narrative. However, like any brand, a heritage or cultural brand is always "recreated and renegotiated" (Harrison 2013, 165). And, as said previously, the AHD is not passively accepted or devoid of being acted upon. The brand of the 'Viking' has been contending with being taken by White Supremacy for decades. While the brand -as advanced by many Western states- is not directly advocating White Supremacy in the ways it has, the image

still struggles with this in more ways than in the strictly social and political as was discussed earlier. The use of symbols and images depicting 'Viking' culture by white supremacists "has put on edge everyone from tour operators who sell Viking-themed tours to the archaeologists, runologists and historians who study the Viking era, concerned that the adoption of Viking symbols by fringe groups could toxify the meaning of a brand, a museum exhibition or an act of worship" (Martyn-Hemphill & Pryser Libell 2018). With concerns of the colonization of cultural brands by toxic elements potentially impacting the social and economic health of that brand, the stakeholders who should be invested in addressing this expands more directly into the realm of tourism. If not out of moral obligation, then out of the realization that a tainted brand is a less lucrative brand. Still, determining what is and is not 'tainted' is up for consideration. To those in power, certain uses of the past may not be an issue, but to those in the margins it may have severe implications.

Heritages Given Place

The physical remains of the past are not one thing; the sites of immovable heritage (e.g. ruins, historic buildings/landscapes) are in themselves part of this ever-negotiated doing of heritage. They are often locations for coloniality, for the power of one narrative against another. In the instance of the Cambodian site Angkor, the narrative that is advanced is largely from a Western viewpoint. The 'discovery' of the site by Mouhot (along with his subsequent delivery of the Khmers from their 'cultural decay') ignores its visitation by previous Europeans, and the presence of numerous nearby villages (Winter 2004, 333). Angkor, similar to places like Machu Picchu, is fit into a blatantly Eurocentric lost-found story. It is a story that is, at its least harmful, insulting to the manifold peoples who were well aware of the site without the help of the White Westerner. Thompson (2004) highlighted the depth of history that had to be narratively bulldozed to manufacture and cater to the Western gaze. The site to people more local to it is startlingly different. Angkor, to them, is a capital of imperial power (a narrative that does still find a place in Western narratives). It is the representation of one of the most important pre-modern states in the area, a pinnacle of Buddhist pilgrimage history, a social centre for interstate commerce (Winter 2013a, 179); yet this narrative is made secondary.

Heritage narratives and sites are often linked, drawing together their stories and symbolisms. As with other weavings of heritage, these are not static. Yet, in the example of routes of pilgrimage, the pilgrim assumes that they are taking part in a tradition that has continued, unbroken, through the ages. They imagine that the steps that they take are in the footprints of co-spiritualists from centuries ago, the same steps that venerated figures have taken. The act of undertaking – or perhaps simply considering undertaking – a pilgrimage is spiritual. Connecting sites is not limited to the strictly religious. Agencies like the Council of Europe have created 'cultural routes' like the Via Regia or the Hansa route. In a direct way, these physical sites become places that express cultural brands -potentially multiple. The connections and networks that these can foster may prove socially and economically useful, but also potentially hazardous (as will be discussed later in this work: CH6.4 & CH8).

2.6 Heritage for Consumption

Heritage may be, as I describe it/them, spirits. Smith (2006, 43) recognized that all heritage is intangible. From an Indigenous mindset (mine), this is entirely accurate. The spirits are not physical, but the places they come to inhabit often are. The weaving of heritage interacts with conservation. The idea of 'place' itself is incredibly important to heritage tourism, be that the mythology of place (Shields 1991) or the 'sense of place' (Schofield & Szymanski 2011).

Following the concept of the AHD, Waterton (2013, 67) stated that groups and agencies invest in and give power to places and then claim them as part of an all-encompassing pan-state/nation social cement. I do not ignore that powerful groups invest time, money, and effort to the heritages they prefer to weave, but I would remind that even with their investments, other -potentially oppositional- groups can and do find ways to weave their own strands.

It would be easy to state that the investments made at locales and into cultural brands by agencies are done with the goal of enforcing the colonial matrix of power, however this is an oversimplification. Barillet et al (2006, 26) said, "heritage has today become a powerful instrument in the economic and territorial development of a community, when properly valorised and promoted, often in the context of tourism related activities". The tourism industry makes up a massive portion of the world economy, tourism making up 9% of the global Gross Domestic Product, or about US\$1.5 trillion in receipts (UNWTO 2015, 3 & 5). When Hudson and Miller wrote their article, tourism was the main source of foreign revenue in at least 38% of the world, and among the top five in 83% of states (2005, 384). In the United Kingdom, 'heritage-based' tourism is an industry that is worth over £14 billion and sustains the equivalent of over 393,000 full-time jobs (Oxford Economics 2013, 4). Cultural tourism is said to account for 84% of the visitor economy, with some 30% of international tourists citing 'heritage' as their main reason for visitation (Waterton 2013, 69). To the UK, this tourism is more valuable than the motor manufacturing, advertising, and electric industries (HLF 2010, 8-9; Bewley & Maeer 2014, 242). The importance of the industry to states, like the United Kingdom, are driving forces to the investment in certain places, brands, narratives. Gould noted that "From the cultural economist's perspective, heritage may be viewed as a tangible or intangible property right that is capable of generating a flow of economic benefits to its owner, who may be either the public at large or a private party" (2014, 68). Certain sites and stories get advanced because of the brands connected to them, not out of a direct Machiavellian desire to create mono-cultures, but out of a connection to economic (and brand) benefit.

This, though, is coloniality in action. One does not need to knowingly aid the colonial matrix of power to do it. Unwittingly thinking and acting to the benefit of Eurocentric power is precisely what the colonial matrix of power brings people to do. So, while considering a nationalist agenda to silence marginal voices and promote singular views of culture and the past is worth consideration, a decolonial view (mine) would point more towards economic considerations and thoughtless coloniality. In their meta-study of heritage tourism articles, the Loulanskis found that "[t]he relationship between heritage and tourism is ... most often described in terms of interdependency, complexity, inherent tensions, dynamics and conflicting values" (2011, 841).

Valuing Heritages

Interwoven into the discourses of what *is* heritage, or what heritages are given the loudest voices is the notion of value. This is a diverse matter: considering what *is* value regarding heritages. For this part, I speak more directly to the values that inspire financial investment and support for tourism. Still, there are numerous manifestations of value that are considered in the economics of the heritage industry. Intrinsic value, meaning the valuation of something through a fundamental analysis rather than consideration of its market, is a frequently stated reckoning for why heritage (e.g. museums, archaeological sites) should be invested in (O'Brien 2010). This position of valuation largely rests in the concepts that heritage tourism locations (such as museums) are a social good, such as for education and engagement with the public. The heritages are valuable because they are heritage. This stance, though, is limited in that a physical object/place in itself is not heritage, and that the process of weaving heritage is one of

change. Even education is prone to change. The 'intrinsicness', then, also changes. This also ignores the consideration with whose heritages does the privilege of being 'intrinsic' end up. Which museums and sites are valuable *because* they are museums and sites? The British Museum is intrinsically valuable, Notre Dame cathedral is as well. And the money to support places like these come from around the world -not just the state elites in which they reside. Yet, at the same time, the intrinsic value of Indigenous heritage sites is questioned in the face of the value of numerous industries: oil, gas, hydroelectric, logging, and mining to name a few. Of course, all these places are intrinsically valuable to those who attach meaning to them. However, maintaining this value to outsiders is a significant issue. Other measures of impact and value are increasingly important, particularly in places faced with government austerity and withdrawal of financial support to heritage.

Desire to demonstrate substantial economic impact has led studies to provide figures that seem to be exaggerations. Bowitz and Ibenholt (2008, 2) remarked with suspicion on a cultural heritage policy white paper in Norway that stated that for each krone of public money invested into restoring and the upkeep of heritage buildings, the state would generate ten kroner, and additionally that each company attached to the sector creates an average of 26.7 jobs. An analysis of over 300 reports on 'value' estimates for cultural destinations showed massive discrepancies in the results that were provided (Noonan 2003; Plaza 2010, 156). Studies that have been compromised in ways to over-inflate the monetary value of a product are a disservice to everyone, from researchers to potential funding agencies. They do nothing but undermine every other study, shadowing them with suspicion that it could be giving yet another misleading conclusion.

Researchers undertake numerous and vastly different methods, metrics, and approaches to their process of evaluation (Mitchell & Ashley 2009, 2). While diversity of approach is not necessarily a negative issue, that much of this research has been done in almost complete isolation from one another (*loc cit*) certainly is. In addition, the Loulanskis (2011) gathered years' worth of articles on heritage tourism to work against this kind of problem: research and findings existing in isolation. Without expressing findings to heritage tourism and its impacts, it becomes difficult to provide answers to how different stakeholders can and do value heritages, and how mindfully advance these industries for the present and future. As researchers and practitioners continue to attempt to influence agencies that can financially support heritage and the tourism around it, we must be clear about the layers of value and the ways in which the physical containers of the spirits of heritage are utilized to express these.

Developing Heritages

The concept of development is frequently attached to financial considerations. Gould noted that many definitions suggest "that the ultimate goal of economic development is the achievement of increases in GDP per capita and, as a consequence of society's access to greater economic resources, increases in a society's capacity to deliver the health, education, nutrition and life-style benefits associated with higher personal and national incomes" (2014, 26). This understanding draws social benefits -access to education and healthcare- out of the increased flow of money into an area, to alleviate poverty. It is not simply bringing in money that should be the major consideration to 'development', but rather an understanding of what poverty is and ways to combat it. Poverty itself is not simply the lack of access to money. Rather, it has many facets: "It includes low incomes and the inability to acquire the basic goods and services necessary for survival with dignity. Poverty also encompasses low levels of health and education, poor access to clean water and sanitation, inadequate physical security, lack of voice,

and insufficient capacity and opportunity to better one's life" (Houghton & Khandker 2009, 419 cited in Thomas 2014, 370).

It has been argued that development itself is not always beneficial. In Central America, it has been called *la maldición* (the curse) by Indigenous peoples who have found themselves increasingly marginalized by resource development (MacNeill 2015). The archaeologist Lafrenz-Samuels (2009) argued that the usual understandings of development come at the expense of alternative perspectives. Development is the language of colonization when it does not feed back social benefits to those who are impacted by it. This is much the same in the industries that tap into heritages as resources. Sharpley's (2014) review highlighted the ambiguity of the results from numerous models that attempted to understand local communities' perceptions of tourism or its impact on them. This all falls under the contested nature of debates in heritage itself, it seems only natural that differing opinion would exist in the use of the resources that the practice makes. McKercher, Ho, and du Cros (2005, 539) considered opposing views of development of heritage tourism: conflict and co-operation. In the former, values are seen as being compromised, be those the cultural values selling out to tourism, of touristic values compromised by operators bowing to other concerns. The latter (co-operation) views the ability to share a resource to a mutually beneficial outcome for all stakeholders. If one is to consider heritage tourism from an angle of conflict, then the suggestion is that one set of stakeholders is 'right', while the other's views and desires are a corrupting force. Certainly, tourism development can be damaging, with the investment of money failing to achieve many benefits to local stakeholders. Swatuk (2008, 128) found that 60% of foreign money spent visiting South Africa never reached the local economies. Adams (2010) noted that money spent by visitors to World Heritage Sites often gravitates towards the socially, politically, and financially elite. And Reeves (2008) identified developed heritage tourism resources as direct causes of gentrification. Heritage tourism development that does not view the needs of local people -heritage weavers, themselves- with critical importance is little more than the theft of their stories to make money. It is colonization.

Development is not one thing and certain avenues of it are directly harmful. But there is no one way to undertake development, and mindful, case specific approaches may well produce benefits that stakeholders desire. Gould cited that "Japan has endured a decade-long malaise and problems of low growth and joblessness presently plague Europe and the United States. Meanwhile, some "developing" countries have emerged strongly, though often by following models far different than those promoted just a few decades ago as the best routes to prosperity" (2014, 19). Approaching development from a Western, and capitalist, perspective is something that those practicing decoloniality are -at the very least- wary of. And, as Gould (2014) noted, alternatives that do not meet standard 'Western' practice are viable. This thesis that I have written makes use of the concepts of branding cultures and the markets of these; it is ultimately a position that I take as only parts of the woven fibres. Economic approaches and examinations do have a place, if we consider the idealized aims that Gould stated: building a society's capacity to deliver higher standard of living (and, ultimately, actualizing these). Of course, even considering what qualifies as improvements to living are matters up for question. However, this work is not the place to inquire about decolonizing health practice or infrastructure -to name several suggested 'higher' standards through development.

The division between conflict and co-operation views to heritage tourism development are a matter of power, and who has it. Indeed, there are numerous stakeholders with their own views for what the present and futures of the resource, the heritage narratives taking place, and the stakeholders themselves should be. An attitude of conflict emerges through the desire to assert power over others. The Loulanskis' concluded their meta-study, saying that "heritage should be

re-established as the primary side in the relationship, fully recognizing its capacity not just as a valuable tourism resource but as an important and largely irreplaceable complex form of capital (cultural, social, environmental and economic), to be wisely used, preserved, sustained and enhanced instead of being irretrievably consumed by tourism” (2011, 855). In much of this, I would certainly agree: the heritage itself is central, with all other discussions only possible because of it. The continued doing and making of heritage at sites is important from whichever angle stakeholders come from.

Conserving Heritages

When we consider what constitutes heritage from a physical perspective, what often comes to mind are structures and objects from the past -or more recent structures containing them. In the process of development, there are numerous concerns for these physical remains. Mass tourism to heritage sites is a destabilizing force to the infrastructure made to support it, as well as the archaeological remains themselves (Fletcher et al 2007, 396). The famous case of Petra in Jordan highlights the impact that mass tourism has on the physical integrity of immovable heritage: the report for the International Committee on Archaeological Heritage Management identified the negative impacts of tourism on sites, including damage and pollution caused from the installation of tourist infrastructure into the landscape (Comer 2014, 29-30). That much is true, the larger the footprint of tourism, the greater its impact. Initially, motivations to maximize the use of resources are what drive agencies towards building infrastructure -like airports- to maximize the number of consumers. However, that is not a viable long-term strategy. These are actions that will congest sites and, ultimately lead to their degradation and the loss of both the physical resource and visitors.

Winter (2013b) said that conservation practice is reluctant to acknowledge issues in the heritage industry, while critical heritage itself seeks to grapple with them. In many ways, the position that conservation professionals hold is one of physicality, and the enduring preservation of it. This, though, places an undue primacy to materials that have for whatever happenstance have survived to our current times. This also places conversations of heritage and the past into the realm of loss and endangerment. This language was noted by Holtorf as being similar to the feelings that people have for endangered species of animals: “[p]eople enjoy helping them [animals and artefacts] to survive as such but would not want them to become too common” (Holtorf 2005, 134). This concept of loss is found in the narratives of the ‘Vanishing Indian’, people and cultures doomed to the past through misfortunes of fate, calamity, and invariably an inability to adapt to the modern world. It is a narrative that is refuted by every Indigenous person who practices their very much vital lifeways.

None of this is to suggest that the physical is unimportant. The survival of significant landscapes and culturally important objects can be crucial ways to inform and interact with our heritages. Rather, this work seeks to point towards different directions of examining the physicalities of heritage, the options to places that can draw spirits to them. This forms a main position throughout the rest of this work.

2.7 Sustaining & Diversifying Heritage Tourism

The Brundtland Report popularly defined ‘sustainable development’ as “development which meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs” (1987). It is a pursuit that aims at reconciling “the interactions of three

complex systems: the world economy, the global society, and the Earth's physical environment" (Sachs 2015, 3). Mass tourism as a practice is largely unsustainable. As noted in the above section, it often fails in the objectives of holistic development; the income largely not benefitting the local stakeholders. It is environmentally intensive and often exploitative (Varju et al 2014, 496-7). The Loulanskis' (2011, 847) meta-study highlighted numerous common unsustainable practices in heritage tourism, among them: dominance of economic interests and short-term profit over sustainability, society and heritage; exploitation of resources; foreign ownership; commoditization of culture. Many of the problems with cultural tourism are rooted in those created by mass tourism; from remote corporations reaping the economic benefits of development and creating wealth bubbles, to unchecked and damaging footfall from maximizing visitor sizes. In line with the understanding that cultural tourism should be sustainable, it is important to recognize that mass tourism will not provide this. ICOMOS issued the Paris Declaration, where they raised the issues of sustaining cultural tourism and the conservation of tangible heritage in a world pressurized by the lure of mass tourism (2011). Top-down, state organized initiatives for tourism development -mass, or otherwise- have not met with great success in many cases.

Still, there are options beyond the 'mass' in tourism. Alternatives that can be steered towards meeting the needs of the many stakeholders. As an industry, tourism has been argued as being more resilient to economic downturns than many other industries (HLF 2013; Vukic et al 2015, 482). During recessions people are less willing to spend money on products like new automobiles, but tourism can take place in numerous fashions that can suit all kinds of budgets to still offer economic stimulation. Not only this, but international tourism has experienced 'above-average growth' each year since the end of the global recession (UNWTO 2016), with no indication that it will not continue an upwards trend. And while economic hardships might take visiting 'exotic' locales off the agendas to many, domestic tourism makes a substantial portion of spending. The year of Bewley and Maer's (2014, 241) research, UK residents were responsible for 60% of the total revenue generated in the state's heritage tourism industry.

Resilience of the industry is not guaranteed, though. If tourism is to be considered sustainable, then it must be so in all aspects. It has been suggested that the financial gravity of funding should be refocused towards small-scale tourism enterprises (Van Der Sterren 2008, 1). Not only this, but investment and consideration of heritage tourism destinations need to be part of a long-term picture. This is not only for the physical health of the sites but the institutional as well. Sources of funding to the continued existence of sites "should be considered as a long-term investment in sustainability raised by various sources – public and private, national and international, regional and local" (Loulanski & Loulanski 2011, 852). If followed, these strategies quickly move heritage tourism(s) away from mass tourism, and by drawing on several funding sources, diminishes the reliance upon singular (and thereby, powerful) stakeholders.

Even should these unsustainable practices be avoided the site is not guaranteed survivability. Tastes change, markets change, people's views on their pasts change. To respond to this, "[d]iversification of both targeted markets and heritage tourism products is noted as a necessity" (Loulanski & Loulanski 2011, 851). As the next chapter argues further, this diversification should not be limited to the physical, nor should the language of endangerment, of finiteness, hold sway over the possibilities that weavers of heritage must consider heritage tourism. Conservation of the physical remains of the past is a pertinent issue to those involved in the heritage industry. Power rests in the survival and use of sites and objects. And yet, the physical is only one potential spirit to heritage. Just like any collection of spirits, heritages persist in the absence of the physical. Heritage is the weaving, it is not the basket. It is the action that makes vessels. The weaving of heritage is argued to be the way the past comes to an

active life in the present (Silverman, Waterton, and Watson 2017, 8). Holtorf (2005, 132) considered the past and heritage to be a renewable resource, not a finite one in danger of eradication.

Though renewable, heritage sites need to be adaptable to changing climates. The Lejre scientific field station turned from a research platform to a place where visitors can perform the past because, “After conducting their own visitor-studies, time-travel experiences and story-telling had been identified ... as two significant realms for further development” (Holtorf 2014, 786). This approach, of having visitors directly interact with sites, is replicated at one of the cases in this research (see Foteviken, from CH4.2). It has been suggested that “the reconstruction of past lives is dangerous in such that it almost inevitably leads to faking the past” (Ahrens 1991, 50 translation in Paardekooper 2012, 64). Indeed, this very notion is striking in its view that any interpretation of the past is ‘real’. Harrison’s phrasing sums an appropriate response to this: heritage is “a production of the past in the present” (2013, 32); the operative word being production (read: fabrication). Preoccupation with what is real, or authentic is followed through in the next chapter (from CH3.1). It is one of the many conflicts within heritage tourism, and consideration for what is and is not ‘appropriately’ heritage.

How we conceive of and manage heritage tourism must fundamentally change “if “unsustainability” is to be successfully reversed” (Loulanski & Loulanski 2011, 844). Additionally, the conducting of heritage studies “will require both provocation and engagement with professional practice” (Witcomb & Buckley 2013, 574). These sentiments are complimentary -or should be. As has been noted in several places, the weavers of heritage are not few. Research from multiple perspectives can help to foster these fundamental changes in tourism practice that must happen. Of pertinence to my concerns is the use of Indigenous and decolonial approaches. Atalay stated that the application of methods from Indigenous worlds can help inform heritage weaving “more broadly, as part of a wider project of global decolonization” (2006, 300). The following chapter examines these matters of economy, sustainability, and decoloniality more in-depth and more directly within my research.

This chapter introduced the theory of the Colonial Matrix of Power and Decoloniality into heritages of the Global NorthWest, and the coloniality loaded in the images of the ‘Viking’ and ‘Saxon’. Additionally, I interrogated the status that this coloniality holds within the Academy. In a search for ways to engage and approach decolonization of these Barbarian brands, I approach heritage tourism and the development of resources. The benefits and negative aspects of tapping into these resources and brands were highlighted, and then a consideration for the sustainability of them. These topics provide a springboard to the discussion in the following chapter that more directly draws my research into focus: the economic and decolonial potentials of the Barbarian Brands.

Towards Renewable, Sustainable, Decolonial Heritages

3.0 Introduction

The last chapter drew into greater focus the ‘Barbarian’ as an inheritance that is contested. Its use in the narratives of White Supremacy and Eurocentrism were discussed, the engagement (or lack thereof) within academia -Viking/Anglo-Saxon Studies in particular- on those narratives, and voices of dissent against the coloniality of the Viking and Saxon. The final portions focused on the heritage sector and heritage as a political, social, and touristic resource. This chapter takes this forward with an examination of specific heritage sites as renewable resources, and their capacity to address colonial narratives of the past and present.

3.1 Authenticity of Sites

Many heritage attractions come in the shape of immovable heritage, the remains of or still functional buildings. Each of these, if they are to be a viable destination, must be viewed as being something that has value. This idea of ‘value’ is often problematized by the divide that exists between understandings of intrinsic and intangible significance, and of hard, financial worth (Timothy & Boyd, 2003, 13; see Tuan & Navrud 2008 & Plaza 2010). The negotiation of these two has been a large issue, where researchers are compelled to give monetary figures to make a case for the need to continue funding to heritage resources (see CH2.5&6).

Regardless of this status -which has been discussed elsewhere- if one thinks about a heritage destination as any other resource to be capitalized upon, then certain aspects of business enter immediately. Finley noted that through tourism, “memory itself becomes a commodity – a thing to be bought, sold, and traded” (2004, 113). For any commodity to be properly capitalized upon, they need to be marketed. The marketing of cultural experiences and attractions has – like any branch of marketing – a set of consistent, repeated buzzwords. Themes of ‘exotic’, ‘unique’, and ‘pristine’ places and experiences are often conjured (Salazar 2012; Bryce et al 2013; Knapp & Wiegand 2014). In addition to these evoked concepts is the word that links all of these, the root from which they gain their potency: authenticity (Cohen 1988, 373; Kontogeorgopoulos 2017).

This word holds a power behind it that heritage and tourism have tapped into (Waitt 1999, 836; Kidd 2011, 24-26). An ‘authentic’ experience is one that is proudly announced, from the sentiment that a restaurant cooks the ‘most authentic’ ethnic cuisine in the area, to a tourism package promising that one can experience the ‘real’ France or Bali if only those people select the services of the travel company.

What then, does this word that evokes so much mean?

It is such a strong word that organizations causally even include it in the defining of heritage tourism itself. For instance, the National Trust for Historic Preservation considers heritage tourism to be primarily “traveling to experience the places, artifacts and activities that authentically represent the stories and people of the past ... [it] can include cultural, historic and natural resources” (Gibson 2015). Authenticity is one feature that is often raised in opposition to tourism. It has been levelled as a reason that ‘heritage’ is a problem of society. Authenticity is, to some, a philosophical ideal from which to challenge what ‘is’ and ‘is not’ a proper heritage product to offer to society (Adorno 1964; Watson 2007, 54). Interestingly, it is not only used against heritage, but also within the heritage tourism industry itself. The desire to escape from

the 'inauthenticity' of their normal lives, it was argued by MacCannell, advanced the cause of tourism (1973). To him, tourism's spirit is devoted to providing authenticity. This belief spurred considerable debate with conceptions of authenticity falling into differing ideologies (see Chhabra 2010, 32-36).

Authenticity emerged on the agendas of NGOs like ICOMOS and UNESCO with the Venice Charter (1964). This document was bound to the frameworks of conservation and universalism where monuments are 'common heritage' that must be 'safeguarded' and handed 'on in the full richness of their authenticity'. According to this document, the conservation of monuments for posterity included their restoration. That repair, though, "must stop at the point where conjecture begins, and ... any work which is indispensable must be distinct from the architectural composition and must bear a contemporary stamp" (loc cit).

Within the charter, authenticity as a term is not defined, but taken as a mutually understood, common sense word. Both the Venice Charter and its spiritual predecessor, the Athens Charter (1931), focused on the 'integrity' of physical, material, monumental remains. What is and is not authentic heritage rested on the existence of original fabrics, and on what specialists were willing to accept as academically rigorous documentation. Based on the foundations of the universality of heritage and monuments sprang the UNESCO World Heritage List which inscripts based on 'outstanding universal value'. This is determined by ten criteria. Many of the listed buildings have been inscribed on grounds of their authenticity in terms understood by the language of the Venice Charter. That standing was challenged in 1978.

The Historic Centre of Warsaw was almost entirely destroyed in 1944, only around 5% of the city's architecture remained after devastation carried out as punishment for a failed uprising (Dziewulski & Jankowski 1957, 212). After extensive reconstruction, it was controversially nominated as World Heritage in 1978 (Cameron 2008; Kuznicki 2013). Opponents called into question the ability of the rebuilders to reconstruct the centre 'authentically' (Cameron 2008, 20). In the process of rebuilding an urban area to be liveable (and to create a viable local tourist industry), updated infrastructure and modern facets -like central heating- were installed (Kuznicki 2013). Parts of the centre also lacked 'proper' documentation on their construction, forcing the rebuilders to make approximations of them. Ultimately, the listing was deferred, citing a need of "further expert opinion" to evaluate the site's authenticity (Connally 1980).

The language of authenticity surrounding the site shifted away from the physical, and stressed:

Criterion (vi): The Historic Centre of Warsaw is an exceptional example of the comprehensive reconstruction of a city that had been deliberately and totally destroyed. The foundation of the material reconstruction was the inner strength and determination of the nation, which brought about the reconstruction of the heritage on a unique scale in the history of the world.

(UNESCO 2018a)

The material nature and existence of the site became secondary. An appeal away from expert opinion and towards a collective connotation of authenticity was drawn into focus. Reconstruction and the spirit of a people made it authentic. Jokilehto noted that the preservation of heritage destroyed in conflict was crucial as "time is not malicious, war is" (quotation from Kuznicki 2013). The power of and 'universal value' of the reconstruction was as much about the ethical concerns of preserving heritage in the face of genocidal aggression, as it was about the spirit of the Polish people themselves.

Under this interpretation, the listing was successful. However, it was quickly decided that such an instance was to be an exception, rather than a norm. The committee decided that criterion

(vi) could only be used in conjunction with other criteria, or under extreme and exceptional circumstance, and that the authenticity of a reconstruction is “only acceptable if it is carried out on the basis of complete and detailed documentation on the original and to no extent on conjecture” (Cameron 2008, 21). With that, the dialogue of an authentic reconstruction became a closed subject for 14 years.

After the controversy of the Historic Centre of Warsaw, inscription of reconstructions became inconsistent. Some sites were refused similar status because of being a reconstruction, while others were denied because of modifications performed on them at some point in time (Cameron 2008, 21). The struggle over authenticities was finally broached openly – and inclusively – in Nara, Japan. Preservation and ‘original’ construction and materials are alien perspectives to many cultures. The physical impermanence of everything is accepted as natural, and therefore in line with balanced existence. Buildings and fabrications may be no exception to this, so the preservation of them for the future can only bring imbalanced spirits. There are not only cultural groundings like this, but the realities of what was called ‘culture[s] of wood’, in contrast to ‘culture[s] of stone’, in which restoration of fabrics is necessary for preservation.

The Nara Document (1994) sought to reconcile the long-standing issue between Western thoughts of authenticity, and the rest of the world (including some views from within the West itself). Just as the nomination of Warsaw became about the spirits of the site itself, authenticity according to Nara was not bound to the physical and permanent. Instead, it looked to foster and appreciate a diversity of worldviews as to what makes things ‘authentic’. It also denied the ability to set up hard criteria for this, but to accept the contexts in which each heritage property exists (Article 11). With the introduction of the Nara Document, a multiplicity of authenticities were officially included and understood as equally valid (Jerome 2008, 3-4). This perspective validated authenticity as being something rooted within those who observe it, not imposed from without (Filippucci 2002, 75-6; Coleman & Crang 2002, 6-7). Nara was adopted by ICOMOS five years later.

Chhabra placed understandings of authenticities into camps of “conventional/essentialist, negotiated, constructed/constructivist, and subjective/existentialist” (2010, 32). The examples above highlighted these kinds of divides in formal practices. With Warsaw, the power of the reconstruction was the factor that gave it the recognition of World Heritage. Still, the weight behind preoccupations with preservation of the tangible -the ‘original’- comes from Western modernity. Yet even when Western societies speak to authenticity tied to physical remnants, the intangible relationships to these objects often become focal points (Jones 2009; 2010). Despite this underlying ethereal nature of authenticity, location and the tactile still have a foundational role to play in the development of heritage.

3.2 Immovable Heritage Tourism Resources

Heritage sites are selected for their uniqueness (perceived or otherwise), with an aspiration for many of these attractions to be selected for their ‘outstanding universal value’ and inscription on the World Heritage List (see Adie 2017; Caust & Vecco 2018). Were there an abundance of widely known sites similar to those listed, it is unlikely that the same impact would result from them. It is, though, this scarcity that makes the sites desirable, and drives opposition to their loss (Nadel-Klein 2003, 173-4). Lowenthal (1998, 101) accused the mixture of heritage sites with tourism and ‘commodity’ as degrading and profaning to the site if not outright damaging to it. Indeed, conflict for control bubbles between those who would develop sites as tourist attractions and those who conserve the same locations (Bowes 1994; Jamieson & Czarnecki 1999; McKercher & du Cros 2002).

The last chapter discussed the precarious situation of using archaeological sites or immovable heritage as a heritage tourism resource. Not only is there the assortment of potential challenges to the development of a site into a tourism attraction, but then there is also the survivability of physical remains, which was discussed previously. Maintaining a heritage site has held a strong connection to original materials and form, with the rare inclusion of reconstructed buildings. These are finite resources, and ones with specific geographical residence. They also cannot always encompass narratives within them. There is often a privileging of a single culture/time over others at heritage sites, despite that a site may have a multi-cultural and multi-phased past. Many of those are neglected or forgotten to advantage a specific narrative. This may be a case of the wilful washing of a past. Many sites with colonial inheritances neglect to tell stories of slavery, or genocide that took place -or are indebted to those actions- in that location (e.g. Hann & Dresser 2013). Just as well, it may even be an instance of the narrative power of a certain time or culture. For instance, a site holding a context of the Roman Empire is easily packaged and branded as a Roman site, regardless of the other contexts in that the site existed in. Even with attempts at providing a multiplicity of contexts by signage, display, or other forms of interpretation, the draw towards a specific narrative may be too strong.

So, while immovable heritage sites can potentially make for useful resources, they may not meet the needs of tourism. The tourism sector is -and has been- fragmenting (Jameson 1996; O'Regan 2014) and people who are spending money on experiences are increasingly discerning and demanding of novel experiences. There are 47 entries are sorted under the keyword *Roman*, and 53 as *Prehistoric* on the searchable list of English Heritage (2018) properties to visit. While there are more of the latter entries, it should be reminded that pre-history in England began hundreds of thousands of years ago, and only ended with the Roman occupation from 10043-c.10410HE. The 'Roman Brand' is extensive, with millions of visits taking place each year to attractions like the Coliseum and to Pompeii. They are staples to the European tourism market, as much as the Pyramids of Giza and the Valley of Kings are in Egypt.

However, this does not answer the demand that would-be visitors have for novelty; especially those of younger generations whose spending is greater (US\$2600) than the average of US\$950 per trip, and who generated over US\$165 billion into the global tourism economy in 2010HE (Vukic et al 2015, 482). The very fact that these sites *are* staples of European cultural tourism may dissuade segments of tourists from visiting (Gobe 2010; Vukic et al 2015, 489). It would, then, be entirely within reason to give more options for tourists to spend their money on -if only to address the tourism landscape.

Heritage tourism is not only confined to the visitation of archaeological/historic sites. The museum has long held a place within the industry. These sites have one immediate advantage over the country house or the ruined abbey: they are not entirely bounded by a singular geographic resource. A museum can be constructed where it serves the greatest ease of use (though not all do so), meanwhile short of physically relocating the aforementioned abbey ruin, its use as a heritage resource is limited to where it was built.

The museum, as a resource, gives other options. The origins and early histories of museums have had significant academic attention (see Bennett 1994; 2004; Abt 2011). As individual destinations, museums often are placed within the industry as receptacles of objects. Those items, of course, had previously been assembled and displayed as part of anthropological, biological, and archaeological research; making museums "custodians of the collections of outmoded scientific disciplines" (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 2004, 1). In this occupation as stewards, objects removed from their living natures continued to tell narratives of humanity as understood by Western, progressive views of the world.

In many instances and places in the world, museums are little more a prison where parts of the world are locked away in cabinets with small cards to describe what these items 'are' (often describing them by typologies, as if they carry understood meaning). There, they are used to reflect an existence of cultural evolution, ownership, hierarchy. All while being removed from their place in the living world: captive, hostages. I cannot help but walk through the galleries in many museums with distress over those on display, and how their spirits are used in ways they were unintended.

But this is not the way of all museums, and new life may come to some objects, some pasts.

Change can be punctuated by the passage of civil rights laws, some with a large impact on the world of the museum -such as the Native American Grave Protection & Repatriation Act (NAGPRA). Museum practitioners grew aware of their buildings, and the objects within, as contact zones between multiplicities of peoples (Clifford 1997). The move away from the directly colonial aspects of the museum brought them conceptually to re-imagine their position from "temple" to "forum" (Lonetree 2012, 4). In this "Second Museum Age", the static and authoritative site is said to have changed into that forum, that place where communities can engage and discuss (Phillips 2005).

The shift to the allegedly communal function of the museum, the shift into an "agent of heritage" (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 2004, 1), drew on new options of how to display and interpret objects and pasts. A multiplicity of pasts could be told within the same walls, in ways that explored alternative paths to education. When Babbidge (2000, 3) wrote at the turn of the millennium, the situation of museums was bleak: long-term sustainability of these attractions was questionable, all while visitor figures had levelled off, and only between 20-40% of museums were thought competitive in the industry. To make matters more difficult, funding to cultural institutes -in the UK and elsewhere- has suffered since the Global Recession of 2008 (Harvey 2016, 8-15). The struggle for the identity of the museum, shifting into a forum, while grappling with the dark inheritances of these institutions interwove with the financial situation that they faced.

Some museums began to present themselves as historical artefacts to have their inheritances put up for discussion in the 'forum' (or, arguably, to do nothing of the sort in reality). Others recoiled from the packaging of a museum and re-cast their origins among 'world fairs' (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 2000; Rydell 2011). Driving forces behind the exposition are visually stimulating and consumer-focused attractions (loc cit). In a world with dwindling funding, and rising pressures to give value in monetary terms, museum exhibitions are not merely 'educational' or an opportunity to create a forum to discuss a series of interwoven subjects. They must be considered for their economic viability.

One avenue of creating exhibitions that draw as a spectacle is by digital technologies. This can appear in many fashions, from interactive electronic displays of digital objects, interactive visual media that allows the visitor to 'converse' with a pre-recorded interpreter or use of augmented reality -via smartphones or other technologies- at sites, museums, and on individual objects (Miyashita et al 2008). These approaches have been championed -often in opposition to older mediums- for their impact on education, user engagement, access, and even democratizing museums (Hashim et al 2014; Pallud 2017). Digital technologies and museums are even considered as imperative, in an evolutionary perspective wherein "Not only do museums and cultural heritage sites not have a choice in whether or not to embrace this 'new normal', they owe it to the communities they serve to meet and engage them in a digital context" (Longo, cited in Murphy 2015). Still, their long-term viability is in dispute, and as has been their cost-benefit to individual museums (Lehn & Heath 2005). Hardware for displays can degrade rapidly,

either physically from use, or from obsolescence. Continued replacement, and consumption, of these are necessary, as with the upgrade of software/programs/apps. To keep up with 'progress', the financial burden of these would be regular. This is not something which many institutes can reasonably afford to avoid becoming rapidly dated. Then, several issues have been raised by this chapter and the previous.

Immovable heritage resources like archaeological properties -and museums have limitations. The former have their challenges of conservation, which are not few. They are geographically limited, and they also may not support a multiplicity of pasts. Additionally, they, along with museums have been disproportionately balanced in order to favour certain narratives (see, for instance, Smith 2006). These pasts are privileged for numerous reasons. It has been suggested through Smith's Authorized Heritage Discourse, that narratives of the past are skewed to advantage those in power (2006). While there is much to say for this, there is still another reality that can play into this: economics.

There is a finite amount of money that can be spent on conservation, development of, and marketing of heritage resources. It may be that certain pasts have been advanced for nationalistic or elite reasonings, the pull of cultural brands should not be overlooked. Brands and bias for or against them are based on stereotypes and clichés (Anholt 2003; 2008; Tasci & Kozak 2006; Widler 2007). The build-up of these stereotypes is something which is marketable, and therefore a financially logical choice to develop tourism via. This situation, however, does not answer the growing demand for new experiences; for alternatives. And in striving for an answer to this, there is perhaps an opportunity to address multiple other challenges.

3.3 Alternative Tourism - Renewable Immovable Heritage Resources

We are faced with a host of issues surrounding heritage tourism, and its resources. As stated, archaeological and historic sites are non-renewable resources. As sites degrade through time, they may become unrecoverable or simply vanish. Again, this returns to the materials used, and 'cultures of stone' in contrast to 'cultures of wood'.

Why there are 47 Roman properties listed on English Heritage is as much an issue of the survivability of these properties as it has to do with their branding. Roman forts survive the destruction of time better than a crannog, or wooden longhouse. Those remains vanish, and their ability to be represented with a narrative is diminished. While this vanishing and implications on perception of past peoples will be addressed further on (see 3.5), one does not need to enter into intense debate to see potentials, options. Section 3.1 discussed the evolving nature of authenticity. Formerly, authenticity was largely confined to the realm of original fabrics and construction. However, with the adoption of documents like Nara, we no longer need to rely solely on that which has withstood the decay of time for an 'authentic' tourism experience. There are new, viable options.

Along with the segmentation of tourism has come the proliferation of what is collectively called 'alternative tourism' which is defined as: "tourism [that] no longer concentrates on economic and technical necessities alone, but rather emphasises the demand for an unspoiled environment and consideration of the needs of local people" (Fennell 1999, 9). This has been set up in opposition to potentially exploitative mass-market tourism. Cultural tourism, along with ecotourism, adventure tourism, and rural tourism are connected together within this scope of sustainable 'alternatives' and development (Fennell 2002; Varju et al 2014). However, as discussed, some aspects of cultural tourism may not be as sustainable as others.

The Archaeological Open-Air Museum (AOAM), however, offers a potential solution to a number of these difficulties. The Organization, EXARC – which is the ICOM affiliate that represents such attractions – has defined an AOAM as:

‘a non-profit permanent institution with outdoor true to scale architectural reconstructions primarily based on archaeological sources. It holds collections of intangible heritage resources and provides an interpretation of how people lived and acted in the past; this is accomplished according to sound scientific methods for the purposes of education, study and enjoyment of it visitors.’

(EXARC 2008)

The term, Archaeological Open-Air Museum, originated to conceptually link sites with a diverse set of names (OpenArch 2015, 30). This is part of the trouble in categorization for these attractions. Paardekooper (2012, 54) listed a series of sites that fall within the remit of an AOAM to greater or lesser extents and commented on the plethora of names like in “the British Isles, archaeological open-air museums are rarely characterised as museums, but rather as centres, heritage visitor centres, farms, parks or villages”. Of these sites, it can be said “that no one single place resembles another, but each in one way or another is something special” (Ahrens 1990, 33 translation in Paardekooper 2012, 27). In Netherlands an attempt was made in the 1980’s to create a uniform name for these kinds of sites, but the effort failed (van der Vliet & Paardekooper 2005).

There is substantial overlap among sites and attractions. Indeed, a ‘cultural’ landscape can have many things in common with an AOAM, enough to allow its consideration. Much the same can be said for farming museums. At both the educational and ‘experimental’ aspects compile with the touristic. These kinds of attractions and AOAMs at large “are the main sites in which “experimental archaeology” activities are, if not directly carried out, made visible to the public” (Comis 2010, 11). One must consider ‘experiment’ with an open mind, much of the time we might consider the activities at AOAMs as experiential archaeology, where the activities taking place are educational rather than simply for entertainment (Schmidt & Wunderli 2008).

Many locations have similarities to AOAMs, such as reconstructed buildings that are accessible to the public. However, if they are not utilized as regular educational or touristic resources, then their similarity ends at being something reconstructed (Paardekooper 2012, 29). Additionally, places that could well be considered to meet all of the criteria of an AOAM are within their rights to opt-out of identification. The Shakespeare Globe Theatre in London is one such location that “sees itself as having little in common with archaeological sites or open-air museums” (ibid, 28). In the end, the term Archaeological Open-Air museum is a relatively new term to encompass many destinations that have similar aims and views of themselves. This marks a recent surge in bringing these kinds of sites into a more prominent position than they have typically had within the world of ‘the museum’ (this will be returned to in the next section).

Such destinations contain with them several implications (positive and otherwise). First is that such a resource does not suffer from conservational difficulties in the same way in which an ‘original structure’ would; they have been produced for their consumption, either as an experiment to learn about the past, or as a tourism and educational resource.



*Restoration of Castillo de Matrera, Cadiz, Spain. (Historia 2016)
fig 3.1*

An AOAM does not need to justify conservation in the same way that – say – a Norman chapel would. The status of the two differing labels – Archaeological/Historical Site and Archaeological Open-Air Museum – produces a division between them. The former is obliged to obey the norms of a concept of ‘authenticity’ or be decried as a travesty. A recent example of this would be the controversy surrounding the restoration of the Matrera castle in Spain, when conservators used new

materials to shore up the building (fig 3.1). This work resulted in outrage and ridicule. The organization Hispania Nostra called it a “massacre of Heritage” [my translation] (2016), and a local resident commented: “how do you say: they’ve fucked it up” [my translation] (La Sexta 2016). Meanwhile, reconstruction and restoration at AOAMs do not earn the same kind of outrage (yet still there is a stigma that will be touched upon in the following section).

That being the case, an AOAM can rebuild as it needs to, in order to better present itself, and to cope with the stress of visitation. Other immovable heritage resources do not equally share this advantage. It places an AOAM as something easier suited towards a sustainable and green paradigm of tourism (the green brand being tapped into at numerous sites). And while this is a potential advantage with significant implications – that informs the spirit of this work – there is yet another facet that is also filled with potential.

AOAMs are reconstructions that are, in EXARC’s own definition, providers of interpretations of how people lived in the past through research and archaeologically gained means. This offers would-be consumers with new options, just as much as it does for the public archaeologist and historian. So long as the “connection between scientific research and any specific archaeological open-air museum is provided by the active role of a trained archaeologist among the staff or an archaeological counsellor belonging to an affiliated organisation” (EXARC 2008), it is conceivable that one could potentially build attractions to depict hundreds of pasts. This can offer a chance to diversify heritage tourism for those tourists who want a novel, or unique experience. Not only that but while responding to an opportunity in the tourism market, it is also possible to address the perception(s) that would-be visitors have of peoples of our pasts. The fragmenting of the tourism industry can be utilized for individuals to renegotiate the past, to reimagine, and to reconstruct themselves and heritage (Jamal & Hollinshead 2001, 64).

There are, of course, issues and implications with this hypothesis which the rest of this chapter will address. The above section on authenticity described a period of conceptual transition between how reconstructed fabrics and structures can still be categorized as lying within the realm of the authentic. But how does an Archaeological Open-Air Museum work with this powerful mantle of ‘authenticity’?

3.4 Authenticity & Archaeological Open-Air Museums

The lens of my camera drew the carved symbol into focus. With a mechanical whir, the image of this shape was captured. A round symbol, like a child's drawing of a fish but with the tails curling inwards, decorated the threshold of one of the reconstructed houses.

I recognized it at once. A potent talisman in Scandinavian folklore, the trollkors protects people from the beings of the forests and wilds who would cause harm. Usually made of iron, known as a bane to malevolent spirits; bent and twisted upon itself makes it even more so. Powerful, indeed: I first came to know the symbol by friends who wore them around their necks on simple leather cords to drive baleful beings from them.

Formidable, I could not deny. But venerable? Doubtful.

I, too, knew that the origins of the symbol were shrouded in controversy. A Swedish woman began making them within my lifetime, attached to a story that she had found the symbol at her grandparents' house, where the symbols had been actively in use to protect the locals' cows from trolls. The factuality of her account: who could say for certain? The trollkors itself may have been as old as the reconstructed village I stood in. And yet in a world filled with ill-natured spirits, I felt no trolls near that house.

I snapped another picture.

•••



Trollkors at Foteviken (2016)

fig 3.2

The notion of what is authentic is an expression of a person or group's acceptance of a product's accuracy and reality – physical or experiential. The creation and consumption of an authentic experience has been a point of criticism within the academic community against heritage (Hewison 1987). The Nara Document stressed authenticity through finding that which is agreeable to the perspectives of groups and individuals:

“The understanding of authenticity plays a fundamental role in all scientific studies of the cultural heritage, in conservation and restoration planning, as well as within the inscription procedures used for the World Heritage Convention and other cultural heritage inventories”
(Nara Document 1994)

In the pursuit of an ever increasingly 'authentic' experience, the complex nature of the past is often curtailed. The very physicality of heritage sites and their interpretations can be seen as one of their negative qualities. Whereas tactile engagements with subjects at museums have significant merits (e.g. Tōgu et al 2017), it is just as much a target of criticism. Some scholars have been unconvinced of heritage's beneficial qualities. Jordanova noted that its basis in the realm of the physically experienceable diminishes crucial aspects of the past that can only properly be expressed through history - such as the communication of legal systems of the past (1989, 26). Explaining difficult, non-sensory concepts is something that critics have believed that heritage attractions are unable, if not unwilling, to approach. Instead, they argue, the nuances of experience in the past - like complex political and social climates - are oversimplified, or simply omitted in that name of achieving authenticity (Urry 1990, 112; 1995, 161; 2002; Horne 1992, 101-120; Crouch & Lübbren 2003).

Of course, it may seem contradictory that authenticity can be won through erasure. One needs to remember that authenticity itself is not a static point or a hard metric but is more appropriately a gauge of feelings or notions. It is not the same to each person, as it is informed by the perspective and circumstance of the individual. One's authenticity is not another's. People have expectations of what they are prepared to see about the past. In the context of screen media, this falls into the category called 'cinematic shorthand'. In the process of illustrating a past, this does two things. It informs the viewer of a time and civilization without requiring such a time to be mentioned within dialogue or exposition (Finke & Shitman 2010, 36). However, it also comes with the issues of perceived accuracy and authenticity. The very triggers that inform the viewer of time and culture also become a burden. Their inclusion is often mandatory in order to be accepted as being 'accurate and authentic' regardless of the fact that the trigger itself may be anachronistic, made-up, or even damaging (Greer 2009). To explain: a film set in any point in the Roman Period (9248 - 10476HE) that involves warfare or battles demands the inclusion of *lorica segmentata* despite it being used only from 9992HE until the late 10200s HE (Bishop 2002, 21).

This touches upon another critique of heritage and authenticity: the blurring of time, anachronism. As was mentioned previously, heritage resources serve as capsules of timelessness. This timelessness also functions regularly as a focal point, assembling time within the physical boundaries of the site. At many sites, different periods run together, like the Beamish Museum. At heritage sites, visitors may find themselves watching a joust despite being at a Georgian estate. Buildings from differing centuries may be placed side-by-side. All of this has been seen as meaningless reproduction; a cynical grab for money and to stave off perceived social decline through the assertion of heritage (Hewison 1991, 175). Much the same, Lowenthal decried the 'endless eclecticism' that would result from the increased admission of what can be considered heritage, ultimately rendering the term hollow (1998, 94-102). Anxieties over commodification and commercialization, whitewashing and Disneyfication have been challenged and engaged with (see Hebdige 2003; Meamber 2011; Larkin 2016). In addition, charges like Lowenthal's were disputed with the Faro Convention (Council of Europe 2005) that insisted that each person be allowed to take part in the cultural heritage of their choosing and should be able to be included in the ongoing definition of and maintenance of heritage. Then, is there a foundation to deny the inclusion of AOAMs into the fold of heritage – should there be people who are open to them being such? But there is an issue with being too open in one's interpretations.

Disneyfication

In the construction of tourism destinations like AOAMs (or attractions, like theme-parks, that may seem remarkably similar to them) there has been a concern about the authenticity, the temporal and cultural accuracy, and the commercialization of that which is depicted (Hewison 1987; Lowenthal 1998; Lafrenz-Samuels 2009). Capitalistic power and control over depictions of the past have caused concern within the archaeological, anthropological, and historical communities. Anachronistic and 'clean' depictions of the past, where inconvenient or difficult aspects of a time are whitewashed and eliminated from view, have been critiqued. Hewison considered heritage attractions as sanitized and inaccurate time



*Carving of Merlin's face at Tintagel, UK (English Heritage 2016)
fig 3.3*

capsules of ‘yesteryear’ (1987, 185). This criticism is rooted in resistance to the negative connotation of commodification of heritage, wherein all heritage has an ascribable market value (Díaz-Andreu 2013, 226).

Tourism sites have been compared to theme-parks, much like a product created by the Disney corporation. One recent case in the United Kingdom has been the controversy of English Heritage’s development of Tintagel Castle, Cornwall: a site with connections to Arthurian legend (as well as historic importance beyond the mythical attachments). In 12016HE, the face of the wizard Merlin -a central figure in Arthurian legend- was carved into a rockface (fig 3.3) to evoke his role in the conception of the legendary king at the site. The Cornish Association of Local Historians expressed their outrage “We are appalled at what English Heritage is doing to Tintagel, one of Cornwall’s most historic sites. ... we view with alarm the plans to turn Tintagel into a fairy-tale theme park” and “if English Heritage wanted to combine history and fantasy it should hand the site over to Disney” (Morris 2016).

In fact, the Disney corporation is known for its depiction of world cultures in a microcosm at the Epcot park in Orlando. There, eleven states are depicted and made visitable: one can have a beer in ‘Germany’, only to then walk up a pyramid in ‘Mexico’, after passing a pagoda in ‘Japan’. Each of these miniaturized countries -save Morocco- were constructed through the sponsorship of corporations, not their respective states (Weiss 2018). This encroachment of capitalism, and of corporate power into depictions of cultures and their pasts is a worrying issue wherein a ‘pristine past’ is ‘despoiled’ as a result -ignoring that capitalism has long played a role in heritage sites (Lafrenz-Samuels 2009, 70; Larkin 2016). This perceived looming threat has then been called Disneyfication.

Misrepresentation of the past is a troubling matter. Myanmar’s project to rebuild over eleven hundred temples in under ten years was a stunning accomplishment. However, this was not done in a spirit that those in the archaeological community saw as fitting. This initiative, to help inject life into the state’s tourism industry, was critiqued as being blitzkrieg archaeology (Stone 2007, 185). The pace that the temples were ‘rebuilt’ was so rapid not only because they were built under incredibly unsafe conditions to the workers, to hasten and reduce costs of production, but because they were also constructed using a template. It cuts down on time needed if everything is the same (and the welfare of construction crews is of minimal consideration). However, it also overrode entire periods of architectural styles across time in the process of creating tourism resources. The example of the authoritarian former government of Myanmar’s enactment of this blitzkrieg archaeology encapsulates the worry voiced by Silberman: “Are we in danger of transforming the past into a theme park and the site into an outlet for McArchaeology?” (2007, 186). It must

According to the most commonly accepted history of open-air museums, the forebear of the modern open-air museums is Skansen – constructed by Arthur Hazelius in 11891HE – in Sweden (Anderson 1984, 17-19). This site has been so influential that its name has, in some places, become the word for open-air museums themselves (OpenArch 2015, 7). It is also largely recognized that Skansen itself developed out of King Oscar II of Norway’s collection of relocated houses, established a decade previously (loc cit). These attractions were set up as collections of the distinct building styles of people. These museums often took on a position of depicting the ‘folk’ from each region in the state.

Historiography of the open-air museum’s origins have come from several authors. Anderson’s (1984) is the most frequently accepted. He placed the origins, as stated above, with the ‘Skansens’ in Europe. Snow (1993) rooted the origins of living history museums -in particular Plimoth Plantation- in 11886HE “with early forms of *tableaux vivants* and pageantry that commemorated the arrival of the colonists. ... the development proceeded by degrees in movement from simple to complex” (Magelssen 2007, 6). Wallace (1981, 66) placed these foundations with the historic house and conservative organizations that share some connection through their lineage, like the Mayflower Society and Daughters of the American Revolution. In

the case of open-air museums and so-called 'folk museums' in Europe following the Skansen model, many are devoid of people, save for the visitors to the attraction. This style of museum, people like Anderson (1984) felt, was incomplete and unable to accurately show the actual folk that the folk museums tried to highlight. He commented that "[v]isiting most European open-air museums is akin to time-traveling through the past, only to find vacant and silent homes and shops" (Anderson 1984, 22). To connect these narratives of the origins of living history, Anderson (1984, 29-30) drew upon the costumed interpreters at the Philadelphia Centennial Exhibition in 1876 and their impact on JD Rockefeller and Henry Ford, who would go on to create open-air museums in the United States.

These views of origins in a linear and evolutionary fashion are, at their very heart, colonial projections of what is a complicated matter. The 'progression' of costumed interpretation into the empty buildings and landscapes that made up open-air museums is taken as a given growth by Anderson (1984) and Snow (1993). Magelssen (2007, 54-55) was critical of the use of the evolutionary narrative, saying that it "retrace[s] history, backward, along a precise and homogeneous continuum ... [it] allows living museums to claim an undoing of history, through procedures such as back-breeding. The living history museum, in order to better understand the event, slows down the chaos of the virtual in order to construct a plane of reference with which to understand the past ... All of this labor on the part of living history museums is really an act of constructing monuments to the past -monumentation- masking an absence by vainly attempting to stabilize bits of the past". To the authors who have proposed linear origins, authenticity lies in those perceived roots, in those evolutionary narratives -be they critical (as Wallace 1981, or otherwise).

The history of the AOAM has similarities to other aspects of the history of museums. The assemblage of 'Skansens' and other sites was founded upon a feeling of loss. The folk-ways and fabrications of European people were set to vanish in the face of modernity. A similar perception spurred the collecting and cataloguing of Indigenous peoples and their material culture, in a period which has been called the "Dark Age of Native history" (Hoxie et al 2001, 263; Lonetree 2012, 10). At both museum expositions and at early AOAMs, the 'vanishing people' were put upon display, each vanishing because of their perceived inability to survive progress. In the case of Indigenous peoples, this stemmed from their primitiveness and the evolutionary determinism that enforced Western modernity (Maurer 2000).

The addition of life – in the form of reconstructing the buildings to function as a 'settlement' and populated with actors depicting the time period in question – was viewed as a natural evolution, towards a more perfect and authentic path to interpreting the past. The tone of 'lifeless' sites from Anderson, Magelssen (2007, 5) notes is his "tendency to regard them as substandard: at best, near-perfect, at worst primitive". Again, this is the language of coloniality and modernity. Under this concept of an evolutionary progression of open-air museums towards the 'perfection' of the 'living' museum, it was not enough to have the façades of buildings as the sole filling to an attraction. They needed to be filled with evidence of life. Empty buildings did not stay empty. It is not necessary to suggest an evolutionary narrative of these sites, nor is it useful. Costumed performance at institutions and sites has been carried out far beyond the scope of the proposed 'origins' of open-air museums (Magelssen 2007, 56). In the end, inserting life into sites is -for Magelssen and myself- not a linear, imperative development. But, regardless of the multiplicities of reasons (for they are not universal) why sites have come to their current states, an important factor is the life that is at them. Paardekooper (2012, 65) in associating the farming museum within the umbrella of AOAM suggested that the importance of these sites is "not just about the position of people in ancient periods within their environment. The term 'life' is important, whether you talk about living plants, crops and trees, animals...". The addition of period objects, and clothed actors produced both a more authentic experience and -paradoxically- a product criticized as anachronistic, inauthentic, inaccurate, and kitsch.

The criticisms of inauthenticity at AOAMs also are compounded by the practicalities and necessities of existing and functioning in the contemporary world. Without addressing the requirements of modern safety regulations, many of these sites would not be permitted to operate by government authorities. OpenArch, a project conducted through EXARC and the EU, reported what they called a ‘Gordian knot’ in the limitations and considerations to the reconstruction of structures while keeping true to their purpose:

“The building is constructed on a site planned for this [educational] activity. It is not necessarily in the same area where a reconstruction would be made meant for visiting tourists. It means close proximity to toilets, storage facilities ... It allows the use of modern lighting, concrete foundations, heated floors, but not visibly. It is perceived as a historically accurate building ... In this environment you are meant to experience history. It is furnished like if an inhabitant has just left the room. Visitors may touch everything, there are no signs ... It is not visible that the building has been constructed [with] ... Macadam in the foundation [that] prevents moisture from reaching up into the walls ... Hidden floor heating may be installed to keep the building dry ... Beneath the peat or concealed between double wooden layers there are modern water seals [in a roof]. Entrance and door allow handicap access ... Emergency exits and hidden heating [sic] is included the be used during gatherings”

(OpenArch 2015, 14-16)

It is with these practicalities that OpenArch admitted a use for the methods that Disney theme-parks employ:

“This may give the appearance of a Disney theme-park, but what we do ensures that everything is historically accurate. Natural materials are seen and felt, we have real fires etc. What has been borrowed from the Disney concept however is their skill at hiding modernities that improves[sic] the environments and reduces wear and tear and the need for maintenance”

(OpenArch 2015, 16)

Beyond the considerations of a ‘theme-park’ strategy to the structures at AOAMs is that of the narrative power inherent in the theatrical nature of occupying a site with interpreters and objects to interact with, a matter that not only OpenArch embraced, but so to with researchers like Meamber (2011). The divide between an AOAM and a theme-park may appear blurred by the former’s adoptions of Disneyfied attributes, but Schlehe and Uike-Bromann (2010, 61) were quick to remind that theme-parks may adopt trappings of the past, but they do so with historical and social contexts largely removed, stripping out educational values those sites could have (and AOAMs have). The difference between sites and informed uses of Disneyfied strategies at AOAMs should not be underestimated.

3.5 Presenting the Past

Anderson’s chronology and perceived evolution of open-air museums, into living history, placed the change with Henry Ford and JD Rockefeller and their attractions: Greenfield Village (part of the Henry Ford Museum) in Michigan and Colonial Williamsburg in Virginia (1984, 29-30; Magelssen 2007, 4). Their creation brought ‘folk’ buildings out of their status as a simple structure, a façade reminiscent of a time past; empty and barren of the life that would have been integral to their existence as residences or public structures and forums.

While authenticities of the produced structures have been questioned as fanciful, this other side has won as much -if not more- ire from those who are sceptical of the heritage industry depicting the past for tourist money. The re-enactment of and ‘transportation’ of visitors into a past have been decried as sensationalizing and commodifying the past (Lowenthal 1985; Urry 1990; Samuel 1994), or cynical use of troubling, traditionalist narratives because of commercial success (Teunissen 2016, 56-7). It is through this aspect of an AOAM that sceptics find a

platform to criticize an attraction as being ‘Disneyfication’. How could actors recreate a past that is unobtainable and unknowable? There has been a belief among Westerners that history and its narratives are ‘real’ while performance cannot be so, because of its basis in stirring emotion (see Jackson & Rees-Leahy 2005, Jackson & Kidd 2008, Schneider 2014, & Southerland Clothier 2014). Indeed, ‘theatrical’ even gets used pejoratively by interpretive staff at AOAMs (Magelssen 2007, 118). However, performance of the past has been a part of the human experience, and downplaying its reality is misguided.

Performative aspects at AOAMs, by definition, are based on research. Many such attractions function as a centre for study wherein interpreters, builders and maintenance staff rely on information that can be gleaned from the past to create the best interpretations (Snow 1993; Magelssen 2007; Paardekooper 2012). Staff at AOAMs use research about the past to make an experience more ‘real’. Interpreters engage in genealogical and historical research in order to better inform themselves about their characters (Carnegie & McCabe 2008; Coles & Armstrong 2008). Meanwhile, those in charge of the buildings undertake historical, architectural, and conservational research in order to create an experience that is viable to visitors while recognizing considerations for accuracy (see, for example, OpenArch 2015, 49-52 & 73-94). With these in mind, Gordon questioned: “if this change in interpretive strategy has been under way for more than three decades, why have so many contemporary scholars continued to decry the conservatism, simplification, and Disneyfication of history at living history museums?” (2016, 305).

Styles of Costumed Interpretation

There are a few strategies in which costumed interpreters do their work. Two major divisions of these are between 1st and 3rd Person (Snow 1993, 39-45; Johnson 2011). They can be broken down further:

1st Person Perfect (1PP)– A costumed interpreter undertakes and commits to a character. This character will often be a historically known figure -prominent, obscure, or from the interpreter’s ancestry (Snow 1993, 10). There are differing levels of rigidity to this form of interpretation. In this style, the costumed interpreter adopts a persona of which they are unable to shift out of in front of visitors. Similarly, they may also not be allowed to make use of anachronistic equipment like glasses. This style allows a more theatrical experience for visitors. However, it does not allow an interpreter to interact with visitors in a way that could satisfy questions or comments if knowledge to answer them is outside of the scope of that character’s experience. For instance, an interpreter of the Iron Age would have to feign ignorance about airplanes and potatoes.

1st Person Imperfect (1PI)– Similar to 1PP, but with the difference that a costumed interpreter can shift between their dramatis personae, and themselves -the modern interpreter. In this way, they can answer questions which involve knowledge, understandings of, and cultural awareness of both modern times and of events between the period(s) depicted by the museums and the date of the visit.

1st Person Assisted (1PA)– Similar to 1PI, but instead of the ‘imperfection’ being drawn out by the costumed interpreter themselves, that role is administered by alternative means. This is often through a non-costumed interpreter who will engage with visitors as a person from the present. In this way, the image of transportation is not broken by a costumed interpreter shifting between period character and modern interpreter.

3rd Person – In this style of interpretation, the costumed interpreter does not actively perform through a dramatic persona. Instead, they, while costumed speak about the period that the museum depicts from the perspective of a person in modern times. The interpreter is a person in the present and treats their interpretation as such. There is often a focus on skills, such as

working a loom, in this style of interpretation (Jackson & Kidd 2011,2). These interpreters can hold informative conversations, but they are not able to present aspects of the past that a 1st Person interpretation could: from cultural norms, to speech patterns, and beliefs from the period.

The balance between 1^{PP} and 3rd Person is an important choice that influences the rest of an attraction. Some forms of interpretations focus less on “particular skill than of a recognised and culturally coded pattern of behaviour” (Carlson 1996, 4-5). That is, they look to tap into culture itself rather than wishing to depict crafts. But just who are interpreters depicting? There is a deep well of options available: George Washington can be a figure represented, along with those known through records. But just as they are options to certain AOAMs, so too are historically unnamed and unknown people from the Iron Age, the slaves of a wealthy plantation owner, or a member of an Indigenous community made voiceless and reduced to be nothing more than window dressing in the narrative of history.

What then, of the performance of these people in the margins of society and history?

Marginal Communities as Attractions

Between 12007 and 12016HE, foreign visits to Native American communities increased by 182%, to 1.995m (Erdman 2017). The desire to be a tourist to Indigenous communities comes with an assortment of baggage. Critics come from several viewpoints concerned with the commercialization and commodification of the Indigenous (Díaz-Andreu 2013, 226; Gould 2014, 85). There is the worry of an attraction’s exploitation of ‘otherness’ (see papers in Picard & Giovine 2014). Visiting Native American reservations, along with Indigenous and marginal communities, is also a problematic practice on the grounds of their economically marginal status, and the tourism of poverty (Sammells 2014; Nisbett 2017). Outside visitors, especially privileged tourists, may not be welcome into an impoverished community.

The experience that visitors to such communities may not be fulfilling to them in any way, as their stereotyped perceptions and expectation would not be met. A visitor to a reservation may be frustrated that the Seneca Nation in New York live in houses (modular or otherwise), rather than in tipis -despite the fact that the Haudenosaunee never lived in them.

And still, people want their interactions with the ‘exotic’. In instances, Indigenous groups have been corralled or relocated into ‘ethnic villages’ where people can visit them (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 1998, 162-165; Hudson 2007, 387), or have people not of their own group represent them to a visiting public (Dyer et al 2003). Tourists visit the Tuvans in China, and yet those tourists often interact with Kazakhs and Mongols playing Tuva (Yang et al 2016). Famously, the Mayers Ranch offered tourists the chance to visit Maasai. However, the depiction of the Maasai dehumanized them in order to facilitate an experience that tourists would view as ‘authentic’ and enjoyable (Bruner 2001; Buzinde et al 2014, 22). The performers were made to live in mud huts, and were paid in food, while the Mayers themselves lived in a large house on the same property, outfitted with modern conveniences (Bruner 2001, 885-6). Recent tour operations continue this dehumanizing process by marketing Maasai as part of the ‘Big Six’, referring to the term ‘Big Five’ coined by game hunters in Africa (Salazar 2014, 115).

These attractions both claim the powerful word ‘authenticity’. Dissonance: the touristic use of a heritage not reflective of the culture it represents but an image more directly associated with those visiting, is another tool used by tourism to offer experiences that attract and satisfy tourists (Glover 2008, 112-4). The Polynesian Cultural Center in Hawai’i is a Mormon-run destination that employs Polynesian students to “keep alive and share their island heritage with

visitors while working their way through school” (Ross 1994, cited in Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 2004). In 12016HE it used the tagline: “All of Polynesia, One Unique Experience. Authentic Polynesia” (2016a). Its advertisements claimed to depict the ‘real’ cultures of Polynesia, and the ‘most authentic’ luau on the Hawai’ian islands despite the showcase of the entirety of Samoan culture in which visitors “Watch well-muscled, young natives climb 40-foot coconut trees – in bare feet” (loc cit). Meanwhile, its traditional feast featured such staples of ‘traditional’ Polynesian cuisine as chocolate cakes, and teriyaki strip loin (2016b).

Archaeological Open-Air Museums also depict marginal people. And while sites like those mentioned above try (for better or worse) to reproduce traditions, normally depicted as at risk of extinction, the interpretations at AOAMs similarly claim the reproduction of traditions and lifeways, but those which have already vanished.

Marginal Peoples at AOAMs

The presentation of past peoples is a difficult path. Prior to civil rights movements, living history depictions did not engage with the muddy and negative experiences of groups in the past, to the point of often constructing “Aboriginal ghost town[s]” which reflected prevailing settler beliefs of Indigenous peoples (Gordon 2016, 278). Inconvenient facts have been something to cover up, to help produce a clean and clear product. However, as moods changed, AOAMs needed to as well.

It has been noted that many of the founding groups behind living history museums, and the major sources of non-visitor related funding have leaned towards the conservative and elite side of a cultural and political spectrum (Handler & Gable 1997, 229-230; Montgomery 1998, ix-xiii; Teunissen 2016, 78 & 84-88). Additionally, some AOAMs have been funded by and maintain special relationships with special groups of elite lineage-based power: Colonial Williamsburg is in-part supported by the Daughters of the American Revolution social group, and Plimoth Plantation has been similarly so by the Mayflower Society (Magelssen 2007, 7; DAR Williamsburg Chapter 2018; Plimoth Plantation 2018). These attachments have been argued to result in a reluctance to problematize the constructed narratives, that just so happen to be to the social advantage of those in power (Handler & Gable 1997, 25 & 123).

It is not the case that these types of museums and attractions can be described as revolutionary. Representations of the past at sites like Colonial Williamsburg have changed. But, they have because of the times surrounding them. AOAMs expanded their narratives, as Agamben argued, not as the revolutions that have been claimed, but very much as a reactionary move to what was happening in contemporary society (1993, 91; Magelssen 2007, 21-2). Thanks to a shift from authoritative and uncritical engagement with history, to the development of public history, what AOAMs once left as a clean and idealized vision of a singular past became a more nuanced picture. The cleanliness of many AOAMs has been subdued, by letting buildings degrade (fig 3.4&3.5), and for dirt and animal waste to accumulate so that the site seems more real and less like a pristine stage. At Colonial Williamsburg, it came to be, then, that “shit and tulips, slavery and Revolutionary-era soldiers can be seen as opposing icons representing the struggle between ... a dirty past and a Disney past” (Handler & Gable 1997, 7).

The past was not uniformly, according to Western standards, a clean place. People lived in filth, poverty, and disease. However, modern concerns for public health and safety – as well as the sensibilities of visitors – curb the level at which a site could show these factors. To keep an attraction clean to modern Western standards symbolically erases the unseemliness of past

times (Gable & Handler 1993a, 27). So, then, waste like horse manure and cracks and stains on structures is a way to represent 'dirtiness' in a way that is not objectionable to visitors' senses.



'The Oldest House' supported from collapse. West Stow, UK (2016) fig 3.4



'The Oldest House' supported from collapse. West Stow, UK (2016) fig 3.5

If there has been reluctance to and difficulty in showing an imperfect past through the property itself, then there has been an even greater set of challenges in depicting the people within those imperfect times. Colonial Williamsburg attempted to introduce characters who were among the outcasts of society: thieves, prostitutes, people with disabilities. However, when these characters gathered during specific scenes that play out in the attraction, they ceased to be viewed as representing the nuances of the past – as they had been intended to be – and instead changed into humorous caricatures that “in the end, these performances, meant to put life on Colonial Williamsburg’s streets may have put an unilluminating distance between the audience and the eighteenth century by primitivizing the past” (Gable & Handler 1993b, 10).

The civil rights movements in the second half of the 11900’s placed pressure on AOAMs to tell the stories of marginal groups. To continue with the experience of Colonial Williamsburg, there is a drive to tell the stories of black slaves who were very much a part of the time despite being reserved to the margins of history. Currently, white interpreters still outnumber black, despite there historically being more slaves than white people in the settlement. Regardless, within the last few decades there has been the attempt at illustrating some difficult issues that weigh on the conscience of the colonial world. An auction of slaves was re-enacted, suggested by the AOAM’s African American Department, to “teach the history of our mothers and grandmothers so that every one of you will never forget what happened to them” (Horton 1999, 31). This effort, however was met with resistance, and groups of people interrupted the ‘auction’ because they believed it was trivializing or glorifying slavery. Indeed, the event was controversial. Some critics changed their stance as to whether it sensationalized systematic dehumanization (Braxton cited in Teunissen 2016, 96). Others remained sceptical, like Stupp (2011, 62) who argued that “contemporary reenactments often fail to recast historically overdetermined narratives that, while perhaps evoking empathy for slaves, ultimately add little to discussions about the legacy of slavery in the

United States". Ultimately, the auction was not even centred on black people, merely their bodies; the agents within the narrative being -in accordance with tropic depictions of anti-slavery- white (loc cit).

"the Williamsburg auction failed to confront the role of the witness in the auction format, the result being that the audience, after being "transported" by the living-history performance, generally reentered their present realities without having been transformed by the experience. Ultimately, they witnessed one specific and carefully regulated instance of slavery, an event that restaged the melodramatic interpretation of bondage characteristically favored by popular representations." (Stupp 2011, 80)

The staff may have been earnest in their intention to offer a platform for learning and experiencing, however the cinematic quality and structure gave few options to interact. It may have given pain and dehumanization a face, but that face was no agent, and the depictions only returned to a well-rehearsed narrative: slavery is bad, black people are helpless victims, and white abolitionists are good. Telling of the inefficacy of tropic imagery and lazy, un-engaging narration at AOAMs can be seen in the experiences of interpreters from marginalized backgrounds. Despite places like Colonial Williamsburg advancing anti-slavery, and ostensibly a stance against racism, blacked costumed interpreters around this time noted in interviews experiencing racial abuse by visitors and harassment by white co-workers (Gable et al 1992, 794). Mithlo recorded the experience of a Native American woman who worked as an interpreter at another AOAM saying of the props that were scattered across the property:

"... I became alarmed. Who could those dummies hanging by rope and being lanced to death represent but my ancestors? What exactly was on display if it were not genocide?"
(1995, 55)

Heritage resources that depict marginal people have been seen to "dehistoricize and decontextualize difference so as to neutralize the harsh realities of colonialism and exploitation" (Kamper 2005, 344). Neutrality is not only a result of inherent conservatism among many attractions, but a desire to not upset visitors and ruin their experiences with challenging their stereotypes of the past too far. It comes from a mentality of customer satisfaction, wherein comfort is paramount (Tyson 2008).

