Strathclyde Business School

Department of Marketing

Delivering Ancestral Tourism in an Urban, Heritage Organisation

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Abstract

Personal heritage tourism is of growing interest in the heritage tourism sector and focuses on an individual's personal and emotional connections to the heritage sites they visit. Ancestral Tourism is a subset of personal heritage tourism, worthy of investigation as a growth market in many countries, including Scotland. Consumed mainly by the Scottish diaspora in the rest of the UK as well as overseas markets such as the USA, Canada, and Australia, these tourists look upon Scotland as their ancestral homeland and a place to discover their heritage. However, marketing activities and research have focused mainly on rural, Highland regions of the country with provider experiences chiefly explored from the perspective of small, often community-run heritage centres.

This study addresses the call for more empirical research on personal heritage tourism, particularly from supplier perspectives, and investigates ancestral tourism provision within a large multifaceted heritage organisation, Glasgow Life. This urban setting embeds the research in a context largely ignored from established ancestral narratives and provision in Scotland. As the official custodian of Glasgow's heritage resources, Glasgow Life is keen to explore and maximise the potential of ancestral tourism across its museums and archives. The research therefore aims to analyse provision within this publically funded urban heritage context, exploring staff experiences of delivering ancestral tourism, developing an understanding of its potential, and identifying the challenges of coordinating activities across spatially dispersed services. The study is approached from a subjectivist stance, and influenced by hermeneutics, whereby knowledge develops through an iterative process of interaction, analysis, and interpretation. A range of ethnographic techniques was used, including mobile methods, to build an understanding of this complex organisation.

This thesis contributes to the under-explored provider perspectives of personal heritage tourism by revealing how staff facilitate and coordinate personal heritage

experiences. The findings centre on the diverse ancestral tourists' needs that an urban setting can meet but also the challenges associated with delivering and coordinating bespoke services in sites which attract many thousands of visitors. It also contributes to literature exploring management challenges in diverse heritage contexts and the tensions surrounding the commercialisation of public heritage. Furthermore, the thesis contributes by extending the conceptualisation of ancestral tourism within an urban context, demonstrating the potential to develop and market ancestral tourism in museums and in urban industrial areas of Scotland.

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Chapter 1. Introduction

Ancestral tourism is a subset of personal heritage tourism, an emerging area of study (Timothy, 2018), noted for the highly personalised nature of its consumption (Alexander, Bryce, & Murdy, 2017; Kozak, 2016; Poria, Butler, & Airey, 2001; Poria, Butler, & Airey, 2003; Timothy, 1997, 2018). Personal heritage tourists include those from religious, ethnic and career groups as well as those with ancestral connections (Timothy, 1997; Timothy & Boyd, 2006). For example, Muslims visiting Mecca, war veterans returning to previous battlefields, and retired railway workers visiting railway museums, are all considered forms of personal heritage tourism (Marschall, 2012; Timothy, 1997). However, scholars emphasise gaps in research exploring the personal meanings that tourists place on various heritage locations (Timothy & Boyd, 2006; Willson & McIntosh, 2007). Furthermore, existing research is mainly from demand perspectives, investigating tourists' needs, motivations and expectations (e,g. McCain & Ray, 2003; Poria, Butler et al., 2001; Poria et al., 2003; Poria, Reichel, & Biran, 2006a; Willson & McIntosh, 2007). This study aims to contribute from a supply perspective, providing insights into the potential and challenges faced by publically funded urban heritage organisations when delivering personal heritage experiences.

Ancestral tourism is identified internationally as a growth heritage tourism market (Alexander et al., 2017; Huang, Ramshaw, & Norman, 2016; Timothy & Boyd, 2006). According to Huang, Hung, & Chen (2018:52), the United Nations (2016) estimate there were 244 million international migrants in 2015 and more than four million people emigrate to another country permanently every year. Some of these migrants and their descendants have a strong desire to return as tourists to their 'homeland' with convenient and affordable travel facilitating this (Huang et al., 2018). Scholars utilise the terms 'ancestral', 'diaspora', 'migrant', 'personal', 'legacy', and 'genealogical' to discuss travel to 'homelands' in varied contexts (c.f. Alexander et al., 2017; Huang et al., 2018; Li & McKercher, 2016; Marschall, 2017a; McCain & Ray, 2003; Ndione, Descrop, & Rémy, 2018; Santos & Yan, 2010;

Timothy, 1997). Alexander et al., (2017) draw these forms of travel under the banner of 'ancestral tourism', which is also the preferred term used by the national tourism organisation for Scotland (VisitScotland), where this study is based.

VisitScotland describes ancestral tourism as 'a visit to Scotland partly or wholly motivated by the need to reconnect with (your) Scottish ancestors or roots', with the main markets being the New World diasporas in USA, Canada and Australia (Tourism Intelligence Scotland, 2013:8). In Scotland's visitor survey (VisitScotland & Jump Research, 2017), 23% of long-haul visitors cited 'Scottish ancestry' as the main motivation for visiting. Fifty million people living outside of Scotland are estimated to have Scottish ancestry (VisitScotland 2019a). Research commissioned by VisitScotland in 2013 estimated that ten million had an interest in researching their Scottish ancestry and 43% of this number intended to visit Scotland (Tourism Intelligence Scotland, 2013), with predictions that ancestral tourist numbers would continue to increase beyond 213,000 trips per annum (TNS & VisitScotland, 2013). Ancestral tourists tend to be repeat visitors, stay longer than other tourists, visit outside of peak times, and spend more than other heritage tourism markets, offering significant economic benefits to Scotland (VisitScotland & Jump Research, 2017; VisitScotland, 2019a).

Ancestral tourism has the potential to benefit all areas of Scotland (Tourism Intelligence Scotland, 2013), but extant promotion focuses mainly on rural images of ruined castles, rugged glens, and lochs, and associated symbols and myths of Highland clanship, tartan, and bagpipes (see Appendix 1 for examples). Also, emphasis on the forced exile and eviction from Highland regions of Scotland often overshadows broader discussions on Scottish emigration. Destination marketing promoted various 'homecoming' events making use of collective Highland narratives and imagery to entice Scottish diasporas to visit Scotland (Basu, 2004, 2007; Tourism Intelligence Scotland, 2013). While these events and promotion prove successful in terms of visitor numbers (Tourism Intelligence Scotland, 2013), they largely ignore urban industrial areas of Scotland, both in terms of the resources

available to investigate Scottish ancestry and in the significance of urban industrial heritage in Scottish history and culture as well as its potential relevance to tourists returning from the Scottish diaspora.

Research also reveals a fragmented network of ancestral tourism provision across Scotland, with some organisations unaware of one another's existence and no overarching organisational structure responsible for overseeing the resources available to the ancestral tourism market (Durie, 2013). Murdy, Alexander, and Bryce (2016:16) argue that there needs to be 'enhanced links amongst heritage sites themselves and shared national capacity to interact with ancestral visitors in a range of domestic and overseas diaspora markets'. Existing provision, according to Durie (2013), limits the potential of ancestral tourism in Scotland, inhibits ancestral tourists from visiting places where they may be able to discover details about their ancestral roots, and hinders the possibilities for places outside of the promoted Highland regions.

Current research on personal heritage tourism, as stipulated earlier, is mainly from demand perspectives with studies of ancestral tourism in Scotland centring on the experiences and motivations of ancestral tourists (e.g. Basu, 2004, 2005a, 2005b, 2007; Bhandari, 2016; Murdy, Alexander & Bryce, 2018). While there are some exceptions exploring experiences of delivering ancestral tourism in Scotland (e.g. Alexander et al., 2017; Bryce, Murdy, & Alexander, 2017; Murdy et al., 2016), much of the research is in rural, Highland areas, operated by small, often community-based heritage centres. This study seeks to explore the potential within an urban context and within a large cultural heritage organisation, Glasgow Life, situated in Scotland's largest city. Glasgow Life has responsibility for a wide range of cultural and heritage assets in museums, libraries and archives spread across the city – all sites previously identified as having relevance for ancestral tourists (Alexander et al., 2017). The following sections provide historical background to Scottish emigration and to ancestral tourism in Scotland, introduces the research context, the aims and objectives, and concludes with an overview of the thesis chapters.

1.1 Historical Background

1.1.1 Scottish Emigration

Scottish emigration began to increase significantly from the thirteenth century, with Scots leaving their homeland mainly for economic reasons (Devine, 2012). England was a constant destination, and up until the eighteenth century, large numbers also emigrated to Scandinavia and Central Europe, seeking new economic opportunities (Devine, 2012). Advances in transport also facilitated travel for many Scots across the Atlantic and further afield to Asia, Africa, Australia, and New Zealand (Harper, 2017). Opportunities increased with the Treaty of Union in 1707, formally joining the parliaments of Scotland and England and allowing Scotland free trade and further commercial opportunities in the British Empire overseas (Devine, 2012, 2018). Prospects in Europe diminished from the eighteenth century and for Scottish landowners with expanding families, colonial expansion was seen as a 'crucial lifeline' for their younger sons, offering chances for trade and profit in imperial colonies, and increased employment prospects in the armed forces (Devine, 2012). For centuries then, Scots left their homeland seeking new opportunities overseas, but the emphasis on the forced exile and eviction from Highland regions of Scotland overshadows other migration stories.

Discussions of Scottish emigration often focus on the notorious clearances in the Highlands, in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, where people were forcibly evicted from their land (Devine, 2018; Lynch, 1997). Evictions were not unique to the Highlands, however, and not the leading cause of depopulation in this area (Richards, 2012). Rental increases and lack of employment in rural areas forced many to move to industrialised towns of the central belt or to emigrate overseas; hence, long before the eighteenth century, there was a 'slow erosion and quiet displacement of the population' (Richards, 2012: Preface1). Between 1650 and 1850, Scotland's urban populations grew faster than anywhere in Europe (Withers, 1998). One in ten lived in towns in 1700, and by 1821, it was one in three (Aitchison

& Cassell, 2012). Migration was therefore not exclusive to Highland areas with Lowland migration described as a 'clearance of stealth', legal and over a long time-period (Aitchison & Cassell, 2012:7). Some migrants and their ancestors remained in urban locations for generations and others took advantage of opportunities in the 'New World' destinations of North America, Australia and New Zealand.

In the late nineteenth century, emigration from Scotland continued to rise. Due to famine from 1846 to 1856, Highland emigration figures were particularly high (Devine, 2012). However, the proportion of those emigrating from the Highlands compared with Scottish emigration overall was minimal (Devine, 2012). Devine (2012) highlights the misconception that these figures are distorted because Highlanders first moved to urban Lowlands. Referring to Withers's (1998) 1851 census research, Devine (2012) stresses that the proportion of Highlanders in Lowland towns seldom reached 10 per cent, and in Glasgow, the numbers were far less. Emigration from the Highlands was significant and while this study does not ignore or deny the acute injustices faced by populations in these areas, many more left from the Lowlands and urban industrial areas of central Scotland, and over a far longer period (Aitchison & Cassell, 2012; Alexander et al., 2017; Devine, 2018). Despite this, narratives of Scottish emigration often focus on collective memories that are distinctly 'Highland' in nature. The following paragraphs outline the development of tourism in Scotland, which contributed to 'Highlandised' perceptions of Scotland and 'Scottishness'.

1.1.2 A History of 'Highlandised' Tourism in Scotland

The development of the tourism industry in Scotland coincides with Romanticism and a growing interest in wild landscapes (Durie, 1994; Seaton, 1998). Previously 'barren and mountainous landscapes had largely been detested and even feared by the majority of the population' (Holden, 2000:25), but these perceptions of rural landscapes began to change from the eighteenth century. Robert Burn's poems and James McPherson's Ossian, based on Celtic folk tales, helped to shape romanticised

views of Scotland (Ferguson, 1994; Seaton, 1998). Literary accounts by Dr Johnson, Mendelssohn, and Pennant, and visits by Boswell, Jules Verne, and Dickens contributed to producing tastes for Scotland's countryside with travel to Scotland becoming increasingly popular with the English after the Napoleonic Wars brought an end to many grand tours of Europe (Seaton, 1998).

Portrayals of rugged Highland landscapes and heroic Highland figures, particularly from the works of Sir Walter Scott, continued to nurture romantic tastes for Scotland (Durie, 1994). The Highlands now had great appeal due to the fact it was so 'peopleless,' 'mysterious and wild' (Fenyő, 2000:7). George IV's visit to Scotland in 1822 (Lynch, 1997), the many publications of Sir Walter Scott, and the subsequent promotion of romanticised Highlands by Thomas Cook and British Rail, enticed the first packaged tourists to Scotland (Durie, 2006) and further contributed to a Highland, rural perception of Scotland on a broader scale (Fenyő, 2000). This particular narrative of Scottish identity resembled a 'new fashion of "Highlandism"' (Fenyő, 2000:6), eagerly consumed by generations of Scottish emigrants overseas (Lynch, 1997).

Notions of Scotland were interwoven with the realities of depopulation, the 'imaginary landscape of romance and poetic beauty' (Fenyő, 2000:6), and myths surrounding the Jacobite rebellion and collapse of the Highland clans at the Battle of Culloden in 1746 (Devine, 1999). Built heritage such as castles and monuments featured alongside tragic tales and imagery of Highland heroes, tartan and bagpipes, iconic in shaping mythical perceptions of the Scottish nation (Basu, 2005a, 2005b; Bryce et al., 2017; Devine, 2012; Durie, 1994; Whatley, 2000). These narratives were 'embellished in the New World by subsequent generations of the Scottish diaspora' (Devine, 2012:281) and notions of 'Scottishness' developed alongside romantic ideologies with often erroneous assumptions that particular surnames indicated shared ancestry and affiliation to a clan (Basu, 2005a). Lynch (1997:357) characterises a 'settler patriotism' with Scottish emigrants forming Caledonian

societies, Burns' clubs and Highland gatherings even before this became popular in Scotland.

In the nineteenth century, the literature and advertisements encouraging tourism to Scotland also persuaded emigrants to visit their home country (Harper, 2017). Overseas promotion of 'return visits' and reduced transnational travel fares, enabled Scottish emigrants to travel to discover more about their homeland heritage (Harper, 2017), with many seeking to authenticate ideas constructed in their imaginations (Basu, 2005a; Bryce et al., 2017). Ongoing migration, technology and transport facilitates this form of tourism for many diasporic groups internationally, with scholars investigating this phenomena in countries including India, Nepal, China, Africa and Ireland (c.f. Bandyopadhyay, 2008; Bhandari, 2017; Chan & Cheng, 2016; Huang et al., 2018; Li & McKercher, 2016; Marschall, 2017a; Maruyama, Weber, & Stronza, 2010; Tie, Holden, & Park, 2015; Wright, 2009). While there are useful insights to be gained from these largely demand-side studies, again, there is limited research exploring the views of those delivering services to these tourists.

1.1.3 Tourism and Economic Development in Urban Scotland

As well as rural areas, UK cities also grew in popularity as tourist destinations from the nineteenth century, due in part to improvements in transport links (Devine, 1999; Law, 2002; Seaton, 1998). While some travelled to escape 'blackened cities to a romantic other world' (Seaton, 1998:15), others were attracted to places like Edinburgh and Glasgow due to their reputations as thriving social, cultural and scientific centres (Devine, 1999; Seaton, 1998). Into the twentieth century, tourism was crucial for post-industrial cities like Glasgow as a way to improve the city's reputation and competitive advantage (Chang, Milne, Fallon, & Pohlmann, 1996). Tourism also presented opportunities for economic development and new employment prospects after the decline of manufacturing industries (Chang et al., 1996; Holden, 2000; Law, 2002; Millar, 1989).

Glasgow once flourished as Scotland's largest city and the second city of the empire (Archibald, 2013). It experienced a sustained period of economic growth from the eighteenth century with the development of a skilled working class, particularly in heavy industries like iron and shipbuilding (Lynch, 1997). Several cultural legacies remain from this period in the form of city parks, theatres, concert halls, public libraries, museums, and museum collections (Glasgow City Council, 2006). Cities like Glasgow, as well as Liverpool, and Manchester were affected by rapid deindustrialisation from roughly the 1970s, resulting in economic decline, long-term unemployment, and related social problems, which damaged the image of such cities (Law, 2002).

From the 1980s, Glasgow's local authority, Glasgow City Council, took the strategic decision to use cultural infrastructure to contribute to economic regeneration, making investments in museums and sports facilities (Glasgow City Council, 2006). Glasgow also staged significant events such as the Garden Festival in 1988 and was selected as the European Capital of Culture in 1990. These events were viewed as part of a long-term investment to contribute to social and economic objectives, to improve the image, and raise the profile of this city (Glasgow City Council, 2006; Law, 2002; Yale, 1998).

From the 1990s, Glasgow City Council continued its strategy to increase the city's profile and encourage growth, investing in cultural and sporting venues as well as bidding for world-renowned events like the Commonwealth Games in 2014 and the European Championships in 2018 (Glasgow Life, 2017c). Tourist numbers increased significantly from the 1990s, attracting two million visitors a year and contributing £482 million to Glasgow (Glasgow City Council, 2016). The current tourism plan underlines heritage as one of the primary markets (Glasgow Life, 2017c). While VisitScotland highlights ancestral tourism as a key heritage market for Scotland, the potential in urban centres like Glasgow is under-explored even though periods of economic recession contributed to waves of emigration from urban

industrial areas, and Glasgow was the embarkation point for thousands of emigrants (Lynch, 1997).

1.2 Research Context

Glasgow Life is the operating name of Culture and Sport Glasgow and is the organisation providing the research context for this study. This thesis is a collaborative doctoral award, funded by the Arts and Humanities Research Council (AHRC) in partnership with Glasgow Life who were seeking applicants for a doctoral studentship in relation to topics that focus on how the provision of culture, sport, arts and heritage for citizens and tourists could be better understood and developed. Strathclyde University responded and were awarded the doctoral studentship with a proposal related to ancestral tourism, identified as a key, but insufficiently understood, area targeted for development within Glasgow Life.

Data collection for the project focused on the supply of ancestral tourism within Glasgow life with access to managers, curators, archivists and visitor services staff within museums, libraries and archives. Director of City Marketing and External Relations, Susan Deighan, and Major Projects and Research Manager, Martin Bellamy, were Glasgow Life supervisors to the project, ensuring access to the organisation and facilitating progress. The supervisors advised on appropriate participants at each of the sites outlined in Chapter 5, giving key contact information, and also providing internal reports (e.g. Business and Service Plan, Annual Reports, Visitor and Tourism Plan), as well as a recent Organisational Chart for Glasgow Museums and Collections. The supervisors also invited the researcher to meetings and events where there was opportunity to present the research proposal and to encourage interested participants to partake in the study.

Glasgow Life an ALEO (an arms-length organisation), delivering services for Glasgow City Council. These services include libraries, community, sport, youth

Glasgow, arts, museums, events, music (see Appendix 2). Approximately 65% of its income is from Glasgow City Council to deliver culture, leisure, and community learning to citizens and visitors of the city (Glasgow Life, 2017a). It has a unique operating model in that it is a charitable organisation and a Community Interest Company (CIC) meaning it can attract external funding and generate income to support the delivery of its services (Glasgow Life, 2017b).

While cuts in public funding have put a strain on the ability to deliver services (Glasgow City Council, 2006, 2016), the council recognises the part that culture and sport play in improving physical and mental health as well as enhancing opportunities for Glasgow citizens (Glasgow City Council, 2006). This is significant given that Glasgow has one of the highest concentrations of ill-health and poverty in Western Europe. Glasgow City Council therefore stresses the importance of growth and investment to be able to provide culture and sport services and to meet the city's social and economic objectives (Glasgow City Council, 2016; Glasgow Life, 2016b).

A recent development (in 2017) is the merging of the Destination Marketing Organisation (DMO), Glasgow City Marketing Bureau (GCMB), with Glasgow Life. Consequently, Glasgow Life is now responsible for the city's destination marketing as well as its other functions and is a crucial partner in Glasgow's current tourism plan with ambition to grow the tourism market from 2 million to 3 million by 2023 (Glasgow Life, 2017c). Part of the strategy is to position Glasgow as the 'Gateway to Scotland', to attract more visitors and increase expenditure (Glasgow Life, 2017c:3). Another priority is the promotion of cultural tourism in the UK and international markets, with heritage identified as one of the 'key strands of Glasgow's cultural offer' (Glasgow Life, 2017c:3). Glasgow Life is keen to maximise the potential of ancestral tourism, a subset of heritage tourism, through its urban industrial heritage resources held across its many museums, galleries, and archives.

1.3 Research Aims and Objectives

This thesis has the following aims and objectives:

Aim

> *To explore supplier perspectives of personal heritage tourism by analysing provision of ancestral tourism within a publically funded urban heritage context*

Given that this is a collaborative doctoral thesis, the research aim is influenced to some extent by the partner organisation, Glasgow Life, who are keen to explore opportunities from ancestral tourism. The research is also influenced by scholars who draw attention to the limited analysis of personal heritage tourism in diverse settings, especially from supplier perspectives (Alexander et al., 2017; Timothy, 1997; Timothy & Boyd, 2006). This chapter highlighted some extant ancestral tourism studies from supplier perspectives in Scotland (e.g. Alexander et al., 2017; Bryce et al., 2017; Murdy et al., 2016), but these focus primarily on perspectives from Highland or rural regions of Scotland. As outlined previously, ancestral tourism is a growth market with the potential to benefit all areas of Scotland (Tourism Intelligence Scotland, 2013); therefore, ancestral tourism in an urban context merits exploration.

Extant ancestral tourism research in Scotland is also mainly from the perspective of small, community-run heritage centres. The context for this study is an organisation, funded mostly by the public sector, with disparate functions and responsibility for many cultural and heritage assets across the city of Glasgow. This research seeks to interact with staff within Glasgow Life to explore ancestral tourism potential and to investigate the challenges in delivering ancestral tourism within this large cultural heritage organisation.

Objectives

1. *To outline existing resources and provision for ancestral tourists within Glasgow Life;*

This objective is investigated through conversations with staff across the museums, galleries, and archives of Glasgow Life; to better understand the resources and provision available for those who wish to investigate their family history or learn more about their ancestors' urban industrial pasts.

2. *To explore staff experiences and approaches in delivering ancestral tourism and whether this coalesces across the museums, galleries, and archives of Glasgow Life;*

Prior research on ancestral tourism in Scotland provides some background to types of ancestral tourism, and the associated activities and experiences. The research objective here is to extend this understanding in an urban context and a specific organisational setting. The intention is to investigate ancestral tourism at a service and product level, exploring experiences of delivering ancestral tourism from a range of customer-facing staff across the different museums, galleries, and archives of Glasgow Life. The objective is also to identify different types of ancestral tourism, approaches to its delivery, and the extent to which this is coordinated across the organisation.

3. *To understand the complexities of delivering personal heritage tourism within public sector heritage organisations;*

Although this thesis focuses on ancestral tourism, the research aims to contribute to the literature on personal heritage tourism, specifically from supplier perspectives. Existing research considers some of the challenges of delivering personal heritage experiences in small, often community-run heritage organisations. This thesis focuses on delivery within a public sector heritage organisation, which comes with its own set of issues and challenges given the tensions over the commercialisation of public heritage. Developing an understanding of these complexities will help to address areas that inhibit the potential of ancestral tourism within this organisation.

4. *To develop insights into the potential for further development, coordination and marketing of ancestral tourism for Glasgow Life, and urban industrial contexts in Scotland.*

The research will consider the management implications of this research and the potential for developing and expanding existing ancestral tourism provision and

marketing approaches for Glasgow Life. The study will develop an understanding of official and unofficial marketing efforts through interactions with those working in marketing and management roles, as well as a range of front-facing staff. The findings gathered from the first three objectives will also contribute to this understanding, reflecting the hermeneutic nature of this study (see Section 1.4).

1.4 Research Approach

There are various philosophical approaches to the study of organisations. While objective investigations consider issues regarding the structure of organisations, power relationships and conflicts (Burrell & Morgan, 1979; Cunliffe, 2011; Hassard, 1991), this thesis takes a subjective stance exploring multiple experiences and perspectives of staff within an organisation, characteristics of interpretive research. To develop an understanding of activities in complex research contexts, qualitative researchers often employ a range of interpretive practices and multiple methods of data collection (Brewer, 2004; Denzin & Lincoln, 2005). This study draws on qualitative organisational and sociological studies where researchers use ethnographic techniques and a range of 'mobile' methods to understand participants' activities in relation to the context where these activities take place (e.g. Carpiano, 2009; Costas, 2013; Czarniawska, 2014; Kusenbach, 2003). The research design supports the use of go-along methods (Carpiano, 2009; Garcia, Eisenberg, Frerich, Lechner, & Lust, 2012; Kusenbach, 2003) alongside sit-down interviews and observation to better understand the activities and coordination of the spatially dispersed, heterogeneous services across this organisation.

Influenced by Gadamer's (2008) philosophical hermeneutics, this study recognises the researcher's 'prejudice' (or preunderstandings or presuppositions) as including language, background and prior knowledge, shaping our perspectives and making understanding possible (Gadamer, 2008, 2013). Furthermore, the research stance is a subjectivist, double hermeneutic perspective, where the emphasis is on the researcher's place and meditation within the research (Cunliffe, 2011). The

researcher's prejudice here emanates from the literature and background to this study, and by using multiple qualitative methods, the researcher develops their understanding through encounters with participants. Findings presented in Chapters 5, 6, and 7 represent this development of knowledge with an overview provided in the following section.

1.5 Thesis Outline

The thesis is arranged over eight chapters and the background to this study (provided in Chapter 1) is expanded through an exploration of relevant literature for this project (Chapter 2 and Chapter 3). The selection of qualitative approaches and their utility in this study will be explained in Chapter 4 alongside the philosophical assumptions and theoretical perspectives underpinning this thesis. Chapter 5 sets the scene for the Findings chapters, providing an overview of each of the sites of enquiry. Chapter 6 utilises existing themes from the literature on ancestral tourism, comparing these with the findings from this research context. Chapter 7 expands this discussion, presenting emergent themes relating to the urban organisational context. The concluding chapter (Chapter 8) will highlight the main contributions of this thesis as well as managerial implications. To follow is a summary of each chapter of the thesis.

Chapter 2 reviews literature on the relationship between heritage and tourism, production and consumption, and, heritage tourism and the urban context. The chapter begins by discussing historical perspectives of heritage and its use for political, economic, and social agendas. It then focuses on some of the issues surrounding the commodification and exploitation of heritage as well as the marketing and management implications this presents, especially in the public sector. The next section explores critical responses to descriptive supply and demand accounts and moves on to examine contemporary research that considers individual experiences of heritage. The chapter concludes by reviewing research and concepts

relating to the personalised consumption of heritage, emphasising the lack of research on this area, especially from supplier perspectives.

Chapter 3 reviews literature associated with the growing market of ancestral tourism, and its role within diasporic communities, including Scotland. Discussion centres around the historical, evolving, and contested definitions of the term 'diaspora', as well as 'homeland', significant for exploring reasons and motivations for this form of travel. The chapter then reviews broader social and cultural arguments for imagined communities and collective images of homelands constructed by popular culture and consumerism, with a focus on the 'Highlandised' notions of Scotland. It also explores literature on diasporas returning as tourists to their homelands and the various terms which subcategorise these activities. Finally, the chapter discusses the challenges of delivering personalised experiences, highlighting the lack of supplier perspectives, particularly from large organisations in urban settings.

Chapter 4 outlines the methodological approach for this thesis, beginning with discussion of Burrell and Morgan's (1979) philosophical paradigms, given their influence on organisational studies. Drawing on Cunliffe's (2011) 'problematics', the chapter then details the ontological and epistemological positioning for this thesis, which is influenced by subjectivist studies that consider reality as socially constructed. The chapter then introduces the hermeneutic stance for this study, outlining the development of hermeneutics and presenting the subjectivist, double hermeneutic position for this study. The qualitative research design, methods of data collection, sampling approach, and data analysis techniques are then detailed, with a consideration of rigour, trustworthiness, and ethical issues. Finally, the chapter discusses the methodological limitations of the research.

Chapter 5 provides information on the individual sites of enquiry, serving as a hermeneutic starting point in which to explore the potential of ancestral tourism within Glasgow Life and an urban context in Scotland. Guided by the first research objective, this chapter outlines existing resources and provision for ancestral tourists

within the museums, galleries and archives of Glasgow Life. Chapter 5 gives a descriptive account in order to provide context for chapters 6 and 7. It details the types of ancestral tourism services and resources available in different areas of the organisation, as well as introducing the themes for each of the museums. This sets the scene for chapters 6 and 7, representing the researcher's initial understanding of ancestral tourism provision.

The findings in Chapter 6 are framed around themes which represent the researcher's 'prejudices' and another stage in the hermeneutic process. The themes are drawn from previous research on supplier studies of ancestral tourism and concentrate on different types of ancestral tourism, issues and challenges in delivery, and the fragmented nature of ancestral tourism provision in Scotland. The chapter begins to address objectives 2 and 3 and sheds new light on the challenges associated with delivering personal heritage experiences within an organisational context and urban setting. These insights were obtained through interaction with a range of customer-facing staff, museum and archive managers, and marketing staff.

Chapter 7 is the final findings chapter addressing the remaining research objectives. The findings extend the conceptualisation of ancestral tourism, providing new insights into the museum offer and the opportunities within urban contexts. The chapter also underlines the role of providers and marketers in facilitating access to personal heritage tourism. Furthermore, the findings illuminate multiple perspectives, attitudes and approaches towards the delivery of personal heritage tourism and the commercialisation of public heritage. It also discusses the complexities of delivering personal heritage within multifaceted public sector heritage organisations, as well as the challenges in coordinating resources and services spread diffusely across several locations.

Chapter 8 is the final chapter of this thesis and outlines the main contributions of this research. The contributions relate to the role of providers in facilitating personal heritage tourism; the tensions surrounding delivery within a multifaceted

organisation in a public sector context and; extending understanding of ancestral tourism within an urban setting in Scotland. Managerial implications will also be discussed as well as limitations and recommendations for future research.

Chapter 2. Heritage and Tourism

As highlighted in Chapter 1, ancestral tourism is a subset of personal heritage tourism, 'an emerging new way of thinking about supply, demand and the visitor experience' (Timothy, 2018:178). To provide background for this emergent research area, this chapter reviews literature on the development and debate surrounding heritage and its relationship with tourism. Heritage is a complex term with extensive meanings and varied interpretations (Corsane, 2005; McDonald, 2011; Park, 2010, 2014). Some describe heritage as a resource used selectively to tell favourable stories about nation-states, societies, cultures, religions and organisations in the present day (Balmer & Burghausen, 2019; Hewison, 1987; Timothy & Boyd, 2006). Likewise, heritage tourism is referred to as the commodification of history, presenting a version of the past for modern use (Chronis, 2005; Goulding, 2000a; Timothy, 2011; Waterton & Watson, 2015).

The focus of this chapter is to review literature on the production and consumption of heritage. It begins with an exploration of historical perspectives of heritage and its use for political, economic and social purposes. Some of the issues surrounding the commodification and exploitation of heritage are then discussed, concerns that filter to research on the management and marketing of heritage, particularly in the public sector. It then considers critical responses and shortcomings of some of the more descriptive accounts of heritage tourism, which emerged in the 1980s. After outlining bodies of literature on heritage tourism from both supply and demand perspectives, the chapter then reviews research that considers the personal consumption and experiences of heritage. The chapter concludes by introducing the specific area of personal heritage tourism where this thesis contributes, namely, ancestral tourism. This section discusses terms utilised to describe this form of tourism activity, which will be discussed in more depth in the next chapter.

2.1 Heritage and Contemporary Use of the Past

Heritage is commonly linked to notions of inheritance and passing on cultural traditions and material artefacts to future generations (Timothy & Boyd, 2003; Vecco, 2010; Yale, 1998). From the mid-nineteenth century, practices in Europe and North America especially saw the professionalism of heritage practices with the setting apart and listing of buildings, landscapes and objects deemed worthy of preservation. Many properties were moved to public ownership, and legislation was developed to protect these material elements of heritage (Harrison, 2013). From the 1970s, there was an increase in the listing of heritage places, as well as a rise in visitation levels and public interest. The accelerated consumption spurred debate over the commodification and excessive labelling of heritage as attractions, which Hewison (1987:32) described as a 'heritage industry' and exploitation of the past for mass consumption.

Studies from both supply and demand perspectives suggest varying and complex reasons for increased production and consumption of heritage on a commercial basis. These include recognition of the social and economic benefits, increased leisure time, and rising incomes (Harrison, 2013; Richards, 1996, 2018). Authors also suggest contemporary interest in the past is a response to deindustrialisation, or the demise of communities, with feelings of impermanence leading to a desire to feel a sense of belonging and reassurance about the future (Goulding, 1999; Lowenthal, 2015; Millar, 1989; Park, 2014; Prentice, 1993). The contemporary use of heritage, according to Harrison (2013:14), 'reflects inherited and current concerns about the past' with both positive and negative connotations. Whilst heritage is viewed as a way to enrich 'the present through tradition and continuity' (Hunter, 1981:28), it is also manipulated and exploited for political, social and economic gains (Timothy & Boyd, 2003).

2.1.1 Politics, Production and the Value of Heritage

The value placed on heritage and decisions over its preservation and management is argued to reflect political agendas (Poria & Ashworth, 2009) and to reinforce particular ideologies and national identities (Harrison, 2013; Park, 2011; Timothy & Boyd, 2003). Smith (2006:4) refers to power-knowledge relationships in various cultural contexts where the value and meaning of heritage are governed by dominant groups naturalising versions of the past and influencing heritage institutions. Museums, described by McLean (1998:244) as 'the repository of a nation's culture' and 'cultural carriers of ideology' by Goulding and Domic (2009:99), have received critical attention (e.g. Bryce & Carnegie, 2013; McDonald, 2011; McLean, 1998) given that the value and representation of material heritage was traditionally selected and interpreted by 'a small elite group of experts' (McDonald, 2011:782). The contemporary museum, however, is often integrated into economic and socio-cultural agendas with complex goals, including appealing to wider audiences, which will be explored later in this section. As well as artefacts held in museums, built and natural heritage resources are also promoted as 'monuments of significance' (Prentice, 1993:50) and utilised to strengthen particular representations of national identities.

Several authors scrutinise the manipulation of heritage in various contexts (e.g. Giblin, 2015; Goulding & Domic, 2009; Schramm, 2015). Goulding and Domic (2009:99) examine the ideological manipulation of heritage in Croatia, a country which experienced political and cultural change in the 20th century. They highlight how 'museums and heritage sites, road names, fountains, festivals and reenactments become more than a leisure or aesthetic experience, rather they operate as "sign systems" which reinforce an intense sense of Croatian identity' and curb divisive groups who threaten national unification. Influenced by Barthes's (2009:137) suggestion that 'materials of mythical speech' become signifiers of societies and cultures, several authors argue that producers of heritage, from curators to marketers, have a role in creating myths with cultural heritage conveying meanings and representing symbols of nations (e.g. Basu, 2005b; McLean, 1998; Palmer, 1999). Likewise, tangible heritage positioned as symbols of cultures or nations are also

utilised for tourism promotion (Alexander et al., 2017; Hewison, 1987; Palmer, 1999; Park, 2010), as in the case of Scotland where built heritage such as the Wallace Monument is considered and promoted, amongst others, as a place of cultural importance (Finlay, 1997; Palmer, 2005).

Concerning Scotland, Bhandari (2014) suggests that heritage attractions are statements of national identity exemplified through tangible and intangible elements. Bhandari (2014:1) claims that tourism 'narrates the national story through the way various events or sites are socio-culturally constructed, arranged and interpreted to tourists'. Images of castles, rural landscapes and battlefields are interwoven with tales of Highland clanship (Basu, 2005a; Bhandari, 2014; Devine, 2012) as compelling signifiers of 'Scottishness'. Indeed, Seaton (1998:3) describes the Scottish tourism industry as 'a large commercialised memento industry developed from the late eighteenth century onwards which eventually encompasses a wide range of commodified tartanry'. Such symbols and narratives are shaped by myths and legends associated with nations, in a reciprocal sense, and are heightened in some diasporic communities, including the Scottish diaspora (Bandyopadhyay, 2008; Basu, 2005a; Devine, 1999; Whatley, 2000). Tangible or symbolic manifestations of national identities are therefore viewed as marketable assets, accentuated and used for promotional purposes, especially ancestral tourism.

Collective symbols and narratives, such as those relied upon to attract tourists to Scotland, are also argued to omit other meanings and identities of place (e.g. Bandyopadhyay, Morais, & Chick, 2008; Caton & Santos, 2007; Palmer, 1999, 2005). Timothy (2018:179) stresses that overemphasis of iconic places in various contexts has 'disinherited the legacies of ordinary people'. In a study by Bandyopadhyay et al. (2008:804) the Indian government's representation of heritage and national identity in India is viewed as 'Hindu-centric', and disparaging to other religious groups. Natural monuments such as Uluru in Australia are promoted as icons for nation-building and for attracting tourists (McDonald, 2011), but recreational use by visitors has also caused cultural conflict with indigenous groups

who view Uluru as a sacred site (Zeppel, 2010). The meanings and memories connected with tangible heritage locations then, often vary from the 'official' national narrative, and the process of marking the significance of this heritage is often contested (Johnson, 2015). Again, ancestral tourism promotion for Scotland focuses predominantly on iconic, 'Highlandised' symbols and locations with limited emphasis on the potential relevance of urban areas for the visiting Scottish diaspora.

Despite concerns over dominant and stereotypical portrayals of nations, some scholars argue there is acceptance from communities who recognise the economic benefits of certain representations (Ateljevic & Doorne, 2002; Bandyopadhyay et al., 2008; Yang, 2011). In India, Bandyopadhyay et al. (2008) stress that the government emphasises a sanitised representation of Indian heritage focusing on architecture and hedonistic pursuits, rather than colonial atrocities, which is accepted and promoted by the tourism industry. Yang's (2011) study discusses the issue of political forces who have commodified cultural traditions of minority ethnic groups in China, but also mentions that tourism producers within these ethnic groups recognise the economic benefits to be gained through this representation.

Using the example of New Zealand, Ateljevic and Doorne, (2002:650) describe 'processes of consensus and conflict' where the ideas surrounding symbols and imagery emerge as negotiated meanings that become 'woven into the social fabric', then utilised for tourism purposes. For Scotland, Seaton and Hay, (1998:235) argue that criticism of the tartan, Highland image of Scotland 'fails to recognise that Scotland's traditional (if partly mythical) attributes constitute a unique form of competitive differentiation' and a chance to compete with other European countries. However, again, this potentially undermines tourism opportunities and the appeal of places without these Highland affiliations.

Whilst there is no denying political forces' influence on the value of heritage, Robinson and Silverman (2015:9), state that this does 'not fully allow for emergent and competing claims to authority and power'. Meanings surrounding heritage are

often negotiated collectively and individually by diverse communities who challenge dominant narratives (Jackson, 1989; Smith, 2006). Smith (2006) stresses that alternative views exist alongside dominant discourses as political, social and cultural agendas change. Gupta and Ferguson (1992) argue that heritage is not only politicised by governments but also by oppositional forces, utilising symbols and images to create localised identities and perceptions of place. Hence, 'there can be multiple interpretations, representations and manifestations of the past' from a range of stakeholders (Balmer & Burghausen, 2019:219). In tourism studies, scholars claim that for effective destination branding and development, the multiple connections to place need to be understood and related to tourism experiences and promotion (Campelo, Aitken, Thyne, & Gnoth, 2014; Caton & Santos, 2007; Soper, 2007). This is an important consideration in exploring the potential of ancestral tourism in an urban context in Scotland.

Literature reveals that in several destinations, efforts are being made to represent the past from several perspectives, utilising multiple representations in tourism strategies (Bhandari, 2014; Caton & Santos, 2007; Smith, 2006; Soper, 2007). In Mauritius, Soper (2007:107) claims that the government has 'consciously decided to develop a national identity based on diversity' with future tourism development and promotion aiming to provide a more representative sample of the diverse cultural heritage. Examples from Eastern Europe demonstrate movements to preserve heritage associated with once oppressive regimes and their remnants 'so that a pluralist heritage can be created' (Timothy & Boyd, 2003:263). Furthermore, Causevic and Lynch (2011) discuss the role that tourism plays in the process of transitioning heritage, destination renewal, and promoting peace in a post-conflict setting. Additionally, it cannot be assumed there is universal agreement and understanding of the meanings surrounding material heritage. The concentration on iconic or romanticised notions of heritage, according to Caton and Santos (2013), ignores the personal meanings and interpretations experienced by individuals. Again, this is significant for this research which focuses on an area not associated with the popular Highland narrative.

Debates over heritage are not always about consensus and power but also about social, economic and cultural change with research highlighting multiple community views and localised articulations of heritage (Robinson & Silverman, 2015; Smith, 2006). In the next section, the use of heritage is argued to have significant economic and social implications enabling the continuity of some communities and rejuvenating places like Glasgow, affected by deindustrialisation (Law, 2002; Ruiz Ballesteros & Hernández Ramírez, 2007; Wu, Wall, & Yu, 2016). Others argue that heritage creates a sense of pride and place for local communities and helps people form attachments to the areas they reside (Chang et al., 1996; Timothy & Boyd, 2003; Yale, 1998). Again, the 'use' of heritage for economic and social purposes is naturally surrounded in debate over the positive and negative implications, some of which are explored in the next sub-section.

2.1.2 Economic and Social Significance of Heritage

Heritage is referred to as 'a resource from which employment and capital accumulation may flow' (Prentice, 1993:222), with heritage tourism having importance on a global scale for modernisation and economic development purposes (Hampton, 2005). Chapter 1 stressed the importance of heritage in Glasgow's tourism strategy to stimulate an increase in visitor numbers, aligning with the city's economic and social objectives (Glasgow Life, 2017c). The use of heritage for economic and commercial purposes is not without its controversies, however. In some cases, heritage tourism development, influenced by top-down decisions to raise the international status and encourage economic growth, involves activities and facilities that are at the expense of local culture (Luke, 2013). In Indonesia and Myanmar for example, human rights abuses and poverty are linked with the displacing of local people to build tourism infrastructure close to heritage sites (Hampton, 2005; Hudson, 2007; Wall & Black, 2004). Given that heritage management is often in the public domain and viewed as a useful economic resource, critics are mindful of the exploitation of heritage for political agendas (Bakri,

Ibrahim, Ahmad, & Zaman, 2015; McDonald, 2011; Nuryanti, 1996; Poria & Ashworth, 2009).

Heritage-led projects are also said to contribute to economic and social change, particularly in places that once relied on other industries (Kerstetter, Confer, & Graefe, 2001). Heritage regeneration projects, often state-supported, strived to improve the image of post-industrial cities (Law, 2002; Park, 2014), encourage economic growth (Jones & Evans, 2013) and bring about positive and lasting social impacts (Labadi, 2016). Cities like Glasgow, Liverpool, and Manchester in the UK and Cleveland, Detroit and Pittsburgh in the USA, were affected by rapid deindustrialisation from the 1970s suffering economic decline, long-term unemployment, and consequential social problems, which also affected the image of such cities (Law, 2002). Many urban places experienced economic and physical change 'at a rate never before encountered since their origins' (Hareven & Langenbach, 1981:110) and efforts were made to attract investment by switching focus from manufacturing to more diversified economic models, notably in areas like culture and services (Labadi, 2016; Park, 2014). Local government, with assistance from the private sector, developed strategies to reuse, conserve and also promote heritage resources in derelict urban areas to make them desirable for consumption (Prentice, 1993).

Disused industrial sites provided development opportunities to create cultural clusters for tourism development and broader urban regeneration projects (Park, 2014). Development of post-industrial sites comprising of museums, galleries and entertainment complexes was seen as a way to balance the conservation of industrial heritage and city landmarks while creating patterns of activity that provided facilities for both visitors and residents (Park, 2014; Sutestad & Mosler, 2016). The transformation of disused docklands into mixed-use residential and recreational areas, for example, contributed to improving the image of several post-industrial cities (Jones & Evans, 2013). Successful projects in North America in the 1970s and 80s, including the restoration of docks, helped revive places like New York, Boston

and Baltimore (Yale, 1998), and boosted the potential of these cities as tourist destinations (Law, 2002). Britain followed suit, developing marketing campaigns encouraging visitation to industrial cities like Liverpool, Newcastle, Manchester, Dundee and Glasgow, not formerly thought of as tourist centres (Yale, 1998).

Urban heritage regeneration is criticised for gentrification, commercial goals, and top-down approaches that have minimal consultation with local communities (Labadi & Logan, 2016; Park, 2014). Tourism gentrification in some heritage locations has forced residents to relocate as well as standardising tourism products and heritage experiences in such places (Tan, Tan, Kok, & Choon, 2018). Xie (2015) criticises urban heritage development for the commodification of industrial heritage with a focus on tourism and entertainment over the needs of residents. Furthermore, Xie (2015) objects to the reuse of industrial buildings with no acknowledgement or connection to the original function of the building, which can hold significance for surrounding communities. Willson and McIntosh (2007:75) concur that 'heritage buildings render the townscape as experiential space filled with emotion, mindfulness, engagement and personal meaning'. Likewise, Hareven and Langenbach (1981) claim that industrial buildings are intertwined with memories and connections to the surrounding neighbourhoods, having intangible worth that goes beyond the structures.

Heritage is also argued to be significant in developing a sense of place, bringing positive social impacts such as a stronger sense of community and attachment (Gu & Ryan, 2008; Labadi, 2016; Timothy & Boyd, 2003). Since the 1980s, Glasgow set on improving its image with designations such as the European City of Culture 1990, and the UK City of Architecture and Design in 1999 helping to raise its profile, and convince investors that the city was improving (Butler, Curran, & O'Gorman, 2013; Law, 2002). However, Glasgow's cultural strategy received community criticism due to its focus on 'high arts' and special events, ignoring the culture of local communities and obscuring the real problems of the city (Butler et al., 2013; Law, 2002). The literature reveals similar criticisms in a range of international contexts,

stressing the heterogeneity of residents' attitudes to heritage regeneration and tourism, and the need to balance political and economic agendas with visitors' needs and the demands of residents (Aas, Ladkin, & Fletcher, 2005; Chang et al., 1996; Garrod, Fyall, Leask, & Reid, 2012; Rasoolimanesh, Roldán, Jaafar, & Ramayah, 2017; Russo & Van Der Borg, 2002). Research suggests that where regeneration includes public participation in the management and planning process, this can help preserve urban and industrial heritage as well as contributing to a sense of place (Labadi, 2016; Martinović & Ifko, 2018; Rasoolimanesh et al., 2017; Richards, 2018).

Urban locations are often described as gateways for destinations as well as places to experience entertainment and retail opportunities (Edwards, Griffin, & Hayllar, 2008; Su, Bramwell, & Whalley, 2018). Heeley (2016:94) describes a tendency for urban destination organisations to 'market everything' instead of showcasing their unique qualities and heritage. Similarly, Su et al. (2018:30) recognises that while some only happen to engage in heritage activities while visiting urban locations, heritage is also 'a notable attraction for urban tourists'. As discussed in Chapter 1, Glasgow aims to augment its cultural products and museum collections with its recent tourism strategy focusing on heritage for the first time (Glasgow Life, 2017c), looking to maximise the opportunities from heritage tourism markets such as ancestral tourism.

For this study, the urban museum plays a significant role. Several authors stress the value of urban museums in helping to inform people about lifestyles in the industrial era and the contributions of working people (e.g. Chen, Kerstetter, & Graefe, 2001; Wu et al., 2016), as well as highlighting localised identities and bringing a sense of pride to its citizens (Chang et al., 1996; Yale, 1998). Additionally, Martinović and Ifko (2018) suggest that industrial heritage has broad appeal because it is representative of the lives of generations of ordinary people. So, while there is tourist appeal and recognised economic and social benefits to be gained from urban tourism, there is a need for collaboration and cooperation in both development

processes and the delivery of experience, which also needs to be considered in the management and marketing of heritage. In the case of ancestral tourism, shortcomings related to the interconnectedness of visitor facilities and the resources required in the Scottish case has been highlighted by Alexander et al., (2017) mainly in rural areas. Delivery of ancestral tourism in urban settings remains underexplored.

In summary, approaches to heritage studies are likely to contain both positive and negative opinions about the contemporary use of heritage for political, economic and social purposes. The literature draws attention to dominant narratives and cultural representations used in some cases to reinforce ideologies and national identities, also utilised for tourism purposes. However, scholars argue that the overemphasis on collective symbols and icons omits other meanings and identities of place. This is relevant in the context of this study where Glasgow is trying to raise its profile and increase visitor numbers while rural images and narratives of Scotland dominate tourism promotion overseas.

The literature also demonstrates the economic and social benefits of heritage and tourism development, especially for the regeneration of post-industrial cities like Glasgow. Indeed, cultural heritage is viewed as a vital element of Glasgow's tourism strategy, linking in with the city's social and economic ambitions (Glasgow City Council, 2016; Glasgow Life, 2017c). However, studies highlight concern over the commercialisation of heritage at the expense of local communities and a disregard of community views in the planning and management of heritage tourism. The challenge for heritage providers in various contexts then is balancing political, economic and social agendas as well as the needs of multiple stakeholders, requiring careful consideration of the management and marketing of heritage.

2.2 Management and Marketing of Public Heritage

Heritage is typically owned and managed by three different sectors; public, private and voluntary/non-profit (Timothy & Boyd, 2003). Whereas privately owned heritage attractions are associated with profit and boosting visitor figures (Chang et al., 1996; Timothy & Boyd, 2003), the goals of non-profit and publicly owned heritage, tend to be centred on conservation, guardianship and education (Falk, 2016; Garrod & Fyall, 2000; McLean, 1998). However, income generation is also a consideration for public and non-profit owned heritage to ensure its survival for future generations (Apostolakis, 2003; Millar, 1989). Balancing these different priorities is a contentious issue in heritage management and, as Millar (1989) states, the emphasis that heritage managers give to these objectives will vary depending on the context; the location, and the organisation that has custodianship of the heritage resources.

This study looks at heritage management within an urban location where heritage assets are viewed as significant for social and economic goals (Labadi, 2016; Law, 2002; Park, 2014). Glasgow's DMO, now merged with Glasgow Life, aims to promote heritage as part of its strategy to increase visitor numbers. Garrod and Fyall (2017) highlight that DMO's are often publically funded in recognition of the multiplier effect and the economic and social benefits which can be gained, including employment, infrastructure and leisure opportunities for citizens at a destination. The focus for this section is to review the literature on the challenges of managing and marketing heritage under public sector custodianship. Traditional curatorial or custodial perspectives of heritage management are explored, followed by controversies surrounding access and the commercialisation of heritage. This section concludes with a consideration of the challenges in balancing the varying heritage management perspectives in the marketing of public heritage.

2.2.1 Managing Public Heritage

One of the issues associated with public sector management in general, is fragmentation, with different institutions contributing to the service delivery of a policy objective (Flynn, 2007). In many regions, heritage resources come under the ownership of several public sector or non-profit organisations, creating challenges for cooperation and coordination (McCamley & Gilmore, 2017). In the context of this study, the heritage resources are the responsibility of Glasgow Life, but collections are spread across many different museums, galleries and archives across the city of Glasgow. This implies there may be varying attitudes and approaches to heritage management and delivery of services across these individual locations.

Heritage policies often aim to balance the custodianship and preservation of public heritage while allowing access and attracting visitors (Gilmore & Rentschler, 2002). However, fulfilling these policy objectives is a contentious issue for heritage managers. For many, curatorial and conservation goals are seen as primary heritage missions, while public access, visitor experiences and tourism are viewed as secondary in importance (e.g. Bakri et al., 2015; Bryce et al., 2017; Calver & Page, 2013; Garrod & Fyall, 2000; Millar, 1989; Wells, Manika, Gregory-Smith, Taheri, & McCowlen, 2015). These studies highlight some of the tensions between heritage managers and the policy objectives of the organisations who are responsible for the overall guardianship and management of heritage.

Heritage managers with custodial and curatorial perspectives to heritage management, traditionally view 'their role more as guardians of the national heritage than as providers of public access to it' (Garrod & Fyall, 2000:684). This attitude links to an uneasiness about the commodification of heritage, and the use of public heritage for commercial gains (Calver & Page, 2013; Garrod & Fyall, 2000; Nuryanti, 1996). In the museum context, Falk (2016:357) suggests these concerns are related to a 'museum's historic position as content authority and its quest for intellectual excellence and integrity'. Some commentators voice concerns that commercialisation and promotion of heritage for tourism purposes are attempts to

appeal to mass markets, therefore threatening the preservation and professional integrity of heritage interpretation (e.g. Falk, 2016; Garrod & Fyall, 2000). However, effective heritage management should ensure that public heritage resources are preserved but also accessible both in the present and for future generations (Alazaizeh, Hallo, Backman, Norman, & Vogel, 2016; Garrod & Fyall, 2000; Millar, 1989).

Several scholars link the idea of heritage and inheritance to the concept of sustainability, which involves consultation with various stakeholders, including the local community (Aas et al., 2005; Bakri et al., 2015; Garrod & Fyall, 2000). Striving for sustainability in heritage management not only involves preserving heritage, but also ensuring host communities have access to their own heritage. Managers are under increasing pressure to promote inclusive practice, broaden their appeal and attract a wider audience (Goulding, 1999, 2000b; Mason, 2004; Minkiewicz, Evans, & Bridson, 2014). Making sure that heritage is intellectually and culturally accessible to various audiences and representative of different histories is something that museums have been criticised for in the past (Bryce & Carnegie, 2013; Davies, 2001; Goulding, 2000a; McDonald, 2011; Millar, 1989). Increasingly, the emphasis is on visitor services and the importance of understanding different audience needs and expectations, to ensure the long-term sustainability of heritage resources (Calver & Page, 2013; Chen & Chen, 2010; De Rojas & Camarero, 2008; Garrod, Fyall, & Leask, 2002).

Calver and Page (2013) and Kotler and Kotler (2000) argue that museums exist to serve the public and managers should focus on improving the visitor experience, which includes entertainment and opportunities for learning. The assumption that entertaining exhibitions disappoints visitors by distracting them from the intellectual credibility of interpretation, argues Calver and Page (2013:23), fails to recognise that the 'hedonic experience is one of the principal means by which visitors assess the perceived value of their experience of heritage attractions'. Managers therefore need to acknowledge this in their strategies to attract visitors (Calver & Page, 2013).

Accessibility, public services, opening hours, signposting, and communication with users are also vital elements of the visitor experience (Rentschler & Gilmore, 2002). De Rojas & Camarero (2008:525) stipulate that visitors to museums 'seek a total experience, including leisure, culture, education, and social interaction'. Growing recognition of this, as well as cuts in public funding, has increased pressure for managers to consider the needs and expectations of visitors in order to demonstrate value for funding bodies, and also, in some cases, to generate income (Apostolakis, 2003; Calver & Page, 2013; Garrod & Fyall, 2000; Leask, Fyall, & Garrod, 2013). Again, this is noteworthy for this study, given that Glasgow Life receives public funds and part of its remit is to generate revenue to contribute towards the delivery of its services.

The user pays debate is another contentious issue for the custodians of public heritage assets (Aas et al., 2005; Timothy & Boyd, 2003). While there is consensus in some areas that the public should not have to pay to access their heritage (Timothy & Boyd, 2003), there is increasing pressure for heritage attractions to become self-reliant (Goulding, 1999, 2000b; Minkiewicz et al., 2014). Aas et al. (2005) and Chang (1996) stress that several stakeholders' views need to be considered to achieve these goals, with both public and private collaboration. Sources of income for museums include partnerships with event managers, retail, food and beverage facilities, temporary exhibitions, and donations, grants and sponsorship (Timothy & Boyd, 2003; Tufts & Milne, 1999). Kotler and Kotler (2000) advise that broadening the appeal attracts more community support and is considered a viable option to increase donations and sponsorship. As the previous section highlights, heritage development and promotion can bring substantial economic benefits to communities. However, the costs of preserving heritage are high, and with limited public funds, heritage managers need to find ways to generate income (Timothy, 2018) and to demonstrate their worth by widening audiences and visitor numbers.

Glasgow Life recognises the value of providing its citizens with free access to cultural heritage (Glasgow City Council, 2006) but also stresses the importance of growth and investment in the tourism industry to meet the city's broader social and economic objectives (Glasgow City Council, 2016; Glasgow Life, 2016b). The literature reveals possible tensions and conflicting attitudes towards the management of public heritage, where those delivering and managing heritage may have different perspectives from the owners and their policy objectives. These are relevant considerations for this study where Glasgow Life are looking to maximise the potential of heritage tourism but have responsibility for cultural heritage assets and related services spread diffusely across several locations.

2.2.2 Marketing of Public Heritage

The marketing of heritage attractions, according to Yale (1998), is about selecting unique selling points and promoting these to potential markets so that the running costs are covered, and profits made. However, Yale (1998) also acknowledges the difference in market-orientation for museums and galleries under public ownership, highlighting government pressure in the UK for museums to become more self-sufficient. As is the case in Glasgow, museums receive around 70 per cent of their income from public funds but need to attract and increase visitor numbers to demonstrate their value (Gilmore & Rentschler, 2002). Hence, since the mid-1990s there has been a shift toward a marketing rather than a custodial emphasis, with many museums integrating marketing departments within their operations (Gilmore & Rentschler, 2002). However, Rentschler and Gilmore (2002) highlight the lack of consensus over the heritage mission in museums, requiring consideration of many stakeholders, including visitors, local communities and those delivering and managing heritage for the public. As stipulated, some stakeholders' concerns relate to commercialisation, which is counter to inclusive access and custodial perspectives.

Several researchers acknowledge the heterogeneity of heritage consumption and the challenge of representation and interpretation faced by heritage providers, alongside

pressures to commercialise (e.g. Bond & Falk, 2013; Caton & Santos, 2007; Corsane, 2005). Museums and heritage attractions have received criticism over the commodification of heritage, rendering it an entertainment spectacle (Hewison, 1987). Goulding (1999) contests this view, emphasising that visitors draw their own autonomous meanings through engagement with heritage. Furthermore, Smith (2006:4) argues that visitors are not passive and uncritical in their experiences of culture but rather engaged in a heritage process where 'heritage objects, sites, places or institutions like museums become cultural tools or props to facilitate this process – but do not themselves stand in for this process or act'. Heritage, Smith (2006) argues, may have popular appeal, but the meanings surrounding this heritage are intangible, subjective, and vary from individual to individual.

Heritage policy is driving change to broaden audiences and to improve access to other social groups (Robinson & Silverman, 2015). To encourage the public to access heritage collections, Keene, Stevenson, and Monti, (2008) stress the need to advertise that these resources are publicly available. Museums and other heritage attractions, according to Garrod & Fyall (2000), should also consider visitors' needs and expectations, but this requires action from the supply side who need to commit to understanding their audiences. Previously, museum audiences were viewed as those seeking quality and education versus those looking for quantity and entertainment (Falk, 2016). This over-simplistic view, Falk (2016) claims, is being replaced with a realisation that the public visits all types of museums for many different reasons.

Kotler and Kotler (2000), as well as Davies (2001), suggest that to be successful, museums should develop knowledge of different audiences' needs and motivations, utilising this for segmentation in marketing strategies. Additionally, De Rojas and Camarero (2008:526) suggest that visitors are looking for a variety of experiences at museums which not only includes exhibitions but a range of tangible and intangible services including 'the organization of courses and seminars, bookshops, restaurants and cafes, brochures and other facilities for better accessibility and interpretation, and even the attitudes and values transmitted to the visitor'. As the literature in the

previous section showed, heritage can carry different meanings for communities, some with emotional connections, which also needs to be considered in the marketing, development and interpretation of collections. Rentschler and Gilmore (2002) express that museums should view themselves both as tourism and cultural regeneration facilities, but also catering to the changing needs of community audiences.

Whilst preservation, education and the integrity of curatorship have ongoing importance, this section demonstrated that visitor services and income generation are increasingly significant objectives for managers of public heritage. Heritage policies aim to balance these goals, but the literature shows competing priorities that are often dependent on the context and location of the heritage resources. The economic benefits of heritage tourism are recognised globally with museums and heritage sites viewed as valuable heritage assets to incorporate into tourism strategies, as is the case in Glasgow (Glasgow Life, 2017c). The literature also suggested a need to understand different audience needs, motivations, and views on heritage, to widen access and demonstrate value to funding bodies (e.g. Davies, 2001; Kotler & Kotler, 2000; Rentschler & Gilmore, 2002; Richards, 2018). The challenge for heritage managers is balancing local policy objectives alongside regional and national strategy, as well as acknowledging the needs of a range of stakeholders and visitors. Conventional studies of heritage tourism research developed typologies based on the demands of various visitors, matching these to the supply of a variety of heritage attractions. The next section begins by exploring some of these supply and demand perspectives of heritage tourism before moving to discussion of heritage and individuals.

2.3 Heritage Tourism

Heritage tourism is defined as tourism that centres on what is inherited or transferred across generations (Garrod & Fyall, 2001; Nuryanti, 1996; Yale, 1998). Described as one of the fastest-growing segments of special interest tourism, academic research

and efforts to describe and define these inherited aspects in relation to tourism grew in intensity from the 1980s (Timothy, 2018) with mainstream approaches tending to focus on descriptive supply and demand frameworks and consumer and producer definitions (Prentice, 1993; Yale, 1998). This section begins by exploring descriptive definitions of heritage tourism supply, outlining some of the shortcomings and contemporary approaches emerging from these earlier works.

2.3.1 Heritage Tourism Supply

From the 1980s, descriptive supply accounts categorised heritage products by the key elements they possessed (Timothy, 2018), which could be natural, built or cultural (Millar, 1989; Nuryanti, 1996; Prentice, 1993). 'Natural' means 'naturally occurring phenomenon'(Timothy, 2011:3) like canyons, forests, rivers, mountains and also gardens and parks (Nuryanti, 1996); built heritage refers to historic buildings, structures and ruins (Nuryanti, 1996; Yale, 1998); and cultural heritage refers to tangible (e.g. built heritage, landscapes, towns, artworks and artefacts, objects in museums, historic gardens, antiques) or intangible heritage such as folklore, customs and beliefs, languages, philosophy, traditions, music, dance, ceremonies and rituals (McDonald, 2011; Nuryanti, 1996; Smith, 2006; Timothy, 2011; Yale, 1998). Definitions of 'cultural heritage' often overlap or encompass the above elements with 'cultural' and 'heritage' used interchangeably in relation to tourism (Alazaizeh et al., 2016; Timothy & Boyd, 2006). While scholars underlined the controversies surrounding the excessive labelling of heritage, as outlined in the previous sections (e.g. Apostolakis, 2003; Hewison, 1987; Palmer, 1999), the classification of heritage supply provides a useful framework to enable understanding of the visitor markets it appeals to, as well as helping to manage and market heritage more effectively (Swarbrooke, 2011; Timothy, 2011).

Alongside built, natural or cultural heritage, considered the primary attractions pulling visitors to a location (Nuryanti, 1996), tourism supply, in general, refers to the 'the tourism resources and services of a region' (Timothy & Boyd, 2003:19).

Heritage tourism supply includes primary heritage attractions drawing tourists as well as day visitors and local residents. It also includes secondary elements such as accommodation, food and beverage, and shopping facilities (Apostolakis, 2003; Park, 2014). In urban contexts, tertiary aspects like transportation, information and parking facilities also form part of the 'pull' for visitors (Timothy & Boyd, 2003). All these elements combined were said to contribute to the attractiveness of tourist places (Leiper, 1990; Lew, 1987). However, this classification of supply does not fully consider the increasing diversity of demand (Apostolakis, 2003; Palmer, 1999), the appeal of heritage attractions by those that perceive these sites as being part of their personal heritage (Timothy, 1997; Poria, Butler et al., 2001), and the challenges in catering to the needs of these visitors. Furthermore, Leask (2016:349) stresses 'a gap in research in relation to staff and management personnel' who deliver and develop visitor experiences, with this study aiming to address this by exploring experiences of providing personal heritage tourism.

Although heritage and heritage attractions have been categorised according to their tangible features (e.g. Prentice, 1993; Yale, 1998), McDonald (2011) argues that heritage is entirely intangible. Whether it is natural, built, or cultural, these physical elements of heritage 'are nothing without the meanings and memories ascribed to them by the people' (McDonald, 2011:782). Similarly, Park (2014:26) emphasises that tangible heritage in all forms has 'cultural components that humans ascribe to them' with intangible values and associations. Smith (2006:3) uses the example of Stonehenge where the cultural processes and activities surrounding this site render it 'physically symbolic', meaningful and valuable. According to Timothy (1997:752), internationally renowned sites such as Stonehenge, the Egyptian Pyramids and Borobudur attract millions of visitors with a general interest but for others, these sites have national, local or personal significance: 'what is viewed as world heritage by one person, maybe considered very personal by another' (see Table 2-1). Understanding the personal draw for heritage tourists and personal interest groups, Timothy (1997) argues, has potential benefits to managers of cultural heritage sites, as well as local communities and tourism businesses.

Table 2.1 is based on Timothy's (2011) typology of tangible cultural heritage and Timothy's (1997) four levels of heritage tourism experience, which represent varying degrees of personal attachment to the site visited: world, national, local and personal.

<table>
<tr><th colspan="3">Shared Cultural Heritage</th></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="2">Local, Personal</td><td rowspan="1">World, National</td><td>Historical settlements: historic cities, redeveloped waterfronts, villages, rural settlements.

Archaeological sites/historic buildings: ancient ruins, archaeological digs, castles, churches, historic homes, museums.

Dark attractions: sites of terrorism, places where famous people died, cemeteries, sites of mass murder or torture, concentration camps, prisons.

Military attractions: battlefields, museums, cemeteries, war memorials, military installations.

Industrial attractions: docks, railways, mines, quarries, factories, breweries.

Religious attractions: churches, cathedrals, mountains, rivers, grottos, temples, church headquarters

(Source: Timothy, 2011)</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Local and Personal heritage sites

Genealogical centres, archive centres, libraries, local churches, cemeteries, local museums and heritage centres (Alexander et al., 2017; Timothy, 1997)</td></tr>
</table>

Table 2-1 Shared Cultural Heritage Experiences

Source: Based on Alexander et al. (2017); Timothy (1997, 2011)

The left columns of the table demonstrate the possible overlap between the levels of experience, or shared heritage. For example, world heritage sites attract large numbers of international visitors but could also have national, local or even personal significance, which Timothy (1997) stresses can be important for the preservation of these sites. National sites may conjure feeling of national pride and include locations

of battlefields such as Culloden in Scotland, or Gettysburg National Military Park in the USA, but again, these sites may be considered by some as local or personal heritage (Basu, 2007; Timothy, 1997). At a community level, memorials or museums may be visited by many but 'can provide an important experience for locals to which outsiders may not be able to relate' (Timothy, 1997:752). Whether it is a historic settlement, dark heritage, military, industrial or religious site, visitors may have emotional connections to heritage based on personal associations with religious, ethnic, or career groups, which will be explored in more detail in Section 2.4.

The last row of Table 2.1 is based on both Alexander et al. (2017) and Timothy's (1997) research on personal heritage tourism. While some of these sites store national and international records, attracting worldwide visitors (hence the dotted line above the last row), the level of experience is often personal and may include those researching their family history or visiting the graves of their ancestors (Timothy, 1997). The supply here includes libraries and archives and presents a significant challenge for these providers of personal heritage tourism, which are not usually associated with commercial tourism activities (Alexander et al., 2017). Also of note is that many of these attractions are not only visited by overnight tourists but local residents and other day visitors, including family history enthusiasts. Responding to the needs and expectations of these visitors therefore has managerial implications, underlining the importance of considering provider perspectives in diverse heritage settings (Timothy & Boyd, 2003).

Researchers criticise descriptive supply accounts for being narrow, one-sided perspectives that do not consider the complexity surrounding heritage tourism (e.g. Garrod & Fyall, 2001; Nuryanti, 1996; Weaver, 2011). Whereas prior supply studies focused on mediated versions of the past and the ancillary services, more recent studies are concerned with the relationships tourists have with destinations as well as recognising the intangible elements present in all forms of heritage (Park, 2014; Poria, Butler et al., 2001; Richards, 2018; Waterton & Watson, 2015). Research on

heritage tourism supply consequently considers multiple stakeholders, subjectivities and contestations surrounding the interpretation, conservation, and management of heritage (Garrod & Fyall, 2000; Leask, 2008, 2010; Poria et al., 2003; Timothy, 2018; Weaver, 2011), with this research focusing on delivery of personal heritage experiences within an organisation tasked with balancing various heritage goals and visitor demands.

2.3.2 Heritage Tourism Demand

In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, demand for heritage travel was mainly from the upper-class elite on Grand Tours of Europe (Park, 2014; Timothy & Boyd, 2003). From the eighteenth century, the fashion of embarking on The Grand Tour (Cohen, 1992) expanded to include merchants, bankers, lawyers and physicians and was perceived as an 'educationally and culturally refining experience', lasting several months and taking in places like Paris in France, Rome and Naples in Italy, and parts of Germany (Timothy & Boyd, 2003:11). Whilst income and standard of living was once considered the main factor influencing travel (Burkart & Medlik, 1981), demand for tourism grew exponentially in the latter half of the twentieth century for many reasons including rises in leisure time and incomes, and the growth in international and domestic travel (Richards, 2018; Robinson & Silverman, 2015). The economic benefits to be gained from heritage tourism were also recognised with research undertaken to understand the needs, motivations and decisions influencing tourists to visit particular places (Harrison, 2013; Richards, 1996, 2018).

Academic scholars have conducted a range of studies to understand tourists' demands on a deeper level, with some of the most influential works provided by Crompton (1979), Dann (1977), Iso-Ahola (1982), Pearce (1988), and Plog (1974). Stemming from the field of psychology, these works considered 'pull' and 'push' factors motivating tourists' to travel. 'Pull' factors were commonly associated with supply features (Leiper, 1990; Lew, 1987), and 'push' factors with demand and internal desires motivating individuals to consume and visit particular places (Dann,

1977; Moutinho, 1987). Snepenger, King, Marshall, and Uysal (2006:140) explain that 'a person is pushed to participate from internal imbalances and the need to seek an optimal level of arousal, as well as pulled by the offerings of a specific destination'. The tourism industry utilises knowledge of motivations to segment tourists into 'types' deemed beneficial for marketing and the development of specialised tourism products (Fodness, 1994; Goossens, 2000; Kerstetter et al., 2001; Pearce, 2005; Snepenger et al., 2006).

Research on the concept of specialisation advanced from the 1980s (Pearce, 2005). Heritage tourists were labelled as special interest tourists motivated to participate in dedicated activities relating to heritage (Apostolakis, 2003; Nuryanti, 1996; Pearce, 1988; Prentice, 1993). For heritage consumption, Prentice (1993:xv) explained that motivation 'is both felt internally as feelings of benefit by its consumers and also presented implicitly and explicitly by producers who see a demand for such 'products'. These studies suggested that successful marketing practice for heritage tourism depended on the ability to match elements of heritage attractions with the demands of heritage tourists and the benefits that they seek from visiting these attractions (Swarbrooke, 2011; Timothy, 2011). The specialisation concept was moving away from approaches that homogenised depictions of tourists to consider multiplicity (Uriely, 1997; Urry, 2002). However, like early supply studies, demand studies were criticised for their simplistic, descriptive nature that did not consider individual motivations, perceptions and experiences, as well as the views of a range of stakeholders (Leask, 2016; Timothy, 2018).