But whose comfort?

The re-enactment of, for instance, scenes depicting the enslavement of black bodies created controversy. It was African-American groups (such as the NAACP) who spoke out and carried out protests. Displaying traumatic pasts can, obviously, be uncomfortable for the inheritors of that trauma. Complacency in rehearsed tropes of these traumas can be damaging to marginal people and do little to impact those in the centre. Being unwilling to try and challenge the stereotypic, or that which has been made invisible is cowardly and contrary to the self-inflicted charge of the AOAMs to educate. Attractions which would consider themselves to be an AOAM -even if not using such a label- should not shy away from making privileged audiences uncomfortable.

A visitor can make up their own mind about sensitive, or contested issues (Dicks 2000, 63-4; Bagnall 2003; Kidd 2011). So, the pasts that challenge beliefs and privileges should not be dealt with in a timid manner. Instead, they should be viewed as an opportunity. Hooper-Greenhill said that museums are not merely sites of potential contestation and strife, but they are also places that allow the chance at democratizing the past, arenas of struggle and change for the better (2000, 21). Heritage attractions are not all necessarily productions of a flat, single dominant narrative (ibid, 62), there are far too many resources that have been commodified for such a situation to be sustainable. Instead, the operators of AOAMs have the opportunity to present

the past in many ways by working with plural pasts to stimulate the experience of differing publics (Zolberg 1996).

3.6 Decoloniality & Re-Presenting Pasts

There are many difficulties in presenting and re-presenting the past. Or rather, pasts. I drew upon issues of authenticity, commercialization, and coloniality. The last section offered examples of how attractions fail to demarginalize people in the past – even Archaeological Open-Air Museums. These failings, however, are not to suggest that attractions are ‘bad’, merely that there is work that can be done and options that could be explored.

To return to the cases of the Tuvans in China and the Maasai at Mayers Ranch, there are clear differences between the cases. The Tuvans are not the ones representing themselves, due to their semi-nomadic lifestyles, while the Maasai were. The situation of the Tuvans is interesting: their capacity to be the speakers for their culture is limited, but they do partly benefit from it economically while also being able to preserve their way of life (Yang et al 2016). It is an almost symbiotic relationship that they have with the Mongols and Kazakhs. Conversely, while the Maasai at Mayers Ranch represented themselves, they were removed from any position of agency in those depictions -misrepresenting and dehumanizing them.

The common factor here is – to put it perhaps too simply – power, and who owns it. Imbalances of power result in businesses or governing entities determining themselves to be the spokesperson of communities, who are thereby marginalized or have their interests ignored to serve the business in question (Aas et al 2005; Hoffstaedter 2008, 146; Gould 2014, 90). The Maasai had external power inflicted upon them through the owners of the Mayers Ranch. Human rights concerns stemming from the ‘authentic’ result of creating an ‘ethnic village’, wherein tribal people are placed into reservations for the benefit of tourists, play into this in a direct way. There is a compulsion, financial or more direct, surrounding these representations. One needs to consider the origin of the compulsion, then.

We exist in a world of global markets, and strands being drawn together to tie people in closer together. Cultural resources are placed onto these markets as a product through commodification (Díaz-Andreu 2013, 226). Attractions like the Polynesian Cultural Center are the images of commercialization that draw criticism for presenting the artificial as authentic, ultimately diminishing the integrity of cultures, and even negatively impacting the humanity of the peoples within them (Middleton 2009, 113-6; Timothy & Nyaupane 2009, 60-3). And while it would be tempting to revolt -academically of course- against the process of selling the past, and culture as a product on the market, like many critics have (Hollowell 2009; Jacobs & Porter 2009; Breen & Rhodes 2010; Herrera 2013), that is not the world that we live in.

Commodification is not a culprit, or an evil, but rather a symptom of modernity. The root is power, and the devices which are in place to keep it in hands that will re-affirm it.

The coloniality of power is present in the tourism industry and knowledges of, even in the understanding of who is the imagined, ‘typical’ tourist (see CH3.5 and Chambers & Buzinde 2015; Wijesinghe et al 2019). Mainstream tourism perceives the average tourist to be white, middle-class, and Western. Despite there being a massive number of tourists who do not fit this normalized image, the belief that tourism is the permit of white, middle-class people influences the production of attractions.

If one is to create attractions that represent differences of cultural experiences, be it in the present or cultures of the past, it is important to work around the force of coloniality which has

“transform[ed] differences into values” (Mignolo 2000, 13). The use of extant, traditional immovable heritage resources may not be up to the challenge faced in the representation of some pasts. Figal (2008, 88-9) noted that it took the destruction and consequent reconstruction of Shuri Castle in order to give the Ryukyuan Okinawan people a ‘symbol of recovery’, which replaced their marginal status in Japan and beyond with a stereotype of hospitality. Alternatively, there was an expressed reluctance to change the interpretation of Ghana’s slave castles to present them in the light of the slave trade, as local people were cautious about angering the many spirits attached to the site (Osei-Tutu 2002, 125).

AOAMs may only depict marginal people in very specific stamps of time, especially those of radical change, limiting the appreciation visitors can develop (Mahaney & Welch 2002, 46). However, it is exactly a period of radical change that can draw out issues of the coloniality of power. Laura Peers conducted ethnography at AOAMs that employed Native Americans as costumed interpreters. In this work, she noted the interactions, informed by racism and stereotype, that occurred between the interpreters and with the public. The sexualization of Indigenous women was normalized by visitors, and Indigenous peoples were casually degraded through repetition of the tropes of whooping or speaking in broken English (Peers 2007). At another attraction, Native American interpreters recalled occasions where they had their understanding of history, and even their pronunciation of words in their own language, ‘corrected’ by white visitors (Kemper 2005, 352). These experiences are a result of coloniality, and the maintenance of power-dynamics. But these expressions do not have to remain unchallenged. Black costumed interpreters at Colonial Williamsburg use 3rd Person, as do the Native American costumed interpreters at Plimoth Plantation (Magelssen 2007, 127-8). The latter often do this to keep visitors from making assumptions of this history being ‘complete’, like that of the Pilgrims (Osterud 1992, 19-20). This style of presenting offers leverage for these marginal groups. It permits the interpreter to explain colonial impacts on them -legalized and systematic racism, forced relocations, ongoing resource conflicts, the plague of Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women, and genocides- that a figure from the 11600’s would be unaware of. These interactions between visitors and marginalized interpreters can provoke visitors to alter their engagement with the attraction and the non-marginal narratives within (Handler & Gable 1997, 86).

If decoloniality is the ways in which people and society can address the enforced and re-enforced naturalization of ethnocentric viewpoints as universal norms, then is it not within the interest of critical educators and tourism developers in a changing world to reconsider the concept of universal experiences? At the very least, the presumption of who a tourist is, and what their world-view is as a result, contributes to coloniality. Additionally, if visitors reject universality or standardization through globalism, as younger visitors are rejecting other aspects of uniformity in tourism, then producers of tourism may inadvertently tap into decolonial options to answer the changing climate.

3.7 Branding Barbarians Project

There is a large amount of foundational information and discussion that has been needed to bring my work into focus. While the earlier chapters construct an argument, this section needs to draw the strings together.

I have discussed, over this last chapter, issues more directly related to the expansion and diversification of the industry of cultural tourism. And, in respect to the many challenges which face more traditional immovable heritage resources (i.e. archaeological/historical sites), I have inserted the potentials to models brought about because of Archaeological Open-Air Museums.

The benefits of Archaeological Open-Air Museums have previously been studied (see Paardekooper 2012). So too have the charges levelled against them, which were discussed above. These attractions have been studied on the grounds of their educational value and ability to engage with unseemly or overlooked pasts (such as Greenspan 2002, 163; Magelssen 2007; Peers 2007; papers in Jackson & Kidd 2011; Stupp 2011; Paardekooper 2012; Teunissen 2016). It has been discussed that there is not infrequently a reluctance to tapping into the potentially uncomfortable, or failure to actively engage with an audience (Magelssen 2007, 130-2; Peers 2007; Tyson 2008; Stupp 2011, 80-2). Research on these topics from a public archaeology/history or museums and heritage perspective certainly does exist, but much of the attention has been paid to presenting the past as theatre, and education (Magelssen 2004; Jackson & Rees-Leahy 2005; Stupp 2011; Paardekooper 2012).

There are many aspects of this thesis that have been under-explored, and not in connection with one another.

Integral to this work is the AOAM, and their potential as a resource. This research considers three major aspects and potential uses for the attractions which fall into the category of Archaeological Open-Air Museum (whether through self-identification as such, or through previous terminologies which have been placed within this label).

The three assertions that I propose as uses of AOAMs are these:

1. AOAMs are renewable heritage resources, that can be used to address concerns of conservation and site resilience.
2. AOAMs are resources which are not geographically or strictly physically limited and can thus be constructed in locations -as tourism demands- that would otherwise be unable to tap into an immovable heritage resource and refigured to suit consumer needs.
3. As AOAMs are reconstructions of past structures, coupled with researched interpretation of the cultures of those pasts, they offer a platform to re-present peoples of the past – in particular, cultures that have been marginalized by historical and national narratives – and to foster decolonial options to those pasts.

The status of an AOAM as a heritage resource which has been reconstructed or replicated offers them unique opportunities to traditional sites. As noted (3.3&4) they are not bound to the same limitations of conservation that archaeological sites are. The issues of conservation that specialists struggle with do not concern AOAMs. These attractions degrade and are subject to damage and saturation, but such troubles are less difficult to navigate than at, for instance, a preserved monastic ruin. AOAMs can be repaired and restored -even from complete destruction- while not falling under the same scrutiny that, despite the expansion of 'authenticity' brought forward starting with Nara, the hypothetical monastic ruin does. As long as there are the money and resources available to do so, then a degraded or destroyed structure at an AOAM can simply be rebuilt.

Expanding the tourism market by tapping into AOAMs could create the opportunity to produce a resource which does not suffer from the same struggles of conservation. Even more, AOAMs could offer aid to the difficulties 'traditional' immovable heritage attractions face, by steering

visitors away from saturated sites. At the very least, AOAMs do not create tourism which is to the detriment of site conservation.

The products made by the establishment of an AOAM also serve as tools for economic benefit, by creating a resource to build tourism around. They open a realm of possible narratives about the past. Diversification is beneficial in the fragmenting industry(ies) of tourism. However, “[s]elling history or heritage is contingent on the commodity being free from any association that could hinder capital accumulation; there is little possibility of selling the local history of Calvinist Presbyterianism for instance ... Selling heritage and place is therefore a highly selective business, which writes out or visually excludes anything it cannot assimilate” (MacDonald 2002 cited in Watson 2015, 42). A prospective narrative must be marketable.

Unfortunately, archaeologists and heritage professionals “who have determined to address economic development ... often do so with no training in any dimension of the development problem and without a set of purpose-designed and tested tools that can be utilized to achieve their goals. ... the track record for archaeologists’ interventions in local economic development does not reveal outstanding success” (Gould 2014, 21). Not only do many site developers not have great understanding of the tourism industry, but they also are frequently reliant on charitable/governmental funding which can be revoked -to the attraction’s peril (Meyer 2009, 198). I must, however, disagree with the implied negative behind the statement that heritage tourism projects are “focused on producing ‘alternatives’ rather than working with the mainstream tourism industry” (Meyer 2009, 198). What I do agree with is that if the two former issues are not addressed, any ‘alternative’ may be poorly selected or executed by those who are not equipped well enough with an understanding of the industry.

Destinations need to be studied for their actual capacity to be an adaptable and fiscally sound resource. The blank statement of ‘heritage as a value in of itself’ does very little to appease financial mentalities and practicalities. Heritage attractions need to prove their place in a capitalistic world; it is not an altruistic thought, but a pragmatic one. Inflated figures of monetary value for heritage do not do any good, either. This study, then, needs to examine the economic capabilities of AOAMs to see their performance in a competitive tourism industry. It must also consider the approaches that each take towards meeting organizational financial goals.

Volunteering as a standard practice at AOAMs (and museums in general) is a matter worth consideration. Many museums and AOAMs could not exist without the use of volunteers. Their function socially, and economically, has been a matter of contestation. Reliance on volunteers in heritage has been critiqued for the inherent privilege of those who *can* offer their time for free, rather than as the ‘democratisation’ that is often claimed (Richardson 2017, 8). From an economic standpoint, Orr (2006, 206) noted that management of volunteers “could negate the financial benefits to the museums ... with the prospect of increased costs in utilising volunteers while visitor numbers plateau, if not decline”. It has also been cautioned to consider “seriously about the risks of [volunteering] becoming exploitative” (Waterton 2015, 58). Fredheim (2018) also considered the exploitative risks of volunteers, in the face of neoliberal ‘democratisation’, being made to perform in professional capacities for free. These are valid points: the exploitation of people is certainly a concern. But volunteering is not a uniformly negative thing.

AOAMs not infrequently rely on this labour, not only to operate, but to build the reconstructions themselves. For instance, the volunteers who constructed the Bryn Ewyr roundhouses at St Fagans National Museum of History in Wales were largely otherwise unemployed and over half of them were under the age of 44 (OpenArch 2015, 96). Orr (2006) suggested that museums conceive of volunteering from a serious leisure perspective, that

encompasses lifelong learning, regarding their approach to volunteer management. This research explores the roles of volunteering at AOAMs as both providers of economic benefit and as visitors to the case studies themselves; as participants in the creation of heritage narratives at these sites. This work considers their role as an economic necessity to the creation and maintenance of many AOAMs, the difference of volunteers and access at the sites, and the approaches that the sites themselves undertake in their management and use of this 'human resource'.

The third assertion considers a theoretical packaging that is, at its best, wary of capitalism. Decoloniality and the development of tourism is, though, not a completely novel idea. Recently there has been an attempt to review the research which has sought to adopt subaltern theories into tourism studies (Chambers & Buzinde 2015; Wijesinghe et al 2019). The 'revolutionary' capacity and aims of tourism research were stifled by the thinking within tourism itself, which is based in coloniality and voiced by Western views.

Certainly, tourism research would not be applicable were it to ignore the remaining body of research, or to understand complexities of the industry and economies. In this sense, subaltern studies in tourism are limited within a framework created by coloniality. So, while this research project aims at examining the economic capabilities of AOAMs, another major facet is invested in the way in which these resources can maneuver within capitalistic and colonialist frameworks and still offer a product that is, itself, decolonial.

Decoloniality as an approach has been until recently, majorly focused into the context of Latin America. Its inclusion into a European context has been through the work in states which have recently experienced a direct colonial influence, and the ideological components thereof, in the former Soviet Union (see Baltic Subaltern research like Annus 2016; Hanovs 2016; Kangilaski 2016; Peiker 2016). Yet, while I have framed the coloniality of power through a context of the 'European' experience as that which is normalized, it should be remembered that European society is also a victim of the same process. For this very reason, I have decided to place my study within an entirely Western European – Northern Europe, under the understanding of the United Nations Statistics Division - context. I have selected Sweden, and the United Kingdom as my focus. The theme which this work covers is explained as "'Barbarian' Cultures of Early Medieval Europe', which has been discussed (see Chapter 1).

While this may well fall short of more 'revolutionary' proposals within de-linking with the power of coloniality (e.g. the formation of a standing movement akin to the Zapatista Army), there is still a reasoning that encompasses the spirit of decoloniality. The most direct way to point towards, and to investigate the decoloniality of an AOAM would be to examine attractions that directly depict the power of coloniality – such as in the cases of depictions of slavery or interactions with Indigenous populations. This work is informed by, and inspired by, research into marginal peoples in these senses and their depictions at tourism attractions. However, these kinds of engagements and attractions are at once challenging. Costumed interpretation, as theatre can use a fiction to produce and pass along a narrative to engage the visiting public with important issues, like slavery and systematic racism (Gable, Handler, & Lawson 1992, 798). Whether it is successful in these endeavours, of course, may not be exactly clear. At some attractions that involve Native Americans, interpreters have rationalized the continuation of the tropes of their reconstructions and the re-enforcement of imagined homogeneity through 'universal powwows' to promote 'safe' intercultural exchanges and protecting tribal knowledge (Kamper 2005, 347). The problems which Colonial Williamsburg met in depicting slavery should also be reminded as an example of the challenges that AOAMs can meet when directly offering alternative narratives that aim at decolonizing the past. Such encounters immediately raise up

dimensions that speak to difficult subjects that still very much have implications for modern people. They are, then, subject to many pressures that problematize the entire work.

In order to minimize these factors, I have chosen to talk about this subject from a perspective that may not be at once understood in the context of decolonial narratives. The sites that have been selected for this research will be described in detail in Chapter 5. However, here, a brief consideration must be provided. To approach decolonial options in Europe, and the ‘Viking’ and ‘Saxon’, sites in the United Kingdom and in Scandinavia make the focus of my research. The sites that were selected all hold membership with EXARC (save one), and by their own association are considered AOAMs. The sites were selected for numerous reasons, including the experiences that they offer to visitors and the localities they exist at, the site make-up, the circumstances of their organization and current iterations, and logistics of conducting research there. What was an initial examination of attractions was narrowed down, with several sites in Scandinavia being unwilling to participate, not responding to requests, or not economically viable options for me to visit for longer periods of time. Additionally, the boundary of language was navigated by visiting sites that largely operate in English (though not exclusively). Even the locations outside of the UK were considered, in no small part on their use of English as a formal language of engagement with international tourists (the locations of whom shown later in this work). Certainly, the irony of imposition of English onto sites in states that do not have that language as one an official language is not lost on me. However, in the case of Scandinavian states, English is a commonly known language with over 86% of people in Sweden speaking it (European Commission 2012, 21) and is a common language to communicate transnationally. The following chapter will discuss this, language and selection, in greater detail.

The theme of the attractions, though, was always at the forefront of importance in this thesis. Conducting research from a different position can offer the chance to bypass the difficulties in negotiating narratives of genocide and human rights abuses, or of the dehumanization of populations which are still very much extant – such as with Native American groups. Offering nuances to the past of European cultures, and challenging the stereotypes surrounding them can potentially expand a visitor’s perspective. It has been suggested that a capacity for a ‘positive’ peace can be established in part by tourism “bridging cultural and psychological gaps between people groups” (Nyaupane, Paris, & Teye 2008 cited in Pratt & Liu 2016, 83). But it is also difficult to do this bridging if those cultures in question do not meet “within a supportive atmosphere” where they do so voluntarily and are viewed as having an equal status (Pratt & Liu 2016, 83). Of course, the intent of these statements was for cultural tourism itself and visiting extant cultures. Then again, is not the past a foreign country (Lowenthal 1985; 2015)? Perhaps the stakes are not immediately as clear when considering decolonizing past peoples, in comparison to contemporary, marginal populations. However, it is still important to be mindful of the ways in which human pasts have been manipulated if we are to try to unravel the coloniality of power’s systems of knowledge.

Native Americans, and similarly marginal peoples have difficulty in being given the equal status that Pratt and Liu (2016) said was so important. Modern racism exists against them which impedes that important ‘equal standing’. The same cannot be precisely said for the ‘barbarians’ of Europe. Negative attitudes towards these groups do not have the same impact for costumed interpreters as racist attitudes do towards minority and Indigenous interpreters. Then, with the power of racism dampened, it may be easier to undermine the other systems to the coloniality of power. Even more, with the intention to address past peoples of Europe, Westerners are then drawn closer into focus as targets of the coloniality of power themselves.

This work seeks to understand Archaeological Open-Air Museums not only as renewable resources, but as resources which can offer economic benefit while at the same time providing a platform with which we may renegotiate the past. This thesis draws together economic analysis, sustainable heritage, and decoloniality. There is an option to develop resources that offer alternative narratives of the past to tap into market openings in a fragmenting tourism industry. Branding Barbarians, then, examines the economics of these alternatives, and the potential that in the very effort of carving out niches in heritage tourism, that capitalism itself may be a driver to produce decolonial options to the past. The following chapter examines the methodologies behind the project's economic and decolonial aspects.

CHAPTER FOUR

Methodology

4.0 Introduction

This chapter discusses the numerous approaches that I have undertaken to create a work that can answer questions of developing alternative and renewable cultural tourism destinations. There are many sources of information that need to be drawn together to approach this topic. To connect this, though, a framework for these methods must be set out. The foundation of this work is research carried out at four AOAMs (discussed below), to manageably test out a practical theory surrounding the Three Assertions.

Each of the selected sites fit within the thematic scope of the ‘Early Medieval Barbarian’ - specifically of the Global NorthWest- in the ‘Saxon’ and ‘Viking’ (see Chapter 1). All the sites also fall within the remit of ‘alternative’ destinations as discussed within the earlier chapters, within the terminology of the Archaeological Open-Air Museum.

This chapter outlines the methodological approaches that this work takes in testing the Three Assertions through case studies. First, the cases are named, to provide context for the chapter. A period of fieldwork at each of these forms the crux of my research, wherein my own touristic experiences, conversations with members of staff, and ultimately visitor interviews were conducted. Data collected during fieldwork, supplemented by desk-based assessments, allow the running of economic analyses of the sites and their visitors. The data and fieldwork also examine the roles that each site plays in re-presenting ‘Saxons’ or ‘Vikings’, both in their interpretation and in the changes of perceptions that they instigate in the interviewed visitors.

4.1 The Cases

There are a host of cultures that could have been examined within this work, to test out the hypothesis of renewable heritage tourism and platforms for decolonial options. Indeed, several others initially entered the consideration process. However, a multiplicity of reasons -logistical and otherwise- drew the two (Saxon and Viking) into focus. It must be noted that the term ‘Saxon’ is used throughout this work -while being aware of the distinctions between the insular ‘Anglo-Saxon’ and continental ‘Saxon’. Outside of anecdotal and informational assistance, unfortunately further examinations of other sites and cultures will need to be reserved for further study. With that in mind, the sampled cultures and their respective touristic attractions are:

Saxon -

Site 1: Moyse’s Hall Museum & West Stow Anglo-Saxon Village

Location 1: Suffolk, United Kingdom

Site 2: Jarrow Hall Anglo-Saxon Village & Bede Museum

Location 2: Jarrow, United Kingdom

Viking - Site 1: Foteviken Viking Reserve
Location 1: Höllviken, Sweden
Site 2: Jorvik Viking Centre
Location 2: York, United Kingdom

Each of these sites present unique situations and circumstances. Their appeal is multi-dimensional, all bringing within them the aspects of not only the culture they have chosen to represent, but the implications of their locations. All of these are explored in greater depth in each respective case's section. Within this section, it is important to highlight some information about each of these attractions, though. Not only are each of these attractions unique, but they also have items in common that allow them to be examined together, rather than in isolation.

The previous chapter discussed the selection of sites that took place, but it is worthwhile raising once again. Viking sites in other parts of Scandinavia were considered, however they served to be logistically unviable. When initial inquiries were made among the AOAMs in Denmark, reception of proposed research was either non-existent (meaning, despite efforts, no replies were given) or the responses were to decline my request to conduct research. Their decision to decline is not something that I would be inclined to view with suspicion. Though reasons were not given by all, they could be for perceived lack of capacity to support my presence, full summer schedules, or even saturation of researchers who have been present to study the sites. In Norway, access was a significant factor in my selection (which can feed into the further discussion of accessing sites in this thesis), for example the prohibitive cost to conduct research at Lofotr Viking Museum.

Two sites that became a part of the final project, Jarrow Hall Anglo-Saxon Village & Bede Museum and the Jorvik Viking Centre, also fell under unprecedented circumstances during my research. As will be explained more thoroughly in the following chapter (CH 5.3 & 5.4), these sites were closed for significant lengths of time. As the role they could play in my research became a precarious matter, I pursued alternatives (like those above). This threw the project into a period of chaos, placing the prospective sites I could research at into question. I followed along as the events unfolded at both sites, largely out of personal interest. For Jorvik, I maintained contacts as I knew that there would be significant effort to re-open, given its place within the fabric of York. This knowledge allowed me to receive the events surrounding what became of the site (as will be told in later parts of this work, see CH5.3 & CH6.1 in particular) and work with them to inform my research questions of renewability and site resilience. This process was less organized in the case of Jarrow Hall, as the circumstances behind its closure were significantly different than at Jorvik. The two provided excellent insights to this project (see CH6.1&2) and it was an unforeseen stroke of -in the end- luck that their closures timed up with my research.

4.2 Fieldwork

A significant part of this research comes from data and experiences I collected while taking part in tourism at the cases. Remote analysis and desk-based assessment inform some portions, but in supplement and in tandem within the frames of the findings resulting from fieldwork. There are many ways in which desk-based assessment of tourism itself could provide excellent insight into the hypotheses of this research. With the advent of 'Web 2.0' tourists, museums, and

would-be visitors can all interact to present themselves, their brands, and foster tourism (Litvin et al, 2008; Nusair et al 2013, 461; Padilla-Meléndez & Águila-Obra 2013). This was an important line of research and evaluation, but it felt disconnected with much of the spirit of this thesis. The physical spaces and the spirits within them were the most important factors to me, and so was the act of *being* a tourist as much as a researcher in tourism.

My fieldwork, and experience at each site is formed around week-long periods. Exceptions to this are Jorvik and Jarrow Hall, whose particular circumstances necessitated further -non-tourist- interaction with staff (see CH5 for more detail on this). These interactions were largely formed around information-gathering to understand the processes they undertook in the efforts to re-open and reimagine their sites. It was also augmented by the numerous press-releases that came out during the periods of site revival. Throughout the process, my aim was to remain respectful of the time constraints the staff had as they conducted their efforts to re-open the sites. For this reason, I tried to limit the number of times that I contacted them for meetings. That is certainly not to say that I did not get all of the most pertinent information to my research, but rather that I took the time to try and specifically target the situations as they unfolded and maintain a mindfulness of the stressors that surrounded these efforts. The period was one that required being adaptable to changes that might occur -in some case rapidly- in the ways that the staff were responding to their particular situations.

Personal Tourist Experience

The experience of a tourist does not exist solely in the context of a visit to an attraction. Throughout the entire process, an experience is formed and often expressed as a story (Elsrud 2001). The retelling of these stories gives cultural capital (Elsrud 2005; Meethan 2006; Wearing et al 2010). In the age of social media, these stories have often been told through travel-blogs. These resources have offered significant insight into modern touristic narratives (Banyai 2010; Leung et al 2011; Magnini et al 2011; Pearce 2012; Jeurig & Peters 2013), but there was no way to guarantee that such blogs existed for each of my cases, or their quality (Volo 2010; Bosangit et al 2012). Additionally, there is no way to conduct any long-term study of select tourists without affecting the scope of this research drastically, or negatively impacting the data of tourists' experiences themselves (McCabe 2005; McCabe & Foster 2006).

Still, the need to construct a tourist's experience in intimate ways should not be ignored. To provide such content, I have captured a total of 4202 pictures to document my experiences. Images of touristic experiences are media by which many tourists preserve and evoke the memories of their visits. While I *am* a researcher, I am no less a tourist to the destinations within this study -subject to the same factors of planning, accommodation, travel, and experience. Admittedly, my personal experience is likely to have degrees of difference from other tourists to these destinations. Still, the visual over written documentation of experience for memory retrieval is important to the Indigenous research-method underpinnings that inform this work. Similar approaches exist within Western research and method (Chaplin 2011; Ownby 2013), applied even into tourism research (Scarles 2010). The collection of images at each site serves to help encapsulate my tours (see Pink & Morgan 2013) and can be found in Appendices G-J. These accounts of my experience take the form of several vignettes and select images placed throughout this work.

The first day of my tour at each site was set aside for me to engage directly with the site as a visitor (see CH5 for the breakdowns of my tours). This serves two purposes: it allows me to engage with the site before I have been able to confer with other tourists about their

experiences (and thus shade my own), and this engagement prior to contact with survey participants allows me to better understand commentary that they have made.

Participant & Visitor Observation

The particular ways that Foteviken operates brought an opportunity to engage with the site in a different way than at each of the other cases. The interactive, layered nature that tourists could participate at the site allowed me to spend several days engaging with the site and other visitors as a costumed interpreter (see CH5.2 & pgs202-212 for discussion on this). As serving as a costumed interpreter is an option that would-be visitors are allowed to take at Foteviken, from my view it was a natural extension of my experience as a tourist to the site. This also unlocked dimensions to interact with visitors (though, explicitly not those who I would later interview).

As a costumed interpreter, I was allowed to witness (and participate) in the story-telling aspects at the site which I call vignettes throughout this work. As each played out, I observed the visitors, aided by a camera (see Appendix H). The adoption of a 'Viking' persona came with the ability to get a closeness to visitors that would have been more difficult had I been another tourist in casual, modern clothing. What I mean is that my presence was normalized, as another member of the 'Vikings'. As I mention later in this work, the way that tourists conduct themselves and interact is performative (see CH4.5). Most of the interactions and engagements with visitors in this research revolve around the interviews (see CH4.3), where the participants 'performed' for me (the researcher) in the process of answering the questions that I had for them. However, at Foteviken, in my aspect as another 'viking', the visitors only needed to 'perform' for the interpreters, not for an interpreter and a researcher (or particularly inquisitive tourist). In this way, they were able to interact in a way that was more natural to their tourism experience -the impact of my presence effectively limited.

Acting as a costumed interpreter in itself also came with its perspectives on the site's existence, not just facilitating my ability to watch tourists. In adopting this role and engaging with the site, the costumed staff, and other costumed interpreters, my research took the shape of participant observation (see, for instance, Musante DeWalt 2015). This has been defined as "the process of learning through exposure to or involvement in the day-to-day or routine activities of participants in the researcher setting" (Schensul et al 1999, 91). This is a method that has been used by scholars in conducting ethnographic research among re-enactors and at living history sites, to greater or lesser extent (such as Strauss 2003 & Peers 2007) and even in the semi-autoethnographic and humorous reflections of travel-writers (for instance, Moore 2008). Spradley (1980, 58-62) described levels of participation observation. Considering this, the position that I would describe my research being placed as something between 'Moderate' and 'Active', perhaps 'Active Minus'. While I did undertake most of the functions of any other interpreter (I resided on site, I wore the proper attire, I interacted with the other interpreters both during and after hours, and I participated in the playing out of some of the vignettes), there is one key aspect that I did not do: interact with visitors to directly pass information along. That is, I did not explain to visitors 'Viking life', I only acted them out. This was a conscious effort to not occupy the functional and intellectual space of the costumed interpreters. My physical presence was not a neutral factor, I did occupy visual space, and my appearance (as an Indigenous Latino) may have influenced the thoughts and visits of the tourists. This is not something that I could have controlled, save to opt out of participation entirely. But what could be 'controlled' was the verbal informational spaces that the interpreters occupied and engaged tourists within.

It must be reminded that this aspect of my research came unexpectedly. This kind of participation and interaction at Foteviken was not explicitly made until my arrival (although online research into the site does make mention of the ability to come and serve as a costumed interpreter). When presented this information, an in-field decision had to be made by me. With my background in anthropology and training in ethnography, I felt comfortable proceeding. This research would have benefitted from the foreknowledge that such a tourist engagement was an option, as well as a knowledge of the schedule of vignettes (see pgs 212-224) that played out on site.

The ethnographic work conducted at Foteviken could only be done on a short-term, unlike the extended periods of participant observation(s) done by other researchers. The considerations for this came down to several factors. First was the unexpectedness of the ability to participate in such a fashion. The research objective was to interact with the site as a tourist; that much was prepared for. From that perspective, this option for a tourist experience fit within the goals. However, there are potentials to greater levels of ethnographic research that could come from this kind of experience. Logistically, longer engagement to approach this more fully was not possible for this research, though I did alter my initial tourist plans to maximize this unique aspect of Foteviken. Further research at this site would benefit from participating at the site as a costumed interpreter and tourist for extended periods of time, unfortunately one that this research could not achieve.

Staff Interviews

Contact between myself and members of the AOAM staff began prior to any of my preparations to visit and study the sites. The first form of contact with staff was through informal, remote conversations (e.g. telephone, email). These initial contacts were limited to identifying myself and my study, in the pursuit of permission to conduct my research. The later interviews took place in person. These conversations were carried out over an extended period of time, from first contact with the attraction, through to the final production of information of this study. Contact with myself and the staff members was kept to my best capacity, fostering a continued relationship, as well as to give the opportunity for a 'representative' of the tourism destination to provide input, perspective, and context to any information that might arise.

The interviews were conducted using a strategy of informal and conversational interviewing: a walking interview (Anderson 2004; Evans & Jones 2011; Kinney 2017). This was conducted by interviewing participants while walking across a landscape of interest to the matter of the interview, of a route of their choosing. This way, thoughts and commentary could be produced in a natural way, with the instigation of visual and sensory stimuli. Written notes for each interview have been taken, rather than the presence of a voice-recording device. My determination to take this approach was to not imply formality -or a power dynamic- or cause discomfort to the staff member by having a machine record their words, separating two people from having a conversation.

These informal interviews and conversations help my research to contextualize the attractions from the perspectives of those who operate them, and the options and obstacles which they perceive.

4.3 Visitor Interviews

Beyond the informal, walking-interviews and my own personal tourist experiences, I also conducted interviews with visitors to each site during my own stay. The weekends were selected as the best days to carry these out, to maximize the higher foot-traffic to sites on these days. Additionally, the periods over which I visited were during peak tourism periods. In the instances of the two Saxon sites, my visit coincided with special events. While efforts were taken to maximize visitor participation, this study fully recognises a limitation of time, and logistical capacity to carry out repeat interviews at each site. The results from them should not be misconstrued as a quantitative analysis. Nonetheless, this information is able to inform despite its limited temporal scope.

Near the Entrance/Exit of each AOAM, I asked leaving visitors if they were willing to be briefly interviewed. The length was entirely up to the participants, but they often lasted between 15 and 20 minutes. Each survey was anonymously conducted, and their names were not recorded. While it may have seemed tempting to identify the participants in this work through fake names, I found this unmanageable. I was unwilling to name participants; they did not agree to be named by me, and to do so would assert my power over them. Names have power, giving one to another human is powerful. Allen and Wiles (2016) noted the psychological significance of renaming participants, and that they must play a role in that action. What names would I give to people who I do not know? Should I have given them an official name book to select from? Should Xiomara become Audrey? Rather than asserting power over my participants by naming them and privileging certain cultural names, I have chosen to identify them in a more mechanical way. It is also a problematic way of identifying people, but an option I felt more comfortable with. Each are 'named' by identification codes I placed at the top of their interview forms. These numbers are made up of two letters denoting the site of the survey (refer to each case for their code), three letters denoting the language the survey was taken in, and three numbers denoting which in the series of surveys taken at the site it is. An example of this is:

FV.Fra.03 (Foteviken Museum.French.Interview #03)

Minors (people under the age of 18) were not considered within this study. Their addition would have placed ethical pressures on the surveys that would have made it more difficult to undertake. Those known to be vulnerable were not included in this survey for the same reasoning. These are unfortunate limits to the boundaries of this survey, but ones that could not have been avoided without considerable ethical implications. However, people accompanying either of those above groups could take part in the surveys. In this way, their concerns and input may have some reflection of those whom they are present with. For instance, a care provider of someone who has reduced mobility may be more likely to raise issues of accessibility than other non-disabled participants. Additionally, it must be made clear that participants were not removed from the group they visited with. In this way, the views of an 'individual' may often enough be opinions and thoughts made in confederation. The decision to interview in this way was both for practicality as much as to help foster the negotiation and co-production of viewpoints to stimulate an organic conversation about questions focused on sentiment. Like any group dynamic, this did not allow an even voice. Some participants were adamant that those they visited with should not speak, while others actively encouraged co-participation.

Sampling

The number of voices heard is incredibly important to this research. It was an organic decision to accept and record the views from the ‘unofficial’ participants: people in the groups who chose to participate, with the ‘official’ participant serving as the representative of the whole - whatever that ends up being.

For this study, a random-sampling method was not determined to be viable, so quota-sampling has been adopted. This is largely based on logistics, and quota-sampling being “quicker, less expensive and more efficient than random samples” (Burnham et al 2008, 107). Korn (1999, 7) suggested that qualitative surveys are considered ‘viable’ at 35 participants. Strictly speaking, that number relates to questionnaires rather than seated interviews. Still, I used that as a guiding post for my desired number of interviews.

From this metric, only one of the sites reached that goal: 35 individual ‘surveys’. But the nature of my interviews needs greater contextualization. The initial ‘quota’ is only a suggestion, and the reality of the interview numbers also needs to remain aware of the ‘official’ and ‘unofficial’ participants. Effectively, the count of the former is simply the number of groups which were interviewed. As mentioned, all of the members of these groups were allowed (by me) to contribute; it was up to the ‘official’ participant to navigate this rather than myself actively influencing their group dynamics.

From this context, the number of participants in these interviews and research was:

Site	Official Participants (% of Whole)	Unofficial Participants	Total Participants
West Stow	31 (37.3%)	52	83
Foteviken	33 (31.4%)	72	105
Jarrow Hall	21 (36.2%)	37	58
Jorvik Centre	40 (29%)	98	138

Participant numbers, official & unofficial by site

fig 4.1

Interview Question Construction

As there are two large dimensions to this research (financial and representative) the information gathered from visitors must reflect this to produce useful outcomes. With this in mind, the interview questions have been constructed to ask overarching types of questions. They form broad categories, based on their intended types of data received by participant answers, which are not mutually exclusive: demographic, valuation, experiential, and perceptive. The remainder of this section will describe these three categories. It also explains the reasonings behind the construction of questions that require a deeper examination.

Demographic

To make any commentary on populations, it is useful to find demographic information to sort respondents into useful groupings. Numerous questions in the survey fall into this category of collecting information that is used to produce demographic information such as age ranges, economic status, education, location of residence, and state identity.

Question 1 is asked in such a way to provide two types of responses: the first part is phrased as ‘Where are you from?’’. This way, it asks the participant directly where their point of origin for their trip was, which may be dissimilar to their state-identity. Additionally, it also provides for the secondary ‘Nationality’ question. This word, in the common lexicon, is largely cognate with ‘state-identity’ or the legal notion of ‘citizenship’. This understanding of the term is unproblematized in many official surveys, such as forms filled out for international travel records. To not needlessly confuse participants, I have asked them their ‘Nationality’ rather than a more accurate term. Ethnicity, however, is a classification that does not easily translate across state borders, nor is it even something recorded in the majority of surveys (see United Nations Statistics Division 2003; Morning 2005). Respondents were able to answer in any way they chose, with some providing multiple answers, or clarifying what they were *not*.

Question 2 establishes age-ranges of participants broken down into groupings of ten years, aside from the first (18-25) and the last. This division is largely for simplicity’s sake in providing ‘even’ divisions among age groups. Having an age-bracket of 18-27 (and, consequently every other bracket being shifted in such a way) is, bluntly, unwieldy. It is much simpler to construct ranges based on ‘round’ metrics based off of numbers divisible by five. Many surveys end their standardized groupings somewhere around the age of 65 or 75, and place further ages as one collective. However, this is an oversimplification, with there -in actuality- being a massive difference among them (Watson & Waterton pers com). This is especially evident with the Baby-Boomer generation crossing into the 65+ bracket. For this reason, I have selected to extend the ten-year brackets beyond the common 65+ cut-off.

Question 4 provides options for level of highest education attained. That educational terminology and qualification is not universal, UNESCO has developed the International Standard Classification of Education 2011. The options available for choice in this survey have been built on this system and worded using the descriptors of each ISCED level (UNESCO Institute for Statistics 2012, 25-59) for use across state-boundaries.

Question 5 is both within the demographic and valuation categories. International participants may not be eager to divulge their yearly earnings with a stranger while on holiday. Therefore, to get useful data, the method of questioning developed by the National Readership Survey (2017) has been enlisted. The NRS created social grades based off of household occupations. But for this research, these will not be used. The occupations of participants have not been grouped in this work. Rather, I use a more direct approach to income through the NRS question. This will be discussed further later in this chapter (section 4.4).

Valuation

The aims of these questions are to collect data that is used to -in conjunction with other sources- establish the ‘public value’ of each destination. These are largely based on financial, as opposed to social, constructions of ‘value’. The role that these questions play is primarily to feed into the economic analyses of each site.

Description of select questions that fall within this category have been placed into the following section, 4.4 Economic Analysis.

Experiential

Aside from financial estimations of 'value', there is also the need to consider the quality of the visitor experience. Several questions request input on aspects of their experience as a tourist, and as a visitor to the destination itself. These are used to determine whether the visitors are pleased with their overall experience, and to note strengths or shortcomings of the destinations as well as external logistics that play a role in the visitation capabilities to each. It offers a viewpoint of how visitors feel the attraction is meeting their touristic needs, as a service. As a second function, this category also contains questions of a social 'value' within its remit.

Questions 7 - 13 all fit largely within this category. They ask about the nature and quality of the experience (such as return visitation, reason for visitation, and length of time of visit). *Question 15* enquires into the likes and dislikes of the participant. This question is open-ended, and the respondent may provide an assortment of answers, such as a remark of service quality, or execution/quality of displays.

Questions 23 - 27 gauge the visitor's interest in the cultures presented at each attraction. Number 23 supports a general enquiry into what the participant desires to know more about regarding what was raised by the attraction, while 26 gathers information about prior engagement with attractions presenting the same 'culture'. Questions 25 and 27, take this a step further by collecting data that can potentially be used to illustrate an interest in continued exploration of the subject matter through additional tourism, and thus hint at underlying potentials for expansion of attractions or possibility for the formation of 'cultural routes'.

Perception

One of the driving forces behind this work is the understanding of public perspective of past cultures, and the potential of alteration of those through archaeotourism. Re-presenting peoples of the past through engagement with 'new' museums filters throughout the spirit of this work. To evaluate what modern people imagine about past peoples, and the ways in which visitation of heritage destinations alter those perceptions, a number of questions have been constructed. To approach an understanding of perceptions and of the re-presentative capabilities of these tourism sites, it is mandatory to collect data about perception -both prior to and after visitation- directly from sampled visitors.

Questions 16 - 21 all revolve around the preconceived notions of visitors and the alterations their experience has promoted. Participants are asked to rate their 'understanding' of [____] culture (the gap dependent upon the represented group in question at each attraction) both before their visit and after on a scale. Secondly, they are also asked to provide keywords for how they would have described [____], both prior to and post visit. This is left open-ended to not encourage participants to simply select one of the provided options and minimize a skew of their actual answer. Through previous interviews which I have undertaken (as Montgomery 2011), leaving this question open-ended resulted in responses that needed to be refashioned into select keywords to be of any use in an analytical sense. With that being the case, I have

selected to make the participants themselves provide the keywords and reduce the inferential bias that the previous study brought up.

The limitations to these questions need to be raised and explained. As these surveys are effectively 'exit interviews' to the site, the participant's 'prior to visit' responses could easily be skewed as a result of their new-found experience. Some people tend to be resistant to answering questions in ways that make them seem as though they are uninformed. However, to give them an 'entrance interview' would run the risk of altering their experience with the attraction, as they may dwell upon their answers and/or take additional care in the acquisition of knowledge with the understanding that they will likely be questioned again. Additionally, the logistical issues of having participants engage in both an entrance and exit interview made it not a viable option. Just as well, my previous study suggested (as Montgomery 2011) that regardless of resistance to sounding uninformed, participants did tend towards answering the 'before' questions in ways that did show preconceived notions that differed from their 'post visit' responses. For this reason, it has been determined to be a safer course of action to accept the potential of a biased 'before visit' answer set.

It should be remembered that these broad categories are complementary to one another, and several of the questions can fit within one or more of them. This division is merely to provide an organizational framework for the questions that required more detail to discuss the process and rationale of their construction.

4.4 Economic Analysis

In response to governments placing greater emphasis upon the economic benefits and viability of heritage attractions, coupled with diminished state spending to support them, researchers have undertaken many studies into the financial qualities of museums and sites (eg Plaza 2010; Gómez-Zapata et al 2018). This is largely to provide bodies with metrics to use to determine the return on money paid to support the resources.

The major issue with determining benefit in monetary terms is that it is difficult to ascribe a number onto what is the understood goal of most heritage attractions - that is, a social enrichment (Bowitz & Ibenholt 2008, 2). In order to perform this, a host of differing approaches have been used. This work has selected two methods of economic analysis, both with their own strengths and drawbacks. Each have been selected for their capacity to support one another - that is- to be a viable option in filling in for the weakness of another of the chosen methods.

Contingent Valuation

Ascribing a monetary value to a matter which is beyond the simple transaction of 'tangible good for currency' has produced numerous methods to get at a figure that can be worked with by entities focused on the practicalities of the financial. There are many heritage tourism resources which do not require a monetary transaction to access them. Many museums across the United Kingdom are free of charge, and monuments or landscapes are frequently left openly available for casual visitation.

In the absence of a formal monetary exchange, the difficulty of 'valuing' an attraction can be surmounted with the use of a contingent valuation method. This is an economic valuation technique that was first developed and used to ascribe value to the environment (Davis 1963) Factors of 'Willingness to Pay' and 'Willingness to Accept' are derived from surveys. The former

is the amount of money a potential consumer is willing to exchange in order to maintain the availability of a resource - be that to pay to visit, or to pay to ensure its survival through conservation methods; Willingness to Accept is the amount of money an 'owner' of a resource is willing to take in exchange for the resource (Horowitz & McConnell 2003, 537).

Contingent Valuation is "considered to be the best techniques to estimate the total economic value of cultural resources that are not traded in the market" (Tuan & Navrud 2008, 327). The method was given guidelines by the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Association for reliability after the Exxon Valdez disaster (Arrow et al 1993; Hoyos & Mariel 2010, 331). This approach has been substantially adopted in both 'developed' and 'developing' states (Whittington 1998; Tuan & Navrud 2007; Tuan & Navrud 2008, 326). Its ubiquity, and usefulness has led to its inclusion as a significant part of this work.

Question 14 is a three-part question, asking:

- A) How much money did you/your group spend to enter [____]?
- B) Does that seem to be a fair price to you? Too high? Too low?
- C) How much would you be willing to pay to visit [____]?

As mentioned above, contingent valuation is 'best' for gauging the values of resources 'not traded in the market'. However, in the instance of the cases within this study, each resource comes with an entrance fee. That being the case, the shape of the question has been specially formed in response.

Anchoring bias can prove difficult to surmount in stated preference questions (Willis 2014, 150) and it is within all likelihood that the admission price each visitor had paid serves as an unintentional anchor -each accepting the cost as a 'correct' amount. Unfortunately, with this being the case, there is very little to be done to mitigate their potential to anchor towards this figure (Wilson et al 1996; Simmons et al 2010) aside from attempting to ascertain whether they *are* anchoring to it. Part B of Question 25 inquires if the visitor conceptually perceives their admission fee to be 'fair'. An affirmative response would suggest the price being accepted as 'correct', and therefore a likely source of anchoring bias. Still, the cost of admission is one that has been determined by the organizations in charge of the attraction itself, so it is reasonable to assume that it has been determined to be 'fair' from their perspective (approaching from the economic needs of the attraction, as well as what is estimated that visitors are willing to take as a 'fair' price).

This question has also selected an open-ended estimate. These estimates can produce the highest of precision of a sample (Ready & Navrud 2002, 23) -as the visitors are providing the figure themselves. They are not without issue, though: Willis has noted that estimates "without an initial bid amount often result in low mean WTP [Willingness to Pay] values" (2014, 150). The matter is somewhat different in the instances of the cases pursued in this work. One of the reasons why a purely open-ended valuation can meet with problems is that people do not have a frame of reference to work from, and being unused to creating value themselves, are prone to underestimation if quickly pressed (loc cit; Ready & Navrud 2002, 23).

So, while asked with an 'open ended' response, that is not exactly the case. The visitors have already been reminded of the amount they paid to access the resource. This number will be kept in mind as not only an anchor, but it fills a similar niche as one of the optional amounts that would be provided in a dichotomous choice style experiment; Mitchell and Carson noted

that the successive amounts offered in those applications are not thought of in isolation by those surveyed (1989), and there is a 'starting point bias' with these types of methods. My work makes use of the anchor figure that participants will likely already have in mind and places it to serve as the first choice of 'willingness to pay' (typically shortened to W2P in this work) in order to allow the participants to have a reference point to answer their 'open-ended' estimation.

Their response of 'fairness' vs a perceived too high/too low figure, along with their own stated estimations, then provide the data to create averages of the amounts that visitors are willing to pay for each resource. This information can then be referenced against each site, and along with the demographic information provided in order to extract more information about the value of different peoples of the past (e.g. to see the validity of questions like 'Are Germans, on average, willing to pay more to see Viking resources than other groups?').

Travel Cost Analysis

While Willingness to Pay methodology is widespread in its use for assessing value to heritage tourism resources, it is not without faults. It has been criticised for its usefulness, as the situation that is constructed in order to gain information is hypothetical (Willis 2014, 153). Simply, criticisms of the method remind that people may *say* they are *willing* to pay a certain figure, but they do not actually have to do more than express that 'willingness'. Even with an established 'willingness', it may not necessarily be a useful indicator of marketability (Bedate et al 2004, 110). As mentioned previously, figures received via contingent valuation can be more conservative as opposed to other methods (Scarpa & Willis 2006). Additionally, even in the instance of a heritage tourism resource charging for admission, the fee is flat and therefore unable to determine demand (Ready & Navrud 2002, 15).

An alternative method has been developed as a way to see around these problems and offer a large gauge of monetary 'value' and demand. Travel-Cost Analysis utilizes willingness to pay in addition to counting a matter of actual effort on the part of the visitors into the estimation of how one values that which they are consuming (loc cit). In fact, stated preference methods like Contingent Valuation have been used in concordance with data from approaches like Travel-Cost to provide the additional information "about changes in preferences and behavior from the introduction of a new attribute" (Willis 2014, 175). Originally developed to estimate value of National Parks in the United States (Hotelling 1947; Clawson & Knetsch 1966), the Travel-Cost Model expanded to be used for heritage tourism attractions like museums and monuments (Boter et al 2005; Alberini & Longo 2006; Rouwendal & Boter 2009; Willis 2014, 148).

This method takes into consideration the distance that visitors travel to consume a resource. Clawson and Knetsch used a zonal application to the method (1966), that is visitors are grouped by the distance they have travelled to reach the tourist destination. These zones may be constructed as concentric circles, or alternatively these divisions could be constructed according to population and geographical units with census data to get precise calculations (Bedate, Herrero & Sanz 2004, 103 & 107).

There are issues with this form of analysis which similarly can impact the accurate estimation of 'value'. Multi-stop trips are difficult to deal with in the instance of travel-cost analysis. There have been a few strategies to allot certain amounts of the total cost between the numerous stops (Haspel & Johnson 1982, 364-372), and ones that only calculate the cost of travel between the last point visited and the heritage resource in question (Smith 1971, 89-102). However, none of these provide for a satisfactory result. It must be said that travel-cost method is only truly accurate in instances where the attraction in question is the sole reason and point of

visitation for the people surveyed (Ready & Navrud 2002, 19). To address multi-day/multi-stop tours, the figure estimated from the initial travel-cost was again divided.

For the purposes of this research, the Clawson-Ketch Method, where a demand curve for tourists to the cases is focal, has not been utilized for logistical reasons. Not only would the research have necessitated a higher sample size at each site, but the even smaller section of those who revisited them made the curves not overly helpful. Still, with the mixed methods approach that has been used, where a real value has been set to consume the site (admission prices) the travel-cost and W2P offer support to one another. What each travel-cost value in this research represents is strictly an estimate of the amount of money that a tourist paid to access the site in question.

Travel-cost analysis does not conclude simply with distance travelled, but also calls back to the old adage 'Time is money'. When people visit an attraction, they are using their time as currency; they could spend their time on any number of other pursuits, including working to make money (Bedate, Herrero & Sanz 2004, 104). Since it is impossible to assume the value one places on their own time, a figure is worked out -typically a fraction of their hourly wage (Ready & Navrud 2002, 17).

Question 5 and 6b provide the data in this instance:

5. What is the occupation of the head of the household?

6b. For about how long is your trip?

'Who IS the Head of Household?'

This was the frequent reply to Question 5. Trying to get income information out of the participants, I elected to ask them in a somewhat roundabout way. The question of how much somebody earns is a culturally sensitive enough question, even in friendly company, that it would not be reasonable for someone to tell a stranger how much money they make. To get around this, I asked them a less direct question: 'What is the occupation of the Head of the Household?'

This question has been a standing practice for the National Readership Survey in the creation of its 'Social Grades' (2017). Of course, the purpose of this research is not to focus on the aspects of social class directly – if such is even clearly determinable through the NRS Social Grades (loc cit). Rather, this question was selected as one that is more socially comfortable to answer. From there, a point of reference on the financial details of the participant could be gleaned. This question did, however, raise up the consideration of just how each participant determined how they wished to represent their 'head of household'. The designation as a legal unit has faded out of use in the UK, such as the changes to the Individual Electoral Registration (Cabinet Office 2013). In other countries, though, there is a legal underpinning to it, like in taxation in the USA (Department of the Treasury 2016). As with other questions, the status of Head of Household was one of negotiation among the participant and their families – present or absent.

From the response, I gathered average salaries for each position using the salary, benefits, and compensation information website, PayScale.com. I elected this source for its ease of use and its capacity to allow employees to share and compare their salaries in real-time and across international industries (Penttila 2009, 23). In this way, I was able to gain a sense of the income that each participant made.

Mixed Methods

The two forms of economic analysis generated from the data given by the participants are used to provide a broader image for the value of each site. As mentioned, Willingness to Pay (W2P in this work) is a method frequently utilized by heritage properties in the estimation of how visitors reckon value. The data-gathering and analysis of this is reasonably straightforward. For the purposes of this research, the direct questions of payment for access and a suggested number that the participant would be agreeable to pay for access form the two main points of data. Other elements enter into the analysis, for instance the size of the participants' groups is accounted for, and the relative fluctuation of payment versus W2P are taken as important elements of comparison. Through this approach, the percent increases to valuation of each site are gauged to come to suggested figures of per person valuation of the sites. Still, W2P is a measure which can be difficult to trust. Some participants in this research stated very large increases to their W2P, which if not considered as outliers skew the overall estimates. These participants may be passionate about the AOAMs themselves and suggest the figure based on the desire to increase the 'value' of the site. If these participants would -in reality- pay that amount is unknowable, in much the same way as any participant who suggests an increase in their W2P.

To supplement that perhaps fictional value is why I determined to draw in Travel-Cost analysis for each site. The section above described the avenues of data collection regarding financial estimates of the participants. Calculation of the distances these participants travelled was drawn from the initial data of the participants' point of origin (narrowed down to their city/town of residence), compared to the location of the site in question. This was done using the 'How Far is it Between' feature available from the Google Maps powered FreeMapTools.com, which provided distance estimates both as linear measure and consideration of over-land routes.

From there, the distance travelled (doubled from the understanding of it being a two-way journey) was calculated using the measure of €0.22/km as suggested by EU departments for the taxable cost of private travel (such as Joint Research Centre STECF 2018). In the case of long-haul tourists (those who required a plane to arrive at the state in which they toured), the average cost of airfare between the closest airports to the origin and corresponding AOAM as estimated by the airfare comparison website FareDetective.com. It should be noted that in many of the cases, these long-haul participants are analysed separately from the larger whole who could partake entirely in over-land travel.

These costs are then divided by the number of days encompassing the tour, as the site itself could only potentially account for a portion of the total. The AOAM in question may be only one of several sites visited during that day, for the sake of brevity and without knowledge of the ways participants used the rest of their days, the analysis accepts the engagement with the site as equivalent to the value of one day. Similarly, the size of the group the participant represents is also considered, with a per person travel-cost figured into the resulting numbers.

Finally, these travel-costs also consider the percentage of estimated participant incomes to contextualize value further. This takes two forms. The first is the calculation of the percentage of that individual's income that the travel-cost accounts for, with the addition of the admission price. The second, called an 'extended' cost, is the addition of the value of that day to the individual, when they could have hypothetically earned wages by not touring and working instead. There are many instances in which the option to work for the day is not viable, such as mandatory off-time. This additional estimation comes with a set of challenges and unknowable

variables. For this reason, the former of the two is prioritised in this research, but the extended cost is shown as well, to highlight ways in which the value estimations could be increased.

The formulas to arrive at the Travel-Cost for a participant are as follow:

$$\text{Distance} \times \text{€}0.22 = \text{One-Way Land Cost (OWLC)}$$

$$\text{OWLC} \times 2 = \text{Land Cost (LC)} \quad \text{LC converted into £GBP, depending on site}$$

$$\text{LC} / \text{Trip Duration (TD)} = \text{Travel Cost (TC)}$$

$$\text{TC} / \text{Group Size (GS)} = \text{Travel Cost per Person (TCP)}$$

$$(\text{TC} + \text{Admission Price (AP)}) / \text{Salary} = \text{Travel Cost Percent of Income (TC\%)}$$

To arrive at extended travel costs, the following formulas are used:

$$\text{Salary} / 261 = \text{Per Day Income (PDI)}$$

$$\text{TC} + \text{PDI} = \text{Extended Travel Cost (ETC)}$$

$$(\text{ETC} + \text{AP}) / \text{Salary} = \text{Extended Travel Cost Percent of Income (ETC\%)}$$

An example of how this analysis functions is:

JC.Eng.12 is a Police Officer from Stirling with an average income of £30901. They have travelled to York with one other person, for a two-day tour (363.5km).

$$363.5\text{km} \times \text{€}0.22 = \text{€}79.96$$

$$\text{€}79.96 \times 2 = \text{€}159.92 \quad \text{€}159.92 \times .88 = \text{£}140.73$$

$$\text{£}140.73 / 2 = \text{£}70.37$$

$$\text{£}70.37 / 2 = \text{£}35.18$$

$$(\text{£}70.37 + \text{£}20.50) / \text{£}30901 = 0.29\%$$

Reading these results shows that JC.Eng.12 had a TCP of £35.18, meaning the site in question was valued at that amount for each group member. Additionally, this person expended 0.29% (their TC%) of their annual income in accessing this site.

Each participant is broken down in these ways: their W2P, their TCP, and their TC% forming the most frequent end metrics of the valuation analysis. The first of these offers a contingent value for each site based on the samples, meanwhile the TCP offers an estimation of the real charges which visitors incurred to access the destination. Finally, the TC% highlights value from the weight of available funds which participants may have to partake in touristic activities: a group with a higher TC%, arguably expended more of their income for the same experience as one with a lower, and from that position have placed greater value into the site.

These make up the backbone of the economic analysis of the interviewees at each AOAM. Further research methods are undertaken to form understanding of the financial natures of the sites themselves.

Financial Record & Local Tourism Analyses

Independent of data from the visitor interviews is the desk-based examination of public records associated with each AOAM and their localities. As non-profit entities, the three organizations that operate the AOAMs have made their financial records available through the Charity Commission. Records dating back several years, though not uniformly back-dated, are produced as .pdf documents that can be searched for and accessed by anybody free of charge. During the time of this research, the search engine for doing so was in beta testing -a factor which did not negatively impact this study or the capacity to access the financial records. Sweden, however, proved a more difficult case. Public records for the charitable organization in question were unavailable, and access to those which were available were not publicly so but required their purchase (this will be addressed and contextualized in the Foteviken sections in CH5 and CH6).

Secondary to the organizational records are the public agendas which tourism boards (such as VisitYork for the Jorvik Centre) and governmental councils connected to the AOAMs. These records highlight the conditions of tourism development in the area, and the larger view of the situation which each site contends and interacts with -regionally speaking.

Desk-based assessment of these financial records and the organizations' positions within the regional tourism landscape -informed by local tourism board and council agendas- shapes Chapter 6, to draw out institutional issues over a span of time, and suggestions of potential futures.

4.5 Decolonial Analysis

The final Assertion is to consider AOAMs as potential spaces to foster decolonial narratives and decolonial options for the past. Here my own experiences of the sites emerge to offer a critique on the sites and their positions in facilitating such narratives through display and interactions between visitor and interpretations (via display and/or costumed interpreters). Informing this critique of each site are the results stemming from analyses of the visitor interviews. Previously In this chapter, some elements of the 'perception' qualities of several questions were offered. This section focuses on this in greater detail.

Each participant was asked to offer three words that they would use/have used to describe a Saxon or Viking (dependant on the site of the interview), to someone who was unfamiliar with the culture in question. They were asked to do so to this one hypothetical day before their visit, and a hypothetical day after their visit. Their 'before' responses can only be relied on using an honour system that they are representing their 'former' perception in what they believe to be an accurate manner. It is not only logistical reasons that made both entrance and exit interviews untenable but that the questions and answers given in an entrance interview may have impacted their experience and in that way provided skewed results. As with any of the questions, the respondent was perfectly capable of misrepresenting themselves to satisfy their own requirements and desires of how to be perceived.

The respondents offered perspectives of the culture which they have explored in the AOAM they visited, both in the past as well as in the near future. These perspectives, though, are a perspective and assumption of how they select to perceive their own selves and attitudes in hypothetical situations. They are a negotiation of the respondent's existence – thoughts, perspectives, and feelings – at the point in which they are asked the questions.

This entire set-up must be considered on numerous levels. The scenario within this question, as with the rest of the interview itself, is performative. At the base level, each participant is performing just as the interviewer (me) is for them. The performance and perception(s) of authority(ies) in interviews is well understood and must be accepted for these participants. However, the ‘three words yesterday’ and, later, ‘three words tomorrow’ questions present more than just performance. Rather, they also present responsibilities. First, they lay on the participant the responsibility to inform someone who has no previous knowledge. Within that responsibility, though, is also one to represent a culture of the past in a way which the interviewee believes to be appropriate – whether positively or negatively. They, all the while, are also taking a responsibility for how they perceive they would act within this scenario, and how that might reflect upon them. For instance, some respondents (for example, JC.Eng.13) expressed anxiety in voicing descriptive terms such as ‘rape’. These levels of responsibility influence the word-choice of the interviewees and may even result in self-censorship. It is still useful to think about the ways in which each have decided to use the responsibilities they were given through the keywords they chose.

Lesser Keywords, Greater Keywords

The layers of responsibility and performance aside, another matter dogged this study. The questions regarding providing keywords were open-ended. Because of this there were:

- 669 Keywords offered
- 274 unique Keywords
- 41% of Keywords were unique

This presented the work with something of a problem. If open-ended questions would prevent people from being influenced by my questioning more than my mere presence and their responsibilities, they also brought out a diverse set of responses which needed to be managed. This, of course, is one of the issues that can occur during interviews with open answers: even should the participants answer as requested to only provide three words to describe the culture in question. It became necessary to place words with similar connotations together, to make categories which can offer meaning together. These words have been combined into what this work will simply call keywords, for simplicity’s sake. Each of the 669 keywords are associated through their contextual proximity (such as a synonym, or a direct theme). This reduced the number from 669 keywords to a more manageable count of 90 (the list of Greater Keywords and their associated ‘Lesser’ keywords can be seen in Appendix E).

The process of generating Greater Keywords initially involved the use of qualitative analysis software, NVivo. Lists of twenty-five frequently occurring were created with this, which can also be found in Appendix E. This process, however, was met with mixed results. NVivo operates on a lexical analysis of text, utilizing its own in-house dictionary and thesaurus that can associate unexpected words together should they have a connection based on those definitions (QSR International nd). This nature of organization proved something of an impediment to my needs. And indeed, qualitative software’s utility has been questioned for a long time. Crowley et al (2002, 193) noted researcher anxieties about loss of meaning through filtering words into software, and the resultant abstraction. The very lexical basis that NVivo works upon has been noted by researchers, with outcomes that have been called “thousands of pieces of nonsense that could not fit into any sensible analysis” (anonymous researcher in Rodik & Primorac 2015, 42). Other researchers have championed its use. Some motivation for the use of software, particularly in the humanities is a sense of professionalism or ‘scientific rigour’ that it elicits,

compared to a physical ('pen and paper') approach (in Rodik & Primorac 2015, 35 & 47). This is not enough of a reason to make use of such software suites. Presenting qualitative research as only being 'rigorous' thanks to an electronic analytical tool is not a beneficial strategy, particularly when that would undermine the nature of the software. It is a tool, it is not to guide research but to facilitate it. Even advocates of the use of NVivo have noted that it is more important to "understand the principles and literature about how to do rigorous qualitative research, regardless of whether software is used to support the process" (Beekhuyzen et al 2010).

The results that NVivo produced were interesting, but their lexical associations simply did not meaningfully connect with my research. It must be reminded that the software is merely a tool for facilitation and that "It is always possible to leave the software to one side and use other means as well" (Crowley et al 2002, 195). The problems arising from the word-associations that the software created impeded the research. For instance, the terms 'immigrant' and 'invader' were connected by NVivo in a Greater Keyword called *Traveler*. It needs not be said that such associations are antithetical to research based in decoloniality. Because of this, I determined a 'pen-and-paper' approach was more appropriate, where I connected the Lesser Keywords together under Greater Keywords through my understanding of the context that took place during interviews, rather than an emotionless, spiritless, mechanical approach.

Sentiments

Still, the sentiments of participants were not limited to the construction of these keywords. The conversations that I had with them, and group interactions brought insight. In some special instances, these have been brought out into this research in the form of vignettes which embody and highlight aspects of the interviews.

With the analysis of 'before' and 'after' Greater Keywords (shortened to GKB and GKA for simplicity throughout Chapter 7), the changes in visitors' perceptions of the Viking or Saxon can be approached. The GKA's serve as a signpost towards the narratives that each AOAM has fostered for the participants. It must be appreciated that each participating group entered their interviews from differing backgrounds. I do not mean ones that made up the demographic data (e.g. education, 'nationality'), but ones which spring from their experiences, motivations, and interests. Groups were asked about their motivations for choosing to visit the AOAMs, and they were also asked about their willingness to visit other Viking/Saxon attractions. While this last portion was ultimately excluded from the final analysis, the data was collected, and the initial question of their willingness (on a scale of 1-5) to visit other sites supplemented the question of the visitors' motivations.

The reasons for the participant groups' visitation offer insight into the multiple levels of beliefs that these people have towards Vikings/Saxons. They also offer context to their depth of tourism as explained by McKercher and du Cros (2002). Just as these participants have unique variables about them that form their perceptions, so too do these inform the ways in which those perceptions change. Factors of their lives and attitudes -variables that are unlikely to be known without them telling me- inform the decolonial seeds present at each site. No two people walk away with the same experiences, and so the same could be said of the ways their perceptions are developed. With this in mind, the visitor perception and sentiment analyses highlight the ways that each site develops its approach to re-presentations of the past; the prioritized narratives that they advance for visitors to walk away with.

With the methodologies used throughout this work described, the following chapters interpret the strands of data into their respective themes. Chapter 5 focuses on contextualizing the sites within this research and providing the initial narration of my touristic experiences at them. It also gives information about the AOAMs and the organizations that operate them.

Chapter 6 draws upon the analysis of data collected as described by section 4.4. It provides interpretation of the economic landscapes of each site (briefly contextualized by the relevant sections in Chapter 5). The information from visitor interviews also form a significant portion of the chapter. Lastly, it also describes the adaptive and regenerative properties of some of the cases, in the face of disasters during my period of research.

Chapter 7 is devoted to interpretation of the data related to visitor perceptions, and the ways in which the AOAMs in the study foster options for re-presenting Vikings and/or Saxons. This culminates into Chapter 8 which ties these strands together and offers images of the prospects of each of the destinations as well as recommendations for their options for the future as sustainable heritage and sites that can foster decolonial options in their visitors.

CHAPTER FIVE

The Cases: Vikings & Saxon Attractions

5.0 Introduction

The previous chapters of this work have produced a background and foundation to the status of heritage tourism as well as offering a set of assertions in relation to the development of alternative and renewable resources for the industry. This chapter is divided by each of the cases. To provide context throughout the remainder of the work, the sites' origins and organizations are placed here. Following that is information from my field research, including my physical arrival at each. It also details the surrounding areas as well as the sites themselves.

5.1 West Stow

This first destination has numerous names which it currently goes by. On its website, West Stow has gone by 'Moyses's Hall Museum & West Stow Anglo-Saxon Village' – or vice versa (West Stow 2016). The Forest Heath and St Edmundsbury councils officially refer to it as "West Stow Country Park and Anglo Saxon Village" (2014). More simply, though, the attraction goes by West Stow Anglo-Saxon Village, and does so on numerous social platforms (Facebook and Twitter, for instance). The matter of a multiplicity of names will be returned to. For simplicity's sake, this thesis will refer to the attraction and its operational organization as West Stow, or in abbreviated form: WS.

Origins

West Stow is located in the English county of Suffolk. The closest modern settlement to it is also of the same name. It is located approximately seven miles west of Bury St. Edmunds. The story of West Stow as a cultural tourism destination began with excavation of an Anglo-Saxon settlement, taking place between 11956 and 11972HE (West 1985, 2). The location had previously been of interest due to the discovery of an Anglo-Saxon cemetery in the mid-11800s (Tymms 1853; West Stow Country Park 2000, 2-3). During excavation prior to 11956HE, prehistoric and Romano-British materials were also found. But it was the work on uncovering an Anglo-Saxon settlement which brought the most substantial amount of archaeological attention to the site.

During the project to unearth evidence of the settlement, sixty-nine 'sunken-featured buildings', seven 'post-hole buildings' – described as halls – as well as animal pens and 'boundary ditches' were uncovered by the archaeological teams (West 2001, 7). Evidence of the buildings raised questions about their design. The excavation did not match assumptions of how Saxons made dwellings, so the team decided to create reconstructions of houses in order to better understand what they were seeing in the archaeology (West 2001, 49-52). They tested hypothetical structures to find out if their remnants would be similar to what they detected in the excavation. This experiment to test archaeological evidence was the founding of what would become the attraction: West Stow. As West expressed, "the philosophy was first to test the concept of floored SFB's [Sunken-Featured Buildings] using the simplest technology possible, and then move to more developed reconstructions while maintaining the integrity of the evidence" (2001, 52).

The experimental nature of the site's reconstructions did not stay limited to the purely scientifically-minded. Within a few years of the on-going experiments, it was noted that "Although the site is primarily concerned with experimental archaeology, at this stage it does already possess an evocative sense of the past in a way that cannot be captured by text-books" (West 1985, 12). The physical nature of the experiments took on another dimension through education. Not only were they viewable for gaining insights about the past for archaeologists, but West's comment highlighted their potential as a tangible learning device.

Organization

West Stow began in 11974HE with the Bury St Edmund's Borough Council establishment of the West Stow Anglo-Saxon Village Trust (WSASVT) (West 1985, 12; West Stow Country Park 2000, 1). WSASVT still manages the attraction, however the councils have since changed – a matter which briefly explained here, but its significance made explicit later in this work (see CH6).

Despite the educational potentials that West recognised in his first publication about the reconstructions, West Stow was not available as an open visitor attraction until 11999HE, 25 years after the founding of WSAVT (West Stow Country Park 2000, 1-2). It was only then, with the help of Heritage Lottery Fund and St Edmundsbury Borough Council funding that West Stow was developed as a heritage tourism resource (loc cit). The property, while managed by the WSASVT, is deeply connected with the St Edmundsbury Council (now in collaboration with the Forest Heath Council as West Suffolk). West Stow is left to its own designs, but only as far as its main doors. The adjoining café is outsourced to a company in Bury, West Stow's rubbish is administered by the council, as is the property's for-pay car park, and the surrounding country park. West Stow's income, as well, goes towards the council. So, while autonomous in a sense, the reality is very different.

Field Research

This destination, and the surrounding area, was visited by me during July 12016HE, from the 8th until the 14th. My schedule was broken down this way:

8th – Arrival and location orientation

9th and Sunday, 10th – Visitor interviews (timed to coincide with re-enactment event)

11th and 13th – Bury St Edmunds visit

12th – Sutton Hoo visit

14th – Leave

Accessing West Stow

I began my trip to West Stow with a morning train from York to Bury St Edmunds, and then a bus to my accommodation. I decided to rent a room, through AirBnB.co.uk, in a small village

some two miles from the site. The village, called Icklingham, while close to West Stow, was a complete food desert. Unfortunately, the research I conducted online gave me out of date information, and the town's only pub had been boarded up (with a large log in the parking lot) when I arrived. The village is certainly not set up for easily hosting people without personal transport. While getting to Bury was possible through the hourly bus, it ceased services at 17.00, making evenings -and having dinner- in the city impossible. Bury is a different matter. It is set up with many restaurants, venues for accommodation, and attractions - with TripAdvisor counting 173 restaurants and 62 'things to do' (2018a).

I found that the bus I had taken to my Airbnb was the only option for public transport to West Stow. It ran to and from Bury once an hour, and cost £2.80 for a one-way trip: a

trip to an unmarked stop at a fork in the road, with an arrow pointing to my destination (about a mile and a half farther down; fig 5.2). Asking to be dropped off at that stop which is not mentioned as a stop on any of the schedules, and without any signage to indicate it as one, despite locals and West Stow staff being aware of it was met with annoyance by the bus operators.

The bus turned out to be an unreliable option. Taking a taxi was another possibility, but one that came at a premium. The online estimation of a fare from Bury to West Stow in the afternoon comes out to roughly £13 (Yourtaximeter 2017), however, actual estimates I was given by taxi services suggested prices of no less than £18.

Logistically speaking, my situation was far from ideal. The area – in relation to the site – is underserved by busses, both in frequency and in the length of active transportation hours. Public transportation serving the areas surrounding West Stow has also been in decline: a bus that stopped directly at the site having ceased operation within the last five years.

In the end, none of the visitors I surveyed at the site arrived any other way than by car, and based on my experiences, was for good reason. This points to an underlying issue of uneven access to West Stow. According to research by the marketing agency, Mediaworks, the average cost of a car purchase plus one year of ownership in the UK is £18901 (Goodman 2016). Those without the means (logistical, physical, or financial) to purchase and own a car then are excluded from easily accessing West Stow. Regarding access to the destination, and to food and lodging, people of the means to own or rent a car have a much less troubled time of making use



Sign of Icklingham village, Suffolk, UK (2016)

fig 5.1



Unmarked bus stand to West Stow (2016)

fig 5.2

of West Stow, and engaging with its narrative as the 'First English Village' - implications of this are discussed in more detail in Chapter 7.

Surroundings

The closest city, Bury, was a focus of the visitor experience travelling to West Stow. West Stow is connected to Moyses's Hall Museum, found in Bury. Moyses's Hall is a Norman building that now displays local and wartime history, with an art and clock gallery. It and West Stow have very little in common aside from being properties of the council, and employees who divide their time working between both. Both sites, however, carry flyers advertising each other (while also carrying a host of other 'Bury' locations and events).

Other destinations in Bury include the ruined abbey, and numerous churches. There are no other directly Saxon-themed resources in or around the city. In Suffolk, there are still other 'Saxon Tourism' sites to visit, like Sutton Hoo. Arrival there was much easier than West Stow, only taking a train to Woodbridge, and a fifteen-minute walk to the site. The two sites have several connections, and both even mention the other in their displays. West Stow even places Sutton Hoo within some of its official literature (West 2000). The extent of their relationship, though, is questionable (as will be discussed later).

The Site

West Stow consists of a small archaeology gallery attached to the site entrance (fig 5.6) and another interpretation centre underneath the café and main building (fig 5.7). These two properties orient visitors to the site, contain local artefacts, and discuss time periods and changes which took place within the 'Saxon' period (for example 5.8).



Entrance to Moyses's Hall Museum, Bury St Edmunds, UK (2016)

fig 5.3



Abbey ruins, Bury St Edmunds, UK (2016)

fig 5.4



West Stow village from a distance (2016)

fig 5.5



Archaeology gallery in Visitors' Centre (2016)

fig 5.6



Entrance to Anglo-Saxon Museum (2016)

fig 5.7



Display depicting changes in Saxon fashion by century (2016)

fig 5.8

Beyond these two more traditional museums is the village which is a set of buildings constructed as experiments into how Saxons may have built their homes. Structural features have been tested out, and some of the earlier buildings have distinct appearances, due to uncertainty of building methods (fig 5.9-10; 5.12-13). Each building is named and characterized by either its age in relation to the others, or by hypothetical occupants and purpose (see 5.9-11).

These buildings been structured in experimental ways, even including unknowable variables, like the presence or style of windows (fig 5.12-13).

Due to the site's experimental nature, it has not been laid out as a coherent settlement, but rather as an assortment of buildings. These reconstructions are populated at least once a month by Saxon re-enactment groups, rather than by volunteers or site staff (Alexander pers com).



*'Sunken House'
illustrating an early
hypothesis to
construction*

(2016) fig 5.9



*'The Oldest House'
constructed using log
posts*

(2016) fig 5.10



*'The Workshop'
constructed using
wattle and daub*

(2016) fig 5.11



Windows of 'The Workshop' shuttered with blanket (2016)

fig 5.12



'The Weaving House' with hinged shutters (2016)

fig 5.13

The Case

West Stow presents several unique factors to this research. Chapter 6 will discuss the site's position of being subject to council control, and the outsourcing of functions, like the café, to unconnected groups. It will also examine external relationships with institutions such as Sutton Hoo and Moyse's Hall. Narratives of Englishness forwarded at the site will be addressed in Chapter 7. And Lastly, West Stow's approach to special events will be addressed in both Chapter 6 and 8, as will issues of site access.

5.2 Foteviken Viking Reserve

The second site does not have the same multiplicity of names as West Stow. On its website, the attraction is called ‘Foteviken(s) Museum’ (2017). This is also the name used on its numerous social media platforms. On occasion, it is called the Foteviken Viking Reserve. Casually, it is referred to as Foteviken, as this thesis will do (otherwise abbreviated as FV).

Origins

Foteviken is located in Höllviken, Skåne, Sweden. Its founding both is and is not indebted to an archaeological project. Björn Jakobsen, a director, was commissioned to film an underwater archaeology project off the coast of Vellinge, Sweden. This research was to connect the municipality to its maritime heritage, through the videos, and their subsequent display in a visitor’s centre (which currently shares a car park and space with Foteviken itself).

Jakobsen’s interaction with the past came from this. Equally, his cinematic background and prior interest in Swedish heritage helped to form the concept that would become Foteviken. While the centre for the maritime history of the region was the original concept, Jakobsen – among others – aimed to repurpose the site. Jakobsen envisioned a destination that was a ‘movie set’ that could bring the past alive to people (pers com). With financial assistance from local government initiatives, this idea was given its start.



Display of initial building project at Foteviken (2016)

fig 5.14

Foteviken was built with an agenda of offering temporary work to unemployed people, whereby they could learn construction skills and find further opportunities, while also creating an attraction for people to consume. With the help of trained carpenters, teams of unemployed labourers were given jobs for six months at a time (paid for with state money) to produce the buildings at the site (fig 5.14). Not associated with any

archaeological site in particular, the structures were researched using known examples. The site also originated with an ethos expressed by one of its names: the ‘Viking Reserve’. This aspect allowed a number of enthusiasts in historic recreation/re-enactment to have a space where they could carry out their vocations (Jakobsen pers com). These factors contributed to the unique attributes of the property and organization, as will be further explored.

Organization

The charitable body responsible for Foteviken, Föreningen SVEG (Scandinavian Viking Explorer Group), was formally registered in 11990HE (Allabolag 2017). The group was first established three years earlier, by Jakobsen and Birger Enoksson (SVEG 2017). Since the 11993HE establishment of Foteviken, the role of SVEG transformed from being primarily focused on the advancement of maritime archaeology research in the region, to being the organizing body of

Foteviken (ibid). This change was aided by the social scheme which the local government enacted to ease unemployment. Additionally, the shift in focus brought around a unique structure to Foteviken.

As the film-like qualities of living-history came into prominence within SVEG, the desire to more fully connect with re-enactment as a lifestyle was supplemented with the creation of housing in which the 'Vikings' could live. This housing – of roughly modern health standards – is used by members of SVEG while they are at Foteviken to re-enact and populate the village. Additionally, Foteviken offers spaces to visitors to camp, for a fee. In addition to SVEG, Foteviken exists as a business called 'Nordiska Organisationen för Kulturell förmedling' (Nordic Organization for Cultural Intermediation, called NOKF in the rest of this work), which manages the operation of the AOAM, including its café, rentable dining hall, and gift shop. All of these features had previously been run as a non-profit, but NOKF was registered in 12013HE as a result of Swedish tax law (Foteviken 2013) -which will be discussed in the following chapter. It has since come to manage the functions of Foteviken, in conjunction with the non-profit SVEG.

Field Research

The period of field research took place from 19 through 25 July, 12016HE and is broken down as follows:

19th – Arrival

20th to 22nd – Take on Role of Costumed Interpreter

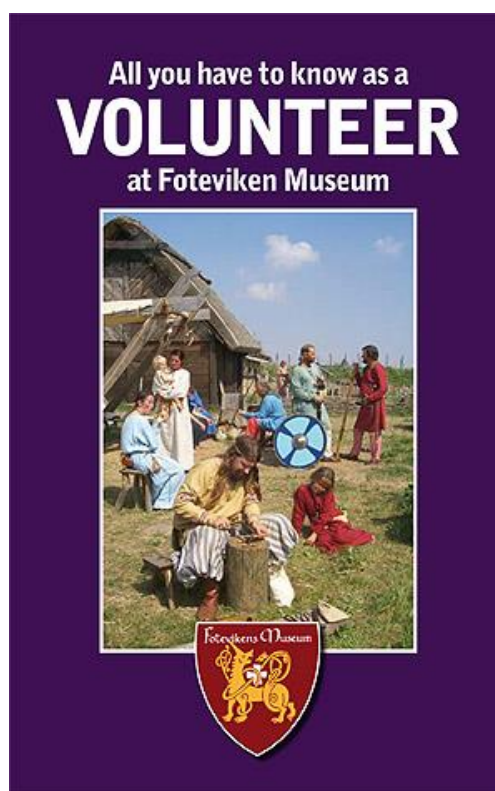
23rd & 24th – Visitor interviews

25th – End

Accessing Foteviken

My trip began with a train to London, followed by a plane to Copenhagen (the closest airport to Foteviken, with the exception of Malmö Airport) the following morning. From there, I took public transportation: the Øresundståg to Hyllie station in Malmö, and a bus from Hyllie to Höllviken. From the stop there, Foteviken was roughly a ten-minute walk. While this may sound like a complicated journey, in truth – from Copenhagen – the entire process was incredibly straightforward. The only difficulty with the journey was the fact that busses in Sweden do not accept physical currency, instead relying on bank cards, or pre-paid transit cards. Paying with a UK bank card, the cost for the international charge was higher than the bus fare itself (50 SEK).

With the easy public transport – international fees aside – Foteviken is highly accessible to people who are staying in Malmö, or to any other city which has

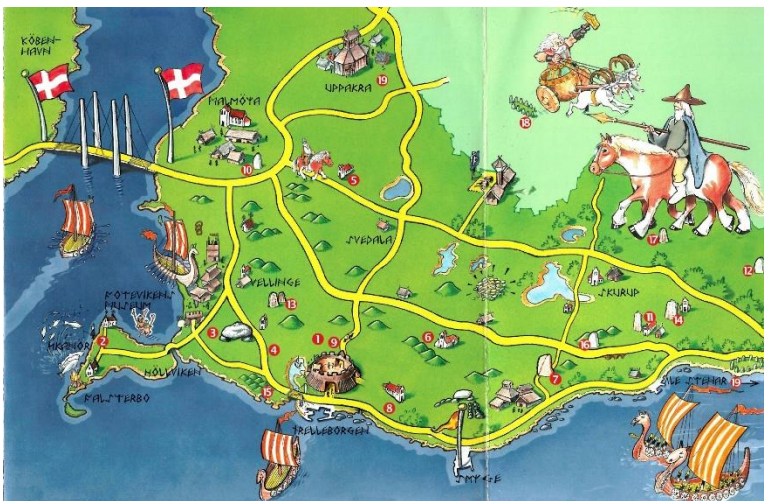


Cover of Foteviken volunteer guidebook in English (Foteviken nd)

fig 5.15

a bus route to Höllviken. Accommodation-wise, the destination has a unique attribute to it. Foteviken accepts temporary volunteers to the site. These volunteers then go through training and are given a book to work from (see fig 5.15) to perform as one of the costumed interpreters. While performing these duties, volunteers may stay in the housing at Foteviken for free. The only cost to them is for a year's membership with SVEG (250 SEK). It is an interesting approach to populating the attraction, and also offers visitors with a passion for the subject to engage in a more intimate way with the attraction. During my time at the site there were five such volunteers. I also decided to spend three days in this way, in order to appreciate this unique experience (not just that it sounded like a lot of fun).

This novel facet to experiencing the site makes an enormous amount of sense when one has to work with an issue of populating a town for visitors to experience it as being 'alive'. Arguably, each would-be volunteer is one who has at least some passing interest in 'Vikings', or living-history at the very least. They are also provided with a costume, and given training on how to work with the visitors. It makes for a very interesting experience, as it offers the tourist a meta-experience. It allows them to become a formal part of the visitor encounter for others. It would be like allowing a tourist to help lead a group of school children around a museum, and explain to them the meanings and messages behind the displays. The volunteer costumed interpreters were shadowed periodically by the members of staff, who gave their assistance and input as necessary. The volunteers were very enthusiastic about their roles and the opportunity they had -more so than some of the local youths who were paid interpreters as part of a work-experience scheme run by the local government.



Tourism map of Viking attractions in Skåne - Foteviken near bottom left (Destination Viking nd) fig 5.16

Surroundings

As far as accommodation and food are concerned, the area is easy. With a direct and frequent (roughly every 23 minutes) connection to the third largest city in Sweden, finding a hotel is not difficult. Of course, price ranges do vary. But, the option of camping at Foteviken for 25 SEK is also available. Additionally, at Höllviken, there are numerous restaurants, bars, and even a

large grocery store only an eight-minute walk away from Foteviken. These important facets to a tourism infrastructure were well provisioned for, and rather streamlined. Many people interviewed, though, did not seem to use Malmö as a point of tourism, nor did they utilize the established public transportation. This, as with the case above, speaks to privileges of the tourists. However, it must be stressed that the transport and tourism infrastructure to Foteviken is more conducive to access than at West Stow. Why these visitors chose their own modes of transport will be discussed further in this work (CH6).

Skåne has numerous Viking destinations that are easily connected to, a fact that Foteviken proudly supports. The visitor centre's pamphlet section had many flyers for local attractions, among them being other Viking-Age AOAMs. It even included all of them on a map (see fig

5.16). Not only does Foteviken foster relationships between other sites in Skåne, but it also maintains connections with international organizations such as IMTAL (International Museum Theatre Alliance), and Destinations Viking. This network will be addressed further in Chapter 6.

The Site

Foteviken is split up into several distinct areas. The most obvious is the housing which is not accessible to all visitors. It mainly serves the staff and volunteers, and also hosted refugees beginning in 12015HE (Jakobsen & Rosenqvist 2017). Sharing the carpark with Foteviken is the Maritime Museum which is a small building kept by the staff of Foteviken (fig 5.18).



Gated entrance to Foteviken reserve (2016)

fig 5.17

The Viking Reserve itself is made of an interpretation centre, which orients visitors to the history of the site and period (fig 5.19).

Farther along the path is a 17-acre reconstructed fortified settlement (fig 5.17). The highest point of the site is a tower waving the flag of Foteviken. From there, it is evident why the fortification was made – to obscure the surrounding recycling centre and modern buildings from the village (fig 5.20&21). At the time of my visit, there were 23 buildings that made up the settlement (figs 5.22-26). Since then, more buildings have been constructed on the property. Each building is given characteristics of people who occupy them, such as a weaver, warrior, or trader.



Entrance to Maritime Museum (2016)

fig 5.18



Walking path to Settlement – interpretation centre on left (2016)

fig 5.19

There is an area dedicated to 'educational' purposes, which is only occupied at certain times (fig 5.27-28). Here, bees are kept as well as sheep. In addition, this portion is used by vendors during the markets which Foteviken hosts.

The property also contains both a reconstruction of a pagan shrine -located outside of the fortifications- and modern runestones (fig 5.29-30).



Earthen wall surrounding Foteviken to obscure modern buildings (2016)

fig 5.20



View from tower, showing modern buildings (2016)

fig 5.21



View of 'The Bakery', 'the Weaver' & 'The Law Man's House' (2016)

fig 5.22



View of buildings on 'Långhusfedet' & 'Konefedet' plots (2016)

fig 5.23



Costumed interpreters walking in alley dividing 'The Bakery' (2016)

fig 5.24



'The Tannery Fish Shed' (2016)

fig 5.25



Inside the 'Tannery Living Space' (2016)

fig 5.26



Experimental archaeology workshop entrance (2016)

5.27



Experimental archaeology workshop beehives (2016)

fig 5.28



Pagan shrine (2016)

fig 5.29



Modern runestone reproductions (2016)

fig 5.30

The Case

Foteviken also has unique aspects of interest to this research. Chapter 6 will discuss the matter of the site's access to financial records, the numerous external relationships which it fosters, as well as the burgeoning semi-autonomous standings of the café, shop, hall. Chapter 7 will draw more attention to the Viking experiences in which tourists become interpreters. Lastly, both chapters will highlight aspects of the public schema which helped found and continue to foster the site.

5.3 Jorvik Viking Centre

Case number three has maintained a strong identity throughout its existence. Formally, it is called the Jorvik Viking Centre, this is reflected in its promotional material and on their internet presence (2018a). More colloquially, this attraction is rendered to the Jorvik Centre, or even simply Jorvik. To avoid any confusion which might occur with the use of plainly 'Jorvik' –the word is a common feature in many names of businesses within greater York, as well as being the name of the settlement itself in the Early Medieval 'Viking' period and a kingdom within the Danelaw – this work refers to the attraction as the Jorvik Centre (abbreviated JC).

Origins

The Jorvik Centre has its founding in an archaeological excavation which took place between 11976 and 11981HE, at the location which would become the Coppergate Shopping Centre in York (Hall 1984). This archaeological dig resulted in the finding of substantial evidence of periods in the past of York, notably that of the Early Medieval 'Viking' character of the site (ibid). The location of Coppergate, translating to 'The Cup-Makers' Street', offered an opportunity to research the past lives of a 'Viking York', which served as a capital in the Danelaw until its integration into the Kingdom of England (Hall 1994, 15-20).

The excavation drew the attention of the public. Over five hundred thousand inquisitive people were offered a glimpse of the unfolding dig at the time called The Viking Kingdom of York Excavation, aiding continued work through entrance fees (Hall 1979, 25; Hall 1984, 6; YAT 2017, 8). By the end of the excavation, the experience had already become one that would be carried into local memories (as evidenced by a recent addition to the attraction, addressed below). The entire experience brought with it the idea to continue to present the findings to the public. However, a 'traditional' museum was not what came about, but rather an attraction inspired by other AOAMs, namely Colonial Williamsburg and Plimoth Plantation in the United States (Addyman pers com; Addyman & Gaynor 1984, 7).

Organization

The Jorvik Centre is still a part of the company that performed the Coppergate excavation, the York Archaeological Trust (YAT). With a founding in 11972HE, YAT is not exactly a commercial archaeological unit nor consulting firm, but rather has established itself as an educational charity. The organization's mission is:

“[advancing] the education of the public in archaeology, history and related disciplines associated with the City of York and elsewhere and promotes the preservation and display of collections of archaeological material and carries out research and disseminates the results. This is achieved by running visitor attractions and providing archaeological services.” (Charity Commission 2017a)

As of reporting of the financial year, ending March 12016HE, YAT is the employer of some two hundred and forty-four members of staff, and around three hundred volunteers – averaged per month due to circumstances like short-term contracts in archaeological work. Of the total employed that year, one hundred and thirty-three worked as “archaeological and heritage staff” (loc cit: YAT 2016, 28). The archaeological services were the original function of YAT and are still a solid core for the organization's spending.

YAT is not only identified with its archaeological practices, but rather it has ownership of five heritage properties in York, all under its branch of The JORVIK Group:

The Jorvik Centre – the case study in question

Barley Hall – A reconstructed Medieval Townhouse, with a setting of circa 11483HE

DIG – A child-targeted centre which offers an interactive mock excavation and hands-on artefact handling

Henry VII Experience – An attraction at Micklegate Bar, depicting the War of the Roses from the Tudor Dynastic perspective

Richard III Experience – An attraction at Monkgate Bar, depicting the War of the Roses from the York-Plantagenet Dynastic perspective

Of the total monthly employee average reported, one hundred and eight – down from one hundred and thirty-three the year previous – were categorized as ‘attractions and events’ staff (YAT 2016, 28). This presents a somewhat sharp divide between the activities which YAT participates in, one which employs field and laboratory archaeologists to conduct excavation, research, and analysis of archaeological materials, and the second – under JORVIK Group – which maintains attractions and the tourism industry functions that provide YAT its ‘educational’ and public aspects for its charity status. The proceeds from these attractions serve as a large part of YAT’s source of funding. This, then, places the existence of The JORVIK Group (and YAT’s tourism and educational ventures) as integral to the continuation of YAT’s operations.

Field Research

Due to many circumstances (the York Flood, and my proximity to the site) the case of the Jorvik Centre research was taken sporadically. However, as with all other sites, a weekend was chosen to conduct visitor interviews:

30 September and 1 October, 12017HE



Street signs directing to destinations in York (2018)

fig 5.31

Accessing Jorvik

The city of York is well connected, by rail and road, and has transport infrastructure with busses and also car parks dotting the city (VisitYork 2017a). The trip from my home to the site is a staggering fifteen-minute walk. The Jorvik Centre is located at 19 Coppergate, in the shopping centre of the same name -with 23 shops, 7 of which are restaurants and food shops (Coppergate Centre 2017). It is under a

mile walk from the train station, and within yards of multiple bus stops and parking garages/ car parks. None of this is to suggest that train fares are affordable to everyone (earlier discussion of privilege and car ownership, reminded), but the connectivity of York by multiple forms of transport – in addition to being a frequent stop for tour groups – makes Jorvik the best-connected site in this study for tourists of differing means and patterns.

However, one other difference of access also marks the Jorvik Centre apart from the other cases: its cost of admission. For an adult single, admission costs are £10.25 (JORVIK Group 2017a). This rate is the highest of all sites. This cost can be mitigated through the purchase of items, which encourage visitation to other sites, such as the York Pass (£40 for a single day adult) and the Jorvik Group's Pastport (£18.95 for an adult) which also allows 'fast track' access into the Jorvik Centre (York Pass 2017; JORVIK Group 2017b).

Surroundings

Unlike the previous two cases, Jorvik is situated directly in a city with a significant tourism industry. The city hosts 46 hotels and 369 holiday rentals; 745 restaurants; 88 sights, and 40 museums (TripAdvisor 2018b). Jorvik holds a position of esteem within York, as part of the city's use of the Viking brand -which the attraction is partly responsible for.

The Site

The Jorvik Centre has undergone several transformations over its existence. The imaginings of the site are of interest, but this work will only consider its most recent two iterations. It is the smallest property in this research, as it is placed effectively in a limited space under a shopping centre, with no viable option for expansion.



Entrance to the Jorvik Centre (2018)

fig 5.32

The site is underground, with a staircase and lift for access by those with reduced mobility. For health and safety concerns, only one wheelchair bound visitor may be admitted at a time. While this raises implications to accessing heritage, this thesis cannot address them fully.

In the current and previous iteration of Jorvik, visits begin in a room with a glass-floored recreation of the Coppergate excavation (fig 5.33-34). This functions as not only an aspect of learning, but also as a 'lobby' to the next section of the centre: the 'Time Warp' ride. This ride is a tour -in maximum 6-person occupancy cars, suspended from a ceiling rail- through a 'recreation' of Viking York (fig 5.35). This ride features a narration, which as of the most recent imagining consists of 15 languages, including a written narration for the hard of hearing and the deaf (fig 5.36). It also features animatronic people and animals who populate the reconstructed buildings and interact to greater or lesser extents with the narration. Previously, these figures only spoke in Old Norse, but now five languages are present in the ride (which will be discussed

in Chapter 7). The ride lasts approximately 16 minutes, and contains sensory input: audio, visual, and olfactory.

Once the ride ends, there is a room with displays of objects, human remains, and biofacts from the period (fig 5.37-38). In addition, there are stations for interactivity with objects, and for (uniformed or costumed) staff to educate visitors (fig 5.39). Finally, the exit is an ascent into the gift shop, which is also accessible by people who have not paid the centre a visit. Unlike the other attractions, and due to Jorvik's position within a shopping centre, there is no café which is directly affiliated with it.



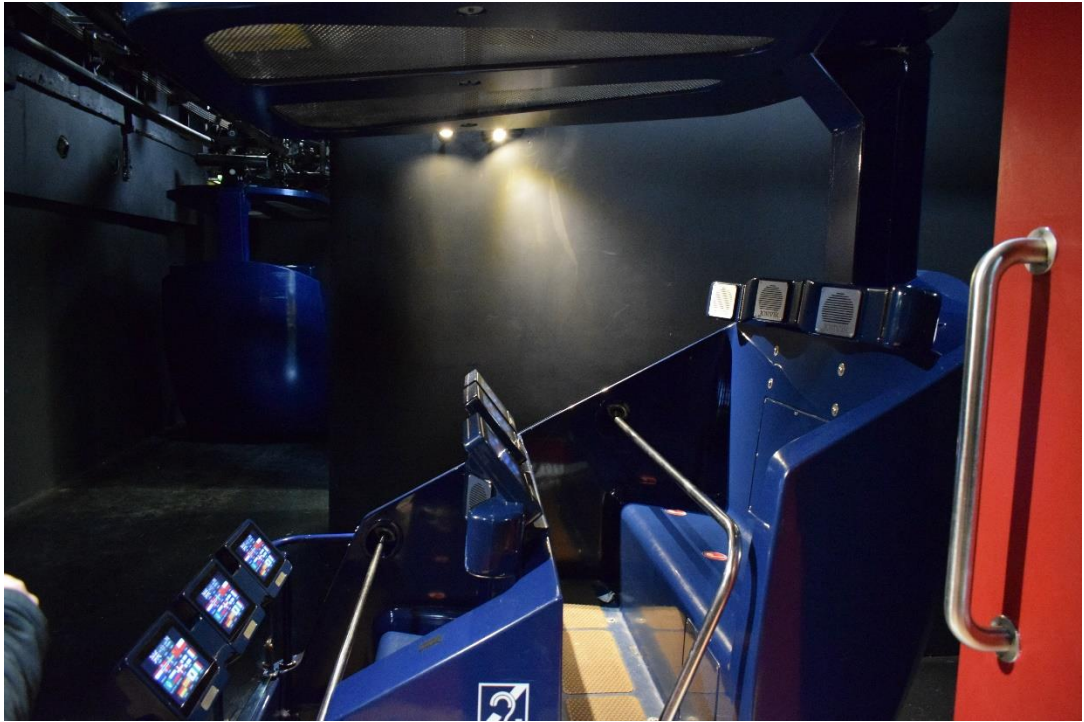
Replica of the Coppergate excavation (2018)

fig 5.33



Close-up of Coppergate excavation replica (2018)

fig 5.34



Car for Jorvik Ride (2018)

fig 5.35



Car screen showing selectable languages for narration (2018)

fig 5.36



Artefacts Gallery (2018)

fig 5.37



Artefacts Gallery (2018)

fig 5.38



Interactive station to engage visitor with objects (2018)

fig 5.39

The Case

Jorvik's circumstances offer several interesting sides for this research. The network to which the Jorvik Group and YAT belong, and the role this plays in the advancement of the site as a tourism resource, are discussed in Chapter 6. The events of the York flood of 12015HE, and the resulting revival and reimagining of the destination will be covered over Chapter 6 and 7. Lastly, the development of the ride and construction of a 'time machine' and its narratives will be discussed in Chapter 7.

5.4 Jarrow Hall

The fourth case has changed names, among other things, in recent times. Until 12016HE, this attraction was known as Bede's World. Due to several factors, which will be discussed later in this work, it has since been rebranded as Jarrow Hall Anglo-Saxon Village, and Bede Museum. For the purposes of this work, this attraction must be viewed in two fashions: as one entity that has changed aspects of itself to survive, and as two separate entities which simply occupy a shared space and similar heritage resources. As this work continues, the nature of these divides will become clearer. Within this work, the attraction prior to February 12016HE is called Bede's World (or BW), from October 12016HE is called Jarrow Hall (JH), and between those dates is called Bede's World/Jarrow Hall (BW/JH).

Origins

The attraction called Bede's World opened in 11993HE. The museum began through the efforts undertaken largely by Rosemary Cramp, who conducted archaeological research on the monastic sites in Wearmouth and Jarrow (see Cramp 2006). These sites are the scenes of an important figure to the history of Anglo-Saxon England, the Venerable Bede. This man, who lived from around 10673–10735HE, was a monk (Farmer 1998, 9-39). The monastery at Jarrow was likely founded in the year 10681HE (Blair 1990, 175-6).

Bede is an important figure in England, having written the early account of English history, *Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum*. His writings have been significant to the understanding of Early Medieval Northern Europe, and to the shaping of English identities. Still, he has been a largely liminal -or absent- figure in the public understanding of the period. Thus, the creation of a museum to represent the narrative of Bede and his time inspired what became Bede's World.

Organization

Until the beginning of 12016HE the attraction was run by the Bede's World Charitable Trust. At this point, due to the withdrawal of local funding, Bede's World was abruptly closed. The destination attracted an average of seventy thousand visitors a year (Storey 2016). More about this closure and the proceeding events will be discussed in the next chapter. The Charitable Trust went defunct and Bede's World went into abeyance (lacking a legal title-owner).

In March of 12016HE, the property was bought by another non-profit organization: Groundwork. This organization has a very different history than any of the other cases in this research. Originating in 11982HE, Groundwork is a UK wide charity which sprouted out of an initiative in Merseyside, called Operation Groundwork (Groundwork 2018a). This expanded into a format, partly through the Friends of Operation Groundwork (FROGs), consisting of several independent trusts across the UK which exist as a federation within the collective of Groundwork. As a whole, the organizations are governed by a formal Federation Board (Groundwork 2018b). This is how the charity(ies) exist up to the time of this writing.

As a charity – in the large scale – Groundwork has the mission to support “communities in need, working with partners to help improve the quality of peoples [sic] lives, their prospects and potential and the places where they live, work and play. Our vision is of a society of sustainable communities which are vibrant, healthy and safe, which respect the local and global environment and where individuals and enterprise prosper” (Charity Commission 2018a). This has often taken the form of environmental projects and work. Still, as “a radical experiment to bring together communities, businesses and government in a joint effort to improve the quality of life and promote sustainable development in places that had become run-down and neglected” (Groundwork 2018a) projects and properties associated with the heritage sector do have a place within the remit of Groundwork. The Groundwork North, East, & West Yorkshire trust gave funding of approximately £9000 for a revival project at the Red Tower in York from 12015 to 12016HE, acting on behalf of the Department for Communities and Local Government (Foxton pers com). Another recent heritage project undertaken includes The Northeast & Cumbria trust which secured funding through the Heritage Lottery Fund to undertake a programme which celebrated the coal heritage of Elba Park (2015). Certainly, this does not necessarily constitute evidence of an established precedent or of an organized move into the heritage sector, but this does offer instances in which two different Groundwork Trusts have recognized communal and developmental benefits that heritage properties can provide. Additionally, job postings in the past through CiFA have mentioned Groundwork Trusts as part of their description (Foxton pers com).

The South Tyneside & Newcastle trust is the entity which has taken possession of Jarrow Hall. Alongside management of Jarrow Hall, this trust also owns the EcoCentre and Beacon – both office buildings (Groundwork South Tyneside & Newcastle 2018a; The Beacon 2018). In addition, it manages landscaping and recycling services (Groundwork South Tyneside & Newcastle 2018b), and a community gym (ibid 2018c). Each of these properties support one another financially, and logistically (Venus pers com).

Field Research

Another site with special circumstance, my visits were divided in two separate periods:

9 & 10 June 2017HE – Interviews with staff; site visit

19 & 20 August 2017HE – Visitor interviews

Accessing Jarrow Hall

From York, I took a train to Newcastle. I transferred to the Metro on my arrival (paying £4 for an all-day ticket) and took the yellow line for around 20 minutes to the aptly named ‘Bede’ stop in Jarrow. From there, a small sign pointing left greeted me, steering me towards ‘Bede’s World’ (fig 5.40). What followed was a mildly confused 15-minute walk through an industrial



Sign near metro stop, Bede, still using site’s old name (2017)

fig 5.40

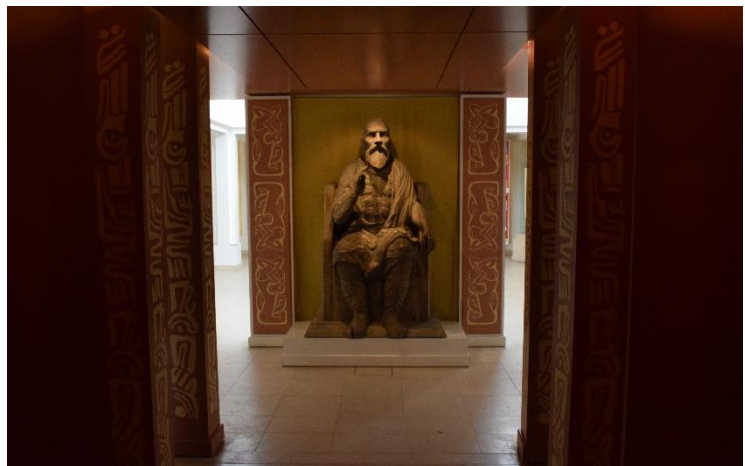
park and along a highway, with few signs to let me know that I was on the path. Approaching Jarrow Hall was also somewhat uncertain, with the largest sign at the entrance being for the café, and a significantly smaller sign announcing the site by its current name for the first time.

Surroundings

Nearby Newcastle is the centre of tourism resources that serve Jarrow. Being 20 minutes by Metro from Jarrow, and with 83 hotels, 100 holiday rentals, and 1049 restaurants (TripAdvisor 2018c), Newcastle is a logical place to base for visits. Other ‘Saxon’ sites are absent from the greater area, but heritage properties like Segedunum and Arbeia are within 10km. In addition, Groundwork has been exploring a relationship with properties along the Tyne.

The Site

The attraction itself, as mentioned, is tied to the nearby St Paul’s Monastery. The two, while forming a link through the building’s past and the narrative constructed at



Statue of Venerable Bede near entrance of Bede Museum (2017) fig 5.41

Jarrow Hall (in part focusing on the Venerable Bede, who resided there), are run by different organizations. St Paul's makes up part of The Abbey Church of Saint Peter and Saint Paul, Monkwearmouth – Jarrow. These twinned properties were placed on the tentative list for World Heritage Site status in 12012HE (UNESCO 2018b). It is still an active parish church and is under the management of the PCC (parochial church council) of the Parish of Jarrow (Hemmer pers com). That being the case, the two share a friendly relationship, albeit one with limited networking.

Jarrow Hall conceives itself as three separate entities. The first, and most stark division is between the museum properties and the grade II scheduled building that the entire site derives its name from, the Jarrow Hall House, where the Hive Coffee Company café is located. This division is punctuated by the fact that the owners of the café are an autonomous, local company which pays rent to Groundwork/Jarrow Hall.

As suggested by the full name of the site, Jarrow Hall divides itself into the 'Bede Museum' and the 'Anglo-Saxon Farm and Village'. While packaged together -tickets giving admission to both parts- there is little to connect the museum and farm/village.

Other sites in this research have interpretation centres in addition to their AOAM aspect, however, the Bede Museum does not function in the same way, but rather as a separate experience which focuses - predictably- on Bede. This is a connection that is entirely absent in the farm/village.



Display of the construction of Jarrow monastery (2017)

fig 5.42



Display of 11831HE cast of Bede's skull (2017)

fig 5.43

The Anglo-Saxon village and farm is an 11-acre plot of land with animal pens of hares, chickens and ducks, sheep and goats, bullocks, and heirloom pigs. The buildings housing these animals are given a façade of being period constructions, but on even casual inspection, their modern attributes are evident (fig 5.44-50).



Animal pens in Gyrwe, Anglo-Saxon farm (2017) fig 5.44



Modern hinges and wire fence (2017) fig 5.45



Ancient breed pigs (2017) fig 5.46

*Farm building with Saxon
Period façade (2017)
fig 5.47*



*Farm building interior with
concrete floor and other
modern features (2017)
fig 5.48*



*2x4's and plywood ceiling
(2017) fig 5.49*





View of stage and village from top of auditorium (2017)

fig 5.50



Standing cross at the top of auditorium (2017)

fig 5.51

At the farthest point from the entrance is a ‘Saxon’ amphitheatre with a standing cross overlooking it at the top of the auditorium (fig 5.50-51).

In between the ‘farm’ and the amphitheatre is the ‘village’, a reconstruction of period buildings (fig 5.50&52). Unlike the buildings in the farm portion, these are not merely aesthetic but, rather, made as wattle and daub reconstructions. During the time of my visit, each had fallen into a state of disrepair.

The site is open to host volunteers as costumed interpreters, but as of this writing, only one volunteer has maintained a presence as such. When this person is not at the property, only animal-handlers (dressed in modern garb) are present in the farm/village.

'Thirlings Hall' (2017)
fig 5.52



*Collapsing interior of
wattle and daub wall
(2017)* fig 5.53



The Case

Jarrow Hall's existence gives another point of interest, particularly on its circumstances of closure and re-opening. The closure of Bede's World, and the campaign to revive it, and the role of Groundwork will be subject to discussion within Chapter 6. Similarly, so with the rebranding process from Bede's World to Jarrow Hall. However, this process of reinvention and interpretation also features within the decolonial precepts of Chapter 7.

5.5 Summary

This chapter has been organized to provide information regarding the sites in this research: their origins, the organizations behind them, and the layout of the sites in brief. Additionally, my experience of the sites, and the surroundings were important to address. The following chapters will expand on facets of these destinations which have been raised, while also drawing out discussion on these cases and their relation to the three assertions of this work.

CHAPTER SIX

Renewable Heritage & Sustainable Economies

6.0 Introduction

With each site briefly addressed, we can now continue to unpack them over the next two chapters. In their place, the case studies all have their own unique stories to tell, not just stories concerning the subjects which they speak of (see CH7), but the story behind their creation (CH5), and the stories of their continued existences. This chapter highlights the function and survival of the AOAMs in this research, with special attention to the first two of the Three Assertions from Chapter 3. These assertions are:

AOAMs are...

1. Renewable heritage resources, which can be used to address concerns of conservation and site resilience.
2. Resources which are not geographically or strictly physically limited and thus can be constructed in locations, as tourism demands, which would otherwise be unable to tap into an immovable heritage resource and refigured to suit consumer needs.

Both factors hinge upon the nature of AOAMs as recent constructions. They also speak to economic factors, and organizational circumstance. As such, the realities of these assertions are connected more directly to one another than to the third assertion (addressed in CH7). For a site to succeed at the Second Assertion, it is reasonable to interrogate if it can/has proven true the First.

The following section proceeds with the examples of two of the case studies and their special contributions to discussion on resilience against destructive forces. The other cases could inform on the same topic. However, the two have been selected for the special circumstances surrounding their destruction and revivals -and my experience of them- rather than the sustained resilience efforts of the other sites.

6.1 Resilient Heritage

The beginnings of this research were marked with difficulty. As I started the cultivation of relationships and initial collection of data, two of my sites were suddenly eliminated – for very different reasons.

Drowning Vikings

On 26 December 2015, the River Ouse and Foss began to flood. The catastrophic failure of the Foss Barrier degraded the situation substantially. By the 28th, the River Ouse had broken its banks by 5.2 meters. And while it did not break the flood record from fifteen years previously,

the flood barrier's failure resulted in substantially worse damage (YorkPress 2016). Some 250 people were evacuated, and 627 buildings internally flooded (Davies et al 2016, 29).

The damages of the floods should not be understated. The Environment Agency estimated that the UK sustained £1.6b in damages from the winter flooding (2018, 6). To protect against another such incident, £17m was placed to upgrade the Foss Barrier together with £45m in government funding into flood protection schemes (Davies et al 2016, 4).



UK army flying in emergency equipment to combat flooding in York, 28 Dec (York Press 2016)

fig 6.1



Buildings flooding as River Ouse breaks its banks (AFP/Getty 2015)

fig 6.2



Rescue workers talk to residents in their homes in flooded Walmgate, York (PA 2015)

fig 6.3

The Jorvik Centre was one such property flooded from the failure of the Foss Barrier. And while it is one of the 7,200 properties in York -residential or otherwise- that are listed as 'at risk' of flooding during extreme weather (Davies et al 2016 25), damage to it was not anticipated.

As a largely underground facility, leakage from the ground and walls was the predicted danger from flooding. So, on five sides, the site was made watertight. But while this prevented water seepage, during the 12015HE floods, the damage did not come from below but from above.

Flood waters poured into the site from the street and down the stairs. While the displayed artefacts were evacuated from the Centre, the reconstructions were significantly damaged. Not only the electronic components, but the interiors were damaged further by the site's watertightness, which trapped the waters and expedited decay, mildew, and damage.

It is the nightmare of any manager, that a natural disaster could destroy a heritage site. Initially, this also was a complication (to say the least) for my research. I found myself with a case that, once the waters subsided, was completely unable to host any visits. This was not a situation that anyone wished to be in. It imperilled not only the JORVIK Group and YAT but had implications for York itself, which economically benefits from the site (as will be discussed later).

And while the destruction of many heritage sites would be placed into a grim position, with the potentials of repair being somewhat limited or perhaps not even viable, Jorvik weathered its storm.

Foreclosed Saxons

The imagery of the destruction of the Jorvik Centre makes the closure of Bede's World seem rather mundane. But its circumstances provide a real worry for heritage sites across the world. A site being swept away by natural disaster and unstable or unpredictable external catastrophe may present an existential challenge to heritage site management in rather visceral and sensory ways, lending itself to a set of responses. But, the case of Bede's World is an example of another very real existential threat to sites. Not as dramatic, but no less dangerous to heritage.

Undaunted by the closure of Jorvik, I proceeded to another of my cases. Early the following year (2016), I began to establish relations with a nearby site, Bede's World. Like Jorvik, it was a location that I was already familiar with. I had visited it three years previously and thought it would serve as an interesting Northern counter to West Stow's Southern take on the 'Saxon'.

The line of communication between myself and the management of the site suddenly fell silent.

On 12 February 2016HE, the employees of Bede's World arrived to find the gate to the property padlocked shut. The Bede's World Trust came to the decision that day to declare insolvency and permanent closure of the heritage property. This was, unfortunately, a matter that was not previously discussed with the site's employees. The staff knew that the state of financial affairs was unsteady, as voiced by Mike Benson, the director of Bede's World who left a month prior to the closure, "the majority of the staff there were working ten hours a week unpaid, week in week out, and in a way that's just how it is for those kinds of organisations unfortunately" (cited in Nicholson 2016).



Gates of Bede's World chained shut following the site's sudden closure. (Nicholson 2016)

fig 6.4

And yet, despite several years of insecure finances -marked by seventeen resignations in the five years leading up to the closure (Companies House 2018)- the ultimate dissolution of the trust came suddenly, appointing an administrator for insolvency in 4 March 2016HE. Employees voiced frustration and disbelief at the affair. One employee, Graeme Tallboys, stated: "I ran the education department for four years and we were always heavily oversubscribed. That funding should dry up for such an important centre of learning ... is an absolute disgrace" (Henderson 2016). By 17 May 2017HE The UK Companies House officially declared Bede's World dissolved (2018). Its closure resulted in the loss of twenty-seven jobs (Nicholson 2016).

With the decline of public funding -in the UK and elsewhere- to museums and heritage sites, the case of Bede's World is far from unique. No, it is a lurking spectre that haunts many organizations. And just as with a phantom, some choose to disbelieve and ignore it. That the closure of such a place as Bede's World can happen is not simply the result of one bad year. Withdrawal of (or drastic cuts in) institutional funding could be the death knell for countless small and medium-sized heritage sites, but that it happened to an attraction that was attached

to sites that applied for World Heritage listing six years previously was sobering. And maybe - just maybe- it made the staff at other sites more willing to listen to ghost stories.

Resilience in the Face of Destruction

The strike of disaster is a dreaded scenario for site management, and one that requires planning ahead for, if the location is to survive. The loss of heritage resources is a considerable issue for economies and for conservationists (see CH2.6-8). Even AOAMs are not immune to destructive forces, as cases such as the Jorvik Centre can attest. Still, responses to properties being extirpated can vary. In fact, destruction can be a learning experience for AOAMs. Controlled degradation and destruction have been some of the reasonings for the reproduction of buildings: as an act of experimental archaeology. At West Stow -for instance- the buildings were fashioned in differing ways, each testing out how Saxons could have constructed their houses. The modern constructs were made using the observable remains found in the archaeological record, and -ultimately- with substantial trial and error. The earliest examples made at the site were more appropriately a study into how *not* to build a Saxon house (West 1985).

The original building, called the 'Sunken House', was constructed with the thought that Saxons built their homes partly underground, due to evidence of soil removal within the area between the postholes of the buildings found at excavations. As the experiments and further evidence would find out, this was more likely resultant from the creation of cellars under Saxon homes. This would not be the last time in which this building would come to use, when, "In February 2005, one of the experimental reconstructions of a Sunken-Featured Building (SFB) ... was destroyed by fire. Although it was not the result of a planned experiment or simulation, the unfortunate event provided a unique opportunity to assess the data preserved following a fire within a[n] SFB" (Tipper 2012, 1).

The destruction of reconstructed heritage properties at AOAMs can come with a silver-lining: opening room for lesson-learning, and public outreach. West Stow was awarded a Young Roots grant (£18,500) wherein the original Sunken House was deconstructed in 12015HE and 10 to 15 "young people helped record, measure and photograph the demolition process" (Jenkins 2016). Destruction can also potentially offer the chance to reinterpret the site -in whole or in part. Such is the case with the disaster that destroyed the Jorvik Centre, to which we return.

The survival of the Centre was in no small part thanks to the insurances that YAT had taken out. Jorvik's flood and business interruption insurance policies helped to keep the site from permanent closure. Going forward from the flood recovery, their premiums have increased by 45% (Murphy 2017). Still, without these, the site would not have been able to rebuild, nor retain its employees to respond to such a difficult situation.

The problems that Jorvik faced were not few. First, and most directly, the attraction needed to be rebuilt. And while this was, in part, covered by the insurance policy which the JORVIK Group had taken out, accounting for £2.8m to recover from damages (Tuckley pers com), an obstacle - and opportunity- arose.

That amount of money was intended only to recover the attraction to how it had been a minute before the flood. However, many of the technologies and interpretative displays at that time were already out of date. The last partial update of the site took place in 12010HE. Repairing Jorvik to the same -outdated- standard was not something that the JORVIK Group management was inclined towards. The insurance money they had could not be used towards any updates to the site which might have been desired. This posed an issue on-top of the obvious one.

Jorvik and YAT needed to find a way to raise funds while their main attraction was closed. To their advantage, Jorvik had become something of an institution in York since its conception. Since 11984HE, the city has hosted a Viking Festival in February. It is, allegedly the largest such festival in Europe (JORVIK Group 2018b), which according to VisitYork attracts some forty-thousand visitors (2018). Each festival comes with a theme. The 12016HE theme revolved around the thousandth anniversary of the start of Cnut the Great’s reign. The irony was noted by Sarah Maltby, YAT’s Director of Attractions, recalling the story of ‘Canute and the tide’: “When we decided to focus the theme for the 2016 on the 1000th anniversary of Canute taking the throne of England, little did we realise that we’d have our own moment of standing with water lapping at our feet, commanding it to stop its flow ... and just like Canute, the water continued to rise within the attraction despite our best efforts” (VisitYork 2016b).

Despite the Jorvik Centre being closed, the 12016HE Viking Festival went ahead. During it, a fundraiser, called Campaign Canute began to help cover costs to update Jorvik. What began as simply a hashtag on Twitter and requests for donation (and subsequent receipt of a red wristband; fig 6.5) expanded over the following year. The campaign received substantial attention, which enabled it to tap into prominent figures as ‘ambassadors’, such as Brian Blessed and Charles, the Prince of Wales. The role most ambassadors played in raising money is not known. However, one ambassador, Terry Deary (author of the *Horrible Histories* book series) headlined a book-signing event on 6th August, with admission prices going towards the Campaign (fig 6.7). Additionally, he also participated in the Great North Run later that year, in support of Campaign Canute.



Twitter image for #CampaignCanute. (2016) fig 6.5

Not only did public figures help raise money for the Centre, but so did grant-giving agencies, businesses and organizations (fig 6.6), and private citizens. Different incentives were offered for individuals, including the ‘Odin’ tier reward wherein the likeness of the donor would be used for one of the animatronics in the redesigned ride (fig 6.8). Campaign Canute raised a total of £849,044, of which £800k came from seven donors (YAT 2018, 6).



Donating organizations to Campaign Canute (JORVIK Group 2018a) fig 6.6

Revolting Vikings
with Terry Deary
6th Aug | 4:30pm - 7:30pm
St Marys, Coppergate, York | £10 per child*

THE VIKINGS OF JORVIK
NEED YOUR HELP!
CAN YOU TRACK DOWN
FLOKI'S STOLEN SILVER?

Plus!
All successful sleuths will get the chance to meet everyone's favourite Horrible Historian, Terry Deary, and get a complimentary, signed Horrible Histories book.

BOOK NOW
www.thejorvikgroup.com/tickets

ALL PROFITS RAISED WILL GO TOWARDS CAMPAIGN CANUTE AND THE RE-IMAGINING OF JORVIK VIKING CENTRE.
* For full T&Cs visit www.jorvik-viking-centre.co.uk/tc

Announcement of Terry Deary event on Twitter.
(Jorvik Viking Centre 2016a)

fig 6.7

Alongside fundraising, the JORVIK Group had other issues that it needed to contend with. It had to maintain a continued presence of the site in York, not only to raise awareness of the reconstruction efforts, but to also generate income so that YAT could continue with its other goals of conducting archaeological research.

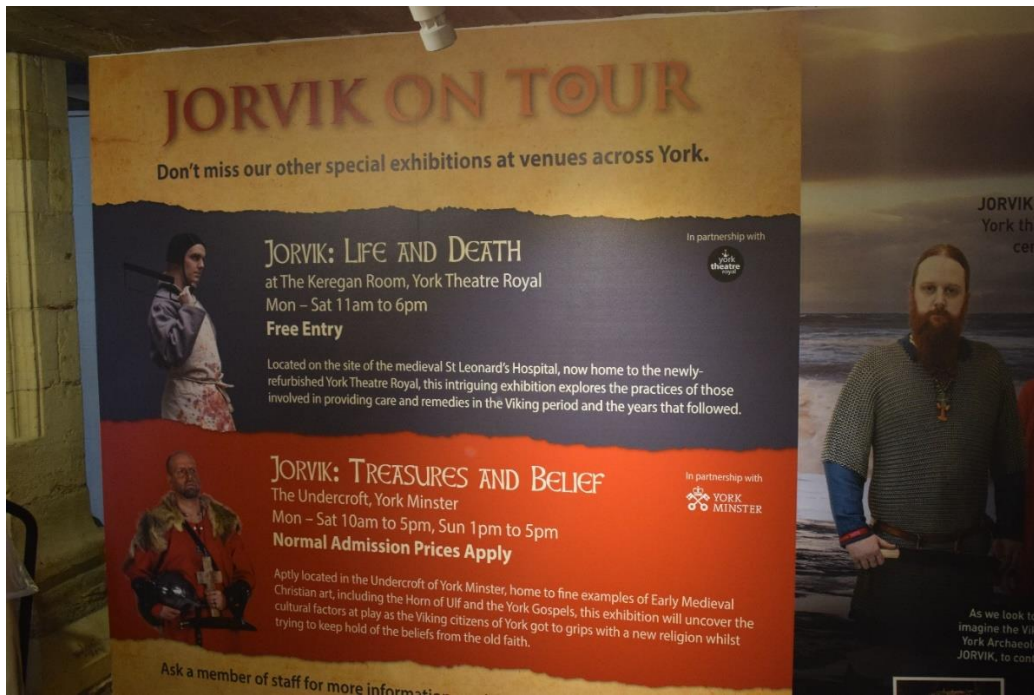
Not only did the Viking Festivals help in this respect, but YAT also secured three venues in York to host exhibitions. The first to open, in May 12016HE, was titled 'Jorvik: Life & Death' occupying a small space in the York Royal Theatre. A month later, 'Jorvik: Treasures & Belief' opened in the Undercroft at the York Minster. And, finally, St Mary's Church (next to the Jorvik Centre) hosted 'Jorvik: Home & Abroad', with the admissions -£5 regular, £3 concession, and free to children- being divided between YAT and the York Museums Trust which owned the building. These attractions generated £40k for YAT (2017a, 7).

ODIN
HAVE AN
ANIMATRONIC WITH
YOUR FACE
ON THE SET

your **JORVIK**

Advertisement on Twitter for 'Odin' tier reward for Campaign Canute donation.
(Jorvik Viking Centre 2016b)

fig 6.8



Billboard at St Mary's Church advertising 'Jorvik on Tour' exhibitions (2016)

fig 6.9



Costumed interpreters at 'JORVIK: Life & Death' assessing health through urine. (JORVIK Group 2016)

fig 6.10

Here, the second insurance that JORVIK Group took out came into play. The business interruption policy paid the wages for the staff who would otherwise have been unemployed. This way, they could continue to work at these exhibitions and maintain a presence for visitors and locals alike. None of the staff were laid off from hardships resulting from the flooding, and the 'On Tour' scheme necessitated the hiring of more interpreters (Tuckley pers com).

These temporary attractions utilized objects that had laid in storage, having served as parts of previous displays or with past Viking Festivals (figs 6.12-15). Salvaged pieces also made their appearance (figs 6.13&19), and some new items appeared – later to be used in the rebuilt Centre (fig 6.18).

The exhibitions closed January 12017HE (Home & Abroad stayed open until March) prior to the Viking Festival of that year.



'Home & Abroad'
Entrance, St Mary's Church
(2016) fig 6.11



Above view of 'Home & Abroad'
gallery (2016)
fig 6.12



Reuse of pre-flood Ride
set-pieces and (non-
functioning) animatronics
(2016) fig 6.13

Visitors looking at display
in 'Home & Abroad'
gallery (2016) fig 6.14



Costumed interpreter
discussing domestic life
with visitors (2016)
fig 6.15



Costumed interpreter
telling visitors about what
was sold in Jorvik's
markets (2016) fig 6.16





*Costumed interpreter giving author a sample of klippfisk [dried cod] (2016)
fig 6.17*



'Treasures & Belief'. Middleton Cross replica now on permanent display (2016) fig 6.16



*Reuse of pre-flood Ride set-pieces and (non-functioning) animatronics (2016)
fig 6.19*

The concerns of funding, presence, and revenue for projects also met with the obvious matters of how to go about reconstructing the site. As mentioned, the management did not wish to simply reproduce the same product that it had before the flood. In the span of time since the previous remodelling, interpretations of the Early Medieval period had adapted to new information, and the social climate had also changed in seven years.

This process involved a series of consultations with members of staff at associated institutes such as the University of York, and Viking specialists like Julian Richards and Steve Ashby. YAT itself is an organization that conducts archaeological research, and interpretation comes within that remit. The pool of interpretive voices available to Jorvik was not lacking. It was far from a small, insular effort that brought together the latest imagining of the latest Jorvik Centre.

Each branch of the JORVIK Group (and YAT) helped in the efforts of the revival. While the direct actions above were carried out, fundraising was carried out at the other sites around York, with Vikings showing up at local stores and sites periodically. The strategy that YAT produced to respond to the site destruction was not an easy, automatic effort. The first months after the flood were marked with some measure of chaos. Shortly after the disaster, a few crucial members of staff resigned from their posts (Tuckley pers com). This left the beginning stages of recovery in jeopardy, with quick adjustments in staff roles becoming necessary to proceed.

The case of the survival of the Jorvik Centre was not based on one factor alone, nor were these all centred on the JORVIK Group itself. Rather, much of what offered the site the resilience to not only be rebuilt, but re-imagined, was the network of support that the organization and site had fostered. The Jorvik Centre has been a staple of the city of York. It also fostered relations throughout the country and abroad. Its receptiveness in working with researchers helped to strengthen bonds in those circles as well. This will be explored in more depth later in the chapter.

The Jorvik Centre reopened on 8 April 2017HE.

AOAMs Under New Management

Immediately following the closure of Bede's World, former employees responded with campaigns to re-open the site. An online petition to the South Tyneside Council collected 42668 signatures (Moore 2016), and a crowd-funding campaign that ran in conjunction collected £4105 from 165 supporters in 56 days (Harland 2016).

Resulting partly from the public support, the property was placed under the management of the non-profit organization, Groundwork (see CH5 regarding the NPO). The site was granted to the Groundwork trust, in partnership with the South Tyneside Council, for a twenty-five-year lease under the agreement of the investment of £89.5k for the site's development (Groundwork South Tyneside & Newcastle upon Tyne 2017, 6&9). To provide for the realities of museum ownership, the South Tyneside and Newcastle upon Tyne trust amended the charitable aims and objectives (ibid, 4). These amendments have not been released in the annual filings as of the writing of this work. Changes to the overall languages and objectives of Groundwork were minimal, to comply with the cultural and heritage aims which museums have (ibid, 9).

With the successful acquisition of Bede's World and its properties, Groundwork found several challenges to the re-opening of the site. First, and most dishearteningly is that records from the

former Bede's World trust were not made available to the incoming management. Additionally, none of the former staff (as of the time of this writing) returned to the site in any capacity – even to offer consultation or advice. The staff of Groundwork were left without much guidance. The STAN trust had no museum or cultural heritage experience to draw from, only experience of social enterprise. This lack of experienced leadership was not helpful to the initial weeks of the re-organizing process. To address the situation, members of staff reached out to other museums for advice -including, Lance Alexander at West Stow.

Initially, practised museums staff were sought for the necessary roles at former-Bede's World/Jarrow Hall. Curatorial staff approached them from voluntary positions which they held during the early stages of Groundwork's assumption of the site. These volunteers came from history and museums academic foundations, having recently graduated from nearby universities, Durham and Newcastle. With new and trained professionals placed into roles as 'museum supervisors', the trust was able to expand its search for a head. They found that in Leigh Venus, who came from an art background and had experience with the operation of a listed building which served as a cinema.



L-R Emily Jeffers: Museum Supervisor; Leigh Venus: Operations Manager for Culture & Heritage; Hannah Mather: Museum Supervisor (Groundwork STAN 2017) fig 6.20

Structurally, as well, the Groundwork trust adapted to expand its remit for Jarrow Hall. As was mentioned in the previous chapter, numerous properties are in the possession and management of the Groundwork trust. Undertaking the property of former-Bede's World was no straightforward task. As Jarrow Hall was effectively made up of two museums (both with their specific needs) and a café, special attention needed to be drawn to it. The site also functioned differently from other Groundwork properties, requiring an expansion in the trust's management. While other aspects of the trust were placed under their own umbrellas, Mr Venus became the Manager for Culture and Heritage – suggesting a potential to expand such activities within the charity.

The name -Jarrow Hall- itself was not selected out of an effort to rebrand, rather out of legal necessity. In fact, the renaming process has proven to be somewhat troubled. Visitors still regularly call the property Bede's World. In addition, road-signage directing people towards the attraction -as of the writing of this work- read 'Bede's World' rather than Jarrow Hall (fig 6.21).

Updating such signage is contingent upon an undisclosed level of traffic to the site in question, before the councils in charge of the street signs agree to go through the process of partially blocking roads to install the new signs. However, the outdated names do not seem to be an aid to fostering the growth and development of the destination. It is hardly any wonder why visitors would continue using the old name. And while maintaining a connection to the former site may have a use, it does nothing for the new brand that Groundwork is aiming to create.



Street sign still using the property's old name (2017)

fig 6.21

Physically, very little had changed about the site. During the closure, and the management change, the animals present at the site were cared for by farming staff paid by the Council. Updates were made to the Children's Playroom (fig 6.22). Some signage was updated to place Groundwork and the 'Jarrow Hall' brand designs into the site (fig 6.23). Lastly, in the 'Mind of Bede' hall, the large mesh face (ostensibly of Bede) was removed for 'curation', but no plans to return it to its place in the Bede Museum have been made.

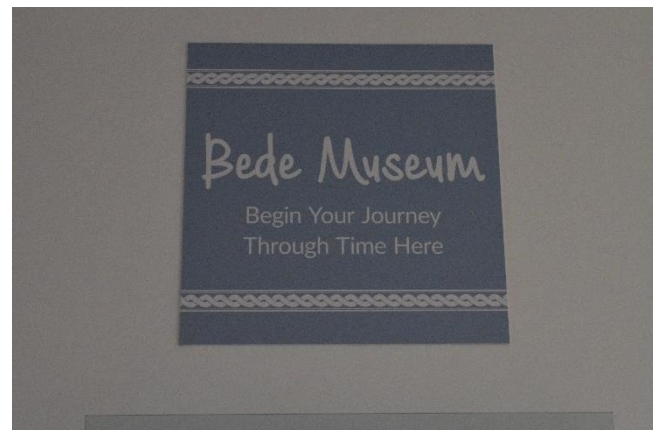


Padded corner in Jarrow Hall Playroom (2017)

fig 6.22

Jarrow Hall's situation is considerably different from Jorvik. The site's 'destruction' was of a much less spectacular fashion, but the organizational chaos at the site was complete. Some staff at YAT left in the wake of the 2015 flood, but no experienced museum staff remained to bring Bede's World/Jarrow Hall on its feet.

And while there was public outcry and movement in favour of the site, the level of national effort was not comparable to Jorvik. Jarrow Hall did not receive the same support or expertise to produce a similar opportunity to re-invent itself, rather much of the interpretation has remained unchanged. As the Culture and Heritage branch of the trust continues, the members have a desire to seek out ways to re-interpret the site.



'Bede Museum' sign using Jarrow Hall font and woven-border design (2017)

fig 6.23



Mind of Bede hall without sculpture (2017)

fig 6.24

Jarrow Hall began what was called a 'partial opening' on 8 April 2017, with this status still being in effect during the time of my visits and interviews. This opening was in part of an effort to renew public attachments to the site, and to get local feedback on what was wanted out of it as an attraction.

6.2 Tourism & The Value of an AOAM

Restoration and survival of open-air museums is a real possibility. Long-term viability as a self-sustaining entity, however, may be another matter. The previous section focused on renewability in action at two of the cases, which serve as differing points on the spectrum of 'destruction' and subsequent response to that. This section expands to all four of my cases, and moves towards each for their value, and connects overarching data that plays a role in my further site analyses (beginning in CH6.3) to provide context.

In the heritage and museums sector, there are numerous ways to attribute ‘value’ to an attraction. Here, the concern is the use of the cases and the financial qualities of each. Admittedly, there are limitations to the analysis that was undertaken at each (see CH4 for methodology). This section breaks down economic data from each site. From there, it also examines aspects of the financial standings of the localities in which the AOAMs are closest to in geography/affiliation. Unfortunately, considerably more in-depth investigation of the local economic impact of the sites would require another study. This section examines some features of each case study, regarding their organizational circumstance and the options they have taken to attract visitors and their money.

The areas surrounding my cases had different characteristics. From a financial standpoint, the average disposable incomes of each showed variance. This is understandable, as the regions are rather dissimilar. Jorvik is situated directly in an English city with a large tourism economy. West Stow is nestled within a county park, with small (relatively speaking) surrounding population centres. Jarrow Hall is connected to a large city in the North of England, accessible by metro services. Lastly, Foteviken is located on beachside property near a metropolitan centre in Sweden.

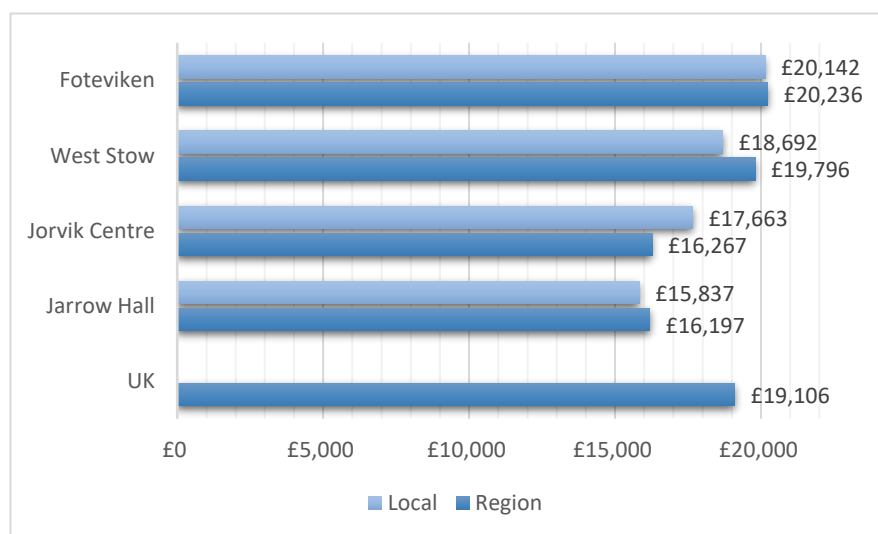
Data from the Office of National Statistics (ONS 2017) broke down the regional Gross Disposable Household Income (GDHI), and average income as follows (fig 6.25):

Region	Associated Site	GDHI	Index
UK	-	£19,106	100
North East	Jarrow Hall	£16,197	84.8
Yorkshire	Jorvik Centre	£16,267	85.1
East	West Stow	£19,796	103.6

GDHI of UK regions that cases are located in

fig 6.25

Taking further data into account, the GDHI of the county or metropolitan authority in which the sites were located was determined. In the case of Foteviken, Equalized Disposable Income data from 12013HE (rather than the 2015HE available via the ONS) serves as



Local GDHI compared to regional - in GBP

fig 6.26

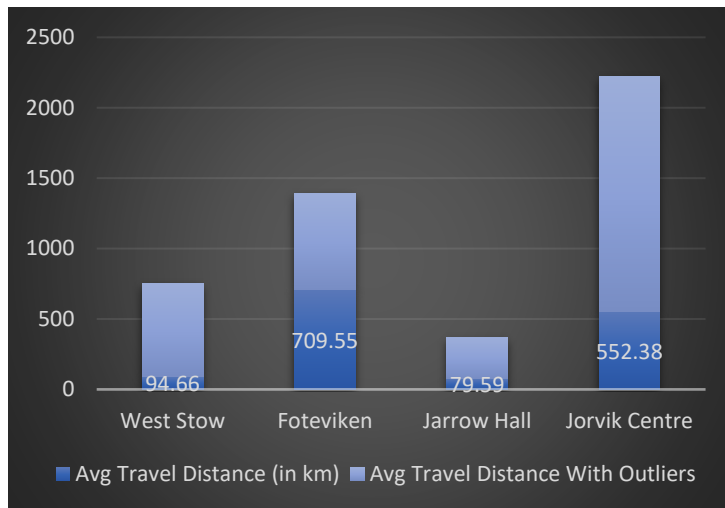
the closest set to compare the financial standings of people between the UK cases and that in Sweden (fig 6.26). GDHI is one matter, however just as pertinent is the average income of people working within the localities, the figures below (fig 6.27) highlight that, using ONS data from 12015HE (ONS 2015), and Statistika Centralbyrå data from 12016HE (2018).

Comparing the average local (to each site) incomes, to the estimated incomes of interviewed visitors provide interesting details. Unsurprisingly, the visitors to the sites had incomes higher than the averages of the localities they were visiting. Foteviken’s locality and visitors both had the highest average incomes. Most interestingly, though, the visitors to Jorvik had the largest

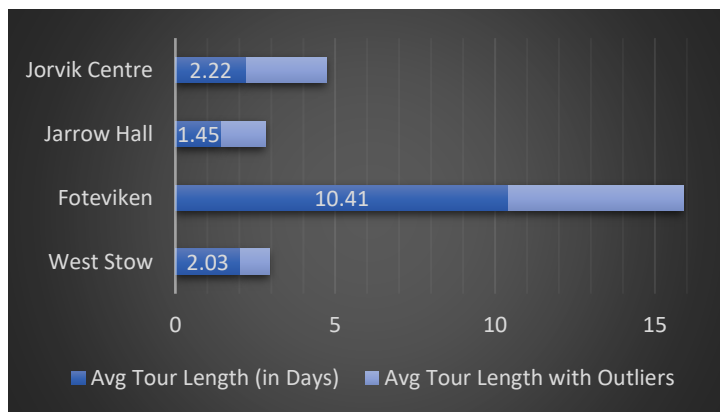
income gap between visitor and locality. The value of each site will be addressed over the next few sections, but it is useful to compare each site directly beforehand.

Site	Sample Size	Avg Income (Participant)	Locality	Avg Income (Locality)	Avg Disposable Income
Foteviken	29	£32,638	Vellinge	£27,734	£20,142
Jorvik	38	£31,356	York	£20,280	£17,663
Jarrow Hall	21	£28,222	South Tyneside	£20,592	£15,837
West Stow	31	£26,286	St Edmundsbury	£19,084	£18,692

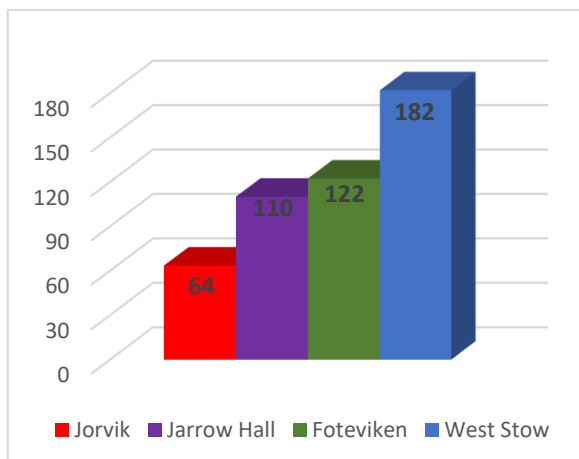
Average incomes of participants and average local incomes
fig 6.27



Average travel distances of cases (in km), with and without outliers
fig 6.28



Average total tour length of cases (in days), with and without outliers
fig 6.29

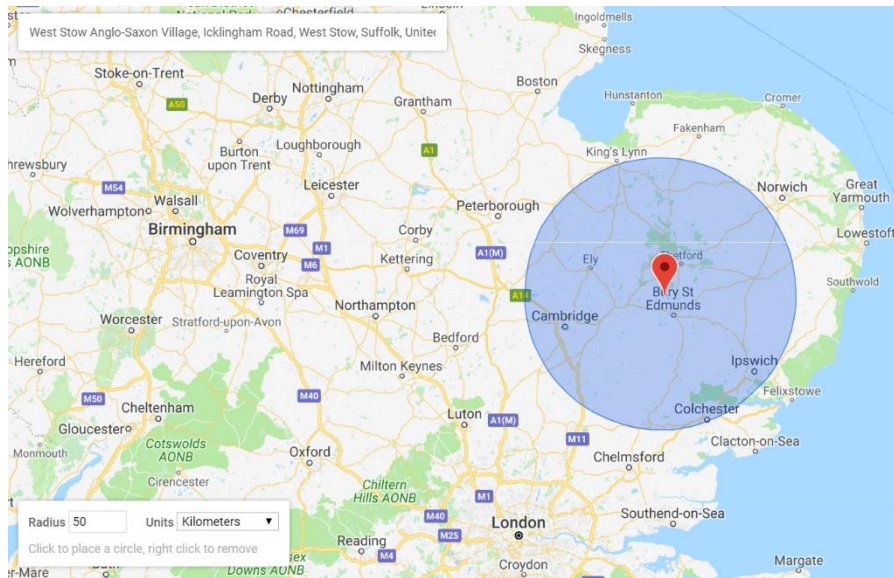


Average participant visit length (in minutes)
fig 6.30

Proximity of the visitors' residences to the sites they visit, then becomes a part of the state of the equation. Visitors to Jarrow Hall had the shortest travel to access the attraction. Those who visited Foteviken had the longest travel -with the removal of outliers- (fig 6.28) and those who visited Jorvik had the largest range (containing both the longest and shortest individual trips). Additionally, the total tours of visitors to Foteviken were the longest, at 10.41 days (fig 6.29).

Comparing each site together can only go so far. As helpful to the remainder of this chapter as it is to bring out this information, visually as a whole, the cases have enough discrete qualities to necessitate discussing them more in depth individually. The following sections take information from noted above and examine each attraction and locality more closely.

6.3 Council Controlled West Stow



Regional map with West Stow centred in 50km radius (FreeMapTools 2018) fig 6.31

With the recent unification of West Heath and of St Edmundsbury councils into West Suffolk, this case has found itself as a piece in a much larger entity than earlier. The development of heritage and cultural resources was listed as part of this joint council’s priorities (2017, 16). In that

same year, the National Heritage Centre for Horseracing & Sporting Art opened, with the expectation that it would draw fifty to sixty-thousand visitors a year to Newmarket (twenty-two kilometres west of Bury) and inject £2m a year to the region’s economy (Forest Heath & St Edmundsbury Councils 2016, 27). Additionally, the tourism site Bury St Edmunds & Beyond was established in 12017HE. This site noted that the tourism economy in the Bury area is an industry attracting 744,000 visitors -a three percent increase from 12016HE- and valued at £47m and one-thousand jobs (Bury St Edmunds & Beyond 2017; 2018; see fig 6.32 for 12015/6HE figures).