Although demand studies were considered foundational for the field of heritage tourism, Timothy (2018:178), stresses there was saturation of these 'predictable case studies of visitor satisfaction, market segmentation and demographic profiles'. Increasingly, scholars recognise the multiplicity of tourists' motivations (Apostolakis, 2003; Apostolakis & Jaffry, 2005). Also, it is noted that heritage can mean different things to different people who experience tangible and intangible elements (Poria & Ashworth, 2009; Poria et al., 2003). As highlighted in the

previous sections, the stories surrounding heritage are often subjective, with visitors drawing their own meanings from engagement with cultural heritage (Goulding, 1999; McDonald, 2011; Smith, 2006; Timothy, 1997). Also, heritage supply includes sites visited by both tourists and day visitors in surrounding communities. The challenge for heritage providers is accommodating this diversity of demand with further research required to understand individual visitor requirements and expectations in order to improve management practice (Leask, Barron & Fyall, 2013; Leask, 2016).

Effective management of heritage attractions 'is deemed to be the successful achievement of management plans and objectives as set by the stakeholders' and therefore depends on the context and the individual resource (Leask, 2010:155). Finding a balance between the competing attitudes to the management of heritage is, however, challenging (see Section 2.2.1) with some viewing preservation and curatorial duties as more important than visitor services and accessibility (Bakri et al., 2015; Bryce et al., 2017; Calver & Page, 2013; Garrod & Fyall, 2000; Millar, 1989; Wells et al., 2015). Many heritage attractions, particularly museums and galleries operate on a non-profit basis within the public sector, with management objectives linked to economic regeneration strategies, recognition of the value and societal role of heritage, and support for free access to public heritage resources (Leask, 2010). These values are viewed by many as contrary to commercial and tourism goals (Calver & Page, 2013; Garrod & Fyall, 2000). However, as a result of economic and political conditions and a decline in public funding, many 'free' heritage attractions are under pressure to increase donations, to generate income from activities and events such as temporary exhibitions, and to demonstrate value to funding sources by catering to the needs of wider audiences (Calver & Page, 2013; Leask, 2010; Leask, 2016; Leask, Fyall et al., 2013).

Heritage attractions are in competition with other leisure pursuits in a context where public funds are declining (Leask, 2016). To ensure heritage is both preserved and accessible for future generations, effective heritage management therefore needs to

understand individual audience needs and expectations, including local day visitors as well as domestic and international tourists (Leask, 2016; Leask, Fyall et al., 2013). Research on heritage demand developed alongside supply studies, both contributing to the emergence of studies that consider the context in which heritage exists, and the personal connections drawing visitors to these places (Timothy, 2018; Timothy & Boyd, 2003). However, understanding 'the personal nature of heritage' is challenging (McDonald, 2011:781) and remains an under-researched area from both supply and demand perspectives (Alexander et al., 2017; McCain & Ray, 2003; Murdy et al., 2018; Poria et al., 2006a; Timothy & Boyd, 2006; Willson & McIntosh, 2007). This thesis aims to contribute to this body of literature, exploring the challenges and implications of delivering service to tourists with individual perceptions of their heritage.

2.4 Personal Heritage Tourism

Dissatisfied with the descriptive supply-demand approaches to heritage tourism, Timothy (2011, 2018) observes a rise in research seeking to understand experiential engagements with heritage (e.g. Apostolakis, 2003; Poria et al., 2003; Timothy, 2018). According to Poria, Reichel and Biran (2006b), experiential studies consider the individual experiences of heritage rather than a site's historical attributes. Heritage tourists are therefore drawn to and consume heritage based on perceived connections to that heritage site (Poria, Airey, & Butler, 2001; Poria, Butler et al., 2001; Poria et al., 2003, 2006a). This section begins with an exploration of 'personal heritage tourism', mainly attributed to the work of Poria, Butler et al. (2001, 2003, 2004).

Personal heritage tourism is viewed as an alternative approach which considers the personal consumption of heritage, where individuals are drawn to heritage places because of an emotional or personal attachment (Alexander et al., 2017; Kozak, 2016; Timothy, 1997; Timothy & Boyd, 2003). According to Poria, Butler et al. (2001), visits to heritage sites or attractions are based on individual motivations and

perceptions rather than the historic characteristics of that site. To clarify, Poria, Butler et al. (2001:1048) differentiate between three types of heritage tourist: 'those visiting what they consider a heritage site though it is unconnected with their own; those visiting a place they deem to be part of their heritage, even though it may not be categorized as a heritage site; and those visiting a site specifically classified as a heritage place although unaware of this designation'. In a subsequent article, Poria et al. (2003:247) state that heritage tourists do not include those visiting out of a general interest to learn and 'should not include those visiting a place "just because it is there"'. This contrasts with Timothy's (1997) work described earlier, which outlines varying levels of heritage tourism experience including those visiting out of a general interest. Where Poria et al. (2003) and Timothy (1997) do agree is on the need for further research to understand personal attachments and experiences of heritage.

2.4.1 Forms of Personal Heritage Tourism

Several sub-categories can be identified from the literature on personal heritage tourism. Timothy (1997) suggests that those who engage in personal heritage tourism can include religious, ethnic and career groups. For example, research reveals individual, and often complex motivations associated with journeys to heritage sites that are significant to particular faiths and religious groups (Sharma, 2013; Terzidou, Scarles, & Saunders, 2018). War veterans visiting the locations of former battles is considered a form of personal heritage tourism (Timothy, 1997). Also, industrial heritage attractions are said to have resonance for individuals who once worked or lived close to these industries (Sutestad & Mosler, 2016; Timothy & Boyd, 2003). Another form is 'personal memory' tourism, which Marschall (2012, 2014b) describes as 'journeys undertaken to revisit places associated with one's own life history' (Marschall, 2014b:36). In all of these examples, which often overlap, understanding of heritage tourism has evolved from descriptive supply and demand accounts to exploring the relationships between tourists and the destinations they visit.

Family history research is also recognised as an area of interest for personal heritage tourists and worthy of investigation due to its recognition as a growth market in many countries (Huang et al., 2018; Timothy, 1997; Timothy & Boyd, 2006). Researchers utilise terms such as ancestral, sentimental, diaspora, homeland, legacy, migrant, roots and genealogical tourists to discuss these phenomena in varied contexts (Alexander et al., 2017; Baraniecki, 2001; Huang et al., 2018; Io, 2017; Maruyama & Stronza, 2010; McCain & Ray, 2003; Ndione et al., 2018; Santos & Yan, 2010) with ancestral tourism the preferred term used by national tourism organisations in Scotland and Ireland (Alexander et al., 2017; Wright, 2009). 'Ancestral tourism' also draws the various other terms together (Alexander et al., 2017). The next chapter focuses on this specific form of personal heritage tourism, exploring in more depth the various terms, reasons and motivations associated with this form of travel.

Commentators stress the lack of research in personal heritage tourism more generally (McCain & Ray, 2003; Murdy et al., 2018; Poria et al., 2006a; Timothy & Boyd, 2006; Willson & McIntosh, 2007) despite recognition that tourists' demands are increasingly individualistic and therefore challenging for those delivering services at heritage places (Alexander et al., 2017; Bryce et al., 2017; Murdy et al., 2016). Timothy (1997) underlined the possible benefits to communities and local tourism businesses if more research was conducted to understand personal interest groups' visits to heritage sites. Furthermore, Poria et al., (2004, 2006a, 2006b) argue that the behaviour of tourists with perceived personal connections differs from other tourists, which has implications for heritage managers.

Poria, Reichel and Biran (2006a:174) suggest that personal heritage tourists have higher expectations, indicating that heritage sites should have varied interpretations 'to facilitate and structure an emotional, intensive visiting experience'. However, Garrod and Fyall (2001) criticise Poria, Butler et al.'s (2001) study as a demand perspective that disregards provider views and where heritage managers commonly prioritise curatorial principles over visitor experiences. The literature on heritage

tourism supply and demand (see Section 2.3) also highlights that demand for many of these attractions includes international tourists and domestic tourists, local, and other day visitors too (Leask, 2016), presenting challenges for providers in meeting these diverse visitors' expectations (Garrod & Fyall, 2000). While the literature highlights the growing interest in personal heritage tourism (Kozak, 2016; Poria, Butler et al., 2001; Timothy, 1997) and the increasing pressure for heritage attractions to understand and cater to the needs of wider audiences (Garrod & Fyall, 2000; Leask, 2016), few studies examine provider perspectives, not only from those responsible for curation and interpretation, but from customer-facing staff who guide and deliver services. This thesis therefore aims to contribute to this underexplored area.

2.5 Conclusions

This chapter discussed the production and consumption of heritage and the tensions associated with its commercialisation and exploitation for political, social and economic goals (Harrison, 2013; Park, 2011; Poria & Ashworth, 2009; Timothy & Boyd, 2003). Iconic heritage utilised for tourism promotion (Alexander et al., 2017; Hewison, 1987; Palmer, 1999; Park, 2010) was argued to exclude other identities and meanings relating to place (Bandyopadhyay et al., 2008; Caton & Santos, 2007; Palmer, 1999, 2005). This is relevant to this context where Glasgow Life aims to maximise the potential of ancestral tourism in Scotland, but the current focus for promotion is on symbolic Highland heritage and the associated locations.

This chapter also emphasised heritage-led projects as contributing to economic and social change, particularly in places like Glasgow, that once relied on other industries (Kerstetter et al., 2001). The current tourism strategy for Glasgow underlines heritage as one of the primary growth markets (Glasgow Life, 2017c), with this study analysing provision of ancestral tourism and staff experiences of providing this form of personal heritage tourism within a publically funded urban heritage context. While policies often aim to balance the custodianship and preservation of public

heritage as well as providing access and attracting visitors (Gilmore & Rentschler, 2002), the literature revealed possible tensions and conflicting attitudes towards the management of public heritage (e.g. Bakri et al., 2015; Bryce et al., 2017; Calver & Page, 2013; Garrod & Fyall, 2000; Millar, 1989; Wells et al., 2015).

Research on heritage tourism initially focused on the mass consumption of heritage from supply and demand perspectives (Apostolakis, 2003; Richards, 2018). However, tourism marketers also recognised the significance of niche heritage tourism markets, with researchers identifying multiple tourist motivations, and increasingly individualistic demands (Alexander et al., 2017; McCain & Ray, 2003; Richards, 2018). This review highlighted the growing interest in personal heritage tourism where heritage consumption and experiences relate to individuals' personal and emotional connections to the sites they visit (Alexander et al., 2017; Kozak, 2016; Poria, Butler et al., 2001; Timothy, 1997, 2018), a variation on conventional supply and demand definitions. However, the literature review also highlighted personal heritage tourism as an under-researched area (McCain & Ray, 2003; Poria et al., 2006a; Timothy & Boyd, 2006; Willson & McIntosh, 2007), especially from supplier perspectives (Alexander et al., 2017; Murdy et al., 2018), with this study aiming to address this gap.

The next chapter explores literature associated with ancestral tourism and the various terms, reasons and motivations linked to this type of tourism. It discusses the historical, evolving, and contested definitions of 'diaspora', as well as 'homeland', significant for developing an understanding of this form of travel. The chapter also examines the role of ancestral tourism within diasporic communities, including Scotland, looking specifically at provider experiences of delivering this form of personal heritage tourism in Scotland.

Chapter 3. Diasporas and Ancestral Tourism

Chapter 2 discussed the economic and social significance of urban industrial heritage, pertinent in cities like Glasgow that once relied on other industries (Kerstetter et al., 2001; Labadi, 2016; Law, 2002). Also underlined was Glasgow's tourism strategy, emphasising heritage as a valuable attribute in its aim to increase visitor numbers (Glasgow Life, 2017c). However, national and symbolic cultural representations often overshadow other identities and meanings connected to place (Bandyopadhyay et al., 2008; Caton & Santos, 2007; Palmer, 1999, 2005) and in this context, current ancestral tourism promotion, provision and research focus on Highland, rural areas of Scotland. In order to fulfil the research objectives, this chapter reviews literature associated with ancestral tourism, mainly conducted from demand perspectives (Alexander et al., 2017; Huang et al., 2016; Timothy & Boyd, 2006). It also reviews existing supply-side research in Scotland to provide insights into the challenges of delivering personal heritage experiences.

Ancestral tourism is described as a 'collective banner' pulling together a range of terms (e.g. diaspora, roots, genealogical) (Alexander et al., 2017:546). Ancestral tourism often coincides with discussion on 'diasporas' and 'homelands'; hence, the chapter begins by exploring the term diaspora, its early associations and evolving definitions. Diasporic communities' real and imagined connections to their homelands are then examined, as well as the role of ancestral tourism within diasporic communities. The chapter then introduces the various terms considered forms of ancestral tourism, the nuances between them, as well as activities and motivations associated with these forms of travel. The chapter then reviews literature linked to ancestral tourists' Highland, rural associations with Scotland and the challenges in catering to the needs and expectations of these tourists. The chapter concludes by analysing the provider perspectives of ancestral tourism in Scotland, chiefly explored from the perspective of small, often community-run heritage centres in Highland, rural regions of Scotland.

3.1 Diasporas

When tourism coalesces around remembered national identities held by groups now living outside a place of 'origin', the term 'diaspora' is often used. Originally, 'diaspora' was associated with victims and those who experienced 'forced and traumatic displacement from a territory' (Coles & Timothy, 2004:5), referring principally to the millennia-long history of Jewish exile from Israel (Basu, 2005b; Coles & Timothy, 2004; Huang et al., 2018). The term later applied to other victim diasporas, for example, African slaves, Armenians, Gypsies and Palestinians (Basu, 2005b; Coles & Timothy, 2004). Marschall (2017:12) suggests then that 'victim diaspora' can be understood as 'all those people who were displaced and lost their homes due to political violence; warfare; genocide; ethnic, religious or other forms of persecution; natural or human-made disaster'. In the case of Scotland, emigration is often discussed with reference to the Highland Clearances and victimised groups, forcibly removed from their land (Devine, 2012; Harper, 2017). However, these groups only account for a small proportion of emigration overall, with Scots travelling to distant lands for many reasons including economic ones. Similar to other diasporic communities then, the term 'victim diaspora' does not account for all experiences of global Scottish diaspora and their ancestors.

The work of Cohen (1997, 2008) is central when discussing global diasporic groups (Coles & Timothy, 2004; Gouriévidis, 2016; Huang et al., 2018; Iorio & Corsale, 2013). Acknowledging that diasporic communities have multiple reasons for migration but with some shared experiences, Cohen (1997) developed a typology categorising diasporas based on different explanations for migration. Cohen (1997) classified diasporas to include victim as well as labour, trade and imperial diasporas. Labour diasporas were those who migrated for work purposes with Cohen (1997) using the example of Indian workers who were deployed to work in British, Dutch and French plantations in the nineteenth century. Trade diasporas applied to those who moved for buying, selling, and business and included extended networks of merchants and business people (Cohen, 1997; Coles & Timothy, 2004). This group included Chinese traders who travelled to places like Manila and Singapore from the

sixteenth centuries, contributing to increased trade links and development (Cohen, 1997). As highlighted in Chapter 1, many Scots, facilitated by advances in transport from the eighteenth century, sought economic opportunities as far afield as the USA, Africa, Asia, Australia and New Zealand.

In some cases, trade and commercial contacts were followed by colonisation, mainly by Europeans. Cohen (1997) referred to this group as 'imperial diasporas', primarily Europeans who migrated to overseas colonies; the British in India, Portuguese in Brazil, Dutch in Indonesia. In Cohen's (2008) later work, he refers to 'deterritorialized diaspora', meaning different sets of displaced groups with cultural or religious ties, such as European Roma people and various ethnic groups from India (Timothy, 2011). Cohen's work is significant in highlighting the complexities surrounding the migratory experiences of different diasporic communities. However, rather than particular diasporas being 'pigeon-holed' into one of these groups, studies increasingly recognise that diasporas have multiple reasons for migration, some that overlap Cohen's typologies (Coles & Timothy, 2004; Huang et al., 2018).

In the eighteenth, nineteenth and twentieth centuries, significant numbers of people emigrated from 'old world' countries in Asia, Africa, and Europe to places like North and South America, the Caribbean, Australia, and New Zealand (Timothy, 2011). These migrant groups are often referred to as 'New World' diasporas, overlapping Cohen's typologies (Basu, 2004; Devine, 2012; Timothy, 2011). Some were victims; slaves transported from Africa (Bruner, 1996; Mensah, 2015). However, the use of 'victim diaspora' to refer to other New World diasporas is arguable (Basu 2005a). Referring to findings by Ann Curthoy (1999) in a context where Aboriginal rights in Australia are gaining prominence, Basu (2005a:124) highlights that white Australians with ancestral links to places like Scotland and Ireland, 'harboured a conviction that their migrant forebears were not the colonizers, but the colonized: the victims rather than the perpetrators of displacement'. In other research, Basu (2005b:145) describes a cynical trend where 'white, suburban middle-class, assimilated citizens' with a 'desire to maintain a positive or moral self-image', seek

to identify themselves with the victims rather than the persecutors even where there is little factual information on the circumstances of their ancestors' dispersal.

Whilst the term diaspora is often associated with traumatic dispersal from a homeland, the power of the word has somewhat diffused (Basu, 2007) and increasingly 'diaspora' is used more generally to include 'all groups living outside their putative homeland' (Ang, 2011:4). The term is now used to refer more broadly to widely dispersed groups who share an awareness of shared identity and history linked to a place where ancestors departed from, whether voluntarily or through traumatic expulsion. Coles and Timothy (2004:3) define diasporas as 'groups of people scattered across the world but drawn together as a community by their actual (and in some cases perceived or imagined) common bonds of ethnicity, culture, religion, national identity and, sometimes, race'. The literature here demonstrates that diasporic communities have an 'inescapable link with their past migration history' (Cohen, 1997:ix) even though the individual circumstances of an ancestor's migration may not be known.

Given the complex role of Scotland within the British imperial context as both a subordinate national territory in British domestic terms, but also providing significant proportions of the ruling elite in the empire's colonies, its diaspora can be characterised as encompassing all the typologies above. Some emigrated for the purposes of trade, which was the case for many Scots in the eighteenth century (Devine, 2012). Others emigrated as 'imperialists', advancing colonisation overseas, and more followed as labour diasporas, seeking economic opportunities. The New World diaspora represents the largest market for ancestral tourism in Scotland and Ireland (Alexander et al., 2017; Wright, 2009). The multiple reasons for original migration and recognition that people moved from several areas within home countries is a crucial consideration if all areas within these countries are to benefit from ancestral tourism.

The literature highlights a common misconception amongst Scottish diaspora that they are mainly descended from victims of the Highland Clearances or the last stand of Highland clans at Culloden (Basu, 2005b; Devine, 1999). As discussed in Chapter 1, while this study does not deny or ignore the acute injustices inflicted upon many Scottish Gaelic crofters (agricultural smallholders) over a fairly short period, emigration from the Lowlands and urban industrial areas of Scotland, though lesser-known, occurred in more significant numbers and over a more extended period of time (Aitchison & Cassell, 2012; Alexander et al., 2017; Devine, 2018). Devine (2018) links this inconsistency in widespread awareness with the fact that the Highland clearances took place at the time when an emerging mass media and its ability to shape political and popular opinion, fixed it in the Scottish and diasporic consciousness.

Possibly as a consequence, few studies explore Scottish diaspora perspectives outwith those favouring Highland areas of Scotland. Given the evidence that Scots emigrated from several regions of Scotland, this 'Highlandised' (Devine, 2018; Fenyő, 2000; Lynch, 1997) view may only represent one component of a more nuanced set of interlinked and historically informed identities amongst the Scottish diaspora overall. In these instances and for others, researchers argue that diasporic communities tend to attach themselves to collective, mythical memories and imagined pasts (Alexander et al., 2017; Bryce et al., 2017; Marschall, 2017b; Ndione et al., 2018). Cities like Glasgow as centres of industrial change and imperial trade and where many Scottish emigrants embarked on their journey overseas, has the potential to remedy this.

3.1.1 Notions of Diaspora

As discussed in Chapter 2, heritage is commonly viewed as representative of a nation, often utilised for tourism promotion (Palmer, 1999; Park, 2010). Bhandari (2014:5) suggests that heritage articulates ideas of national identity, helping to construct a 'distinctive national character of the destination'. In the case of Scotland,

symbolic indicators connected to Highland clanship and sites of ancient battles are said to be heightened within the Scottish diaspora with the formation of clubs and gatherings embracing tartan, kilts and bagpipes (Devine, 2012; Lynch, 1997; Whatley, 2000).

Also described as 'notions of diaspora', 'embellishments' or 'myths', ideas of national belonging are not confined to discussions of the Scottish diaspora (e.g. Bandyopadhyay, 2008; Basu, 2005a; Kramer, 2011a; Ndione et al., 2018). Ndione et al. (2018) describe a susceptibility for diasporic communities to reinterpret history and to embrace myths associated with the past. Gupta and Ferguson (1992:10) also highlight the tendency for displaced migrant groups to 'cluster around remembered or imagined homelands, places or communities' even where they have never visited the place their ancestors once lived. Anderson's (1983, 2016) work on *Imagined Communities* is central in several authors' analysis of how perceptions of national identity are formed (e.g. Bhandari, 2014, 2016; Graburn, 2017; Marschall, 2014). Anderson (2016) explains that the emergence of capitalism and particularly large-scale print were influential in shaping imagined nations and communities. As previously highlighted, the development of a 'Highlandised' national identity in Scotland is said to stem from literature and promotion of Scotland in the eighteenth century (Seaton, 1998).

Migrant populations living away from their original homelands are said to be bound together by imagined communities and notions of a home nation (Bandyopadhyay, 2008; Basu, 2007; Timothy, 2011). Anderson (2016:6) states that nations are imagined 'because the members of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow-members, meet them or even hear of them'. Sometimes referred to as 'long-distance nationalism' (Bhandari, 2016; Ndione et al., 2018), some diasporas maintain strong notions of home but may never even visit or meet anyone from the home nation. Diasporic grand events, customs (e.g. Highland gatherings and games), as well as popular culture and media are argued to shape constructs of national identity and perceptions of a homeland (Bandyopadhyay, 2008; Wood, 2012).

Film, television and also music are 'understood to articulate nationalistic sentiments' (Wood, 2012:1987) and to influence notions of a place and shared kinship (Kramer, 2011a). Bandyopadhyay (2008:79) describes Indian diasporas who have never visited India but have perceptions 'strongly informed by Bollywood movies'. Klein (2004:19) argues that the film, *Crouching Tiger, Hidden Dragon*, is a work of Chinese diasporic cinema with the director (settled in the USA) drawing on the familiar form of martial arts in film, seen as iconic for 'Chineseness'. Alexander et al. (2017:22) describe films like Braveheart and television shows like Outlander as evoking 'notions of an imagined past' for Scotland. These notions and imagined places are also argued to entice diasporas to visit their ancestral home (Alexander et al., 2017; Basu, 2005a; Bryce et al., 2017).

The concept of home or an imagined community, Basu (2004) explains, is connected with psychological ties and ideas of loss and separation across time and distance. Diasporic identity, according to Basu (2007:viii) is 'defined by its relationship with a landscape other than that in which "it" resides' with the idea of a homeland being 'as much a symbol as a physical territory'. Furthermore, Basu (2007:10) explains 'there can be no diaspora without an implied place of origin (real or imagined), no homeland without an implied sense of displacement'. Notions of diaspora then are intertwined with their ancestors' migration history with several writers emphasising the importance of diasporas' attachments to their homeland or the original place of dispersal (Coles & Timothy, 2004).

The literature suggests that the emergence of mass media has played a part in shaping perceptions of imagined communities, with signifiers of these cultures used in tourism promotion. Research on diasporas also refers to imagined pasts and places that create a desire to return to a perceived homeland (Harper, 2017; Klein, 2004; Marschall, 2017b). The next section explores literature investigating the motivations, experiences and activities of diasporas making return visits. While symbolic heritage and depictions of nations also feature in these discussions, several

authors highlight multiple connections with the home country, useful in developing an understanding of the potential of ancestral tourism in less promoted areas of Scotland.

3.1.2 Travel to a Homeland

A significant feature in discussions of diasporas is the association with a homeland with several demand-side studies exploring the experiences and draw leading diasporas to make return visits (e.g. Bandyopadhyay, 2008; Basu, 2004, 2005b; Cohen, 2008; Coles & Timothy, 2004; Iorio & Corsale, 2013; Wright, 2009). For some, this is a desire to step foot on homeland soil (Bhandari, 2016; Li & McKercher, 2016; Wright, 2009), or to visit relatives (Hughes & Allen, 2010; Mortley, 2011), and for others, travel of this kind reinforces their notions of national and cultural identity with the purpose being to 'find affinity and commonness' (Bhandari, 2016:914). Rather than travelling away from home, these tourists perceive that they are going *to* their 'home' (Bhandari, 2016). Diaspora tourism is considered a form of ancestral tourism (Alexander et al., 2017), discussed in more detail in the next section. Given that diasporas are central to understanding of ancestral tourism this section first explores literature seeking to comprehend the reasons behind diasporic travel in international contexts.

Visiting places with collective memories or national significance is an element of ancestral tourism (Marschall, 2014). Built heritage deemed iconic for the 'home nation' forms part of the pull for tourists, including ancestral tourists (Basu, 2004; Bhandari, 2016; Palmer, 2005); places like the Taj Mahal in India and Wallace Monument in Scotland (Palmer, 2005). These heritage places, state Gupta and Ferguson (1992), are seen as 'symbolic anchors' and 'powerful unifying symbols' for migrants and displaced peoples, helping to construct ideas of a real or imagined homeland. Marschall (2012:325) explains that travelling to these sites of cultural significance is often perceived as a 'civic duty, a show of patriotism, or a form of secular pilgrimage'. Additionally, iconic sites are commonly utilised in promotion of

homeland travel by destination marketing organisations in numerous settings (Bandyopadhyay, 2008).

Bandyopadhyay (2008:95) illustrates how destination marketers use symbolic indicators with the example of India, where the tagline of 'discover India, discover yourself' is aimed towards attracting the Indian diaspora. This campaign Bandyopadhyay (2008) explains, makes use of iconic images of landmarks and places depicted in Bollywood films, to create a romanticised view of an Indian homeland, enticing the Indian diaspora to visit. While there are several studies that investigate ancestral tourists' motivations and the pull of heritage locations with national significance, there is limited research exploring the challenges in meeting the demands of ancestral tourists with particular romanticised or imagined notions of their homeland, with a few exceptions in Scotland (e.g. Alexander et al., 2017; Bryce et al., 2017; Murdy et al., 2016). Furthermore, there is an opportunity for supply and demand studies to be conducted in regions, in several international contexts, that are lesser known for ancestral tourism activities and diasporic connections.

Travel to a homeland is also explained as a search for 'identity roots' (González, 2008:807), for self-identity and personal enrichment (Kramer, 2011b; Santos & Yan, 2010). Marschall (2014:880) suggests that the visits are 'an attempt at consolidating a specific (sometimes chosen) cultural identity and a sense of belonging'. This has some resemblance to Poria, Butler et al.'s (2001) approach to heritage tourism, that considers heritage tourists as those who visit places they perceive to be connected to their heritage. Nevertheless, the overemphasis on visits to places of national or iconic heritage (Timothy, 2018), potentially surpasses other identities and locations, (such as Glasgow), that could also have personal significance for ancestral tourists.

Homeland travel is also argued to strengthen spiritual and emotional ties (Timothy, 2011). Combined with searches for information on ancestry, Yakel (2004:1) suggests homeland travel is about seeking meaning and 'coherence in one's own life'. Indeed, visits to sites perceived to have personal associations are meaningful,

emotional experiences (Alexander et al., 2017; Timothy, 1997), which deepen historical understanding of the past, and develop a sense of place and connectedness (Kramer, 2011b). Acknowledging this, Poria et al. (2006a) warn that tour guides are facilitators of emotional experiences and could potentially cause conflict between visitor's perceived attachments and the heritage interpretation offered. However, with some exceptions (e.g. Alexander et al., 2017; Bryce et al., 2017; Murdy et al., 2016) there is limited research from provider perspectives, with this study aiming to address this by exploring the delivery of personal heritage, including experiences from a range of customer-facing staff.

Describing the experiences of Irish diasporas from America returning to Ireland, Wright (2009:22) explains how the diaspora have 'strong innate yearnings leading them to return to the motherland in search of their ancestral roots'. Here, the emphasis is not so much on places of national significance but the desire to step foot on homeland soil (Bhandari, 2016; Li & McKercher, 2016; Wright, 2009), a longing for 'roots', returning to the 'source', or travel to a place of 'belonging' (Basu, 2004, 2005b, 2007; Higginbotham, 2012; Iorio & Corsale, 2013; Kramer, 2011a). Basu (2005a:124) describes a 'crisis in belonging' especially in New World diaspora and post-colonial countries where there is no deep spiritual attachment to the place they live, with these diasporas searching for deeper meaning in the 'old world' where their ancestors lived. Santos and Yan (2010:64) describe such travel as 'a reflexive response to a sense of loss that underpins modern society' with tourists seeking to position themselves within 'broader narratives of families, ethnicities and boundedness'. Hence, the homeland is more than a physical territory (Basu, 2007), it has emotional links, intangible connections, and provides 'a sense of belonging' (Etemaddar, Duncan, & Tucker, 2016:515).

Regardless of the reason for emigration in the first place, many diasporas have emotional attachments to their homeland (Huang, Haller, & Ramshaw, 2013; Li & McKercher, 2016). The themes of 'roots' and 'source' are active even amongst those with distant ancestral connections (Li & McKercher, 2016). Some of the examples

here provide insights into the nature and complexity of the relationship between diasporas and the place where their ancestors originated. In some cases, there is no possibility of a return, and not all diasporas look to their homeland with fond memories. Coles and Timothy (2004:7) uses the example of Haitian, Cuban, Vietnamese and Khmer refugees who 'may wish to bury deeply in their sub-conscious their troubled memories and recollections of the complex reasons and turbulent times that precipitated their departure from the home country'. Nevertheless, diasporic communities often create and recreate 'moments of home' in places other than the original homeland (Etemaddar et al., 2016:503).

3.1.3 Places of Diasporic Significance

Predominantly, ancestral tourism is discussed with regard to homelands; however, this is not always the case. Etemaddar et al. (2016:503) describe shared diasporic experiences and 'moments of home' which, rather than being restricted to a geographic territory, includes memories, emotions, culture, relatives, friends and social networks, which could occur in various places. Visiting battlefields is one of these forms of travel, also considered dark tourism, and not always located in the homeland (Alexander et al., 2017; Cheal & Griffin, 2013). Cheal and Griffin (2013) examine the emotional experiences of Australians travelling to the battlefields of Gallipoli in Turkey, where their ancestors were killed in the First World War. Bruner (1996:291) speaks of the deeply meaningful and emotive visits of African American tourists travelling to slave trading posts where 'their ancestors may have begun the tortuous journey to the New World'. Visiting these places is viewed as a type of pilgrimage, paying homage to previous generations (Basu, 2004; Poria et al., 2006a).

Places of transit are locations of ancestral relevance for numerous diasporic communities (Coles & Timothy, 2004); however, there is limited research exploring diasporic encounters of these sites. Coles and Timothy (2004:16) emphasise places of transit and 'themes of travelling, mobility, and movement' as shared migrant experiences; places like Ellis Island, significant for European-Americans emigrating

to the USA. Port towns in Europe and points of departure or entry, such as Cork, Liverpool and Southampton are identified as heritage attractions of mass migration (Coles & Timothy, 2004), but again, studies of diasporic experiences at these locations are lacking. Glasgow was also a major point of embarkation for Scots emigrating overseas but has received little or no mention in ancestral tourism promotion for Scotland. While there is no official 'transit' attraction in Glasgow from which to investigate diaspora visits, exploring staff experiences in several museums across Glasgow may provide insights into this component of diaspora travel.

As mentioned earlier, 'personal memory tourism' also intersects with ancestral tourism, often occurring outside of homelands (Marschall, 2012). Kidron (2013) examines the motivations and experiences of Israeli descendants of Holocaust survivors returning to sites of atrocity along with their survivor parents. Accompanied by parents and grandparents, this adds another element, inducing profound empathy and identification with their ancestors' pasts (Kidron, 2013). Additionally, visits to historic and religious sites such as the Wailing Wall and Mecca are forms of personal heritage tourism (Poria et al., 2003, 2006a; Timothy, 1997) rather than ancestral tourism per se. However, as above, visits often take place as family groups, becoming part of an ongoing ancestral narrative (Kidron, 2013; Marschall, 2012; Poria et al., 2003). Whether in the homeland or other areas of collective significance, familial tourism experiences are often deeply personal, shared experiences.

Visits to sites of national significance are said to reinforce dominant cultural narratives with Poria and Ashworth (2009:524) suggesting that ancestral travel is about 'seeking a sense of superiority'. In contrast, other scholars argue that interest in ancestry and access to family history records enlightens the stories of marginalised groups and narratives previously unheard (Barnwell, 2015; Kramer, 2011b; Nash, 2002) allowing a 'counter-history to memorialize the experiences of the disenfranchised and powerless' (Kramer, 2011b:429). Additionally, Lowenthal

(2015) stipulates that increased access to DNA information for genealogical purposes, 'elevates genealogy from elite pursuit to populist passion'. Genealogy and improved access are therefore argued to surface other narratives, increasing possibilities for ancestral tourism and homeland connections in areas not usually promoted for ancestral tourism, chief concerns for this study which investigates the potential in an urban area of Scotland.

Other researchers highlight that ties to the homeland have less significance than a specific region, 'hometown' or territory (Huang et al., 2018; Tintori, 2013). Discussing Italian diaspora, Tintori (2013) describes those that have an affinity with a particular region or local community rather than a nation. Italy had a patchwork of states with varying politics, and even after political unification in 1861, most areas of Italy continued to have their own social and cultural legacies (Tintori, 2013). As indicated earlier, some wish to return to their 'hometown' and visit the places they know their ancestors were from (Huang et al., 2018). Geographical and physical locations are also significant for 'personal and collective experiences' highlighting the importance of intangible elements and the meanings behind landscapes that create a sense of place (Campelo, Aitken, Thyne, and Gnoth 2014:156). Again, with the focus of this study being on Scotland, this accentuates the possibilities of ancestral tourism in some of the less promoted areas of Scotland.

Several scholars highlight ancestral tourism as a possible area of tension between host and migrant communities, especially where built heritage may have different histories and heritage interpretations (Bruner, 1996; Ndione et al., 2018; Timothy & Coles, 2004). Timothy and Coles (2004:291) describe the complicated relationship between tourism and diaspora as a 'collision' that 'encompasses countless perspectives on race, migration, colonialism, persecution, power, tradition, conflict, choice (or lack thereof) and culture'. One example is the challenge of representation and interpretation of heritage provided at castles in Ghana (Bruner, 1996). These forts had several uses in history and continue to have potential applications for the host community in the present. Nevertheless, the castles were also used for slave

trading, and are therefore significant for those tracing their ancestors' traumatic displacement from Africa (Bruner, 1996). As highlighted previously, effective management and marketing of visitor attractions, needs to take account of the views of multiple stakeholders, including those of the local community (Aas et al., 2015; Bakri et al., 2015; Campleo et al., 2014; Leask, 2008, 2010; Timothy, 2018; Weaver, 2011).

Whilst ancestral tourism allows 'identification and distinction with historical characters and experiences' (Kramer, 2011b:429), there is also a need to consider the host community in the present and to balance to the needs and wants of the home nation with the visiting diaspora (Bruner, 1996; Ndione et al., 2018). Currently, research and promotion focus on visiting diaspora to Highland regions of Scotland, but Glasgow has incorporated heritage tourism into its tourism strategy (Glasgow City Council, 2006), with Glasgow Life aiming to benefit from ancestral tourism. For Glasgow and other areas of Scotland to maximise the potential of ancestral tourism requires a fuller understanding of the multiple diasporic connections, activities and experiences in these places.