Suffolk Heritage

Heritage projects in West Suffolk more directly associated with West Stow included the HLF funded (£1.5m over three years) Breaking New Ground Partnership, which constructed the ‘Beowulf & Grendel Trail’ in the county park that the AOAM is situated within (FH&SEC 2017, 23). This trail drew closer ties of an Anglo-Saxon theme within which the landscape of the area, placing numerous statues and figures evoking the poem *Beowulf* along the paths circling West Stow. In 12016HE, West Stow and Moyse’s Hall were awarded a £108k Museums Resilience grant, intended to “enable the staff and volunteers at West Stow to re-theme and display the finds in the West Stow museum. This reorganisation of the museum will make it more flexible and enable it to accommodate temporary loans and exhibits more easily. It will also strengthen the wider interpretations of the early Anglo-Saxons” (Jenkins 2017).

Year	2015	2016
Total number of trips	724,000.00	744,000.00
Total day trips	658,000.00	676,000.00
Total staying trips	66,000.00	68,000.00
Total staying nights	263,000.00	275,000.00
Total staying spend	14,097,000.00	14,469,000.00
Total day trip spend	19,352,000.00	19,893,000.00
Total visitor spend	35,193,000.00	36,231,000.00
Total indirect spend	10,675,000.00	11,002,000.00
Total Tourism Value	45,868,000.00	47,233,000.00
Tourism Related Jobs	943.00	971.00
% of all employment	2.00	2.10
Average stay length	3.98	4.04
Spend per overnight trip	213.59	212.78
Spend per night	53.60	52.61
Spend per day	29.42	29.43

Bury St Edmunds tourism data from 12015 & 12016HE fig 6.32

In terms of numbers, Moyses' Hall has less visitors than West Stow (with around 20,000 in 12016HE (FH&SEC 2017, 24)), despite being in Bury itself. And while the number of visits to West Stow has been increasing (fig 6.33), these figures do not translate to income in the same ways as at other AOAMS. First, it should be noted that West Stow Trust's records have been qualified by an auditor from 31 Mar 2014 - 31 Mar 2017HE. These records show a consistent deficit of receipts -by about £1000 each year. The largest source of income since from 12012-14HE was in-shop charges to visitors, overtaken by charges for school groups in 12015HE (fig 6.36). Easily the largest pay out by the organization is the 'service charge' for the property, held by the council (fig 6.35). This does not meet the £650,000 total cost of service to the property (Alexander pers com).

This is the nature of West Stow. While it operates autonomously, very little about its financial circumstance says that. The car park leading to the property charges £1/£2 for a space, however this is not administered by West Stow, nor does the AOAM have any input into the café that directly shares space with it.

	2016	2015	2014	2013	2012
Group visits	15,284	12,291	11,606	8,807	9,098
General Admissions	25,192	20,942	17,244	17,800	15,983
Total visitors to Village (Pay Zone)	40,476	33,233	28,850	26,607	25,081
Visitor Centres (Non-Pay Zone)	152,394	131,653	120,760	109,616	108,886

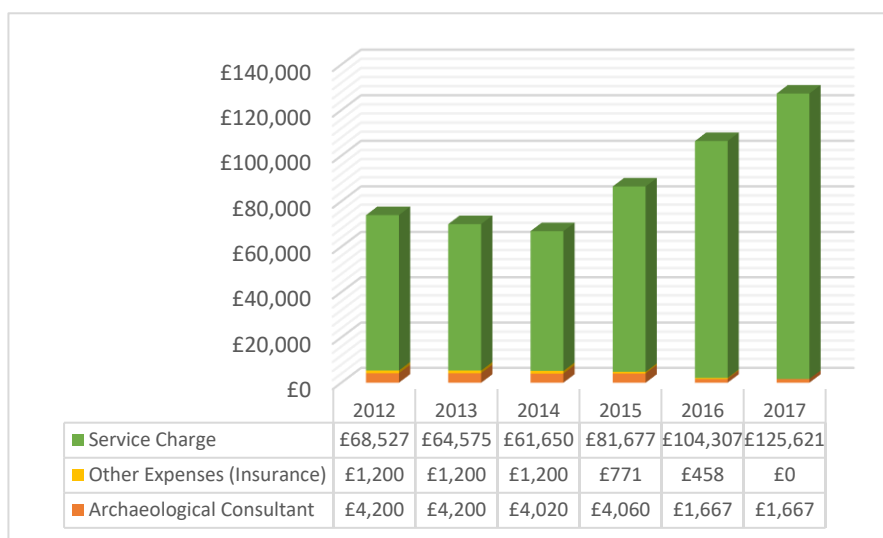
West Stow annual visitor numbers, 12012-12016HE

fig 6.33

Year	Receipts	Payments
2012	£72,959	£73,927
2013	£68,911	£69,975
2014	£65,754	£66,870
2015	£85,596	£86,508
2016	£104,799	£106,432
2017	£126,672	£127,288

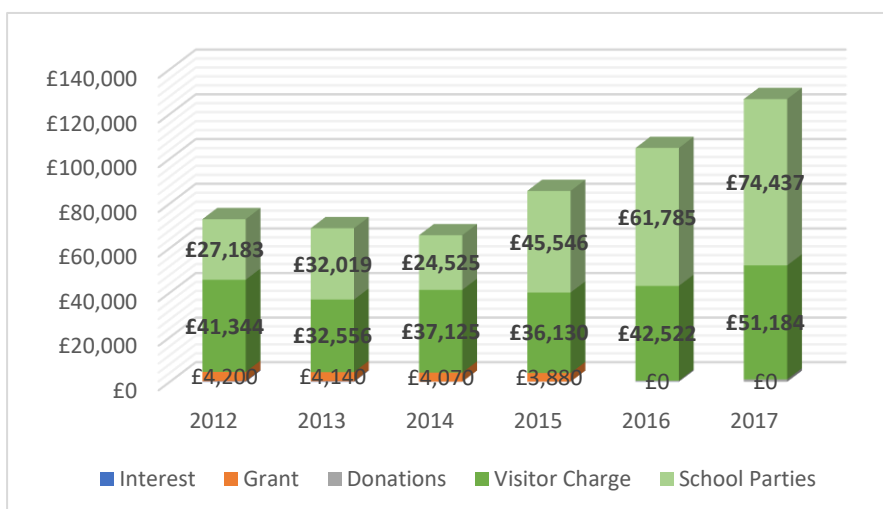
West Stow annual receipts and payments, 12012-12017HE

fig 6.34



Breakdown of West Stow's annual expenses, 12012-12017HE

fig 6.35



Sources of West Stow's annual income, 12012-12017HE

fig 6.36

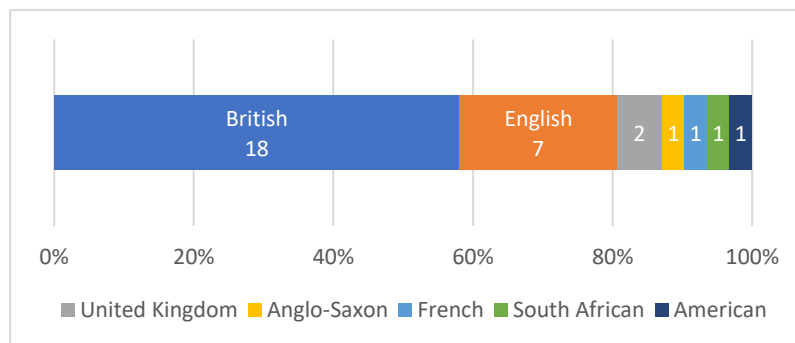
Additionally, the store-sales do not appear to be included in the ‘visitor charge’ receipts -or make a miniscule portion of the income. It needs to be noted, however, that increasing pressure has been placed on the management of the site to function as a business, rather than a social good, and to increase revenues to towards self-sustenance. But the transfer of moneys among several administrators -feeding in part to the councils- produces an issue when it comes to analysing West Stow’s capacity to do just this.

If only we examine the non-paying visitors to the area, the uneven scales are more evident. The around one-hundred-thousand visits to the centre suggests potentials of use of the café, and of payments into the car park. The latter links with the fact that each participant group in my interviews got to West Stow by ‘Car’. Visitors do not need to purchase a ticket to West Stow to interact with Anglo-Saxon heritage (as they could walk the Beowulf & Grendel Trail). Still, they do pay into their visit through parking tickets, and potentially the purchase of food and/or drink in the café. With 152,394 non-ticketed visitors in the year I undertook my interview, there are large holes to understanding the consumption and value of the Anglo-Saxon site and its connecting resources.

As mentioned in the previous chapter, West Stow is connected to Moyse’s Hall through marketing and they share sixteen staff members, including eight full-time and four part-time. Within West Suffolk there are eight heritage volunteers, who contribute some twenty hours a week (FH&SEC 2016, 25), with half working between these two sites. The receipts of Moyse’s Hall, though, are not represented in West Stow’s records.

Visitors at West Stow

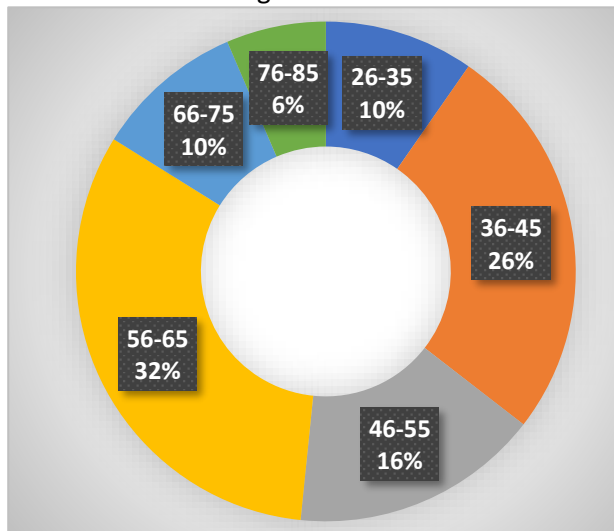
There were 31 interviews at this site. Of these participants, the majority identified as some variant of a ‘United Kingdom’ (read: English) nationality (fig 6.37). Among these visitors, the largest share of age range was those aged from 56-65, followed by those 36-45 (fig 6.38).



West Stow participant responses to ‘What is your nationality?’ fig 6.37

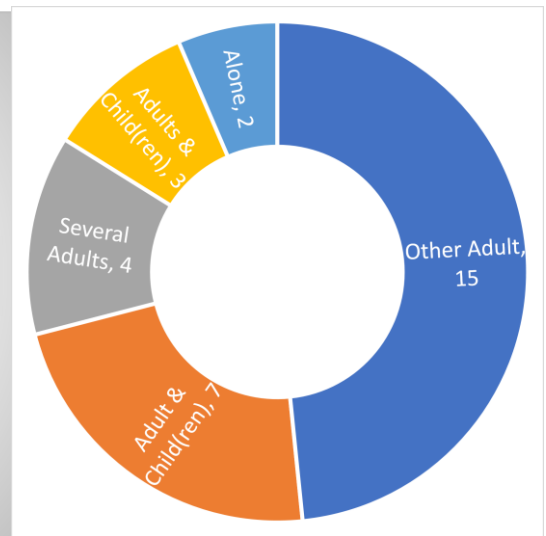
Most visitor groups consisted of either one or more adults. Only ten groups had children present (fig 6.39), and 77% (sixty-four) of the people within the participants’ groups were adults. The groups averaged 2.68 people. The participants were nearly evenly divided between male and female (15 and 16, respectively). As was stated above, participants arrived at West Stow exclusively by personal vehicles. Their average income was £26826, compared to the local average of £19084 (138%). Additionally, the breakdown of highest attained education greatly favoured tertiary education, with twenty-two having attained a degree (fig 6.40). Broader assumptions cannot be made for visitors to West Stow, but it would not be unfair to characterize the average participant as a ‘British/English’ person aged between 36 and 65, with a degree, earning an income well above the local average, with access to personal transportation, and who is visiting only with other adults.

The decision to visit the site was diverse. The single largest motivation was a broad interest in a subject (e.g. History, Anglo-Saxons, Woodwork), with nine participants. A specifically 'Educational' purpose was noted by five participants, and an equal number visited for less Purposeful reasons. Of the ten groups with children present, four identified them as the motivation for visiting West Stow.



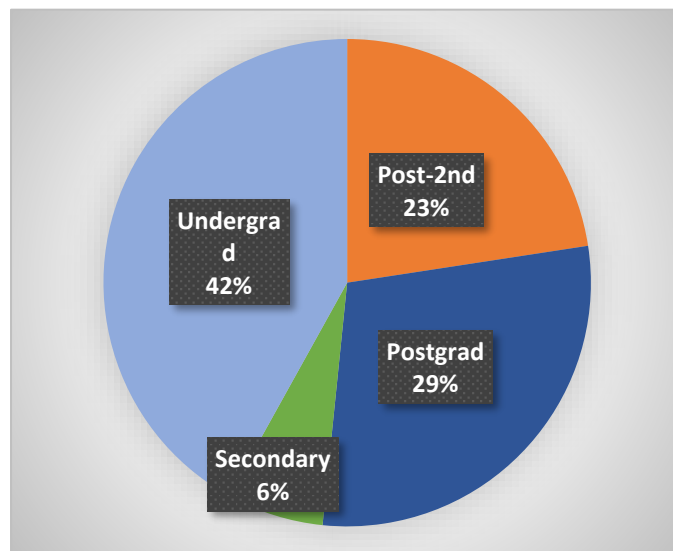
Age ranges of participants at West Stow

fig 6.38



Makeup of participant groups at West Stow

fig 6.39



Highest level of education attained by participants at West Stow

fig 6.40

Among the participants in this research, ten (32%) had previously visited West Stow, with an average of 3.3 previous visits among them. Of the total sample, willingness to revisit was high, with an average of 4.16, with over half of the participants voicing a rating of 5 (the highest likelihood). Alternatively, only five participants stated an unwillingness to return (a rating of >3). When examining those, though, four visited serendipitously, and only one among them noted having a negative experience at the attraction, and the average total experience rating was 4.42 (of 5). This suggests that it would be possible to draw in return visitors, if they are presented with incentive to do so. The site's inclusion of an Annual Ticket -usable at both West Stow and Moyse's Hall- and the booking of events are the approach the trust has taken.

Valuing West Stow

In 12016HE, the participants paid between £0-£23 for their groups' admission. In total, participants reported paying £303 for entry (divided among eighty-three individuals). If divided directly from the £303 total, the cost of admission averages to £3.65 per person (fig 6.41, Column B). When the admissions are first divided among the members in each group (Column C), and then averaged, this figure returns as £3.85 per individual. The participants and the groups they visited with, then, by admission prices, directly valued their engagement of the museum at £3.85.

What participants paid and what they determined they 'would' pay was a different matter. Of those interviewed, seventeen (54.8%) stated that they would be willing to pay more for their experience. Fourteen stated that they would not pay more than they had, and two of those said they felt they had over-paid. The visitor groups stated a W2P of £402 for admission, with a range of £5-£24. Divided in the same way as above noted as a whole a W2P of £4.88 (33.70% increase). Accounting for group sizes, this average W2P becomes £5.23 (35.84% increase).

Examining the groups of two and of four members suggested different expectations and flexibility regarding how their experiences should be priced. Groups of four (fig 6.42) paid £3.85 per individual and noted a W2P of £4.20 (9.09% increase). Conversely, those who arrived with one other person -adult or child- paid on average £3.50 per person for admission and had an average W2P of £6.06 (73.14% increase). The groups of four appear to have mainly paid for family tickets (£15) and

ID	Group Size	Cost of Entry	Entry/p	W2P	W2P/p
WS.Eng.01	4	£16	£4.00	£20	£5.00
WS.Eng.02	2	£6	£3.00	£10	£5.00
WS.Eng.03	2	£10	£5.00	£15	£7.50
WS.Eng.04	3	£13	£4.33	£13	£4.33
WS.Eng.05	2	£10	£5.00	£20	£10.00
WS.Eng.06	2	£10	£5.00	£10	£5.00
WS.Eng.07	2	£6	£3.00	£10	£5.00
WS.Eng.08	2	£6	£3.00	£10	£5.00
WS.Eng.09	3	£13	£4.33	£13	£4.33
WS.Eng.10	2	£0	£0.00	£8	£4.00
WS.Eng.11	1	£9	£9.00	£5	£5.00
WS.Eng.12	2	£10	£5.00	£10	£5.00
WS.Eng.13	3	£10	£3.33	£10	£3.33
WS.Eng.14	2	£10	£5.00	£24	£12.00
WS.Eng.15	2	£10	£5.00	£10	£5.00
WS.Eng.16	1	£9	£9.00	£8	£8.00
WS.Eng.17	4	£16	£4.00	£19	£4.75
WS.Eng.18	2	£10	£5.00	£14	£7.00
WS.Eng.19	4	£15	£3.75	£15	£3.75
WS.Eng.20	2	£6	£3.00	£10	£5.00
WS.Eng.21	2	£8	£4.00	£20	£10.00
WS.Eng.22	4	£15	£3.75	£15	£3.75
WS.Eng.23	5	£15	£3.00	£20	£4.00
WS.Eng.24	2	£0	£0.00	£10	£5.00
WS.Eng.25	2	£5	£2.50	£5	£2.50
WS.Eng.26	2	£6	£3.00	£10	£5.00
WS.Eng.27	2	£6	£3.00	£10	£5.00
WS.Eng.28	5	£15	£3.00	£15	£3.00
WS.Eng.29	4	£15	£3.75	£15	£3.75
WS.Eng.30	5	£23	£4.60	£23	£4.60
WS.Eng.31	3	£0	£0.00	£5	£1.67
Total	83	£303		£402	
Avg Admission		£3.65	£3.85	£4.88	£5.23

West Stow participant cost of entry & W2P

fig 6.41

ID	Group Size	Cost of Entry	Entry/p	W2P	W2P/p
WS.Eng.02	2	£6	£3.00	£10	£5.00
WS.Eng.03	2	£10	£5.00	£15	£7.50
WS.Eng.05	2	£10	£5.00	£20	£10.00
WS.Eng.06	2	£10	£5.00	£10	£5.00
WS.Eng.07	2	£6	£3.00	£10	£5.00
WS.Eng.08	2	£6	£3.00	£10	£5.00
WS.Eng.10	2	£0	£0.00	£8	£4.00
WS.Eng.12	2	£10	£5.00	£10	£5.00
WS.Eng.14	2	£10	£5.00	£24	£12.00
WS.Eng.15	2	£10	£5.00	£10	£5.00
WS.Eng.18	2	£10	£5.00	£14	£7.00
WS.Eng.20	2	£6	£3.00	£10	£5.00
WS.Eng.21	2	£8	£4.00	£20	£10.00
WS.Eng.24	2	£0	£0.00	£10	£5.00
WS.Eng.25	2	£5	£2.50	£5	£2.50
WS.Eng.26	2	£6	£3.00	£10	£5.00
WS.Eng.27	2	£6	£3.00	£10	£5.00
Total	34	£119		£206	
Avg Admission			£3.50		£6.06

ID	Group Size	Cost of Entry	Entry/p	W2P	W2P/p
WS.Eng.01	4	£16	£4.00	£20	£5.00
WS.Eng.17	4	£16	£4.00	£19	£4.75
WS.Eng.19	4	£15	£3.75	£15	£3.75
WS.Eng.22	4	£15	£3.75	£15	£3.75
WS.Eng.29	4	£15	£3.75	£15	£3.75
Total	20	£77		£84	
Avg Admission			£3.85		£4.20

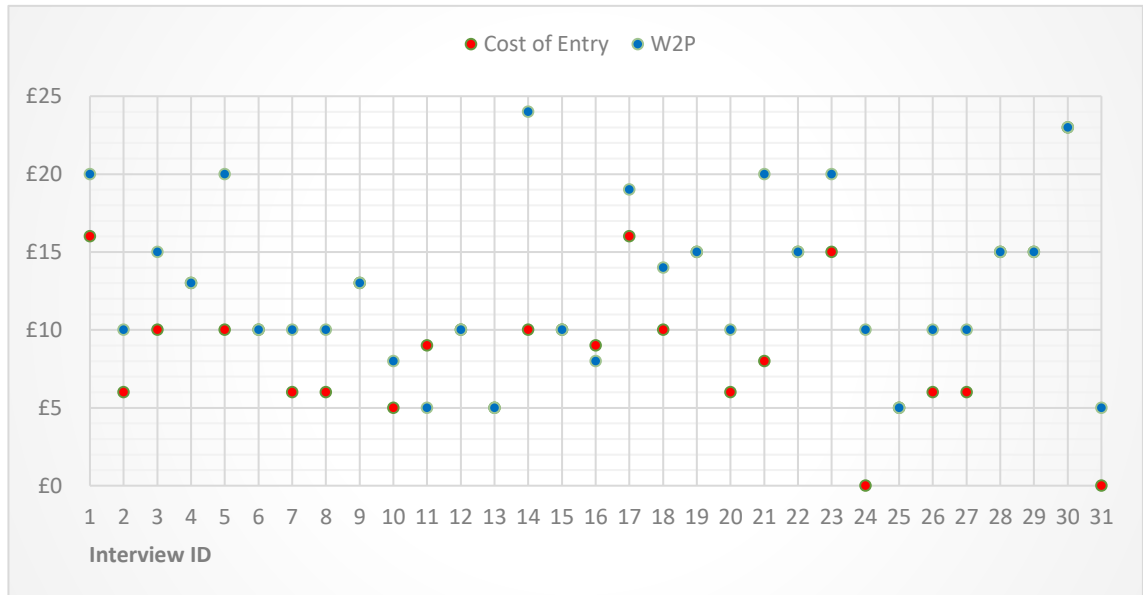
West Stow participant cost of entry & W2P

- groups of 2 and groups of 4

fig 6.42

determined an unwillingness to pay more for this reduced admission price. Meanwhile only four of the groups of two noted an unwillingness to pay more for their tickets; some participants determined a W2P increase of 100% and more. This suggests that the price of family tickets is inflexible, while increase in adult admissions is negotiable.

Since the interviews in this research took place, adult admissions increased from £5 to £6.



West Stow participant W2P, charted

fig 6.43

The visitors to West Stow primarily came from the UK. Next to Jarrow Hall, the participants at this AOAM had the shortest average travel distance, with twenty (64.5%) of the participants staying within 50km of the site. Taking out the distances of the two long-haul participants, the average linear distance travelled was 94.66km, or 124.86km over land routes (or 128.03km with their inclusion). The journeys of two participants required air-travel. Their over-land distances were estimated from London Heathrow, one of a few possible international airports that serve the area; this distance is estimated at 174km.

The average distance travelled covers the whole of East Anglia, and as far as London, Southend-on-Sea, several kilometres west of Peterborough, and north of Boston. As mentioned, only ten participants had previously visited West Stow, having between two and six visits (averaging 3.3) with travel distances between 13 and 460km. Tours which included this site were predominantly day-trips (19), resulting in an average tour of 2.03 days (excluding the respondent on a month-long tour).

Engagements at the site were between 30 and 420 minutes, 182 being the average stay.

For their tours the participants are estimated to have spent between £4.89 and £686.41 in travel costs, with a mean of

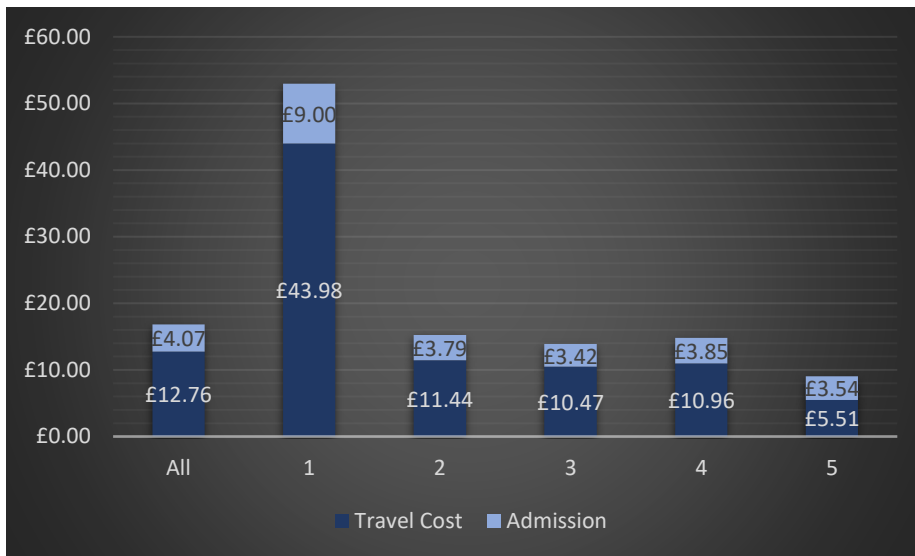


Average Travel Cost of West Stow participants

fig 6.44

£81.45. The total estimated amount expended to travel to access the sites was £904.29. Breaking down these totals, the corresponding portion of the travel cost to West Stow has been estimated between £4.89 to £98.06, with a mean of £29.17. Adding in the cost of admission, the average raises to £39.43. Lastly, if their hypothetically foregone daily wages are included, the result is £127.54.

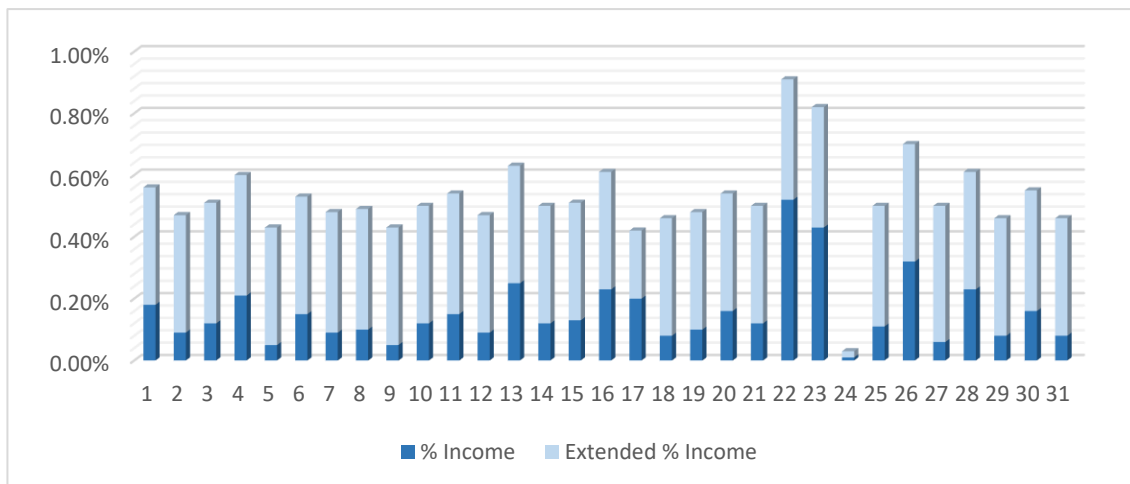
Dividing this into costs per person, the average group spend for travel cost was £12.76, or £16.83 with the inclusion of admissions. The travel cost per person remained somewhat level - within £1- among the most frequent group sizes (two, three, and four).



West Stow participant Travel Costs, per person, by group size

fig 6.45

Moving away from monetary figures, the whole represents an expenditure of between .01 and .52% of the participants' estimated incomes (fig 6.46). When averaged, this range becomes .15% of the estimated incomes. If hypothetically foregone daily wages are figured, the range shifts to .03 and .91%, with a mean investment of .52%.



Percentage of participant incomes used to visit West Stow

fig 6.46

Special Events at West Stow

In an effort to increase return visits, as well as to incentivize new visitors who otherwise would have little reason to engage with the site, over recent years West Stow has developed special events. Most of these events are small themed weekends where the presence of costumed interpreters is advertised. One such special event occurred during my period of visitor interviews. However, there are two annual special events which the AOAM puts on that draw in substantially larger audiences. They are called Ring Quest and the Dragon Festival (DragonFest).



An orc at West Stow for Ring Quest (Iceni Post 2014)

fig 6.47

Ring Quest began in 2002HE, several months after the cinematic release of the first instalment of the *Lord of the Rings* trilogy. The event itself is themed more appropriately the novels by JRR Tolkien. During the Spring half-term in February, the Anglo-Saxon village is occupied by fantasy creatures: elves, orcs, and hobbits. A 'Hobbit hole' (fig 6.48) emerges near the entrance to the village. The 2017HE Ring Quest saw the purchase of 327 family tickets (totalling £5232) and attracted 1675 visitors (FH & SEC 2017, 24).



Hobbits and hobbit hole at West Stow for Ring Quest (Ghaemi 2013)

fig 6.48

The success of the event attracted the attention of the Tolkien Estate, investigating copyright infringement. The estate's arrival to West Stow was not due to the event, but rather to issue a cease and desist on a nearby camping pod business that had branded itself as staying in 'hobbit holes' (Alexander pers com). The branding choice was influenced by Ring Quest, a fact that brought the Estate to expand the investigation. But, the nature of the AOAM's

event did not infringe on copyright law -the event making use of public domain and giving enough distinction (such as calling it a 'Ring Quest' rather than 'Lord of the Rings') from Tolkien's properties- and the Estate has not scrutinized the event since (ibid).

The second large annual event began in 2015HE: DragonFest. While Ring Quest is an event that is limited to the area directly surrounding West Stow, DragonFest was envisioned in a larger perspective. The first festival commenced with a parade in Bury St Edmund's, where local schools participated in the construction of dragon figures (of a similar fashion to those used in Chinese *wǔ lóng* performances) for the procession (fig 6.49). Even with the direct linking of Bury to the festival, the main location of activity is at West Stow itself (unlike the city-wide nature of the Jorvik Viking Festival). At the site, Saxon costumed interpreters (and those of a broader spectrum found at Renaissance/Medieval Faires, such as pirates and knights) are present, with storytelling and performances mostly revolving around the theme of 'the dragon' (fig 6.50). Lastly, the 'headline' attraction is an animatronic dragon that takes up residence in the Village (fig 6.51). In the first year, Dragon Fest attracted 1100 visitors -with an adult admission costing £10- with the following doubling that number (Alexander pers com). The most recent DragonFest ticket prices included £11 for adults, £9 for children, and family tickets for £35 (compared to Ring Quest's £16 family admission).

DragonFest inaugural procession, Bury St Edmunds (ITV News Anglia 2015) fig 6.49



Costumed interpreters retelling the story Beowulf and the Dragon (Derrick 2015) fig 6.50



Animatronic dragon at DragonFest (Holmes 2018) fig 6.51



These two events should not be mistaken as inauthentic and fanciful money-grabs. Rather, they are strategies to attract a spectrum of visitors who would otherwise not be inclined to engage with a heritage property. The works of JRR Tolkien are popular and financially powerful, with the film franchise -excluding *The Hobbit* trilogy- grossed over \$2.91b at the international box office (Box Office Mojo nd) and the more recent Amazon acquisition of rights to create a *Lord of the Rings* series for \$250m (Cain 2017). Ring Quest is certainly tapping into the position that Tolkien's works have in popular culture, but this is not mindlessly or cynically done. Tolkien himself was an academic with a specialization in Anglo-Saxon literature, holding the post of Rawlinson and Bosworth Professor of Anglo-Saxon at the University of Oxford for twenty years. Indeed, much of his imaginings of Middle-Earth are indebted to this background (see Tolley 2007). For these reasons West Stow created Ring Quest: to draw in parties who would be disinclined to engage with heritage, but inclined to attend an event of popular fantasy, in order to speak to these people about Anglo-Saxon inheritances to popular culture.

DragonFest, similarly takes the spectacle of the concept of the 'dragon' -complete with animatronics- and its hold in popular imagination, to engage visitors with the fantastical beasts' existence within Anglo-Saxon culture. Namely, the dragon in *Beowulf* appeared as a figure in the storytelling and performances of costumed interpreters (fig 6.50).

These two events are major funding avenues that West Stow has been able to engage in, considering their limited capacities to otherwise accumulate revenues. Mixing the fanciful and popular with an underlying educational heritage agenda appears to be one of the strong suits that this site can use. Additionally, the nature of the site being reconstructed allows easier leeway in utilizing the property towards fantastical events. This is not the same as having a sci-fi convention at Machu Picchu. Indeed, these sites are uniquely suited to playing with the theatrics of heritage and foster imaginative avenues to visitor engagement.

Inferences

West Stow functions at the mercies of the Council to which it belongs. It may do so semi-autonomously, but crucial services (such as parking and café) do not have money going into the organization, making estimations of self-sustenance difficult to ascertain. This is made more troubling by the fact that the site has been under increased pressure by the council to operate as a viable business. Most admission income (as at other sites) is from school visits. Funding to schools for field trips is not secure as cuts to education can impact these suddenly. Should these sources dry up for West Stow, the site may find itself in a difficult situation.

For the time being, investment in heritage tourism is a keen focus for the West Suffolk council. While West Stow has procured money to continue its work, it is not in control of its own coffers. Like many museums, it operates at a loss and the lack of control of surrounding services does little to help produce a coherent tourism resource. Indeed, that at the time of my visits none of the café staff had ever set foot within West Stow is alarming; as is the café's failures to work closely with the AOAM.

The visitors to West Stow are different from Suffolk tourists at large, their stays were shorter (2.03 versus 4.04 days). Day tourists to the county spent on average £29.43. Without café, shop, or parking figures, the only economic impact recordings West Stow can use to compare is that 12016HE per person spend was £2.59 (8.8% of average county-tourist spends), more directly my research showed £3.85 per person spend (13.1%). The site's impact is muted. Inclusion of data that each participant group arrived by car -paying the parking fee- increases per person spend by £0.75 (to £4.60; 15.6%). The per person spend is an important measure to maintain the

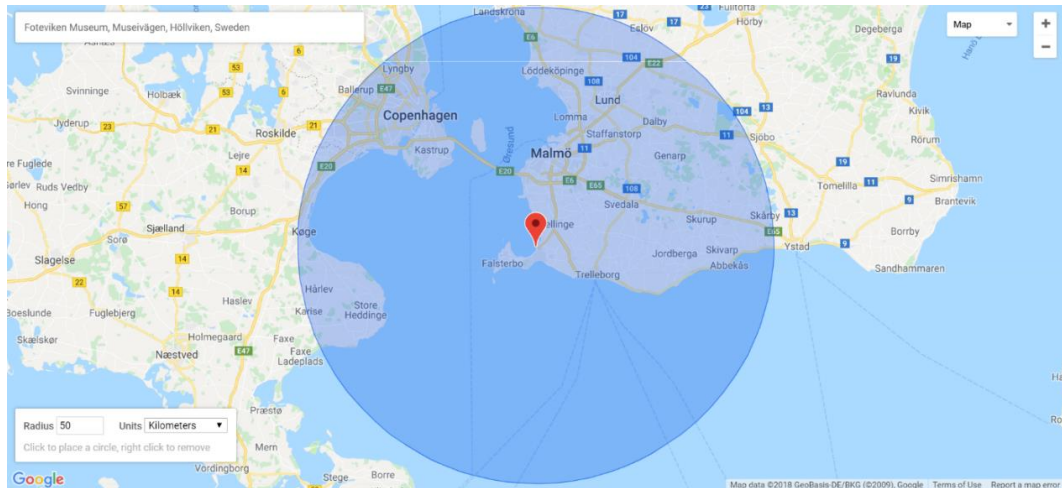
security of West Stow. The figure of £2.59 is a misrepresentation of reality. While the addition of my sample's £0.75 estimated per person spend on the parking fee to £3.34 (11.3%) is a step towards a more accurate valuation, without a connection to the café's income, there are limited avenues of leverage for stating the direct financial impact of the site. This makes the addition of travel costs important in discussing the 'value' of West Stow (and the other sites). Value here is not a straightforward matter. My data suggests the participants (travel cost) value for West Stow averaged £39.43. This is not directly comparable to the average county-tourist spend and should not be confused. But, it helps to fill in gaps to the site's impact as a resource resulting from the separation of income-raising aspects from the AOAM's records.

West Stow's position is secure as long as it is in the council's interest. Still, for all the entwined aspects surrounding the sites, these operate in union with West Suffolk, rather than West Stow. Incorporation within a government body may have a direct advantage of security. But that stability is only guaranteed if the council deems the value of the asset outweighs the cost. Under mounting council pressure to be fiscally self-sustaining, West Stow has limited options.

Stressing the impact of travel cost analysis is a strategy that the organization might consider. This should not be viewed as an 'artificial inflation' of impact by any means. Instead, in the absence of direct access to the other sources of income that the site is in no small sense responsible for, other estimations of value and impact become crucial. This should be coupled with approaching strategies to increase the revenue sources available to the site: increased ticket sales. The cap for admission prices the interviewees gave has been reached, suggesting that the cost of admission may be difficult to raise further. From the position of ticket sales being the source of the AOAM's revenue, annual tickets lose their value to the site quickly -after two visits. Without the benefit that return visitors will have to pay for parking, or may eat at the café each visit, having an annual ticket does little to help the attraction's bottom line (unless tickets are bought but not re-used). The alternative to this is to inspire return visits and encourage new visits through offering special events. It is a strategy that -as mentioned- is being successfully utilized at the site.

But still, the sale of admissions could only possibly go so far. The question then becomes, without the capacity to increase revenue in the traditional ways for museums, how could West Stow meet council demands to operate as a business? Failing to do so would not bode well for West Stow and shifting council agendas could well steer the site into dangerous grounds for the long-term sustainability of the site.

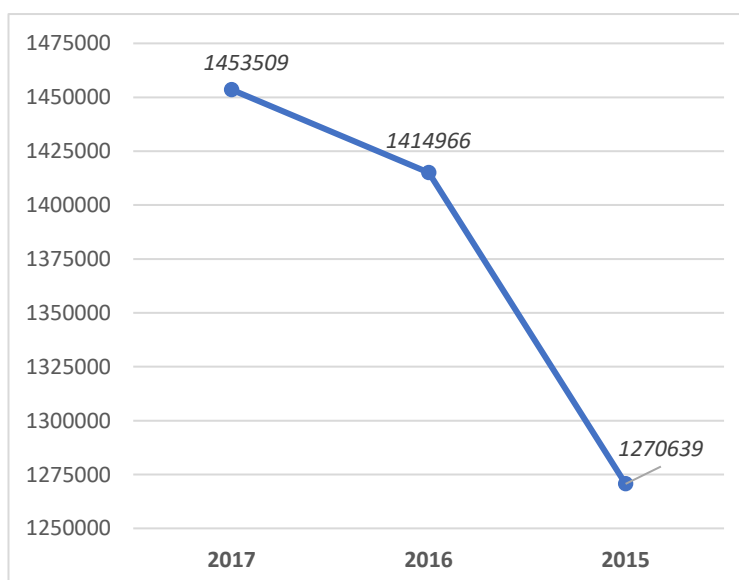
6.4 Social Enterprise, Charities, & Networks at Foteviken



Regional map with Foteviken centred in 50km radius (FreeMapTools 2018)

fig 6.52

Since the first decade of this century, networks of destinations in Skåne have developed. AOAMs in similar time and theme to Foteviken have undertaken co-marketing (see fig 5.17). Foteviken has situated itself within numerous, intersecting networks beyond those sites and the organizations which form its constituent parts. Not only does it hold membership but is an active participant -Foteviken staff holding leadership roles in some. Such organizations include EXARC (the International Council of Museums affiliate, specializing in AOAMs and Experimental Archaeology) and IMTAL Europe (International Museum Theatre Alliance). The AOAM is also part of a European network of Viking Markets: festivals that operate across the continent. Foteviken is associated with the Council of Europe's Cultural Route: Destination Viking, where SVEG leadership also holds a management role in this network (Council of Europe 2018). Currently, all the sites in Skåne are affiliated with Destination Viking and its tourism branding network.



Foreign overnight visits to Skåne, 2015-2017HE

fig 6.53

There is a tourism organization for the region in Sweden, which produces reports through Tourism in Skåne. According to these reports, overnight stays in Skåne in 2017HE numbered 5,855,431 -2706 less from the year previous (Tourism in Skåne 2017a, 4). However, the fall is attributable to domestic tourists, meanwhile international tourist stays have steadily increased (fig 6.53). Tourism grew from an industry worth SEK19.8b (~£1.84b) in 2011HE (Tourism in Skåne 2017b) to SEK39.0b (~£3.48b) -

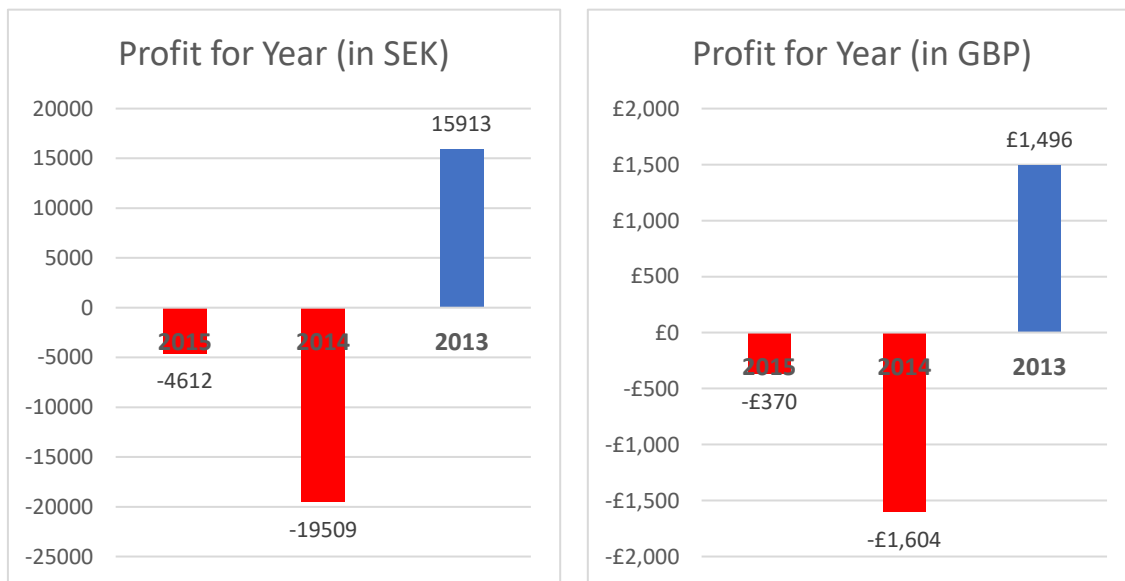
2.9% of the county's GDP- in 2016HE (Tourism in Skåne 2016, 2). Four percent of this income originated from 'Culture and Services'. Perhaps resultant of this, heritage as a resource has not become a priority for tourism development within the county.

Layers of Foteviken

The two organizations directly behind Foteviken provide an interesting approach to AOAM management. As was stated in the last chapter (pg 85), Foteviken is partly run by the company NOKF. Records from this business are available through the Swedish state. This does not apply to SVEG; charities are not obliged to share their records to the public.

Foteviken’s annual reports noted, “the Swedish Tax Agency has pointed out that a Swedish museum must be contained only in a singular building (!) and may only hold display cases containing old objects (!) Despite us being a museum according to the UN and European guidelines the Swedish state ... continue to object. To them our entrance shop and exhibition hall is Fotevikens Museum – to the rest of the world the Viking Town is the big part of the museum. This is the consequence when Swedish bureaucracy takes over culture” (Foteviken 2013). This ostensibly drove the formation of NOKF that same year.

During the first year, NOKF operated at a profit (15931SEK; ~£1496); each following year at a loss (fig 6.54). It should be noted that the second year’s losses were smaller than the first, with significant reductions in overall costs of operation (not limited to salaries, with the termination of three part-time jobs). The only reason that NOKF was in the red that year was from taxation to the sum of 6539SEK (~£524) -with the modest 1927SEK (~£155) in profits prior to that. Accounting for the fiscal year 12016HE was incomplete -awaiting taxation- but showed a substantial increase in equity, from 556396SEK (~£44790) to 1263779SEK (~£112476). With the failure of the catering ventures that year, and its subsequent re-absorption directly into NOKF, future accounting will doubtless be impacted (Jakobsen & Rosenqvist 2017).

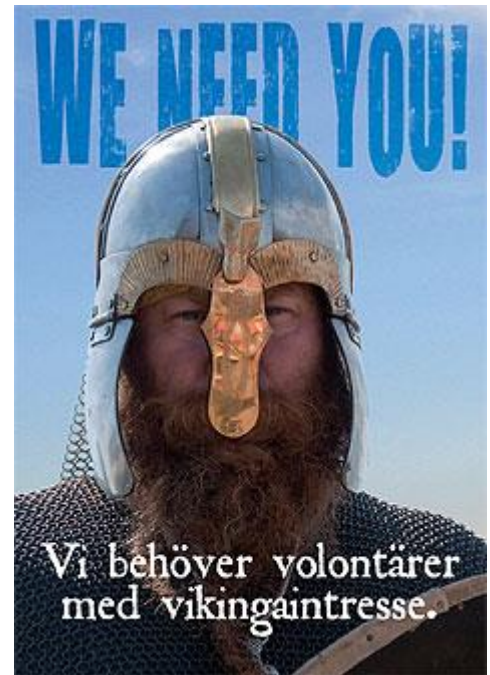


NOKF yearly profit in SEK (left) and in GBP (right)

fig 6.54

It is an interesting matter that despite NOKF itself legally functioning as a ‘for-profit’ enterprise, ineligible for the same sources of moneys as charities, that the losses that they encounter are smaller than those of the two Saxon AOAMs in this research. Unfortunately, this picture cannot be fully rounded out. Organizational insights from NOKF are thought-provoking, but this is limited by the brevity of the enterprise’s existence. Additionally, the charitable group that assists the enterprise remains largely ambiguous, financially speaking.

It is frustrating that a site which has taken a unique approach with a social enterprise/charitable organization pairing remains as elusive as it has. NOKF has operated at a loss for two years. SVEG's inner workings remain nebulous, but their actions play an important role in the survival of Foteviken. The organization accesses charitable sources unavailable to NOKF. More directly, though, Foteviken occupies the site through SVEG. This organization's approach is unique. Unlike other AOAMs, SVEG is not a team of hired re-enactment groups, rather it is populated with a core of long-term members invested in Foteviken (being the same staff who have operated the AOAM). Not only that, but SVEG has short-term 'membership' of interested visitors who pay for the opportunity to be costumed interpreters. The payment is a single charge, which includes insurance, free housing and washing facilities, free costume loans (if required), and on-site training in museum interpretation through a volunteer booklet -in Swedish and English- (Foteviken 2016) and shadowing by a member of SVEG. The reliability of this strategy to occupy the site is unknown, but at the time of my visit there were five such volunteers, and -I was informed- three the previous week.



Volunteer poster for SVEG (Foteviken nd)

fig 6.55

Foteviken has also enlisted another layer of structures to breathe life into the settlement. Youth work experience 'Ung i Sommar' placements, paid for by the county (€6-7/hour), serve to provide a fresh recruitment of costumed interpreters during weekdays. Foteviken has participated in this scheme since 12008HE (Jakobsen 2016 pers com). With this, Foteviken helps to fill in the gaps of unpredictable numbers of costumed interpreters.

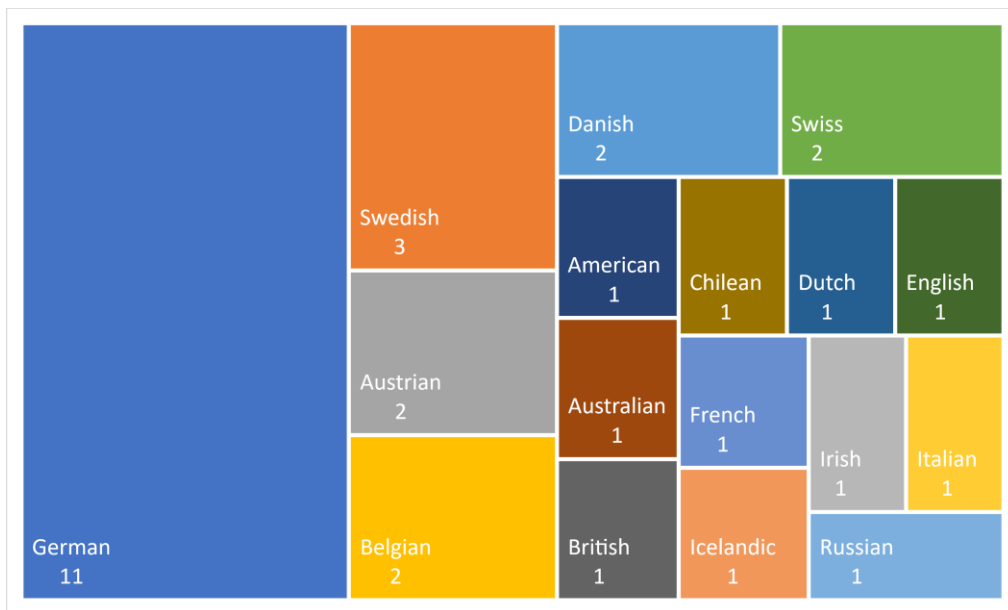


SVEG member (left training new volunteer (right) in weaving (2016)

fig 6.56

The site is always in a state of flux, not only from the frequent turnover of interpreters. The increase in NOKF's assets can be partially traced to the fact that each year, the AOAM has a new building added to it: slightly adding to the site interpretation with each new construction. It is atypical of many AOAMs which tend to limit themselves to the maintenance of a set number of buildings, not active expansion.

Visitors at Foteviken

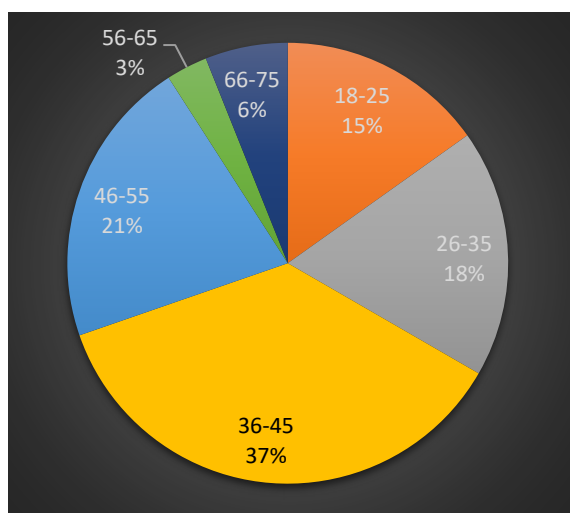


Foteviken participant responses to 'What is your nationality?'

fig 6.57

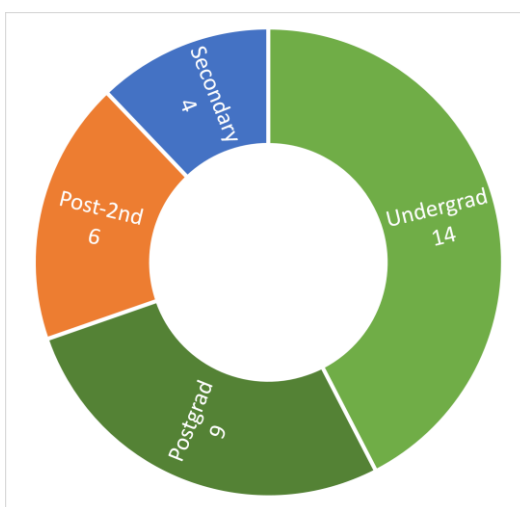
There were thirty-three interviews at this site. Of these participants, only three were from Sweden, with another two from nearby in Denmark. The largest single national identity of the sample was German (eleven, or 33%). This make-up was unsurprising to the staff at the AOAM, as this research was conducted during a holiday period where many Germans visit Sweden, and the site is often visited by foreigners more regularly than Swedish nationals.

The participants arrived at the site predominantly by their own personal vehicle (27, 82%), while six groups arrived by public transportation. Respondents were predominantly male (twenty-one, or 64%). Over one third of the participants were between the age of 36 and 45 (fig 6.58). Degree-holders made up most respondents: 42% of participants had attained undergraduate degrees and 27% had postgraduate degrees (fig 6.59). The sample had the largest over-all estimated income across the cases: £32,638 (higher than the average of the locality: £27,734). Over half (58%) of the groups that they came with had at least one child, and groups averaged 3.18 individuals.



Age ranges of participants at Foteviken

fig 6.58

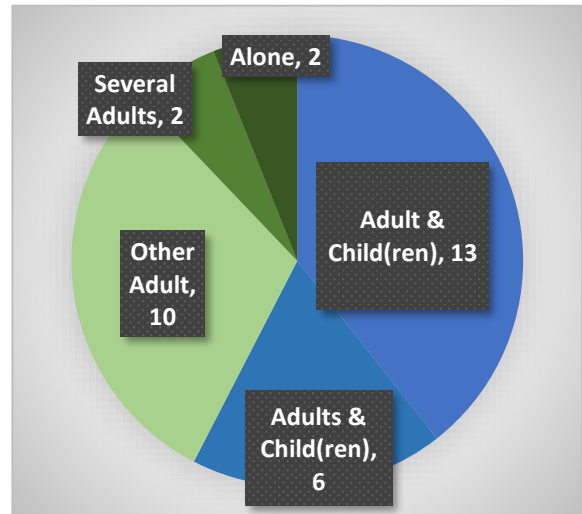


Highest level of education attained by participants at Foteviken

fig 6.59

An 'average' participant at Foteviken was a foreign male who came by car. This person would likely have a degree and have a higher income than the average local person. They would be visiting with their family as part of a larger vacation.

A few Foteviken staff-members commented that Swedes typically only visit the site as a child, and with visiting foreign friends. In this same strand, three participants' reasons for visiting the site were because of someone else, and seven because of their children. The largest reason, though, was an expressed interest in subjects at the site, with another three visiting because of their fondness of Vikings. Three visitors arrived due to the network of Viking sites in Skåne recommending Foteviken. Lastly, six participants determined more casual or incidental reasons for visiting, suggesting that their main motivation for going was



Makeup of participant groups at Foteviken fig 6.60

that the site was either nearby, or that it sounded like a fun way to pass time. At Foteviken, only four of the respondents had previously visited the site (12%). This is congruent with Paardekooper's findings (2012, 196) and a 12015HE in-house survey's results: only 4% (of a sample size of 73) having stated prior visit of the site.

The participants, on average, had positive experiences of the site (4.5 of 5), and only one said their time at Foteviken was negative. Still, this sample's average willingness to re-visit was 3.44; ten (30%) participants stated an unwillingness to return, and eight (24%) held a neutral attitude. Many respondents were quick to clarify that reasons for not wishing to visit had nothing to do with their enjoyment, but rather a consideration of the travel and a feeling that they had 'seen everything' the AOAM had to offer. To attract more local visitors, and return visits in general, NOKF initiated annual 'Friend of Museum' passes (fig 6.60) the year following my research.

Adult	110 SEK	
Child	40 SEK	Ages 6 -15
Family	250 SEK	2 Adult and 2+ Children
Pensioner	90 SEK	
Friend of Museum: Personal	300 SEK	Free admittance for 1 Year
Friend of Museum: Family	500 SEK	As above; for up to 2 Adults and 4 Children

Foteviken admission prices

fig 6.61

Valuing Foteviken

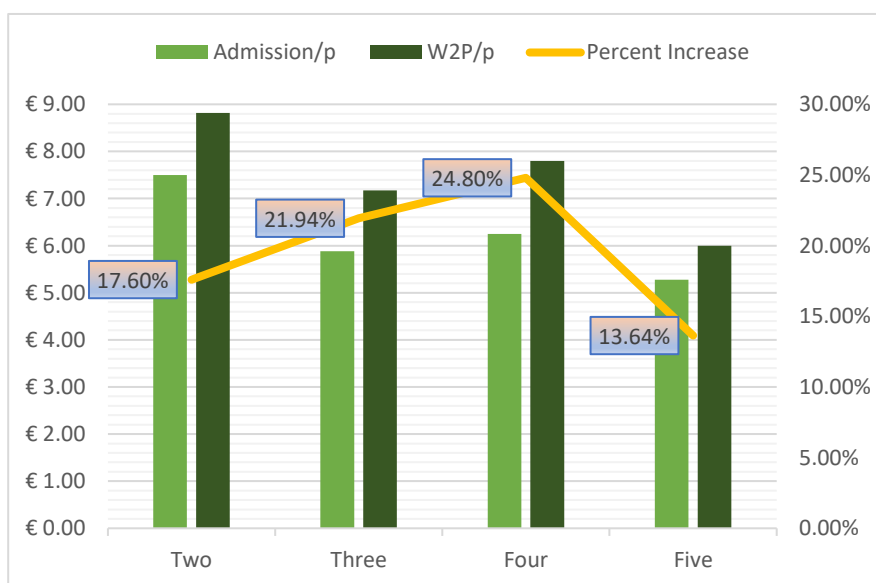
During the 12016HE research, participants paid a range of €0 - €36 for the entry of their groups. In total, the groups spent €652 (£547.68). This rendered to an average payment of €6.21 (£5.22) per individual. When averaged by groups, first, this figure was €6.65 (£5.59).

Respondents suggested a W2P between €9 - €38 for their admission. Seventeen (51.5%) participants stated they were unwilling to pay more for their admission, and one participant felt they had over-paid. Despite this, the total W2P totalled €764 (£641.76), representing a €112 (£94.08; 17.18%) overall increase. Per person, this averaged to €7.28 (£6.12), or when averaged among the groups first: €7.84 (£6.59). The W2P from the former average is a €1.07 (£.90), or 17.23%, increase per person. When the groups are accounted (fig 6.62) W2P becomes +€1.19 (£1) per individual, or a 17.89% increase.

ID	Group Size	Cost of Entry	Entry/p	W2P	W2P/p
FV.Eng.01	1	€ 12	€ 12.00	€ 15	€ 15.00
FV.Eng.02	3	€ 22	€ 7.33	€ 20	€ 6.67
FV.Eng.03	2	€ 14	€ 7.00	€ 15	€ 7.50
FV.Eng.04	3	€ 18	€ 6.00	€ 20	€ 6.67
FV.Eng.05	3	€ 18	€ 6.00	€ 25	€ 8.33
FV.Eng.06	3	€ 18	€ 6.00	€ 18	€ 6.00
FV.Eng.07	5	€ 20	€ 4.00	€ 20	€ 4.00
FV.Eng.08	6	€ 32	€ 5.33	€ 32	€ 5.33
FV.Eng.09	2	€ 7	€ 3.50	€ 10	€ 5.00
FV.Eng.10	3	€ 20	€ 6.67	€ 25	€ 8.33
FV.Eng.11	5	€ 22	€ 4.40	€ 22	€ 4.40
FV.Eng.12	6	€ 36	€ 6.00	€ 36	€ 6.00
FV.Eng.13	4	€ 20	€ 5.00	€ 20	€ 5.00
FV.Eng.14	4	€ 36	€ 9.00	€ 36	€ 9.00
FV.Eng.15	4	€ 25	€ 6.25	€ 35	€ 8.75
FV.Fra.16	2	€ 14	€ 7.00	€ 14	€ 7.00
FV.Eng.17	5	€ 30	€ 6.00	€ 30	€ 6.00
FV.Eng.18	3	€ 9	€ 3.00	€ 9	€ 3.00
FV.Eng.19	2	€ 0	€ 0.00	€ 12	€ 6.00
FV.Eng.20	3	€ 18	€ 6.00	€ 25	€ 8.33
FV.Eng.21	2	€ 18	€ 9.00	€ 18	€ 9.00
FV.Eng.22	2	€ 18	€ 9.00	€ 18	€ 9.00
FV.Eng.23	2	€ 18	€ 9.00	€ 18	€ 9.00
FV.Eng.24	2	€ 20	€ 10.00	€ 20	€ 10.00
FV.Eng.25	4	€ 22	€ 5.50	€ 35	€ 8.75
FV.Eng.26	5	€ 22	€ 4.40	€ 40	€ 8.00
FV.Eng.27	2	€ 18	€ 9.00	€ 26	€ 13.00
FV.Eng.28	2	€ 18	€ 9.00	€ 18	€ 9.00
FV.Eng.29	1	€ 9	€ 9.00	€ 9	€ 9.00
FV.Eng.30	3	€ 18	€ 6.00	€ 30	€ 10.00
FV.Eng.31	5	€ 38	€ 7.60	€ 38	€ 7.60
FV.Eng.32	2	€ 20	€ 10.00	€ 25	€ 12.50
FV.Eng.33	4	€ 22	€ 5.50	€ 30	€ 7.50
Total	105	€ 652		€ 764	
Avg Admission		€ 6.21	€ 6.65	€ 7.28	€ 7.84

Foteviken participant cost of entry & Willingness to Pay fig 6.62

The largest sample of a single group size was parties of two. Predominantly, this consisted of a pair of adults, and still there is a discrepancy of their entrance charges. The other groups, divided by size, mainly had one or more children in them. Those pairs of adults paid, per person, more than any other group for admission



Foteviken participant Willingness to Pay by groups size

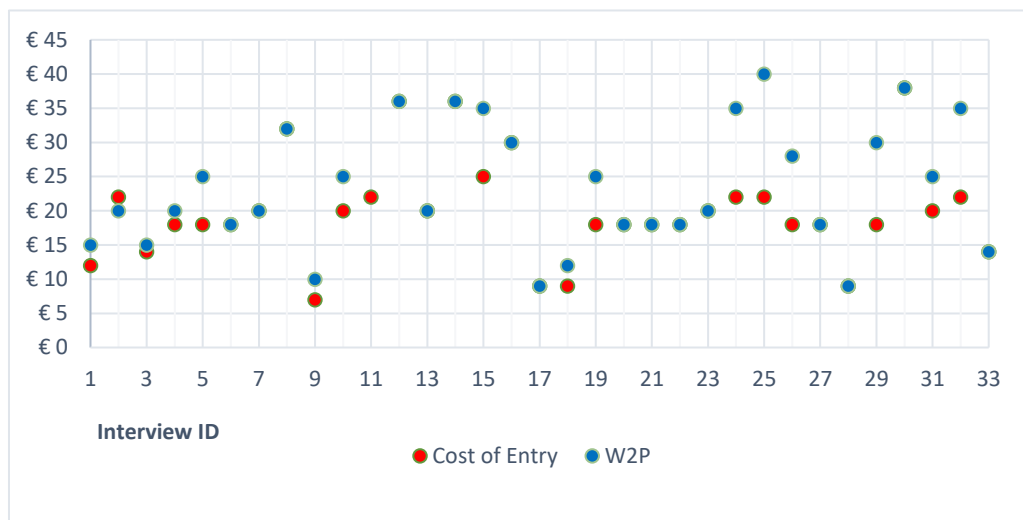
fig 6.63

(€7.50/£6.30). And while this translated to a higher W2P, the percent increase (17.6%) was lower than the site's average. The percent increase for W2P rose over the next two group sizes, with a peak at groups of four. Among these groups, the family ticket (two Adults and two or

more Children) became a viable option. This segment only paid €37 (£31) more per person than those in groups of three, but their W2P rose to a 24.8% increase.

This W2P dropped off among groups of five -who could also potentially use the Family Admission. Over half of the participants of each group size had a positive W2P, until those in groups of five. The respondents among them, bar one, were unwilling to pay more for their group’s admission. While this segment may have had the lowest per person payment, not all were covered by the Family ticket, requiring two groups to pay for and additional ticket – a matter that drew voiced resentment, which was transferred into their W2P. Interestingly, while groups of four and five benefitted from the Family Admission at the same rate, and the latter averaged a lower per person price, they were not as willing to increase their admissions as groups of four.

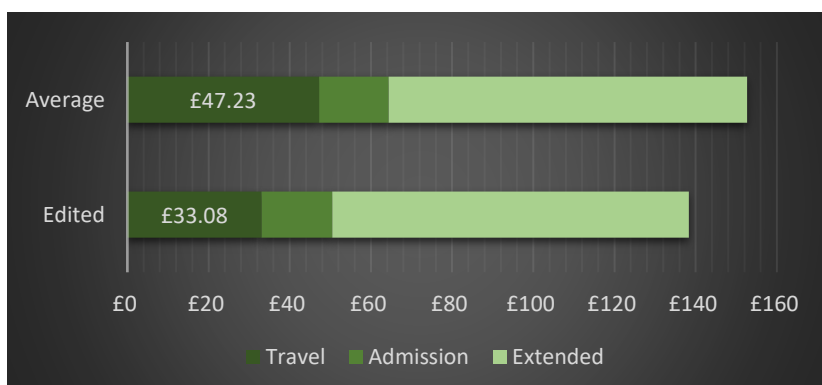
Prices for Adult and Family admissions rose by 10SEK (£.87) and 30SEK (£2.60) between the research period and the 12018HE season.



Foteviken participant Willingness to Pay, charted

fig 6.64

The visitors to Foteviken came from numerous states, many from Germany. Most (23; 70%) participants reported staying within 50km of the site. Their stays in the area were primarily part of a longer tour, only six constituted day trips. The majority were visiting as part of a vacation of seven or more days (upwards to ninety). The average tour length among them was 14.5 days. By linear distance, the participants travelled between 20 and 16045km, with an average of 1390km. The average by estimated land travel is 884.87km (with the distance of long-haul travellers estimated through the closest international airport). Removing the two long-haul travellers from these estimates result in an average linear distance of 709.55km, overland: 939.32km.



Average Travel Cost of Foteviken participants

fig 6.65

Only 15% (5) of the groups had previously visited Foteviken, with a mean of 5.5 visits each. One of those participants travelled from their home in Malmö, and another came from Australia. The

respondents visited Foteviken between 45 and 360 minutes, with a mean time of just over two hours.

To compare sites, travel costs are figured in GBP. The spending range of the participants to arrive at the site was between £.93 and £499.99, with a mean of £47.23, or -excluding the outlying upper figure- £33.08. Continuing with the exclusion of the outlying figure, the average travel cost including admission calculates to £50.49, and an extended cost of £138.29.

Per person, participants spent between £.26 and £61.57 (excluding the outlying £499.99) to arrive at Foteviken. The mean of their expenditure was £12.11. Adding in the price of admission, the participants' average per person travel cost is £17.81. This is a lower travel cost than those found among groups of



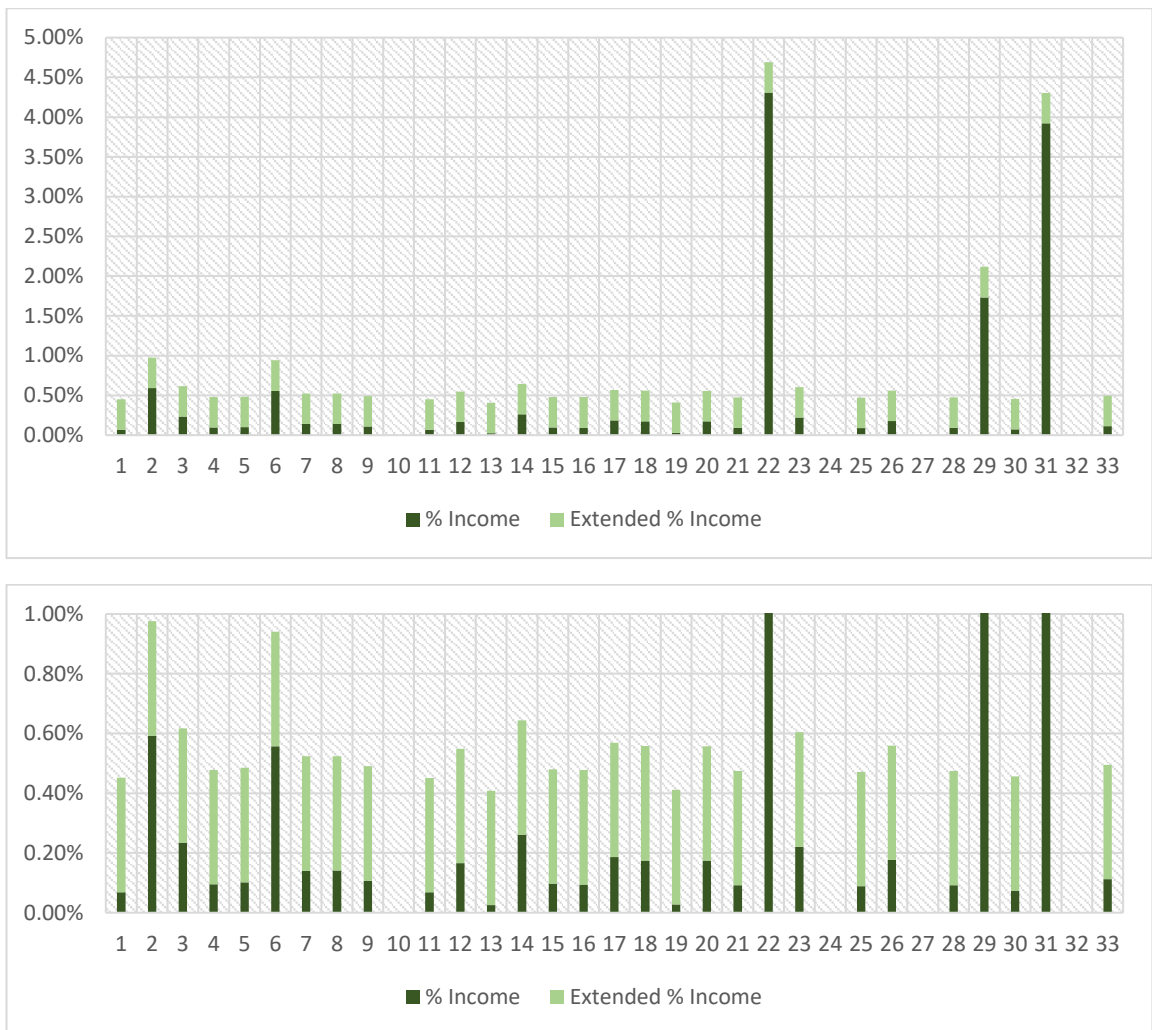
Foteviken participant Travel Costs, per person, by group size

fig 6.66

two -the most frequent participant group-size- and is ten pence more than the average found among groups of three -the next most frequent size. Groups of two had the largest travel cost per person. Costs decreased among the subsequent groupings, save for a spike in the travel cost of groups of five -family groups from greater distances arriving to the site.

Four participants could not be included in the analyses regarding participant incomes at Foteviken. Those who could be counted paid between an estimated .03% and 4.31% of the head of household's income to visit the site, with a mean of .49%. Some of these individuals are estimated to have paid a disproportionate amount of their income (fig 6.67). These people are considered, and percentages with them excluded are also provided.

The overall average estimated expenditure is .49%, but if the three groups who expended more than 1.5% are taken out of the estimation, the calculation drops to .16%. When the hypothetically foregone day's wages are considered, the overall average percentage calculates to an estimated .87% of the head of household's annual income (.54% if the same three high-figures are excluded). Ignoring those participants who placed such a high estimated value on the site would be counter-productive. But it still should be noted that they have a capacity to significantly upwardly skew the results if their presence is not contextualized.



Percentage of participant incomes used to visit Foteviken (top); zoomed in view (bottom)

fig 6.67

Inferences

Foteviken has taken a multi-faceted approach to develop and sustain itself. The semantics of what a museum is within Sweden's tax department is certainly a difficult position. Any of the other AOAMs in the state may have to similarly contend with, however this work cannot address that subject.

The establishment of NOKF has presented options, and its manoeuvring bureaucratic hurdles could be taken note of by other AOAM managers. Though it may function as a business on paper, I have been mindful to write of it using the term 'social enterprise' -setting the focus of the company as public benefit over financial growth. It is an important distinction to make. Still, NOKF is ineligible for funding sources available to non-profits. This is one role that SVEG plays to support Foteviken. In addition to fund-raising and charitable grant-reception, this charitable branch provides the unique logistical factor to Foteviken, in the organization of volunteer costumed interpreters. Both roles are instrumental to the site's continued existence. This reduces costs to NOKF and populates the site for visitors while opening an avenue to specialized tourism (allowing visitors to 'be a Viking'). The impacts of this aspect require additional research, going forward, but the implications of it are thought-provoking (continued in CH7.6).

Value beyond admissions and sales is still an applicable matter for a business like NOKF. Whereas many non-profits operate at loss, this is unsustainable for a 'for-profit' business. External funding streams tend to look unfavourably on a money-losing business, or worse, might attract predatory lenders/partnerships. NOKF exists as a 'social good', but it also must

assert itself within Skåne's tourism industry at large, just like non-profit AOAMs. Skåne's decrease in domestic tourism likely had little impact on Foteviken, which welcomed around 50-thousand visitors in 2017HE -double that of nine years before (Paardekooper 2012, 196; Jakobsen & Rosenqvist 2017). Museum staff noted that Skåne was exploring investment in Viking tourism (Paardekooper 2012, 199). This does not appear to have been prioritized. The tourism of Skåne was valued at just over £3.48b. Foteviken's sales from 2016HE translated to ~£219,949 (only .16% of the £139.1m 'culture' segment of Skåne's tourism income). This may seem insignificant, but Foteviken exists as a portion of the greater tourist industry. As a business, it must prove value should it seek future funding options.

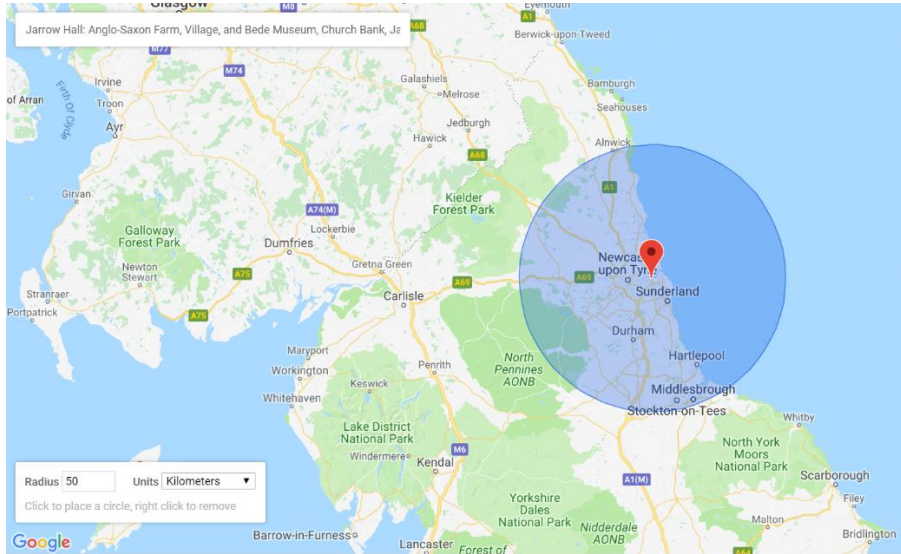
Increasing revenue is the natural way to do this and is paramount to NOKF's survival. With Foteviken characterized by single-time, foreign visits, options for a steady café revenue dwindle. The introduction of the Friends of Museum passes is an effort to attract locals to (re)visit the site. Further research is required to determine its efficacy. It might also be worth considering the strategy that museums in other countries enact to maximize the benefit of single-time, foreign visitors: charge them more than citizens. This is a difficult balancing act (which could backfire): participants paid an average of £5.70 and suggested a 17.9% increase was acceptable. Increasing admissions for foreign visitors and maintaining the price for locals would maximize the situation, while potentially incentivizing Swedes to visit (alongside the FoM passes). With Foteviken's position within the regional 'Viking tourism' network (and Destination Viking), urging other sites in Skåne to do similarly may offset risk of deterring foreign visitors, and steering them to other attractions.

Asserting the site's place within the broader tourism industry is another avenue for NOKF. Participant tours averaged two weeks in Skåne, and Foteviken competes within one of Sweden's largest tourist economies. It engages with networks and social schemes to support its own operations. As part of the participant visits, Foteviken can claim an added value of £12.11 per person, as their portion of the travel cost to visit Skåne. Considering the length of stays, this is a substantial added value. Visitors *may* have chosen to spend their morning/afternoon at any other attraction, but -bluntly- they did not. NOKF is a strand within a diverse tourism landscape, offering an option of 'visiting the Vikings'.

This is a selling point to foreign visitors. It provides an experience for people, while also offering 'social value' not only to visitors, but to a 'Viking' community. This is exemplified by the continual, annual construction of new buildings. This does not translate into return visits, so is pointless -financially speaking. However, that misunderstands the motivations behind it. One must recall one of the site's names: Foteviken Viking Reserve (evoking Indian Reservations). This is more an action of community maintenance and commitment to the ethos of a living 'Viking' settlement, than tourism development. SVEG's purpose in attracting would-be Vikings provides options of interpretation and visitor-satisfaction in touring a 'living' village. It is also a strategy to invite new community members.

Foteviken has taken several unique steps to operating a sustainable resource. And while certain schemes may not be available in every state, their mixed-organisational approach (social enterprise/non-profit), as well as the process of offering a volunteering experience unlike that at other AOAMs are worth considered application elsewhere.

6.5 Jarrow is Bede



Regional map with Jarrow Hall centred in 50km radius (FreeMapTools 2018)

fig 6.68

This case and the circumstance of its organization around the revival project was discussed above. Here, a shift towards the trust's details are examined, as well as Jarrow Hall's position within local tourism.

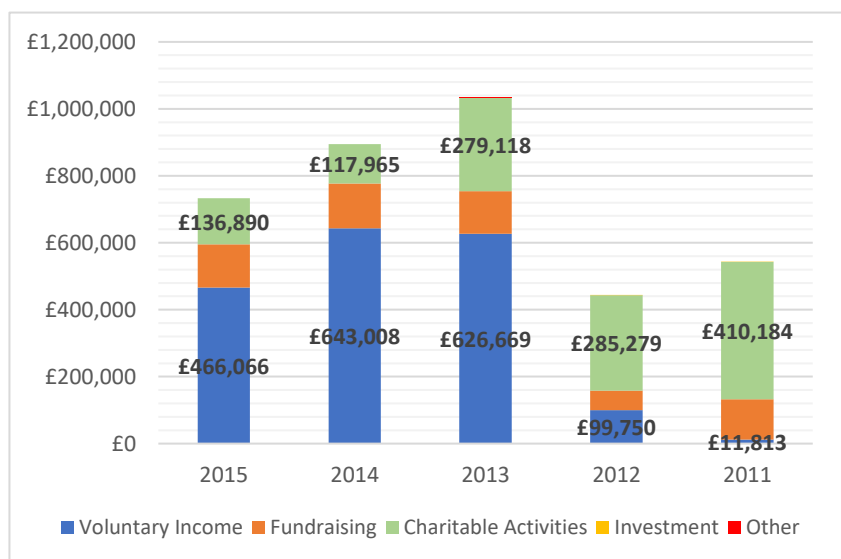
The Newcastle-Gateshead Initiative (NGI) – in

operation since 12000HE – is the area's local tourism organization (nd). The organization estimated that foreign and domestic visitors contribute £1.46b into the local economy, which was valued at £188m in 12006HE (NGI 2018, 10). Newcastle attracts 17.38m visitors -1.94m overnight- and contributes to 18,500 jobs (loc cit). According to Visit Britain, Newcastle had 296,000 inbound overnight visitors in 12016HE, up from 263,000 in 12015HE and 243,000 in 12014HE (2018). The region's objective for tourism development is to attract young (25-35) professionals from Scotland, the Northwest, and Yorkshire, as well as inter/national conference organizers, and to dispel negative connotations of Newcastle (NGI nd). The use of regional 'cultural infrastructure', with £200m invested in it over the previous ten years, is one of the major development objectives (loc cit).

From Bede to Jarrow

Prior to closure, Bede's World Trust reported that the attraction drew over forty-thousand visitors annually. Still, their financial reports were marked by loss and insecurity: "The monthly costs excluding depreciation of running the charity are approximately £30,000" (Bede's World Trust 2015, 6). The Trust's accounts -for several

years- noted that "The Trustees consider that 3 months' balance of reserves are a bare minimum required. On this basis Bede's World have less than the desired reserves and the Trustees hope to build these up in the coming years to ensure the company has sufficient cover



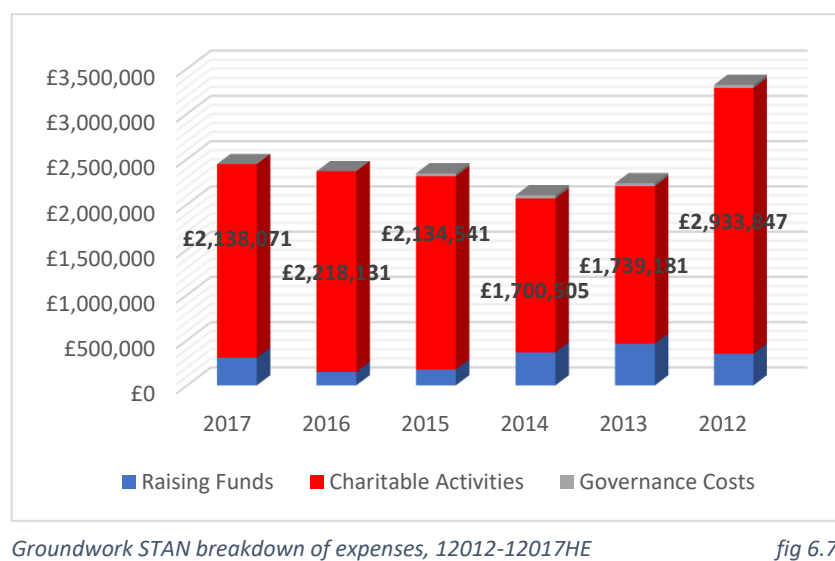
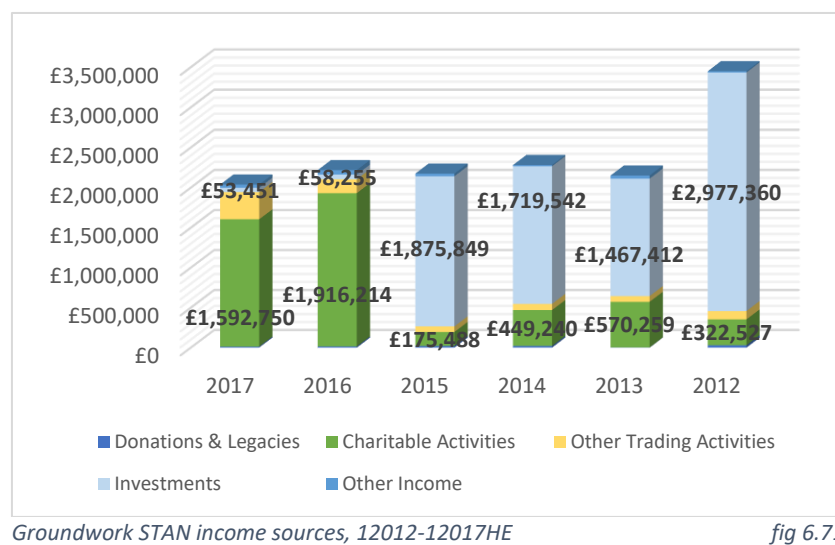
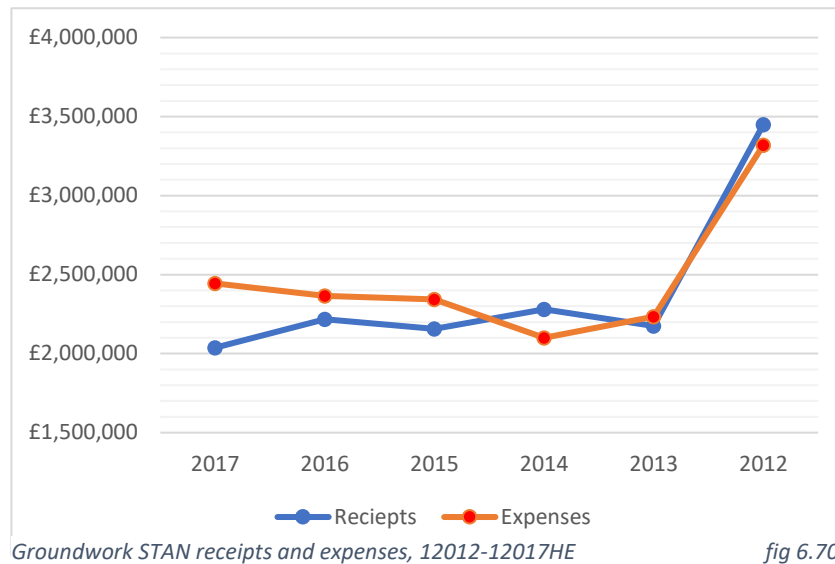
Sources of Bede's World Trust income, 12011-12015HE

fig 6.69

to safeguard the security of employees and the interests of stakeholders” (loc cit). In the end, this insufficiency concluded with the Trust filing for insolvency.

Loss and looming insolvency appears in the Trust’s financial activities. The café, that operated to generate income, embodied the site’s unsustainable strategy. Each year showed that more money was expended maintaining the café than it made, with the final year’s expenses double the income. Cafés are used by museums to help sustain them. Bede’s World’s operated at such a consistent loss that the revenue through non-ticket-related sales could not make up the difference. One year of such a circumstance might be excusable as a setback but happening again should raise alarm and initiate serious changes. That Bede’s World did not adapt, and continued to operate as it had, foretold their closure.

The Groundwork trust also showed several years of loss, despite the motivation to keep every enterprise it runs individually solvent. These were attributable to factors such as failure to continue procuring investment moneys, a matter that was noted in reporting along with the commitment of resources to address this matter. The acquisition of properties -like Bede’s World- and unforeseen loss at previously held properties factored into



this net loss (Groundwork STAN 2017, 9). STAN was awarded Big Lottery Fund grants, totalling £163080, to address deficits and for the acquisition and development of Jarrow Hall (Groundwork STAN 2016, 6). The trust experienced more red years than black, but “[t]he reserves, after allowing for the above properties and other tangible assets required to operate the Charitable Group was £1014832 (2016: £1,336,588). This level of reserves [£3,494,366] is sufficient to meet our reserves policy” (loc cit). Groundwork STAN does not suffer from the same insecurity that plagued the Bede’s World Trust.

Visitors at Jarrow Hall

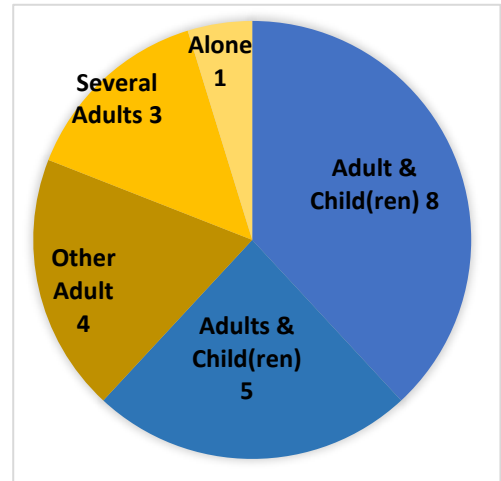
There were twenty-one interviews at this site. These interviews were carried out during a period outside of peak tourist engagement, during a special event: an expo for model-trains.

Respondents were almost exclusively female. They also, bar two Americans, identified as being from the UK: either British (15) or English (3). Most groups (13) had one or more children present. Over half of the groups consisted (12) of two or more adults (fig 6.73). As with the other sites, most participants held a degree (fig 6.74). The largest age group of the respondents was between 36 and 45 (fig 6.75).

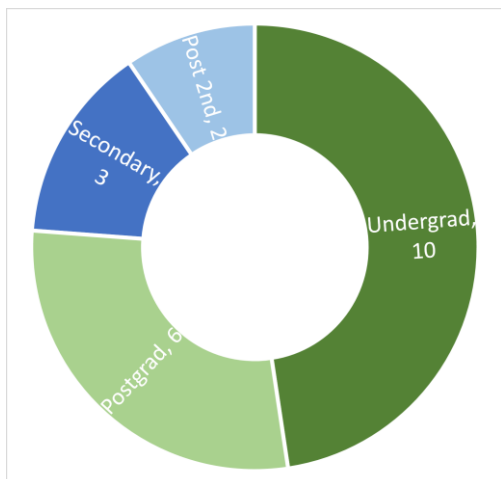
The estimated average incomes of the Jarrow Hall participants were £28222 (27% more than the local average). Only five of the participants were not day-trippers. They arrived at the site by car, aside from four who either walked or took public transportation. Eight respondents had previously visited the site (averaging 5.86 visits), two having visited while the site was Bede’s World.

An interest in the past was the motivation to visit for one participant, another named Bede himself as that factor. Three arrived for the train event and stayed around the site. Others noted less purposeful reasons to engage with the site: one suggested the café as their purpose, while two visited to see the farm’s animals. Seven participants suggested incidental reasons for visiting such as “It was a nice day” or “We had just visited the park down the road”.

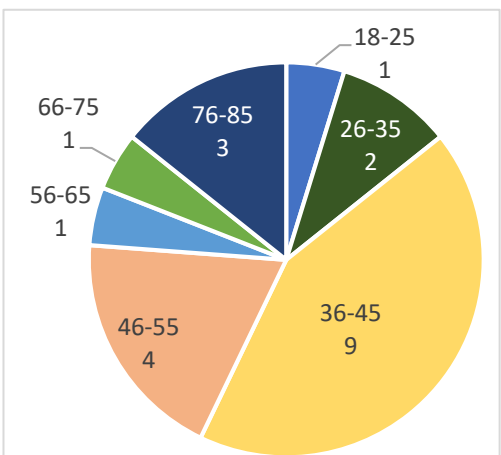
If any characteristics of a participant at Jarrow Hall could be personified, it would be a woman between 36 and 55, who is a UK national, with tertiary education, who came to the site by car, with perhaps a casual or incidental motivation to visit.



Makeup of participant groups at Jarrow Hall
fig 6.73



Highest level of education attained by participants at Jarrow Hall
fig 6.74



Age ranges of participants at Jarrow Hall
fig 6.75

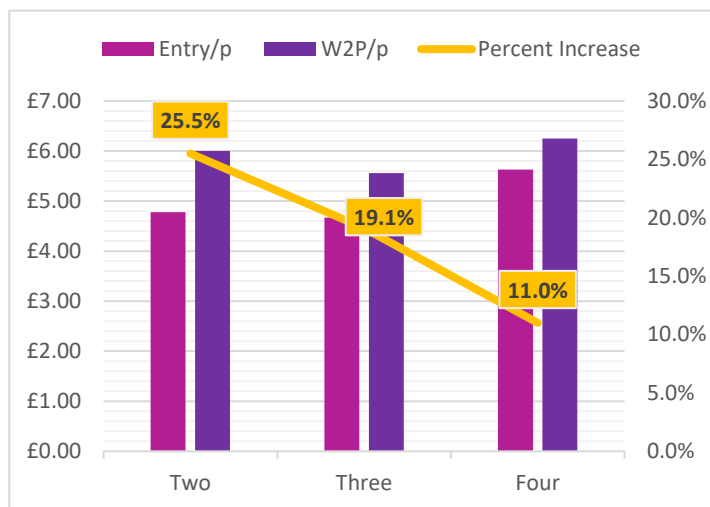
Valuing Jarrow Hall

During the 12017HE research period, the visitors interviewed reported paying between £3 and £40 (for a total of £290) to access the AOAM. They suggested a W2P of between £5 and £40, totalling £340. Thirteen of the respondents stated they would be unwilling to pay more for their admission; the overall W2P marked a 17.2% increase from that paid. Per person, there was a W2P of +£.99 (20.3%).

The average per person admission was £4.88. Among groups consisting of two individuals, the average payment was £4.78 per person, and they suggested a W2P of £6. Groups of three paid £4.67, and lastly groups of four paid a sum of £5.63 (partly from purchasing annual, unlimited visit tickets). Without these unrestricted admissions, per person ticket prices across group sizes were similar. The majority considered their cost of admission to be fair (with two stating it too low). Unlike other cases, Jarrow Hall does not have discounted 'family' admission. Because of this, unsurprisingly, the percent increase of W2P diminished as group sizes increased.

ID	Groups Size	Cost of Entry	Entry/p	W2P	W2p/p
JH.Eng.01	2	£8	£4	£8	£4
JH.Eng.02	2	£8	£4	£10	£5
JH.Eng.03	2	£25	£13	£40	£20
JH.Eng.04	3	£15	£5	£15	£5
JH.Eng.05	4	£12	£3	£12	£3
JH.Eng.06	2	£8	£4	£10	£5
JH.Eng.07	1	£3	£3	£5	£5
JH.Eng.08	2	£10	£5	£10	£5
JH.Eng.09	3	£11	£4	£11	£4
JH.Eng.10	3	£9	£3	£9	£3
JH.Eng.11	2	£8	£4	£11	£6
JH.Eng.12	5	£15	£3	£15	£3
JH.Eng.13	3	£23	£8	£25	£8
JH.Eng.14	4	£20	£5	£20	£5
JH.Eng.15	4	£30	£8	£40	£10
JH.Eng.16	2	£6	£3	£6	£3
JH.Eng.17	3	£15	£5	£20	£7
JH.Eng.18	2	£5	£3	£5	£3
JH.Eng.19	4	£40	£10	£40	£10
JH.Eng.20	2	£8	£4	£8	£4
JH.Eng.21	3	£11	£4	£20	£7
Total	58	£290		£340	
Avg Admission		£5	£4.88	£5.86	£5.87

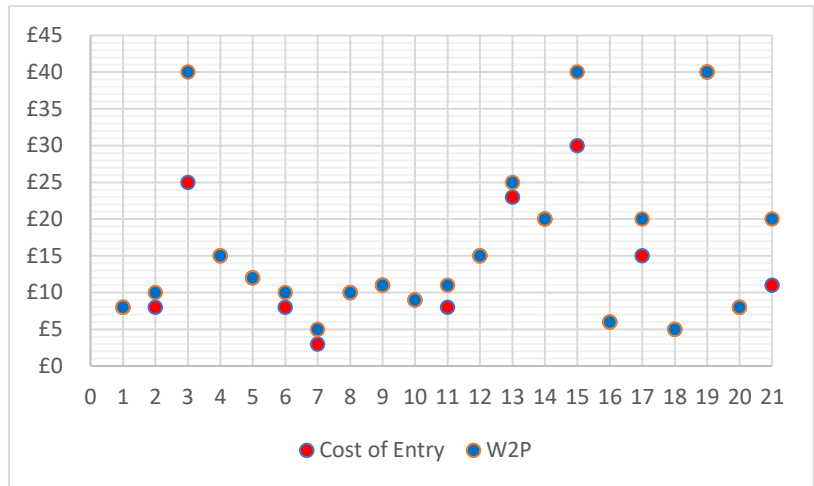
Jarrow Hall participant cost of entry & Willingness to Pay fig 6.76



Jarrow Hall participant Willingness to Pay by group size fig 6.77

Jarrow Hall has, since the interview period, maintained the same admissions costs.

The participants were, bar one, residents of the UK. The international visitor was on a long-haul tour. Similarly, all -save one- participant groups were staying within 50km of the AOAM. The respondents travelled linear distances between 0.67 and 6093km; with a mean of 365.95km (79.59km without the long-haul figure). Fifteen of the participants lived within 50km. This is the shortest distance among the case studies.



Jarrow Hall participant Willingness to Pay, charted

fig 6.78

Eight of the participants had previously visited Jarrow Hall, and two reported having visited when the site was Bede’s World. Those at Jarrow Hall averaged seven visits. The groups were primarily on day-trips, but five reported spending two or more days as a tourist. Those groups averaged 2.8 days on tour (7 days if the long-haul tourist is included). The visits they took were between 10 and 390 minutes, averaging 116.

These attributes of the visitor sample are indicative of the time that the interviews took place, which is after peak tourism periods. The participants were somewhat local people on short trips. Despite this being the seeming character of those interviewed, most had not visited Jarrow Hall previously. This, certainly, could be partway attributable to the site’s status of being ‘partially’ open for an extended period following uncertainty. Still, the interviewees’ sentiments to re-visit were solidly positive, with an average ranking of 4.43.

The participants paid an average of £23.04 in the cost of travel, with a range from £0.59 to £102.87. Accounting for admission costs, this mean becomes £36.85. The average travel cost shifts to £19.97, if the outlying long-haul visitor is excluded. With the same exclusion, travel costs with the addition of admissions calculate to £34.32.



Average Travel Cost of Jarrow Hall participants

fig 6.79

Per-person travel costs highlight another set of figures. With outliers, the per capita mean here was £11.59 (£16.47 including admission prices). Excluding the long-haul results in £7.95. This edited per person cost, plus admissions, figures to £12.92. Among the most frequent participant group-size (2), the per person travel costs were £11.26 (£16.04 including admissions). The per person admissions decreased



Jarrow Hall participant Travel Costs, per person, by group size fig 6.80

among the next group-size (+£4.66) but rose to +£6.38 among groups of four; all despite the increased potential for concession tickets. Still, groups of three had the overall lowest per person travel cost (£5.65, or £11.31 with admissions), while the groups of four rose to a per person expenditure of £12.29.

Considering income percentages, the interviewees expended an estimated range of .02% to .74% of the head of household's annual income to access the site; the median being .15%. When extended to the hypothetical foregoing of a day's wage, the range shifts to between .41% and 1.12%, with the mean being .53%. The exclusion of the long-haul tourist does not alter these figures.



Percentage of participant incomes used to visit Jarrow Hall fig 6.81

Inferences

Despite the losses that the Groundwork trust has faced, it appears to be a stable network. And it must be reminded that a large portion of the costs to the trust was the acquisition of Jarrow Hall. This is part of the organization's strategy: to gather enterprises, and create a diverse, supportive income portfolio. Jarrow Hall has been able to reduce its expenses through internal co-operation, such as using an established initiative where at-risk youths are given landscaping jobs. The acquisition of the site changed the Groundwork trust enough that a revision to its mission statement and an organizational restructuring were necessary. There is a commitment to providing for the future of Jarrow Hall as a resource, providing it institutional security.

The relatively comfortable position that the revived site (and staff) enjoyed allowed them to experiment with how to navigate a brand identity and income sources. This explains hosting events like the model train expo. Still, like all the trust's properties, this attraction has a responsibility to be financially self-sustaining. Failure to do so would not result in the AOAM's abandonment, but it would pull resources away from other interests. Proving value in itself does not appear to be an immediate, looming concern for Jarrow Hall.

Research took place early in Jarrow Hall's existence, but there are a few comments that can be made to inform the site. While the interviews were conducted during the end of the peak tourism period, the site was visited primarily by people who lived nearby, who came with their children. Despite residing within the region, the participants' mean income was 178.2% that of the local GDHI, which itself was the lowest disposable income of the cases. It is not shocking that museums visitors have higher-than-average incomes, but the divide here suggests more. At the end of peak-tourism, this site was occupied by local tourists -many of whom visited incidentally. These incidental tourists were largely unwilling to pay more for their experience, despite the income disparities between them and the local average, rating the site positively, and a per person admission price of £4.88.

The special event that Jarrow Hall hosted evidentially did little to attract or cultivate visitors closer to the 'average' and tap into a wider community, or to foster an increased site value to visitors. Additionally, as a site still under the shadow of Bede's World, experimental events do not serve brand coherence. The site seems to exist as numerous entities (see pg 118). What emerges from the research data is a young site still in the process of finding its direction, and an audience to engage. This much was clear during a group consultation I attended 24 July 12018HE. The site's identity, as a green space, and as a heritage brand (Saxon? Viking? Local History?) was still being evaluated. Meanwhile, very little had physically changed about the site since its previous incarnation.

It would be too far to simply paint the new management of this site as destined to follow Bede's World Trust's footsteps. There may be several elements that are worrying for the future of the AOAM, however the staff at Jarrow Hall are still unseasoned in this type of attraction. They have been receptive to input, actively seeking out specialist recommendations, and creating a 'masterplan' with the help of museum professionals. Groundwork does recognize some of the site's unsustainable practices. For instance, it sidestepped the money-losing venture that was Bede's World's café, by outsourcing it to an independent business called Hive Coffee Company, charging a rental fee. So, while there are obstacles to overcome, and potential pitfalls, the organization has shown signs of adaptability and a desire to ensure Jarrow Hall's endurance.

6.6 The United States of York

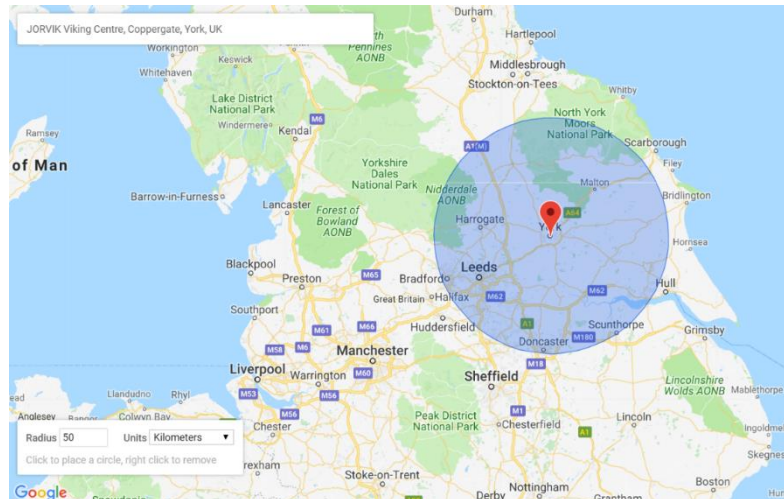
Tourism is an important industry to the city of York. 6.9m people visited York the year of the flood and brought £564m into the economy (Rawson 2016a; fig 6.84). This was an increase from the year previous (6.8m). Leisure accounted for 86% of visits (5.85m) in 12014HE, tourism jobs rose from 19,000 to 20,300, average spend per day rose from £36 to £44.86, and overall spend rose 6%: from £573m to £608m (Visit York 2016b). That year, foreign tourists made up 4% of the total visits, but accounted for 8% of the total visitor spend (ibid).

According to Visit Britain, York ranked as the seventeenth most visited city in the UK during 12016 and 12015HE (2018). The sector is increasingly important to the city's economy, with growth in tourist spend and visits. Spend in 12010HE was £451m but increased by 25% over the next five years (Rawson 2016a). Hotel stays have increased in revenue per available room, £75.88 in 12016HE (Rawson 2017). The February two years after this report showed hotel occupancy at 72.8% and 224,155 visits to the city (Rawson 2018). It should be remembered that February is the month of the Viking Festival; the role that Jorvik plays in this should not be neglected.

Jorvik is a part of one of York's 'Big Attractions Group' (BAG), alongside such destinations as the Railroad Museum and the York Minster. In 12015HE, BAG sites had 3,002,873 visitors (Rawson 2016b). Among these, Jorvik was the third most visited, making up 12% of the total (360,345). In its first four years, the attraction drew three-thousand visitors a day (Driscoll 1988, 8). By 12015HE, it welcomed its eighteen-millionth visitor (Foster 2015) and was nearing twenty-million by its re-opening (YAT 2017, 7). As one of the city's most important tourism resources, its continued existence is of import.

YAT Federation

The many parts that make up YAT were impacted the closure of Jorvik. Operating income of the Attraction & Events division (JORVIK Group) was counted as £497k for the year ending April 12017HE, with the year previous being £2.88m (YAT 2017a, 6). The Archaeology & Heritage division, meanwhile recorded a £67k deficit (improving from the year previous: £331k), partly



Regional map with Jorvik Centre centred in 50km radius (FreeMapTools 2018)

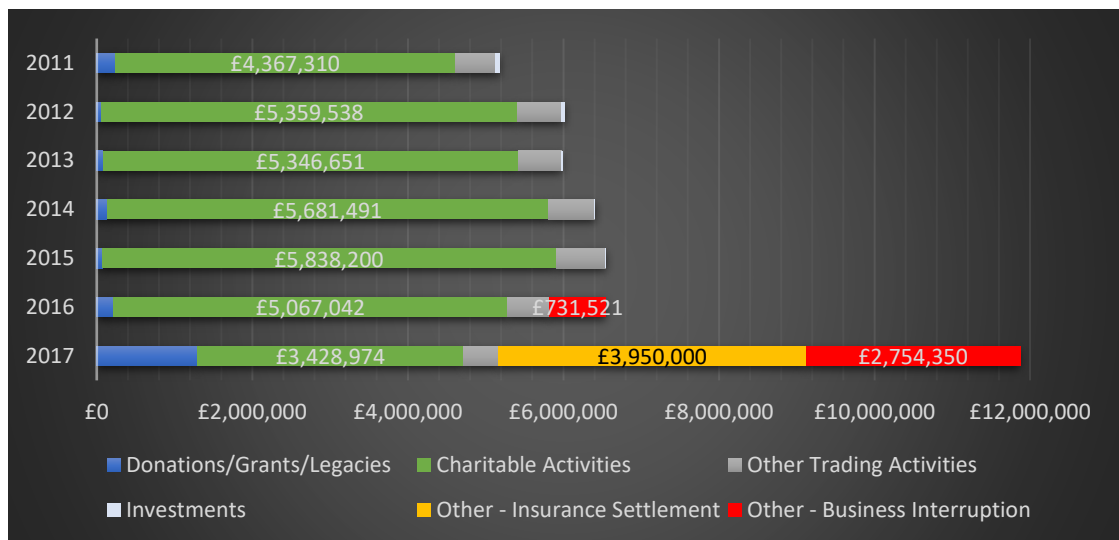
fig 6.82



Comparison of visit length and visit spend in York, 12015HE (VisitYork 2015) fig 6.83

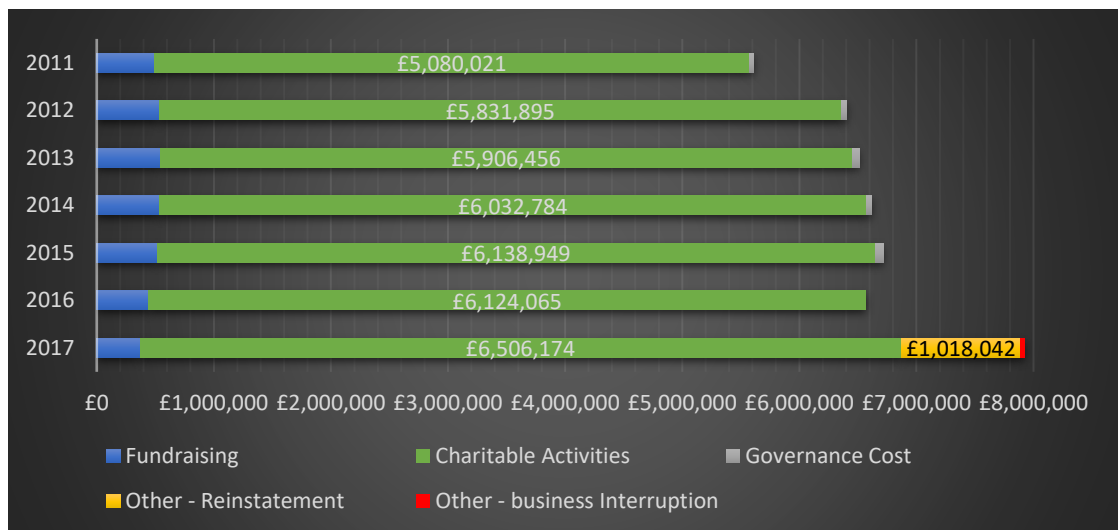
due to the closure of the Dickson Library and a restructure of Northlight Heritage in Glasgow (loc cit).

During the Jorvik closure, YAT was funded by: Income from other JORVIK Group attractions, touring exhibitions, funded archaeology/conservation work, funding from grants from heritage organizations and other grant givers for specific projects, and Campaign Canute donations (ibid, 4). However, the main sources of money to YAT were the pay-outs from the two insurance policies (fig 6.84). Profit-margins for archaeological work remained consistent (26.5%), and even with the extra costs (£33,409) of the Glasgow closures, reported income from the Archaeology & Heritage division was higher than previous: £2.93m, from £2.17m (YAT 2017a, 7). JCV Retail Limited, YAT’s trading subsidiary, continued operation at Jorvik’s above-ground storefront, providing some of the overall charitable and trading activities.



YAT income sources, 12011-12017HE

fig 6.84



YAT breakdown of expenses, 12011-12017HE

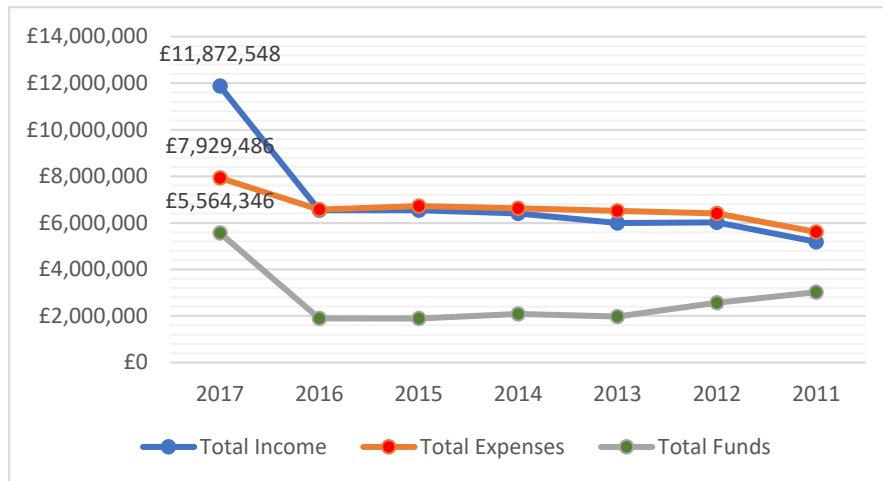
fig 6.85

Something that the flood brought to the forefront was a stronger pre-occupation with risks to the future of YAT. Earlier annual reports were very limited in even stating what those were. In the latest report, however, risk minimization was given significant space. For instance, concerns over pending pension liabilities were raised and the negative impact that it would have on the Trust. Increases to future insurance premiums were also examined and insurance-agency recommended safety measures were initiated to address this (YAT 2017a, 4). YAT has also

previously undertaken restructuring prior to that in Glasgow. The York office was restructured to “permit the Trust to work towards its strategic objective of making archaeological activities self-funding and achieving a minimum level of free reserves of £750 000” (YAT 2015, 4).

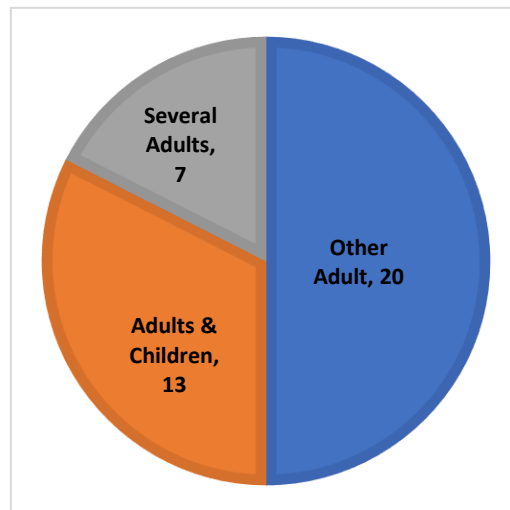
The re-opening also boosted YAT’s income (pre-flood), running 17% above budget and drawing more visitors to YAT’s other properties (2017a, 4). This figure (£3.94m), of which £2.932m is from the re-instatement claim, still outpaced the previous year’s net expenditure of £21k (ibid, 6).

YAT’s income, expenses, and total funds – 12011-12017HE
fig 6.86



Visitors at Jorvik

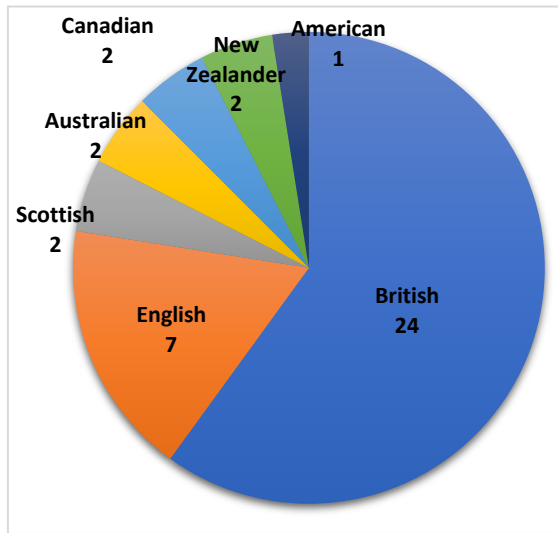
There were 40 participants at this site. People from a United Kingdom national identity accounted for 82.5% of the respondents, with the remainder from UK settler states. Again, most participants held a degree, in this case, 65%. Half to the participants visited Jorvik with one other adult, while just under a third visited with one or more children (fig 6.87). Women made up most respondents (60%), and half of the participants were 36-55 years old. The participants here had the second highest average income of the case studies: £31,356. As with each site, this was higher than the average income of the locality (154.6%).



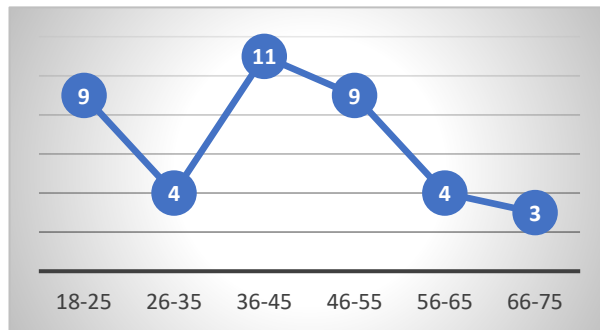
Makeup of participant groups at Jorvik Centre
fig 6.87

While most visitors arrived at the site by car (60%), trains feature more prominently as the chosen transportation than the other cases (fig 6.91). An interest in the subject matter, or specifically wishing to engage with the past was the most frequent visit motivation (11), followed by casual, chance visits (7). Six groups said their children were their motivation for visiting, and the renovation drew three groups. Eighteen respondents had previously visited Jorvik (45%), averaging 2.61 visits between them.

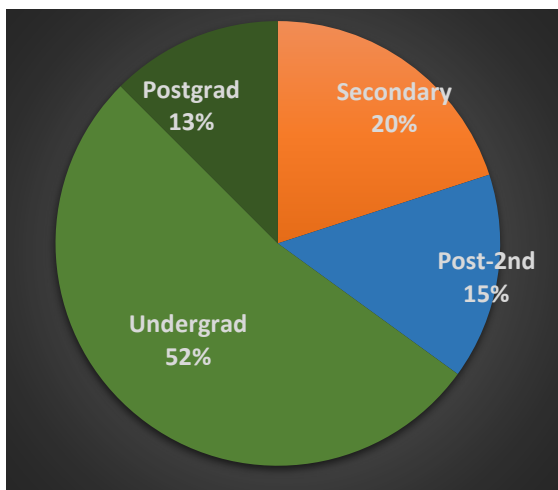
The ‘typical’ interviewee at this site was a university educated British/English person (possibly male), who is visiting for one or two days (likely by car), with at least one other adult.



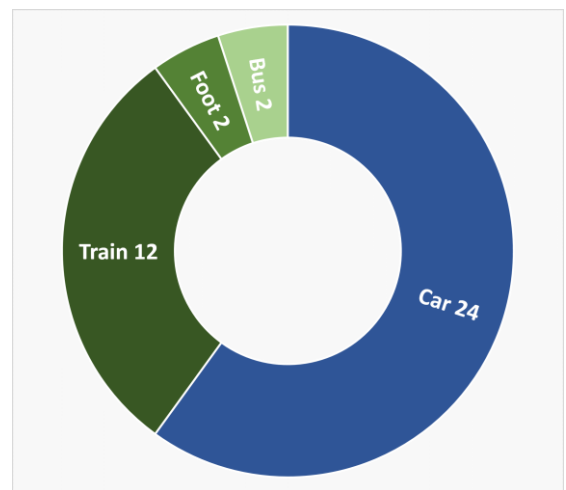
Jorvik Centre participant responses to 'What is your nationality?' *fig 6.88*



Age ranges of participants at Jorvik Centre *fig 6.89*



Highest level of education attained by participants at Jorvik Centre *fig 6.90*



Method of arrival to Jorvik Centre by participants *fig 6.91*

	JORVIK	JORVIK & DIG***	JORVIK & Barley Hall***	Pastport***
Adult	£11.00	£15.50	£15.00	£20.00
*Child (5-16)	£8.00	£12.00	£10.00	£13.00
Concessions	£9.00	£13.00	£12.00	£16.00
**Family 4	£32.00	£46.00	£42.00	£55.00
**Family 5	£36.00	£49.00	£45.00	£60.00

Jorvik Centre cost of admission (JORVIK Centre 2018) *fig 6.92*

Valuing Jorvik

Of the forty participants, thirty-nine were able to be used to examine W2P. During the 12017HE research, participant groups paid £0 - £130 to access the site. This high figure represents groups that purchased one of several multi-site tourist passes (be that the YorkPass, or part of a tourism package). In total, the groups paid £12151.50 to access the site. Averaged among the groups, this translated to a payment of £11.11 per individual. That this is higher than a standard Adult ticket can be explained by groups purchasing special passes.

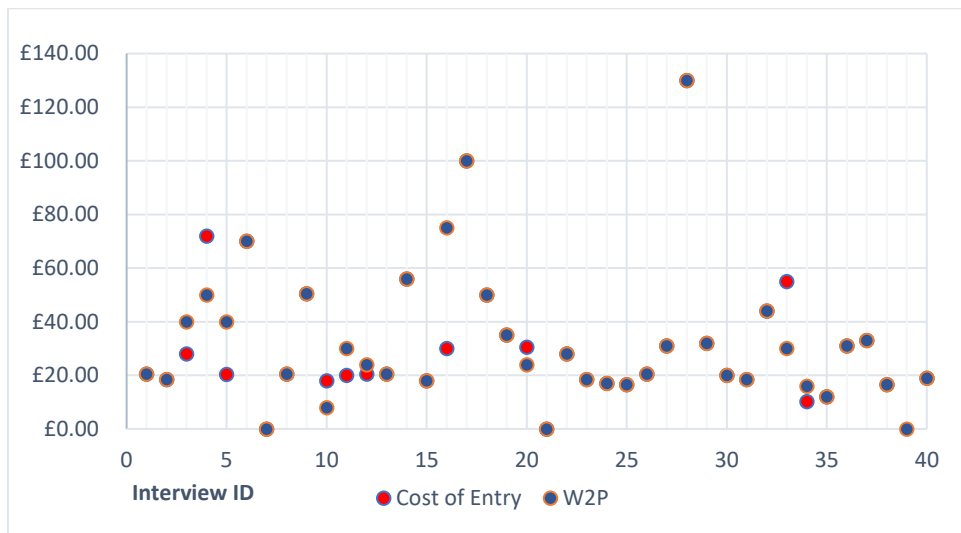
Only six (15.4%) of the participants stated an increase in their W2P. Taking the group numbers into account (fig 6.93) translates into a W2P of £11.64, or a 4.77% increase. Conversely, four participants expressed that they felt the cost for their access to Jorvik was too high. Taking these two categories -those with a positive W2P and those with a negative- into focus highlights that those who showed an increase to their W2P were -bar one- visiting pairs of adults. Interestingly, all the participants with a negative W2P had group make-ups that were not conducive to maximize the benefit of either of the family admission prices. These respondents paid, per person, less than those who had a positive W2P (£9.08 vs £9.26). Despite this, their desired W2P was -61% per person, . Meanwhile, the positive side averaged +62% W2P (£15).

Perhaps a better way to examine this is to eliminate the participants who purchased YorkPasses (JC.Eng.17 & 28). Without them, the average ticket/person was £8.61, and W2P showed a 6.39% increase (£9.16). These figures are more useful, free from the skewed image that the YorkPass gives. Simply, the visitors did not purchase those with the sole purpose of visiting Jorvik. However, this does not change the outcome of the analysis drastically; participants still did not wish to pay more for their experience. Pairs of adults appeared more likely to pay more for their entrance, while most every other group did not wish to pay more.

Sine my interviews, cost of adult admissions rose from £10.25 to £11.

ID	Group Size	Cost of Entry	Entry/p	W2P	W2P/p
JC.Eng.01	2	£20.50	£10.25	£20.50	£10.25
JC.Eng.02	2	£18.50	£9.25	£18.50	£9.25
JC.Eng.03	2	£28	£14.00	£40.00	£20.00
JC.Eng.04	9	£72	£8.00	£50.00	£5.56
JC.Eng.05	2	£20.40	£10.20	£40.00	£20.00
JC.Eng.06	8	£70	£8.75	£70.00	£8.75
JC.Eng.07	4	£0	£0.00	£0.00	£0.00
JC.Eng.08	2	£20.50	£10.25	£20.50	£10.25
JC.Eng.09	6	£50.50	£8.42	£50.50	£8.42
JC.Eng.10	2	£18.00	£9.00	£8.00	£4.00
JC.Eng.11	2	£20.00	£10.00	£30.00	£15.00
JC.Eng.12	2	£20.50	£10.25	£24.00	£12.00
JC.Eng.13	2	£20.50	£10.25	£20.50	£10.25
JC.Eng.14	6	£56.00	£9.33	£56.00	£9.33
JC.Eng.15	2	£18.00	£9.00	£18.00	£9.00
JC.Eng.16	5	£30.00	£6.00	£75.00	£15.00
JC.Eng.17	2	£100.00	£50.00	£100.00	£50.00
JC.Eng.18	6	£50.00	£8.33	£50.00	£8.33
JC.Eng.19	5	£35.00	£7.00	£35.00	£7.00
JC.Eng.20	3	£30.50	£10.17	£24.00	£8.00
JC.Eng.21	3	£0.00	£0.00	£0.00	£0.00
JC.Eng.22	3	£28.00	£9.33	£28.00	£9.33
JC.Eng.23	2	£18.50	£9.25	£18.50	£9.25
JC.Eng.24	2	£17.00	£8.50	£17.00	£8.50
JC.Eng.25	2	£16.50	£8.25	£16.50	£8.25
JC.Eng.26	2	£20.50	£10.25	£20.50	£10.25
JC.Eng.27	4	£30.95	£7.74	£30.95	£7.74
JC.Eng.28	2	£130.00	£65.00	£130.00	£65.00
JC.Eng.29	4	£32.00	£8.00	£32.00	£8.00
JC.Eng.30	3	£20.00	£6.67	£20.00	£6.67
JC.Eng.31	2	£18.50	£9.25	£18.50	£9.25
JC.Eng.32	4	£44.00	£11.00	£44.00	£11.00
JC.Eng.33	6	£55.00	£9.17	£30.00	£5.00
JC.Eng.34	2	£10.25	£5.13	£16.00	£8.00
JC.Eng.35	2	£12.00	£6.00	£12.00	£6.00
JC.Eng.36	2	£30.95	£15.48	£30.95	£15.48
JC.Eng.37	4	£33.00	£8.25	£33.00	£8.25
JC.Eng.38	2	£16.50	£8.25	£16.50	£8.25
JC.Eng.40	2	£18.95	£9.48	£18.95	£9.48
Total	127	£1,251.50		£1,283.85	
Avg Admission		£9.85	£11.11	£10.11	£11.64

Jorvik Centre participant cost of entry & Willingness to Pay fig 6.93



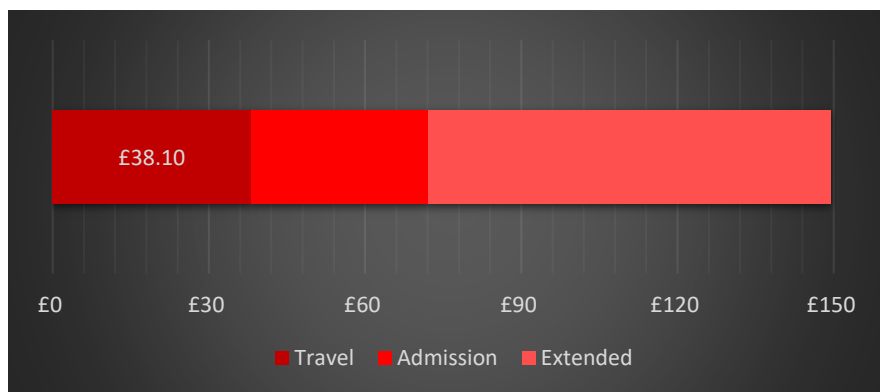
Jorvik Centre participant Willingness to Pay, charted

fig 6.94

Most participants at this AOAM were from the UK. Still, six participants were on long-haul tours, that required air travel. Thirty-one (77.5%) respondents reported staying within 50km of Jorvik. Three were local to York. This results in a wide range for travel: linear distances between 0.134 (the centre of York) and 18249.88km, with a mean of 2218.73km. Estimated land distances ranged from 0.678 to 875.51km, with a mean of 218.46km.

Eighteen (45%) of the participants were return visitors to the AOAM. While ten said they were unlikely to return, the average was somewhat 'likely', with a rating of 3.75. Interestingly, half of the long-haul visitors had previously been to the site. Participants were primarily on multi-day tours (averaging six days), with only four on day-trips. Visits at Jorvik were from 30 to 120 minutes, the shortest average among the cases: 64 minutes. Excluding those return visitors, the rest of the sample had an average linear travel distance of 147.19km.

Half of the participants' point of origin was within 150km -encompassing Leicester to the south, Liverpool and Chester to the west, and several kilometres north of Newcastle. Excluding long-haul tourists (who came from as far as New Zealand), participants travelled from as far as Exeter and Plymouth, over 450km (linear) away.

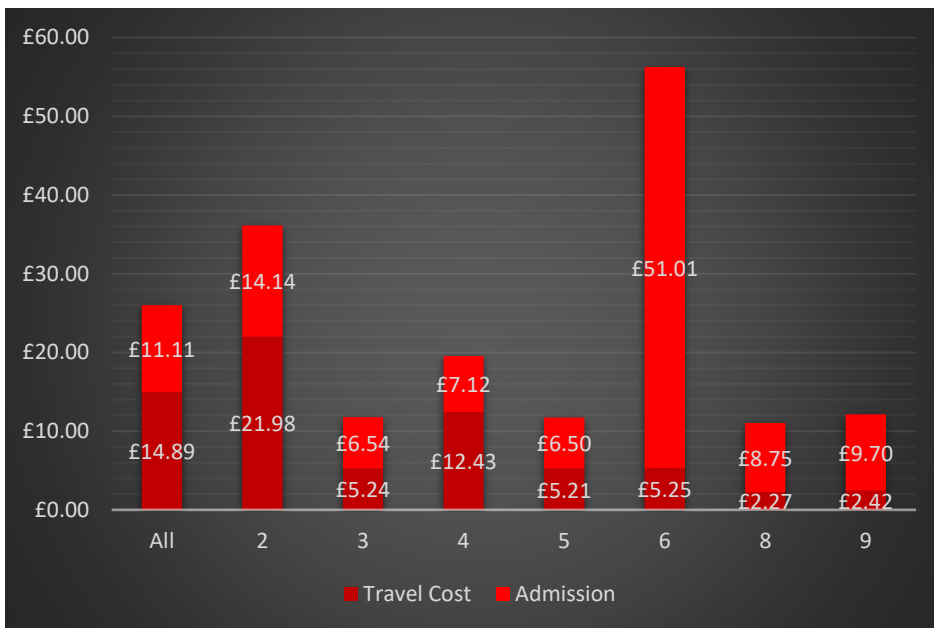


Average Travel Cost of Jorvik Centre participants

fig 6.95

Participant travel cost an estimated average of £84.59, (between £26 and £339). Rendered into travel costs more directly applicable to the AOAM, the figure is £38.10 (with a high of £135.21).

Combined with the cost of admission, participant groups expended upwards to £335.18 to access Jorvik, with a mean of £72.21. The cost, when extended to include a hypothetical work day averages to £149.51.



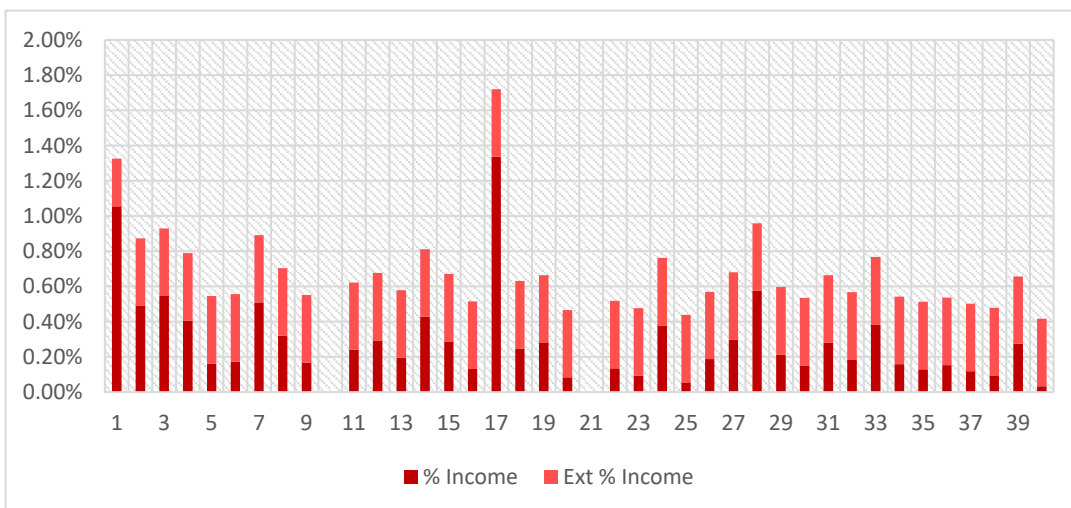
Jorvik Centre participant Travel Costs, per person, by group size

fig 6.96

Considering group-sizes, the participants at Jorvik expended an average of £14.89 per person to access the site; £26 with admission figured in. In total, the participant groups had a spend of £1524.03 in the cost of

travel. Groups of six paid the most -including admissions- but groups of two paid both the most per person to travel, and second in admissions. Interestingly, groups of two and four paid the largest per person travel costs, while groups of three, five, and six paid similarly low amounts.

Returning to the groups at large (two were unable to be counted), the respondents' information suggests that the head of the household expended between an estimated .03% and 1.34% of their annual income to access the site, with a mean of .3%, or .68% if extended (fig 6.97).



Percentage of participant incomes used to visit Jorvik Centre

fig 6.97

Inferences

The Jorvik Centre presented a unique opportunity for this research. Its destruction brought the renewability of AOAMs into focus. Traditional sites placed into the same circumstances would simply not have been able to recover in the time and manner that Jorvik did. The ways it re-envisioned itself have also provided a chance to see how these attractions can adapt to new information and interpretations, and create new options to narratives of the past.

The individual philanthropy behind Campaign Canute may have been over-stated, but the publicity from this would not have hurt the site as it reopened. The networks that Jorvik fostered, and its position in York's tourism industry, played substantial roles in supporting and funding the revival project. Institutionally speaking, this along with the two insurance policies are lessons that heritage property managers should take note of. Frankly, if YAT did not have those attributes to count on, Jorvik would not exist -no matter its popularity.

Financially speaking, this site was the largest in all terms: income, working budget, employment. Visitors noted the high admission prices. Still, this did not translate into an unwillingness to revisit, with twenty-two participants saying they would 'Absolutely' revisit. As it stands, a visitor to York spends an average of £44.86 per day, meaning a visit to Jorvik accounts for roughly ¼ of that day's spend. The participants paid an estimated 0.3% of their income to visit, double that of every other site in this study. With an average £11.11 (or £8.61) entrance fee, Jorvik is viewed to be worth that amount -if only once.

The staff at YAT recognizes that Jorvik suffers from tourism slumps. Visitation dwindles each year, until some dramatic changes encourage a spike. Income and Expenses drew closer over the last several years; near-parity in 12016HE. The income spike resulting from the re-opening will not last, and the site must conceive of ways to continue attracting visitors. There is a limit to how much YAT can increase admissions, before that price outstrips the attraction's renown. Offering free returns within a year may encourage more 'local' re-visits, but there is little incentive to foreign tourists. Jorvik still holds a place on the 'To Do' list when arriving in York, so it is likely that these tourists will come regardless (the foreign participants having even previously visited).

The recent catastrophe has highlighted to YAT a need to evaluate risks more closely, from purely economic to physical. It is an important lesson to take from the ordeal. The organization is not at immediate risk of insolvency, but complacency courts disaster. Jorvik is an institution in York, but that does not protect it from seeing visitor numbers trail off. As the most static of the sites in this research, finding a solution is not as simple as 'bring something new' to attract people. The Viking Festival is one avenue of fighting the slump, but smaller special events are lacking at Jorvik. Without renewing what can be experienced at the site regularly, fewer people will be inclined to make the most of their £11.11 at Jorvik.

6.7 Renewable, but Sustainable?

This chapter has examined two of the Three Assertions. The first took poignant examples of sites in distress, one from external forces and the other from institutional. Within these cases, strategies of their revival (ongoing in the case of Jarrow Hall) were highlighted. That Jorvik's annual report began to include lengthy statements on risk only after the disaster is noteworthy. Thankfully for YAT, they had the foresight to take out insurance policies that kept the organization solvent while it assembled and enacted a response. Without those, there would be no Jorvik.

Groundwork inherited a much different situation: an outdated and degrading property with substantial upkeep costs and failing sources of revenue. Their position was compounded with the organization's relative inexperience (and lack of previous institutional support/sharing) in cultural properties. Jarrow Hall has numerous issues facing it and is in a process of trial and error. It does, though, like YAT, have a network of outside funding and support that comes from beyond the heritage sector. Time will tell how Jarrow Hall renegotiates itself towards the goal of sustainability, in what is realistically a slow process.

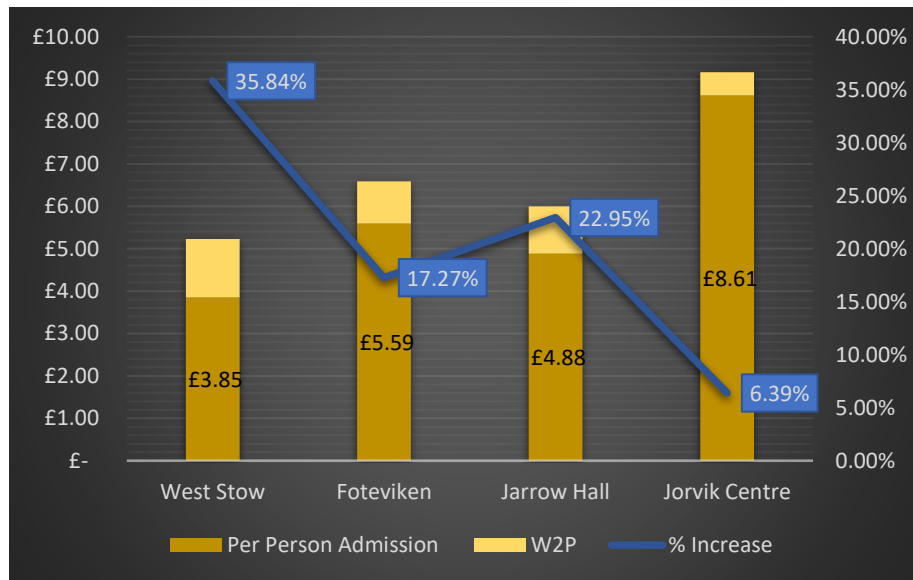
The second half of this chapter highlighted localities, institutional records, and visitor interviews to the sites to move towards assessing their economic viability. Many other factors that feed into this understanding could not be addressed here. During this chapter some factors directly attributable to the continued existence of sites -namely the networks of tourism- were offered for context. Unfortunately, the impact of sites on other local and regional economies could not be ascertained.

The information from the interviewees helped to give figures for the economic value of the as singular snapshots of a particular time. West Stow and Jarrow Hall had the largest increase to their W2P, but also had the two lowest average per person admission prices.

On the opposite end, Jorvik had the largest average admission, reflected in its low increase to W2P.

The two Viking sites had the highest travel costs (keeping in mind FV was during peak tourism season, while JC was not). Higher incidence of international and long-haul visitors accounts for this, and points again to the regional makeup of the Saxon AOAMs' visitors. Increasing this measure of 'value' hinges on attracting farther-afield tourists, while not neglecting reliable local ones.

It is interesting to note that the groups' head of household spent a similar percentage of their annual income to access three of the sites (WS: 0.15%; FV: 0.16%; JH: 0.15%). That the AOAMs that feature outdoor reconstructions have such results demands further study at other sites, to examine if this is more than coincidence. For now, with the limited sources and cases, it raises questions, rather than provides answers.



Willingness to Pay across sites

fig 6.98



Average participant Travel Costs across sites

fig 6.99

The Jorvik Centre has the highest 'value' in all the metrics examined here (though arguable with considerations for the participants at Foteviken who spent disproportionate amounts to visit), but it still faces issues. Each have lessons for one another to increase their 'value' and resilience. Jorvik has created a strong brand (making itself an institution in York), has diversified its income sources, has helped foster support networks, and has maintained crucial insurance policies.

Foteviken has taken steps to diversify structurally through its move into social enterprise supported by an NPO. Still, as a business, its incomes and investments are largely focused on the destination itself, and revenues from there. It has also actively worked towards fostering a network of support, both locally and internationally. These actions point towards the stability of the site in the immediate, despite potential downturns of ventures. For its future, examining the organizations that make Foteviken within the web of tourism the site exists in may offer chances to gain leverage for later buy-ins into the social enterprise, for further development.

Jarrow Hall, at the time of my interviews, was still figuring itself out. The disparity of incomes of visitors and the local average was somewhat expected, but perhaps not as wide of one. In there lies an opportunity to draw in more revenue. Though they may be 'unwilling' to pay increased admissions, there are avenues to increase their spend, such as special events and configuring their storefront to attract a higher spend. Groundwork itself presents opportunities for Jarrow Hall's growth: the managing trust has a diverse portfolio of properties, many of which that can feed back into support the AOAM in somewhat direct ways.

West Stow, however, has few options to diversify like the other sites. Its survival is limited to the continued agreeability of the regional council to support it as a heritage tourism resource. That being said, it is enacting strategies to increase admission numbers to prove its value. This site, though, would benefit arguably the most from analysing its impact in terms of travel cost (followed by Foteviken). It is not that West Stow is not performing within its circumstances, but the realities of its impact are obscured by the relative disunity of the revenue-generating operations on the property. Speaking of its impact beyond the syphoned bottom line through the above-mentioned methods can help to offer more solid proof that the site is indeed a valuable resource to the area.

The proceeding chapter will further consider the interviews for their potential to highlight the changes in perceptions which the AOAMs in this study have provided, to address the last of the Three Assertions.

CHAPTER SEVEN

Perceptions, Sentimentality, & Decolonial Options

7.0 Introduction

The last chapter discussed the applications of AOAMS as resources for economic potential, as well as for their resilience in the face of catastrophe – organizational or physical. The applications of these attractions to aid in poverty relief is a matter that needs investigation in alternative settings. The applicability of these two assertions feed into the final stands of this work, drawing together a viable resource.

The last of the three assertions is that AOAMs can foster decolonial options to understandings of the past, through the advancement of alternative narratives. Chapter 2 brought decolonial theory itself into focus. It also connected decoloniality into a NorthWestern landscape through consideration of epistemicides as instrumental to the colonial matrix of power. Chapter 3 then steered that into the focus of heritage and decolonial options at the museum, while also discussing alternatives to the ‘traditional museum’ that are still within the remit of what a *is* a museum. This chapter continues with the foundations established in those chapters, to analyse the perceptions of Vikings and Saxons among visitors to AOAMs and the strategies these sites use to alter them.

7.1 Perceptions of Pasts at NorthWestern Museums

The subject of decolonizing museums has been entering more conversations. Research on this has focused on perspectives of/from the global South, like in the creation of Indigenous museums or exhibits in extant museums by Indigenous people in Anglo-America (Lonetree 2012) and Oceania (Stanley 2007). It has also examined the contestation of heritage narratives at directly colonial sites, like those that feature narratives of the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade - and the divergent views of local and foreign conception of those sites (Yankholmes & McKercher 2015). Decoloniality and heritage attractions is more fully discussed in Chapter 3 (particularly 3.5 & 3.6).

However, beyond examples that address the most direct aspects of coloniality (physical colonization, imperialism, and Indigenous peoples) the other implications of the colonial matrix of power are infrequently given grounds for engagement. Particularly, heritage and museums in the global NorthWest, and of the global NorthWest’s non-imperial and non-colonial pasts have not been given much room for the entrance of decoloniality.



Depiction of Neolithic person at Alexander Keiller Museum, Avebury, UK (2013)

fig 7.1



Paolozzi sculptures at National Museum of Scotland (2013) fig 7.2

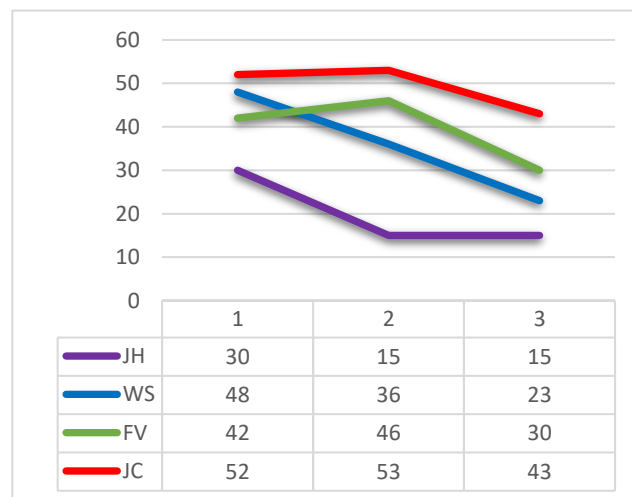
Museum depictions of prehistoric peoples in Europe have sought to address preconceived notions. A mannequin at the Alexander Keiller Museum depicts a Neolithic man with hypothetical adornment (fig 7.1; see Stone 1994). These images (like the Paolozzi statues in the National Museum of Scotland, fig 7.2) do little to facilitate delinking, as beyond their appearance they are passive (or damaging). The latter may try to depict adornment and trade, but they function more directly as displays -while disfiguring the humans they try to portray. There is no life, no reality about their existences, and the main message that can be carried through them is one of rich ornamentation; it still revolves around objects-based understandings.

These messages that ‘Stone-Age people decorated themselves’ fall short without contextualizing them into a living world. The Paolozzi sculptures fail by turning people and objects into ‘art’. In neither are pasts given life. While interesting choices were taken to convey a different image of prehistoric peoples, their

presentation is artistic, not breathing, not active, not decolonial. The cases in this work contain active, animated elements to them which are essential to offering a platform for delinking. The rest of this chapter explores the data collected from visitor interviews and my personal visitor experiences, and the change in visitor perceptions of peoples of the past. It traces the attributes each site holds to the offering decolonial options to the ‘barbarians’.

What You Carry with You

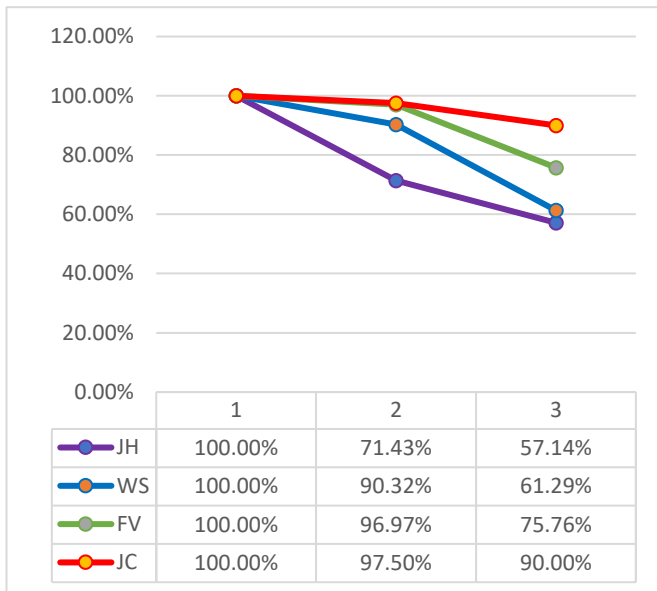
The participants were all asked to provide ‘Before’ and ‘After’ keywords to describe a ‘Viking or ‘Saxon’ to a hypothetical person who was unfamiliar with them. As Willingness to Pay is based in trust, so we must believe in what the participants say they would respond with – beginning with their hypothetical ‘before’ perceptions. For brevity’s sake, the Greater Keywords are coded as GKB (Greater Keyword, Before) followed by the number of the slot in which they occurred. This code may or may not be preceded by the two-letter abbreviation of the site where the interview took place.