3.1.4 Heterogeneous Diasporic Communities

Several studies highlight the complexities surrounding place attachments, with diasporic communities having multiple allegiances and changing affiliations (e.g. Chan & Cheng, 2016; Iorio & Corsale, 2013; Li & McKercher, 2016). For some, diasporic travel reinforces and legitimises a feeling that they do not belong in the host country (Iorio & Corsale, 2013; Kramer, 2011a). Graburn (2017:274) highlights the differing viewpoints amongst different generations: 'For the exiled generation, a revisit is poignant and engenders detailed comparisons with the remembered past'. Graburn (2017) also argues that for descendants, the home country has a mythical status reflecting literature in Section 3.1.1, stressing the role that media plays in creating collective, fictitious memories and imagined pasts (Alexander et al., 2017; Bryce et al., 2017; Marschall, 2017b; Ndione et al., 2018). However, the literature reviewed in this chapter and Chapter 2 emphasises the multiple identities and

connections to heritage and place (Barnwell, 2015; Gupta & Ferguson, 1992; Kramer, 2011b; Nash, 2002; Robinson & Silverman, 2015; Smith, 2006), which destinations should be mindful of in destination branding and tourism development (Campelo et al., 2014; Caton & Santos, 2007; Soper, 2007).

Increasingly, research appreciates that connections with a 'homeland' and diasporic identities are ever-changing, complex and multifaceted (Chan & Cheng, 2016; Coles & Timothy, 2004). These studies highlight that 'diasporic communities, like all populations, are heterogeneous' and diaspora tourists have 'distinct travel motives, experiences, migration backgrounds, cultural identities and place attachments' (Li & McKercher, 2016:106). Li and McKercher (2016) observe that some Chinese diaspora tourists feel a sense of belonging to their migrant country, and others retain a strong sense of identity with their country of origin. Similarly, Maruyama et al. (2010:1) explain that visits to the homeland for Chinese roots tourists adds 'complexity to the negotiation of one's identity' with some affirming their sense of ' true home' to be that of their host country. Also, Chan and Cheng (2016:10) argue that multiple ties can affect interpretations of the homeland which 'debunks the myth that the overseas compatriots have a static and enduring connection with a single home'. Again, this supports the case for investigating the potential of ancestral tourism, in several destinations, outside of the places deemed to have national and cultural significance.

The literature discussed in this section was mainly from demand perspectives, exploring the experiences and motivations behind ancestral tourists' visits to their homelands and other places connected with their ancestors. Several scholars discuss how diasporas visit heritage places that they view as being symbolic of a nation, to seek cultural affinity and feel connected to their notions of the home country (Bandyopadhyay, 2008; Bhandari, 2016; Gupta & Ferguson, 1992; Marschall, 2017b). However, the literature here reveals that associations with a homeland are far more complicated with multiple allegiances and connections to different spaces

and places. The next section discusses 'ancestral tourism' and the various terms and nuances between forms of diasporic travel.

3.2 Ancestral Tourism

Given the personal nature of ancestral tourists' journeys, ancestral tourism is a form of personal heritage tourism, where the individual's perception of their own heritage is considered in relation to the heritage sites they visit (Poria, Butler et al., 2001). Alexander et al. (2017:546) describe ancestral tourism as a 'superordinate term that encompasses a number of subordinate motivations' and can be split into two broad categories; one that relates to genealogical or family history tourists who have a 'desire to establish factual evidence of ancestral heritage', and the other (roots, diaspora, homesick or legacy tourism), 'to a more general wish to visit a homeland or embark on an activity akin to pilgrimage'. This section reviews literature on the distinctions between these categories and the various activities linked with these forms of travel, which are primarily from demand perspectives. It begins by exploring some of the explanations for increased interest in family history or genealogical research.

3.2.1 Genealogical or Family History Tourism

Family history research is one of the most popular leisure pursuits worldwide and was revolutionised in the 1990s by the digitisation of family history sources on the internet (Basu, 2007; Devine, 2012; Kramer, 2011b). Also, the international success of the TV series, *Roots* (Marschall, 2015a), the BBC TV programme, *Who Do You Think You Are* (WDYTYA) which has been franchised globally (Kramer, 2011b), *You Don't Know You're Born*, and *Ancestors in the Attic*, coincides with this 'phenomenal' increase in family history research, particularly in Australia, Canada, the UK and the USA (Lowenthal, 2015:84).

Scholars have deliberated the reasons behind the fascination with family history, which reflect general explanations for heritage consumption (e.g. Kramer, 2011b; Lowenthal, 2015; Timothy, 2011). Timothy (2011) argues that research into family pasts is a way to stay grounded as a result of uneasiness about rapid modernisation and technological development. Similarly, Kramer, (2011b) explains that genealogy brings meaning to our lives, strengthening understanding of ourselves. Lowenthal (2015:85) also infers that genealogical research provides individuals with deeper meaning and 'fosters visceral connections with previously unknown or shadowy pasts'. Due to the availability of online records, family history researchers can search for information within their own homes. However, online resources only represent a small proportion of available archive material; hence, some wish to visit archives or genealogy centres in the places their ancestors' were from (Meethan, 2004; Yakel, 2004).

Family history or Genealogical tourists are those that travel to their ancestral 'homeland' to advance research they may have started at home and to conduct in-depth research in archives and libraries (Alexander et al., 2017; Marschall, 2014). Murdy et al., (2018:13) elucidate this as a 'need to establish factual evidence' whereas Bhandari (2016:913) describes genealogical travel as seeking 'to reaffirm their cultural affinity and commonness'. Although scholars note that ancestral tourists have many overlapping motivations for travel (Alexander et al., 2017; Coles & Timothy, 2004; Marschall, 2015b), Bhandari's (2016) definition of genealogical trips aligns more with Alexander et al.'s (2017) second category of roots, diaspora, homesick and legacy tourists, where journeys are associated with pilgrimage and a general desire to visit the ancestral homeland.

3.2.2 Roots Tourism

Roots tourism is often used as an umbrella term incorporating the activities of roots, diaspora, homesick and legacy, as well as genealogical tourists (Marschall, 2015a), similar to the banner of 'ancestral tourism'. However, several commentators

highlight the differences between genealogical and roots[1] types of tourists (e.g. Alexander et al., 2017; Higginbotham, 2012; Kramer, 2011a). According to Higginbotham (2012), the main difference between roots tourists and genealogy tourists is 'the latter's participation in the activity of genealogy for the purpose of producing a material or tangible heritage resource (i.e. family trees, family history book, scrapbook or website'. Roots tourists alongside diaspora, homesick and legacy tourists are more interested in visiting places associated with their ancestors rather than facts and documents (Kramer, 2011a).

Roots, diaspora, legacy and homesick tourists' activities are described as a pilgrimage, visiting places of significance in their ancestors' lives (Basu, 2005b; Kramer, 2011a; Marschall, 2015a; Maruyama et al., 2010; McCain & Ray, 2003; Wright, 2009). These visits may include going to where their ancestors' lived, the churches they were married, and the places they were buried (Alexander et al., 2017; Iorio & Corsale, 2013). Marschall (2015:879) defines 'genuine homesick tourists' as those that have a personal recollection of the homeland they are visiting and legacy tourists have a desire to pay homage to previous generations (Kramer, 2011a; McCain & Ray, 2003; Poria et al., 2006a). For example, Kidron (2013) examines the experiences of Holocaust survivors and their descendants travelling as family groups to places of past suffering and tragedy. Marschall (2015) and Coles and Timothy (2004) highlight that diasporic journeys may comprise several components, including those above, as well as visits to extended family, visits to poignant sites, and attending diasporic events.

Roots tourism activities are also described as walking in their ancestors' footsteps or standing in their shoes; returning to places that they perceive as meaningful to their ancestors and recreating or imagining their experiences (Kramer, 2011b; Meethan, 2004). In Scotland, roots tourists' activities are often discussed in relation to sites of ancient battlefields and former Highland clan territories where there is no personal

[1] Henceforth, 'roots' tourism is used to refer to Alexander et al.'s (2017) second category of roots, diaspora, homesick and legacy tourists.

recollection, but these sites have perceived significance as places of collective memory for their ancestors (Basu, 2005b, 2007). As Chapter 1 established, Scots emigrated from many areas within Scotland, not only Highland areas. It can therefore be assumed that roots tourism takes place in other regions, including cities like Glasgow, although there is inadequate research investigating this.

This section gave an overview of the various terms grouped under ancestral tourism, providing some detail on the associated activities and motivations. This research aims to explore provision of ancestral tourism within a publically funded urban heritage context, to understand how different types of ancestral tourism manifest in disparate areas, and whether provision coalesces across the organisation. The next section examines literature associated with ancestral tourism in Scotland and begins by extending previous discussion of the reasons behind rural, Highland perceptions of Scotland, and why these are argued to be eagerly consumed amongst the Scottish diaspora. It then discusses existing research investigating the challenges of delivering ancestral tourism in Scotland.

3.3 Ancestral Tourism in Scotland

As detailed in Chapter 1, emigration from Scotland occurred since the thirteenth century for many reasons, but discussions of Scottish emigration are often overshadowed by an emphasis on the forced exile and eviction from Highland regions of Scotland, largely ignoring urban industrial areas of Scotland. As highlighted previously, there are limited supplier perspectives of personal heritage tourism, including ancestral tourism. However, the few studies that have been conducted in Scotland will be reviewed in the final section of this chapter, providing insights into some of the challenges of delivering personal heritage experiences, useful for this study which explores delivery within an urban heritage organisation.

3.3.1 Scottish Diaspora and a Rural, Highland Homeland

The development of the tourism industry in Scotland, as Chapter 1 demonstrated, coincided with a rural and Highland portrayal of Scotland. Yale (1998:211) argued that only with the Romantic movement of the late 18th century, did people begin to 'look on the countryside as intrinsically interesting'. Facilitated by better transport links, royal visits, literature and promotion by Thomas Cook and British Rail (Durie, 2006; Seaton, 1998), the Highland landscape 'that had previously seemed merely dreary or horrid now provided ample opportunity…offering the chance of personal indulgence in the new taste for wild places and rugged mountains' (Smith, 1994:510). This portrayal of Scotland has, according to many commentators, attracted large numbers of tourists, including ancestral tourists, who are drawn to the notion of Scotland as a rural place, with untamed and mountainous landscapes (Bhandari, 2016; Fenyő, 2000; Harper, 2017; McCrone, 2001; Seaton, 1998).

VisitScotland (2015:16) also recognise the draw of Scotland's rural scenery in their promotional material: 'from romantic ruins to scenic lochs, many of these beautiful landscapes have barely changed since the days of your ancestors'. Several writers discuss the fascination with Britain's rural past (e.g. Fenyő, 2000; Lowenthal, 1981; Palmer, 1999), romantically perceived as the place 'where man and nature worked together side by side, hand in hand' (Palmer, 1999:315). Fenyő, (2000:7) writes that barren landscapes appeal because they are so 'peopleless': 'Had the Highland mountains been covered with townships and people, it would have been perhaps more difficult to find them so mysterious and wild'. Speaking of Dorset, Prentice, (1993:xiii) describes the rural landscape as the 'epitome' of English heritage where the 'unchanging nature of its landscapes and villages are powerful associations', which are then exploited for tourism consumption. These ideas suggest that the relatively unchanged nature of the countryside frees the imagination to locate past events or ancestral narratives within the landscape.

Associations are often made between 'landscape, narrative and identity' with Basu, 2005a:130) illustrating how the process of learning about Highland clanship for some

ancestral tourists allows ‘a sense of personal identification with both clan and territory’. Some argue that notions of Highland clanship are exaggerated and enthusiastically consumed amongst the Scottish diaspora (Devine, 2012; Durie, 1994; Whatley, 2000). Devine (2012) claims that within the Scottish diaspora, many yearn to visit places iconic in shaping these mythical perspectives of Scotland’s past. Examples include castles that were once clan strongholds, and sites associated with grand narratives of victimhood and tragic battles like Culloden (Basu, 2007; Devine, 2012). However, as research with ancestral tourism providers demonstrates (in the next section), not all of these attachments are based on factual evidence (Bryce et al., 2017; Devine, 2012; Murdy et al., 2016), suggesting underlying motivations and a need to ‘understand what aspirations they conceal’ (Basu, 2004:39).

Sociological studies propose there are deep, individual, as well as societal reasons, for interest and perceived connections to iconic heritage and particular cultural representations (Basu, 2004, 2005a; Gupta & Ferguson, 1992). Basu (2005a:123) states that diasporic travel is about seeking an answering image with a possibility of ‘recovering their own indigenous identity’. Additionally, Basu (2005b:145) provides a cynical explanation in that it is a ‘desire to maintain a positive or moral self-image in which it is more acceptable to identify with the oppressed than with the oppressors’. Therefore, stories of struggle, loss, and heroism, associated with the Highland Clearances, impact upon ancestral tourists’ sense of personal and national identity. In a similar vein, Devine (2012) argues that Scottish diasporic groups are attracted to the notions of nobility, loyalty and honour inflated in Sir Walter Scott’s 19th-century publications based on the Highlands. Again, while there are insights to be gained from these perspectives, currently there is minimal exploration of diasporic connections to other places in Scotland.

While a considerable proportion of the literature on diasporas and ancestral tourism focuses on dominant collective memories and narratives, this study illuminates research that emphasises diasporic motivations and connections as far more individualistic and complex (e.g. Chan & Cheng, 2016; Iorio & Corsale, 2013; Li &

McKercher, 2016; Maruyama et al., 2010). Also, research exploring ancestral tourists' experiences in rural, Highland regions in Scotland are likely to find ancestral tourists with rural, Highland affiliations, implying there is an opportunity to expand the area of investigation. Furthermore, Huang et al. 's (2018:62) study (though in the context of China) recommends that ancestral tourists want to visit the specific places where their ancestors were from 'which are usually spread out across the country'. Since migration occurred from many areas of Scotland, there is scope to explore ancestral tourism in several regions. The next subsection reviews literature focusing mainly on supply-side studies in order to provide insights into the challenges of delivering personal heritage tourism.

3.3.2 Delivering Personal Heritage Tourism

Research conducted with ancestral tourism providers in Scotland highlights several challenges in delivering satisfactory service encounters to ancestral tourists (Murdy et al., 2016). One of the issues is the individual, customised service often required by ancestral tourists (Alexander et al., 2017; Santos & Yan, 2010) with services usually fulfilled by volunteers in community-run heritage centres (Alexander et al., 2017). Another issue is responding to the needs of ancestral tourists that hold certain notions of 'Scottishness' and Scotland (Alexander et al., 2017; Bryce et al., 2017; Murdy et al., 2016). Additionally, ancestral tourists often have real or imagined personal and emotional connections to heritage places and the narratives surrounding them (Alexander et al., 2017; Bryce et al., 2017; Santos & Yan, 2010). This section looks at some of the challenges of delivering ancestral tourism in more depth.

The providers of ancestral tourism discussed in this section are heritage centres, libraries and archives found mainly in Highland, Islands and rural areas and often on a small-scale (Alexander et al., 2017; Bryce et al., 2017; Murdy et al., 2016). The ancestral tourism offering includes 'historical documents or artefacts, personal consultations regarding visitors' ancestors, or information about nearby sites of importance' (Alexander et al., 2017:548). Visitors often communicate in advance

with staff spending considerable time and effort gathering information in preparation for their arrival. Alexander et al. (2017) underscore that many providers were reluctant to charge for these services reflecting the tensions between the curatorial principles and the commercialisation of heritage provision (Alexander et al., 2017). However, with many ancestral tourists arriving without warning these situations were challenging for staff given that it 'was difficult to balance against the limited amount of payment brought in and the need to assist other general visitors' while often relying on local volunteers to provide these services (Alexander et al., 2017).

Ancestral tourism involves individual and customised service encounters, which are often time-consuming (Alexander et al., 2017; Murdy et al., 2016; Santos & Yan, 2010). However, some ancestral tourists arrive with high expectations of the information that will be available, creating potential conflict (Alexander et al., 2017; Murdy et al., 2016). Furthermore, the literature reveals inconsistent approaches to delivery and a fragmented network of ancestral tourism provision across Scotland (Alexander, 2017; Durie 2013; Murdy et al., 2016), which has the potential to frustrate and disappoint ancestral tourists with connections to several areas. Existing provision, according to Durie (2013), limits the potential of ancestral tourism in Scotland, inhibits ancestral tourists from visiting places where they may be able to discover details about their ancestral roots, and hinders the possibilities for locations outside of the promoted Highland regions.

The challenges of coordinating ancestral tourism have also been documented in Ireland. For example, Wright (2009) describes how a brochure launch and press release promoting ancestral tourism to the US market created overwhelming demand, seemingly endless enquiries and phone calls that the tourism industry was unable to deal with. The lack of coordination and inability to handle all the queries across small-scale heritage places, similar to the Scottish situation, meant that events and further promotion had to be cancelled (Wright, 2009). This emphasises the need for well-coordinated and consistent delivery, which is understood by marketers and ancestral tourism providers. This is significant for this study, which seeks to explore

the potential of ancestral tourism within an organisation responsible for a wide range of cultural assets across several museums and archives.

Another issue relating to the delivery of personalised services is the challenge of assisting ancestral tourists who have preconceived notions of their Scottish ancestry (Bryce et al., 2017; Murdy et al., 2016). In these cases, tensions can occur when ancestral tourists with imagined or inaccurate perceptions of their ancestry dispute interpretations of the past revised or presented by providers (Bryce et al., 2017; Murdy et al., 2016). Bryce et al. (2017) and Murdy et al. (2016) discuss the challenges of delivering services to these tourists who arrive with expectations that they will find information to validate these perceptions. There is often limited information available for these tourists or the details given contrast with the visitors' expectations (Alexander et al., 2017). Hence, providers are tasked with assisting those who wish to authenticate their imagined pasts, while ensuring the integrity and professionalism of cultural heritage interpretation (Bryce et al., 2017; Murdy et al., 2016). In some cases, this generates role conflict where providers need to adapt their approaches in order to 'ameliorate any negative outcomes' and provide satisfying service encounters (Murdy et al., 2016:1495).

The research conducted with ancestral tourism providers in Scotland outlines the numerous pressures, approaches and attitudes toward the delivery of individualised services and tourists that have high expectations (Alexander et al., 2017; Bryce et al., 2017; Murdy et al., 2016). Murdy et al. (2016) underline the various strategies used to adapt to these situations; 'softening the blow; delivering bad news with a sugar-coated pill; or sticking to the facts' (Murdy et al., 2016:1508). The first (softening the blow) occurs when providers are unable to provide specific personal information on ancestral tourists' ancestors and instead draw on their knowledge, directing visitors to sites that clan lands and strongholds, for example. Similarly, in Ireland, Wright (2009) observes that some ancestral tourists are not seeking in-depth information but the opportunity to develop connections and a sense of place. Wright

(2009:29) suggests ancestral tourism services should include 'light-touch ancestry' with providers directing ancestral tourists to heritage sites and areas of local interest.

Another approach utilised to salvage 'potentially unfulfilled consumer expectations', is 'delivering bad news with a sugar-coated pill' (Murdy et al., 2016:1507). Here, providers may have to adjust or persuade ancestral tourists towards outcomes that may have less of an impact emotionally. For example, Murdy et al. (2016:1507) relays an account of an interaction with an ancestral tourist, where the provider, knowing of a connection to a local scandal decided to 'shift the visitor's focus towards less problematic aspects of their family history', out of concern that this may cause emotional harm to the ancestral visitor. Hence, ancestral tourists' emotional investment, the expectation of individualised services and the fact that providers participate in direct and customised provision are some of the most challenging aspects for the delivery of ancestral tourism (Alexander et al., 2017; Bryce et al., 2017; Murdy et al., 2016). This implies that this may also be difficult for an organisation like Glasgow Life who is responsible for several sites visited by thousands of visitors every year.

The final adaptation for delivering ancestral tourism services, Murdy (2016:1508) suggests, is the less flexible approach and means 'sticking to the facts'. This aligns with more traditional curatorial practices where staff see themselves as custodians of heritage rather than providers of tourism services (Garrod & Fyall, 2000). Indeed, some places visited by ancestral tourists are not considered tourists attractions, for example, libraries and archives (Alexander et al., 2017). Authors highlight conflict where heritage practitioners try to balance their curatorial role while attempting to fulfil visitor expectations and recognising that the truth may cause disappointment (Bryce et al., 2017; Murdy et al., 2016). Additionally, the visitor themselves 'rarely consider themselves to be tourists at all and may even be offended at being identified as such' (Basu, 2007:2). These tourists may have 'deeply held, but empirically dubious, notions of personal "imagined pasts"' where providers are faced with the ethical challenge of 'intervening to disprove or modify' these perceptions (Bryce et

al., 2017:49). The delivery of satisfying ancestral tourist experiences therefore requires diplomacy and sensitivity while balancing the professional integrity of heritage interpretation (Bryce et al., 2017; Murdy et al., 2016).

In summary, research with providers of ancestral tourism in Scotland gives useful insights into the challenges of delivering services to ancestral tourists. The main difficulties relate to the personal, customised services required and the heightened expectations of the services and information available, with providers utilising several strategies to minimise the adverse effects of these encounters (Murdy et al., 2016). Furthermore, the delivery of complex personal heritage tourism is problematic for these small providers who are often reliant on volunteers and local funding support, with some reluctant to charge for services (Alexander et al., 2017). The focus for this thesis is on ancestral tourism provision within the organisation Glasgow Life, custodians of heritage resources spread across various sites. The research contributes to existing supply perspectives by exploring the experiences and challenges of delivering this form of personal heritage tourism within a large multifaceted heritage organisation.

3.4 Conclusions

Diaspora is a fluid, contested term (Coles & Timothy, 2004), now utilised to refer to widely dispersed groups with a shared awareness of collective identities and histories connected to ancestral homelands. This thesis adopts the view that diasporic communities are heterogeneous (Li & McKercher, 2016) and while there is some evidence that diasporic groups associate their ancestral homelands with mythical narratives, the literature reveals complex associations with home countries, varying place attachments and multiple reasons for initial dispersal. Applied to this research context, this emphasises the potential to investigate ancestral tourism opportunities in areas not associated with the predominant Highland narrative. Additionally, existing research with suppliers of ancestral tourism provides useful insights from which to explore the challenges and complexities of providing services to diverse ancestral

tourist needs within an urban setting and a large public sector heritage organisation, which needs to cater to the requirements of many stakeholders. The chapter also outlined the nuances between the various terms grouped under 'ancestral tourism', providing a knowledge base for understanding how these different types of ancestral tourism manifest across the various museums and archives of Glasgow Life.

The next chapter discusses the methodological approach for this study, beginning with detail on the philosophical assumptions underpinning this research. The subjectivist, double hermeneutic perspective of this thesis is then explained, outlining how the literature review and research background provide a starting point, which contributes to the ongoing and cyclical process of understanding. The chapter also revisits the research aims and objectives influencing the qualitative research design. The research design includes discussion of 'mobile' methods that take account of diverse organisations, appreciate that organisational activities often take place across multiple locations, and allow in-depth exploration of the coordination of service provision.

Chapter 4. Research Methodology

The literature reviewed in the last chapter revealed limited research on supplier perspectives of delivering personal heritage tourism, particularly ancestral tourism (Alexander et al., 2017; Bryce et al., 2017; Murdy et al., 2016; Timothy & Boyd, 2006). This thesis intends to address this gap by conducting an exploratory study of ancestral tourism within a large cultural heritage organisation, and an urban context in Scotland. The following outlines the methodological approach for this thesis, begins by reintroducing the research aim, then stating the ontological and epistemological stance influencing the research design. Given that the research context for this study is a heritage organisation, the next section discusses varying philosophical assumptions underpinning organisational and heritage tourism studies, positioning this research alongside interpretive, and specifically subjectivist approaches.

The chapter then introduces the study's hermeneutic perspective, exploring the historical development of hermeneutics, then outlining the double hermeneutic stance guiding this research. Influenced by the interpretive philosophical underpinnings and hermeneutic perspective, the next section revisits the research objectives, providing the rationale for a qualitative research design utilising ethnographic techniques (Czarniawska, 2014; Pinsky, 2013). The sampling approach and ethical issues are also considered. The data collection section then provides details on the multiple research methods used to gather data, which include interviews, observation and go-along techniques. The data analysis technique is also discussed, and finally, this chapter will review some of the methodological limitations of this study.

4.1 Research Aim and Stance

The organisation, Glasgow Life, provides the research context for this study, influencing the research aim *to explore supplier perspectives of personal heritage*

tourism by analysing provision of ancestral tourism within a publically funded urban heritage context. It is responsible for Glasgow's destination marketing as well as many other functions (see Appendix 2) and is a crucial partner in Glasgow's tourism strategy, with a goal to increase tourist numbers and visitor expenditure (Glasgow Life, 2017c). As stipulated in Chapter 1, the project stems from Glasgow Life's call for research proposals (funded by AHRC) focusing on how the provision of culture, sport, arts and heritage for citizens and tourists could be better understood and developed.

Accepting Strathclyde University's proposal to investigate provision of ancestral tourism, a subset of heritage tourism, Glasgow Life was keen to understand the experiences of its staff in delivering ancestral tourism across its museums, galleries and archives, in order to maximise its potential. Glasgow Life's two project supervisors facilitated progress by granting excellent access and providing initial contacts for each site of enquiry (see Chapter 5). Contact was maintained with one supervisor throughout the project. This supervisor continued to advise on contacts within each site, updated the researcher on relevant internal affairs (such as the merging of Glasgow's DMO with Glasgow Life, access to Business and Service Plans, Annual Reports, Glasgow's Visitor and Tourism Plan, and an Organisational Chart – see Appendix 3), and invited the researcher to several meetings and events attended by a range of staff.

The literature review revealed challenges in delivering ancestral tourism, including issues related to 'Highlandised', rural perceptions of Scotland and the personalised nature of ancestral tourism consumption (Alexander et al., 2017; Bryce et al., 2017). However, extant research has mainly been conducted in rural, Highland areas of Scotland, and from the perspective of small, often community-run heritage centres. This study aims to interact with staff within a large heritage organisation within an urban context, to explore the challenges and opportunities of ancestral tourism. The research is therefore approached from an ontological position that reality is socially constructed and an epistemological stance that knowledge is gained through

interaction and interpretation. This is further explored in subsequent sections with reference to the varying philosophical assumptions underpinning organisational and social research. The objectives will be revisited later in this chapter, to justify the research design.

4.2 Research Philosophy

Producing a consistent methodological argument requires consideration of ontological (the nature of reality) and epistemological (the relationship between the researcher and knowledge) philosophical assumptions, which in turn influences the theoretical perspective and the methods of data collection and analysis (Crotty, 1998; Cunliffe, 2011). These philosophical assumptions are described as 'worldviews'; a basic set of beliefs that guide the research approach and methods (Creswell, 2014; Goodson & Phillimore, 2004). To assist in deliberating underlying assumptions in organisational studies, many scholars refer to the seminal work of Burrell and Morgan (1979), who undertook research to understand varying philosophical perspectives influencing organisational and social research (Cunliffe, 2011; Morgan & Smircich, 1980; Tsoukas & Chia, 2011; Willmott, 1993). Burrell and Morgan (1979:23) refer to worldviews as 'paradigms' where a common perspective 'binds the work of a group of theorists together'. Influenced by the work Morgan and Smircich (1980), this section focuses mainly on Burrell and Morgan's Functionalist and Interpretive paradigms, in order to distinguish between objective and subjective research, positioning this thesis alongside subjective approaches. The discussion then moves to the work of Cunliffe (2011) who revised Morgan and Smircich's object-subject typology to take account of more recent and evolving philosophical discussions concerning organisational and social research.

4.2.1 Paradigms and Objective/Subjective Approaches

Burrell & Morgan, (1979) group the 'worldviews' of different theorists into four paradigms (see Figure 4-1); the Radical Humanist, Radical Structuralist, Functionalist, and Interpretive paradigms (Hassard, 1991; Willmott, 1993). To

investigate and make sense of the social world, Burrell and Morgan (1979:2) state that 'different ontologies, epistemologies and models of human nature are likely to incline social scientists toward different methodologies'. The stance for this research resembles subjective research approaches within the Interpretive Paradigm. In order to illustrate the differences between subjective and objective approaches to organisational research and to justify the approach for this study, this section will give most attention to Burrell and Morgan's Interpretive and Functionalist Paradigms. However, the philosophy underpinning some of the literature discussed in Chapter 2, bears resemblance to Radical Humanist and Radical Structuralist research. Therefore, this section begins with a brief overview of these paradigms.

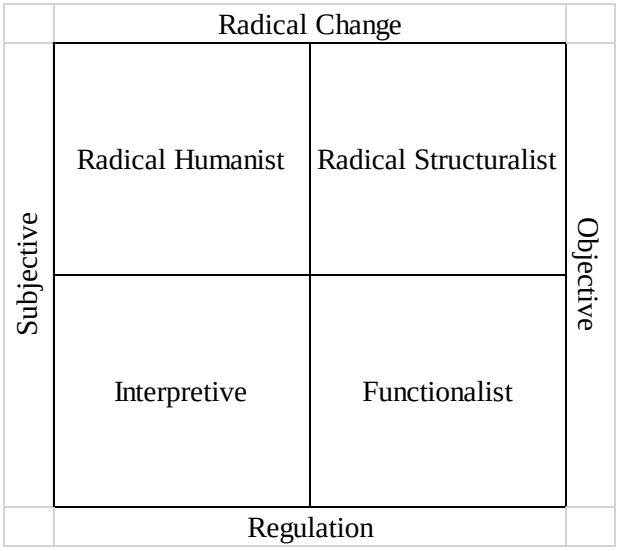

Figure 4-1 Burrell and Morgan's (1979) Four Paradigms

Research from Radical Humanist and Radical Structuralist stances raises important issues regarding dominant powers, conflict and radical change (Morgan & Smircich, 1980). Generally, the Radical Structuralist holds an objective position and is interested in the structure of organisations as well as power relationships, conflicts and inequalities (Burrell & Morgan, 1979; Cunliffe, 2011; Hassard, 1991). In contrast, the Radical Humanist takes a subjective stance focusing less on structure, and more on the constraints and challenges of existing social arrangements (Burrell & Morgan, 1979). Chapter 2 drew attention to dominant ideologies and powers associated with the management and marketing of heritage. While these are vital

considerations for ongoing research of heritage and its relationship with tourism, the purpose of this study is not to study the power relationships or structure of this large cultural heritage organisation but to explore multiple experiences and perspectives of staff within this organisation, characteristics associated with interpretive research.

Returning now to discussion of the Functionalist and Interpretive paradigms, Morgan and Smircich (1980) developed a subjective-objective continuum based on these two paradigms. Although simplified for explanation here, research within the Functionalist paradigm is primarily understood to be objective, while interpretive research is subjective. However, using typologies along a subject-object continuum, Morgan and Smircich (1980) outline the varying epistemological and methodological positions influenced by assumptions about ontology and human nature. At the extreme objectivist side, Functionalists' epistemological assumptions are positivist, viewing 'the social world as a concrete structure' and emphasising 'the importance of studying the nature of relationships among the elements constituting that structure' (Morgan & Smircich, 1980:493). Organisational research in the 1970s and 1980s reflected these assumptions focusing on structure, management and leadership, aiming to improve effectiveness and efficiency (Cunliffe, 2011). At the other extreme of the continuum, highly subjectivist, interpretive research, known as solipsism, rejects positivist approaches and construes 'reality as a projection of individual imagination' (Morgan & Smircich, 1980:493). Interpretive research will feature in more detail in the next sub-section, to demonstrate the specific ontological and epistemological positioning of this research.

Although there are varying methodological positions within the Functionalist paradigm (Morgan & Smircich, 1980), functionalist organisational and social research tends to be positivist, approaching research objectively, with researchers distancing themselves from the subject so that they can produce 'generalizable knowledge of a form which claims to be valid and reliable' (Hassard, 1991:285). These studies are likely to emphasise theory testing in practice (Carson, Gilmore, Perry, & Gronhaug, 2001) with research often concerned with 'fact', offering 'value-

free', objective and scientific explanations (Song, 2017). This usually involves deductive approaches utilising quantitative methods and looking for causal explanations and generalisations (Crotty, 1998; Tsoukas & Chia, 2011; Zey-Ferrell & Aiken, 1981). Generally, within a functionalist paradigm, researchers study order and regulation and aim to produce knowledge that can be replicated (Hassard, 1991).

The positivist traditions dominating organisational research are also notable in tourism research, according to many commentators (e.g. Pernecky & Jamal, 2010; Szarycz, 2009; Thomas, 2004; Walle, 1997). Demand-side studies quantifying tourists' activities and motivations into types, alongside supply-side studies listing attractions into categories matching the needs of these types, are examples influenced by functionalist traditions. Tourism studies and social research more generally were influenced by approaches that assumed knowledge was advancing if 'it met agreed upon standards of validity, reliability, generalizability, and so forth - standards which were, for the most part, borrowed from the "hard" sciences' (Belhassen & Caton, 2009:335). However, Belhassen and Caton (2009:335) also argue that these perceived 'secure foundations of truth' are eroding in tourism research and being replaced by alternative approaches from a range of objectivist and subjectivist perspectives.

Referring to social research in general, Morgan and Smircich (1980:498) admit that once a scholar 'relaxes the ontological assumption that the world is a concrete structure, and admits that human beings, far from merely responding to the social world, may actively contribute to its creation, the dominant methods become increasingly unsatisfactory'. As a dimension of social research, tourism studies which aimed to produce generalisations became less feasible as researchers increasingly acknowledge the multiplicity of motivations and experiences in many different contexts (e.g. Apostolakis, 2003; Ashworth & Page, 2011; Uriely, 1997).

This study explores the multiple experiences of staff in a variety of roles, working across heterogeneous services within a large cultural organisation. Rather than

taking an objective stance, testing theory through quantitative measures, this research is influenced by ontological and epistemological assumptions that reality is socially constructed, and knowledge is developed through interaction. These philosophical underpinnings sit within an interpretive paradigm where researchers appreciate the complexity of human behaviour and assume that knowledge is produced through interaction with the social world (Goodson & Phillimore, 2004).

4.2.2 Interpretive Paradigm

The methodological approach for this thesis is placed within the interpretive paradigm which 'is informed by a concern to understand the world as it is [and], to understand the fundamental nature of the social world at the level of subjective experience' (Burrell & Morgan, 1979:28). Acknowledging that interpretivism is a broad, overlapping and contested term (Wilson & Hollinshead, 2015), this section outlines some common characteristics of the interpretive paradigm with reference to research in organisation and heritage tourism fields, discussing the suitability of an interpretivist approach in the context of this study. Regarding the fluidity and overlap of subjectivist philosophical viewpoints (Cunliffe, 2011), the section following this one will discuss varying ontological and epistemological positions of interpretivism. Then discussion turns to the hermeneutic perspective influencing this study.

Research which stems from an interpretive paradigm focuses on the 'relationship with self and other' (Pernecky & Jamal, 2010:1067), developing insight into the meaning of human action (Pernecky, 2012:1122). In organisational research, studies that focus on interaction and the exploration of narratives and sensemaking (e.g. Brown, Colville, & Pye, 2015; Herrmann, 2011), demonstrate interpretivist characteristics with actors giving and interpreting diverse meanings in different situations (Beech, 2010). Contrary to functionalist studies, interpretivists reject that knowledge can be objective or generalised (Hassard, 1991) and seek to develop an understanding of 'what is happening in a given context' (Carson et al., 2001:5).

In tourism studies and for heritage tourism in particular, there is a notable trend towards more subjective approaches that utilise qualitative methods to explore visitors' perceptions, experiences and engagement with heritage and the past (Chronis, 2005; Goulding, 2000a; Park, 2010, 2011; Timothy, 2018; Willson & McIntosh, 2007). Increasingly, tourism scholars argue that knowledge is a social product (Belhassen & Caton, 2009), recognising the value of interpretive approaches for exploring 'the complex array of phenomena and subjective experience that tourism behaviour inevitably entails' (Szarycz, 2009:55). Noticeably, many of these studies are demand perspectives, generally outweighing supply-side interpretive research which explores the experiences of those providing services to tourists. Influenced by interpretivist approaches in both organisational studies and heritage tourism, this study contributes to supplier perspectives of delivering ancestral tourism, investigating the subjective experiences of staff within a multifaceted heritage organisation.

Thus far, this sub-section provided a general overview of research approaches within Burrell and Morgan's (1979) Interpretive paradigm. Burrell and Morgan (1979) suggested that methodological approaches within one of their four paradigms were incommensurable with the other paradigms. However, a growing number of scholars challenge the mutual exclusivity of these paradigms, emphasising the overlap of research approaches (e.g. Crotty, 1998; Cunliffe, 2011; Lee, 1991; Mcauley, Duberley, & Johnson, 2007; Willmott, 1993). With a focus on qualitative research, Morgan and Smircich (1980) discuss varying ontological and epistemological assumptions along a subject-object continuum. Building on this work, Cunliffe (2011) emphasises the fluidity and overlap between subjectivity and objectivity, positioning methodological approaches within three knowledge problematics; intersubjectivism, subjectivism and objectivism. The next subsection discusses Cunliffe's (2011) problematics, 'crafting' an interpretive methodological argument to ensure consistency alongside the hermeneutic perspective and qualitative research design for this thesis.

4.2.3 Knowledge Problematics

Revising Morgan and Smircich's (1980) subject-object continuum, Cunliffe (2011) considers three different knowledge problematics (intersubjectivist, subjectivist and objectivist) reflecting the complexity of underlying philosophical assumptions and demonstrating the flexibility and overlap in methodological approaches. As this study is influenced by interpretive approaches, and objective research has already been discussed with reference to Burrell and Morgan's (1979) Functionalist paradigm, the focus here is on Cunliffe's intersubjectivist and subjectivist problematics (Table 4-1). Cunliffe (2011) argues that ontological and epistemological assumptions, as well as other factors, vary within an interpretive paradigm. The subjectivist position for this research will be justified with reference to the underlying philosophical assumptions.

Table 4-1 shows different epistemological positions with an interpretive paradigm, intersubjectivism and subjectivism.

Problematic	**Intersubjectivism**	**Subjectivism**
Ontology	Social reality relative to interactions between people in moments of time & space.	Socially constructed realities. Context is human action and interpretation.	Reality as symbolic & linguistic meanings & interpretations.
	Interpretivism ← →	

Table 4-1 Extract from Cunliffe's (2011:654) Knowledge Problematics

The table also demonstrates the overlap of ontological positions between intersubjectivism and subjectivism. An intersubjectivist ontological position (left column) focuses on relationally embedded, living conversations, and the right column of subjectivism focuses on interpreting social realities and meanings through symbols and language (Cunliffe, 2011). Given that the researcher aims to interact with staff and understand their experiences in several contexts within a large

organisation, the ontological assumptions underpinning this study view meaningful reality as being socially constructed (middle column). As Table 4-1 shows, this ontological position spans the boundaries of subjectivism and intersubjectivism.

The epistemological position for this study is subjectivism where knowledge emerges through interactions in a context of human action (Creswell, 2014; Crotty, 1998; Cunliffe, 2011) and where emphasis is on 'common sense knowledge - naturally occurring actions, interactions, conversations' (Cunliffe, 2011:654). This differs from intersubjectivist studies because of the researcher's place within the research where understanding emerges through interaction and the researcher's interpretation. The subjectivist 'researcher [is] embedded in the world, shaped by and shapes experiences and accounts, mediates meanings of actors' (Cunliffe, 2011). In contrast, with intersubjectivist approaches, knowledge is co-created in dialogical moments or 'livings conversations' between people, with meanings arising through shared activity (Cunliffe, 2011; Helin, 2013). In this study, the researcher will develop understanding through interactions with participants in several contexts, sometimes iteratively, drawing multiple meanings from these interactions through reflection and interpretation; an approach which places the research within a subjectivist problematic.

This section compared the philosophical assumptions underpinning Burrell and Morgan's Interpretive and Functionalist paradigms, placing this research alongside interpretive approaches to organisational and social research. Acknowledging the variable methodological positions within the Interpretive paradigm, this section also utilised Cunliffe's (2011) typology of knowledge problematics to pinpoint the ontological and epistemological assumptions underlying this thesis. In short, the methodological approach for this research stems from a subjective problematic and an ontological position that views reality as socially constructed. This thesis is also influenced by hermeneutic traditions in organisation studies. Hence, the next section discusses historical and evolving approaches to hermeneutics and justifies the double hermeneutic approach adopted for this study.

4.3 Hermeneutic Perspective

Hermeneutics has had a significant influence on the development of interpretive research and the methods and analyses used in organisational and social research (Lee, 1991; Yanow, 2007). From its origins as an approach to studying biblical texts, hermeneutics evolved into a theory of the interpretation of human interactions and activities to develop an understanding of human behaviour (Barrett, Powley, & Pearce, 2011). Although this study is influenced by more contemporary approaches to hermeneutics, a fundamental premise is that 'prior understandings and prejudices shape the interpretive process' (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005:27), a hermeneutical principle that has developed over centuries. This section therefore begins with an overview of historical developments in hermeneutical studies. After discussing the influence of more recent hermeneutic philosophers like Gadamer (1976, 2013), this section will refer to the varying interpretations and philosophical underpinnings of double hermeneutics and align this with the subjectivist stance for this research.

4.3.1 The Development of Hermeneutics

In the seventeenth century, hermeneutics was associated with theology and the interpretation of biblical scriptures (Crotty, 1998; Smith, Flowers, & Larkin, 2009), originating from a concern that the Bible was not interpreted 'correctly' (Barrett et al., 2011). In the eighteenth century, German philosopher and theologist Freidrich Schleiermacher was the first to propose hermeneutics as a general theory to interpret all texts, not just biblical or sacred (Barrett et al., 2011; Myers, 2016). For Schleiermacher, understanding developed by considering texts in a broader context, through a circular process of interpreting the whole and the parts with the purpose being to understand the meaning of the author (Barrett et al., 2011). This approach was later criticised by scholars including Gadamer (2013) who rejected the idea that you could ever understand the original intention of authors since our own backgrounds and prejudices shape our perspectives (Moran, 2000).

In the nineteenth century, Wilhelm Dilthey, biographer of Schleiermacher, extended the theory of hermeneutics beyond the study of texts to social understanding, and the study of human behaviour (Barrett et al., 2011). While the word 'text' continued to be used, the literal meaning of the word was interpreted metaphorically: 'a text or text-analogue is anything that can be treated as a text, such as a human artefact, action, organization or culture' (Myers, 2016:115). Akin to Schleiermacher's perspective, Dilthey's hermeneutical approach was to investigate the author's intent involving 'a kind of empathetic identification with the actor' (Schwandt, 2000:192). Both Schleiermacher and Dilthey argued that it is 'one's own present situation that blocks the valid understanding of a text, and therefore it must be overcome' (Hansen & Rennecker, 2010). This meant that the interpreter should attempt to ignore or put aside their prior understandings and try to understand meaning objectively (Klein & Myers, 1999). Hermeneutic philosophers like Heidegger and Gadamer would later deny that this could be achieved, as subsequent paragraphs will discuss.

A consistent theme in discussions of hermeneutics is the idea of the hermeneutic circle, where understanding of the 'whole' circle develops through knowledge of its parts (Crotty, 1998). At the beginning of the twentieth century, Martin Heidegger, influenced by Schleiermacher's idea of the circular process of understanding, developed the concept of the hermeneutic circle where knowledge of the whole develops through understanding of the parts, which are only meaningful because of the world that the interpreter lives in (Barrett et al., 2011; Crotty, 1998). This idea of 'being in the world' demonstrated a 'crucial ontological turn' where 'interpretation is not just meaning; it is grounded in a whole set of background practices, a kind of *preunderstanding* that makes knowledge possible' (Barrett et al., 2011:187). This perspective brought hermeneutics alongside phenomenological approaches (Larkin & Thompson, 2012).

Heidegger's teacher, Husserl, viewed phenomenology as 'identifying and suspending our assumptions ('bracketing' off culture, context, history, etc.) in order to get at the universal essence of a given phenomenon' (Larkin & Thompson, 2012:102). In

contrast, Heidegger moved away from the transcendental phenomenology of Husserl due to his rejection of solipsism and focus on interpretation (Larkin & Thompson, 2012; Moran, 2000). Drawing on Heidegger's view of interpretation, Smith et al. (2009:25) explains that 'the reader, analyst or listener brings their fore-conception (prior experiences, assumptions, preconceptions) to the encounter and cannot help but look at any new stimulus in the light of their own prior experience'. Heidegger and later, Hans-Georg Gadamer, maintained that understanding always comes from somewhere and cannot be bracketed (Larkin & Thompson, 2012; Moran, 2000; Smith et al., 2009).

Gadamer is considered central to hermeneutic philosophy from the twentieth century (Barrett et al., 2011). Like his predecessors, Gadamer's (2008, 2013) hermeneutic philosophy extended to 'human sense-making processes in general' (Yanow, 2007:114) with the belief that language, background and prior knowledge make thought and understanding possible. This is contrary to other hermeneutic thinkers like Schleiermacher who saw language as the carrier of meaning (Barrett et al., 2011; Hansen & Rennecker, 2010; Schwandt, 2000). Gadamer's approach acknowledges prejudice (or preunderstanding or presuppositions), encouraging the 'engagement of biases' (Schwandt, 2000:195) as part of the process of understanding and through an iterative process of engagement and interpretation.

Hermeneutic understanding for Gadamer is a 'fusion of horizons', merging prior knowledge with the present and continually testing 'prejudices' (Gadamer, 2004:317). Gadamer's fusion of horizons is a meeting of differences (Barrett et al., 2011), flexible and ever-changing (Alvesson & Sköldberg, 2000), with knowledge as a projected horizon which, through interaction, broadens the horizons of understanding. Gadamer (2004) spoke of a modern intolerance for avoiding alien viewpoints with 'true insight and understanding' only progressing through scrutinisation, engagement and confrontation with these alternative viewpoints (Tsoukas & Chia, 2011:6). Referring again to the hermeneutic circle, Gadamer's perspective focuses on the development of understanding, rather than the work of his

predecessors where understanding is always in relation to one's own background and experiences. Building from Heidegger's idea of 'preunderstanding', Gadamer's notion of the circle differs in the 'interplay of the movement of tradition and the movement of the interpreter' (Gadamer, 2013). To illustrate this view further, Smith et al. (2009:35) explains that the whole of the circle is the 'researcher's ongoing biography, and the 'part' is the encounter with a new participant'. Gadamer's perspective emphasises that through interaction, new meaning and understanding can develop, stretching previous horizons of knowledge (Tsoukas & Chia, 2011).

Reflecting Gadamer's hermeneutics, Hatch and Yanow (2005) explain the influence of hermeneutics on the research process: 'one starts from whatever point of understanding one already has, studies more (often together with others), thereby adding further understanding; studies more, adding even further understanding; and so on, each new insight revising prior (and therefore provisional) interpretations that overlap in an ever-circular process of making meaning'. This unfolding, progressive nature of the circle; the cycle of understanding and the moving in and out of the circle, has led some to consider the hermeneutic circle more like a helix or spiral (Hatch & Yanow, 2005; Schökel, 1998). As it rotates, the 'hermeneutic spiral 'extends its range, embracing more, or specifying and perfecting what has been previously embraced' (Schökel, 1998:74). Hence, the hermeneutic spiral is an appropriate term for this study due to the progressive nature of developing understanding through interaction with those within an organisation.

Hermeneutics from a Gadamerian perspective is often referred to as intersubjective due to the 'living conversations' said to generate knowledge (Myers, 2016). Gadamer's view demonstrates intersubjectivity using a dialogical approach and focusing on common understandings: 'Gadamer always interprets the matters themselves as the events which occur "between" people and their tradition – the common understandings which emerge in a dialogue and which go beyond the intentions of the speakers' (Moran, 2000:249). This echoes a 'reflexive hermeneutic' which 'focuses on experiences between people' and 'research as a dialectical

interplay between research participants' (Cunliffe, 2011:654). As shown previously, there are flexibilities between intersubjectivist and subjectivist problematics, but the research stance for this particular study aligns more with subjectivism and a double hermeneutic where the researcher mediates the meanings between participants and readers (Cunliffe, 2011). The next sub-section provides details on the particular double hermeneutic approach adopted for this thesis by first discussing some of the varying interpretations of this term.

4.3.2 Double Hermeneutic Perspective

There are varying definitions and interpretations of the double hermeneutic term, but the focus for this thesis is on the double hermeneutic as mediation and the place of the researcher within the research (Cunliffe, 2011). The 'double hermeneutic' term was attributed to Giddens (1984) and his work on social theory and modern sociology, outlining the differences between the natural and social sciences (Crotty, 1998). Summarising Giddens's position, Crotty (1998:56) explains that 'unlike the natural world, then, social realities are meaningful by virtue of the very act that brings them into existence', resembling Heidegger's hermeneutics where interpretation is based on preunderstandings (Brogden, 2010). There is, according to Giddens (1984:284), a 'double process of translation or interpretation' where 'sociological descriptions have the task of mediating the meaning within which actors orient their conduct'. Giddens (1984) argues that meaning and interpretation are socially constructed, but in society, there are routines and norms that influence action, placing his work alongside objectivist approaches (Cunliffe, 2011).

For Giddens, the first stage of the double hermeneutic is the preunderstanding/presuppositions, and the second stage focuses on causal explanations to describe the meanings of experiences, which comforts the 'positivistic demand for some kind of "external" non-relativistic explanation' (Dickie-Clark, 1984:107). Giddens Structuration Theory further demonstrates this objectivist approach to double hermeneutics. Giddens (1984:3) accepts a hermeneutic starting point 'in so far as it is acknowledged that the description of

human activities demands a familiarity with the forms of life expressed in those activities'. However, Structuration Theory focuses more objectively on 'templates that allow individuals to process incoming information efficiently, to notice, select, remember, learn, and extrapolate' and looks at the 'background structures' to understand organisations and the way that actors construe meaning, choose actions, and interpret events and experiences (Barrett et al., 2011:202). Also described as a critical hermeneutic, the focus for Structuration theory is 'to reveal structural constraints' and domination in social practice as a means to reform social structures (Xiao, Willis, & Jeffers, 2014:643).

Another perspective of the double hermeneutics is the consideration of two hermeneutic approaches, linked to Ricoeur and his hermeneutics of empathy and suspicion (Barrett et al., 2011; Prasad, 2002; Smith et al., 2009). The first hermeneutic approach, 'empathy', is interpreting text with a 'trusting disposition' (Prasad, 2002:23) and focuses on the meanings, understandings and interpretations of actors (Lakomski & Evers, 2011; Smith et al., 2009) and the potential for developing new knowledge by encouraging the 'reader to be open to the emergence of new meaning' (Barrett et al., 2011:192). The second hermeneutic approach was often associated with the 'masters of suspicion', Freud, Marx, and Nietzsche, and involves 'demystifying'; to get behind the 'disguises of the text' (Barrett et al., 2011:191). This approach demonstrates a more questioning, critical, and sceptical stance, with an emphasis on hidden meanings (Myers, 2016; Prasad, 2002; Smith & Osborn, 2008). Ricoeur sought to embed these two approaches within each other, hence the double hermeneutic (Prasad, 2002). The ontological assumptions underpinning these approaches, Cunliffe (2011) places on the fluid boundaries of objectivism and subjectivism with research that resembles the characteristics of Burrell and Morgan's (1979) radical humanist and radical structuralist approaches.

This study adopts a subjectivist stance and focuses on the double hermeneutic as an interpretive activity; making sense of the world of participants and as a researcher within that environment (Smith & Osborn, 2008). This study questions the idea that

individuals can be studied objectively and acknowledges multiplicity in participants' experiences and opinions with the researcher making sense of a given context through interaction, interpretation and reflection. Smith et al. (2009:3) accentuates the dual role of the researcher where the 'researcher is trying to make sense of the participant trying to make sense of what is happening to them'. The participant, Smith et al. (2009) clarifies, is meaning-making in the first order; their account draws on human resources to make sense. The second-order is the researcher's sensemaking; through their own lens of experience, they make sense of the participant's account (Scherer, 2005). A subjectivist perspective for the double hermeneutic then does not involve the researcher setting aside their presuppositions, but instead engages these in the interpretive process.

In the previous sub-section, the hermeneutic spiral was acknowledged as an appropriate metaphor for this research due to the progressive nature of developing understanding. The circular process represents the development of understanding which comes from through interaction and experience with participants (Moran, 2000) and the interpretation of human communication (Barrett et al., 2011; Smith et al., 2009). McKemmish, Burstein, Manaszewicz, Fisher, and Evans (2012:1125) utilise the term, 'double hermeneutic spiral' due to the iterative process of 'ongoing reflection, analysis and negotiation' with participants. Likened to moving in out of a helix or spiral, the approach for this study is to consider what the 'text' is saying in relation to what the researcher knows in advance and through the research process, a sense of meaning and understanding emerges, which is continuously revised and developed throughout (Hatch & Yanow, 2005; McKemmish et al., 2012; Schökel, 1998).

Hermeneutics evolved from an approach that involved drawing meaning from texts to a philosophical approach considering the knowledge that emerges through human interaction. The epistemological stance of this double hermeneutic, as Cunliffe (2011:658) explains, is that 'both researcher and actor knowledge is contextual, situated in practice and oftentimes tacit - based on our perceptions and interpretations

as we act and make sense of what is going on around us'. The double hermeneutic perspective of this thesis acknowledges that research objectives, background and literature contribute to the researcher's understanding and interpretation of the research context. This theoretical perspective, as well as the underlying philosophical assumptions, influence the research design, which is discussed in the next section.

4.4 Research Strategy and Design

This section begins by revisiting the research objectives and follows with a brief overview of the research context, to justify the research design for this study.

4.4.1 Research Objectives

This study aims to explore supplier perspectives of personal heritage tourism by analysing provision of ancestral tourism within a publically funded urban heritage context. This research will utilise qualitative methods to meet the following research objectives:

1. To outline existing resources and provision for ancestral tourists within Glasgow Life;
2. To explore staff experiences and approaches in delivering ancestral tourism and whether this coalesces across the museums, galleries and archives of Glasgow Life;
3. To understand the complexities of delivering personal heritage tourism within public sector heritage organisations.
4. To develop insights into the potential for further development, coordination and marketing of ancestral tourism for Glasgow Life, and urban industrial contexts in Scotland.

The following section discusses the multiple qualitative methods that the researcher proposes to use in order to meet these objectives, taking account of the multifaceted nature of the organisation.

4.4.2 Research Context

Chapter 1 introduced Glasgow Life as the research context for this study, detailing the functions that it is responsible for, which include music venues, sports facilities, community centres, and libraries. Glasgow Life is also the custodian of Glasgow Museums and Collections with public access to these collections spread across eleven sites including museums, galleries and archives. These eleven sites are the main areas of investigation in this study and are responsible for custodianship, delivery, development, interpretation, and public access to Glasgow Life's cultural and heritage assets. Glasgow Life is also responsible for marketing Glasgow Museums and Collections and Glasgow as a destination; hence, this study also explores marketing perspectives to ancestral tourism. Due to the complexity of services across different locations, the next chapter provides more detail on each of the sites of enquiry and serves three purposes: to introduce the participants and their pseudonyms; to partly fulfil the first research objective outlining existing resources and provision for ancestral tourists within Glasgow Life; and to 'set the scene', demonstrating the researcher's hermeneutic starting point of making sense of the diverse services across the organisation.

4.4.3 Qualitative Research Design

Considering the research aims and objectives and appropriate to the philosophical stance for this thesis, this section outlines the qualitative research design for this study. Hermeneutics provides the overarching approach to gather together the various strands for the emergent research design and broadly ethnographic nature of this study. Influenced by Gadamer's philosophical hermeneutics (Gadamer, 2008) and a subjectivist double hermeneutic approach (Cunliffe, 2011), this study acknowledges the researcher's 'prejudice' which is then embedded into the interpretive process and strengthened through engagement and interpretation. The researcher's 'prejudice' here emanates from the literature; background to the study; through the use of multiple qualitative methods; and developing understanding through encounters with participants in the research field.

Qualitative approaches often involve ethnographic methods, including interviews, participant, and non-participant observation. Ethnography is typically understood as an approach where researchers 'spend an extended amount of time in the community they are studying' (Angrosino, 2007: xv). From an interpretive perspective, this is guided by the principle that the 'complex social world can be understood only from the point of view of those who operate within it' (Goodson & Phillimore, 2004:36). However, several authors highlight challenges in conducting ethnography which typically involves immersion within the field for extended periods, and full participation within an organisation, which is not always possible or practical (Angrosino, 2007; Cunliffe, 2011; Czarniawska, 2007; Emmerson, Fretz, & Shaw, 2011). Instead, researchers make use of a range of ethnographic 'techniques', or 'encounters' (Carpiano, 2009; Czarniawska, 2014; Pinsky, 2013) to explore activities across different locations and organisational settings.

To develop an understanding of activities across multiple sites in an organisation, qualitative researchers often employ a range of interpretive practices and multiple methods of data collection, which can contribute to understanding the dynamic and complex processes involved in organising (Brewer, 2004; Ciuk, Coning and Kostera, 2018; Denzin & Lincoln, 2005; Ybema, Yanow, Wels, & Kamsteeg, 2009). While these methods often include interviews, participant, and non-participant observation, as stipulated above, several scholars underline limitations with these methods especially in relation to larger organisations where divisions and departments are often spatially dispersed (Costas, 2013; Czarniawska, 2007, 2008, 2014; McDonald & Simpson, 2014). Here, the researcher draws on qualitative organisational and sociological studies where a range of 'mobile' methods are used that take account of diverse organisations and appreciate that organisational activities often take place across multiple locations (Carpiano, 2009; Costas, 2013; Kusenbach, 2003).

One of the challenges in studying organisations is making sense of the dynamic nature of activities and events that occur in often spatially dispersed locations

(Costas, 2013; McDonald & Simpson, 2014). Costas (2013:2) recognises a 'mobilities turn' more generally in social sciences and, in the context of organisations, acknowledges that 'mobilities challenge the spatially bounded conception of organization that traditionally underlies studies of organization'. Organisations, Costas (2013) explains, are no longer understood as fixed locations with staff and work activities moving between multiple locations and roles. Whilst observation methods can be useful for gathering data on customs and practices (Anderson, 2004; Easterby-Smith, Thorpe, & Jackson, 2012), Czarniawska (2014:92) highlights that researchers can find themselves watching the 'comings and goings' of people working rather than observing activities as they take place. The research design here therefore discusses qualitative methods used to investigate and understand complex organisations and considers how mobile methods can be integrated into the research process.

One of the objectives for this study is to explore staff experiences of delivering ancestral tourism across several museums, galleries and archives to develop an understanding of the resources available for the visitors they serve, and the spaces and museum/archive displays necessary to achieve this. Considering the diversity of objects, artefacts, exhibits and other resources which form the ancestral tourism product, qualitative data-capture methods were used, which include mobile techniques allowing in-depth exploration of the coordination of service provision. The methods discussed are particularly relevant in the context of the tourism and hospitality industry where activities are often spread through different parts of the organisation with staff moving between settings and roles and where researchers do not have a defined organisational role in which to conduct participant observation. The following demonstrates how static methods such as sit-down interviews and observation can be used alongside mobile techniques (Anderson, 2004; Carpiano, 2009) as a novel approach to better understand the activities and coordination of spatially dispersed services across a large organisation.

4.4.4 Interviews

Qualitative interviews are useful for understanding participants' perspectives within organisations (King, 2004), and there are many interview styles suitable for different research approaches. For hermeneutic studies, the researcher acknowledges there are preunderstandings taken into the field and these guide the direction of questioning. Additionally, from a subjectivist stance where knowledge is seen as being socially constructed, interviews are not viewed 'as a means of gaining insight into the 'real' experience of the interviewee, but as an interaction constructed in the particular context of the interview' (King, 2004:13). For this study, the researcher acknowledges their mediation and interpretation of interviews, contrasting with several phenomenological approaches where efforts are made to put aside preunderstandings (King, 2004). Here, the research is guided by the aims and objectives, takes account of the researcher and participants' experiences in shaping conversations, and acknowledges that in this study, many participants work in various roles and services with activities spread across several sites.

Structured interviews generally have pre-determined questions, with the interviewer sticking close to an interview schedule for each participant (Smith & Osborn, 2008), not suitable for exploring the complexities, experiences and different approaches to ancestral tourism in a variety of roles and locations. Also, although an open-ended, conversation type is preferable and appropriate for exploratory research (Patton, 2015), this study acknowledges that questions are influenced by the research objectives and background to the study, therefore not entirely unstructured (Brinkmann, 2013). Semi-structured interview styles allow some flexibility in conversations with researchers making use of probes, alternative or follow-up questions (Rowley, 2012). Brinkmann (2013:19) describes semi-structured interviews as being placed 'somewhere in the middle' on a continuum between structured and unstructured interviews. Here, the term 'guided conversation' is preferred, recognising the researcher's involvement within the research process (Herrmann, 2011). This interview style takes account of the social construction of meanings and knowledge, 'highly dependent on the context in which they were

generated' (Rowley, 2012:270), appropriate for exploring the experiences of participants in various roles within this complex organisation.

Interviews are typically face-to-face using a 'sit-down' format and conducted in public spaces such as cafes or restaurants or privately in someone's office, meeting room or own home (Carpiano, 2009; Garcia et al., 2012). However, sit-down approaches pose limitations where participants are often separated from their normal environments, which could provide useful insights into everyday situations and activities (Carpiano, 2009). Sometimes props or probes are used to flow conversation and to draw out information in interviews (Carpiano, 2009; Frith & Gleeson, 2012; King, 2004). However, Kusenbach (2003:462) describes sit-down interviews as 'static encounters' that do not allow for a full understanding of surrounding environments. Developing a sophisticated understanding of the surrounding contextual environment, both personal and organisational, is important, to develop a better understanding of the complex services and resources available to ancestral tourists and how these coalesce across the organisation. This section will outline the use of mobile methods which, as part of multi-method qualitative studies begin to address these concerns.

4.4.5 Observation

Another ethnographic technique utilised in this study was observation. Participant observation is a common ethnographic technique allowing for data collection within a natural setting, to understand customs and practices within a given context (Anderson, 2004; Easterby-Smith et al., 2012). From a subjectivist stance, this approach should also involve some human interaction (Waddington, 2004). Hence, the role of observer often takes a position somewhere on a continuum between participant and non-participant, sometimes involving informal conversations, semi-structured or unstructured interviews, and taking field notes (Creswell, 2014; Czarniawska, 2007; Fayard & Weeks, 2007).

Given that the researcher did not have a defined role within the organisation, observation was largely non-participative. Angrosino (2007) argues that observers often take on different roles and variations in levels of participation in the context they are investigating. In some cases, the researcher attended meetings which involved discussion in small groups and small 'team' activities, hence there was a degree of participation, though this was limited. Data from these interactions and observations is reported in Chapters 5, 6 and 7, as *Field Notes* or *Informal Conversations* with further details provided in the Data Collection section to follow. As highlighted above, it can be challenging to gain insights into busy, spatially dispersed places and activities through the use of sit-down interviews and static observation techniques alone (Czarniawska 2014). This research therefore combines observational methods and interviews with mobile methods, useful for gathering rich data on participants and their experiences in the surrounding environment (Carpiano, 2009; Kusenbach, 2003).

4.4.6 Mobile Methods

This study utilises a range of 'mobile' techniques to better understand participants' activities in relation to the context where these activities take place (Carpiano, 2009; Costas, 2013; Kusenbach, 2003). One of these techniques is a variation on interviewing and involves researchers talking and walking with participants in order to better understand connections to their surrounding environment (Anderson, 2004; Evans & Jones, 2011). Variations of this technique are utilised in increasing numbers in social research (Evans & Jones, 2011) and discussed under different labels including *talking whilst walking* (Anderson, 2004), *the go-along technique* (Carpiano, 2009; Kusenbach, 2003) and *the walking interview* (Evans & Jones, 2011; Harris, 2016).

Described as a hybrid between interviewing and participant observation (Kusenbach, 2003), the go-along technique often involves researchers accompanying participants as they go about their daily activities. Similar to shadowing techniques used in organisational studies (Evans & Jones, 2011; McDonald & Simpson, 2014), it is used

in health, social and geographical research and is argued to provide deeper insights into the issues and experiences of participants in the environments where day-to-day activity takes place (Anderson, 2004; Carpiano, 2009; Garcia et al., 2012; Kusenbach, 2003). Carpiano (2009:267) emphasises its use in building rapport with the go-along allowing 'a more inclusive process, where the respondent becomes more of a participant in the interview than simply a subject who is being interviewed'. In a similar vein, the go-along is argued to be less interrogative than sit-down interviews and balances the power dynamic between interviewer and participant (Anderson, 2004; Garcia et al., 2012).

In a study exploring social activism and participants' associations with place, Anderson (2004:254) uses a variation of the go-along technique (*talking whilst walking*) to develop 'new layers of understanding', emphasising how this method helps facilitate participants' recollections. De Leon and Cohen (2005:203) claim that prompts and probes are valuable for motivating participants and facilitating conversation, suggesting that physical surroundings are particularly useful for eliciting 'rich responses'. Similarly, Evans and Jones (2011:849) argue that this form of interviewing produces 'richer data, because interviewees are prompted by meanings and connections to the surrounding environment'. In contrast to sit-down interviews where participants 'tend to overlook issues that do not figure prominently in their awareness' (Kusenbach, 2003:462), the go-along allows for an improved understanding of connections with a residential or social context with participants able to explain the meanings that that the surrounding environment holds for them (Carpiano, 2009; Garcia et al., 2012).

Whilst go-along techniques are so far used mainly in studies exploring health and social issues, this method could be further utilised in different contexts, especially within tourism and hospitality services where go-alongs could enhance understanding of the disparate interrelated places where service encounters take place. Termed as an anthropological study, Reed's (2002) conversations with professional tour guides whilst walking round parts of London presents participants'

visions of London both presently and historically. The visual prompts while walking were useful additions to aid understanding of the connection between the participants and the environment, deemed appropriate for this study which aims to develop an understanding of the resources available for ancestral tourists and the spaces and displays that are required to achieve this.

There are variations in go-along techniques ranging from walking interviews led by the participant or researcher (Anderson, 2004; Evans & Jones, 2011; Harris, 2016), to 'hanging out' in spaces where participants regularly visit (Kusenbach, 2003:463). Anderson's (2004:257) approach resembles a hybrid between hanging out and a walking interviews and involves 'talking whilst walking' or 'bimbling', where participant and researcher wander aimlessly allowing for dialogue but also to understand the participants' connections to place. While there are limited organisational studies where researchers explicitly use 'go-along techniques', a version of hanging out is utilised in ethnographic studies of organisations where observations and impromptu interviews occur in informal workspaces, e.g., beside watercoolers or photocopiers for example (Fayard & Weeks, 2007). Hanging out is a useful approach for exploring participants' lived experiences in informal surroundings. However, it often involves only one or two locations, inhibiting understanding of participants' experiences in a broader context (Kusenbach, 2003).

This qualitative study explores staff experiences in different locations as well as the coordination of ancestral tourism service provision across a complex, heterogeneous organisation. This study uses a combination of observation, interviews and go-along techniques, adding these to a repertoire of ethnographic techniques to develop a fuller understanding of a large complex organisation.

4.5 Data Collection and Analysis

Data Collection was carried out between June 2016 and November 2017 interrupted by periods of analysis and write-up. This section provides specific information on the sampling strategy and how data was both collected and analysed, demonstrating the attention given to rigour, quality and trustworthiness, essential considerations in qualitative research (Finlay, 2006).

4.5.1 Sampling and Ethical Issues

In any research project, there are ethical issues surrounding issues of access and consent (Miller & Bell, 2012). Initial contact was made through a 'gatekeeper' working within Glasgow Life. Gatekeepers are referred to as those 'who are in a position to "permit" access to others for the purpose of interviewing' (Miller & Bell, 2012:62). At the gatekeeper's suggestion, where possible, the researcher visited each of the sites and gave a presentation to staff to inform them of the research purpose, and to request voluntary participation for interviews or to informally share their experiences with the researcher when they were visiting each site. The researcher also explained that they would be visiting each site and attending meetings and events where there may be opportunities for informal conversations. Staff were informed that in these instances, with their permission, the researcher would take field notes, and this information would be anonymous and confidential. Miller and Bell (2012) highlight that consent needs to be ongoing; therefore, verbal consent was always sought at the beginning of these informal interactions. For write-up, this data would be treated as observations with the source cited as either general field notes or as a numbered informal conversation. While some of these conversations may relate to a specific site, staff often work or have worked across several locations. Therefore, they could not be identified as individuals.

Initial contact at individual sites was made with managers via the gatekeeper. At some locations, a presentation to staff was not practical. However, the researcher was also invited by the gatekeeper to attend curatorial meetings where again, the

researcher gave a presentation to inform staff of the project. There were also opportunities to converse informally with staff and to develop contacts. Sampling was therefore a combination of the snowballing technique (Kristensen & Ravn, 2015) as well as purposive sampling (Silverman, 2017) where participants were invited to participate based on their particular expertise or position within the organisation. Informed consent is an essential ethical consideration for qualitative research (Mauthner, Birch, Miller, & Jessop, 2012). For sit-down and go-along interviews, participants consented via a Participation Consent Form. However, with go-along techniques, the ethical issues of non-participation and incidental encounters (Garcia et al., 2012) also need to be considered, and this will be explored within discussion of the research instruments.

4.5.2 Research Instruments

Interviews, Observation and Mobile Methods

Interviews (including sit-down and go-along interviews) were held with thirty-eight participants and lasted between half an hour and two hours. Most participants were employed in roles that involved working in one or more of the eleven sites mentioned. These roles varied from visitor services staff to curators, archivists and managers, all of whom had some experience or knowledge of service provision for ancestral tourists. Staff in various marketing roles were also interviewed to provide insights into how Glasgow Life currently market ancestral tourism. The usual place of work for participants in marketing roles, some manager's roles, and in council or partner services, was outside the eleven sites mentioned. However, these participants had some experience of activities in one more of these sites. More detail on participants and their pseudonyms will be provided in Chapter 5.

Twenty-four interviews were consistent with a go-along or walking interview style. Interviews were held at mutually agreed locations though the researcher prompted participants in advance asking if they could provide a tour of a museum, gallery or archive, or just a walkthrough so that they could develop a sense of their experiences of ancestral tourism and the resources available. For some participants, which

included marketing staff and some managerial roles, this was not convenient or practical, with sit-down interviews more suitable. The go-along interviews resembled Anderson's (2004) 'bimble' with the slow pace helpful for notetaking. Participants highlighted some exhibits, objects or resources as being significant for discussion on staff experiences of ancestral tourists. Here, both participant and researcher 'hovered' and conversed in spaces close to these areas of interest, which again made note-taking easier.

All interviewed participants were informed of their anonymity and confidentiality of the data and completed informed consent forms. As stated previously, participants' roles often involved working across several locations, and in some cases, although participants were situated in one place, they had previously worked at other sites. This helped to ensure anonymity. Although participants' often spoke of their experiences in particular museums or archives, this was not always the place where their current role was located. While most interviews were one-to-one, some were in small groups between 2 to 4 people, with follow up one-to-one meetings or email conversations where appropriate.

As this research was exploratory, an open-ended, guided conversation type was deemed most appropriate (Herrmann, 2011; Patton, 2015). For hermeneutic studies, the researcher must acknowledge there are prejudices taken into the field and these often guide the direction of questioning. In this case, several themes were identified from extant literature, which focused on the challenges of delivering ancestral tourism and the fragmented nature of current ancestral tourism provision. These themes influenced the direction of questioning, allowing the researcher to compare and contrast the findings with prior research. Rather than a series of set questions, conversations were guided by the research aim to explore supplier perspectives of personal heritage tourism by analysing provision of ancestral tourism. In most cases, interviews began with probing questions asking participants to explain their role within the organisation and which departments and locations they worked in.

Participants were informed that only sit-down interviews would be audio-recorded if permitted. Since all go-alongs and all but three of the sit-down interviews were conducted in public spaces with others often in close proximity, there were practical and ethical issues to consider here. These included background noise, which made a clear recording difficult, and there were issues of interruptions and the inclusion of non-participants. Instead, in both sit-down interviews and go-alongs, the researcher took notes during the conversation. Similar to other approaches where audio-recordings are not permitted, data presented from participants is 'based on quotes as they were captured in the note-taking process' (Hansen & Rennecker, 2010:51). The notes were later transcribed and emailed to the participants for 'member checking'.