Greater Keyword, Before (GKB) by site

fig 7.3

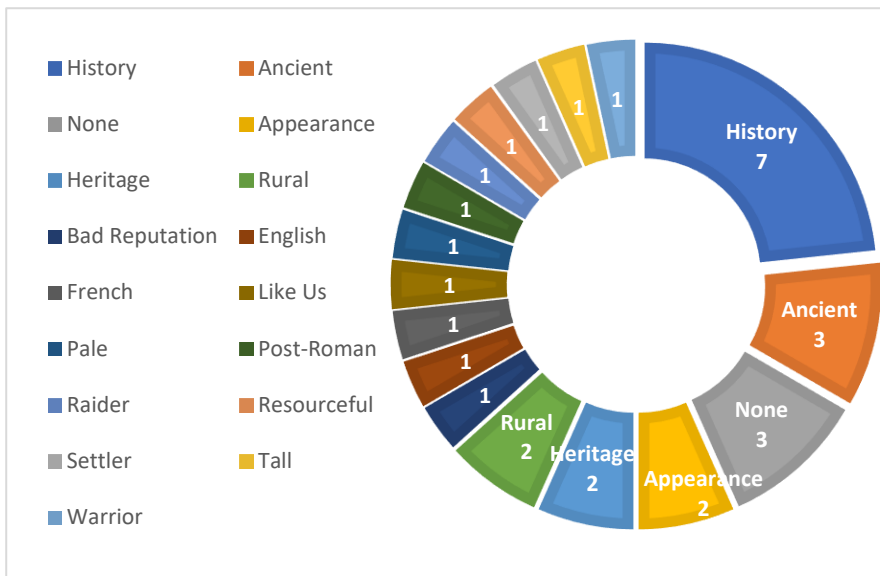
The ways in which participants gave keywords not only hint at what is the surface level intention -their preconceived notions- but it is also more than that. Let us begin with this surface level, starting with the ways these participants gathered their sentiments of Vikings and Saxons: their educational and cultural surroundings.



Percentage of retained GKB by site

fig 7.4

The breakdowns of national backgrounds to the sites was addressed and visualized in the previous chapter. National origin and identity help to give information about the educational and cultural surroundings in which the visitors developed. Across three sites, national identities from the United Kingdom (be they 'British' or 'English') make up a clear majority of the visitors. The excepting case is at Foteviken, where the majority was German (33% of the participants). An analysis of sentiments, then, for this work is mainly situated within the context of those British backgrounds.



First GKB given by participants at Jarrow Hall

fig 7.5

Participants at the Saxon sites were almost exclusively from UK backgrounds. The interviewees at both sites most often first described Saxons in either terms of *Heritage* or their position in time (*History*). Following West Stow's descriptions of *History* and *Heritage*, is the

more direct sentiment of Saxons as *English*. Still, this trio of keywords denotes similar perceptions. With these, the Saxons are placed as elements of Englishness (and to a lesser extent, Britishness). The link between the mainly 'English/British' participants and the subject of Saxons was often raised (through keywords suggesting cultural inheritance of them). But what does that connection entail? For while these keywords brought Saxons and Modern English/British people together as an inherited past, just what that legacy *is* was left ambiguous. This compounded: three participants (all from the United Kingdom) were unable to give any keywords for Saxons. Sentiments at this site sharply dropped following the GKB1 contributions. Initially, twenty-one interviewees offered thirty sentiments (GKB1). This then shrank to fifteen participants giving fifteen sentiments (GKB2) and twelve giving fifteen (GKB3). While drops in participation and resulting keywords occurred across the other sites (see fig 7.3&4), this is most exaggerated in the case of Jarrow Hall. Only 57% of participants used the three 'before' slots gave them. Diminishing returns on opportunities to describe Saxons at these sites makes sentiments that only convey time and a connection to English/British heritage less easy to ignore. The prevalence of nebulous sentiments of 'heritage and the past' is not to say that

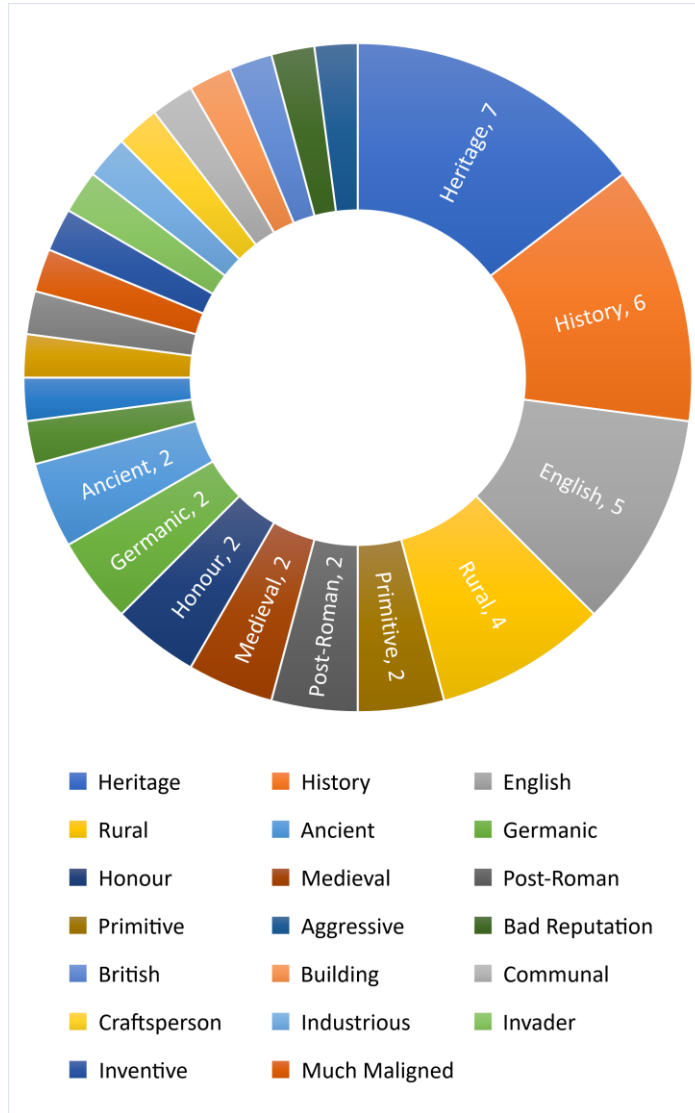
participants were unable to offer more concrete descriptors. In fact, West Stow's GKB1 produced seventeen different sentiments from thirty-three participants that fall outside of the 'heritage and past' sphere; and ten from twenty-one participants from Jarrow Hall. At both Saxon sites, the keyword *Rural* appeared the next most often. At Jarrow Hall, this sentiment was given a total of six times as a GKB and is one of only four qualitative or occupational terms repeated among this sample (*Warrior*, *Religious*, and *Settler* being the others). Meanwhile, the sample from West Stow *Rural* was the most often used sentiment, after *Heritage* and *History* in GKB1, and the over-all most frequent in both GKB2 and 3 (a count of six and four, respectively).

Following this was the *Warrior*, with five uses in GKB2. After this, though, terms trail off into keywords that were used only once. So, while diverse responses were given, if any dominant descriptive sentiment could have been named, it would be the image of someone who is close to the land they live.

It may seem a straightforward image, albeit one that visitors may or may not actually realize how that might look, as certain sights typical to farming (e.g. baled hay) would have been alien to the Medieval Period. This, alongside educational materials considering Saxons as farmers, teases out the image as a division between urbanism and cosmopolitanism during the Roman Period and a more simplistic, perhaps nostalgic life – a depiction reflecting some current societal divisions.

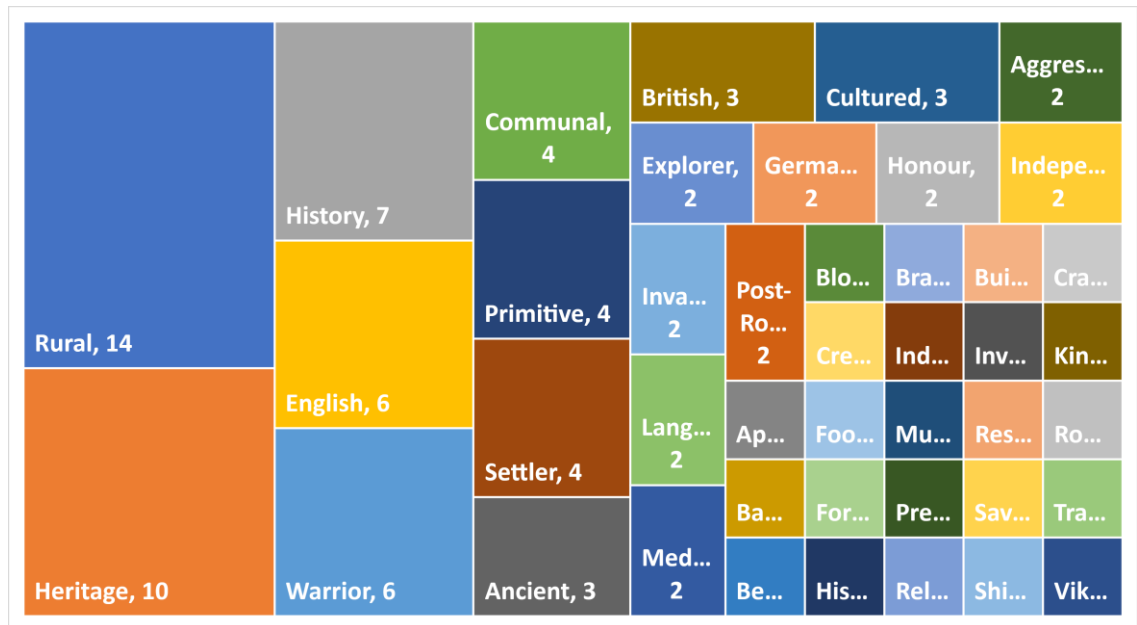
With consideration of the other top sentiments, there is another layer of meaning that could be applied. In discourses of

indigeneity, heritage and connection to land often go hand-in-hand. By drawing the two together, it gives a conceptual foundation for legitimacy by claiming ownership of land. These linguistics are used in discussion over contested lands and heritages, even in Europe, such as the foundations of nationalist landclaim. It is worth further consideration that the respondents at these sites connected *Heritage* and *Rural* sentiments to their descriptions of Saxons. This cannot be asserted as evidence of wilful adoption of nationalistic landclaim (or, further, 'indigeneity') in White English/British people's perceptions of Saxons -particularly as Non-English/British samples could not be examined. It merely opens such potentials into this discourse. I will return to this later in the chapter (pg 171).



First GKB given by participants at West Stow

fig 7.6



'Before' sentiments given by participants at West Stow

fig 7.7

The popular image of the Viking as a warlike figure readily appeared among the participants at the Jorvik Centre. There, the keyword analysis highlighted that sentiments associated with this image were most frequent. In fact, the keyword *Aggressive* formed the top sentiment in each of the slots, and *Warrior* ranked in the top three in each (fig 7.8).

Taking the nine visitors who said *Aggressive as their GKB1*, all save one were from a United Kingdom nationality (5 British, 2 English, and 1 Scottish). They all came from a diverse age and educational range. Indeed, nothing stands out among any of those who offered such a keyword. Considering the narrative of the 'Viking', perceptions of aggression and warfaring ways are not unexpected, especially among those from a national background where these actions were carried out and chronicled. In comparison, at Foteviken, the sentiment ranked sixth among the first sentiments passed along. This, however, should not be mistaken as an absence among those not from the United Kingdom. In FV-GKB2 and 3, it appears in the top three (fig 7.9).

GKB1 (n40)	Count	GKB2 (n39)	Count	GKB3 (n36)	Count
Aggressive	9	Aggressive	7	Aggressive	4
Warrior	6	Savage	5	Savage	4
Nordic	5	Warrior*	3	Warrior	4

Top three GKB (1,2, &3) given by participants at Jorvik Centre

fig 7.8

GKB1 (n33)	Count	GKB2 (n32)	Count	GKB3 (n25)	Count
Warrior	7	Warrior	6	Sailor	4
Nordic	6	Sailor	4	Aggressive	3
Sailor	4	Aggressive*	3	Rural	3

Top three GKB (1,2, &3) given by participants at Foteviken

fig 7.9

In Foteviken’s case, the lean towards *Aggression* is not as pronounced as at Jorvik. In addition, the participants at Jorvik were more willing to depict a Viking as being a *Savage* (in line with aggressive qualities) than those at Foteviken. However, the image of a *Warrior* was noted with the most frequency in the first two slots at this site. It is interesting to note that while Foteviken also fashioned itself as a farming village (like West Stow), *Rural* sentiments were only given four times, much less than keywords that alluded to the trope of a Viking as a warrior. In this case, it then blurs a stance that visitors echoed what the sites told them they should imagine. While the largest count of ‘before’ sentiments do play into the trope of a warlike Viking, not all of that image is to be considered as negative – merely stereotypical. Sentiments like *Brave* or *Resilient* were also attributed to the ‘Viking’, albeit in lower numbers as the warlike qualities.

Another stereotyped image of the Viking, is in their physical appearance. Seven participants at Jorvik and six at Foteviken described Vikings by their appearances, with two at Jorvik and three at Foteviken being the first keywords given. These involved the perceptions of Vikings as *Tall* or *Hairy* (bearded/long-haired). In addition to physical appearances was also the matter of horned helmets. It was an image which was noted once at Jorvik, and twice at Foteviken (with an equal number at this site specifically denouncing them). With the sustained efforts of outreach to dispel this specific stereotype (fig 7.10), it is unsurprising that nearly as many participants highlighted that they would have corrected this misconception to a hypothetical person, as would have offered it.

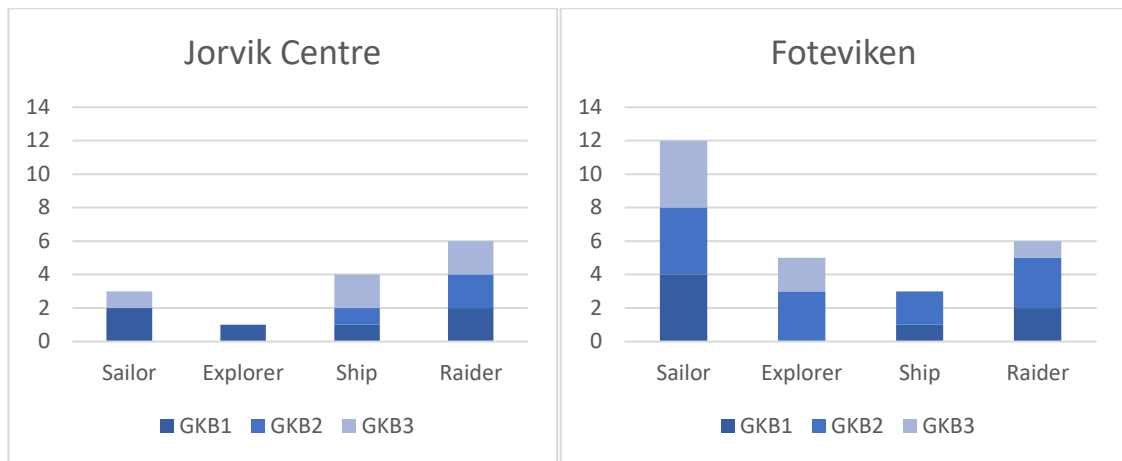


Display at Foteviken addressing subject of Vikings and horned helmets (2016) fig 7.10

What is Brought out of You

Prior experiences alone should not be understood as shaping the responses of the participants. Rather, there is more at play from external forces to complicate the ways in which the interviewees recollected and conceived of cultures.

Both sets of visitors accepted the narrative of violence attributed to Vikings, the sample from Foteviken had an increased willingness to view them as also being *Sailors*. This sentiment was offered twice as Jorvik’s GKB1, and once in GKB3. This difference in chosen descriptive elements is worth consideration. The seafaring warrior is a staple trope of the Viking, but it was barely noted among the participants at Jorvik. The figures below illustrate the frequencies of maritime sentiments (including the violent sentiment of *Raider*) between both sites:



Frequency of 'Maritime' sentiments used at Jorvik (left) and Foteviken (right)

fig 7.11

Seafaring characteristics were more prevalent among the Foteviken participants. Should we then assume that people in the UK are less likely to consider the maritime exploits of Vikings? Certainly not. Rather, the atmospheres where the interviews took place may have provide insight. Jorvik is situated within an urban centre while Foteviken is surrounded on two sides by the Øresund. The landscape plays into influencing Foteviken perspective, drawing out maritime sentiments, while the absence -both in landscape and in the site's presentation- of seamanship at Jorvik can point to its absence in descriptions. These 'before' sentiments are not made in isolation, but sensory input influences their choice. Recollections of the participants are shaped not only by their previous experience, or the levels of responsibility voiced above, but also imagery is raised by the physical world they encounter at the time of the interviews. While participants at Jorvik did share similar frequency of ships themselves, as well as the violent side of seamanship, *Raider*, the active and benign aspect of maritime activities was voiced less often -despite having more opportunity to offer sentiments than Foteviken's sample.

Returning to the *Rural* sentiment among the Saxons sites raises this issue of place's influence on the initial, 'Before' perspectives. This keyword comes with implications of the Rural as a divide between simple, nostalgic existences and cosmopolitanism/urbanism, it also has potential connotations of legitimate physical and spiritual claim to land through closeness to and working it. That aside for the moment, the very notions of farming and living off the land are



West Stow entrance sign (2016)

fig 7.12

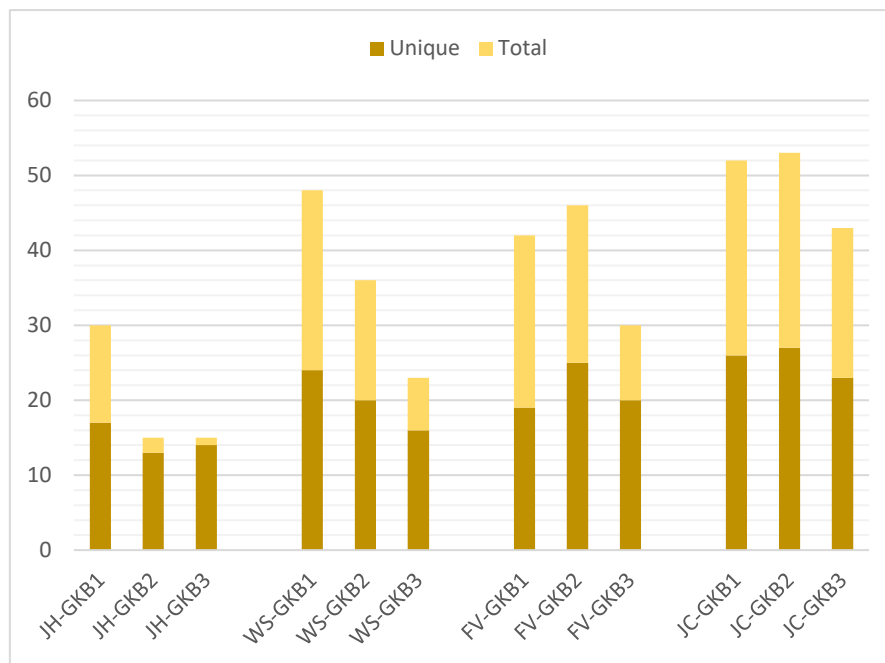
directly a part of the Saxon AOAMs in this study. They both depict Saxons' rural lives. This becomes something of a chicken/egg situation: did the visitors go to these sites already holding these thoughts about Saxons (and if so, did that influence their choice to visit)? Or did the destination itself act on their stated perspectives by feeding them the notion of rural existence having an affinity to Saxons? This is a question which is beyond the capacity of this research and would require wider investigation to do more than conject. But to continue with place and impact on perceptions of Saxons, also brings in reflections on *Heritage* and Englishness. While *Heritage* was a keyword that occurred more at West Stow than Jarrow Hall, it is worth

consideration the way West Stow brands itself: ‘The First English Village’ (fig 7.12). That ‘Saxon’ is to be equated with English/British heritage and pasts was enforced by the site’s entryway. That these sentiments occurred so often should not be surprising.

(Re)Membering

The ‘Before’ perceptions of the ‘Viking’ among the participants, while shaded by the warrior trope, were not bound to that one-dimensional depiction, nor were they wildly swayed by the presence of urban or rural settings. The forty contributors to JC-GKB1 gave twenty-six different sentiments, and thirty-two contributors to FV-GKB2 gave twenty-five (see Appendix D for a full listing of these). While descriptions of ‘Vikings’ were non-binary, those interviewed had more firm images of them than did those who were asked to describe ‘Saxons’. There is a disparity between samples sizes that must be considered, but Saxons were proportionally described with more keywords (fig 7.13) – suggesting less agreement on their image. A greater retention and reuse of terms describing ‘Vikings’ suggests the opposite.

That agreement of descriptions of Saxons was weaker than with Vikings could lead to circumstances implied above: direct input from the sites may shade what *should be* preconceived notions of the participants. In this light, a nebulous understanding of Saxons made the interviewees more suggestable to the provocations of their surroundings. The ‘Before’ sentiments of Vikings may have been malleable enough to increase the likelihood of maritime imagery at Foteviken, but regardless of the landscape’s input, that Vikings were sailors is not esoteric knowledge. The circumstances teased a known side of the ‘Viking’ out. Conversely, the setting of the Saxons sites – West Stow in particular – may have shaped a less certain perception and reinforced it towards narratives of nationbuilding and legitimacy.



Total use and use of unique GKB across sites

fig 7.13

The question that produced the GKBs, and sentiments, was effectively an exercise in memory and negotiation/reconstruction. Memories are not static, nor formed in isolation. They can be remade to suit the needs or circumstances of the point in which they are raised to a person’s mind (wittingly or otherwise). Entire events may be adapted between one remembering and another as the memory is reactivated (see Wichert et al 2013). Since the ‘before’ perspective question was an attempt to grasp a baseline for learning, it also made a stage to view the construction of reactivated, and reconstructed memories of past peoples’ images.

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7.2 Changing Viking & Saxon Pasts & Presents

“Oh, we learned all about combs.” said one of the young woman’s companion in a sarcastic tone – having just moments earlier described her dislike of seeing so many of them on display. She continued to voice her frustration with the combs to the man standing next to her, his floppy brown hair messy from the wind on the gloomy afternoon.

“And we learned about their everyday lives.” said the young woman sitting in front of me, in a light, Londonesque accent. She had initially identified as British, before the two friends who stood over her gave her a glare. After that, she explained that she was -actually- Romanian and was applying to ‘become’ British. Her friends nodded their heads in agreement then, and again as she noted how they had all learned about the daily lives of people in Viking York.

The South Asian man in their group had been standing back and had remained silent throughout the interview until this point. What had he learned about Vikings? He meekly offered, “There were people here from Africa.” referring to the skeleton on display, at the Jorvik Centre, of a man who is believed to have been from ‘African descent’. This didn’t bring a conversation to the otherwise chatty pair.

I continued with my next question.

“How would I describe Vikings now?” The sitting woman covered her mouth with a gloved hand as she turned around to her friends. The group of undergraduate students conferred among themselves for the keywords I had asked them for. Like with most every interview, this one was taken in confederation with a representative more or less in charge.

“They were certainly traders.” the young man standing over the woman’s left shoulder was first to speak out. The official participant deferred to the two students standing over her throughout our interview. She took their responses seriously and was quick to accept their word as her own.

“Well, I’m not going to tell anyone anything about those combs!” returned the woman who stood over the interviewee’s right shoulder, turning away from the group momentarily with a chuckle.

“So yes, ‘traders’ is a good one. We can go with that.” continued the woman in the chair. With that, she spoke as much to me as to her group. I nodded and wrote down her keyword.

“Multi-cultural.” spoke up the South Asian man. This suggestion was ignored by the group, who continued to chatter among themselves over their decisions, expanding on each choice. They presented bits of evidence from the centre they had only moments before visited. The young man repeated himself, this time with some urgency in his voice, as he uncomfortably adjusted his thick black-rimmed glasses.

The representative continued with her second keyword, “They were Explorers, as well.”

Nodding heads from the others offered their agreement for such a well-placed choice. Frustration came from the young man who stood behind all of them, his contribution passed over twice. Not just passed over, but not even given the chance to be on the stage to plead its case. His shoulders sank as he heaved a sigh. The group continued to talk while they thought about their last keyword. It was clear that none of them were willing to identify a Viking in the ways they said they would have previously. They were desperately trying to distance themselves from the perception they held that Vikings were ‘Scandinavian Warriors with Ships’. They chatted lightly over their last word, the last item to embody their new-found worldliness.

It was clear the man in the background of the group was upset. He looked away from them. They were still at a loss of their last word. Taking a deep breath and visibly distressed, he looked back and pushed those words out of his mouth one last time.

The rest of the group finally acknowledged him.

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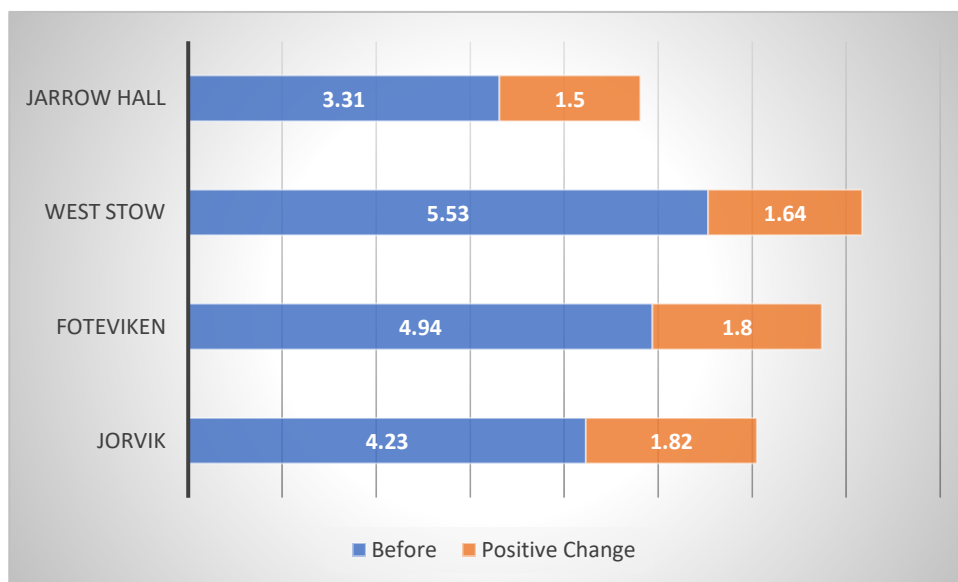
AOAMs are often rationalized and portrayed as platforms for learning and engaging with pasts. Still, many studies into them have been relegated to ethnographic accounts of costumed interpreters (Snow 1993; Magelssen 2007). Paardekooper (2012) noted educational aspects of AOAMs in his work but did not pursue the subject in more than a passing manner – one which was itself limited to more formalized teaching opportunities with site visits by school groups.

The creation of a platform is important and engaging people within it has a place of importance. But what can we say these educational opportunities actually do? What messages are taken away besides notions of pasts being imperfect and usually filled with squalor (Krugler 1991; Katz-Hyman 1998; Goodacre & Baldwin 2002; Peers 2007)? While there have been studies placed on what people take away from their experiences at AOAMs with living history aspects, their frequent use of directly, physically colonial contexts (such as Colonial Williamsburg, or farming museums depicting the ‘taming’ of wildernesses) is one which differs with this work.

The cases that make up this research still have links to the physically colonial, expressed in the farming settings of the ‘First English Village’. But to stress on the physical natures of colonization is to paint over the nuances and depths of coloniality itself.

“I Implore you to Reconsider”

Later in each interview, the participants were asked to again give three keywords to describe ‘Saxons’ or ‘Vikings’. Its placement was done intentionally – after questions about learning and

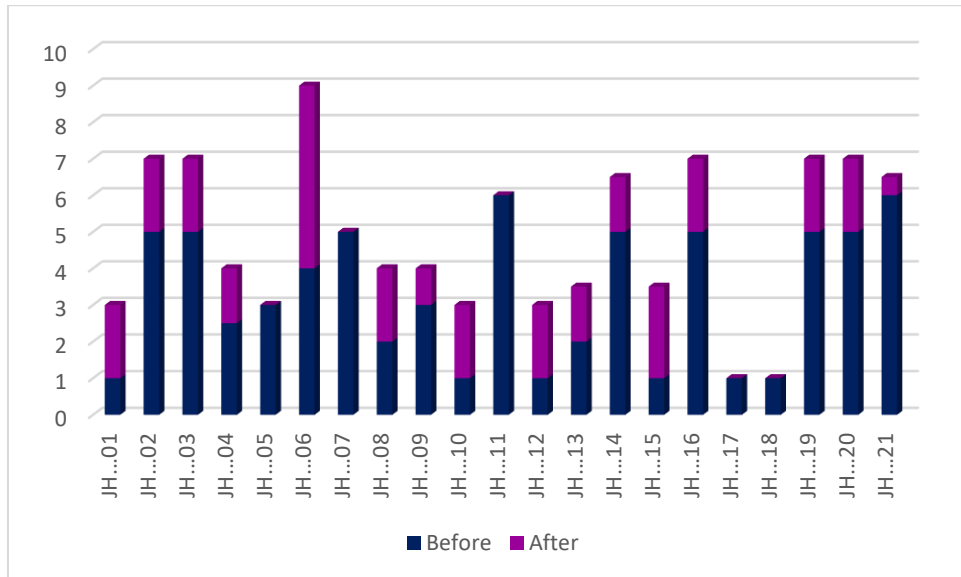


Mean reported change in participant understanding, from 1 – 10

fig 7.14

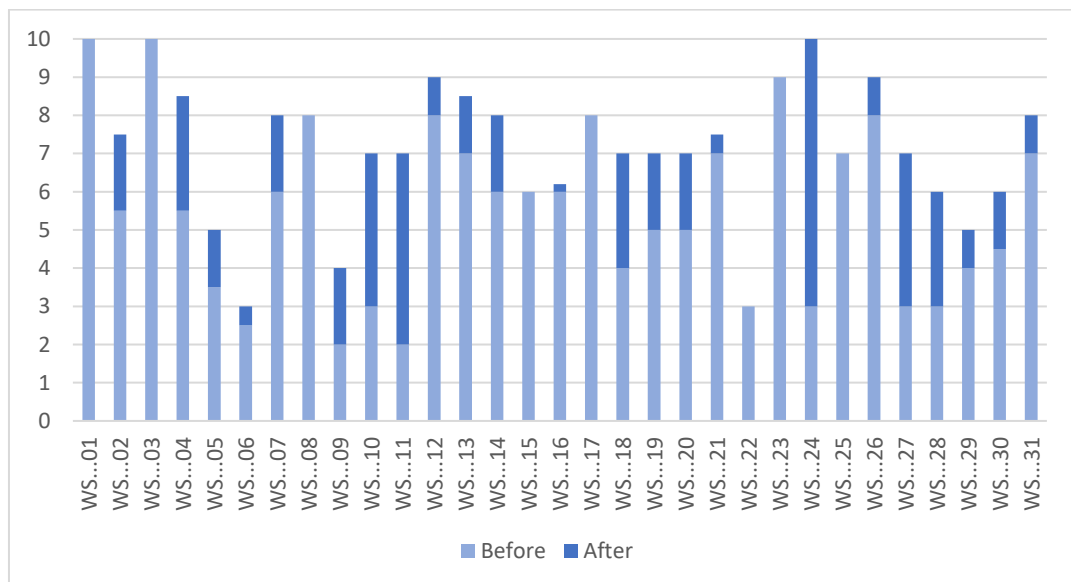
encountering the unexpected – to give their mind some distance from the ‘Before’ sentiments (those questions are touched upon at the end of this section, and into the following). It is at this point where those interviewed were again asked to perform a hypothetical scenario, the same as the last but in a near future rather than past.

It is unsurprising that most participants, when asked to rate their 'understanding' -on a scale from one to ten- all but a few elected to give themselves a higher number 'After' than 'Before'. There was a wide 'understanding' range among those who did not register a change. At the Jorvik Centre, eight participants reported no change; their understanding rated between two to ten. Still, this rating cannot be indicative of an actual failure to learn something new, as participants noted items which they had learned in their visit, and some also reported a change in how they would describe a Viking/Saxon to someone in the future.



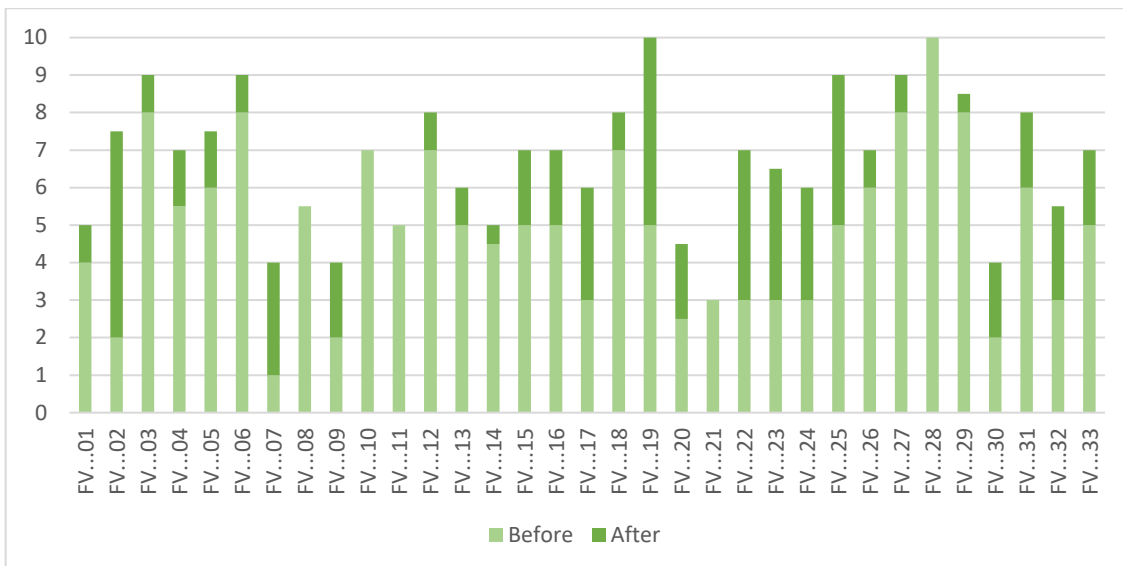
Reported change in participant understanding of Saxons at Jarrow Hall

fig 7.15



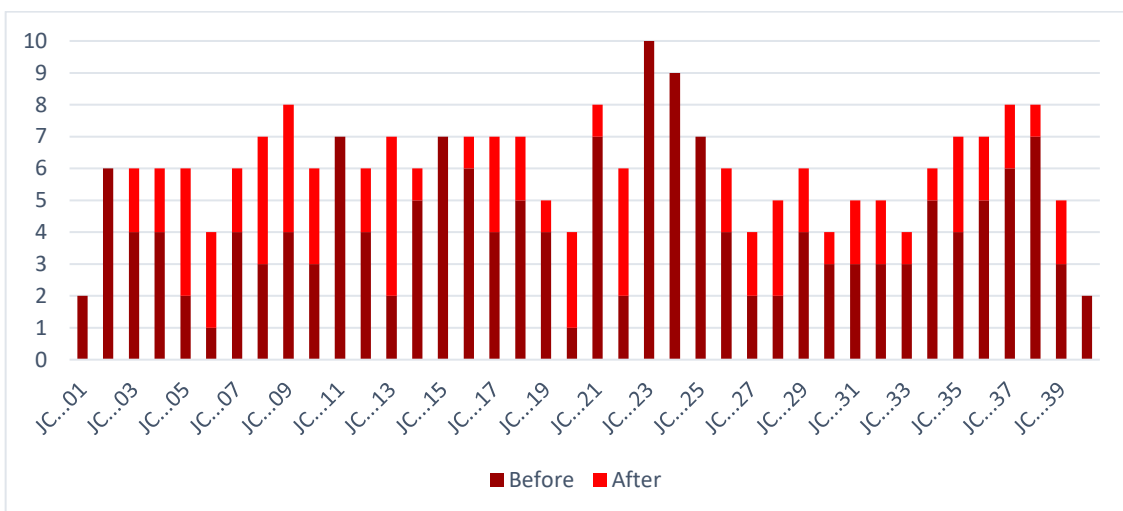
Reported change in participant understanding of Saxons at West Stow

fig 7.16



Reported change in participant understanding of Vikings at Foteviken

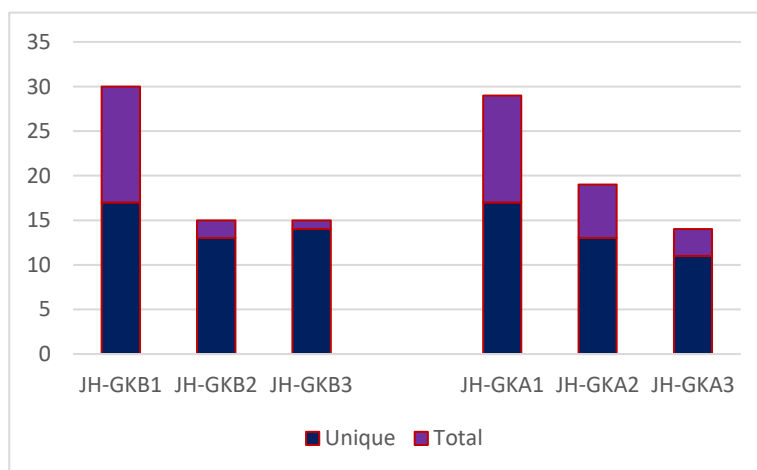
fig 7.17



Reported change in participant understanding of Vikings at Jorvik Centre

fig 7.18

Considering Jarrow Hall first, we come to an immediate deadlock where the three participants who were unable to describe a Saxon still could not after their visit to the site (despite two noting an increased post-visit 'understanding'). Admittedly, two of those said their reason for visiting was the model train event that was being put on. Still, that being the case suggests a failure on the part



Number of total and unique sentiments among participants at Jarrow Hall

fig 7.19

of the institution to engage with a public separate from those who would normally visit an attraction like Jarrow Hall.

Ignoring those participants, addressing the ‘Saxon problem’ was still an

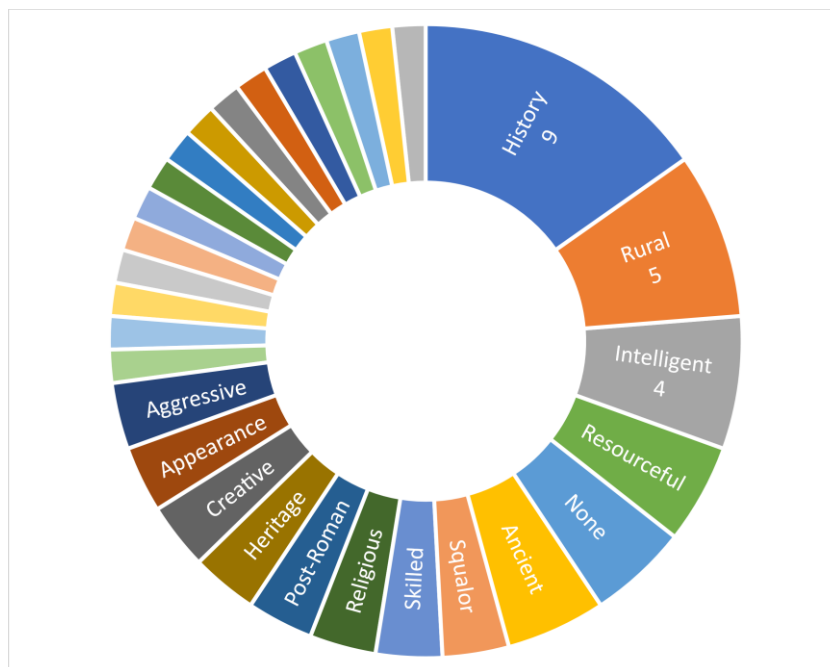
issue. Again, the *History* sentiment took the top position in the first two slots -as it had in GKB1&2- with five and four, respectively (making it the most commonly used among participants here). Here as well, many unique sentiments were offered for each GKA slot, but the frequency of repeated sentiments increased among the ‘After’ responses (fig 7.19). At the most extreme, JH-GKB3 only had one repeated sentiment of fourteen unique, while GKA3 increased to three repeated of eleven.

The sentiment *Intelligent* was absent from the list of GKB’s at Jarrow Hall but appeared twice in each GKA slot. *Rural*, as well appeared in each GKA, totalling five. As was discussed, the *Rural* designation was already one which featured in preconceived notions at both Saxon sites. The presence of a farm at both, then, did little incentive to alter those types of keywords. At Jarrow Hall, though, the accomplishments of the Venerable Bede -scientific and literary- featured prominently (fig 7.20). This was directed at Bede himself, but the quality of intelligence then passed along to Saxons at large. Coinciding with this is that notions of being *Resourceful* and *Creative* emerged with a small increase in frequency.



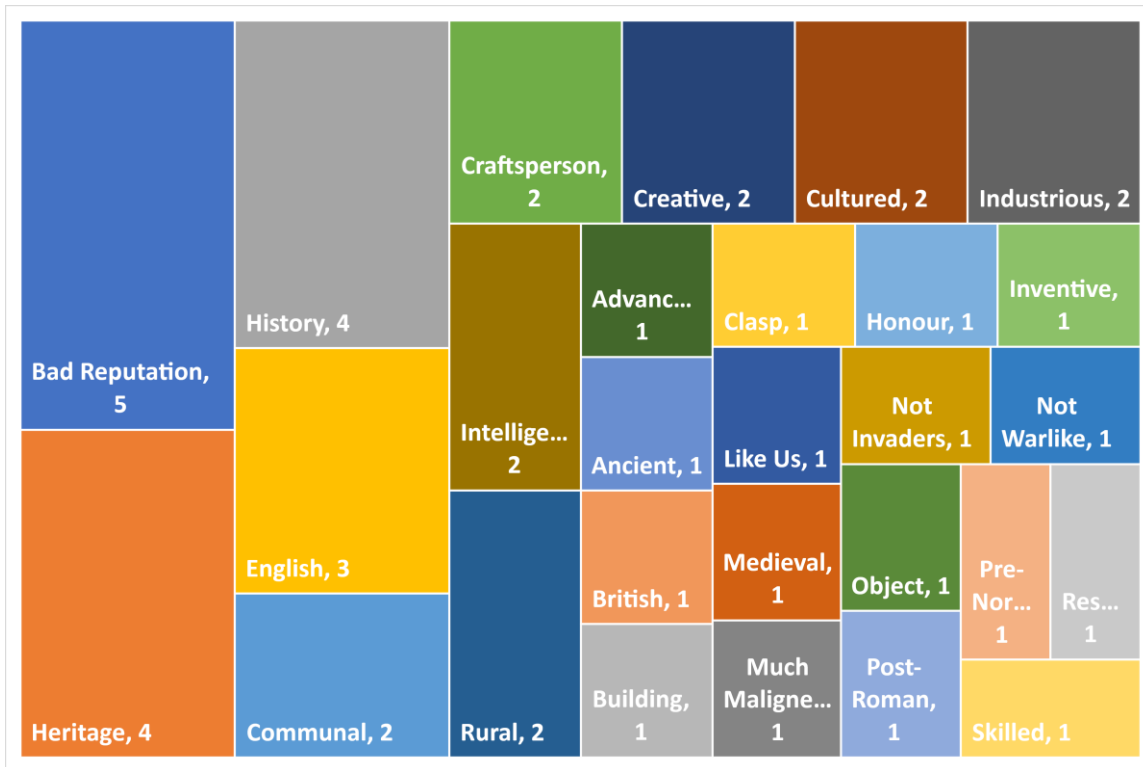
Word clouds illustrating GKB (left) & GKA (right) at Jarrow Hall

fig 7.20



‘After’ sentiments, provided by participants at Jarrow Hall, describing Saxons fig 7.21

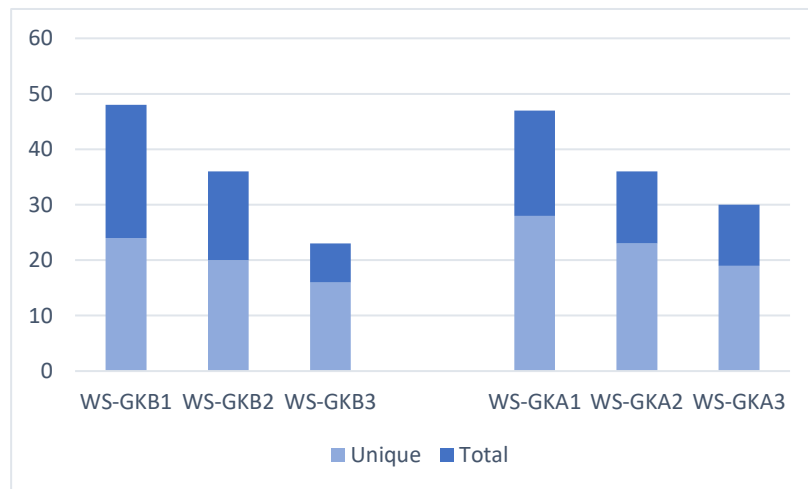
As was noted previously, participants attaching the same sentiments was infrequent, but at West Stow the descriptions of Saxons became more diverse in their ‘After’ responses. Of GKB1 sentiments, 50% were unique, while GKA1 had 59.6% unique, this was repeated in GKB2 against GKA2 with 55.6% and 63.9% unique respectively (fig 7.23).



Initial Greater Keyword (After; GKA1) provided by participants at West Stow

fig 7.22

The first sentiments from the participants remained focused on the placement of Saxons within Englishness, Heritage, and as being of the past (fig 7.22). The first major difference is that these were superseded by the perspective that Saxons have an undeserved reputation, which they decided that they would seek to correct in their future descriptions.

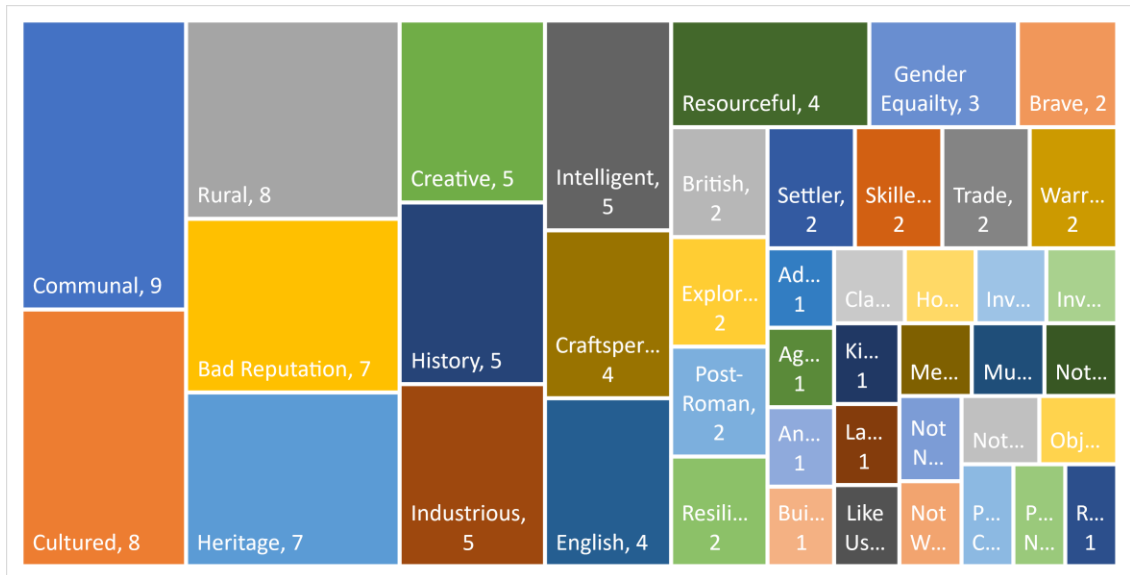


Number of total and unique sentiments among participants at West Stow fig 7.23

This may have shaded the respondents' initial feelings on the topic, but it would be misleading to present this as the dominating sentiment. A total of forty-three sentiments were given by the participants at West Stow. When all GKA's are counted, those initial sentiments give way to another picture. Descriptions of communal lives, and being *Cultured*, *Creative*, *Industrious*, and *Intelligent* came into greater prominence overall. It is unsurprising to see that *Rural* again ranked highly, tied for second with *Cultured*, but the incidences of it dropped significantly between 'Before' and 'After'. The latter sentiment comes with its connotations of being civilized and of forming a society: that is, in opposition to being *Primitive*.

In total, the view of Saxons as being *History*, *Heritage*, and *English* was dominant only in GKA1. After this attachment to the participant, Saxons were fleshed out in ways that then came to

outnumber those nebulous sentiments. It is, though, interesting to consider the implications to these sentiments being reflective of a centred description of the participant, as opposed to the Saxons. That initially respondents most frequently opted to centre themselves within the subject of the 'Saxon', then refine those with lionizing traits like the equally nebulous *Cultured*, and *Industrious* is interesting. But it would be a stretch to place too much of a stress on this without more study.



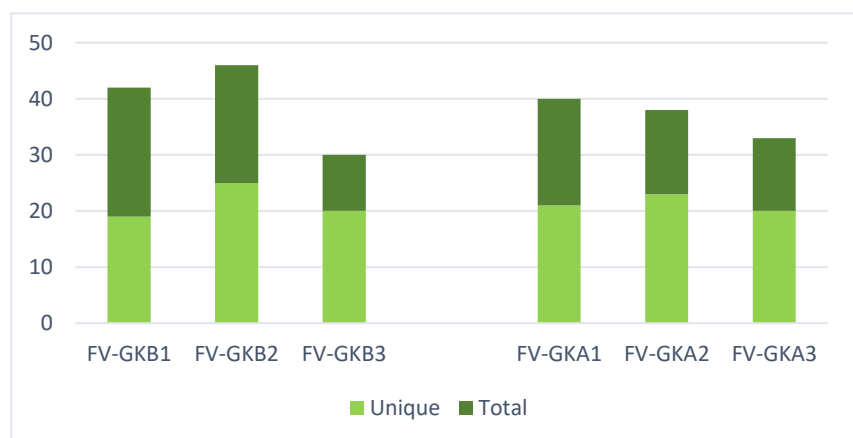
'After' sentiments, provided by participants at West Stow, describing Saxons

fig 7.24

Communal lifestyles became the greatest common sentiment at West Stow, and indeed this is a feature of the narrative of the site – particularly visible when costumed interpreters are active at it. The village is set up as self-contained, with its own blacksmith, farming family, and a central hall. This kind of description is complimentary to *Rural* but places a focus upon interpersonal complexities of a community setting.

Saxons being *Creative*, *Industrious*, *Intelligent*, and *Resourceful* also could be attributed to the activities of the costumed interpreters, of whom spent their time at the site working at the smithy and producing leatherworks and fabrics helped to depict such attributes to visitors. In this way, the site did manage to give an image of the Saxon as a *Communal* and *Rural* person, who is an *Intelligent* and *Creative Craftsperson*. All of which is connected to *Culture* and a *Heritage of Englishness*.

Sentiments of Vikings both 'Before' and 'After' were diverse. At Foteviken, the breakdown between GKB and GKA suggested that the first and secondary descriptions became more diverse (45.2% of GKB1 sentiments were unique, compared to 52.5%

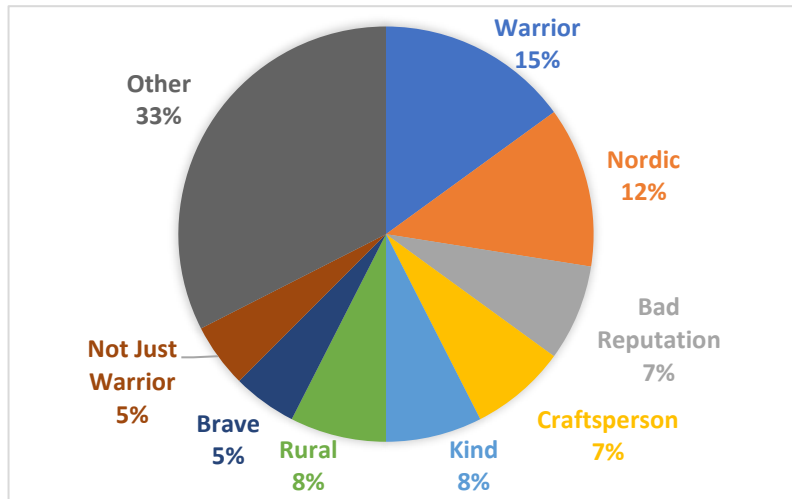


Number of total and unique sentiments among participants at Foteviken

fig 7.25

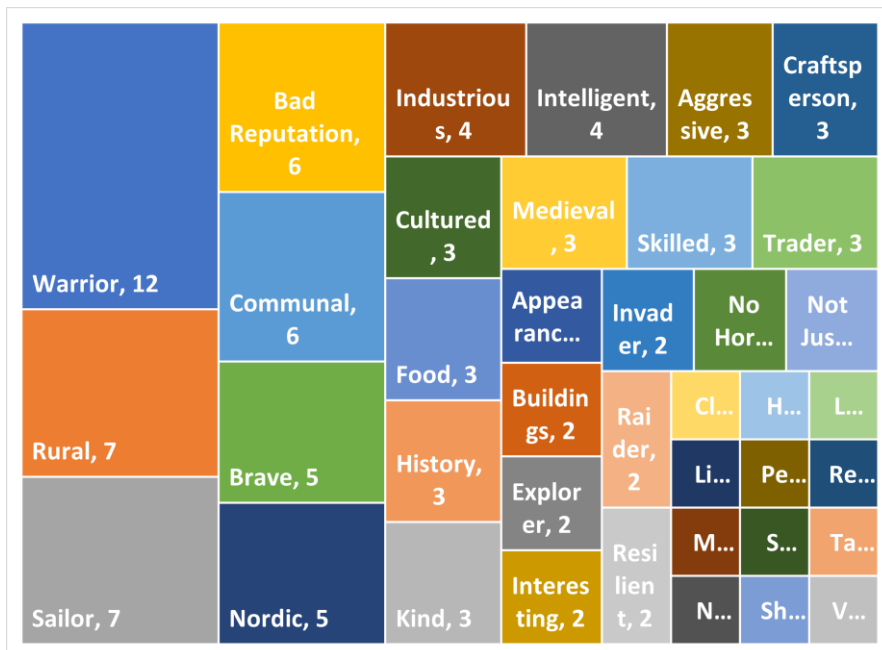
in GKA1). It is interesting to note that despite this, upon examination of the sum of GK's there were an equal number of unique sentiments between 'Before' and 'After'.

Descriptions of Vikings took shape in differing ways. Initially, visitors to Foteviken tended to say that a Viking was a *Warrior* (14 of 114 total sentiments, or 12.3%), *Sailor* (10, or 11.4%), *Aggressive* (8, 7%), *Nordic* (7, or 6.1%), and/or *Raider* (6, or 5.3%). Post-visit sentiments also most often described a Viking as a *Warrior*, albeit at a slightly lower rate than 'Before'. This also occurred in the instances of descriptions of them as being *Sailors* and *Nordic* – these sentiments were voiced many times, but with less frequency than previously. Additionally, sentiments of aggression or piracy which were among the top five preconceived notions fell to 2.7% and 1.8%, respectively. In place of these, *Rural* and *Communal* descriptions appeared. With the site's narrative as a village (defensively encircled as it may be) this is not necessarily unanticipated.



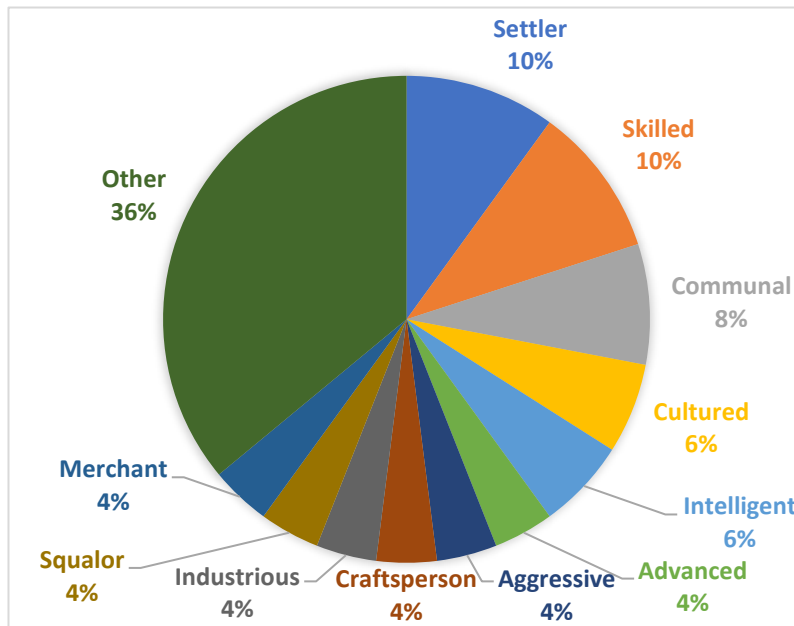
Initial Greater Keyword (After; GKA1) provided by participants at Foteviken
fig 7.26

As in the case of West Stow, initial 'After' responses also had a set of participants who found that Vikings were given a *Bad Reputation*, one that they would try to dispel in their descriptions. In the end, this sentiment tied for the fourth most used, just as Saxons at West Stow.



'After' sentiments, provided by participants at Foteviken, describing Vikings
fig 7.27

How participants chose to describe Vikings 'After' their visit to the Jorvik Centre changed more than those at other sites. For instance, while descriptions of a Viking being *Aggressive* were the single largest response in each GKB (20 in total, or 13.4%), this dropped to 2.3% of the 'After' sentiments. Sentiments from GKA1 placed consideration on Vikings as being *Skilled*, and *Settlers*



Initial Greater Keyword (After; GKA1) provided by participants at Jorvik Centre
fig 7.28

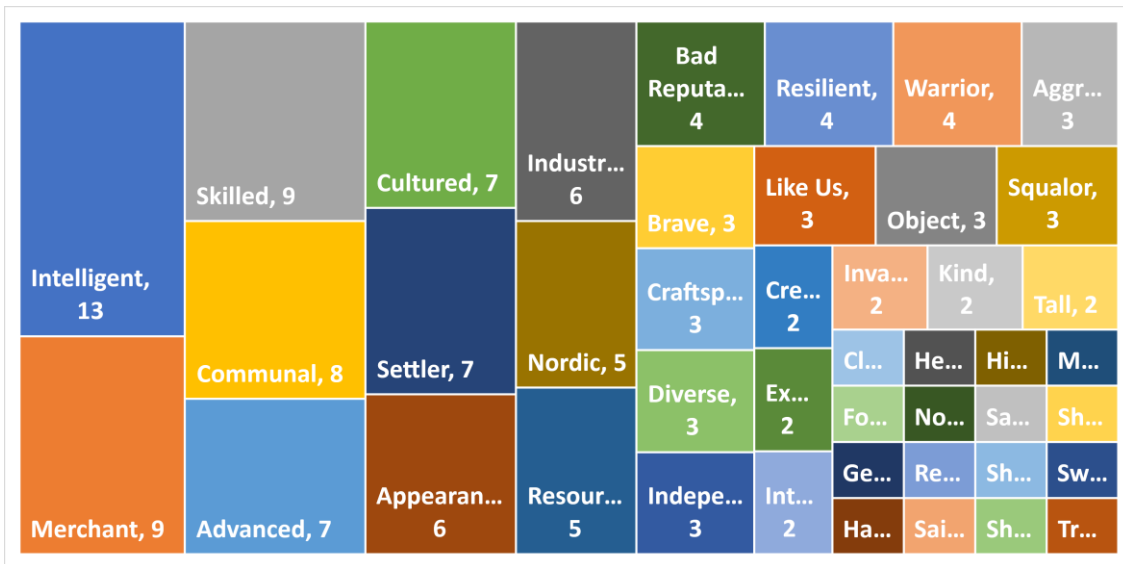
in the United Kingdom, of which were absent in GKB1 -outside of one use of the latter.

In fact, no sentiments given in the 'Before' scenario appear among any of the top seven 'After' descriptions (fig 7.29). The sentiment to break this streak is that which considers Vikings based on their physical *Appearance*.

JC-GKB	Total	JC-GKA	Total
Aggressive	20	Intelligent	13
Warrior	13	Merchant	9
Nordic	11	Skilled	9
Savage	11	Communal	8
Appearance	7	Advanced	7
Raider	6	Cultured	7
Resilient	6	Settler	7

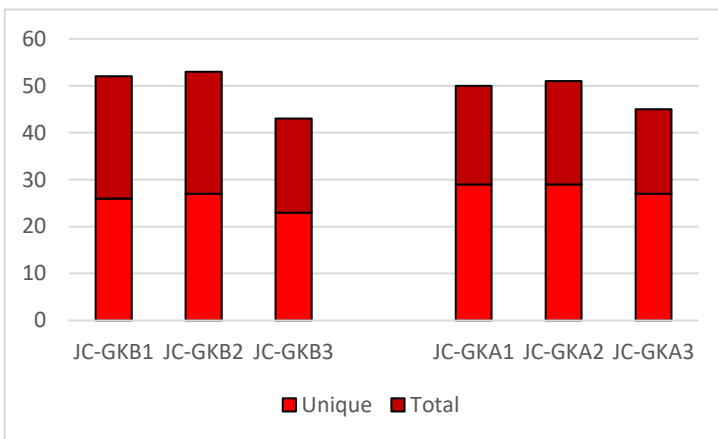
Seven most-used Greater Keywords (Before & After) at Jorvik Centre
fig 7.29

In comparison to Foteviken, the 'Before' descriptions of the Viking were more directly negative: associations with *Aggression* appearing foremost, only to be followed by *Warriors* (at Foteviken, the same connotation followed only after *Warrior* and *Sailor*). The first descriptions of Vikings at Jorvik leaned towards negative, tropic images of the Viking, but their stated views changed radically. And unlike at Foteviken (and West Stow, as well), the participants did not show an investment in specifically addressing these tropes as their 'After' response. Rather, they decided that they would offer descriptions which are significantly different from the ones they may have had in the past. It is interesting that those at Jorvik decided to take an opportunity to re-define Vikings by what they *are* rather than *are not*, instead of offering reactionary descriptions. Meanwhile, the same could not be said among the UK participants at West Stow regarding the Saxon, or even the participants at Foteviken.



'After' sentiments, provided by participants at Jorvik Centre, describing Vikings

fig 7.30



Number of total and unique sentiments among participants at Jorvik Centre

fig 7.31

Differing GKB's were ascribed to Vikings at the sites -though there was an amount of overlap, like considering them Warriors. The GKA's given did place stresses on differing traits (though also with overlap). At Foteviken, the site's core image was of village-life. Still, the image of a *Warrior* was not abandoned, but instead added dimensions onto that trope. Jorvik, conversely, did not humour depictions of the warlike aspects of the 'Viking', and offered a far more cosmopolitan

(unromantically) life. And through these portrayals of the lives of people in 'Viking' York (which was decidedly not Viking by the point in time the attraction chose to depict), images of trade, craftsmanship, and the skills and intellects involved in these practices came to the foreground.

The 'Unchanged'

Most of the interviewees took the opportunity to highlight their 'new' perception of Vikings or Saxons by giving a new set of keywords. This has given them the chance to re-present themselves to me, the interviewer. Again, the entire scenario involves levels of responsibility and give participants a chance to cast themselves as enriched with recent knowledge and viewpoints. Forty-eight of the one-hundred-twenty-five (38.4%) participants did not take this opportunity, and instead decided that they would give the same keywords to someone in the future to describe either Vikings or Saxons.

It cannot be said that those who gave the same keywords did not learn anything. For example: At West Stow, participants voiced learning about buildings of the period and settlements five times, and about different forms of crafting which took place at these sites four times. At Jarrow Hall, two noted buildings in what they had learned, three described 'everyday life' as well as

animals and farming, and one learned more about monastic life. One participant at the Jorvik Centre even recounted learning about the process of C-14 dating (JC.Eng.02). In fact, of the 'Unchanged', only twelve (or thirteen, if we exclude a vague response of 'more clarity' on the subject matter as applicable to 'learning) of those who gave the same keywords did not mention anything they had learned during their visit. Even more, one of those twelve gave an amendment to their 'After' keywords, by saying that they would additionally consider Saxons to be *Skilled* (WS.Eng.14).

Nothing about the 'Unchanged' stands out in comparison to the other participants. They fit within similar age averages, educational spread, and come from the same national backgrounds as the other participant samples. Beyond this, there is a discrepancy between the perceived 'understanding ratings' that the 'unchanged' identified with and the participants at large, typically noting a higher 'Before' rating than the average at each site (fig 7.32). Placing too much confidence in this as evidence of foreknowledge, though, would be misleading.

Site	Total Before	'Unchanged' Before	Total After	'Unchanged' After
WS	5.53	7.13	7.17	7.79
FV	4.94	5.46	6.74	6.85
JH	3.31	3.27	4.81	4.62
JC	4.23	5.3	6.05	6.2

Self-determined 'understanding' ratings of participants and 'Unchanged'
fig 7.32

It is important to interrogate just precisely what perceptions the participants held that made them 'Unchanged' in the first place. For the sake of precision, I will make use of the lesser keywords.

At Foteviken, five of the thirteen 'Unchanged' noted no increase in their understanding rating, while an added four noted an increase of one or less point. At Jorvik: four of the eight noting no change, and three of eight noting a change of one point.

Despite having more participants, Jorvik produced fewer 'Unchanged'. Among those respondents, four gave one or more keywords which was coded as either *Warrior*, *Aggression*, or *Objects* associated with conflict. Of Foteviken's 'Unchanged', seven gave keywords coded into similar Greater Keywords, with an added participant giving a keyword coded as *Raider*.

Foteviken			Jorvik		
GKB1	GKB2	GKB3	GKB1	GKB2	GKB3
Warrior	Fisherman	Hard	Swords	Shields	
Nordic	Runes	Buildings	Settler	Advanced	Community Driven
Warrior	Sailor	Merchant	Traders	Intelligent	
Berserk	No Horns	Simple Life	Normal People	Adventurous	Hardy
Scandinavian	Warrior	Fisherman	Seafaring Nation	Battle-Hardened	Good Craftsmen
Scandinavian	700-1000		Our History	Rus	
Nordic	Warrior	Farmer	Warrior	Empire	Advanced
Seafarer	Explorer	Fascinating	Angry	Scandinavian	Warriors
Pirate	Strong Man	Trader			
Hard Work	Conqueror	Hard Worker			
Mental	Ships				
Warrior	Farmer	Fisherman			
Brave					

'Unchanged' keywords at Foteviken (left) and Jorvik Centre (above)
fig 7.33

Still, six of those at Foteviken who considered Vikings to be *Warriors*, did not limit them to that ‘occupational’ description, and said that they fished, farmed, sailed, and/or traded. Only one at Jorvik similarly did so.

At West Stow, the only directly negative keyword the ‘Unchanged’ offered for Saxons was *Invader* (WS.Eng.03). It is contextualized by following the keyword *Early English*, suggesting that this act of invasion is not one viewed as being enacted by an alien force, but accepting it as a fact instead of a negative sentiment. The narrative of the Early Saxons is one of invasion and settling (as another among the ‘Unchanged’ described) to become the people who *Made England* (WS.Eng.30). Indeed, a total of six keywords expressing the Saxons as being a part of the heritage of the England and/or the United Kingdom were used by four participants. The words used to describe Saxons at West Stow were overwhelmingly positive (fig 7.34).

West Stow		
Keyword B1	Keyword B2	Keyword B3
Early English	Language	National ID
Early English	Invader	
Much Maligned	Poetic	
Dark Ages	Pre-Christian	Farmer
Village	Warrior	Rustic
Our Heritage	Society	Tolerant
Hardworking	Resourceful	Insane
Ancient	Agriculture	Briton
Honour	Cultured	Global Trade
Inventive	Brave	Explorer
Post-Roman	Farmer	Settler
Post-Roman	Made England	1st UK History
Heritage	Positive	Negative
History		

‘Unchanged’ keywords at West Stow
fig 7.34

The ways in which the ‘Unchanged’ participants at Jarrow Hall continued to perceive them is another matter, though. Again, there was only one quality which was openly to be regarded as being negative – the physical attribute of being *Smelly*. But as with other participants at this site, the ‘unchanged’ tended to describe Saxons by their placement within the past. For some, it was the only contribution that they could make towards an explanation (fig 7.35).

Jarrow Hall		
Keyword B1	Keyword B2	Keyword B3
Ancient	Post-Roman	
History		
Heritage	From the Past	
Resourceful	Multi-skilled	Spiritual
Lived Many Years Ago		
Tall	Religious	Farmer
Olden Days	Viking	Bede
Post-Roman Inhabitant of Britain	Monasticism	Vikings
Earthy	Farmers	Warriors
Early English		
Pale	Old	Smelly
Settler	Farmer	
Historic	British Inhabitant	Northern European
Heritage	Positive	Negative
History		

‘Unchanged’ keywords at Jarrow Hall
fig 7.35

Two of the 'Unchanged' at JH described Saxons in relation to Vikings. That is, they would have explained a Saxon in reference to the actions Vikings enacted upon them: the stereotypes of raiding and forcing the Saxons to hide or flee. Indeed, it must be kept in mind that 13 of 21 participants at Jarrow Hall were 'Unchanged'. This reinforces questions about the site's ability to inform visitors and develop new understandings of the past.

Still, the sites may affect perceptions in other ways. Three participants at Jarrow Hall described Saxons in spiritual terms, one specifically using Bede himself as a descriptor. In contrast, at Foteviken and Jorvik, only one person each would have described Vikings as religious before or after, respectively (FV.Eng.33 & JC.Eng.04). At West Stow, Saxons were described once as being 'Pre-Christian' (WS.Eng.08). As was discussed previously in this chapter, locations themselves have an influencing factor. However, the question that is teased out again is the chicken or egg scenario: does the site shape the ways in which a person will perceive peoples of the past, or does a perception of past peoples produce the choice of where and *how* to visit and 'learn'?

Visitors to both Foteviken and Jarrow Hall had vested interests in specifically engaging with the space and their narratives, as what would be called purposeful tourists (McKercher & du Cros 2002). This would then make sense for those subjects to have a formed view of what they would consume, and perceptions which are less plastic. Visitors to West Stow, came from a more mixed group of those who chose to visit based on their interests in the site and those having markings of a serendipitous tourist (loc cit). Certainly, they needed to make a point of traveling to the attraction, but its situation within a country park expanded the purposes that one could have to choose to make a visit. Still, the ways West Stow advertised itself fostered continued attachments of Saxons to being *English Heritage*, from a distant *History*. Jorvik, of the four cases, offered the most direct opportunity to serendipitous tourism, as it is within an urban centre with a large tourism industry (see CH6.6).

Taking the Viking sites as examples, the purposeful visitors to Foteviken were less likely to change their descriptions -even ones that associate them as being *Warriors*. Alternatively, the serendipitous visitors to Jorvik more often changed their description of a Viking. Visitors at the former sites likely came with images of Vikings, and resulting expectations, which were not destabilized by their visit. This is a challenge that others (such as Peers 2007) have noted in their research at AOAMs. Still, that descriptions were not changed by some participants does not translate into a failure at engagement, nor does it suggest that those people did not learn or gain something from their experiences.

7.3 Experiencing, Feeling New Pasts

"What did I learn about Vikings?" the tall black man asked himself again, as his son circled around the chair, the cord of his harness tying around the legs. Focused on the question, he ignored the toddler's antics.

"I really didn't expect to see the skeleton – the Black Viking."

"Oh? And how did that make you feel?"

"You know, it made me feel like I belong here. That people like me have always been here, and we was always mixing together and living together. Like, it confirmed a lot of things that I'd been thinking about, you know?" the toddler grew increasingly animated as the man did, while he spoke. The man had leaned forward in his chair, his leg rocking up and down with frantic energy. It was clear from the beginning that he had something on his mind, something that he wanted to say. In fact, he eagerly approached me -after overhearing a couple opt out of an

interview- and asked if he'd be allowed to participate. "There's no such thing as a 'pure' society or anything. I mean, why do we call this thing or that Roman, or something? When what they got could have been from Persia, or Africa. People have been getting their thoughts, and arts, and technology from all over. I had some suspicions, yeah? And this just made it clear."

Earlier, he had chosen to describe Vikings as an 'Empire'; sailing and settling lands, spreading their influence and societies around. Even though Imperial Rome and the 'Vikings' were markedly different -a fact he stated- they still held an image of empire for him. They were a heritage that he said he was looking at for personal reasons.

One set of bones, hundreds of years old, reminded him that he belongs in the country he was born. And that he always has.

~ ~ ~

If judged by the criteria of altered perceptions through keywords, the young man would fall as another of the 'Unchanged' at Jorvik. However, this is simply not right. The choice of keywords he supported included *Warrior*, *Empire*, and *Advanced*. Despite deciding that he would not change his description, he did in fact have a profound experience with the site and the messages which were narrated by it. His experience is what Cameron and Gatewood termed *numinous*, and other scholars have taken note of -with or without the application of the same terminology (2003, see Latham 2013, 3-5). This participant said that the experience helped to confirm feelings and thoughts which he already possessed, but that having such confirmation was incredibly helpful to his being.

This was not an encounter that brought a dramatic change, divorced from everything else. Experiences and social exchanges can contribute to different ways of thinking and being, if other factors come into play for those who have had the experience. We come from our experiences (taught to us by others, or learned through personal encounter), and bring those to shape our perceptions and further experiences.

This section, then, explores experiences and feelings at each of the sites. It is not only the experiences which are voiced by the participants, but my own as well – as a tourist in my own right. As was done in the earlier chapters, a shift into a more personal narrative tone is taken.