Member checking provides participants with an opportunity to check these quotes and the researchers' interpretation of their views (Schwartz-Shea & Yanow, 2009) and also provides the researcher with time for reflection and hindsight and an opportunity to ask participants for clarification or further questions if required. While there are concerns over the reliability of the above approach with some theoretical framing and analysis inevitably occurring as notes are written (Van der Waal, 2009; Wheeler & Reis, 1991), the hermeneutic approach for this study acknowledges biases or assumptions as part of the interpretative process, rather than a transcendental phenomenological approach which sets aside or 'brackets' these assumptions (Larkin & Thompson, 2012; Pernecky & Jamal, 2010). Furthermore, recording devices are argued to be obtrusive and off-putting for participants with their absence assisting the flow of conversation (Brewer, 2004; Gabriel & Griffiths, 2004).

As noted above, the researcher did not have a defined role within the organisation; hence, observation was mainly non-participative. The go-along technique often involves the researcher in a position as observer and interviewer taking field notes of conversations and their observations. Supplementary to interviews and tours of facilities, the researcher attended meetings and events attended by employees in various roles and working in different locations of Glasgow Museums and

Collections. The researcher also attended some information sessions on family history resources, open to the general public. Attendance at information sessions was suggested by some of the participants interviewed to provide the researcher with a deeper understanding of resources and services available for ancestral tourists. Observations from these meetings and sessions were written up and appear in the findings chapters as *Field Notes*.

In addition to the observation activities mentioned above, and similar to 'hanging-out' and water-cooler conversations (Fayard & Weeks, 2007; Kusenbach, 2003), the researcher also had opportunities for informal discussions with 49 employees in a variety of roles within the organisation. Kusenbach (2003) emphasises 'hanging-out' as a standard technique incorporated into ethnographic research design. However, as mentioned earlier, she also explains that this often focuses on professional or personal activities in one or two locations, 'downplaying the significance and meaning of less prominent places' (Kusenbach, 2003:463). In the field, the go-along method facilitated 'incidental ethnographic encounters' (Pinsky, 2013:281) occurring as interruptions on go-along interviews, or in the meetings and events mentioned previously, with the researcher conversing with other staff members who joined the conversation. Ethical issues were again considered here. While most conversations occurred with those who had already been informed of the research through the initial presentation, the researcher reminded these participants of the purpose of the study and told them that, with their verbal consent, these conversations would be written as field notes with full anonymity assured (reported as *Field Notes* or *Informal Conversations* in findings chapters). In natural settings like this, taking notes at the time can prove difficult and impractical. A useful technique in this study was taking detailed notes at appropriate intervals or as soon as possible afterwards (Angrosino, 2007; Wheeler & Reis, 1991).

Reflective Diary

The researcher also kept a handwritten diary to reflect on their observations. This reflective diary was updated throughout the research period and coincided with

transcribing interviews and field notes. Whilst some argue there are issues of retrospection bias or errors with this approach e.g. (Bolger, Davis, & Rafaeli, 2003; Wheeler & Reis, 1991), the reflective diary was utilised here to supplement field notes and transcribed interviews, adding 'more grist for the analytical mill' (Patton, 2015:661). Scholars underline the advantages of reflective diaries for assisting the process of reflection and interpretation and developing an understanding of different scenarios and contexts (Holm & Severinsson, 2011; Laverty, 2003; Moon, 2006). Again, this aligns with the double hermeneutic perspective of this study where the researcher is 'shaped by and shapes experiences and accounts', and acts as the mediator of meaning between the participant and the reader (Cunliffe, 2011:654). Influenced by Heidegger's hermeneutic circle, contemporary researchers use a metaphor of a helix or double hermeneutic spiral to represent the unfolding, progressive nature of understanding (Hatch & Yanow, 2005; McKemmish et al., 2012). The subjectivist stance for this research accepts that knowledge is constructed through interaction with the researcher developing their understanding through an iterative process of engagement with participants, interpretation and reflection.

4.5.3 Data Analysis

The data analysis technique adopted for this study was thematic analysis, which involves 'discovering, interpreting and reporting patterns and clusters of meaning within the data' (Spencer, Ritchie, Ormston, O'Connor, & Barnard, 2014:271). Although thematic analysis is described as a method within other analytic techniques such as grounded theory, Braun and Clarke (2006:78) argue for thematic analysis as a method in its own right and as a 'useful research tool, which can potentially provide a rich and detailed, yet complex, account of data', with flexibility across varying philosophical perspectives. Hence, rather than being theoretically bound to seek patterns within theoretical frameworks, Braun and Clark (2006) also emphasise thematic analysis as an interpretive approach, developing themes from the data itself. Furthermore, the approach for this study resembles 'emergent theorizing', meaning that 'you're simply interpreting your data in light of your research questions and the topic-specific conversation that came before' (Figueiredo, Gopaldas, & Fischer,

2017). As shown previously, this hermeneutic study acknowledges the researcher's prejudice, with data analysis influenced by the aims and objectives, the literature review and ongoing interaction within the research field. Thematic analysis is therefore seen as an appropriate and flexible method given the subjectivist, emergent nature of this research.

Observational field notes and interviews were transcribed, and after member checking, were imported into Nvivo, a software package used to analyse qualitative data (Hansen & Rennecker, 2010). Analysis began in the early stages of data collection and involved looking for patterns and themes related to the research objectives and the literature reviewed. Belk, Fischer, and Kozinets (2013) discuss the merits of early and ongoing analysis of data for raising new questions, and for assessing whether the research objectives can be addressed from current participants and data collection methods.

Guided by objective one, *to outline existing resources and provision for ancestral tourists within Glasgow Life*, data collected from each of the sites was first analysed using the broad definition of ancestral tourism as 'a visit to Scotland partly or wholly motivated by the need to reconnect with your Scottish ancestors or roots' (Tourism Intelligence Scotland, 2013:8). This served as a hermeneutic starting point for the overall research aim to explore supplier perspectives of personal heritage tourism by analysing provision of ancestral tourism within a publically funded urban heritage context. Chapter 5 provides initial insights into this potential by giving a brief overview of resources and services and how these relate to ancestral tourism.

To address the remaining research objectives, the data was analysed through an ongoing, iterative process of analysis and interpretation. Figure 4-2 below presents the initial themes (or 'nodes' as they are termed in Nvivo) that were identified from prior research on types of ancestral tourism and the challenges of its delivery in Scotland (Chapter 3). Chapter 6 outlines the findings from this stage in the hermeneutic process. These themes were embedded into the interpretive process

with the researcher also drawing on the wider literature from Chapter 2. This included urban heritage tourism and heritage management literature, enabling the discovery of emergent themes that addressed all the research objectives in more depth. Chapter 7 presents these finding, which extends the conceptualisation of ancestral tourism, demonstrates the complexities of delivering personal heritage tourism within this public sector heritage organisation, and develop insights into the potential for further development, coordination and marketing of ancestral tourism for Glasgow Life, and urban industrial contexts in Scotland.

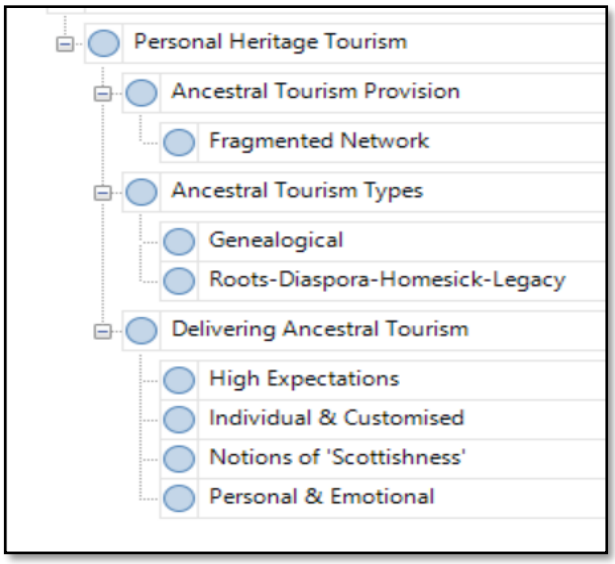

Figure 4-2 Themes from Extant Literature on Ancestral Tourism

The analysis was an iterative process where the literature was revisited throughout the data collection period to help inform further insights. Transcripts were read and reread to ensure familiarity with the data (Belk et al., 2013). Some of the data was coded under the nodes highlighted in Figure 4-2, with new nodes added as new or contrasting themes emerged. To aid interpretation of the data, the researcher added memos and annotations to the field notes and interview transcripts in Nvivo. These memos contained the researcher's thoughts and ideas with Nvivo allowing amendments and additions to these memos throughout the data collection period, assisting the ongoing development of understanding. Nvivo also provides flexibility for adding new modes, reorganising nodes, and allowing amendments to descriptions to clarify meanings.

The researcher also referred to the handwritten reflective diary, and used this as another interpretive tool, adding ideas to existing memos. Throughout this process, the researcher checked for duplication and overlap of concepts, merging coded data or adding new nodes where appropriate. Alongside the sampling technique outlined previously, an organisational chart (see Appendix 3) was used as a guide to ensure there was coverage of participants across the research context. Moreover, the ongoing analysis assisted the researcher in identifying the point of saturation 'where additional data did not generate new emergent themes' (Nenonen, Storbacka, & Windahl, 2019:621). Furthermore, the flexibility that a qualitative software package allows (Bazeley, 2007), assisted the ongoing data analysis process and was particularly apposite given the broad scope of organisational activities and the volume of data.

4.5.4 Limitations

One of the challenges that conventional sit-down interviews and observation techniques were not able to sufficiently address was understanding the resources and/or museums displays that were available or were of interest to ancestral tourists at each of the sites. Without seeing the actual resources or the objects, exhibits and displays that participants referred to, it would have been challenging to build a picture of the types of interactions that staff had with ancestral tourists. As mentioned above, interviews are described as 'static encounters' where the focus is on the talking and the participant rather than the surrounding environment (Kusenbach, 2003:462). Sit-down interviews can be useful for exploring participants' perceptions (Evans & Jones, 2011) however, the places and spaces where activities take place are often overlooked, with participants removed from their typical environment (Kusenbach, 2003). Observations are useful but 'it does not shed any light on the meanings that actors ascribe to their actions, the actions of others, or the organizational context' (McDonald & Simpson, 2014:12). This research uses a combination of observation, interviews and go-along techniques,

which addresses some of the challenges with ethnographic studies and contributes to a fuller understanding of large multifaceted organisations.

Go-along techniques also have limitations, which should be articulated. Safety is a concern depending on the place where the participant and researcher are walking (Garcia et al., 2012). However, in this case, all research took place inside buildings and at times when they are open to the public. Also, Evans and Jones (2011) suggest that go-alongs can be more spatially focused rather than on the participants themselves, with videos and GPS links being used to pinpoint where participants raise specific issues. Nevertheless, the use of videos and recording devices may affect the informal, less interrogative nature of these interviews as highlighted above (Anderson, 2004; Garcia et al., 2012) and may raise issues over informed consent and anonymity of non-participants.

The lack of formal recording devices is seen as a benefit to ensuring a more informal interview, but this means that researchers need to be prepared to take detailed notes, utilise research diaries and use member checking to ensure accuracy. These techniques are not unique to mobile methods, but the need for them becomes more acute. While there are limitations with the different methods, the use of mobile methods as part of a multi or mixed-methods qualitative study can be useful for understanding the complexity of experiences and activities within organisations (Ybema et al., 2009).

4.6 Chapter Summary

This chapter detailed the methodological approach for this thesis. The research is situated within an interpretivist paradigm with an ontological view that reality is socially constructed. Epistemologically, this research is positioned within the subjectivist problematic where knowledge develops through interactions and interpretation. These philosophical assumptions, the double hermeneutic perspective

and the research aim and objectives influenced the qualitative research design for this study. Multiple qualitative research methods, including interviews, observation and mobile methods, were chosen as appropriate means to collect data and develop an understanding of heterogeneous services and ancestral tourism provision across Glasgow Life. Details on participants will be given in the next chapter, which also provides information on the individual museums, galleries and archives where this research is focussed.

Chapter 5. Setting the Scene: Ancestral Tourism in Glasgow Life

The purpose of this chapter is to serve as a hermeneutic starting point in exploring the potential of ancestral tourism within Glasgow Life and an urban context, as detailed in Chapter 4. This is guided by objective one, *to outline existing resources and provision for ancestral tourists within Glasgow Life*. VisitScotland describes ancestral tourism as 'a visit to Scotland partly or wholly motivated by the need to reconnect with your Scottish ancestors or roots' (Tourism Intelligence Scotland, 2013:8). However, the literature discussed in Chapter 3 revealed various types of ancestral tourism with the findings in Chapter 6 and 7 examining how these types manifest across the organisation. This chapter takes the broad definition of ancestral tourism and based on participants' accounts, introduces the eleven sites of enquiry (see Table 5-1). Each section provides a brief overview of each site, the services or museum themes, and how these relate to ancestral tourism.

Sites of Enquiry
The Family History Centre (FHC)
Riverside Museum
Gallery of Modern Art (GoMA)
Kelvingrove Art Gallery and Museum
Provand's Lordship
St Mungo Museum of Religious Life and Art
People's Palace
Scotland Street School Museum
Glasgow Museums Resource Centre (GMRC)
The Burrell Collection (Closed for Refurbishment until 2021)
Kelvin Hall (opened in late 2016)

Table 5-1 Sites of Enquiry

This chapter sets the scene for findings chapters 6 and 7, detailing information on participants and the research context. As explained in Chapter 4, Glasgow Life is the custodian of Glasgow Museums and Collections with public access to these

collections spread across eleven sites, including museums, galleries and archives (see Table 5-1). These eleven sites are the main areas of investigation in this study and are responsible for custodianship, delivery, development, interpretation, and public access to Glasgow Life's cultural and heritage assets. Details on these sites were gathered through observations and interviews, though websites and leaflets were also used to supplement information on the context. The Burrell Collection was closed for refurbishment until 2021 though some participants had experience of working at this site. Also listed in Table 5-1 is Kelvin Hall, which only opened in late 2016, with more details to follow in the next section. The images presented in this chapter were supplied by Glasgow Museums and Collections (GMC) or the author (where indicated) with verbal consent sought to take photographs where no official images were available. These were gathered to provide context rather than analysis.

5.1 Participants and Pseudonyms

Appendix 3 shows an organisational chart for Glasgow Museums and Collections (GMC). Details on each of the museums, the Family History Centre (FHC) and its partnerships will follow in the next section. Organisational changes were occurring at the time of data collection; therefore, the chart and the job titles are not wholly accurate to current roles. Although the Special Collections (SC) department of the FHC is managed by GMC, the other departments within the FHC were not (more details to follow). At the time of data collection, the marketing department was going through a period of transition, merging with Glasgow's Destination Marketing Organisation (DMO), the Glasgow City Marketing Bureau (GCMB); hence, no comparable organisational structure was available for these participants. Also, some positions, for example, Collection Curators and Assistant Managers, have more than one person fulfilling those roles. Furthermore, some roles had merged job titles; for example, Learning Assistants may have Assisted Programmes or Outreach roles as part of their duties.

Nevertheless, the chart was useful for aiding data collection, selecting appropriate areas to investigate, and ensuring there was adequate representation from each of the museums and the FHC. The roles highlighted in yellow represent the best fit for the 29 participants interviewed within Glasgow Museums and Collections. The remaining nine participants were from areas within the FHC, the marketing department (including some employed by Glasgow City Marketing Bureau), Glasgow and the West of Scotland Family History Society and Glasgow City Council, with further details to follow.

Appendix 5 details the pseudonyms used to distinguish between the thirty-eight participants. The participants are numbered sequentially from 101. The first two letters of the pseudonym represent the location or area where the participant is employed. These are split in three: Glasgow Museums (GM), the Family History Centre at the Mitchell (FH) and Marketing (MA). Job roles are also divided into three broad areas; those connected to Management (M), to Information (I) or to Visitor Services (V) which will be explained in more detail in the following paragraphs. As highlighted in Chapter 4, the researcher had the opportunity for informal interactions across the organisation and to ensure the anonymity, these participants' accounts were numbered only so the researcher could differentiate between different conversations. These views are presented either as part of the researcher's field notes or as a three-digit number prefixed with '2'; for example, *Informal Conversation 201*.

Four participants interviewed are grouped under the 'MA' category in the coding system. One is employed by Glasgow Life whose role focuses on Glasgow Museums and Collections, another is a Senior Marketing Communications Officer for GCMB, and another works in partnership with GCMB undertaking consumer PR. The final participant in this category is the Heritage Officer who comes under the remit of Planning, Development and Regeneration within Glasgow City Council. Though not employed directly in marketing, this was assessed to be a reasonable fit and ensured a degree of anonymity.

In Appendix 5, the middle letter of the pseudonyms represents the job role of the participant. M is used to signify Management roles. This category also includes Assistant Museum Managers, department managers in the FHC, and the Audience Manager; all generally grades 7 and 8 on the organisational chart. Museum Managers usually had responsibility for two or three museums. At the start of this investigation, managers had recently rotated their roles to manage other museums, so their experiences often include examples from museums they are no longer responsible for. Therefore, coding for specific museums was deemed non-essential. Where participants' accounts relate to one museum and are only relevant to this museum, this will be made explicit.

Within the 'M' category are five participants not employed directly by Glasgow Life, but organisations working in partnership and with experience of activities within one or more of the sites. These participants are grouped under this broader category to ensure a level of anonymity. One is the manager of the Tourist Information Centre situated in the Gallery of Modern Art and is therefore grouped under Museums (GM).[2] Others are the Heritage Officer for Glasgow City Council and the Senior Marketing Communications Manager for GCMB as already mentioned (grouped under Marketing (MA)). Under the FH category is the Head Registrar employed by Glasgow City Council and responsible for the Registrars Genealogy Centre within the Family History Centre at the Mitchell. Another is the vice-chair for the Glasgow and West of Scotland Family History Society, a volunteer organisation that utilises the resources and often works in partnership with the Family History Centre at the Mitchell.

The letter 'I' in the middle letter of the pseudonym, represents the Information category and includes curators, archivists, librarians and registrars. Participants in this category are mainly grades 5 and 6 and include two participants who are not

[2] This Tourist Information is no longer situated within the Gallery of Modern Art. This occurred after the data collection period ended.

employed directly by Glasgow Life. One is a PR representative working in partnership with GCMB, and another is a registrar whose role includes working within the FHC.

Visitor Services is represented by the letter 'V' and generally serves grades two, three, and four. These participants all worked in museums or the FHC. This category includes Gallery Assistants, Glasgow Life Attendants, Archive Assistants, and Information Support Assistants. These terms, as well as 'visitor services', 'front-of-house', or 'frontline' staff, are used intermittently. Responsibility for their management is under individual museums or the Special Collections area of the FHC. Besides opening and closing, greeting, and directing visitors, and some administrative and curatorial tasks, a great deal of time is taken up dealing with enquiries from the public. Also included in this category are Learning Assistants who develop and run community access workshops within museums, also managed by museum managers.

5.2 The Family History Centre at the Mitchell Library

Figure 5-1 The Mitchell Library

Source: GMC

The purpose of this section is to provide an overview of the facilities available for those researching their family history within the Mitchell Library. The Mitchell Library (see Figure 5-1) described as a *"grand", "prominent" and "iconic"* building

by some participants, is a public library with many resources including material relating to Glasgow's history, online business resources, and family history resources. Located on the fifth floor of the Mitchell Library, is the Family History Centre (FHC) described by several participants as a "*one-stop-shop"* for family history research. The following sections outline the resources and services available within the individual areas of the FHC (see Figure 5-2); Glasgow City Archives and NHS Archives, Registrars Genealogy Centre, and Special Collections.

Figure 5-2 Signage at entrance to Family History Centre

Source: Author

5.2.1 Glasgow City Archives and NHS Archives

The website for Family History at the Mitchell describes the Glasgow City Archives (GCA or Archives) as the place 'where you can enjoy the wonderful documentary heritage of Glasgow and the West of Scotland over eight centuries' (Glasgow Life, 2017d). As well as several private records for merchants and trade houses, landed families and estates, and business and law firm records, GCA also holds official records for many local councils in the west of Scotland. Visitors can view poor relief applications which provide detailed insights into people's lives in the 19th and

20th centuries; living conditions, health, relatives and their situations and residences. Also available are school, burial and police records, all of which are free to access. NHS Greater Glasgow & Clyde Archives can also be viewed in this area, by appointment only. This archive contains medical records for some areas in the West of Scotland and examples include those who gave birth in a hospital, died in a hospital, were treated in an asylum, trained as a nurse, or were in hospital on a census evening.

Preplanning is required for visitors to this area of the FHC. Participants explain that *"many email in advance of the visit, sometimes with specific enquiries…many from looking at the website"* (Participant FH-I-120). The usual advice given is to *"send an email with information on what that they are looking for, then come in…they need a birth year and place of birth to start"* (Participant FH-I-119). Once visitors arrive at GCA, they register with the archivist who *"takes information on what they want to find out…what databases they will need to access"* (Participant FH-I-120). Visitors can then search databases, and when they find the relevant record, they write down the record identification number, give this to the receptionist, and wait for the documents to be brought from the archive storage. One participant explains that *"in the Archives there's less immediacy, they need to actually search the archive. It's not like a library; there's that extra step"* (Participant FH-I-120). Ancestral tourists who research within GCA have generally done some preparation beforehand and have preplanned a visit here as part of their trip.

For those just starting their family history research, GCA may not be the most suitable place to begin: "*It is possible that SC [Special Collections] is the first port of call for most people. For ancestral research, Archives is not usually the best place to begin but the place to add more detail"* (Participant FH-I-120). GCA provides access to records that help build a picture of life in the 19th and early 20th centuries in Glasgow, but visitors to this area of the FHC benefit from some preparation and availability of time.

5.2.2 Registrars Genealogy Centre

Registrars Genealogy Centre (RGC) is operated by Glasgow City Council Registration service and provides online access to Scotland's official records including births, deaths and marriages, census records, old parish registers, valuation rolls, and Scottish legal records. Visitors are advised to book in advance, and access to records costs £15 for the day. These records are delivered through the Scotland's People network, an online archive of Scotland's government records, in partnership with the National Records of Scotland (NRS): *The fee for this comes to the council, but the council, in turn, pay a yearly fee to NRS to use the software in the Centre* (Participant FH-M-105). Although this area is considered part of the FHC, staff are employed by Glasgow City Council and are not genealogists but registrars whose roles extend to registering births, deaths and marriages; *"this is only part of their role. They rotate to locations across the city"* (Participant FH-I-120). Staff in RGC facilitate access to family history records but do not conduct research for visitors.

Like GCA, visitors benefit from a certain amount of preplanning:

> *Staff assist in getting people started to carry out their own research at computer workstations…they may need help to log in... but they then proceed to search the records themselves* (Researcher's Field Notes, 10th June 2016).

Having some family details allows visitors a starting point for searches and booking in advance ensures computer access since RGC is often busy with other users. There are potential issues for those arriving without preparation:

> *Sometimes time is a factor…we suggest that they can access Scotland's People at home. There aren't full lists, but it still works. To do online at home, it can work out more expensive* (Participant FH-I-113).

Online, Scotland's People charge for each certificate viewed whereas, a day visit to RGC cost £15 and allows access to as many records as the visitor requires in that day; hence spending a day at RGC provides the best value for researching family history, time permitting. However, other visitors may only wish to view one or two documents, and this is where the Special Collections area may be a more appropriate place to visit within the FHC.

5.2.3 Special Collections

Special Collections (SC), the 'gateway to library resources for family history', contains many resources that 'provide context, diversity and depth' (Glasgow Life, 2017e) to family history research. Books on local and family history are available as well as maps, directories of streets and businesses, voters' rolls, newspapers, and census records (for some areas of West of Scotland) that can be viewed on microfilm. Those with library membership have free access to online resources, including historical newspapers and Ancestry (Library Edition), a genealogy website that provides access to worldwide records. Access to Scotland's People (public website version) is also available for those only seeking a few records. Both SC and GCA hold old photographs of Glasgow, their usefulness for family history research underlined by one participant because they *"capture moments that show changes in the city's landscape"* (Participant FH-I-112). Some of the photographic collections illustrate streets or areas of Glasgow that allow people to view images of living conditions or landmarks that may have been seen by their ancestors.

As mentioned above, SC is described as 'the gateway' to the FHC, though there is no indication of this in the welcome signage (see Figure 5-2). Nevertheless, SC is where you can find "*frontline staff"* (known as Glasgow Life attendants), as well as archivists and librarians: *"you have professional services in the archives, then the registrars…so as frontline staff we're dealing with that, where to direct people, advising them which areas/sources they should use, but we are not the experts"* (Participant FH-V-123). Frontline staff emphasise their role as directing visitors to appropriate services within the FHC. On the layout and welcome signage for the FHC, one participant agrees "*it can be a little bit confusing, and that's partly a feature of all the different sources, the different types of material"* (Participant FH-V-123). Although it may not be immediately clear from the signage which area of the FHC may be most fitting for individuals, one participant stresses that visitors should be able to start their journey into family history "*anywhere within the FHC and will be directed appropriately"* (Participant FH-M-104).

The staff within the Special Collections area receive many different types of enquiries from visitors, including ancestral tourists. These enquiries can range from tourist enquiries *"advising them which bus to get, and bus times"* (Participant FH-V-122) to queries more specific to family history research: *"they're right across the board: how to get started, how to lay it out [family tree] on a bit of paper"* (Participant FH-V-123). These variations in ancestral tourist enquiries and the challenges this brings for staff will be examined in the next chapter.

In summary, this section introduced the Family History Centre and the resources and services available for those researching their family history. Overall, this highlighted that although some assistance is given to visitors, and there are many sources available, the onus is on individuals to research their family history. Some of the issues and challenges faced by employees in providing these services will be considered in Chapter 6. The following section introduces Glasgow Life's museums (Glasgow Museums) to understand ancestral tourism provision in these areas.

5.3 Glasgow Museums and Collections

Glasgow Museums holds expansive and varied collections across its museums, galleries and archives with "*only 2% of the collection on display"* (Participant GM-M-115). Items not on display are held across several stores in the city with work ongoing to catalogue and provide public access to these items. Entry is free to all museums, excluding some travelling exhibitions. As mentioned previously, one of the museums, the Burrell Collection, is closed until 2021 for refurbishment and redisplay. Also mentioned in this section is Kelvin Hall, which is now used to store some of Glasgow Museums' collections but only reopened in 2016. Each section here will introduce the main themes for each museum, providing some examples of staff experiences with ancestral tourists.

5.3.1 Riverside Museum

Figure 5-3 Riverside Museum
Source: GMC

Riverside Museum (Figure 5-3) focuses on Glasgow's industrial development. The collection is arranged around various themes and stories that demonstrate how transport and other innovations have shaped Glasgow and the leisure pursuits of its citizens from the 19th century. The museum contains a historic street scene (Figure 5-4) from the late 19th century where visitors can experience an old subway station and carriage, a café, bar and other shops.

Figure 5-4 Street Scene within Riverside Museum
Source: GMC

Located on the site of a former shipyard, the museum offers views of the River Clyde with past images that show the same space in history. A display on Anchor Line passenger steamboats shows examples of advertising posters (see Figure 5-5) encouraging passage overseas and provides insights into emigration journeys (see Figure 5-5).

Figure 5-5 Anchor Line Display at Riverside Museum
Source: GMC (left), Author (right)

Curators are based mainly in Glasgow Museums Resource Centre (GMRC), their roles being collection based and subject specific rather than museum based. However, several curators with transport or maritime expertise are located at Riverside Museum, answering queries related to collections there. Many enquiries relate to ancestral connections; "*68 maritime collection enquiries to date this year, 27 have been specifically genealogical/ancestral in nature"* (Participant GM-I-102). There was no indication how many were visiting from these enquiries, but this participant stipulated that *"some"* were going to or had visited.

Enquiries often relate to occupations that visitors' ancestors worked in. One participant recalls a request for information on a profession; *"I have been researching my family tree and found that my Great Grandfather is recorded as being employed as a ship model maker*" (Participant GM-I-102). Other enquiries include requests for *"dates, photographs, [name of] shipyards, or they want the interpretation of something, an occupation perhaps - asking what a plate layer is* (Participant GM-I-102). There were also enquiries relating to *"the name of a ship",* seeking information on the ships that their ancestors had helped to build, had worked on, or had travelled on to emigrate overseas. The museum contains model ships, often made by the shipyards, with several others available to view at GMRC, where visitors are directed if these are not on display at Riverside.

Examples also include those with associations to individual companies or industries in Glasgow, as this front-of-house participant recalls:

> *I was approached by a lady from Cork who was looking for information about a Glasgow locomotive manufacturer…She had arranged to meet other Irish members of the family at Riverside and was looking for information on the company and any loco's we may have on display…[We] managed to give her some info and took her to see one of the locos built by her ancestors' company* (Informal Conversation 225).

Interactions with ancestral tourists range from specific enquiries to a more general interest in Glasgow's industrial and social history. Collections or displays are not always connected directly to tourists' specific ancestors, but they often provide the context to their ancestors' lives therefore providing a sense of relevance to them as individuals.

5.3.2 Gallery of Modern Art

Figure 5-6 Gallery of Modern Art (GoMA)
Source: GMC

The Gallery of Modern Art (GoMA), as well as several exhibits, contains a library with books on Glasgow and Scottish history, a café, and free internet access. At the time of data collection, the Tourist Information Centre (TIC) run by VisitScotland (VS) was situated within this building but has now moved to other premises. GoMA also contains an exhibition telling the story of the building from an 18th century neo-classical townhouse owned by a wealthy Glasgow tobacco merchant; to a centre for business exchange of goods and information (see Figure 5-7); to its current use as a gallery housing Glasgow's modern art collection (see Figure 5-6).

Figure 5-7 Glasgow's Royal Exchange 1829
Source: GMC

The GoMA building's long history attracts those interested in the buildings' history as one frontline employees recalls: *"I remember the woman telling her relative, 'this used to be a house you know…they quite like that it used to be someone's house'"* (Informal Conversation 207). Another participant explains that "*these are some of the questions people ask; what was the building used for?* The timeline exhibition (see Figure 5-8) is a recent addition to GoMA showing the history of the building and its surroundings since the 1700s, addressing some of these questions asked by the public: *"it used to be farmland, there was a vegetable patch where the building is now, so there's history from 1715"* (Participant GM-M-106).

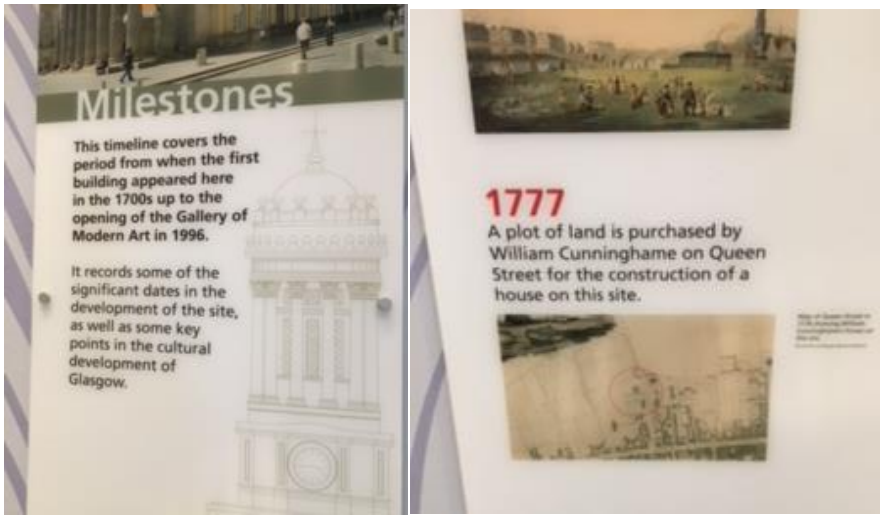

Figure 5-8 Pictures from Timeline Exhibition GOMA
Source: Author

The focus of this museum is modern art and therefore, its associations with ancestral tourism may not be immediately apparent. However, the researcher's reflections suggest that places like GoMA may also be of interest to ancestral tourists:

There are many examples where ancestral tourists ask about the areas surrounding museums. Staff often direct these visitors to displays which show photographs, drawings and information on this area in history. Even GoMA staff had examples of visitors interested in the building's previous use (Researcher's Diary 8th August 2017).

Interactions with staff across the museums reveal many examples where ancestral tourists show curiosity in surrounding areas or the landmarks that may have been visible to their ancestors, including the museum buildings that house collections.

5.3.3 Kelvingrove Art Gallery and Museum

Figure 5-9 Kelvingrove Art Gallery and Museum
Source: GMC

Kelvingrove Art Gallery and Museum opened in 1901 (see Figure 5-10), housing vast and varied collections of international significance (Kelvingrove, 2019). As well as extensive art collections, the museum includes displays on Scottish history, archaeology and life in early settlements in the country. Within the museum, the Glasgow Stories gallery provides an overview of Glasgow's history and milestones from medieval times onwards. In the same year the museum opened, Kelvingrove was the centrepiece for the Glasgow International Exhibition, depicted in Figure 5-11. Photographs, paintings and artefacts give insights into this event, which was attended by 13 million visitors. Collections on display also show details on important political and labour movements in Glasgow's history.

Figure 5-10 Kelvingrove Art Gallery and Museum 1901
Source: GMC

Figure 5-11 Glasgow International Exhibition in 1901
(Kelvingrove on right and temporary exhibition building on left)
Source: Author

Like GoMA, the links with ancestral tourism may not be immediately evident. However, as one respondent explains, *"I try to get them to imagine what their ancestors might have witnessed"* (Informal Conversation 241), with displays argued to provide insights into what their Glasgow ancestors may have experienced. Another participant emphasises the value of the Glasgow Stories gallery both for residents of Glasgow and ancestral tourists:

> *It allows us to see the trade routes, negotiations, and agreements that existed…to see that there were always people coming in and out of Glasgow, it's always been there, a city in constant flux. This is valuable for those interested in their own roots – for some, it may be their family's journey; it shows the mix of influences that make up the city* (Participant GM-I-127).

Frontline staff, in particular, signpost these displays, interacting with ancestral tourists with multiple connections to Glasgow.

Kelvingrove is Glasgow's most visited museum with more than one million visitors a year (Glasgow Life, 2016a) attracting locals and international visitors alike. Inevitably many of these visitors are ancestral tourists, some with ancestral links to Glasgow but others with general connections to Scotland, visiting Kelvingrove (or other museums in Glasgow) as part of their itinerary. Many arrive as part of a tour group; *"We get ancestral tourists, especially loads that come from the Cruise ships in Greenock…they get that particular cruise because they have Scottish ancestry"* (Informal Conversation 235). Many of these tourists seek assistance from visitor services staff to find areas associated with their family history:

> *We look up the computer…print stuff off for them, they ask where they can go in Scotland to do with a clan name…but they're only in for an hour, and it can be difficult…and they always come unprepared* (Informal Conversation 235).

The challenges in catering to the needs of these ancestral tourists will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 6.

5.3.4 Provand's Lordship and St Mungo Museum

Figure 5-12 Provand's Lordship (left)
Figure 5-13 St Mungo Museum of Religious Life and Art (right)
Source: GMC

Provand's Lordship and St Mungo Museum of Religious Life and Art are a short distance from one another on Glasgow's High Street, which dates to medieval times. Here, they are discussed together because "*tourists usually visit St Mungo's and Provand's Lordship together – often because their tour bus stops at the cathedral"* (Informal Conversation 249). St Mungo Museum, originally built as a visitor centre for the nearby Glasgow Cathedral (dating from the 13th Century), explores religious life in Glasgow and around the world promoting tolerance and understanding of

different faiths. The museum was built in the Scottish Baronial style to resemble the Bishop's Castle, which once stood on this site (Figure 5-14).