Jarrow Hydra

When the attraction was still Bede's World, re-enactment groups were regularly invited to occupy the village. However, by the time of my research, the same could not be said of Jarrow Hall. The chaotic period between the closure and re-opening did not lend itself to great continuity. Indeed,



Fire pit in 'Thirlings Hall' (2017)

fig 7.36

as was mentioned in the earlier chapter, much of the Friends of Bede's World network did not carry over into the new management. This included the relationships with re-enactors. By my official visit period, Jarrow Hall had been open for over four months and in that time, had only hosted one event with costumed interpreters. In fact, the event which I came for was not even associated with anything connecting Saxons, monastic history, or Jarrow.



Hand lathe in front of 'Thirlings Hall' (2017)

fig 7.37

Rather, it was a model train showcase. I will make more of this shortly.

At the time of my research, no staff members were paid to be costumed interpreters, nor were the farm workers costumed. Groundworks relied on volunteers to populate the village. This was not met with much success, partly because environmental conditions of the buildings were not of the highest quality. The buildings were frequently damp and cold. Additionally, there was not much to do at them outside of wait for visitors, try to tend a fire, or do some rudimentary woodworking (figs 7.36-37). Only one volunteer regularly offered their time for three days out of the week (fig 7.38).

But before getting to the village, you must travel through the main building (and either go through or completely bypass the Bede Museum). This farm life aspect does appear at many AOAMs: the showcasing of heirloom breeds of animals, alongside others



Volunteer costumed interpreter at Jarrow Hall (2017)

fig 7.38

and -often- examples of crops. Half of the staff at Jarrow Hall are employed in this section of the attraction, caring for the animals on a day-to-day basis. And while the buildings that house the animals have been given a façade to fit into an Early Medieval aesthetic, they have been visibly outfitted with modern features such as concrete flooring, screws, 2x4's, and plywood (fig 7.39).

The theatre which is within the village (and its nearby storage sheds) are also in a similar situation, with clearly showing modern building materials. At the same end, the experimental houses to the 'village' were in a state of disrepair, with dirt flooring which had eroded (note wall damage in fig 7.36). The two portions of the site looked incredibly dissimilar, the farming side upkept and structurally sound buildings (albeit through modern method), and the experimental buildings left with large holes in them.



Hand-washing station in farm at Jarro Hall (2017)

fig 7.37

The Bede Museum is, as one could imagine, largely about the monastic world and Bede himself. However, it still does give context into the greater Saxon world and Northumbria (fig 7.40).



Interactive panel showing flow of Angle, Saxon, and Jutish migrations (2017)

fig 7.40

Portions of the Bede Museum were in a state of disrepair during my visit:



Non-working interactive display of stained glass colours (does not illuminate) (2017) fig 7.41



Damaged walls from the removal of the 'Mind of Bede' (2017) fig 7.42



Audio room in 'Mind of Bede' hall with non-functional speakers (2017) fig 7.43

Of course, these aspects did not seem to negatively influence any of the visitor's opinions: nobody raised an issue with the non-working sound in the Bede Museum, nor did they note the concrete floors and metal fencing of the buildings with 'Saxon' façades, or crumbling wattle and daub walls of the reproductions. Visitors did not seem to see this as something needing to be addressed, despite them offering complaints (or compliments) about other services or quality. In fact, most visitors said they were pleased with the site, and several expressed their intention to return (some regularly).

My experience of Jarrow Hall as a destination is that it was not one but three different places. This should not come as a surprise, based on the full-form name of the attraction. Beyond branding, visitor experiences of Saxon heritage are influenced by the three-in-one attraction. Many visitors during my interview days noted that they were only there for the animals, and on those grounds opted-out of interview. I would not take this as an excuse, but as a reality, where a large part of visitors come to see and feed ancient-breed pigs and goats.

As several visitors mentioned of their case, the Bede Museum itself is not necessarily conducive to an experience of learning about the Saxons, Northumbria, or Bede. This does not mean that the museum is not done with thoughtful display. Rather, the museum and farm deliver substantially different experiences, enough so that they are not entirely complementary. The Bede Museum functions as a traditional museum to monastic life and Bede himself, complete with some interactive technologies. However, like the interpretation centres at other AOAMs in this study (West Stow and Foteviken), this one does not attract much attention from visitors. Some were happy to provide commentary from it, but those with younger children either avoided it altogether, or said that they were unable to interact with many of the displays thanks in part to the restlessness of their children.

Lessons and experiences from within the Bede Museum did not greatly feature into the site's farm and village. There certainly was an effort to connect the village through models in the museum, but the same cannot be said of the farm. These disconnects bring me back to the event that was happening during my visit: a model train expo. It is interesting to note that during that weekend, two types of tickets were available: one which gave access to only the expo, and another which gave full access to the entire attraction. And while the number of different tickets was recorded, it is entirely unknown whether people who paid to have full-access had initially visited with only the model trains in mind. That there were many visitors who declined to pay for more than the expo-ticket is not the most promising.

Jarrow Hall is many attractions in one. It is a traditional museum, an experimental building AOAM, and a farming AOAM, all of which are tied together in the time and figure of Bede -if only in somewhat casual ways. Jarrow locals may return to the site to enjoy the animals, and visitors from abroad may have an interest in Bede himself. While on the surface, the drawing in of different crowds is an admirable goal of any attraction, from a standpoint of giving clear narratives or learning experiences of the theme of 'Bede and Saxon/Northumbrian heritage', this has not been the most successful strategy.

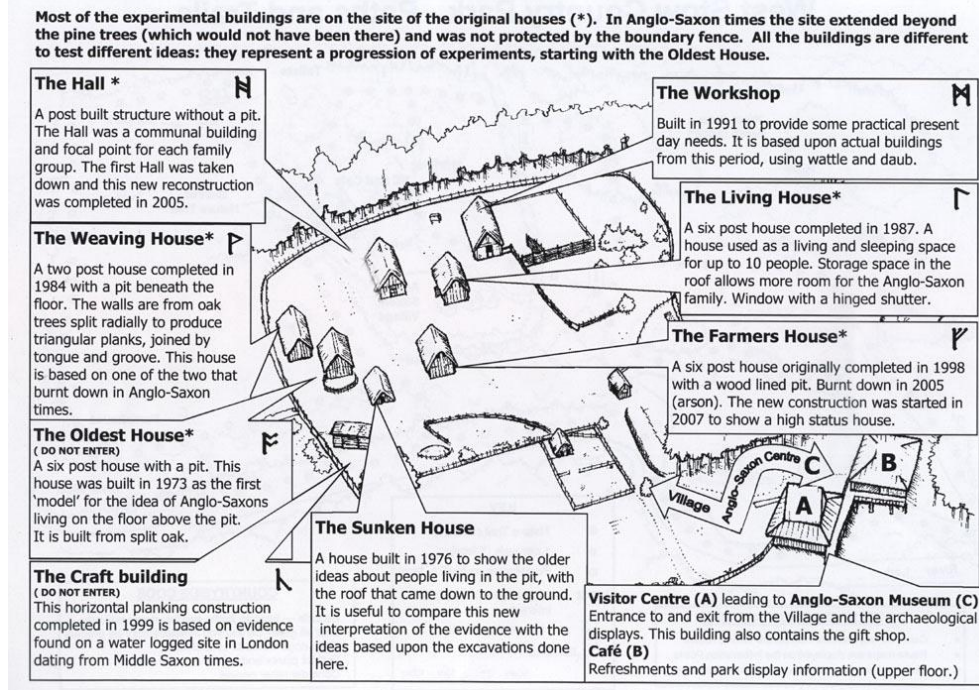
The Village in the Woods

My arrival at West Stow fell in line with a weekend event, a Sun Festival. This event was not themed like the widely attended, ticketed events -Ring Quest and DragonFest- are, but was supposed to be a weekend of Saxon storytelling with a local re-enactment group. While the group did make it for the weekend, the musical storytellers had to cancel. Most of the buildings were populated by interpreters, apart from those that do not meet safety standards, and the

'Sunken' house. They spent their time working at the smithy, working with leather and fabrics, and chatting with visitors to their 'homes'.

The costumed interpreters were from one of several groups which perform at West Stow. These organizations occupy the site on average of once a month. During my visit, there were around a dozen interpreters, most of whom slept in the reconstructed houses over-night.

As had been mentioned previously, the buildings at West Stow have their own identities, each labelled on the map that visitors are provided (fig 7.44). The identity of these buildings, though, did not necessarily coincide with the ways they were used by the interpreters. For instance, work with fabrics and leather took place at the 'Living' and the 'Farmers' House(s), rather than the 'Workshop' or 'Weaving House'.



Map of West Stow with descriptions of buildings (West Stow 2016)

fig 7.44

This was more a decision of practicalities of construction and site traffic, than anything else. At the other buildings, the costumed interpreters could go about their 'days' and showcased activities, while also making use of the layout of the site. The building 'narrative' was not conducive to audiences gathering at all buildings -for instance, the Weaving House. Because of these practical necessities, the 'living' narrative that the costumed interpreters fostered as they occupied the site, was more important to the event than the identities created by the buildings. None of the interpreters, for example, took a persona that would have placed them as the owner of the house they were at. In this way, the site was one of a communal nature, where the people present were closer to occupants than to 'owners'.

The presence of the costumed interpreters also played a role in passing along the sentiment that there was *Gender Equality* (relatively) among the Saxons: that women were not passive and could own land. This is a message that women within the interpretation group gave visitors, and one that translated into three participants offering it as part of their 'After' viewpoint.

Only two of the participants did not give a response when asked what they had learned (while another two simply said 'A lot'). The majority of thing 'learned' was object-based (only twelve of twenty-eight did not directly mention an object that was not food). Seven of the twenty-eight learned about food and subsistence. Previous research at visitor questions at AOAMs has shown

an occupation with learning about objects -the tangible- as a strategy of trying to support an interaction that avoids discomfort (Peers 2007). That the Brexit vote took place a little over a week prior to the event is worth considering; some visitors bringing it up during our conversations. West Suffolk's merged districts voted to Leave the EU: Forest Heath, 65%; St Edmundsbury, 56.6% (BBC 2018). But it cannot be confidently said that participants may have focused on objects to similarly avoid uncomfortable conversations. And yet, while four participants would have described Saxons as *Settlers 'Before'*, only two decided they would continue to do so, and only one participant said that they had learned anything about where Saxons came from (WSEng.09).

However, it should not be hastily said that interpreters have not engaged in the contested nature of the Saxons. Clearly, that some of the participants described that they had learned about 'Strong Women' suggests that conversation was not limited to objects. In another instance, the manager of West Stow, Lance Alexander, described an interaction that the group had with a white nationalist. The man had a shaved head and was covered in tattoos evoking themes that resonate with white nationalism: namely Nazi iconography, and Medieval Scandinavian and Saxon symbols -which inspired much of the former's symbolism (see ADL 2017 for examples). During the visit, this man engaged with the costumed interpreters who strongly advanced a narrative of the migration of 'Saxon' people. By the end of his time at the attraction, the man spoke to Mr. Alexander and voiced regret and shame for his appearance. Of course, this can only serve as an anecdote.

This does, though, have reflections in the ethnographic research. When Peers (2007) carried out her work among First Nations interpreters at 'Frontier' AOAMs in Anglo-America, their experiences of reacting to coloniality were nuanced. Among the interactions, were people who casually made whooping noises upon sight of the Indigenous camps (called 'that white kid noise' by many interpreters) to those who spoke in broken English or casually used racial slurs to interpreters. Meanwhile colonial spaces like Plymouth Plantation and Williamsburg, have faced similarly charged scenes surrounding the lives of enslaved people and people depicting a time before their nations were genocidally massacred by their settler 'neighbours' (see CH3.5).

In the end, these stereotypes and racially charged interactions were addressed by interpreters who were committed to decolonizing, either as an intended outline of the narratives at the AOAMs they worked at, or out of a necessity to raise the voices of their own marginalized heritages and pasts. It is a commitment that cannot be done one weekend a month. It is an issue that West Stow is not inhabited often, and not by the same groups. The buildings cannot speak of decolonial pasts alone. Only by breathing life into the site, and committing to sharing multiple histories that challenging singular, conventionally accepted narratives could West Stow potentially be a viable foundation of decolonial options.

Sixteen Minutes in Jorvik

Even on a crisp and overcast weekend in September, the queue to get into the Jorvik Centre was backed up beyond St Mary's Church -which translated to around a forty-five-minute wait for those nearing the end. To help pass the time, visitors were periodically accompanied by costumed interpreters. Despite the wait, only one participant voiced their disappointment at the wait. Of the participants, eighteen voiced something they disliked -half of these about their length of visit being too short and a desire for more. And it is true enough that Jorvik had the shortest average visit duration, by a wide margin (see fig 6.30), of sixty-three and a half minutes. As the previous chapter discussed, people tended to consider the price they paid for their time to be 'fair' or 'too high': none offered that they would be willing to pay more for their

experience. Still, like at the other sites, the visitors rated their experience overwhelmingly positively.

So, what did they get for their money?

Jorvik can be divided into three distinct parts: the Coppergate Excavation replica (fig 7.45), the Ride through Viking York, and the Artefacts Hall.



Coppergate excavation replica (2018) fig 7.45



Walls of Coppergate replica room, playing video about the excavation (2018) fig 7.46

The first room functions as an orientation lobby for visitors to learn about the excavation which took place that led to the creation of the Jorvik Centre. Here, the floor replicates how the buildings would have appeared during an archaeological excavation. It makes up nearly the entire floor of this room. This has not changed since prior to the flooding. What has changed, however, are the displays on the walls

(fig 7.46). What had previously given information about the Vikings themselves, it has been reimagined to consider the ways the Coppergate dig affected people. Stories from those who had witnessed the excavation itself, from archaeologists to members of the public who lived in York or came to pay the admittance to watch the dig, were gathered by JORVIK and showcased. It is a process that they intend on continuing.

The visitors, upon entering this room are not typically left to their own designs. They are met by an interpreter who describes to them what they are looking at, and what they should expect on

their visit. Once this has been completed, they are left to walk around while the queue to get onto the Ride dwindles.

Suspended cars (holding up to six people) take visitors through Viking York. These serve as a guide, complete with a narration in fourteen languages, for a sixteen-minute tour (previously ten). The car takes visitors 'through time' until they arrive in the year 10960 HE -six years after the death of the last independent (and Viking) ruler of Northumbria: Erik Haraldsson (Bloodaxe). In a way which in the previous iteration of the Centre was reminiscent of Jurassic Park, each car is welcomed to Jorvik.

Within the reconstruction, a population of animatronic people and animals carry out their daily lives. Among this robotic populace, since the flood revival project, multiple languages can be heard in the settlement (which is made explicit to visitors). This includes languages that would have been spoken in Great Britain then, including an Arabic speaker. This person is one of the first encountered in the Ride (fig 7.47) and is inspired by the human remains that visitors called the 'Black Viking'. It is interesting to note that other people and objects on display in the Artefacts Hall are called back to in the Ride. In this case, though, the pairing is not directly made.



'The Arab' (2018)

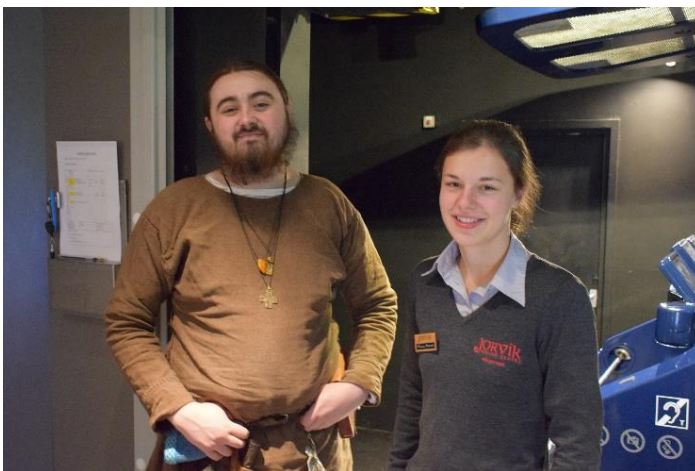
fig 7.47

Through the tour of Jorvik, several scenes play out, each uniformly narrated (to the best approximation across languages, as well). Here, information is passed along in multiple ways: auditory, visually, and olfactory. This is of course the same at other AOAMs, however here the



The system used at Jorvik Centre to produce and emanate smells on site (2018) *fig 7.48*

strategies are done through technology. The narration is a machine (which is supplemented by a viewing screen), the costumed interpreters are as well. The scents at the site are emitted by a central system that vaporises smell-producing liquids as used in theatre performances (fig 7.48).



A member of staff in costume (left) and volunteer in Jorvik uniform (right) (2018) *fig 7.49*

Once through the Ride, visitors enter the Artefacts Hall. Here, interpreters again appear, both costumed as Vikings and in the JORVIK staff uniform (fig 7.49). This section is host to real artefacts and biofacts in displays. It also has several interactive and technological elements (fig 7.50). There are stations for JORVIK interpreters to engage visitors with artefacts, and costumed interpreters to create replica coins that are available for sale.



Boxes of artefacts for visitor engagement, with projector in the distance (2018) *fig 7.50*

Visitors can move around the room as they like, it even is of an open plan which lets those who do not wish to engage at all to leave quickly. This layout does come with the side effect that displays are cherrypicked by necessity. At peak times, the room can be rather crowded, and moving from one side of the room (left or right walls) may not be the most straightforward thing. At a bottleneck (fig 7.51) in the path (resulting from the building setup), a trio of displays have been placed -ostensibly to combat heavy traffic resulting in missing out on engagement. This set-up, however, misses that very goal and results in creating more problems than it fixes.



The bottleneck in Jorvik's artefact gallery (2018)

fig 7.51

On the right-hand side of the path, there are displays holding human remains: one biologically female, the other male. The female set of remains not only come with an interpretation card, but also interactive technology, where visitors can move a three-dimensional rendering of the skeleton on a screen (fig 7.52). The other only has an interpretive card with it (fig 7.56-7).



The human remains on the right side of the bottleneck (2018)

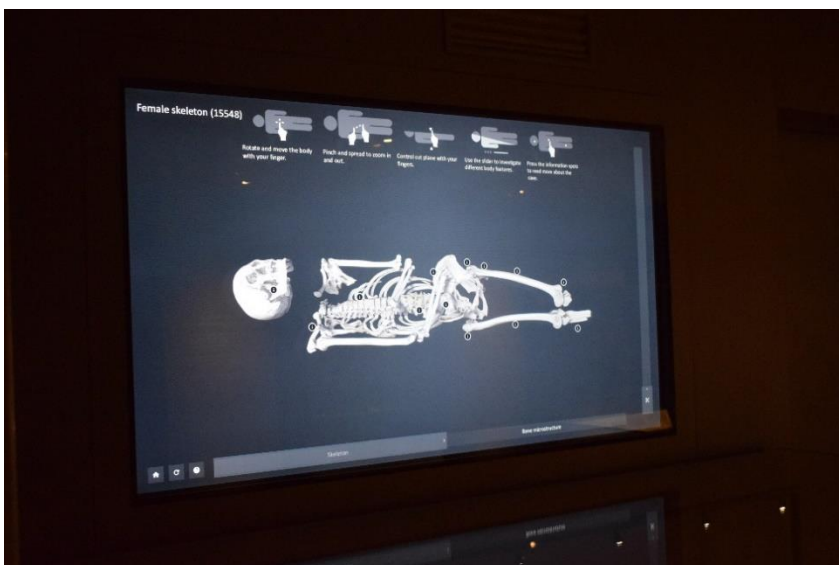
fig 7.52



The Ride's depiction of 'The Coppergate Woman' (2018) fig 7.53



'The Coppergate Woman' on display in Jorvik's Artefacts Hall (2018) fig 7.54

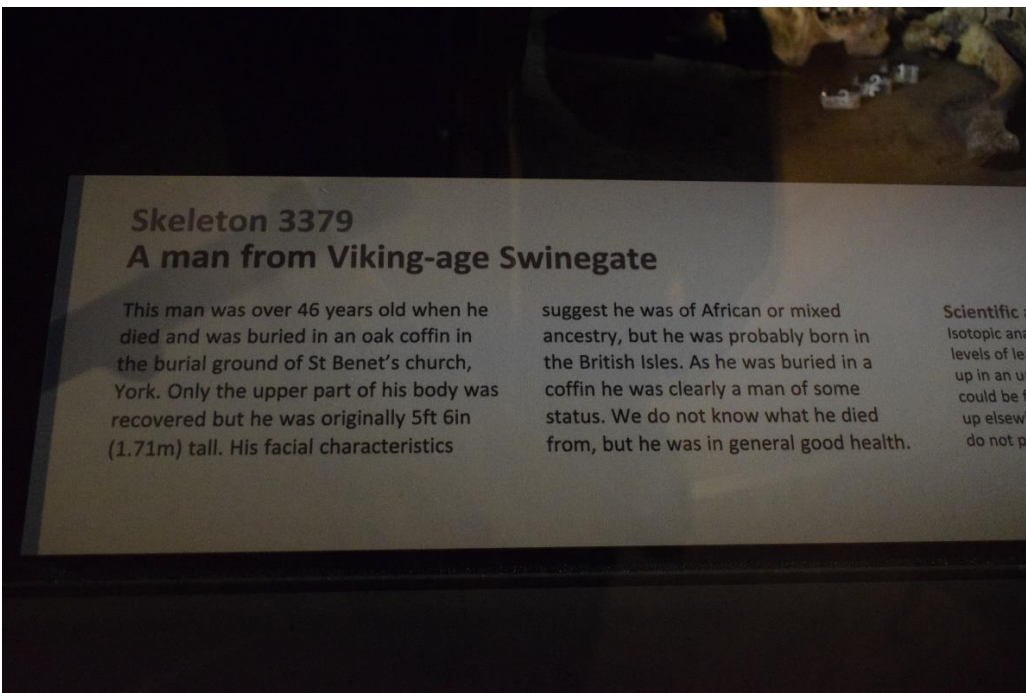


Interactive 3D display featuring the remains of 'The Coppergate Woman' (2018) fig 7.55



The 'Black Viking' on display in Jorvik's Artefacts Hall (2018)

fig 7.56



Informational card stating the ancestry of 'Black Viking' (2018)

fig 7.57



One of the animatronic Vikings using the toilet (2018)

fig 7.58

On the opposite side of the path, is a display containing the (in)famous ‘viking poo’ (fig 7.59) – a coprolite which is frequently mentioned by the staff in the first section of the attraction. It is presented as an item of great interest for the rather ... earthy value of it. It was mentioned twice as something that surprised participants, one of whom spoke at length about the ‘massive shit’ (JC.Eng.07).



Coprolite frequently called ‘The Viking Poo’ (2018)

fig 7.59

Everything in this section of the Artefacts Hall have been linked to a scene in the Ride. One is done explicitly: the ‘Coppergate Woman’ (fig 7.53); the ‘viking poo’ more casually so (fig 7.58). But as mentioned, the ‘Black Viking’ only makes the most marginal of an appearance as a hypothetical foreign Arabic trader (fig 7.47). This is not directly stated, nor does it match the narrative of the human remains. And this representation does no justice.

The only participants who spoke at all about the ‘Black Viking’ (a label Jorvik did not place upon this person, it must be stressed) were black and brown people. There were, in the end, as many participants who commented upon the coprolite as on this person.

To the participants, the ‘Black Viking’ served as both a feature of surprise and one of learning. The feelings which these remains gave to the participants were “Confirmation that I belong [in the United Kingdom]” (JC.Eng.33), and that it “Impacted me very much” (JC.Eng.37). Meanwhile, the ‘viking poo’ did not serve as an educational experience for visitors – as it was not voiced in any part of what they had learned about. Rather, it only came up as something which they had not expected, and something that caused shock in them (JC.Eng.19).

Conversely, the ‘Black Viking’ helps provide a service to brown and black people, eliciting feelings that they belong in the United Kingdom. But the treatment of these remains still speaks to coloniality, it still speaks to brown and black bodies in the margins. The ‘Black Viking’ is, himself, spoken over by the surrounding displays: both having a greater draw through sensationalism or interactivity. Bluntly: the display of human waste is privileged over the display of a non-white body. The proxy in the Ride is quite literally on the outside of the settlement, even more on the margins of the town than a man beating a slave. This proxy, based on the

narrative of the Ride does the opposite of tell the story of the 'Black Viking'. He is still a foreigner, not somebody who lived their whole life in what is currently the UK.

No institution is perfect. Much of the issue with the 'Black Viking' can be summed up to logistical matters in layout and a well-intentioned effort to work within those bounds. Additionally, isotopic data on this person and their origins were not completed until after the animatronic figure was in production (Tuckley pers com).



The organization is aware of the perception that *The Ride's scene depicting slavery (2018)*

fig 7.60

some visitors have voiced wherein they have felt the Ride's depiction of slavery (fig 7.60) as a normalization or sensationalization of gendered violence. Currently there is limited physical evidence of slavery in the Viking world, but with contemporary record of the practice being widespread, it is a short intuitive leap to suggest that it happened, in York as well. Historically, there is Ibn Fadhlān's account of the ritual sexual violence and killing of slave-women during a Rūsiyyah chieftain's funeral (see Montgomery 2000). In the study of ancient DNA, there is data that could point towards Iceland's 'founding mothers' being slaves (Helgason et al 2000). While evidence supporting creation of the scene -a man physically abusing a female slave- is arguable, the interpretive team of YAT felt confident in it: to vocalize what is likely a very real scenario in the Viking Age (and one with a modern counterpart in sex-trafficking). And yet, the proxy of the 'Black Viking' was conceived of as foreign. Furthermore, his insertion in close proximity to the slavery scene (albeit being placed more marginally than it) could conjure tropes of Arabs as slave-traders (Ridouani 2011), particularly considering that the displays speak of migrants and slavery together.



'The Arab' & the slave scene in close proximity (2018)

fig 7.61

These depictions and representations may well have missed the mark, but it would be unfair to say that Jorvik failed. Its commitment to challenging beliefs and telling interesting stories of the 'Viking Age' is earnest -if sometimes imperfect. Still, its messages and narrative produced strong results. As was already discussed, the change in visitor perceptions of 'Vikings' here was significant. Not only this, but participants voiced learning was not uniform. Objects and their place in 'Viking' society did make up the answers to many of the participants, but there was a bigger focus on the human aspects of this period (e.g. hygiene, status as settlers, and cultural exchanges). It should not be discounted that only one participant (JC.Eng.23) felt they had not learned anything from their visit.

The tour that Jorvik provides visitors may be uniform during the Ride, but their experiences emerge in different ways. Visitors walked away from their brief time, having learned many things, and having had their views -according to them- re-shaped. Some visitors left having learned about archaeology, and some with words that affirmed their existences. They may have all come into the same Ride which told them the exact same thing, but interactions with displays and the costumed interpreters served to augment the uniformity, and deepened some experiences.

To Live & Die on the Viking Reserve

My experience of Foteviken was incredibly different from that at any of the other sites. As was mentioned previously (CH5&6) about this AOAM's strategy to keep the settlement occupied by costumed interpreters, people from all over the world buy into a scheme where they can stay on the property for free and serve as a costumed interpreter during the day. This facet of Foteviken presents an interesting dimension to the visitor experience.

Populating the site is done through several methods. First are the staff (around seven) who run the daily operations. Secondly are the youths who participate in the job-experience scheme. Finally, are visitors who also take part as costumed interpreters. Each are provided clothing and a manual to train by and shadowed by a member of SVEG. During my time here, there was an added feature of an actor -who tours through Scandinavia- who will be called the Skald. It is an identity he adopted to serve as a storyteller and facilitator at the site.



Map of Foteviken (Foteviken nd)

fig 7.62

Identity plays an interesting role at Foteviken. At AOAMs, identity of buildings is an often-occurring device. At sites like Foteviken and West Stow, identity is sheathed in a nameless figure identified only by their community function. At other sites, like Schoenbrunn Village in Ohio, the buildings are given an identity by their attachment to specific people (Ohio History Connection 2018). Those styles of sites often take their identities from historical documentation, regardless of whether or not costumed interpreters play those roles (Schoenbrunn, for example, was a frontier mission historically occupied by Moravian Lenape people, but the AOAM is not).

Places like Foteviken have no real history to attach to, as they are not reconstructions of former, historically attested settlements. And despite the reconstructed cairn and standing stones having dedicated names ('Cairn of Fote', 'Stones of Hola') and the members of SVEG who work at Foteviken having identities (such as King Björn), none of the buildings latch onto this fabricated history. In fact, the entire site comes with a story, set recently after the Battle of Foteviken (11134HE) and with a ruler who has converted to Christianity. The settlement itself was imagined as the set of a movie: a place to tell stories.

In the same spirit as other AOAMs (such as Colonial Williamsburg, in particular), Foteviken has a scheduled set of vignettes performed at the same times daily. Each scene depicts an aspect of life within the settlement: health, taxation, slavery and punishment. Many of these are presented in a more-or-less humorous light, and several include direct interaction and reference to the visitors. Unlike Williamsburg's Revolutionary City Program (see Teunissen 2016, 127-180), the scenes at Foteviken were not created to re-tell the unfolding events leading to a pivotal point in the history of the region. Instead, they simply highlighted more mundane happenings.

The Toothache: 11.00

One of the Vikings walks around the town, complaining of a hurting tooth. Finally, they reach the centre of the settlement (between the Ting Hall and Cookhouse) where they are met by the Skald who examines the afflicted tooth, only to decide that they must visit the blacksmith to remove it. It plays out as a humorous morality play to remind children to brush their teeth.



Costumed interpreter walks around Foteviken complaining of a toothache (2016)

fig 7.63



*A Viking presents
blacksmith's tools to extract
the rotten tooth (2016)
fig 7.64*



*The tooth is extracted (2016)
fig 7.65*



*The Skald shows gathered
visitors the tooth, to remind
them to brush their teeth
(2016) fig 7.66*

Taxation: 12.00

With a loud call, the Skald walks through the settlement with an armed company who carry a chest. He announces that they are collecting taxes. Reluctantly, the other Vikings place goods into the chest, and the Skald briskly demands payment from visitors. Failure to 'pay' may result in children in the family being 'taken' as 'thralls' to help gather the taxes. This is the first time that slavery directly mentioned.



The Skald and a 'huscarl' with a chest, collecting taxes for the king (2016)

fig 7.67



The Skald tries to collect taxes from the visitors (2016)

fig 7.68



The blacksmith pays his taxes (2016)

fig 7.69



Pestilence Victim: 13.00

A staggering and weak thrall makes their way around town, coughing and sputtering their way towards Ting Hall. Moments later, another enters the hall and discovers that they have died.

The person, it is announced, has died of 'Pest' and is carted out beyond the walls.

*The dead Viking is carried out of Ting Hall (2016)
fig 7.70*



After announcing death by 'pest', a Viking takes the dead's shoes to re-use (2016)

fig 7.71



The dead is taken out of Foteviken (2016)

fig 7.72

The Wounded Leg: 14.00

A sudden scream from the bakery is followed by one of the thralls in the settlement limping out into the centre with a wound. One of the Vikings declares that the cut will be infected, and so it would be best to remove the leg. Before this happens, a Viking woman stops them and insists that she can use herbs as medicine to heal the wound.



The Viking woman (left) stops the Skald (right) from removing the thrall's leg (2016)

fig 7.73



Vikings debate the loss of the thrall's value if the leg is removed, while the Viking woman administers a healing poultice to the wound (2016) fig 7.74



The Viking woman helps the thrall to a building to rest (2016) fig 7.75

The Escaped Thrall: 15.00

An angry Viking walks through the town asking people if they have seen his thrall. Visitors and other Vikings are told by the Skald to find the runaway – who is wearing a red cap. Once caught, the screaming thrall is brought before the Skald and owner and taken to the square where their punishment awaits them. The Skald discusses what the thrall has done wrong. This scene, while starting out as a game of hide-and-seek, turns into a deeper discussion with the audience about cultural differences and a brief confrontation of inheritances of slavery and dehumanization.



The escaped thrall is found by one of the visitors (2016)

fig 7.76



The escaped thrall flees capture (2016)

fig 7.77



The thrall is caught and processed through Foteviken (2016) fig 7.78



The thrall struggles as she is placed in a pillory (2016) fig 7.79



The Skald tells the visitors about punishing the thrall for attempting to escape (2016) fig 7.80



The crowd of visitors grow uncomfortable (2016)

fig 7.81



The Skald asks visitors if they would be willing to take on the punishment (2016)

fig 7.82



A visitor agrees to take the thrall's punishment (2016)

fig 7.83



A visitor agrees to take the thrall's punishment (2016)

fig 7.84



After the scene, a visitor examines the pillory (2016)

fig 7.85



After the scene, a visitor tries on a piece of equipment for punishment (2016)

fig 7.86

The end of the day is filled with some of the Vikings playing a game of *kubb* (a lawn game claimed to originate in the 'Viking Age'). As with the vignettes, visitor participation is encouraged, and people are invited to play the game as Foteviken closes. The daily schedule is created to entertain and include visitors, as well as to give some educational insight. The subject of thralldom is approached in a matter-of-fact fashion. Of course, the subject of slavery of Europeans by Europeans is a different matter than the systematic enslavement of black and Indigenous bodies. It is an entertaining approach to a topic which simply cannot be carried out in other scenarios. The vignette was late in the day, making it unfeasible to determine the learning outcomes of the slavery scene through interviews. Witnessing the scene play out and the visitors' interactions, however, suggests that what started out as an entertaining game of hide-and-seek became something altogether different, dark, and uncomfortable. Visitors shifted awkwardly as they were told of the punishment that would be inflicted upon the thrall -who they were complicit in the hunting of. Many voiced a desire to let the thrall go, but few were willing to change places -even in a staged environment. Their participation in dehumanization and apprehension to stand up against it perhaps taught visitors more about themselves than they bargained for.

The visitor's previous notions shifted (as discussed earlier), and twenty-three of thirty-three participants expressed that they had learned something. As at West Stow, visitors most often described this in terms of objects (ten of twenty-three), but other learning and connections were noted by the visitors. Four learned about culture like story-telling, games, burial, and art. Another pair learned about historic events, four participant noted learning something that defied their image of a Viking (e.g. horns, and being warlike), and six identified learning about the daily lives at home, be that farming, fishing, or manual labour in general. One participant even connected the life of Vikings to how he grew up in Ireland, all through a massive cooking pot similar to one his mother had (FV.Eng.21).

This human touch that Foteviken gives helps make an enjoyable experience. Not only that, but it provides unique options to visitors. Not only can they undertake their tour in a typical form - with the interactivity that comes with it- but visitors can also become the attraction. They can engage with 'vikingness' while being the interpreters for other visitors. During my stay, I served as a visitor/costumed-interpreter alongside a German chef, a Swedish teacher and her children, and a Swedish retiree. The teacher felt that the experience would be a wonderful learning opportunity for her children, while the chef came across the site serendipitously while backpacking. Each of these people came to the site with their own interests in the 'Viking', and were allowed there to further explore this. Additionally, Foteviken hosted refugees from the Syrian Civil War (who still lived at the site at the time of my research). Some of these people also chose to serve as interpreters for a time (Jakobsen pers com). It is a matter of inclusion and engagement somewhat evocative of the Multaka project in Berlin where refugees are trained as museums guides (2018). Conversely, the participants in the 'Ung i Sommar' job-experience might not have come to Foteviken with an interest in Vikings, as they have limited control over their prospective job options.

It is an interesting approach to solving an issue that AOAMs often face: populating a site while facing limited budgets and offering people options to engage with heritage (perhaps not their own) in ways that might not have been thinkable to them. Not every site can function like a Jorvik Centre, which was a multi-million-pound construction. It is also a way in which people can connect to 'vikingness', with the view of Foteviken being that anybody can be a Viking.

7.4 Decolonial Spirits of Heritage

The Austrian marketing executive confided that he had found the village a little unsettling. It felt haunted to him. Perhaps not literally so, then again maybe so. Many of the buildings stood lifeless and seemingly abandoned, with cobwebs on beds and bowls that should have been in use every day. Time stood still in this place, and the costumed interpreters were more phantom than physical.

His children happily played kubb with those spectres and he laughed as his focus shifted away from me and the building we sat beside. The experience in the village, while ethereal for him, was still enjoyable; though he wished for more life. After a moment, he returned his attention to me and continued, again becoming the professional. He ignored the sand-flies and the glare of the sun as we continued our interview.

As the last pin was felled and the respective team celebrated, the father-less the marketing professional- stood up and shook my hand before calling in German to his family. He wished me luck on my research and gathered his kids, asking them if they had a good time before they all offered their farewells to myself and the phantoms of Foteviken.

Foteviken may have seemed haunted to him, but it was also like an otherworld: a place plucked out of time and charged with an ethereal quality. Figures slipped in and out of the 'real' world, and into this imagined place and imagined time. And while the site itself was stationary, those who pierced that veil into this otherworld could come out again. Whether they sought out that realm for entertainment, or as part of something closer to their own spirits was unknown. But in visiting that world, among the phantoms of the past, they could return with a piece of it.

Heritage is haunted. I do not believe that is a controversial statement. It is imbued with spirits (perhaps somewhat translatable to emotions) of the past, and those very spirits still can affect those who cross into the territories where these powers live -which is not few, nor necessarily set. Is not, then, reconstructing a landscape or village an act of building an arena for these spirits to gather, a place which might feel more natural than a traditional museum.

The thought of AOAMs as a kind of snow globe, encapsulating a past, has been voiced decades ago. They were criticized as places where an idealized and manufactured past is created and remains in an unchanging fashion. It is a view which has been taken to task. I disagree with it from the position that these views of authenticity and depictions of 'the' past have rested primarily on a linear conception of time. I view none of what these attractions do through that lens of understanding the worlds around me. Instead, they are places -like other heritage sites and resources- that show the cyclical and changing nature of our pasts, the ways in which we interact and negotiate with ancestors -be they ours or those of another people.

The subjects of this research, if we consider them in 'ancestral' terms, belong to the inheritors of Northern and Western Europe, and their settler-states. This work drew out the use of the 'Barbarians' in these societies as part of coloniality. While not the sole cultural group tapped into (see, for instance, regarding so-called 'Celtic' movements in Europe and abroad, Dietler 1994; Johnson 2002; Hague et al 2005), the Saxons and Vikings continue to be used as tools to defend the Colonial Matrix of Power. Since my research began, examples of this have become all too frequent in the news media in the West.

The introduction, and impetus, to this thesis has always been searching for ways to decolonize these pasts. Along this research, strands of decolonial options have shown themselves -fleeting perhaps, but there regardless.

As I said at the beginning of this work, AOAMs hold spirits which lend themselves to fostering decolonial thinking. This chapter discussed this in ways which follow the lines of directly altering perceptions of visitors. But not all spirits encountered by people who enter into these otherworlds are so direct. Spirits and the 'spiritual' are interwoven at these sites, like their role within the religious lives of people. Foteviken's official stance on religion is:

"... outside there is a pagan sacrificial grove for the Norse gods. Visiting Vikings must respect all religions. Everybody is allowed to make a sacrifice in the sacrificial grove. Blood offerings are strictly forbidden. No sacrifices are allowed to be touched. The cross and the area around the cross are sacred. This is the place of the future church and it must be respected. These places are part of the museum and if somebody causes deliberate damage to it, this person will be exiled ... and [have] charges [filed] against [them]. Everybody must respect the different religions at Foteviken." (nd)

The statement is far from a tongue-in-cheek position that a multi-religious 'Viking' settlement would have had during the period of conversion to Christianity. It is an explicit stance for modern visitors. This statement is of incredible relevance to the objective of this work: fostering decolonial options. It is a statement directed towards practitioners of 'ethnic religions'. And whether or not these groups of people are publicly well-known, they play a role in delinking, and in heritage tourism.

The national and ethnic identity ties that 'Viking' and Saxons play in the lives of modern people are not limited to the realms of the social, educational, or political. Construction of identity based on a conceived inheritance, and the baggages that come from those in the shape of white supremacy -as touched upon above- filter into other aspects of life for many. Not only from a biological/inheritance and/or cultural stance, but as mentioned in Chapter 2 (pg 20), these identities also weave into the spiritual existences of people in the form of polytheistic reconstruction or ethnic religion. Terminology is a contested issue within these circles (see Doyle White 2016) and it is not the place of this work to discuss this matter. For simplicity's sake, I will use the term 'ethnic religion' as used by the European Congress of Ethnic Religions: "Religion, spirituality, and/or cosmology that is firmly grounded in a particular people's traditions, and to greater or lesser extent informed by attested records and bodies of research. This does not include modern occult or ariosophic theories/ideologies, nor modern syncretic religions" (ECER 2017) to denote the forms of religion concerned within this work, as opposed to modern pagan movements like Wicca or Neo-Druidry.

As these religions are formed around ethnic and cultural pasts, there are multiplicities of them. This research has focused upon the 'Viking' and the 'Saxon', which fit into one of the larger umbrellas of ethnic religion. There are many groups and terms to identify it, like Asátrú, Forn Seðr, Odinism, this work will use the more collective term Heathen when discussing this branch of ethnic religion.

Just as with the image of the Saxon and Viking, along with Germanic imagery, the practice of Heathenry (among other ethnic religions) has found its way among people who ascribe to white supremacy/nationalism. Project Megiddo identified 'Odinists' as having "little to do with Christian Identity but there is one key similarity: Odinism provides dualism -- as does Christian Identity -- with regard to the universe being made up of worlds of light (white people) and

worlds of dark (non-white people) ... there are enough similarities between the myths and legends of Odinism and the beliefs of Christian Identity to make a smooth transition from Christian Identity to Odinism for those racist individuals whose penchant for violence is not being satisfied” (FBI 1999, IV). These racial aspects of Heathenry have been explored more frequently than others (see Dobratz 2001; Snook 2015; Snook et al 2017). While having needed to place a focus on racial topics, recent researchers have expanded the discussion (Wilkerson 2014; Snook 2015; Snook et al 2017). Racial expressions of Heathenry have been stressed, but it is no longer acceptable to reduce argumentation to that level of simplicity. This is especially so, considering the lack of universality among the many ethnic umbrellas that groups could fall into. Recent scholarship has considered ethnic religious movements in a post-colonial light -albeit complex, and at times contradictory (Horrell 2012). I would take a step further, to place them within the scope of potential decolonial options.

As decolonial voices have said, the secular world of the modern West is still bound up in the cultural inheritance of Christianity (Mignolo 2012). This is not a controversial statement. Scholars have considered the development of capitalism (Weber 2005; Becker & Wößmann 2007; McKinnon 2010), modern science (Hodgson 2005; Worthing 2017), and even the creation of a pan-European identity (Dawson 2010, 108) as being founded on universalist, monotheistic cultural perspectives. Western society is so bound up in the cultural inheritances of Christendom that it bleeds into not only the secular, but it has influenced the shaping of attitudes among practitioners of ethnic religion. Religious gestures known in groups of ethnic religion practitioners have a direct Christian counterpart – such as a Heathen practice of making a ‘Hammer Sign’ and its similarities in the Christian ‘Sign of the Cross’. Additionally, racism and homophobia among ethnic religion practitioners have been critiqued for being rooted in conservative Protestant ideologies merely given a ‘Heathen’ veneer (FBI 1999, IV; Snook 2015). Of course, not all groups follow these colonized moralities, worldviews, or practices with direct Christian analogues.

While it is impossible to speak for the multiplicities of ethnic religious communities, some members have expressed an interest in the reconstruction of these spiritual lifeways as a path towards re/indigenizing themselves or finding their ‘roots’ (Pizza 2015, 498) -though some do so through appropriating Native American spiritualities (Taylor 1997; Kraft 2015; Peers 2015; Aleknaité 2017). This position of re-indigenizing has been briefly examined through samples largely from the United States (such as Snook 2015), and in former Soviet states (see entries in Aitamurto & Simpson 2013). The concept of rejecting systems of modernity is, at its heart, a delinking or decolonial project to construct options of thinking, being, and doing. However, as noted by the instances of tapping into the cultures of marginalized peoples, this undertaking in delinking is anything but perfect and at times colonial itself. Still, as these movements continue to negotiate themselves, it could increasingly offer a platform of Western decoloniality.

The complex standings and potentials of ethnic religions as delinking projects cannot be spoken of in the cases of modern eclectic pagan movements. Indeed, they are often themselves a form of cultural appropriation and colonial mindsets (Johnson 1995; Lupa 2008; Magliocco 2009; Waldron & Newton 2012). In efforts to create legitimacy, movements like Wicca have taken practices from spiritual systems in Hinduism, Vodoun, Santeria, and Indigenous religions.

With consideration of neo-pagan movements as colonial, we can now return to the topic of Early Modern witch trials (see pg 34), and why this work has selected against the term ‘genocide’. Within Wicca, this time period traditionally holds a very important position in the narrative of the religion. To them, it is a period called the ‘Burning Times’ (Gardner 1954, 139). Early Wicca, in the 1960’s, attached onto the so-called ‘Witch-Cult hypothesis’ which gained prominence through the work of Margaret Murray (1921; 1931). Assertions about a past -where

a unified, survival of pre-Christian religion was attacked in an effort to systematically exterminate the practice and practitioners- having been greatly criticised (see Hutton 1991, 301-6). Murray -on the With-Cult- has been academically deemed “completely and embarrassingly wrong on nearly all of her basic premises” (Russell & Alexander 2007, 154). Still, they resonate within Neo-paganism.

This narrative of an ancient, underground, religion which was persecuted by the Christian powers was a powerful and evocative instrument for the identity of the Wiccan and similar movements (Snook 2015). Heathen and Romuva (ethnic Baltic religion) communities have narratives that focus on periods of religious warfare and ‘Indigenous’ resistance to figures like Charlemagne, St Olaf, and the Teutonic Knights (Cusack 2011). It is a not infrequent aspect of sub-cultures to attach oppression to their identities (Snook 2015). In the case of Wiccan mythos, the ‘Burning Times’ function as a part of an ‘origin myth’ to link a wholly recent religious movement with a much more venerable past. It, of course, raises the question that had there in reality been a surviving pagan religion in Christian-dominated Europe, why would it have taken hundreds of years before it was systematically persecuted (Jensen 2007, 147)? For these reasons, I refuse to humour the idea of using the term genocide to describe the Early Modern Witch Hunts. And even more, it is with some trepidation that epistemicide is used – as it still connotes some form of mutual, active systems of knowledge that the accused would have carried and were targeted for. Still, a term needs to be used, and the latter is the less egregious.

Ethnic religions have until recently been neglected in academic research, while movements such as Wicca and Neo-Druidry have held a place of scholastic privilege. This work is unconcerned with the latter movements, but instead recognises and suggests an advancement in the study of ethnic religions as subjects of interest to decolonial options -if also instruments of reinforced coloniality.

Impact, however, of decolonial options needs to be kept in mind, or they will never exist as more than wishful thinking. In the instance of religious thinking, a tally of believers is crucial to considering impact. The Pagan Studies scholar, Ronald Hutton, estimated some 250,000 Modern Pagans in the UK (2001). According to census data from 12011HE, 75,281 people in England, 4,872 in Wales, and 5,282 in Scotland identified with the ‘Other’ branch, using a term associated with modern paganism (ONS 2012; Scotland’s Census 2013). Of these, a total of 2,108 wrote in Heathen. Additionally, the ‘Worldwide Heathen Census 2013’ received 16,700 entries -including 1207 from the UK (Siegfried 2014). Using the example of Iceland as a control, the surveyors then estimated a higher world figure of 36,289 (loc cit). Data taken in Russia estimated some 750,000 citizens to be practitioners of Slavic ethnic religion (СРЕДА 2012). Practitioners in these groups are not monolithic, either. A 12015HE survey suggested that the greater Heathen community consists of two percent transgender and twenty-one percent LGBT+ individuals -both larger than the estimated percent of the population at large (Cragle 2017, 81, 85). Ethnic religion, while certainly a minority in the global North, should not be dismissed.

The rejection of Western modernity through spiritual means is one way that marginal people approach delinking. Spiritual attachment to a colonized (in the sense of Systems of Knowledge and Cultural Systems) European culture, and the adoption of former lifeways (e.g., ‘Viking’, ‘Anglo-Saxon’, or ‘Slavic’) is a complicated endeavour; one with great potential to recreate coloniality (as touched upon in CH2.5). Still, it would be imprudent to think the practitioners of these potentially decolonial expressions of spirituality to be unaware of the complexities. And one could also not say that this is simply an act of re-enactment or living history hobbyists.

Many practitioners of ethnic religion also have interests in history and in re-enactment, a matter that Schnurbein (2016, 296) criticized as blurring fantasy and reality. This logic, however,

essentializes reality, the past, and expressions of it in a fashion that this work openly rejects. While it has passing similarities with another form of re-enactment, the 'Indianist' hobby, the differences are striking and worth comparison. The latter being a form of re-enactment, by non-Indigenous people (Europeans), that depicts Indigenous peoples of Anglo-America typically of the 17/1800's. In many ways, this activity has similar goals to Viking re-enactment and ethnic religion: a quest for spirituality, and a rejection of modernity, but through a European lens of "The Indian" (Lutz 2002; Kalshoven 2012, 50).

Lutz (2002, 168-9) described the Indianist hobby as "a yearning for all things Indian, a fascination with American Indians, a romanticizing about a supposed Indian essence ... [it] is racialized in that it refers to Indianness as an essentializing bioracial and, concomitantly, cultural ethnic identity ... It tends to historicize Indians as figures of the past, and it assumes that anybody "truly Indian" will follow cultural practices and resemble in clothing and physiognomy First Nations people before or during first contact. Relatively seldom does [Indianism] focus on contemporary Native American realities". The re-enactment and representation of peoples inherent in the Indianist hobby is a charged matter.

Many aspects of this practice are troubling, especially to Indigenous people. The image that is illustrated, even though Indianists often claim that one of their objectives is to dispel misconceptions of Native Americans, directly portrays the harmful depictions of Indigenous peoples as relegated to the past. Voicing concern and respect for Indigenous people is, when reduced to its foundations, merely a façade. Indianist gatherings (sometimes called Pow-wows), which can number over 500 participants, are not public affairs, they are closed events to avoid scrutiny (Kalshoven 2012, 29-31). Additionally, fetishization -not merely romanticizing- of brown and Indigenous bodies can be seen among these groups, encapsulated in an interview with two White Dutch Indianists, each with Indo-Belanda (Indonesian with mixed Dutch ancestry) wives, neither of whom participate in Indianism. During this interview, one Indianist recalled having his wife dress up as a Native American woman and commented -to the interviewer- that she looked rather "striking" (Kalshoven 2012, 25). This colonial projection on brown and Indigenous women is far from harmless, with White fetishizing of Indigenous women as sexual objects largely responsible for the Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women crisis (Harper 2006; Bailey & Shayan 2016). In the end, this re-enactment has very little concern for Indigenous peoples, pasts, or presents; it is an act of Eurocentrism.

German Indianists often "claim a privileged bond with Native Americans" through description of Germanic peoples in Tacitus' work, *The Germania* (Kalshoven 2012, 66). Some have used this tenuous link as a bridge to explore their own 'tribal past'. In this way they can be perceived as people attempting to re-indigenize themselves. In fact, some women in East Germany derived an interest in witchcraft, folk-healing, and the heritage surrounding it through 'Indianism'. They placed an emphasis on the alleged parallels between Indigenous worldviews and ritual, and pre-Christian European heritages (ibid, 83). The rise of indigenism, cultural boundaries, anxieties of globalization, and the search for clarity of identity was examined by Niezen (2003), and despite their ostensible 'post-modern' objectives, Indianists have been criticised as cultural trespassers and appropriators (Kalshoven 2012, 137). While many individuals say that they carry out research, outreach, or even assist in museum curation (Conrad 1999) the Indianist hobby is a colonial action, regardless of the sentiments that participants may apply. It is damaging to those it pretends to portray, while having very little to do with them. The same accusations cannot be properly levelled at 'Viking' re-enactor, nor ethnic religious practitioners.

Most directly, the act of 'playing a Viking' is not analogous to portraying horrifically marginalized and oppressed groups of people from outside the European ethnic sphere. Re-enactors and Heathens actively engage with modern appropriations of 'The Viking'. When neo-Nazis

organized a march in Gothenburg, Sweden, a network of Viking re-enactors (called Vikingar Mot Rasism) arrived in protest. During his interviews among members of the organization, Congregalli reported that many felt by embracing re-enactment, they could preserve their historic identity while not resorting to racism. The motivation of finding connections to (premodern) culture is present among both Indianists and Viking re-enactor (and Heathens), but the appropriation of 'Viking' cultural trappings is not as colonial as rejecting modernity by taking the trappings of people who have survived genocide carried out by European settlers. In a less damaging way (considering colonial appropriations), Viking re-enactors "are trying to find a sense of purpose. Some move to Viking villages during the spring and summer [referencing Foteviken] ... But most of them celebrate traditions from the Viking era all year round in their own ways – from the Midwinter festival to organising Viking weddings" (Congregalli & Ederyd 2018). The religious position of Foteviken, then, makes perfect sense, it is offering people of a marginal religion -who associate with the site- a safe and free space to exercise their spiritual lives openly.

Tourism, AOAMs, & Ethnic Religion

Foteviken's position as attracting ethnic religion practitioners is not unique to that attraction in this study. Nor is the potentially decolonial element of these religious/cultural practices simply an exercise in lofty theorizing. Rather, it has applications that call back to the economic aspects of this research. According to executives with Barnes & Noble, the 'Pagan Buying Audience' numbered some ten million people (Lewis 2007). Clearly, tourism and printing are substantially different industries, but it shows one's willingness to view this (wide) grouping of people as a targetable source. This has been noted in the tourism sector as well, with 'New Age' tourism being "a growing market for pilgrimage, personal growth and non-traditional spiritual practices" (cited in Collins-Kreiner 2010, 445; Matheson et al 2014, 19), and that "differences between tourism and old-fashioned pilgrimage are narrowing" (ibid, 446). This is expressed in a study of attendees of the Beltane Fire Festival (BFF) in Edinburgh.

The festival is celebrated annually on the night leading to the Pagan Gael holiday, Beltane: 30 April. Despite taking place well outside of Scotland's peak tourism season, one third of the festival's attendees are tourists and not residents (Gonzalez 2007; Matheson et al 2014, 17). It is also an event that attracts many attendees: 7500 in 12015HE (Edinburgh Evening News 2016). While other festivals in Edinburgh have been assessed for their economic impact, the Beltane Fire Festival has -to date- not.

Without an impact report, the best that can be done is to then note factors of the festival. The 12017HE BFF had an admission price of £8+ booking fee in advance and £10 at the gate and ended at 01.30 (Beltane Fire Society 2017a). With such a late end, it is not unreasonable to assume that a significant portion of attendees would chose to spend the night in or around Edinburgh. Additionally, the admission revenues alone -based on visitor figures from 12015HE- amount to over £60,000. The thrust of this chapter is not economics, though, and this information has been supplied as an aside to paganisms and tourism.

A survey conducted during the 12011HE BFF reported that 7% of the sample size identified as 'Wiccan or Pagan' (Matheson et al 2014, 22) -substantially higher than a random sample of any group of people in the UK. Additionally, 86.2% 'Strongly Agreed' or 'Agreed' that their motivation for attending was 'to grow spiritually' regardless of their religious leanings (loc cit). While BFF is inspired by pre-Christian spirituality and Meso-Pagan celebration, it is not a religious festival, but an event carried out by a "community arts performance charity" (Beltane Fire Society 2017b). Still, it provides searchers with consumable opportunities for spiritual

enrichment. As Ringvee (2017, 69) said, the consumption of a spiritual (flavoured) product within a nominally secular, capitalist society “seems to be more neutral than participating in a prayer meeting; but consumerism, a term that may have negative connotations as regards religion/spirituality, is a characteristic factor of contemporary Estonian religion and spiritual life”. A festival, then, can offer just such a consumable spiritual morsel for the believer and the secular. Regardless of its religious nature, the associations may be enough to attract those in search of spiritual engagement.

Pagan tourism also features in the annual Jorvik Viking Festival. The role that the festival played in 12016/17HE was discussed previously (CH 6.1). One of the ways the organization saw to attract audiences was to bring in a prominent ‘Viking’ heritage figure. While the end of the festival always has an academic symposium (Richard Hall) as a punctuation mark, that is not the sort of event which draws in the large-scale attention and audience that was needed. So, a figure from more popular spheres was brought in: Einar Selvik. Einar is known for his work in the band Gorgoroth but more-so his own band, Wardruna. Initially formed in 12003HE, Wardruna is known for using traditional Scandinavian instruments, as well as singing in a mixture of Nynorsk, Old Norse, and Proto-Norse. The songs are inspired by ritual chanting of and about runes, recognised in modern Heathen circles as a form of *galdr* (an Old Norse word denoting a magic spell). Wardruna’s fame came from Selvik’s collaboration on the scores for the popular series *Vikings* (Love 2014). This was likely the major factor to his presence at the festival. And it paid off. Originally scheduled for the Merchant Adventurer’s Hall venue with a maximum occupancy of 180 (CMACY 2017), the venue quickly sold out with a waiting list. This prompted the decision to change venues to the Tempest Anderson Hall – at the Yorkshire Museum – with seating for 300 (JORVIK Group 2016; VisitYork 2017). His presence was so significant that he was later given a role during the festival’s closing ceremony, as the performer of a mourning song for the fallen king Erik Bloodaxe.

The annual Yorvik Moot, which began in 12012HE, is one of the major gatherings for the Heathen group ‘Asatru UK’ – a group with over 2000 members on their Facebook page (nd; 2017). Intentionally, this gathering coincides with the Viking Festival. Many of the Heathens who come for this Moot also take part in the events and markets of the festival, especially the ending ceremony (and Einar’s seminar during 12017HE). Even with the benefit of figures from Asatru UK, it is unknown how many Heathens and/or Pagans attended the festival. It is of interest to note their presence, and the role that the festival plays in their gathering. Another layer of Heathen existence in the Viking Festival, came from Selvik himself. He is an open and practicing Heathen, and a member of Norway’s organization Bifrost (Odroerir 2014). Just as well, the music of Wardruna is an expression of spirituality, which has attracted attention and praise from Pagan communities (loc cit; Love 2014). So, despite the Viking Festival having no religious mission or leaning, it still offers potential spiritual dimensions to its attendees, and serves as a draw for those within Heathen communities.

In their current iterations, of the four AOAM case studies, only one is set within a Pagan timeframe: West Stow. Jarrow Hall, most clearly, is set in a Christian landscape. The most recent interpretation of the Jorvik Centre is set six years after the fall of the last ‘Viking’ King of Jorvik, Eric Bloodaxe, who was also the last Heathen monarch in England. And even Foteviken recreates a time where the last Heathen ruler has been succeeded by a Christian.



A Viking telling stories from Völuspá at the end of The Ride (2018) fig 7.87

Despite this, Paganism leaks into the sites. The stance of Foteviken on religious practice -alongside the altar present at the site- was the most direct of these. The Jorvik Centre, though depicting a time post-conversion, completed its ride portion with a figure sat at the fire in their home, with shapes and sounds emerging from the coals and flames (fig 7.90). This portion of the ride noted to the visitors about storytelling, myth, pagan religion, and magical practice.

The extent to which Heathens made use of the sites in this study was not illustrated by direct responses in the surveys. None of the participants mentioned a ‘spiritual’ reasoning for visiting. This is unsurprising that practitioners of a minority religion might not immediately be forward with suggesting this kind of motivation, when it is reasonable that an ‘interest’ in the subject matter is just as accurate.

Conversely, at Jarrow Hall, the spiritual side was more open. Participants expressed a perception of Saxons having a ‘Spiritual side’ (JH.Eng.07) or being ‘Religious’ (JH.Eng.12), directly evoked ‘Bede’ (JH.Eng.13), and ‘Monasticism’ (JH.Eng.14) among their ‘Before’ sentiments. This is further drawn with descriptions of serenity (JH.Eng.07) and the desire to focus more on the monastic and spiritual qualities such as reflection on the cross on the village property (JH.Eng.14; see fig 5.51 pg107).

Pagan spiritual connections remained murky at all sites, but Christian elements and perceptions at Jarrow Hall were voiced by more than one participant. As a site with a direct focus on Bede -a monk venerated in several sects of Christianity- this is less than surprising. Unfortunately, research at length into Heathen uses of these destinations, and heritage sites as a whole, was not within the remit of this thesis. As a potential source of decolonial options and delinking, the ongoing processes of ethnic religion practitioners and engagement with AOAMs is a subject that demands further investigation.

7.6 Making De/Coloniality

Each of the AOAMs in this research have their own avenues to creating an experience, of entertainment and of education. Their approaches differ, as do their subjects and outcomes. These -when populated by costumed interpreters- engage their visitors with some form of interaction. Whether they succeed in the way that Hein said: “Experiences need to challenge and stimulate the visitors, turning thoughtless hands-on activities into minds-on challenges” (1998, 30-1), has been examined here through the stated learning and change in perception. There is always room for continued improvement. For instance, it was previously noted that visitors seeking to avoid charged interactions focused on asking object-based questions. There are strategies to tease these deeper exchanges out. The deliberate insertion of trade goods has

been often used by costumed interpreters to make even objects become a point of discussion on distant and diverse social and economic links.

But experiences are not confined to singular identifiable and chartable information. Learning is only one aspect of decolonizing. Coming to new options for how to think, do, and be is the goal of decoloniality. Reconnecting with non-Western lifeways is a powerful part of this. But how does a Westerner do that?

Living history and reconstructions are avenues that have appealed to some: the Vikings who live at Foteviken all year, for instance. On the surface, this type of activity is about deeply engaging with a past. In many ways it is. But AOAMs and interpreters may re-enforce coloniality through their work, or at least trivialize decolonial options.

Many of the feelings that visitors to the sites in this research commented on the quality of life of people in the past. There has been an entirely justifiable movement away from trying to evoke a nostalgia for a vanished past, which AOAMs have been guilty of from their inception. Still, showing squalor, disease, and things Westerners find socially disagreeable helps to reaffirm ideas of 'progress' as a benevolent force (Lutz & Collins 1993, 266-7). An underlying current of the exchanges at Foteviken regarding slavery revolved around the immorality of the practice, and society's 'evolution' beyond this stage of history. Still, the interactivity of the vignette used discomfort to tease out lessons in visitors (in this case, complaisance in wrong action), something that other AOAM depictions of slavery have categorically failed to do, Jorvik included.

How Foteviken populates its village can be a positive experience for those who wish to engage with it. Letting people who are interested in trying out being a 'Viking' get the opportunity to share their passion is commendable. Even more-so to actively pass along the message that 'everyone can be a Viking' which, while having a basis in historic truths, is much more a political stance of social and ethnic inclusion for modern Sweden. The Viking becomes a symbol of welcome and belonging, which is what Jorvik tried to carry as well. However, in this pursuit, coloniality has not vanished. I mentioned above regarding the presentation of and reception (or lack thereof) of the 'Black Viking'. Foteviken's aim at inclusion may yet take a more sinister turn if applied to a situation which can -and has- played out there. The young people who participate in the Ung i Sommar programme are given very few choices in what they would like to do for a job, aside from selecting options saying they like 'culture' or 'being outside'. They are then placed for a time at a job selected for them. Their only opt-out of Foteviken if selected to work there would be to quit the placement, which does not reflect well. In 12017HE, the county of Skåne had 288,667 foreign-born people, and 189,540 Swedish-born with one or both parents being foreign (Statistika Centralbyrå 2018b). Many of these people do not come from other Nordic states, or even Europe. The county's social scheme can coerce a citizen from a non-Swedish culture and ancestry to 've a Viking'. From that viewpoint, the position that 'everyone can be a Viking' is nudged closer to 'should be'. It becomes less inclusion, more assimilation. I should remind that this is not the point nor intent of either Foteviken or the Ung i Sommar programme. But it is a subtle, unthinking enforcement of coloniality: to make everyone living in Sweden the same, a 'Viking'.

Similarly, the world that the Jorvik Viking Centre it depicts is, in reality, an English one. In anticipation for the attraction's grand re-opening the Viking Festival ended with a lament song to the death of the last independent ruler of what is currently northern England. The Centre itself is set six years after this. Rosenzweig and Thelen (1998, 178) said of Americans that they "yearn for history that actively assists them in making connections between the past and the present," a history that "can be used to answer pressing current-day questions about

relationships, identity, immortality and agency". This is not so different. Of course, it is a narrative that highlights (with an arguable level of success) multi-culturalism at Jorvik. Still, the idea of the 'vikingness' of York at the time it depicts is difficult to actually place. It would be hard to brand the site as the 'Northumbria Recently Reintegrated into the Kingdom of England Centre'. Fortunately, the niggling details do not seem to impede the perceived 'vikingness' of the site, while at the same time speaking to English (and would-be-British) presents.

West Stow's attachment to Englishness is more straightforward: it is on the sign. And despite the site reminding visitors of an immigrant past for the Angles, Saxons, and Jutes, this message does not seem to pass along very well. In fact, this was overshadowed by the participants attaching Englishness to the Saxons, and that visitors chose at this site that they would take their responsibility of description and define Saxons by what they were NOT. It then becomes somewhat of a point of wonder as to whom the participants are truly trying to define: the Saxons, or themselves. And while attachment of self to a people of the past (especially ancestors to your own culture) is not innately colonial, the choice of terminologies to describe past peoples through means of modern people can easily slouch that direction.

Decolonizing is not all-or-nothing. In reality, as a process it is incredibly complicated and prone to slipping back towards coloniality. Well-intentioned people and strategies may miss out on the fact that some of what they do is still perpetuating the matrix of power. This chapter took aspects of my research to highlight the experiences that these AOAMs enabled could be examined as planting decolonial seeds. It also cast a critical eye on the aspects of these sites which contributed to the colonial matrix of power.

7.6 Decolonial Futures in NorthWestern Worlds

Chapter 2 brought Decoloniality into the existences of European pasts, expressed in Europe and in Settler States. It discussed the ways in which figures like the 'Viking' and the 'Saxon' play into the Colonial Matrix of Power. The coloniality of these pasts can be viewed in similar lights as heritage practitioners' considerations of political agendas and even the Authorized Heritage Discourse. In common among these is that the options of thinking about, interacting, and even living with 'the past' are limited. This, from the perspective of Decoloniality is one of the major forces to the Colonial Matrix of Power: the limiting of ways in which we are allowed to think of the worlds we exist in.

As mentioned in that same chapter, movements towards decolonizing often focus on marginal people. I, of course, am not trying to take away the language of marginal people as those who ascribe to White Supremacy do when they appropriate Indigenous rights and cite UNDRIP to exclude non-Whites from society. My motivations are thoroughly different. I, rather, am strongly suggesting that people within White Society can -and should- undertake their own avenues of decolonizing, one part of this being to re-evaluate the very ancestral figures these societies embrace (such as the 'Viking'). This process is one that must be engaged with in a mindful way, with doing the least harm and replicating coloniality.

Decoloniality into the NorthWest must be approached in numerous ways. This is precisely why this work has avoided making strong statements of what each site 'must' or 'should' do. Rather, I have elected to examine what *is* being done at each, and the implications and results of them. And yet, it is my firm belief that Western heritage work must include Decoloniality -as distinct from the 'post-colonial'- in order to draw more options from the world. Everyone makes heritage, and it is then nonsense to have the gravity of influential thought located in the NorthWest. Decoloniality brings with it the lived and inherited experiences of countless people

in the Global South and the so-called Fourth World. These knowledges have much to offer decolonial options, particularly in places that do not readily perceive themselves as being colonized -like the Global NorthWest. And yet, as this work has shown, these Western worlds and past are very much colonized. The power dynamics are largely different, and it becomes a coloniality against Westerners to benefit 'The West'. The colonial, Eurocentric lies that Westerners are taught to believe are dangerous, as those who have been made victim to White Supremacy and systematic exploitation and dehumanization can attest.

Understandings from multiple worlds and of multiple voices being lifted to the same acceptability as the (largely White) voices from the NorthWest is the goal of decoloniality. It is striving against the world of Eurocentric limitations on how to think, do, and be. Heritage practice is intrinsically connected to all of that being, doing, feeling, believing. If we are to strive towards heritages that resonate with everyone, then heritage itself must be an act of decoloniality. The museum is founded in coloniality, in the gravity of Eurocentric thought. Undoing this will undo the museum. And that is fine. Recoiling against the proposition of an end to 'The Museum' is in itself colonial as it implies a false, binary thought that without museums there would be nothing.

As I contacted a number of places that could be called AOAMs, several denied the classification as a museum. There are any numbers of reasons to do so. This research uses the term Archaeological Open-Air Museums for expedience, but there should be no need to force a label of 'museum' on something that provides an educational, cultural, and/or emotional experience on visitors. Only one of the sites in this research had 'museum' in its title (or part, thereof). Stepping 'outside' of the museum and its implications already offer new options. The ways in which people have been engaged at sites in this research are not easily replicated in a traditional museum. These attractions may not have a decolonial agenda in mind, specifically speaking, but they do show aspects that could be called such. Jorvik complicates 'the Viking', and Foteviken embraces the possibilities of modern 'Vikings' seeking new ways of living. The approach that Jorvik has taken has been critiqued, and the inherent coloniality of even earnest representations was highlighted. The fact is, the Colonial Matrix of Power forces people to have these biases, these blind-spots. A decolonial approach into Western heritage work is needed to expand our ways of interpreting, our options to telling stories and engaging with ancestral spirits. They deserve that much respect.

The final chapter takes all that has been explored in previous portions of this work and weaves them together. It examines the financial aspects of these institutes and their regenerative natures, alongside their qualities as decolonial platform. The issues raised in this chapter and the previous will be placed together, to discuss the practicalities of the creation of functioning cultural brands, Barbarian Brands, and the negotiations that take place in doing this.

CHAPTER EIGHT

Decolonial Options at Renewable Heritage Sites

8.0 Introduction

“You have a tremendous opportunity here.” said the Austrian man as we sat facing the Øresund. The final interview at Foteviken drawing to a close, he mused about the site he had decided to visit with his family. His perspective flipped between a casual visitor and his profession as a marketing and public relations executive. Even his outfit, khaki trousers and a powder pink button-up shirt with the sleeves rolled and two buttons undone, straddled the formal and casual.

“This place has a magical quality to it. It’s something special. You can bring people into another time. I could see how powerful that might be. How you could use that, teaching them about the past. You could use this place.” his mind began to wander about alternative uses for the site. As if he was at the meeting table, he churned out thoughts. From learning-based, to the cinematic. From documentary to horror to -perhaps only half-jokingly- a car advert. The entire site was an experience, and an opportunity to open his mind, even feeding from his professional life.

“No, I don’t think we will return. I don’t mean that in a bad way-” he assured after I asked him how likely he would be to come back, “-I thought it was nice here. Just- it is very far, and I think we have seen everything there is.” I nodded with his statement, which was not the first time I had heard similar thoughts. We continued to talk while his children played a game of kubb with the ‘vikings’ as the last of the visitors slowly trickled out of the Viking Reserve of Foteviken and onto the rest of their lives.



Conversations with visitors from a multitude of backgrounds twisted and turned around the questions that were asked of them. Some participants eagerly brought their working life into the conversation, some even arriving at the sites because of it. Their reasons for visiting were varied, and at times their views of past peoples were even more so. This work sought to tease out what AOAMs can provide to people, speaking in economic and in experiential terms.

The value of an AOAM is not simply a metric, with a dollar, euro, or pound symbol in front of it. Still, nebulous and emotive reckonings of heritage do not sway everyone. I have no intention to argue this point one way or another and contribute to such a discourse.

The last two chapters have been devoted to framing the research I undertook within each Assertion. Now, these conclusions must draw them together under the recognition that the third of the Assertions is the end-goal of this work: fostering decolonial options to heritage narratives. The difficulty in doing this is that there is no singular set of options. That would in itself defeat delinking: providing a structured ‘set’ of options. Rather, they should be viewed from the perspective of what those who engage with the destinations walk away with. It is perhaps better to consider the site as being filled with spirits that are unable to act without participants. In turn, these people may or may not turn them towards creating decolonial options. The previous chapter brought out the change in perceptions of Vikings and Saxons and highlighted the decolonial seeds that visitors take in their engagement, specifically regarding the example of ethnic religions.

This chapter is a reflection on branding barbarians: the Viking and the Saxon. It is also a reflection on the sites, their possible decolonial futures, and the delinking that they have the potential to foster. Finally, this chapter will turn towards my hopes for the future of decoloniality and Indigenous research, and practice, in similar heritage contexts.

8.1 Reflecting on the Barbarian Brand

Nearly a decade ago, Levy and Hawkins wrote that “there has not been much sharing of good practices, and even smaller amounts of collaborations between ‘award’ winning tourism groups” (2009, 581) regarding tourism as an act for waging peace. While not strictly with that purpose in mind, mindful tourism collaborations have since then emerged. This is true for the Viking and Saxon brands that this work revolves around.