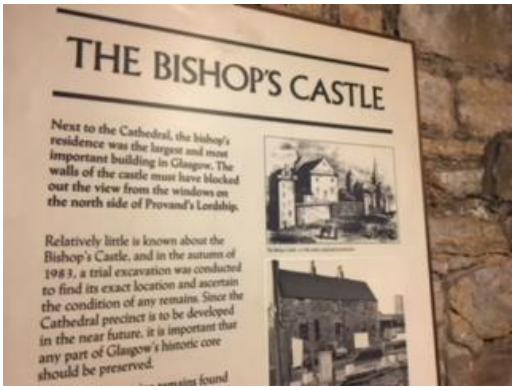

Figure 5-14 Information on Bishop's Castle situated within Provand's Lordship
Source: Author

Provand's Lordship was built in 1471 and is one of Glasgow's oldest surviving medieval buildings. Both museums give an insight into Glasgow's medieval past through displays and objects. Once a highly populated location with overcrowded tenements, the surrounding area also contains remnants of Glasgow's more recent and industrial history.

From a window on the upper floor of St Mungo Museum see (Figure 5-15), visitors can view Glasgow Necropolis, a Victorian cemetery containing monuments by prominent architects and sculptors including Alexander 'Greek' Thomson and Charles Rennie Mackintosh. This cemetery, as one participant jokes, *"was the place to be seen dead"* (Participant GM-M-114), with many visitors asking "*about their ancestors who may have been buried there"* (Informal Conversation 211). Although original burial records for the Necropolis are held in Glasgow City Archives, participants also direct ancestral tourists' queries on graves to a charitable group named, Friends of the Necropolis, who provide tours and have, in the past provided information.

Figure 5-15 View of Glasgow Cathedral and Necropolis from St Mungo Museum
Source: Author

By this window (Figure 5-15), there is information on the local area, with images depicting Glasgow's medieval history. A gallery assistant stipulates that this is *"where I've had the most engagement with [ancestral tourists]"* (Informal Conversation 249). Conversations with staff from both these museums reveal that ancestral tourists often ask about the local buildings or the surroundings (similar to GoMA):

> *Ancestral tourists come in to ask about the tenements that used to be here. They may have lived there previously, or their ancestors did. They want to know where they were located, what they were like* (Researcher's Field Notes 25th November 2016).

This research demonstrates that ancestral tourists are keen to learn what life was like for their ancestors living in Glasgow, which is discussed in Chapter 7.

5.3.5 People's Palace and Winter Gardens

Figure 5-16 People's Palace and Winter Gardens
Source: GMC

The People's Palace and Winter Gardens opened in 1898 to provide a cultural centre for local people in the east end of Glasgow. Focussing on Glasgow's social history, this museum offers insights into life in Glasgow from the 18th to the 20th century, demonstrating both the working and home lives as well as leisure activities. Exhibits tell the story of Glasgow and its people through objects, film, and images, and personal stories from Glasgow citizens. The Winter Gardens is a Victorian glasshouse with tropical plants and a café. The museum is located in Glasgow Green, one of Glasgow's oldest public spaces, next to the restored Doulton Fountain (see Figure 5-16).

People's Palace also shows the history of housing in Glasgow from the 18th to the 20th century and includes the 'Single End' display (see Figure 5-17) explaining what it was like for families of the 1930s living in a one-room tenement flat.

Figure 5-17 Single End Display (left), People's Palace
Source: GMC
Figure 5-18 Steamie Display (right) at People's Palace
Source: Author

Ancestral tourists make visits to People's Palace to learn what life was like for their ancestors: *"We have lots of overseas visitors that have moved away, they want to see the Single End that they remember their granny speaking about"* (Participant GM-V-134). As one participant underlines, "*it's the social history they're interested in"* (Informal Conversation 204). Here, *"they can see what the steamie was like"* (a public wash house) and *"can learn about the drying green, just outside - where people dried their washing"* (Informal Conversation 245). Another respondent

claims that increasing numbers are drawn to the People's Palace to learn about Glasgow's social history:

> *Now there's nearly 400,000 visitors and more tourists over the last few years. We're finding that there's a real interest in the people of Glasgow; what the people are like, what life was like. With TV programmes like Downtown Abbey, for example, people want to know what life was like in the past* (Participant GM-M-137).

Again, ancestral tourists enquire about the surrounding area; *"they ask about the Gorbals; a certain street, where they knew their ancestors lived"* (Informal Conversation 245). Similar to participants' experiences in other museums, the People's Palace draws visitors not only because of its collection but because of the building, its location, and its history as a cultural resource for the people of Glasgow.

5.3.6 Scotland Street School Museum

Figure 5-19 Scotland Street School Museum
Source: GMC

Scotland Street School Museum was designed by Charles Rennie Mackintosh and holds an exhibition showing the original designs and architectural plans. When it first opened in 1906, Scotland Street School was at the heart of a growing population employed in shipbuilding and engineering works. Over time, most of the tenement flats in this area were demolished with many people moving away or emigrating overseas. As well as the history of the school itself, the museum includes displays on the surrounding area with images and stories demonstrating what it was like to live in the area, and how it has changed (see Figure 5-20).

Figure 5-20 Display showing changing landscape on Scotland Street
Source: Author

Scotland Street School Museum is visited by school groups, who *"make up the bulk of their visitors"* (Participant GM-I-117). It offers live class examples with taught classes giving school children an idea of what classroom life was like in the early 20th century. Visitors are also able to experience school classrooms from Victorian times, during the Second World War, and the 1950s and 60s. Displays also give information about school days in Glasgow through the many objects and photographs (see Figure 5-21).

Figure 5-21 Victorian Classroom at Scotland Street School Museum
Source: Author

Unlike other museums, no regular tour buses visit Scotland Street Museum. Nevertheless, the museum is located near to a subway station, meaning it is accessible for independent visits and has its share of ancestral tourists:

> *We get a lot of people here…the tenement buildings that used to be here… many moved away…those that maybe ask for family history or photographs; we direct them to the Mitchell…and from overseas – Canada and America. There were a lot*

of people who emigrated who lived in the buildings across the road…We do have a lot…from lots of places…and they come and say my brother came here, or my uncle came here, or my gran came here, to this school (Participant GM-V-133).

Records relating to many schools in Glasgow are held within the Glasgow City Archives which is signposted to visitors who enquire, but the museum also has a digital display with a search facility to view schools around Glasgow.

Scotland Street School closed as a school in 1979 and every year, the museum organises reunions and invites former pupils to visit and "*relate their experiences…who still's here, who's away, who's emigrated"* (Participant GM-V-132). Some of these visitors are *"people who have emigrated returning to visit the school"* (Participant GM-M-116) with their families and descendants. There is doubt about this for the future, however, with focus turning to the museum more as *"a place for the local community"* (Informal Conversation 224). As a heritage experience, the museum offers a glimpse of what school life was like in past eras and, like other museums, provides details on the history of the local area.

5.3.7 Glasgow Museums Resource Centre

Figure 5-22 Glasgow Museums Resource Centre (GMRC)
Source: GMC

Glasgow Museums Resource Centre (GMRC) stores collections not currently on display in museums with *"1.3 million objects held here"* (Participant GM-I-129). Daily themed tours are organised, but it is also possible to request a bespoke visit or to view specific objects or collections. The public can browse Glasgow Museums'

Collections Navigator system to find out which objects are available to view; hence, visits require some preplanning as demonstrated by one participant:

> *We usually need notice if they request to see a specific object because it can take time to find. Tourists' needs perhaps don't fit with our goals. They may just walk in, have just found out about the object, decide to come in because they are in Glasgow and may come to the venue, but with too short notice. Only 2% of the collection on display, objects are split over different stores, so we may have to locate them because they're not all in one place now…It may be that the tourists just want to see something now, when they arrive, and it's difficult to cater for this* (Participant GM-M-115).

This hints at the difficulties in providing services to tourists who arrive with limited notice or preparation, which will be explored in the following chapter.

Despite the potential issues highlighted, GMRC is occasionally visited by ancestral tourists on planned visits, as this participant demonstrates:

> *We've had Canadians, Americas coming in, so we may do a more general tour…we might show objects or paintings that show traditional ways of life… Anecdotally I'd say about 30% are family history related visits… Families have come in to see busts and portraits of family members, art by family members, items that were donated by their families (all sorts of items), objects such as medals that commemorate family members. People come to see objects/publications/photographs that relate to the places of work/types of work their family were involved with…Visits like this are fairly common* (Participant GM-I-129).

Although many of the examples above involve collections or objects that are specific to visitors' ancestors, this also demonstrates an interest in items or photographs that relate to their ancestors lives in industrial Glasgow, also evident at Riverside Museum.

5.3.8 Burrell Collection

The Burrell Collection houses the collection of 19th century Glasgow shipping magnate, William Burrell. During this investigation, the Burrell Collection was closed to the public until 2021 for refurbishment and rearrangement of displays. Hence, there was no opportunity to explore the current experiences of staff delivering ancestral tourism at this location.

5.3.9 Kelvin Hall

Figure 5-23 Kelvin Hall
Source: GMC

Recently refurbished, Kelvin Hall reopened to the public in October 2016. The building originally opened in 1918 to host national exhibitions, was a sports arena in the 1980s and was the Museum of Transport from 1987 until the collection was moved to Riverside Museum. In 2014, it closed for refurbishment. As well as leisure and sports facilities operated by Glasgow Life, Kelvin Hall stores heritage collections in partnership with Glasgow Museums, and the Hunterian Museum, connected with Glasgow University. Like GMRC, these collections can be viewed by the public, but work is ongoing to catalogue the collections and widen access and visibility.

The National Library of Scotland and its Moving Image Archive is also situated within Kelvin Hall. This Archive contains film reflecting Scotland's social, cultural and industrial history over a hundred years. Informal conversations with staff working within this area of Kelvin Hall indicated that there was some interest from family historians but, at the time of data collection, they had not encountered any tourists. While there was limited evidence of interactions with ancestral tourists, this could not be ruled out as an area of potential interest in the future.

5.4 Chapter Summary

This chapter set the scene for Findings chapters, 6 and 7, providing an overview of each site of investigation as well as detailing the participants and their pseudonyms. The chapter was intended as a hermeneutic starting point, outlining existing resources and provision for ancestral tourists within Glasgow Life. An overview of the FHC revealed a vast array of sources found in various sub-departments. While the RGC was operated by Glasgow City Council and the others by Glasgow Life, each sub-department served different functions in relation to family history research, with participants emphasising that overall, the FHC was a 'one-stop-shop' for family historians. The issues and challenges of coordinating these services will be discussed in more detail in the following chapters.

This chapter also gave an overview of each museum with examples of interactions with ancestral tourists. While resources and provision within the FHC were somewhat prescribed, the task of outlining provision within museums was problematic. The reasons for this are explored in the following chapters and include issues relating to the variety of approaches utilised by staff in delivering services to ancestral tourists, the general understanding of ancestral tourism activities, and the challenges of delivering personal heritage experiences. In order to make sense of ancestral tourism activities and services and the extent to which these were coordinated across this complex organisation, the findings focus on accounts from staff working within the various sites outlined in this chapter.

Chapter 6. Delivering Ancestral Tourism

Chapter 5 set the scene for the following two findings chapters and served as a hermeneutic starting point for this study. Understanding is a constant process, a 'questioning of things', and to be open to new meaning, we must be aware of our prior knowledge and our 'own fore-meanings and prejudices' (Gadamer, 2013:282). Furthermore, in the double hermeneutic, understanding is contextualised, based on the researcher's perceptions and interpretation (Cunliffe, 2011) and influenced by the research goals and interactions within this context. This chapter represents the next stage in the hermeneutic process drawing on existing literature from supplier studies of ancestral tourism. Given the limited number of supply perspectives, this is largely based on the work of Alexander et al. (2017), Bryce et al. (2017) and Murdy et al. (2016).

The chapter develops around themes which represent the prior understandings on different types of ancestral tourism, issues and challenges in delivery, and the fragmented nature of ancestral tourism provision in Scotland. The findings partly address objective 2 exploring the approaches and experiences of staff working within the various cultural organisations of the research context, and the extent to which ancestral tourism provision is coordinated across this organisation. It also begins to address objective 3, investigating the complexities of delivering personal heritage tourism within public sector heritage organisations.

6.1 Types of Ancestral Tourism

Ancestral Tourism is divided into two broad categories, one that relates to genealogical or family history tourists who have a 'desire to establish factual evidence of ancestral heritage', and the other (roots, diaspora, homesick or legacy tourism), 'to a more general wish to visit a homeland or embark on an activity akin to pilgrimage' (Alexander et al., 2017:546). Framed around these two categories, the findings here build on this initial understanding, exploring how types of ancestral

tourism manifest in different areas of the organisation, with comparisons between experiences in the Family History Centre (FHC) and Glasgow Museums.

6.1.1 Genealogical or Family History Tourism

Genealogical or family history tourists travel to carry out detailed and purposeful research in archives and libraries (Alexander et al., 2017; Marschall, 2014). The FHC within the Mitchell Library holds many resources to enable this search. For some, it is like *"putting a puzzle together"* (Participant FH-V-122)[3] with participants from the FHC describing some of the tourists' activities as *"compulsive"* (Participant FH-V-123). In other examples, there are "*set lists they want to work through, tick them off, information they want to find out, dates etc*" (Participant FH-I-120) with others moving from "*subject to subject*" or they "*spend the whole time working on one person*" (Participant FH-I-119). While there are wide-ranging sources specific to Glasgow, the FHC also holds national information, providing all-day online access to Scotland's People, Scotland's official records. The availability of family history resources at FHC means that visitors can carry out extensive research on many aspects of their ancestors' lives, suggesting that they may not require the same level of direct assistance needed in Alexander et al. (2017), Bryce et al. (2017) and Murdy et al's. (2016) studies of smaller heritage centres in Scotland.

In contrast to previous studies, many genealogical tourists to FHC, "*have a good idea that it will involve some of their own work"* (Participant FH-I-121) with staff able to direct these tourists to appropriate sources. The findings reflect studies emphasising genealogical tourists as enjoying the pursuit of genealogy with the purpose being to produce a tangible resource in the form of a family tree (Higginbotham, 2012; Santos & Yan, 2010). These tourists may travel because they are unable to find sources online and inevitably, some will require customised services to varying degrees. However, as subsequent sections reveal, many genealogical tourists have no desire to conduct their own research, and expect bespoke genealogical services even though

[3] See Appendix 5 for Coding

there is availability and access to resources within this organisation which are not available to the same extent in the locations of previous studies.

Although genealogical and family history tourists' activities are generally associated with visits to archives and libraries (Alexander et al., 2017; Marschall, 2014; Santos & Yan, 2010), this research also reveals interactions with these tourists in Glasgow Museums. These genealogical tourists visit museums to investigate and source specific factual information or artefacts. Enquiries range from queries on family connections to prominent figures in Glasgow's history to interest in industries or occupations associated with Glasgow's past. Examples include visitors who wish to view *"busts and portraits of family members, art by family members"* (Participant GM-I-129) or those who want to compare their own family tree with museum information: *"there was a person…saying that he was a relative of [one of the prominent figures relating to a collection]…and he was investigating the family tree"* (Participant GM-I-103). Some other enquiries related to "*job titles…events like drownings and sinkings/ Captains and passengers"* (Participant GM-I-102). The queries in museums tend to be more specific to Glasgow, or industrial history, rather than searches for documentary evidence, but most require customised services and assistance from staff. Subsequent sections discuss the challenges of customisation in this context where curators are working on a range of tasks and dealing with a large number of enquiries from the community, not only from visitors.

In Glasgow Museums, collections are held across many locations, some are in storage, and some not catalogued. Therefore, genealogical tourists typically need assistance from curatorial staff and benefit from prior correspondence to ensure resources are available. Whilst the FHC has facilities that allow genealogical tourists to conduct their own research, visitors inevitably require support navigating the breadth of available resources. Within the FHC and museums, there are potential issues in catering to the needs of those who arrive without prior correspondence or planning. The same applies to Alexander et al.'s (2017) second category of ancestral tourists, referred to as 'roots' tourists, discussed in the following subsection.

6.1.2 Roots Tourism

Roots, diaspora, homesick or legacy tourists are terms often used interchangeably or grouped under 'roots' tourism (Marschall, 2015a:878). These tourists share common characteristics in that they have a desire to visit places of significance in their ancestors' lives (Kramer, 2011a). This study reveals several examples of roots tourists who wish to "*walk in the footsteps of their ancestors"* (Participant FH-M-105). In contrast to genealogical tourists, roots tourists have limited interest in assembling names and dates but show interest in the places where their ancestors lived, worked, went to school, were buried; to build a picture of their lives (Basu, 2004; Higginbotham, 2012; Marschall, 2015a). This section provides an overview of roots tourists' activities experienced by participants in different parts of the organisation.

Roots tourism is often associated with visits to places of national significance (Bhandari, 2016; Marschall, 2014), with providers offering these tourists 'information about nearby sites of importance' (Alexander et al., 2017:548). However, participants in this study shared experiences of roots tourists who are looking for places with more direct connections to their ancestors. These include those looking for directions to burial grounds, previous industrial sites or workplaces. These roots tourists' activities overlap with 'legacy tourists' responding to *"stories of ancestors often passed down"* (Participant GM-I-103) and paying homage to previous generations (Kramer, 2011a; McCain & Ray, 2003; Poria et al., 2006a). This was a typical experience both in the FHC and Glasgow Museums. In the most straightforward of cases, roots tourists are only looking for directions: "*Ancestral tourists often ask about certain streets that used to be in the area"* (Informal Conversation 249). However, supporting Poria, Butler et al.'s (2001) research that heritage tourists visit sites because of perceived connections to their own heritage, the findings also highlight the multiple personal associations to heritage sites, including links to the local area, often requiring bespoke services.

For roots tourists to be able to find places connected with their ancestors, they often require some assistance from staff. A common enquiry relates to specific burial locations, typical at St Mungo Museum and Provand's Lordship, next to Glasgow Necropolis: *"you get a lot of questions from people who think they have an ancestor who is buried there and want to find out where exactly"* (Informal Conversation 249). The FHC contains sources with such details, but within museums, these are not immediately accessible. Also, reflecting prior research (e.g. Bryce et al., 2017; Murdy et al., 2016), participants encounter roots tourists with inaccurate or incomplete information. Within the FHC, these tourists can be directed towards sources. However, curators are not permanently located in museums, which leaves visitor services staff with the task of leading these tourists to suitable resources or providing alternative experiences. The approaches taken vary and depend on the individual participant, their knowledge of the local area, and their knowledge or experience of Glasgow Life's other services and genealogical resources. This underlines one of the many challenges in coordinating ancestral tourism across this large organisation, in an urban context where visitors have heterogeneous requirements.

This section demonstrated how different types of ancestral tourism manifest across the organisation. The extensive resources available within the FHC enables genealogical tourists to carry out in-depth, purposeful research on their Glasgow ancestors, but also Scottish ancestors, resources not available to the same extent in the locations of existing studies. Nevertheless, as subsequent sections reveal, the availability of resources does not necessarily mean that visitors do not require assistance. Participants in this study also cater to the needs of roots tourists, giving directions to areas or specific sites associated with their ancestors. However, this study underlines the challenges in assisting ancestral tourists with heterogeneous connections to various places, often requiring customised attention, which will be explored in more detail in the next section. It varies from existing studies where staff or volunteers in small heritage centres usually cater to the needs of visitors within one location, in rural areas, often with local and even personal knowledge of the

families or the places that ancestral visitors enquire about (Alexander et al., 2017; Bryce et al. 2017).

Participants also share experiences of roots tourists with a desire to visit specific places connected to their ancestors, but with limited information, therefore requiring some genealogical research. Alexander et al.'s (2017) study groups ancestral tourism under two broad categories of family/genealogical tourists and roots tourists. Exploring how these types of ancestral tourism manifest across this large organisation reveals the diverse needs in an urban context and emphasises that genealogical and roots tourists' activities often overlap; hence, the two categories are not mutually exclusive. Thus far, the study discovers evidence of the range of subordinate motivations (both genealogical and roots) for ancestral tourism occurring across the organisation but in an uncoordinated way. The next section further considers the challenges of delivering ancestral tourism within this research context.

6.2 Challenges in Delivering Ancestral Tourism

Previous research reveals several challenges when delivering ancestral tourism in Scotland. These relate to the personal consumption of heritage; specifically, preconceived notions of ancestry (Bryce et al., 2017; Murdy et al., 2016), personal and emotional connections (Alexander et al., 2017; Poria et al., 2003), individuality requiring customisation (Murdy et al., 2016; Santos & Yan, 2010) and, high expectations (Alexander et al., 2017; Wright, 2009). Framed around these themes, but in contrast to prior research, this section centres on the challenges associated with delivering bespoke services in sites that attract many thousands of visitors, including day visitors and local residents. It explores staff approaches in catering to heterogeneous requirements and further demonstrates the overlap of genealogical and roots tourism.

6.2.1 Notions of 'Scottishness'

A 'dominant cultural narrative' (Basu, 2005:135) favours notions of 'Scottishness' associated with Highland clanship (Devine, 2012; Durie, 1994; Fenyő, 2000; Whatley, 2000), consumed by the Scottish diaspora who are drawn to a homeland constructed in their imaginations (Devine, 2012; Harper, 2017; Marschall, 2017b). The acknowledgement of these types of tourists is reflected in national marketing campaigns that create a 'gaze' of the nation (Palmer, 2005) to appeal to these groups. The findings in this section demonstrate some exchanges with tourists with these perceptions, highlighting the difficulties in responding to their needs.

The research uncovers examples of genealogical tourists visiting the FHC with 'Highlandised' (Fenyő, 2000; Whatley, 2000) notions of Scotland:

> *Some expect that we will have a drawer of family history research about a particular surname, so they may be disappointed. The perception is that they belonged to a clan* (Participant FH-I-119).

Another participant claims many ancestral tourists have a *"fundamental misunderstanding"* (Participant FH-V-123) concerning surnames with a popular association between membership (real or imagined) of a Scottish 'clan' and specific clan territories (Bryce et al., 2017):

> *In summer, we have an influx of Australian, US, and Canadian visitors…they're disappointed because some think they are related to Rob Roy. We get that a lot, especially Rob Roy for some reason. Also, sometimes they want to know about the clan they're from, about their surname, and want a volume about their clan* (Participant FH-V-122).

Studies show clan society to be much more fluid however, with no solidly defined boundaries of territory (Basu, 2005a). While in some cases, participants may *"correct"* tourists' erroneous assumptions, tensions can occur when tourists with imagined perceptions of the past, dispute interpretations of heritage presented or revised by providers (Bryce et al., 2017; Chan & Cheng, 2016; Murdy et al., 2016; Ndione et al., 2018).

Predetermined notions of ancestry and Highland clanship presents challenges in providing satisfactory service encounters (Murdy et al., 2016). Compared to the small, rural heritage centres in Murdy et al.'s study (2016), staff in the FHC have some advantages in that they can direct tourists to the extensive range of sources rather than carrying out the research for them. Participants relate that they try to prevent ancestral tourists from starting on a 'wild goose chase' which can emanate from inaccurate information (Wright, 2009). However, this often involves directing them to sources or books rather than readjusting their family history narratives: *"we may need to coax more information out of them – if nothing else then there are books available"* (Participant FH-V-123). Unlike prior studies where providers assist and sometimes conduct genealogical research on behalf of visitors (Alexander et al., 2017; Murdy et al., 2016), FHC staff have a range of competing priorities and do not have the *"ability to spend more time"* (Participant FH-V-122). Nevertheless, they often feel a professional responsibility to ensure the integrity of the interpretation of cultural heritage (Bryce et al., 2017; Murdy et al., 2016)

Archivists and librarians in the FHC, as well as curators in the museums, share experiences of their efforts to steer visitors, who have built up inaccurate notions of their ancestry, in the right direction. As one employee explains, for some ancestral tourists, their visit is *"an extension of the make-believe…accuracy is an issue"* (Participant GM-I-111). Another participant describes experiences where "*visitors arrive, and we have to adapt their vision. They think that their family lived in a little house in the Highlands surrounded by little trees"* (Participant FH-M-138). This supports studies that emphasise the curatorial imperative to provide a balanced interpretation of heritage and 'feel duty bound to engage in "myth busting"' (Bryce et al., 2017:57). Reflecting findings from previous studies, staff demonstrate a 'pragmatic desire to help ancestral tourists seeking to authenticate an imagined past make the best of things' (Bryce et al., 2017:56). However, as emphasised by a respondent, *"to what extent do we let go of reality…having to tell Americans that they are not from a line of princesses and seeing their disappointment"* (Participant GM-M-116). Responses to ancestral tourists with these preconceived notions of their ancestry varied across different roles. The next example suggests that visitor

services, possibly less concerned with curatorial responsibilities, tend to tailor their services to satisfy visitors' needs in a time-pressured environment.

Front-of-house staff working in Kelvingrove Museum noted the challenges in dealing with those with Highland-related notions of Scottishness, asking where "*where they can go in Scotland to do with a clan name" (Informal Conversation 235)*:

> *Cruise ship [tour groups] have increased over the last few years especially from USA, Canada, and they come in and go to the desk here and ask a question – they haven't prepared beforehand…they are only in an hour…Sometimes they say their great grandfather was from a certain area or have a surname, so we google it for them, to find the area and print it out for them, but we only have one computer at the front desk* (Participant GM-M-126).

Whereas the FHC in the Mitchell Library contains sources for family history research or books and information on clan surnames in Scotland which could aid these tourists, these resources are not available at Kelvingrove. While some may question the professional curatorial integrity presented in the last participant's example, with later examples revealing a concern that frontline staff are *"providing the wrong information*" *(Participant FH-M-101),* visitor services staff are often responding to the needs of a queue of ancestral tourists on short visits, trying to deliver satisfactory service encounters (Murdy et al., 2016).

While there were several examples of tourists with a Highland perception of 'Scottishness', these experiences were confined mainly to Kelvingrove Museum (often included on whistlestop tour schedules of Scotland), with some in the FHC. Overall, there were more instances of ancestral tourists with specific connections to Glasgow. The breadth of individual ancestral connections brings its own challenges given the many possible avenues for investigation and expectations of customised genealogical services, which is explored later in this chapter.

6.2.2 Personal and Emotional Connections

Previous studies of personal heritage tourism are mainly from demand perspectives, investigating tourists' individual motivations behind visits to heritage places, which are often deeply meaningful and emotional (Bruner, 1996; Huang et al., 2016; Murdy et al., 2018; Poria et al., 2006b; Timothy, 1997). Although there are limited studies investigating supplier perspectives, Chapter 3 highlighted the problems faced by some small providers in Scotland and the compromises required to deliver positive outcomes (Alexander et al., 2017; Bryce et al., 2017; Murdy et al., 2016). This subsection investigates the particular challenges of delivering personal heritage experiences within a large organisation receiving thousands of visitors.

Staff often need to invest time listening to tourists' (genealogical and roots) ancestral narratives and queries, requiring efforts in diplomacy and sensitivity (Murdy et al., 2016). Participants within the FHC describe interactions that are "*an emotional experience for both"* (Participant FH-M-104) with tourists often relaying tragic family stories, or experiences of visiting places of family significance. A participant explains that for genealogical tourists emotionally invested in their research, "*it's a mixture of pride about what they have managed to find and who or what their family are… they're keen to share what they have found out"* (Participant FH-V-122). While staff aim only to facilitate research, *"people come in and want to tell you their history"* (Participant FH-V-123). Many expressed that they had limited time to listen to these stories, with one stating that they feel a sense of guilt: *"we're not always able to help, and we have a sense that they're disappointed"* (GM-I-117). Across all locations, staff underline that they are often dealing with several other curatorial duties, as well as responding to the needs of other visitors.

One of the challenges in providing personal heritage services is responding in a sensitive manner while upholding curatorial responsibilities (Alexander et al., 2017; Bryce et al., 2017). On occasion, participants are unable to assist further because *"some records just don't exist at all"* (Participant FH-M-104):

> *Some records were destroyed either in fires or war… I've experienced how they reacted when I've told them… It's their family, and they want to know, people do get really upset, so we need to exercise compassion* (Participant FH-V-122).

Participants feel a professional responsibility to present factual information even where this may cause disappointment (Bryce et al., 2017; Murdy et al., 2016). In another example, a curator explains that dealing with families that have ancestral connections to collections can be problematic: "*They're really really proud of the connection…relatives don't want to hear about differing accounts…they believe their own family story that has been passed down"* (Participant GM-I-103). This illustrates how visitors draw their own meanings from heritage (Goulding, 1999; Smith, 2006) reflecting studies that stress the challenges of heritage representation and interpretation (Bond & Falk, 2013; Caton & Santos, 2007; Corsane, 2005).

Within museums, there were also several examples of participants dealing with tourists who are emotionally invested in their visits. In one example, a front-of-house participant assisted a visitor searching an exhibit for details of a family member: "*[I] showed him the display…he saw a photo of her…he was down on his knees, couldn't believe it"* (Participant GM-V-130). In another interaction, when learning that an ancestral tourist's father had worked in a Glasgow shipyard, the participant suggested the visitor view the model ships on display:

> *It was nearly closing time and the Clyde Room had closed…I heard the man's story and went to the manager to see if they could open it for him because he'd come all this way…I left him in the room for a little while and when I came back he was in tears. He was really emotional. These were all the ships that his father had talked about* (Informal Conversation 202).

This echoes research arguing that heritage visits strengthen connections to place, 'encourag[ing] people to reconnect with the past and reawaken intimate and long-forgotten memories' (Park, 2010:131). It also underlines the value of museum collections in enhancing personal heritage experiences, and demonstrates the role of visitor services, mediating the personal experiences of visitors to heritage places. Nevertheless, one of the main issues both for curators and visitor services staff in this context was balancing curatorial priorities with the needs of other visitors. Many

respondents expressed difficulties in dealing with ancestral tourism enquiries, which are often time-consuming and require individual, customised attention.

6.2.3 Individual and Customised Service

Recent studies outline the issues faced by heritage professionals when delivering direct and customised provision (Alexander et al., 2017; Bryce et al., 2017; Murdy et al., 2016). The challenges 'can increase pressure on employees and introduce additional complexity' (Murdy et al., 2016:1506) due to the individuality of ancestral tourists' enquiries, which are often time-consuming, and require customisation (Santos & Yan, 2010). Thus far, the findings expose heterogeneous ancestral tourist enquiries and activities. Responses to these tourists differ across the organisation, performed by a range of front-facing staff including archivists, curators and visitor services, in contrast to existing studies, which investigate providers on a much smaller scale. This section begins by exploring staff experiences within the FHC, followed by Glasgow museums, providing further insights into the specific complexities of delivering personal heritage services within this organisational, urban context.

Genealogical tourists visiting the FHC have access to a range of sources, allowing them to conduct their own research. The FHC service contrasts with previous studies where the ancestral tourism offering includes 'personal consultations regarding visitors' ancestors' (Alexander et al., 2017:548). Nevertheless, "*people hit a brick wall and need assistance"* (Participant FH-M-138) as a front-of-house participant explains:

> *The answer to so many family history questions is 'it depends!' I think that information and signage is usually just overwhelming and too much to take in, especially for beginners, which is probably where you do just need a member of staff able to suggest where to look or where to start based on what an enquirer knows and what they are trying to find out* (Participant FH-V-123).

For archivists, librarians, and frontline staff working within the FHC, the ideal scenario would be to direct visitors to the sources available and then leave them to

their own research. In reality, visitors require varying degrees of assistance, presenting challenges, especially when they arrive without warning.

Another issue is the volume and disparity of available sources and the possible avenues for investigation. Hence, tourists "*often come in looking for some sort of guidance at least"* (Participant FH-V-123). As above, staff need to spend time listening to ancestral tourists in order to direct them appropriately: "*whether it's here [Special Collections] or archives or registrars*" or "*showing them how to work equipment, some of the drop-down menus - microfilm, sources from shelves"* (Participant FH-V-122). Each individual case requires bespoke attention: "*It's not just handing them a book as it might be in other areas of the library. It's more in-depth; we need more time with them"* (Participant FH-V-122). This corresponds with existing studies highlighting the challenges of dealing with tourists in places not usually associated with tourist activities (Alexander, 2017; Murdy, 2016), amplified in this setting which receives a large volume of other visitors. With many arriving without prior notice, the issue again is the time-consuming nature of these enquiries with participants reporting on the difficulties of providing adequate services while trying to balance other duties and the requirements of other visitors.

The findings here also demonstrate examples in the FHC where roots and genealogical tourism overlap. FHC participants share experiences of providing tourist information: *"sometimes it's general enquiries…ask[ing] where is a good place to eat…we're advising them which bus to get, and bus times"* (Participant FH-V-122). Again, the customised nature of these enquiries can interfere with other visitors' needs: "*there's a queue, and we get those that are just up to use the computer and will interrupt"* (Participant FH-V-122). Others voiced frustrations in balancing other work commitments, especially in peak seasons: *"we have regular duties to fulfil…there is a constant stream of enquiry work happening in the background"* (Participant FH-V-123). This research finds that ancestral tourists' enquiries extend beyond genealogical questions, presenting additional complexities and impacting on the ability for staff to provide adequate services for ancestral

tourists. Furthermore, despite Alexander et al.'s (2017) statement that public sector organisations have formal charges in place to gain commercially, this research reveals that only the Registrar Genealogy Centre (RGC) within the FHC had formal charges in place, and this was for access to national records, not for bespoke services.

The heterogeneity of ancestral tourists' enquiries presents challenges for consistency and coordination in ancestral tourism provision across the organisation. Sharing similar experiences to the FHC, museum curators expressed frustration with ancestral tourists who "*turn up and ask to see someone at that time"* (Participant GM-I-102):

> *The Assistant Manager took the phone call from the front desk to say that this guy had arrived from Australia and he wants to talk about [his ancestor]…with no appointment or anything…he was just like, "right this is everything I've got"…It was astonishing that someone could just touchdown in London…come up to Glasgow, just walk into the museum and have so much confidence that he would get what he needed* (Participant GM-I-103).

In museums, where instant access to curatorial expertise is not always possible and tight tour schedules means that directing tourists to the FHC is not suitable, frontline staff are tasked with finding ways to provide satisfactory service encounters, as the following examples demonstrate.

In museums, ancestral tourists often arrive without prior notice, requiring curatorial assistance. Their activities resemble the purposeful, detailed nature of genealogical tourism but rather than conducting their own research, they require bespoke services. This presents challenges: "*sometimes people just turn up and ask to see [a curator] at that time, but that can be difficult if we are busy"* (Participant GM-I-102). Most museums do not have permanent curators, but in Riverside, where some are located, curators are sometimes called upon: "*Time is a factor, we normally try and dissuade front-of-house from passing on walk-in enquiries… the bottom line is, that kind of research takes so much work"* (Participant GM-I-103). While this may suggest curatorial priorities (Calver & Page, 2013; Garrod & Fyall, 2000), this research highlights that responding to the needs of visitors may not be practical given the limited presence of curators at each site and the difficulties they face in balancing a

multitude of tasks, including enquiries from the wider community. In situations where curators are unable to assist, Visitor Services staff are often tasked with finding ways to minimise negative outcomes (see Murdy et al., 2016).

The findings suggest possible strains between curatorial and visitor services approaches to ancestral tourism with some tourists' needs not currently met by existing provision. The onus is often on visitor services staff to manage these service encounters:

> *With ancestral tourists, you get a lot of people coming in…if we can't help them then, we might ask a curator, but normally we'd ask them to email, send images and all the information they can* (Participant GM-V-130).

Where curatorial assistance is not available, frontline staff often *"send visitors to the Mitchell"*, but, as highlighted, this is not possible for those on tight tour schedules; therefore, staff draw on their knowledge of museum collections, employing individual approaches to appease these potentially troublesome encounters (with examples in Chapter 7). Drawing on previous literature, the next subsection discusses ancestral tourists' heightened expectations of the types of genealogical services available within the organisation.