The future for the Viking cultural brand is actively being negotiated. Organizations are continuing to navigate influxes of tourists, those who directly want to engage with ‘Viking’ heritage, and those more interested in Scandinavia and its modern culture and landscapes. The organization operating the Council of Europe Viking cultural route, Destination Viking, has held a series of meetings for a project called Follow the Vikings beginning in 12015HE and ending June 12019HE. This project’s agenda is audience development across Viking heritage sites, building competence in business models through sharing best practices, strengthening the international network of sites, and producing international events (Destination Viking nd).

Destination Viking presents an opportunity to strategically steer Viking heritage tourism, by networking and presenting complimentary experiences, including purchasing similar products together to guarantee quality (Jakobsen pers com). From a branding perspective, this is positive. However, it can raise issues if not done mindfully. ‘The Viking’ as a brand and concept is relatively stable. As this research has pointed out, visitors have a strong image of what a ‘Viking’ is. So, while going off-brand might be disorienting to tourists, homogenization of sites and the goods available at them is precisely what drives away tourists who are looking for a ‘niche’ experience. If all the attractions are viewed as being the same, their appeal as unique locations vanishes.

‘The Anglo-Saxon’ as a cultural brand remains nebulous. This has led to both ‘Saxon’ AOAMs in this work to consider, at different times, shifting their brand from the Saxon to a ‘Viking’ site. Lance Alexander noted this being raised prior to him taking his current position, and during the consultation event at Jarrow Hall, the idea of turning the village Viking -or to attach Vikings to the site- was bounced around as one of the future options for interpretation.

Like Destination Viking, the ‘Saxon’ cultural brand has recently seen a project developed around it. The Saxon Shore Project initially sought to forge ‘Saxon’ tourism connections between continental Europe, namely Denmark, Germany, and Netherlands. However, with the uncertainty resulting from the Brexit referendum, this aspect of the Saxon Shore stalled out (Gill pers com). Despite the disruption of this objective, the project had additional parts that continued. Fostering tourism in Suffolk is a core of the Saxon Shore project, through the brand of the Saxon -centred around Sutton Hoo. The affiliated project ‘Travel Back in Time with King Rædwald’ was awarded £51000 by the Department of Transportation to encourage tourists in London to visit Suffolk. It did this by directing visitors to the British Museum to trains that would take them to Sutton Hoo (University of Suffolk 2016). The Saxon Shore “celebrates the transformation of East Anglia from the Late Roman period to the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms. It will encourage heritage tourism to the Late Roman fort at Burgh Castle, the Anglo-Saxon church (on the site of a Roman fort) at Bradwell on Sea, and West Stow Anglo-Saxon Village” (loc cit). The

creation of this network of sites has coincided with the reconstruction and display of the Sutton Hoo longship at Woodbridge in 12018HE (Woodbridge Waterfront 2018).

This network is a step towards creating a stronger Saxon brand, one which does not need to be tempted by the 'Viking' brand. Should results of the project prove positive to Suffolk tourism, the brand will have a chance to flourish. As it stands at this writing, while West Stow is conceived as a part of the 'Saxon Shore' it is still isolated. Only time and effort will tell if stronger and broader connections will be made of the Saxon Shore. And from there, mindful navigation of developing this Saxon brand is necessary to prevent the threat of homogenization and 'de-niching' of tourist experiences that looms for the Viking brand and Destination Viking.

8.2 The Cases: Presents & Futures

As this work has stressed, each of the sites come with their own sets of circumstances, opportunities, and obstacles. This section offers a final summation of what my research has drawn out and offers some proposals framed within the Three Assertions for each.

West Stow

For most of the year, this site is unoccupied. The 'living' aspect of West Stow is a secondary consideration. In point of fact, recent changes to the AOAM have included the addition of physical signs interpreting the buildings, whereas this was formerly done by a handout map. While the site is often unoccupied, West Stow functions like other AOAMs wherein the hypothetical inhabitants have 'stepped out' momentarily. The addition of signs onto the buildings further strains suspension of disbelief and slouches the site closer towards 'museum'.

Less life is the last thing this site needs. Thankfully, the staff have ensured that the signage was easily moveable, so it can be taken down when costumed interpreters are present. The choice to add these signs came from complaints of confused visitors, who seemingly did not refer to the maps they were given. The 'easy' solution to that would be to attract costumed interpreters that could reliably occupy the site for more than the monthly basis that is currently done. Still, that is more difficult in reality. Financially, it is unviable to take on several part-time interpreters, as their hiring may not equate to higher museum revenues. The strategy of many AOAMs is to take on volunteers for this. The logistics of assembling a reliable group of multiple volunteers for costumed interpretation can be difficult in the best of situations, but the remoteness of West Stow presents an additional obstacle. Only those with access to consistent personal transportation would make for suitable candidates. With charges of AOAM interpretive volunteers/staff being conservative forces, the logistics of the site compound it. They keep people without access to transportation from not only engaging with the site as visitors, but from participating in the passage of narratives. And yet, without greater investment, the site will remain this way: a periodically lived-in site, where person-to-person engagements will only be possible once a month, by those who can afford to volunteer.

Speaking in monetary terms, West Stow is in a difficult position. It is cushioned from instability by being a part of a series of council-owned properties. As long as the council is agreeable to the site's presence (and financially stable in its own right), then the endurance of the site is not in immediate question. As of this writing, the current co-council of West Suffolk has tourism as one of the higher agenda items for the region, which plays to the benefit of West Stow -though this position in the council's plan has not brought increased council funding to the site. But councils change, and political objectives can shift radically with great speed. That the site has

been pushed to function as a business rather than a 'social good', while having none of the resources commonly available to other museums to accumulate money (such as the ability to get money from a café/restaurant) is frankly worrying. The property is still a country park, and it could be easily argued that the car park and café would be used regardless of the AOAM's presence. In the end, West Stow's ability to prove its 'value' rests in getting more admissions revenue.

This push to attract more visitors, has led to the creation of the two large events, Ring Quest and DragonFest. Visitors predominantly came from East Anglia to attend these events, but there were reportedly some from farther afield (Alexander pers com). What my research suggested is that visitors to the site typically came from short distances (with a travel cost of £27.19) and claimed a high willingness to return (averaging 4.16 of 5). Still, even with their higher performing events, attracting visitors from greater distances (and for longer stays in the region) is important to the AOAM's need to prove itself an 'asset'. Achieving this is dependent on the fostering of a strong, marketable brand without simply being absorbed by the 'Viking'.

West Stow's branding future may rest in advancement of the Saxon Shores, in networking to build a stronger brand identity of the 'Anglo-Saxon'. With West Stow's limited options, relying on other organizations may be the only viable way to attract and engage with visitors from farther afield.

1st Assertion: West Stow is positioned somewhat awkwardly in terms of renewability. I would consider it to be a social good and touristic resource that is worthwhile. Likewise, small-scale destruction and reconstruction has occurred at the site. However, a consideration of a more 'complete' physical destruction may be another matter. It would be all at the whim of the West Suffolk Council to determine if the attraction is worth rebuilding. The site is built within another tourist attraction -the county park- so the complete destruction of the Anglo-Saxon village itself may not irrevocably devastate the revenues from the car park and café enough to win out in a cost-benefit analysis. So, considerations of 'value' beyond a bottom line are crucial.

2nd Assertion: The site, as an economic resource, is already bound within the local government. As mentioned, this offers something of security but only for as long as that local government considers the site to be 'worth the cost'. With avenues of revenue limited by the council's division of these resources, West Stow must stress its financial impact in more strategic ways. Working with analyses like travel cost are one way to reconsider the impact of the site (as at sites that do not gain revenue from admissions). In addition, the branding of the site, its special events, and its impact on local businesses has a place in defence of the site as more than simply a 'social good'.

3rd Assertion: Access is a concern for this AOAM's options for bringing life and decolonial options. As long as the site is 'unoccupied', it will miss out on engagement. Considering the governmental links, a work experience scheme like that at Foteviken might be possible as a 'social good', however this is only if the council has the capacity to enact such a programme. In the era of austerity, this cannot be taken for granted. Still, even when alive, the site must come to an agreement about its story, the spirits that it wishes to nurture. This must consider what 'the Saxon' is, and what the site believes is important to pass along to modern society, and what it means to be the 'First English Village'. This claim in itself is not a-political, and the image that it presents is not. Still the

staff must consider, not lightly, their place within the social landscape and the ability they have to act. Without an externally supported volunteer scheme, working directly with the re-enactors on presenting these agreed-upon narratives is the only way for the site to 'stay on message'.

Foteviken

The future of this site seems not to be in question. NOKF will continue to work with the multiple layers of business options that the management has fostered. Their financial records suggest that the enterprise at the helm of Foteviken is relatively stable, with minimal loss. Nor has Foteviken's habit of constructing new buildings been impeded by the change into an enterprise, nor the retirement of Björn Jakobsen at the end of 12017HE.

Entertainment will likely be the major focus of the site. Difficult heritages and conversations, like slavery, have been addressed with an agreeable (and not so) approach. It is uncertain that the same set of scenes that played out during my time at the site will remain from year to year. The image of children and their parents searching for an escaped slave -to be publicly punished- in an otherworldly hide-and-seek game can be seen to normalize the dehumanization of the 'thralls'. Imagine a similar scene playing out at a site depicting colonial and imperial pasts of Europe and its settler-states. Imagine children being asked to help hunt down a runaway slave at Colonial Williamsburg. That act would not be met with the same readiness; no, there would be outcry. And rightfully so. But the social and emotional distance of slavery in a 'Viking' context allows for navigation to a troubling heritage; to convince people to happily take part in a practice that is repulsive to Western society. It serves as a different scene than the Slave Auctions at Colonial Williamsburg, where scenes played out as if on a screen (see CH3.5). Involvement of the participants is the integral force to what might otherwise be trivializing the history of slavery (see pgs 212-224 for the vignettes).

The marginal existence of 'thralls' trickles into the entire site: the injured leg scene revolves around a 'thrall', who nearly has their leg removed by a callous freeman. Still, a strong anti-slavery message is not on the top of the interpretative agenda. Indeed, the choice to use the term 'thrall' suggests a distancing away from slavery itself, and more towards a 'thrall' being a stand-in for 'second-class citizens'. The final scene plays out in a matter-of-fact way, where the 'Vikings' see nothing wrong with their actions. Still, it was obvious by the interactions of visitors, who went from happily taking pictures, to nervously laughing with crossed arms or confronting the 'Vikings', the scene became less than comfortable. Foteviken interacts with difficult heritages and does so in ways that permit discomfort -mitigated by the Skald's levity. The vignette emulates the 'ethical approaches' to Holocaust education, "whose goal is to prompt reflection on values and ethical dilemma" (Novis-Deutsch et al 2018, 88), and places the 'thrall' as a proxy for marginalized peoples. It speaks to the complicity to aid in dehumanization, capture, and suffering of 'the other'. The gravity of what the visitors participated in is left up to them to realize and come to grips with, without the interpreters dictating what they should walk away with.

With easily the most 'living' of sites in this research, and with the most opportunities to attract interpreters who can navigate visitor discomfort in varying ways, Foteviken has options. It is left up to those visitors to take it upon themselves to explore and carry away decolonial seeds.

- 1st Assertion: The renewability of this site is not in question for the time being. So long as it continues to attract those interested in ‘being a viking’ as forwarded by SVEG, then the will to maintain and expand the ‘Reserve’ should remain. Fostering this interest makes many of the aspects of Foteviken possible.
- 2nd Assertion: Further diversification of the sources of income and supportive networks would be an asset to the economic vibrancy at this AOAM. It does not appear to be in immediate risk, though its business side -NOKF- will need to continue to be proactive to combat money loss. In the process of networking, Foteviken should avoid falling into a homogenous Viking Brand, and should promote itself and its unique offerings and experiences. It should also continue to remind people of its importance as part of Skåne’s wider touristic landscape (not only within the ‘Viking’ landscape).
- 3rd Assertion: This site has positioned its narrative to permit fluid exchanges and potential opportunities for decoloniality. Its commitment to being an alive space is a large part to developing further decolonial options to ‘the Viking’, and modern people. It is a unique selling point to the site, which helps to secure it as a renewable resource (as the ‘resource’ in question is, more appropriately, people). Maintaining a mindful approach to narratives and experimenting with finding ones that ‘work’ is something that this site has the opportunity to do. Particularly with the nature of single-time visitors, the choice to make ‘new’ stories is certainly viable as it does not risk alienating would-be returns, and may encourage returns if the incentive of a re-imagined site (like Jorvik had post-flood) is forwarded. Lastly, actively fostering younger populations to ‘be a viking’ for long periods is a task that must be undertaken, as the site is at a point of turning over leadership roles to younger people.

Jarrow Hall

The revival of Bede’s World as Jarrow Hall has not been a passive action. It is important to keep in mind that this work examined the site in the very early stages of its reimagining. I would caution against casting too sharp a criticism against Groundwork and the trust’s management of the site based on this research.

On 24 July 12018HE, a consultation event was organized for numerous stakeholders -from local residents and organizations, to historians, museums staff, archaeologists, and academics- to share their views on the future directions for the site. Resulting from that were points that Groundwork STAN said would be drawn into a ‘Resilient Heritage Masterplan’ set to be finalized at the end of the year (Jarrow Hall 2018a, 11). With this forward plan, a more solid blueprint for the AOAM’s future will be visible and able to be enacted strategically, supplanting previous trial-and-error approaches.

The previous two chapters expressed concerns for the patchwork nature of Jarrow Hall. Creating a multi-faceted site is not a problem (and can bring advantages) but making those aspects cohesive within the whole is integral. The site that Groundwork inherited was already a being with several heads, and the process of drawing those into a united site has been challenging. However, some ways that Jarrow Hall has diversified its charitable portfolio and identity do not complicate or confuse the brand, but fit organically. On 15 August 12018HE, the Trust announced Jarrow Hall’s farm to be an animal sanctuary. An inciting moment to this decision was the fostering of Tilda, a Cheviot hills goat whose mother was killed during the

winter storm that swept Europe called the ‘Beast from the East’, earlier that year (Nightingale 2018). Leigh Venus described this move as “brilliantly inevitable ... this is a fundamental change born of the mission of Groundwork to create better places and to positively impact all lives where we operate ... we are always looking for new ways to fulfil our mission. By moving animal lives to the heart of what we do, we open up an exciting new opportunity both for the trust and for our unique animal residents” (Jarrow Hall 2018b). Alex Burnett, Programme Lead at the site stressed that “We have a thriving and growing animal community here on the farm with many of the animals true to those known in the Anglo-Saxon period. The history we are custodians of remains at the core of our site, so we’ll work to balance the needs of the animals with the historical and educational remit of Jarrow Hall” (loc cit).

Ostensibly, this approach can offer the AOAM an additional level of charitable goals which could apply for funding and fundraising; including a crowdfunding initiative Groundwork STAN organized for the sanctuary (Jarrow Hall 2018b). Ultimately, though, this development of the site is a charitable good in the sense that Groundwork started as, while having a goal that is in line with an emerging ‘green space’ with a historic theme and educational objective.

Another potential future for Jarrow Hall rests in Groundwork STAN’s negotiations with the staff at the nearby AOAM, Beamish. In 12016HE, this site hosted over five-hundred volunteers, making up 49614 hours (Beamish 2017), but many would-be volunteers are turned away by the site, often for being over-staffed. As part of these negotiations, volunteers who could not be taken on by Beamish (and those who might wish to transfer some of their time) will be steered towards Jarrow Hall. The increased flow of costumed interpreters raises options previously unavailable to the site.

The site is in the process of negotiating its identity (likely to be set out in the ‘Master Plan’). Along with this must come its narrative. Groundwork’s commitment to education and environmental and social issues could be voiced through thoughtful use of future volunteers. It also has a record of volunteer training and mobilization, including at-risk youths. These could join together to produce a living site, capable of offering engaging and thoughtful experiences. But the dangers must not be forgotten. Careful use of volunteer interpreters must be prioritized. Groundwork and Jarrow Hall cannot afford the site’s emerging identity and messages to be undermined by costumed interpreters who are at odds with the spirit of the site. Additionally, uncritical use of the potential volunteers can simply reinforce colonial narratives if Jarrow Hall does not strive to do more than simply ‘populate’ the village for visitors’ enjoyment.

1st Assertion: The site is in a considerably safer position than it had been as a sole entity, and a mismanaged one at that. It has many steps to take in order to bring the site into a fully-functioning order, such as maintaining the buildings in the village. Still, the entire property is not at risk of collapse as a part of Groundwork. This security provides Jarrow Hall the opportunity to evaluate what the site ‘should’ be while limiting outside pressures to ‘be a business’ immediately. To be mindful of trends in museums and heritage -as it is only a recent addition to Groundwork’s portfolio- the organization must remain receptive to input from stakeholders and heritage practitioners and continue to be proactive.

2nd Assertion: Finding its feet is the most substantial goal for the site. In many ways, the site’s lack of cohesion impacts it financially. The shop is a mixture of low-price items that have very little to do with the attraction (beyond, perhaps, the plastic cows and pigs), and history books. A stronger identity can steer a shift to store-holdings that have a larger impact. In addition, new experiences can help to

draw in return visits that are paid (as per West Stow's special events), to increase engagement opportunities as well as to drive up revenues. Providing new offerings (and finding the ones that 'work' for larger groupings of people, unlike hosting academic seminars) periodically is important to drawing more visits, visits with ticket, shop, and café spends.

3rd Assertion: Identity is a faltering point for Jarrow Hall. In some ways, trying to be too many things will spell failure in any attempts to offer messages. The narrative of Jarrow Hall must -like West Stow- solidify. Whatever shape the Masterplan takes, there should be a move towards stabilizing the site's identity and message. Currently, environmentalism appears to make a portion of this, which is a helpful angle. Still, more directly speaking to 'the Saxon' is of import. I would not suggest moving away from North and South divisions, in favour of a uniform 'English = Saxon' narrative. In fact, discussing cultural, ethnic, and historic difference and these tensions through time at this location could help to facilitate healthy (and potentially decolonial) conversations for the futures of so-called English heritages and societies. Regarding occupying the site, the negotiations with Beamish may well be a viable course of action. Still, there is an opportunity for Groundwork to engage with similar schemes that Foteviken has and does benefit from: the volunteering itself as a social good for the unemployed and those seeking work experience. This already forms part of the organization's remit and could be implemented without substantial alterations to the makeup of the charity.

Jorvik Centre

In many ways, this research has pointed towards the relative strength of the plan and vision that YAT has. The recent revival gave it a financial boost -one which will not last. Still, this is not worrying, as the site has faced visitor and monetary slumps. However, with the features that came out of the period of closure (increase to touring displays) as well as new commitment to risk assessment, YAT may have placed itself into a more capable position for handling such downturns. The only readily visible long-term issue is the increase in insurance premiums, resulting from their use following the flood. The site's main concern is to continue to attract solid visitor numbers and maintain its reputation for providing a quality experience.

And here lies the problem of the Jorvik Viking Centre.

Of the cases, Jorvik has the greatest opportunity to foster decolonial options: it has the funding, it has the strong institutional support network. And while it may have all of these on its side, there is not much in the way of seed-sowing. Jorvik's approach to presenting the past can be painted as 'radical' in certain lights: such as the inclusion of an Arabic-speaking person. This can be cast as a move towards an agenda to discuss the multi-cultural realities of Early Medieval York. And yet this ostensibly decolonial action is undercut immediately by the site's presentation choices.

Jorvik's format makes it the least flexible of all of the AOAMs in this study. It is unlikely to change much until the next large event that leads to a massive update. The animatronic figures cannot act beyond what they have been scripted to. And while re-visiting the site might provide new information, this would be much in the same way as watching a film and noticing things that you did not on your first viewing. It is not a true conversation, nor is it even particularly interactive.

This façade of interaction can undermine any ‘progressive’ messages. The case of the so-called ‘Black Viking’ drives this point. The presentation of this person within the Ride is nothing short of casual othering. At the same time, the display of their remains is done in a fashion that does not actually present visitors with options; it is effectively swept aside to the point that few visitors even noted this as being a part of their experience. It is a very different approach to normalizing potentially uncomfortable pasts -embodied by worry in the depiction of violence against women (and risks of normalizing such) in the slavery scene. In the case of the ‘Black Viking’, normalizing the presence of brown and black people in pre-modern Europe was mishandled; the approach that the site design took only resonated with people who were already invested in the message.

At Foteviken, ‘thralls’ served as a proxy to speak to shameful and dark inheritances: slavery, and participation in actions that have led to genocide. The comfort of visitors was undermined as the final vignette unfolded. Each time the scene played out, visitors voiced moral opposition to the treatment of the thralls (though most declined the offer to trade places and ease their suffering). Discomfort emerged from the vignette because the dark inheritances of slavery and complicity to genocides are ‘not in line with Western values’.

To whom is the presence of the ‘Black Viking’ uncomfortable?

YAT’s motivation to provide entertaining, informative experiences comes to an impasse with helping to be an agent of ‘change’ (whatever that ends up being) when economic responsibilities are considered. The experiences at Jorvik are brief, and discomfort for visitors can be magnified (if only considering the number of participants who complained about smells or lighting). As a decolonial heritage-worker, I have very little concern for the comfort of those who consider narratives of minorities belonging in societies controversial, but YAT’s choice in displaying such suggests that, on some level, they do. Considering that Jorvik is not a ‘traditional’ museum, acting in the same manner as one on allegedly controversial choices of interpretation is disheartening to say the least.

It must be said that YAT has voiced a willingness to approach this topic (Tuckley pers com). Addressing the oversight of the ‘Black Vikings’ presentation is something that is now in the hands of the interpreters, and as-of-yet unpublished supplements for visitors. The Ride is unlikely to remedy the alien depiction of the ‘Black Viking’, but it is entirely within the power of the staff (costumed or not) to discuss this topic from a ‘boots-on-the-ground’ approach. Fostering the staff to directly engage in dialogues of multi-culturalism could help to re-negotiate the colonial, marginalizing narrative that YAT has inadvertently fostered.

1st Assertion: The renewability and resilience of the site has been illustrated in this work, as has their strategy that permitted such. JORVIK Group has implemented new measures to ensure strategic responses to flooding in the future. Certainly the organization should not (and likely is not) limiting the development of strategies to one potential threat. Their reporting shows an increased awareness to threat, and this should remain the case with an ever-mindful consideration of a diverse set of threats to the site -physical and institutional.

2nd Assertion: Singular visits, or at the least irregular ones, mark Jorvik. The static nature of the attraction leads many to conclusions that they have ‘seen it’ and can check the site off of their to-see list. Of course, the site can rely on its reputation to attract tourists from afield to engage with it -if only one time. Challenging this singular/irregular visit and finding ways to present something ‘new’ could attract people within traveling distance to make a return visit and pay the relatively high admission price. Of course, doing this is difficult, as the

attraction's makeup revolves around automated scenes. Special events beyond the Viking Festival, fostering smaller-scale performances or engagements, could steer attention towards Jorvik as a vibrant facet of local culture over being simply a large institution formulated for mass-tourism. The site's place is solid as an institute, but a more personal touch is often missing from it, as embodied in the robots that fill the village.

3rd Assertion: The messages that Jorvik deliver are consistent. As stated, there are problems with this approach, and nuances or clarifications get lost in the inorganic delivery of narration. It is like trying to yell at the screen of a movie and expecting interaction. The living aspects of the site are downplayed, but I consider them to be crucial points of engagement. As a university town, Jorvik should not be as limited to volunteering and work experience schemes and intake as -say- West Stow. Nor is it implausible for YAT/JORVIK Group to expand this facet of it already in-place volunteering infrastructure and strategy. Coordinated action with a volunteer programme and a more active use of costumed interpreters to provide unique engagements and experiences should be pursued. Active re-negotiation of the site should always be the goal of these interpreters, as they are the only non-static part of an otherwise staged world.

8.3 Limitations of this Research

For as many issues that this work has sought to bring together, the process of such an undertaking comes with a set of limitations. The mixed-methods and concepts approach necessarily created a broad scope. This limited the capacity to address each aspect, be it through period of investigation or available wordcount.

If we are to consider the First Assertion, of renewable and sustainable heritage, this work would have quickly become a conservation research project. It would have necessitated the long-term study of the degradation and costs of reconstructing buildings. The approaches that each site take would have been a major focal point, as with consideration for longevity and accuracy of materials or construction methods used. Certainly, the visitor interviews would have been vastly different. Similarly, if the Second Assertion was the driving force, tourism diversity for economic development, this work would have been primarily a study in economic impact on regions. The long-term focus would have been on real estate, tourism infrastructure over time, and a heavier stress on revenue as well as job-creation. Both would have been perfectly reasonable approaches. Still, what this research uncovered considering both have ultimately been positive. These sites are -with proper planning and networks of support- resilient and renewable. They may not be economic dynamos that create dozens of on-site jobs, but they do function within a larger tourism landscape, best with multiple resources that can support one another -directly or indirectly. Lastly, even my motivation to steer this work towards a decolonial purpose could have gone in different ways.

This research is qualitative at its core. What it can tell me is a suggestion more than a punctuating mark. Aspects of it can offer signposts towards value of these attractions, but as the methodology chapter admits, this is only a snapshot of a specific time in a specific year. Logistics limited the fieldwork to short-spans. Just as well, interviews had to be kept brief to maximize contact numbers, and not test the patience of visitors. In the end, the longevity of the changes to perceptions of Saxons or Vikings cannot be confidently told. A visitor may, in a week's time, forget much of their experience. This work could not possibly address that without becoming something altogether different.

Additionally, timing was both a secret boon and a boundary for this work. The futures for Jarrow Hall, Follow the Vikings, and the Saxon Shores project tauntingly fall outside of the scope. While I was able to see resilience of sites in action, the impacts of their survival strategies cannot yet be seen.

Lastly, the greatest limit of this work is in its use as a device to implement the foundation of AOAMs in other parts of the world. From a visualizing heritages and pasts perspective, many areas in the global South could potentially benefit from having reconstructions. However, whether this approach would be viable in in these states in a long-term sense cannot confidently be said; there are far too many variables and circumstances that would need to be factored in. The AOAM may certainly be an option to tell decolonial pasts in non-Western countries, they may provide tourism jobs to states that could benefit greatly from them, but the question remains how these sites would fit into a tourism landscape beyond the NorthWest. This research is a stepping-stone towards such an answer.

8.4 Conclusions

My research set out to do many things. I sought to examine AOAMs as renewable heritage. But not only renewable from a conservation or economic perspective; rather, their potentials to renew lost, stolen, marginalized, or vanished pasts. The results were mixed, opportunities were/are missed, and learning may still lean towards the Eurocentric. Still, these ‘museums’ are spaces that play with time in unique ways. The line of time that is central to Western understandings of existence is disrupted. Even this action itself is ceremony. It is conjuring and becoming a ‘past’, regardless of if it happened as such.

The reconstructions -and their ‘accuracy’- are not overly important in the end. Peers said that “even the most historically accurate details of reconstructions can communicate narratives and ideas which are quite untrue” (2007, 92). One cannot quantify a spirit, an emotion. Sites where the ‘past’ is reconstructed are much more than educational, where experiences turn “thoughtless hands-on activities into minds-on challenges” (Hein 1998, 30-1). They should attract spirits to them. They should remind us that ‘the past’ is many things, and they are still potent, still very much immanent in our world. This recognition in itself is decolonial, so there was no other way I could conceive of this project. Bringing Indigenous and decolonial thinking into such spaces seemed a common-sense decision.

Considering AOAMs as realms that can attract and foster spirits of decolonial options to heritage should not be limited. It is my hope that this work has opened room for discussion in these terms. It is my hope that more Western thinkers and practitioners of heritage and archaeology will consider more greatly the potentials of decoloniality to their works. Not as a niche way of thinking, but as a focal point. Ideally, this work will help to stimulate more non-Western and Indigenous voices into the dialogue of heritage, providing more options. This research, as I have viewed it, is in itself a work of decoloniality.

This work strives towards negotiating European heritages, and to interrogate the viability of these scenes of negotiation as touristic resources. The results of which aim to provide insight that the cases and other AOAMs can use for the futures of their sites. It is more than that, though. The ‘Viking’ is not at risk of vanishing from the world any time soon. And while the spirits of it/them are tools and grounds for social/political contestation, it will be remembered. Many pasts cannot be counted so fortunate. The United Kingdom and Sweden can be considered economically prosperous states. This is not to suggest a lack of poverty or income disparities. Tourism may benefit their economies, but it is not their largest industry.

My research has always existed in several worlds. It has focused on the NorthWest, and the heritages of pre-modern Europe. It has considered the need for delinking the 'Viking', 'Saxon', and other European heritages from the Colonial Matrix of Power. It is necessary to do this to combat White Supremacy, Western Modernity, and Eurocentric beliefs of the world, ultimately to help foster options for how we may consider our pasts, presents, and futures.

My work, though, has never more than partially about nurturing decolonial spirits in the worlds of the NorthWest. Much of my considerations are for economic growth and stability, and the advancement of decoloniality in the Global South. This research has sought to derive inspiration from Western models of alternative tourism in order to better inform future applications in marginal states and among marginal people. I despise the 'Vanishing Indian' narrative, but some of our pasts and expressions of heritage are indeed at risk, even if we thrive. I also detest the narrative of 'Poor Countries', and yet my motherland is economically deprived for complicated reasons.

The Three Assertions do have a place in the West, this research has shown as much. In Latin America, though, even the AOAM as a concept is rather novel. Still, I believe in these sites' capacity to stimulate and diversify tourism landscapes in these states. I also believe that, if done mindfully, these spaces could also nurture decolonial spirits and work to bring Indigenous dignity, through narratives of survivance and give visitors a view of Indigenous pasts, presents, and futures. Such an endeavour may perhaps also facilitate ways to decolonize in other aspects of Latin American societies. This could include the experimental aspects frequently found at AOAMs to conduct work on numerous projects like Indigenous land management, building methods, and language revival. These opportunities are worth pursuit and are where I place much of my future research -particularly in my motherland in Central America.

Despite all of the questions and uncertain outcomes, I can say that the AOAM does have value: physical, financial, intangible. I can also say that they do -if momentarily- shift perceptions and sentiments of past peoples, but only stand a strong chance at this through engagement with costumed interpreters. Buildings cannot speak to decolonial options, because they do not speak a language that we can always understand. It takes more than a landscape, it takes people who become the past to guide visitors to decolonial spirits. It takes commitment and willingness to have difficult conversations to weave pasts into presents into futures. I cannot say that decolonial options are the agenda of any of the cases, or any AOAM. But these spaces already undermine 'time', they bring ancestors back to life, they give spirits bodies. Some of those spirits may just return home with visitors and grow into something more than an experience. They may, if even for a heartbeat, bring someone to see more options in their world than had previously been.

APPENDIX A

Branding Barbarians

Information Sheet

This Project, currently titled *Branding Barbarians: The Development of Renewable Archaeotourism Sites to Re-Present Marginalized Cultures of the Past. A Case Study of Early Medieval 'Barbarian' Europe*. (Branding Barbarians, for short), is seeking participants among the staff of 'archaeotourism attractions'. I would like to invite you to help out in my research.

What is the project?

Branding Barbarians is a PhD level research project that seeks to create a practical theory behind developing marketable 'cultural brands' to diversify the archaeotourism industry. Over the next two years, I am visiting five attractions that depict Early Medieval peoples. Each site is economically analysed, and public valuation is assessed. Additionally, the role that each attraction plays in the re-presentation to the public of the 'culture' in question is examined.

What is involved?

I will conduct informal interviews with staff members about the workings of the attractions they work at. These interviews will take place in two manners: remote (e.g. email conversations) and on the property, without a formulaic set list of questions. The questions will be primarily of the following nature: day-to-day operations, history, maintenance, outreach, accomplishments, obstacles, purpose, and future of the attraction. Questions founded around these matters will be asked as we walk around the property, and engage with the attraction.

Do I have to participate?

No. You do not need to participate, and you are able to end the interview at any point of your choosing.

Will you tell anyone else what I say?

The repetition of the information you provide will be up to your discretion (see consent form)

How will the information I provide be used?

It will be (if desired) included in the end product (thesis), which will include in findings and recommendations of practice. This may additionally be published in other works read by policy makers and/or practitioners. A report of the specific findings will be available to all sites that participate.

Who is the researcher?

I (Paul Edward Montgomery) am a PhD researcher at University of York, Department of Archaeology. I am a trained public archaeologist with masters level degrees in both Public Archaeology (UCL) and Celtic & Viking Archaeology (UoGlasgow). My research interests are in tourism, and the representation of past peoples and marginalized cultures.

My supervisors are Dr Steven P Ashby and Dr Sara Perry.

You may contact myself (pem507@york.ac.uk) for more information or any questions about the project.

Branding Barbarians: Museum Staff Consent Form

I agree to participate, by interview, in the research project titled: *Branding Barbarians*.

I have read the informational sheet for this project provided.

I understand that I am able free to withdraw from the interview at any point in time.

I give consent for the transcribed text from the informal interview to be used in the research of this project, and any publications that result from it, as carried out by the researcher Paul Edward Montgomery –under the following conditions (tick whichever is appropriate):

I agree to be identified, by name and title of position, when any material from the interview is quoted or published

I agree for the material from the interview to be quoted or published, under the condition of anonymity

I wish to be consulted further before any material from the interview is quoted or published

Signature:

Date:

Researcher Signature:

Queries can be sent to Paul Edward Montgomery : pem507@york.ac.uk

Dr Steve Ashby: steve.ashby@york.ac.uk

Dr Sara Perry: sara.perry@york.ac.uk

APPENDIX B

Visitor Interview Forms

(The next several pages are blank copies of the forms I used during my visitor interviews. There are four two-paged documents, one for each case)

Questionnaire – Branding Barbarians

Survey ID: WS.Eng. _____

1. Where are you from? _____ Nationality: _____
2. Age: 18-25 26-35 36-45 46-55 56-65 66-75 76-85 86-95 96+
3. Gender: F M Other _____ Prefer not to Answer
4. Education: Primary 2nd Post-2nd Undergrad Postgrad X
5. What is the occupation of the head of the household? _____
6. Are you staying in the area (w/in 50km)? Y / N For about how long is your trip?
7. Is this your first visit to West Stow? Y/N If N, how many times have you visited?
Why?
8. Who did you visit with? Alone 1 other adult Several Adults Adult & Child(ren)
Adults(s) & Child(ren) Child(ren) Tour Group School Trip Other _____
9. How did you come here? Bus/Train Car Taxi Tour Transport Other _____
10. How easy was it to get here? 1-5 (Very Easy – Very Difficult)
11. Why did you choose to visit? _____
12. Where did you hear of West Stow?Already knew Internet Media Word of
Mouth Travel Agency Book/guide Part of Travel Package Other _____
13. How long was your visit at West Stow? _____
14. How much money did you/your group spend to enter West Stow?

Too High?	Too Low?	Fair?	Willing to Pay
15. What did you _____ about your visit?

Like	Dislike
16. What keywords would you have used to describe Saxons before visiting West Stow?

17. How would you have rated your understanding of Saxons before visiting West Stow?

1-10

18. What did you learn about Saxons from your visit?

19. Was there something you didn't expect?

What did it make you think/feel?

20. What keywords would you use to describe Saxons now?

21. How would you rate your understanding of Saxons after visiting West Stow? 1-10

22. Overall, how would you rate your experience? 1-5 (very bad - very good)

23. What would you have liked to have learned / seen more about?

24. How likely are you to visit West Stow again? 1-5 (very unlikely – very likely)

25. How likely would you be to visit another site about Saxons?

In X Country	1 Not at all	2	3	4	5 Very
Same					
Different					

26. Have you been to any other Saxon attractions?

27. Do you know any of these attractions? Have you visited any of them? Would you?

Bede's World, Tyne&Wear Sutton Hoo, Suffolk Offa's Dyke

Daw's Castle, Somerset Ruthwell Cross, Dumfries & Galloway

All Saints Church, Brixworth, Northampton St Martins Church, Kent

1. Where are you from? _____ Nationality: _____
2. Age: 18-25 26-35 36-45 46-55 56-65 66-75 76-85 86-95 96+
3. Gender: F M Other _____ Prefer not to Answer
4. Education: Primary 2nd Post-2nd Undergrad Postgrad X
5. What is the occupation of the head of the household? _____
6. Are you staying in the area (w/in 50km)? Y / N For about how long is your trip?
7. Is this your first visit to Foteviken? Y/N If N, how many times have you visited?
Why?
8. Who did you visit with? Alone 1 other adult Several Adults Adult & Child(ren)
Adults(s) & Child(ren) Child(ren) Tour Group School Trip Other _____
9. How did you come here? Bus/Train Car Taxi Tour Transport Other _____
10. How easy was it to get here? 1-5 (Very Easy – Very Difficult)
11. Why did you choose to visit? _____
12. Where did you hear of Foteviken?Already knew Internet Media Word of Mouth
Travel Agency Book/guide Part of Travel Package Other _____
13. How long was your visit at Foteviken? _____

14. How much money did you/your group spend to enter Foteviken?

Too High?	Too Low?	Fair?	Willing to Pay

15. What did you _____ about your visit?

Like	Dislike

16. What keywords would you have used to describe Vikings before visiting Foteviken?

17. How would you have rated your understanding of Vikings before visiting Foteviken?

1-10

18. What did you learn about Vikings from your visit?

19. Was there something you didn't expect?

What did it make you think/feel?

20. What keywords would you use to describe Vikings now?

21. How would you rate your understanding of Vikings after visiting Foteviken? 1-10

22. Overall, how would you rate your experience? 1-5 (very bad - very good)

23. What would you have liked to have learned / seen more about?

24. How likely are you to visit Foteviken again? 1-5 (very unlikely – very likely)

25. How likely would you be to visit another site about Vikings?

In X Country	1 Not at all	2	3	4	5 Very
Same					
Different					

26. Have you been to any other Viking attractions?

27. Do you know any of these attractions? Have you visited any of them? Would you?

Jorvik, York, UK Lofotr, Bøstad, NOR Thingvellir, ICE

Trelleborg, DMK Jelling Stones, DMK Gamla Uppsala, SWE

L'Anse aux Meadows, CAN

Destination Viking

1. Where are you from? _____ Nationality: _____
2. Age: 18-25 26-35 36-45 46-55 56-65 66-75 76-85 86-95 96+
3. Gender: F M Other _____ Prefer not to Answer
4. Education: Primary 2nd Post-2nd Undergrad Postgrad X
5. What is the occupation of the head of the household? _____
6. Are you staying in the area (w/in 50km)? Y / N For about how long is your trip?
7. Is this your first visit to Jarrow Hall? Y/N If N, how many times have you visited?
Why?
8. Who did you visit with? Alone 1 other adult Several Adults Adult & Child(ren)
Adults(s) & Child(ren) Child(ren) Tour Group School Trip Other _____
9. How did you come here? Bus/Train Car Taxi Tour Transport Other _____
10. How easy was it to get here? 1-5 (Very Easy – Very Difficult)
11. Why did you choose to visit? _____
12. Where did you hear of Jarrow Hall?Already knew Internet Media Word of
Mouth Travel Agency Book/guide Part of Travel Package Other _____
13. How long was your visit at Jarrow Hall? _____

14. How much money did you/your group spend to enter Jarrow Hall?

Too High?	Too Low?	Fair?	Willing to Pay

15. What did you _____ about your visit?

Like	Dislike

16. What keywords would you have used to describe Saxons before visiting Jarrow Hall?

17. How would you have rated your understanding of Saxons before visiting Jarrow Hall?

1-10

18. What did you learn about Saxons from your visit?

19. Was there something you didn't expect?

What did it make you think/feel?

20. What keywords would you use to describe Saxons now?

21. How would you rate your understanding of Saxons after visiting Jarrow Hall? 1-10

22. Overall, how would you rate your experience? 1-5 (very bad - very good)

23. What would you have liked to have learned / seen more about?

24. How likely are you to visit West Stow again? 1-5 (very unlikely – very likely)

25. How likely would you be to visit another site about Saxons?

In X Country	1 Not at all	2	3	4	5 Very
Same					
Different					

26. Have you been to any other Saxon attractions?

27. Do you know any of these attractions? Have you visited any of them? Would you?

West Stow, Suffolk Sutton Hoo, Suffolk Offa's Dyke

Daw's Castle, Somerset Ruthwell Cross, Dumfries & Galloway

All Saints Church, Brixworth, Northampton St Martins Church, Kent

1. Where are you from? _____ Nationality: _____
2. Age: 18-25 26-35 36-45 46-55 56-65 66-75 76-85 86-95 96+
3. Gender: F M Other _____ Prefer not to Answer
4. Education: Primary 2nd Post-2nd Undergrad Postgrad X
5. What is the occupation of the head of the household? _____
6. Are you staying in the area (w/in 50km)? Y / N For about how long is your trip?
7. Is this your first visit to Jorvik? Y/N If N, how many times have you visited?
Why?
8. Who did you visit with? Alone 1 other adult Several Adults Adult & Child(ren)
Adults(s) & Child(ren) Child(ren) Tour Group School Trip Other _____
9. How did you come here? Bus/Train Car Taxi Tour Transport Other _____
10. How easy was it to get here? 1-5 (Very Easy – Very Difficult)
11. Why did you choose to visit? _____
12. Where did you hear of Jorvik? Already knew Internet Media Word of Mouth
Travel Agency Book/guide Part of Travel Package Other _____
13. How long was your visit at Jorvik? _____

14. How much money did you/your group spend to enter Jorvik?

Too High?	Too Low?	Fair?	Willing to Pay

15. What did you _____ about your visit?

Like	Dislike

16. What keywords would you have used to describe Vikings before visiting Jorvik?

17. How would you have rated your understanding of Vikings before visiting Jorvik?

1-10

18. What did you learn about Vikings from your visit?

19. Was there something you didn't expect?

What did it make you think/feel?

20. What keywords would you use to describe Vikings now?

21. How would you rate your understanding of Vikings after visiting Jorvik? 1-10

22. Overall, how would you rate your experience? 1-5 (very bad - very good)

23. What would you have liked to have learned / seen more about?

24. How likely are you to visit Jorvik again? 1-5 (very unlikely – very likely)

25. How likely would you be to visit another site about Vikings?

In X Country	1 Not at all	2	3	4	5 Very
Same					
Different					

26. Have you been to any other Viking attractions?

27. Do you know any of these attractions? Have you visited any of them? Would you?

Foteviken, Vellinge, SWE Lofotr, Bøstad, NOR Thingvellir, ICE

Trelleborg, DMK Jelling Stones, DMK Gamla Uppsala, SWE

L'Anse aux Meadows, CAN

Destination Viking

APPENDIX C

AHEC Ethics Approval Forms

Arts and Humanities Ethics Committee

Compliance Declaration

This declaration must be returned, fully completed, along with each submission made to AHEC.

On completion, please return **two copies** of this form: one by email to hrc-ethics@york.ac.uk, and a second, hard-copy, **signed by the Applicant, the Applicant's Head of Department, and – if applicable – the Applicant's Supervisor.**

Those making a resubmission **must also complete section 6, on page 3.**

Return Address: Helen Jacobs, Humanities Research Centre, Berrick Saul Building, University of York YO10 5DD .

1. The Applicant:

Name: Paul Edward Montgomery

Position: PhD Researcher

Centre/Department: Archaeology

Contact details: email address: pem507@york.ac.uk Telephone number:

2. Supervisors:

Doctoral Supervisor: Steve Ashby & Sara Perry

(if applicable)

Head of Research:

Head of Department: John Schofield

3. The Project:

Project Title: Branding Barbarians: The Development of Renewable Archaeotourism Sites to Re- Present Marginalized Cultures of the Past. A Case Study of Early Medieval 'Barbarian' Europe.

How is the project funded?: Self-Funded External funder

Funder (if applicable):

4. Other Jurisdictions:

Please indicate whether your proposal has been considered by any other bodies:

External Sponsor

Another University of York Ethics Committee

NHS Research Ethics Committee

5. Declaration:

I confirm that I have read and understood:

the AHEC guidelines on consent; and

the AHEC information sheets for researchers working with human subjects; and

the University of York data protection guidelines.

These forms are available on the AHEC pages of the HRC website: www.york.ac.uk/hrc/ahec

Signature of applicant:

Paul Edward Montgomery

(Type name if submitting electronically)

Date:

I confirm that the applicant and myself have read and understood the AHEC guidelines on Consent and Data Protection

Signature of Supervisor (if appropriate):

(Type name if submitting electronically)

Date:

Signature of Head of Research Centre or Head of Department:

(Type name if submitting electronically)

Date:

6. Additional Declaration for Resubmissions:

I have read and understood the AHEC response to the initial application, and consider that the attached response deals appropriately with its recommendations.

Signature of applicant:

Date:

Please attach an additional sheet/file with a point-by-point response to the recommendations issued by AHEC.

I have read and understood the AHEC response to the initial application, and consider that the attached response deals appropriately with its recommendations.

Signature of Research Supervisor (if appropriate):

Date:

I have read and understood the AHEC response to the initial application, and consider that the attached response deals appropriately with its recommendations.

Signature of Head of Research Centre or Head of Department:

Date:

Arts and Humanities Ethics Committee

Submission form 

To be used for:

- Small scale evaluation & audit work
- Non-invasive research
- Not involving vulnerable groups e.g.
 - Children
 - Those with learning disabilities
 - People with mental impairment due to health or lifestyle
 - Those who are terminally ill
 - Recently bereaved
 - Those unable to consent to or understand the research
 - Where research concerns sensitive topics / illegal activities
 - Where deception is involved
 - Any research requiring a CRB check
- Following initial evaluation you may be required to submit a Full application to AHEC where ethical issues need more detailed consideration
- It is up to the researcher to determine which form to complete at the outset.
- NB If you are collecting data from NHS patients or staff, or Social Service users or staff, you will need to apply for approval through the Integrated Research Application System (IRAS) at <https://www.myresearchproject.org.uk/Signin.aspx>
 - If you are a staff member please fill in the IRAS form NOT this one and send your completed IRAS form to AHEC for health and social services research.
 - Student applications for approval through IRAS should normally be pre-reviewed by department ethics committees or AHEC.

Completed forms should be sent to the AHEC Administrator along with the documents listed in section 7 as follows:

1. **one signed hard copy** (to Helen Jacobs, AHEC Administrator, Humanities Research Centre, Room BS/106 Berrick Saul Building, University of York, YO10 5DD), and
2. **one electronic copy** (email to hrc-ethics@york.ac.uk).

The committee will respond to submissions within a maximum of four weeks, but will endeavour to respond sooner than this.

FOR OFFICE USE ONLY		
Case Reference Number:		
1 st AHEC Reviewer:	2 nd AHEC Reviewer:	3 rd AHEC Reviewer:
Date received:	Date considered:	Date approved:
Compliance form signed? Y/N		

SUBMISSION FORM LITE

1a. Please provide the following details about the principal investigator at York

Name of Applicant:	<u>Paul Edward Montgomery</u>
email address:	pem507@york.ac.uk
Telephone:	██████████
Staff/Student Status:	PhD
Dept/Centre or Unit:	<u>Archaeology</u>

Head of Department:	<u>John Schofield</u>
HoD email address:	<u>john.schofield@york.ac.uk</u>
Head of Research: (if applicable)	
HoR email address: (if applicable)	

1b. Any other applicants (for collaborative research projects)

Name of Applicant:	
email address:	
Telephone:	
Staff/Student Status:	
Dept/Centre or Unit:	
Head of Department:	
HoD email address:	
Head of Research: (if applicable)	
HoR email address: (if applicable)	

Name of Applicant:	
email address:	
Telephone:	

Staff/Student Status:	
Department/Centre or Unit:	
Head of Department:	
HoD email address:	
Head of Research Project: (if applicable)	
Head of Research Project email address: (if applicable)	

2. If you are a student please provide the following supervisory details for your project:

1 st Supervisor	Steve Ashby
email address:	steve.ashby@york.ac.uk
2 nd Supervisor	Sara Perry
email address:	sara.perry@york.ac.uk

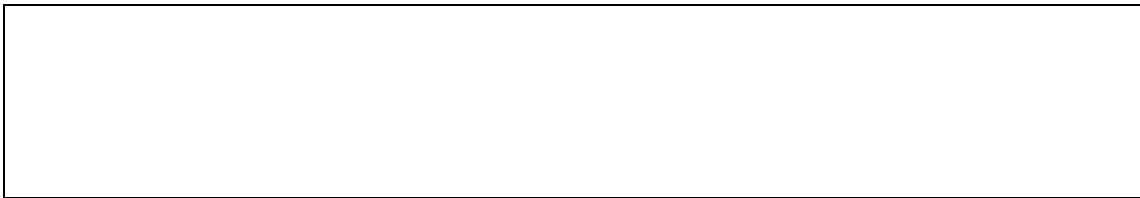
3. Please provide the following details about your project:

Title of Project:	Branding Barbarians: The Development of Renewable Archaeotourism Sites to Re- Present Marginalized Cultures of the Past. A Case Study of Early Medieval 'Barbarian' Europe.
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Date of Submission to AHEC:	25 March 2016
Project Start Date:	Jan 2015
Duration:	3 Years
Funded Yes/No:	No
Funding Source:	Personal
External Ethics Board Jurisdictions:	

4. Summary of research proposal

<h2>Aims and objectives of the research</h2>
<p>Please outline the questions or hypotheses that will be examined in the research.</p>
<p>This research seeks to answer the questions:</p> <p>What is the 'public value' of alternative and renewable archaeotourism attractions that represent 'barbarian' peoples of Early Medieval Europe?</p> <p>How do these attractions contribute to the re-evaluation of public understanding of past peoples?</p> <p>What are the economic potentials and obstacles behind the development and maintenance of alternative and renewable archaeotourism attractions?</p>



Methods of data collection

Outline how the data will be collected from or about human subjects.

Data to answer these questions concerning financial matters, and that of people will be collected in the following ways:

Visitors to the attractions in the study will be anonymously surveyed to produce data for demographics, contingent valuation of the attraction, their willingness to visit/ knowledge of similar attractions, and their perception of past cultures prior to and after their visit.

Members of staff at the attractions will be informally interviewed –on an entirely voluntary basis- about the workings of their sites and the organizations that run them.

Recruitment of participants

How many participants will take part in the research? How will they be identified and invited to take part in the study? How will informed consent be obtained?

The participants in this study take two differing forms: Site Visitors, and Site Staff.

It is estimated that around 500 visitors will be surveyed (divided among 5 sites). They will be invited to participate in the survey as they pass by the 'survey-station' (the select area where I will be set up on site), and will not be selected for any other reason than they are A) Adults and B) are visitors to the attraction. Consent will be obtained by me explicitly asking them if they would like to participate in the survey.

At least 5 members of staff will be interviewed (1 for each site). They will be a member who has agreed, among themselves, to talk with me both prior to and during my site visit. Any members of staff may similarly be informally interviewed, if they so wish. Again, they are specifically asked if they would like to participate by providing me with their insights.

Participant information sheets and consent forms

Please attach (1) the project information sheet to be given to all participants and (2) the informed consent form. **(n.b. failure to submit these documents may delay the approval process.)**

- i. Please confirm you have included the project information sheet to be given to all participants with your submission to AHEC. If this has not been attached, please explain why this is the case.

I confirm the project information sheets for participants have been attached.

<p>ii. Please confirm you have included all the relevant informed consent forms. If these have not been attached, please explain why this is the case.</p>
<p>I have attached the relevant informed consent form.</p>
<p>iii. Are the results to be given as feedback or disseminated to your participants (if yes please specify when, in what form, and by what means)</p>
<p>Results will not be returned to the site visitors, as they will be entirely anonymous and I will have no way to follow back with them.</p> <p>Results will be disseminated to the staff of each attraction, following the processing thereof, in the form of a short initial report and then –upon completion of the PhD- as their case study in its entirety, in electronic format.</p>

<p>Anonymity In most instances the Committee expects that anonymity will be offered to research subjects. Please set out how you intend to ensure anonymity. If anonymity is not being offered please explain why this is the case.</p>
<p>Site Visitors will be made anonymous. Their names will never be asked, nor will their addresses. The information that they provide in the survey will not be enough to reasonably uncover their identities. Should any individual participant's information be raised in this work, the participant will be identified by a to be determined ordering system.</p> <p>Members of staff will not have their names divulged in the work, but instead will be referred to as being a staffmember of the attraction they work at.</p>

<p>Data collection</p> <p>All personal and sensitive data must be collected and stored in accordance with the Data Protection Act 1998 and the University’s research data management (RDM) policy https://www.york.ac.uk/library/info-for/researchers/data/storing/ Please set out all the types of data you will be collecting (e.g. interviews, questionnaires, recordings)</p> <p>At the moment, the University's research data management policy is applied to research undertaken by postgraduate research students and research staff only. This suggests retaining data for a period of 10 years. Although data produced by taught postgraduates does not therefore need to be retained under the RDM Policy we do recommend that you think about storing the data for a period of 2 years.</p>
<p>i. Please detail type(s) of data.</p>
<p>Visitor Surveys – Individual forms will be retained in electronic format and kept on a USB flash drive (to be handed over as such, or compiled onto a CD at the final submission of the PhD)</p> <p>Informal staff surveys – As there is no formal form to these interviews, they will be written down in a ‘staff interview notebook’, rendered into electronic format. These will be similarly kept on a USB flash drive (to be handed over as such, or compiled onto a CD at the final submission of the PhD)</p>
<p>ii. Where is the data to be collected and where will it be stored electronically? Please describe what protection there will be in relation to electronic storage?</p>

Visitor surveys are to be collected on site. Staff interviews will be both collected remotely, and on site.

Both of these sets of data will be stored in a USB flash drive. These drives will be encrypted to ensure that they are made secure.

iii. Where is the data to be stored in paper form? Please describe how this will be protected.

Hardcopies of this data will be kept to a minimum (surveys will be attempted to be conducted entirely using electronic forms). Field notes and any surveys that require a hardcopy, though, will be kept in a safebox on my property.

iv. At what point are you proposing to destroy the data, in relation to the duration of this project? And how?

The destruction of any unnecessary hardcopies will be undertaken after the fulfilment of the PhD –although, electronic copies will be retained by the university along with my thesis.

v. If you are sharing data with others outside your department, what steps are you taking to ensure that it is protected?

The data itself will not be available externally. As a courtesy to the sites that allow me to conduct my study with them, I will process a report for them. This will provide information more appropriately than any raw data.

vi. If the data is to be exported outside the European Union, what steps are you taking to ensure that it is protected? (**Note: you must identify how you will comply with Data Protection Act 1998 requirements.**)

This is a non-issue for the study, as any involved attraction is –at the time of this writing- a member of the EU.

Perceived risks or ethical problems

Please outline any anticipated risks or ethical problems that may adversely affect any of the participants, the researchers and or the university, and the steps that will be taken to address them. **(Note: all research involving human participants can have adverse effects.)**

- i. Risks to participants (e.g. emotional distress, financial disclosure, physical harm, transfer of personal data, sensitive organisational information...)

Risks to the visitors will be minimal. The questions posed are fairly standard to those that visitors are commonly asked. Matters of income may be sensitive, but no direct financial number is sought –rather their occupation.

Staff members may run into the risk of sensitive organizational information. In this case, I will confirm with them whether or not they are comfortable (personally/organizationally) having information used in the research. If not, then said information will be respectfully excluded.

- ii. Risks to researchers (e.g. personal safety, physical harm, emotional distress, risk of accusation of harm/impropriety, conflict of interest...)

I foresee no risk to my own person, emotionally, physically, or otherwise.

<p>iii. University/institutional risks (e.g. adverse publicity, financial loss, data protection...)</p>
<p>I foresee no institutional risks.</p>
<p>iv. Financial conflicts of interest (e.g. perceived or actual with respect to direct payments, research funding, indirect sponsorship, board or organisational memberships, past associations, future potential benefits, other...)</p>
<p>As I am self-funded, I see no conflict of interest in that respect. Likewise, my current and past associations have no implications on this research.</p>
<p>v. Please draw the committee's attention to any other specific ethical issues this study raises.</p>

5. Ethics checklist

Please confirm that all of the steps indicated below have been taken, or will be taken, with regards to the above named project submitted for ethical approval. If there are any items that you cannot confirm, or are not relevant to your project, please use the space provided below to explain.

Please tick if true, otherwise leave blank:

- Informed consent will be sought from all research participants where appropriate
- All data will be treated anonymously and stored in a secure place
- All relevant issues relating to Data Protection legislation have been considered (see <http://www.york.ac.uk/recordsmanagement/dpa/>) & the Data Protection office contacted (Dr Charles Fonge, Borthwick Institute, charles.fonge@york.ac.uk)
- All quotes and other material obtained from participants will be anonymised in all reports/publications arising from the study where appropriate
- All reasonable steps have been taken to minimise risk of physical/ psychological harm to project participants.
- All reasonable steps have been taken to minimise risk of physical/mental harm to researchers
- Participants have been made aware of and consent to all potential futures uses of the research and data
- Any relevant issues relating to intellectual property have been considered (see <https://www.york.ac.uk/staff/research/external-funding/ip/policy/>), and, if relevant, the University's Legal Manager, Matthew Just matthew.just@york.ac.uk, has been made aware of the research.
- There are no known conflicts of interest with respect to finance/funding
- The research is approved by the Head of Department, Unit, Centre or School

Please explain in the space below, why any of the above items have not yet been confirmed:

6. Other comments

Are there any issues that you wish to draw to the Committee's attention (it is your responsibility to draw any ethical issues to AHEC that may be of perceived or actual interest)?

7. Submission Checklist for Applicants

Finally, please **sign** the form and ensure that **all of the indicated documents** below are sent both **electronically** to hrc-ethics@york.ac.uk, and in **hard copy** to the AHEC Administrator, Helen Jacobs, Humanities Research Centre, Berrick Saul Building, University of York, YO10 5DD.

AHEC Application form

Consent form for participants

Information Sheet for participants

AHEC Compliance form

8. Signed undertaking

Statement by applicant

In submitting this application I hereby confirm that there are **no actual or perceived conflicts of interest** with respect to this application (and associated research) other than those already declared.

Furthermore, I hereby undertake to ensure that the above named research project will meet the commitments in the checklist above. In conducting the project, the research team will be guided by the Social Research Association's/AHRC's/ESRC's ethical guidelines for research.

..... (Signed Lead Researcher/Principal Investigator)

..... (Date)

If applicant is a student:

Statement by supervisor

I have read all component elements of this application in detail and discussed them with the applicant, suggesting revision or improvements where appropriate. I am satisfied that all documents to be shared with external partners or participants are of a suitably high standard to represent the thoughtfulness and professionalism of the applicant, the department and the university community well in their relations with external bodies.

..... (Signed Supervisor)

..... (Date)

If applicant is a member of academic staff:

Statement by Head of Research Project (where applicable) or Departmental Research Chair or Head of Department:

I have read through the application and the documentation that will be shared with external bodies, where this exists, and am satisfied that documents to be shared with external partners or participants are of a suitably high standard to represent the thoughtfulness and professionalism of the project, the department and the university community well in their relations with external bodies.

..... (Signed)

.....(Print name)

.....(Role)

..... (Date)

APPENDIX D

Visitor Interview Data Spreadsheets

The files that make up this Appendix can be found on the USB flash drive accompanying this thesis, in a folder marked Appendix D – Visitor Interview Data Spreadsheets.

The folder contains four (4) files. Each file contains the interviews of each participant at their respective sites, rendered into spreadsheets.

Please refer to the blank forms in the previous appendix for guidance on the ordering of the responses.

Additionally, the final portion of the spreadsheets (that correspond with Question 27) are written using three symbols. The [X] signifies a positive response from the participant. A [/] signifies a negative positive response. And an [O] signifies a negative response. For instance, if a participant said they would be willing to visit the site in question, they are coded as [X]. If they determined they would only visit that site under special circumstances, they have been coded with a [/]. If they said they would not visit, then they have been coded as [O].

This section, as you can see, did not make it into the broader dissertation. I still felt that it was important to keep these questions and replies in the data-set for potential later analysis.

APPENDIX E

Lesser to Greater Keyword Categorization Spreadsheets

The software, NVivo, was used to generate the first sets of Greater Keywords for this work. This was done in several fashions as shown below:

Word	Length	Count	Weighted Percentage (%)	Similar Words
warrior	7	38	4.76	warrior, warriors
farmer	6	32	4.01	farmer, farmers
scandinavian	12	21	2.63	nordic, norse, scandinavian
community	9	19	2.38	communal, community, nation, national
hard	4	21	2.32	hard, just, strong, tough
skilled	7	19	2.07	good, practical, skilled, skillful, skills
pillage	7	16	2.01	pillage, plunder, raider, rape
advanced	8	14	1.59	advanced, innovative, modern, sophisticated
clever	6	16	1.57	clever, ingenious, ingenuity, inventive, smart
brave	5	12	1.50	brave, courageous, hardy
explorer	8	12	1.50	adventurous, explorer, explorers
traders	7	12	1.50	trader, traders
industrious	11	11	1.38	hardworking, industrial, industrious
invader	7	11	1.38	invader, invaders
settler	7	11	1.38	settler, settlers
english	7	10	1.25	english
resourceful	11	10	1.25	resourceful
intelligent	11	10	1.19	healthy, intelligent
early	5	9	1.13	early
cultured	8	10	1.07	civilized, cultural, cultured, ethnically
craftsmen	9	8	1.00	craftsmen
post	4	8	1.00	post
roman	5	8	1.00	roman
seafarer	8	7	0.88	seafarer, seafaring, seaman
tall	4	7	0.88	tall

Word	Length	Count	Weighted Percentage (%)	Similar Words
warrior	7	46	5.01	brave, warrior, warriors
worker	6	74	4.53	farmer, fisherman, hunter, man, metalworker, post, sailor, seafarer, seaman, settler, woodworker, worker
past	4	36	2.79	ago, ancient, early, historic, historical, history, medieval, old, olden, past
habits	6	35	2.72	briton, european, german, habits, inhabitant, inhabitent, norman, norse, roman, scandinavian, viking, villager
community	9	48	2.61	communal, community, hardy, honour, language, nation, national, post, seaman, settler, time, village
hard	4	30	2.44	hard, hardened, just, strong, tall, tough
farmer	6	32	2.26	farmer, farmers
traveler	8	43	2.10	boat, foreigner, immigrant, invader, migrant, post, range, seafaring, settler, ship, traveled, traveler, well, work
german	6	37	1.52	danish, english, german, germanic, nordic, norse, scandinavian, swedish
explorer	8	12	1.50	adventurous, explorer, explorers
industrious	11	13	1.44	agriculture, hardworking, industrial, industrious
time	4	21	1.44	history, life, none, old, past, time
pillage	7	18	1.40	pillage, pirate, plunder, raider, rape
clever	6	25	1.38	clever, ingenious, ingenuity, intelligent, inventive, smart
people	6	38	1.35	agriculture, blood, brave, british, business, english, french, nation, people, population, trade, world
skilled	7	20	1.32	good, mean, practical, skilled, skillful, skills
resourceful	11	10	1.25	resourceful
traders	7	12	1.19	trader, traders
advanced	8	27	1.14	advanced, civilized, early, innovative, modern, preservation, sophisticated
scandinavian	12	26	1.11	danish, nordic, norse, scandinavian, swedish, viking
territorial	11	15	1.09	city, community, rus, territorial, village
tall	4	16	1.07	hard, long, tall
craftsmen	9	8	1.00	craftsmen
familial	8	15	1.00	familial, family, gender, houses, masculine, past, people
aggressive	10	15	0.94	aggressive, militant, pillage, rape

The above sheets show the results of the twenty-five most frequently used 'Greater' keywords derived from the 'Lesser' keywords provided. It includes a list of synonyms in the final column. These are constructed by using NVivo's word frequency query function. The first spreadsheet created the Great keywords based off of synonyms (as shown in the final column), while the second sheet has created them based off of 'specializations', or words that have similar conceptual applications. As you can see, the words presented as 'synonyms' of Warrior in the first sheet only add the plural form of the word, while the 'specialization' sheet also inserts the sentiment of 'brave'. An examination of the words each query associated is interesting to say the least, for example the term 'Skilled' is equated with both 'good' and 'mean'.

These queries were only of mild use to my needs. Many of the terms the software associated with together are deceptive, or even frankly incorrect. That being the case, I needed to create my own Greater Keywords. Still, using the information from the queries helped me in my own effort to construct these keywords.

The Greater Keyword construction and associated Lesser Keywords can be found on the USB flash drive USB flash drive accompanying this thesis, in a folder marked Appendix E – Lesser to Greater Keyword Categorization Spreadsheets.

The first file 'Greater Keyword Master List' is formatted in the same manner as the above NVivo spreadsheets. The first column is the Greater Keyword that I have created. This is followed by a total frequency of the Greater Keyword, and its percentage of the total. The last several columns are the Lesser Keywords that I have associated together.

Lesser Keywords are not always associated with only one Greater Keyword. Most of them can be counted with two Greater Keywords. Of course, this approach is not perfect, but I selected to do this in order to try and not limit the participants sentiments to only one concept. The following two files are reflections of this. They are the responses of each participant, with their Before and After keywords translated into Greater Keywords. Each participant was allowed three (3) keywords for GKB and GKA. However, these documents illustrate the ways those (total 6) keywords could potentially result in a single participant offering twelve (12) Greater Keywords.

(This was explained in the Methodology section)

APPENDIX F

Travel Cost Analysis Data

The files that make up this Appendix can be found on the USB flash drive accompanying this thesis, in a folder marked Appendix F – Travel Cost Analysis Data.

The first file – Airfare Averages – is a collection of the average price of airfare between two airports. This estimation was used to help calculate costs for long-haul participants. It has been included here as a point of reference.

The other files in this folder – [Case Study Code] Travel Cost Data – constitutes the datasets of distance and cost extrapolated from the visitor responses, and the resulting calculations making up the analysis. Each participant is present, even those whose status (eg student) forced their exclusion from this portion of the study.

Some datasets used to estimate income were found through other means than PayScale. This and any other information regarding special circumstances of a particular participant follow in the column labelled 'Notes'.

APPENDIX G

West Stow Images

The files that make up this Appendix can be found on the USB flash drive accompanying this thesis, in a folder marked Appendix G – West Stow Images.

This folder contains 1152 images taken during my visit to Suffolk on my field research at West Stow from 8 – 14 July 2016HE. For ease of use, the images have been divided into three (3) separate subfolders: Bury St Edmunds, Sutton Hoo, & West Stow.

While these measures have already been taken, please ensure that you are looking at the images in their chronological order by right-clicking, selecting 'Sort by', and ensuring that both 'Date' and 'Ascending' have been chosen.

The images in this appendix have not been modified in any way, and their timestamp is accurate with the date they were originally taken. It should be noted that these images are not representative of all of the images taken during my field research, as can be seen by gaps in the sequence of the file names. Only images that were either taken in error, or those that are visually compromised (eg blurry/unfocused) have been removed.

APPENDIX H

Foteviken Images

The files that make up this Appendix can be found on the USB flash drive accompanying this thesis, in a folder marked Appendix H – Foteviken Images.

This folder contains 2039 images taken during my visit to Höllviken on my field research at Foteviken from 19 – 25 July 2016HE.

While these measures have already been taken, please ensure that you are looking at the images in their chronological order by right-clicking, selecting 'Sort by', and ensuring that both 'Date' and 'Ascending' have been chosen.

The images in this appendix have not been modified in any way, and their timestamp is accurate with the date they were originally taken. It should be noted that these images are not representative of all of the images taken during my field research, as can be seen by gaps in the sequence of the file names. Only images that were either taken in error, or those that are visually compromised (eg blurry/unfocused) have been removed.

APPENDIX I

Jarrow Hall Images

The files that make up this Appendix can be found on the USB flash drive accompanying this thesis, in a folder marked Appendix I – Jarrow Hall Images.

This folder contains 352 images taken during my visit to Jarrow Hall on 9 June 2017HE.

While these measures have already been taken, please ensure that you are looking at the images in their chronological order by right-clicking, selecting 'Sort by', and ensuring that both 'Date' and 'Ascending' have been chosen.

The images in this appendix have not been modified in any way, and their timestamp is accurate with the date they were originally taken. It should be noted that these images are not representative of all of the images taken during my field research, as can be seen by gaps in the sequence of the file names. Only images that were either taken in error, or those that are visually compromised (eg blurry/unfocused) have been removed.

APPENDIX J

Jorvik Centre Images

The files that make up this Appendix can be found on the USB flash drive accompanying this thesis, in a folder marked Appendix J – Jorvik Centre Images.

This folder contains 659 images taken during my field research at The Jorvik Centre, spanning several dates. For ease of use, it has been divided into two (2) sub folders: Jorvik Centre & Jorvik on Tour. The images within Jorvik on Tour were taken on two different dates, at two of the touring venues: Home & Abroad (6 July 2016), and Treasures & Belief (5 December 2016). The different sets also have dissimilar file names, to further define them as not being the same.

The second sub folder, Jorvik Centre, contains images of the refurbished Viking Centre, taken on 6 November 2018. It should be noted that many of the images taken in the Ride portion of the site have been done so while on a walking-tour of the space.

While these measures have already been taken, please ensure that you are looking at the images in their chronological order by right-clicking, selecting 'Sort by', and ensuring that both 'Date' and 'Ascending' have been chosen.

The images in this appendix have not been modified in any way, and their timestamp is accurate with the date they were originally taken. It should be noted that these images are not representative of all of the images taken during my field research, as can be seen by gaps in the sequence of the file names. Only images that were either taken in error, or those that are visually compromised (eg blurry/unfocused) have been removed.

GLOSSARY

Archaeological Open-Air Museum (AOAM) - a non-profit permanent institution with outdoor true to scale architectural reconstructions primarily based on archaeological sources. It holds collections of intangible heritage resources and provides an interpretation of how people lived and acted in the past; this is accomplished according to sound scientific methods for the purposes of education, study and enjoyment of its visitors (EXARC 2008)

Cultural Tourism - the movement of persons to cultural attractions away from their normal place of residence, with the intention to gather new information and experiences to satisfy their cultural needs (Richards 1996)

GKB/A - Greater Keyword Before / After

Heritage Brand - the application of corporate marketing concepts and techniques to cultures, pasts, and heritages in the interests of enhancing heritage industries and their reputation domestically and globally. These can foster specific cultural tourism industries, and can often make up a portion of a greater National Brand.

Heritage Resource, Intangible - these types of tourism resources are those which, while often having a physical component to them are not bound in the material remains of the past (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 2004a). That is to say that the location itself may well interact with the intangible, but the locality itself is periodically transformed by it. These could be occurrences like a music festival or a dance, or they could be longer cultural or spiritual celebrations. Similarly, things like folktales and traditional knowledge (and the expression thereof) also fall within this category (Jones 2004). The focus of these forms of cultural tourism resources is their position within time. A medieval market may only take place for a week each year, and while the location for it certainly does not vanish during the rest of the year, the resource itself is often dormant.

Heritage Resource, Natural - Here, the resource is exactly as described as being 'natural heritage'. It is made up of natural features and sites, geological and physiographical formations, and areas delineated for biodiversity or endangered habitats (UNESCO 1972). Additionally, underwater heritage can be placed in this same category, when considering aquatic features and habitats like reefs.

Heritage Resource, Tangible - these types of tourism resources are the physical entities themselves. They are, as UNESCO identifies them: "buildings and historic places, monuments, artefacts, etc. which are considered worthy of preservation for the future" (UNESCO 2017). It is worth highlighting the fact that within this understanding of 'heritage', the factors of worth and preservation are explicit to admission in this category. This point will be raised up at other points in this work - with preservation

being examined in the section below. As stated earlier, tangible cultural heritage is divided into both 'moveable' and 'immoveable'.

Immovable Cultural Heritage - monuments, such as architectural works, works of monumental sculpture and painting, elements or structures of an archaeological nature, inscriptions, cave dwellings and combinations of features, which are of outstanding universal value from the point of view of history, art or science; groups of buildings, such as groups of separate or connected buildings which, because of their architecture, their homogeneity or their place in the landscape, are of outstanding universal value from the point of view of history, art or science; and sites, such as works of man or the combined works of nature and man, and areas including archaeological sites which are of outstanding universal value from the historical, aesthetic, ethnological or anthropological point of view (UNESCO 1972)

Movable Cultural Heritage - property which, on religious or secular grounds, is specifically designated by each State as being of importance for archaeology, prehistory, history, literature, art or science [a list follows] (UNESCO 1970)

Nation Branding - the application of corporate marketing concepts and techniques to countries, in the interests of enhancing their reputation in international relations (Kerr & Wiseman 2017, 354)

NOKF - Nordiska Organisationen för Kulturell förmedling. The name of the company that manages Foteviken

Tourism - the temporary, short-term movement of people to destinations outside the places where they normally live and work and their activities during the stay at each destination. It includes movement for all purposes (Beaver 2002, 313)

W2P – Willingness to Pay

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