6.2.4 Managing High Expectations

Research with ancestral tourism providers in Scotland indicates difficulties in dealing with ancestral tourists with high expectations, often linked to 'Highlandised' notions of 'Scottishness' and the information they may be able to gather to support these ideas (Bryce et al., 2017; Murdy et al., 2016). As shown in Section 6.2.1, this was also experienced in this urban context though to a lesser extent and with difficulties linked more to the diversity of ancestral connections. More prevalent in this study were issues relating to ancestral tourists' high expectations of individual, customised service, covering a wide range of genealogical connections. This section explores participants' experiences of these expectations and their tactics in managing them.

Several authors suggest that expectations and interest in genealogy are inflated by increased media attention and global TV productions like *Who Do You Think You Are* (e.g. Alexander et al., 2017; Kramer, 2011b; Lowenthal, 2015; Marschall, 2015a). This link was noted by several informants within the FHC: "*Some have high expectations, especially because of Who Do You Think You Are. They think they can get all that, like the programme"* (Participant FH-I-113). This TV production follows celebrities on genealogical quests, supported by archivists and curators who carry out the in-depth genealogical research for the stars (Kramer, 2011b). This investigation suggests that many are not interested in conducting their own genealogical, desk-based research, causing issues for those within the FHC:

> *They come in believing that you can produce a family history for them…a lot of people who don't have much interest in a 'research project' or who just want to find a specific piece of information would like us simply to produce what they ask for so they don't want to bother with wading through information, suggestions, guides and procedures…The library is not resourced to offer that service…we're directing someone where to look, not producing what they want* (Participant FH-V-123).

Many agree that TV productions, *"create unrealistic expectations"* (Participant FH-M-104), which, as already indicated, causes problems for those trying to deliver bespoke services.

Participants in the FHC describe several approaches in managing ancestral tourists' expectations. One such method is by providing information on the FHC website, taking note of standard queries and adding these to *Frequently Asked Questions*:

> *We need to understand our customer - recognising what people want so we're not picking up the phone to the same questions all the time. We need to regularly maintain the website, so we can answer a lot in the FAQ section* (Participant FH-I-113).

However, one participant emphasises that not all visitors consult the website beforehand: *"on the website, potential visitors are asked to let staff know if they are coming so they have time to prepare, but this is sometimes missed"* (Participant FH-M-104). Also, many arrive unannounced, and despite information and signage, they find it "*overwhelming and too much to take in"* (Participant FH-V-123). This suggests that even with detailed information supplied across multiple media

communications, customisation and personalised service will still be required to some extent.

Ancestral tourists are often led towards other services outside the organisation: "*we may give them details for professional genealogists if they don't want to do it themselves"* (Participant FH-V-123). On occasions, staff "*advise other places… those interested in the military past, for example, we send a lot to Royal Highland Fusiliers museum…records that we don't hold here, like Q in the national archives, or publishers"* (Participant FH-V-122). This knowledge of resources underlines the 'gateway' value of the services within FHC and their knowledge and expertise of resources extending beyond those of Glasgow Life:

> *If we can't find the answer it is usual practice to recommend other places to search…we don't hold the information, but perhaps another organisation (National Records of Scotland, a different council) may hold or have access to the information. That gives the customer another place to search* (Participant FH-I-121).

Staff may not be able to assist directly with genealogical research, but participants' apparent awareness of other ancestral tourism facilities, suggests that their expertise contributes to the coordination of provision across a wider network.

As evident from extant research, providers often experience ancestral tourists' lack of planning and research before their visit (Alexander et al., 2017; Murdy et al., 2016). While there are occasional organised *"one-to-one sessions that we can advise people to attend"* (Participant FH-V-123*)* or *"various workshops that people can sign up for"* (Informal Conversation 236), time constraints mean this may not be a viable option for many ancestral tourists. Managing expectations is therefore challenging when tourists "*just turn up with no warning"* (Participant FH-M-104) and can be *"dependant on the amount of research they have done beforehand"* (Participant FH-I-112). Both in museums where visitors may require curatorial assistance, and in the FHC, the challenge in meeting and satisfying customers' expectations intensifies when there is no prior contact, which was typical in many situations, and also reflects smaller rural experiences of ancestral tourists (Alexander

et al., 2017). Unlike the providers in Alexander et al.'s (2017) study however, prior correspondence in this context does not mean that curators and archivists will conduct research on behalf of prospective visitors. Rather, it indicates that they can be directed more efficiently when they do visit.

The findings from this section imply that the needs and expectations of many ancestral tourists visiting Glasgow Life are not always realised. This is mainly due to the expectation of the availability of a highly customised individual genealogical research service. Overall, the examples in this section relate primarily to genealogical tourists travelling to gather factual evidence, though some activities resemble roots tourism, with visitors paying homage to previous generations in emotional, meaningful exchanges with staff (Kramer, 2011a; McCain & Ray, 2003; Poria et al., 2006a). Other examples demonstrate the crossover of genealogical and roots tourists' activities, seeking documentary information that would enable them to visit places of familial significance.

Reflecting prior research, some of the challenges related to the problem of balancing professional curatorial integrity, customisation and sensitivity to personal heritage connections (Alexander et al., 2017; Bryce et al., 2017; Murdy et al., 2016). While these existing studies note the difficulties in providing personalised services, particularly those with preconceived notions of 'Scottishness', several of the providers offer individual genealogical consultations. As the findings here suggest, this public sector organisation is not resourced to provide such services, despite this being expected by many ancestral visitors. Furthermore, the heterogeneity in requirements, ancestral connections, and travel circumstances add to the challenge in delivering consistent, coordinated provision across the organisation. Individual staff in different areas use various approaches to provide satisfactory service encounters, often drawing on their own experiences and knowledge, explored in Chapter 7. The final section of this chapter focuses on the fragmented network of ancestral tourism provision in Scotland (Durie, 2013; Tourism Intelligence Scotland, 2013).

6.3 Fragmented Network of Ancestral Tourism Provision

Research reveals a fragmented network of ancestral tourism provision across Scotland with some organisations not aware of each other's existence, no overall responsibility for 'collating, integrating or marshalling' available resources (Durie, 2013:4), and inconsistent approaches in delivery (Alexander et al., 2017). This view is supported by a participant working alongside Glasgow Life:

> *In Scotland, there are lots of facilities, but none are joined up…the part that is still missing is some form of sharing knowledge of facilities and what they can and can't offer. This on two levels, one with the providers (including the accommodation and tour/cruise operators) and the other with the potential tourists* (Participant FH-M-138).

VisitScotland also recognise that 'the information available can be very fragmented and difficult to access for people who are unsure of where to start' (Tourism Intelligence Scotland, 2013:27), and created a scheme where businesses, including accommodation operators, become part of a network of information providers, offering advice on historical sites to visit and guidance on where to access genealogical information (VisitScotland, 2016). The findings for this research support prior literature, also shedding new light on the challenges of delivering coordinated, consistent approaches to ancestral tourists with heterogeneous requirements. Drawing on these concerns, this section explores some of the broader issues affecting the coordination of provision within Glasgow Life.

6.3.1 Providing Online Direction

One of the challenges in providing online resources for ancestral tourists relates to the breadth of records collated and held by different organisations and communities across many locations in Scotland (Alexander et al., 2017; Durie, 2013). This implies a disconnect in the coordination of information and promotion of resources which creates problems at the destination. One issue is the availability of online information: "*Perhaps that is an unavoidable function of the internet - 'Family History Scotland' gets more than 4 million mostly unrelated hits with no prominent single source of information"* (Participant FH-M-138). The findings also highlight that the sheer volume of available sources within the FHC means that many ancestral

tourists require some guidance from staff. This also contributes to the challenge of promoting services to potential users who must navigate their way through the possibilities of online search engines.

The findings also suggest that there are issues in coordination that go beyond the service and product level. As demonstrated in Chapter 5, the FHC has various sub-departments with a variety of archive and online sources available. Informing potential visitors about the vast array of resources is another challenge. As one participant admits, "*there's a plethora of portals… some confusion about where to find information, overlaps, possible duplication*" (Participant FH-M-104). Although there are efforts to improve the *"customer journey"*, the same participant indicates that this *"requires a corporate strategic overview, decisions and investment"* (Participant FH-M-104); therefore, not a quick fix solution. This underlines some of the complexities of delivering personal heritage tourism within a large organisation with a variety of services and provision, affecting the consistency and coordination of ancestral tourism.

6.3.2 Misaligned Services and Provision

As well as issues with online direction, the findings reveal difficulties in navigating the facilities and available resources within Glasgow Life, particularly the FHC. The FHC is regarded as a *one-stop-shop* for family history resources. However, commenting on the layout and signage for the FHC, an interviewee states that *"it can be a little bit confusing…it's always a tricky issue because of the three different departments offering different resources"* (Participant FH-V-123). The Special Collections area is described online as 'the gateway to library resources for family history' (Glasgow Life, 2017e) where *"Glasgow Life Assistants are the first port of call for many…they can direct people where to look first for information"*. Nevertheless, participants within all departments of the FHC had experience of being the first point of contact for many ancestral tourists. As one participant articulates that *"the person coming through the door doesn't care about the differences between the departments"* (Participant FH-I-119). Furthermore, several "*come in via*

reception on the ground floor" (Participant FH-I-113) of the Mitchell Library but "*there's quite a lot of confusion over who holds what"* (Participant FH-I-121) and ancestral tourists are generally directed towards the FHC without specifying a particular area.

Staff responses to these ancestral tourists varied across the FHC, supporting research which emphasises inconsistent approaches to delivery (Alexander et al., 2017). In Glasgow City Archives (GCA), one participant explains that *"if a visitor were just starting out, we would usually refer them to [RGC]"* (Participant FH-I-120) but, as demonstrated in Chapter 5, this may not represent the best value (£15 fixed for a day visit) for those only seeking one or two records and those restricted by their travel itineraries. In RGC when encountering these ancestral tourists, "*We may provide them with a date of death so they can begin their search, get them started, but usually, this is a one-off, and we can't really do this because then they expect more or others expect it"* (Participant FH-I-113). Respondents stress that this approach depended on available resources and the number of other visitors. Within the SC, participants often took a different approach: "*If they're just looking for one person and just want a birth certificate, then they can look at microfilm…without using the facilities of the Registrar/Scotland's People"* (Participant FH-I-119). Although this may suit the needs of genealogical tourists willing to carry out desk-based research, the findings of this research highlight that many expect customised genealogical services; hence some of these tourists' needs are not catered for.

Within the FHC, although most participants and managers emphasised that customised genealogical services were not available, some participants stated that they occasionally do some genealogical research on behalf of ancestral tourists potentially causing more issues: *"it can mean [we] suddenly find ourselves doing a family tree…[we] have to gently suggest places or sources they can use to do it themselves"* (Participant FH-I-121). While this reflects previous research stressing the inconsistent approaches to delivery (Alexander et al., 2017), the inconsistency in this case occurs within the same organisation, rather than different heritage providers

and suggests the FHC facilities for genealogical tourism are currently misaligned. The findings also support prior research highlighting the trials of catering to the needs of tourists in places like libraries and archives, which are not set up as facilities for tourists (Alexander et al., 2017; Garrod & Fyall, 2000).

The research implies there are further issues relating to the broader network or ancestral tourism provision, which impact upon the coordination of ancestral tourism provision within Glasgow Life. One participant elaborates on agreements made between some of the organisations that facilitate access to national records:

> *There's some politics involved – Glasgow Council has some arrangement with Ancestry so that you can only get some sources on there and you can only get some on Scotland's People. So, Electoral Rolls are on Ancestry, but not on Scotland's People, and the Scotland Census 1911 is on Scotland's People but not on Ancestry* (Participant FH-I-112).

The result is that ancestral tourists, as well as other visitors, may need to move between different sub-departments with the FHC to access some sources. Again, making sense of all these options requires some knowledge of the various facilities within the FHC, with visitors benefitting some from preplanning, which as the evidence suggests, is often not the case for many ancestral tourists. Another common enquiry experienced by FHC and museum staff are questions relating to burial records, which the next section covers. Again, approaches vary depending on the location where this enquiry takes place.

6.3.3 Coordination of Burial Records

Many ancestral tourists, on a trip to their ancestral 'homeland', wish to visit gravesites (Alexander et al., 2017; Basu, 2004; Marschall, 2015a; Wright, 2009), therefore seeking information from libraries, archives, or museums that are close to the locations where their ancestors were buried: *"a very common request is to find where people are buried"* (Participant FH-M-101). One participant explains that "*people want the physical, the first thing they would want to do when visit they a place is to go to grave*" (Participant FH-M-101). For some, these visits are to pay their respects*; "to clean the stone"* (Participant FH-I-121), or represent part of a

pilgrimage (Basu, 2004), but gravestones can also provide information on family surnames (Wright, 2009). This is another area where the activities of genealogical and roots tourists overlap since research is often required to locate burial sites.

The research reveals that burial records are held by various organisations across this urban context, and not all are indexed, meaning it can be difficult for staff and visitors to locate information. Religious and voluntary organisations manage many local records; therefore, *"it's difficult to coordinate this kind of activity"* (Informal Conversation 251). The FHC contains many of Glasgow's original burial records which can be searched *"on microfilm…[with] supplementary information about where people are buried, which plot"* (Participant FH-I-121). However, work is still required to improve access to these records: "*The biggest gap is the burial records…but there's the issue with time/resources to do this"* (Participant FH-I-101). Voluntary organisations such as family history societies assist with this process of indexing for the FHC, but they also hold some of their own records, some only available to members or visitors for a fee. In museums, participants refer burial enquiries to the FHC, and direct some to organisations such as Friends of Necropolis, who also manage burial records. Hence, staff attempt to navigate Glasgow Life resources as well as other organisations, again demonstrating more extensive issues and challenges in the coordination of ancestral tourism provision.

Overall, the ability to coordinate and provide consistent services for ancestral tourists is inhibited by several factors including the vast array of online resources and records held across different facilities, and the inability to provide the customised services required by many ancestral tourists. Furthermore, issues managed at a strategic level, as well as the many disparate organisations collating and managing records both at a local and national level, impacts on the coordination of provision within Glasgow Life, adding to the fragmented network of ancestral tourism provision in Scotland (Durie, 2013).

6.4 Chapter Summary

This chapter represented another stage in the hermeneutic process and developed discussion around themes identified from prior literature on types of ancestral tourism, challenges in delivery, and the fragmented network of provision in Scotland. The existing supplier perspectives centred on the experiences of small, often community-run heritage centres in rural locations. These prejudices (Gadamer, 2013) and the iterative process of interaction and interpretation, helped facilitate understanding, shedding new light on the challenges of delivering personal heritage tourism within a multifaceted urban heritage organisation in an urban setting. The findings focused on staff experiences and approaches in providing ancestral tourism and considered the extent to which these coalesced across Glasgow Life.

The research reveals how genealogical and roots tourists' activities overlap occurring across the organisation but in an uncoordinated way. Reflecting existing studies, the research highlights difficulties in responding to the needs of tourists in places, like libraries, that are not used to catering to tourists' needs (e.g. Bryce et al., 2017, Murdy et al., 2016). The challenges are amplified within this urban, public sector context however, where visitors have diverse ancestral connections and staff are responding to the needs of a much wider audience. Interactions are often time-consuming, some relating to general tourist enquiries, which participants find difficult to balance against the needs of other visitors and competing work priorities. Alexander et al. (2017) argue that compared with small heritage centres, publically funded museums have opportunities to gain commercially, with prescribed charges in place. However, this research reveals that only the RGC area of the FHC has formal charges in place, and not for bespoke services. This research therefore contributes to provider experiences of delivering ancestral tourism by providing insights into the complexities of delivering personal heritage tourism in this context, with difficulties amplified in a large organisational setting that receives thousands of visitors.

While the extensive location-specific sources on Glasgow, as well as the all-day access to the Scotland's People Network available within the FHC, suggests that visitors may not require the same degree of direct assistance needed in many of the smaller heritage centres in Scotland (e.g. Alexander et al., 2017; Murdy et al., 2016), the findings show that many do require customised attention. The reasons for this are often due to the difficulty of navigating the available sources as well as the fact that many ancestral tourists have little time or interest in conducting research themselves. Unlike prior studies where providers assist and conduct genealogical research on behalf of visitors (Alexander et al., 2017; Murdy et al., 2016), this service is not provided in Glasgow Life, suggesting that the needs and expectations of ancestral tourists are not always fulfilled.

The research also uncovers the role of visitor services in mediating personal heritage experiences. The study shows that in museums, visitor services frequently respond to the needs of ancestral tourists, both genealogical and roots. Supporting Poria, Butler et al.'s (2001) research that heritage tourists visit sites because of perceived connections to their own heritage, the findings highlight heterogeneous personal heritage associations in this urban industrial context, including links to the local area, often requiring bespoke services. Whereas the providers in Alexander et al. (2017), Bryce et al. (2017) and Murdy et al.'s (2016) studies often have personal knowledge of local families and their histories, the scale and diversity of possible ancestral connections in this urban context means that enquiries can be more complex, requiring further research and curatorial assistance. Where this is not possible, frontline staff use various approaches to mitigate negative outcomes, which will be explored in the next chapter. While curators voiced concerns over the professional integrity of heritage interpretation, visitor services felt time pressure to provide satisfactory outcomes in circumstances where curatorial assistance was not available. This again highlights the challenges of coordinating personal heritage tourism across this large multifaceted organisation which often relies on individual staff, their knowledge of the local area, and their experience or familiarity with Glasgow Life's other services and genealogical resources.

Taking a hermeneutic approach and comparing this research against current provider perspectives facilitated the identification of emergent findings, discussed in the next chapter. Exploring how types of ancestral tourism manifested across the organisation (Section 6.1) reveals new insights into the approaches used to mitigate negative outcomes, emphasising the role of staff as mediators of personal heritage experiences, and demonstrating the significance of museum collections in enhancing these experiences. While Section 6.2 findings highlighted similar challenges to current studies, the diversity of demand in this urban context brought its own set of issues. The next chapter reveals additional insights relating to the provision of personal heritage within a public sector, organisational context.

Finally, this chapter highlighted how strategic decisions and broader network issues in genealogical provision affects the consistency and coordination of ancestral tourism (Section 6.3). The next chapter reveals how varying attitudes towards the management of public heritage and different experiences and understanding of ancestral tourism, also impacts coordination across this organisation. While the following chapter discusses emergent findings relating to other challenges in delivering personal heritage in a large public sector organisation, the research also highlights opportunities for further development, coordination, and marketing of ancestral tourism for Glasgow Life and urban settings in Scotland.

Chapter 7. Personal Heritage Tourism in an Urban Context

The previous chapter was guided by the research objectives and existing literature on ancestral tourism, shedding new light on the challenges faced by large multifaceted organisations when delivering personal heritage experiences. This chapter expands on objectives 2 and 3 and addresses objective 4, revealing both the potential and complexities of providing ancestral tourism in this urban context. Gadamer (2013:58) articulates that 'through every dialogue something different comes to be' with knowledge developing through an iterative process of interaction, analysis and interpretation. Chapters 5 and Chapter 6 demonstrated the initial hermeneutic stages, with this chapter representing the development of understanding, discussing themes which emerged throughout the research process.

Following the same approximate structure as Chapter 6, this chapter begins by exploring staff experiences of delivering the 'roots' type of ancestral tourism, providing new insights into ancestral tourism in urban areas in Scotland and underlining the potential to develop and promote museums as part of this. The chapter then explores challenges in delivering ancestral tourism within public sector heritage organisations. Finally, the last section draws together previous research and findings from this study as well as presenting differing viewpoints on the potential for further development, coordination, and marketing of ancestral tourism for Glasgow Life and urban industrial contexts in Scotland.

7.1 Delivering 'Roots' Tourism within Glasgow Life

Chapter 6 began with a discussion of genealogical and roots tourism and how these types of ancestral tourism manifested across Glasgow Life. The findings concluded that roots and genealogical tourists' activities often overlap. Hence, ancestral tourists often combine fact-finding research in archives and libraries, with visits to places significant in their ancestors' lives. In line with previous research, this study also

finds that ancestral tourists often require or expect in-depth, customised attention (e.g. Alexander et al., 2017; Murdy et al., 2016), but with heightened challenges due to the diversity of demand in these locations and the heterogeneity of ancestral connections. Here, the findings outline approaches to ancestral tourism that require less customisation of services. This section therefore introduces these emergent findings, which extend the conceptualisation of the 'roots tourism' element, highlighting the value of museum collections for ancestral tourism provision.

The emergent themes discussed in this section relate to approaches taken, mainly by visitor services staff in museums, when trying to minimise adverse outcomes, often occurring on occasions when curatorial assistance is unavailable to ancestral tourists, or a visit is unplanned. However, staff also relay experiences with ancestral tourists who are on planned visits to museums because of a perceived personal heritage connection (Poria, Butler et al., 2001), often relating to the museum themes and collections on display. Interactions with a range of front-facing staff reveal ancestral tourists who are interested in human experiences, the context of their ancestors' lives and collective histories relating to Glasgow's industrial past. In these situations, participants often direct visitors to exhibits or heritage collections within museums (or museum stores like GMRC), requiring less in-depth, customised attention.

The approaches mentioned above are broadly grouped under three themes. The first theme links to Glasgow's industrial past and connections to places of work, industries, and emigration narratives. The second relates to social history: ancestral tourists' interest in living conditions, and where and how their ancestors lived their lives. The third refers to the landscape and landmarks: built heritage or industrial landmarks, parks or places that would have been visible over centuries, and heritage collections with images or information that provide a picture of historical Glasgow. Most instances were within Glasgow Museums, but with some exceptions within the Family History Centre (FHC).

7.1.1 Industrial Heritage and Emigration Narratives

By exploring staff experiences, this research discovers interactions with many ancestral tourists keen to investigate their ancestors' urban industrial pasts. Most occurred within the Riverside Museum, which focuses on Glasgow's industrial development. There were also some examples within GMRC where some ancestral tourists go to *"see objects/publications/photographs that relate to places of work/types of work their family was involved in…ship models, their family members may have served on a ship"* (Participant GM-I-129). However, these visits usually involve prior correspondence to enable staff to locate objects from storage. The following participants' experiences concentrate on interactions within museums and with existing exhibits and displays.

Front-facing staff reported ancestral tourists with interest or connections to Glasgow's industrial past. Some visitors had ancestral links to Glasgow industries, visiting Riverside Museum in particular because of its focus on industrial and maritime heritage:

> *The types of enquiries we get from these tourists are often to do with trains, trams and ships…these are people whose ancestors emigrated who come back and want to see what their ancestors worked on or helped to build…We have displays, not just about the objects, but photos of the people working there, audio too* (Informal Conversation 201).

Where ancestral tourists mention that their ancestors worked in specific industries, several participants direct these tourists towards relevant industry-related exhibits:

> *There are loads of connections with shipbuilding… we get lots of questions on [the shipbuilding/ship model display]…There was a man whose Auntie had worked on the trams at one time, so we showed him the displays with photos of the workers* (Participant GM-V-130).

Consistent with literature on industrial heritage tourists, these ancestral tourists show interest in working lives in an industrial era (e.g. Caton & Santos, 2007; Chen et al., 2001; Wu et al., 2016) with the added element of a personal association to these industries.

Interviewees also interacted with ancestral tourists who had an interest in the human experiences of Glasgow's industrial past. A typical approach was directing these visitors to displays within Riverside Museum:

> *In this museum, everything tells a story…about the people who worked there, that's what all the displays are…and many of these ancestral tourists visit because they have some sort of connection with the people that worked in these industries* (Participant GM-V-130).

Several researchers argue that the Scottish diaspora yearns to visit places iconic in shaping 'Highlandised' notions of Scotland (Basu, 2007; Devine, 2012; Whatley, 2000), attracted to the ideas of nobility, loyalty and honour inflated in Sir Walter Scott's 19th-century publications (Devine, 2012). Others stress that associations are far more complex (Chan & Cheng, 2016; Iorio & Corsale, 2013; Li & McKercher, 2016) with underlying motivations (Basu, 2004) such as seeking empathy and emotional identification with their ancestors (Kidron, 2013; Kramer, 2011b). This research implies a desire to identify with the everyday lifestyles of their ancestors, supporting recent studies that accentuate the broad appeal of industrial heritage because it is representative of 'the lives of ordinary people through generations'(Martinović & Ifko, 2018:267).

Emigration was another theme identified from respondents' interactions. Many ancestral tourists ask about passenger boats that would have taken their ancestors overseas: *"they ask questions about routes…about vessels…what the boat was like"* (Participant GM-I-102). Frontline staff often lead these visitors towards the ship models or the Anchor Line display (see 5.3.1): *"We have old posters advertising emigration from Glasgow…we show them things like that, direct them to the exhibition upstairs"* (Participant GM-V-130). Another front-facing employee explains how he guides ancestral tourists towards a display of old photographs, next to a window overlooking the River Clyde: *"I bring them up here, and I say to them…that's where [your ancestors] would have caught the Anchor Line boat to Canada or USA…and they're just fascinated by this"* (Field Notes, 3rd Aug 2017). With the exception of Coles and Timothy (2004), places of transit are given minimal emphasis in ancestral tourism literature, despite the recognition that visiting sites

connected with shared diasporic experiences are significant in ancestral tourists' motivations (e.g. Cheal & Griffin, 2013; Etemaddar et al., 2016; Kidron, 2013). This suggests opportunities to investigate this as another aspect of roots tourism, not only in Glasgow but in many international destinations with ports or heritage sites of mass migration.

Prior research suggests heritage tourists are drawn to places they view as being linked to their heritage (Poria, Butler et al., 2001, 2003) Additionally, previous studies note that some tourists are motivated to visit industrial heritage attractions because of personal connections: because they lived nearby, or worked in these industries (Sutestad & Mosler, 2016; Timothy & Boyd, 2003). This study also implies that many visit industrial heritage attractions because of ancestral connections. However, the focus here is on museums with industrial heritage-related collections rather than former industrial buildings. Hence, the personal draw relates to the heritage collections and human experiences rather than the site itself. This has marketing implications in terms of signalling attractions or museums that could have personal relevance to ancestral tourists. The next section concentrates on participants' experiences of ancestral tourists with an interest in social history.

7.1.2 Ancestral Tourism and Social History

Participants encountered ancestral tourists with an interest in human experiences and a desire to empathise and to learn what life was like for their ancestors. Similarly, some ancestral tourists were found to be visiting Riverside and People's Palace museums because of an interest in social history with interviewees directing visitors towards exhibits within these institutions. As Chapter 5 demonstrated, many displays within Glasgow Museums inform visitors about life in the surrounding areas, for example, Scotland Street School Museum which also "*shows some of the old ways of teaching"* (Participant GM-V-132). Ancestral tourists are directed towards these displays in efforts to 'ameliorate any negative outcomes' (Murdy et al.,

2016:1495) when unable to provide in-depth attention, but also because they ask what life may have been like for their ancestors living in Glasgow.

Front-facing staff shared many examples of ancestral tourists who were interested in social history and how their ancestors lived their lives. One participant articulates that many visitors are looking for a *"realistic portrayal of life"*:

> *We're finding that there's a real interest in the people of Glasgow; what the people were like, what life was like…people want to know what life was like in the past… This museum is quite unique; it shows an honest portrayal of Glasgow…knife crime, alcohol…these things are not ignored in the social history…Giving people context is very important* (Participant GM-M-137).

Participants identified the People's Palace and Riverside in particular, as places they often direct ancestral tourists. From one example, "*they're interested in the Single End*[4]*, trams… the old subway…what it was like to live in Glasgow…we'll often direct them to People's Palace"* (Informal Conversation 205). Again, it appears that ancestral tourists seek to identify with their ancestors and imagine their lifestyles, reinforcing the value of heritage attractions that incorporate community perspectives and the contributions of working people (Butler et al., 2013), rather than 'commodified mass tourism products structured around "must-see" attractions' (Marschall, 2012:333), and standardised tourism and heritage experiences (Tan et al., 2018; Wu et al., 2016; Xie, 2015).

This research underlines that roots and genealogical tourists' activities overlap. Nevertheless, several respondents report interactions with ancestral tourists who show only slight interest in genealogical investigations, and were more keen to learn about the context of their ancestors' lives: "*Some people want all the info around certain ancestors, and others are more romantic about it and just want to build up or imagine their own picture of it"* (Participant GM-V-131). Scholars highlight the pressures in dealing with those with imagined Highland pasts (e.g. Bryce et al., 2017; Murdy et al., 2016), but for this context, the tourists were interested in Glasgow's

[4] See Chapter 5, Section 5.3.5 for image of Single End

industrial past rather than this popular national narrative. Another participant recalls that "*they're mostly interested in social history – what it was like to live in that time, not specific enquiries about their ancestors"* (Informal Conversation 204). Reflecting Bryce et al. (2017), this highlights the opportunity for national and civic institutions to offer broad narratives and context, diverting some of the issues caused by face-to-face, in-depth interpretations.

To provide satisfactory experiences, many respondents direct ancestral tourists to exhibits that they feel may have some association with their forebears' lives, including heritage sites and attractions outside the purview of Glasgow Life. As the last chapter highlighted, common queries relate to streets that no longer exist with staff often directing tourists to the People's Palace where displays provide insights into housing and lifestyles. For an example of a middle-class tenement in the 19th century, some participants direct visitors to the Tenement House, a national trust property in Glasgow: *"sometimes people ask about the tenements and may want to go…often the houses are gone, but we direct them to the Tenement House, then they can get an idea what it may have been like"* (Informal Conversation 209). This resembles a 'light-touch' (Wright, 2009:29) or 'more general, non-genealogical' approach to ancestral tourism (Murdy et al., 2016:16), alleviating the challenges of customisation.

Participants within the FHC also shared examples of ancestral tourists utilising heritage resources to construct a picture of their ancestors' urban industrial lives. While the focus in archives is mainly on available family history resources, some tourists have "*an interest in social history"* (Participant FH-M-105) consulting various sources to build a picture of the past. This is another instance when roots and genealogical facets overlap with ancestral tourists carrying out purposeful research, not to assemble names and dates but to develop an idea of what everyday life was like for their ancestors:

> *They want to visualise. They don't just want the documents. They are interested in the maps, the photographs to see what it was like then…what it was like to work, find out about conditions'* (Participant FH-I-112).

Another participant explains that sources like "*the census returns can provide information on who their neighbours were, what the street was like* (Participant FH-I-119). This aspect of ancestral tourism has received limited attention, with archives and libraries considered places to search for factual and documentary evidence (Alexander et al., 2017; Basu, 2004; Marschall, 2014), rather than places to create an idea of context. The next subsection discusses another emergent theme relating to Glasgow's industrial landscape and landmarks.

7.1.3 Landscapes, Landmarks, and Images of the Past

According to several participants, ancestral tourists are interested in Glasgow's historic cityscape and landmarks such as buildings, statues, industrial structures, and parks, with links to the city's past. One participant reflects: *"to see what their ancestors saw, even if it's different now, they can get a sense of place"* (Participant GM-I-102). Many museum buildings are historical landmarks, and as one participant observes at Provand's Lordship (built in the 15th century), Glasgow's built heritage can hold personal meaning to visitors:

> *Sometimes there's not a direct connection to a place…there was a man who brought in a bonnet with a military badge on it that belonged to his ancestor. He wanted to leave it there because it was the oldest house in Glasgow…so he could leave a connection* (Participant GM-M-118).

Timothy (1997:752) argues that 'communities need familiar landmarks so that they can remain in touch with their own collective past in a rapidly changing world'. Likewise, the examples here reinforce the significance of built heritage in townscapes, as 'experiential spaces' often filled with emotion, personal meaning, and representing places of shared roots (Willson & McIntosh, 2007:75).

The findings also reveal encounters with ancestral tourists who are seeking information to visualise Glasgow's past. In the Gallery of Modern Art (GOMA), a timeline exhibition "*shows the history of the building itself…These are some of the*

questions that people ask: what was the building used for, what it used to be like, what their ancestors would have seen" (Participant GM-M-106). In the Riverside Museum, an informant showed an ancestral tourist *"the map of the Clyde and central Glasgow of around 1894 and joy of joys...he found the street where [his ancestor's] pub had been"* (Informal Conversation 220). The literature review highlighted the unchanging nature of rural locations as facilitating imagination of its past (Fenyő, 2000; Lowenthal, 1981; Palmer, 1999). Supporting Gu and Ryan (2008:642), the findings also stress the importance of urban landscapes for place attachment and 'image formation', and though dramatically changed, ancestral tourists seek to visualise the past, with documents, photographs, and images of existing landmarks helping to situate these urban places in history.

Participants also had experiences of ancestral tourists wishing to visualise their ancestors within the landscape, reinforcing the work of Iorio & Corsale (2013:215) where visitors 're-experience the past through the materiality of being in places where their forebears are known to have been'. The Glasgow Stories exhibition in Kelvingrove Museum contains a detailed history of Glasgow, contextualising its heritage landmarks:

> *The paintings here show what the city was like at that time…some showing iconic buildings, some now gone; well-known landmarks…here a painting of the Cathedral and people picnicking in the park. There are key markers and then the day to day activities around them…People are interested in previous activities…what was the same, what was different… sometimes it's the same activities but shows the costumes, the games that people were playing* (Participant GM-I-127).

Images and photographs allow visitors to picture the same buildings in history, many that would have been visible to their ancestors. The findings accentuate the value of museum collections in post-industrial cities, helping to develop a sense of place for visitors but also for citizens (Chang et al., 1996; Labadi, 2016), many of whom also have ancestral and personal connections.

As previously mentioned, participants interact with ancestral tourists visiting museums near to where their ancestors lived, some with only remnants of previous

housing or industrial workplaces. The following example from Scotland Street School Museum demonstrates links between museums and the neighbourhood:

> *The capacity [of the school] was 1200, and where did they come from? See where the car park is across the road, that used to be wall to wall with tenements…that's all gone now…the houses, the pupils; gone!... Shipbuilding declined on the Clyde; there were plans to build the M8 motorway…All that was left was Scotland Street School, and Shields Road subway…you can learn about that in the museum* (Participant GM-V-132).

In an example from Riverside Museum, a participant explains that he points out remnants of industrial Glasgow in the surrounding landscape, to those with shipbuilding connections:

> *I bring them up here, and I say to them, "Imagine…That was the dock wall", then I point to all the areas that used to be shipyards…Henderson, Elder, and this here, where the museum sits, used to be Ingles* (Field Notes, 3rd August 2017)

While Iorio and Corsale (2013:203) argue that modified landscapes, particularly urban examples may create disappointment for ancestral tourists, they also emphasise that these spaces help reconstruct 'not only personal family stories but also broader community stories, either real or imagined.' In the examples above, frontline staff facilitate this process, helping ancestral tourists engage with heritage and cityscapes that may have personal meaning.

Many examples demonstrate the overlap between genealogical and roots tourism where documentary evidence can be complemented with activities that offer the chance to visualise the past. Within the Special Collections area of the FHC, books provide *"information on specific areas of Glasgow"* (Participant FH-I-122). As a respondent highlights, *"we can give them access to photographs, maps, newspapers to get some of the context"* (Participant FH-I-123). The research discovers participants' interactions with ancestral tourists who are searching for factual evidence on their ancestry (genealogical tourists) (Alexander et al., 2017) and then visiting places significant to their ancestors (roots tourists) (Kramer, 2011a). The findings suggest that resources available within Glasgow Life and this urban context allow ancestral tourists to piece together several elements of their ancestors' lives through access to documented heritage resources and museum collections.

7.1.4 Discussion: Expanding the Conceptualisation of 'Roots' Tourism

In summary, staff utilise approaches that allow ancestral tourists to visualise life for their ancestors, either to mitigate the adverse outcomes of not being able to provide in-depth genealogical information or because these tourists express an interest in learning about Glasgow's industrial and social history. Examples in this section also demonstrate that through experience, employees are aware of collections and displays that may be of interest to ancestral tourists, signposting these to visitors who share that they have connections to Glasgow. This implies that understanding of the demand for these experiences is not fully realised outwith those delivering these services. It also highlights frontline employees as part-time marketers where informal marketing activities take place outside of marketing departments (Gummesson, 1991; Lundberg, 2008) and suggests that some ancestral tourists who do not interact with staff may not be aware of possible personal heritage connections within museums.

This section focused on collective histories relating to Glasgow's social and industrial past, where staff direct visitors towards existing displays within Glasgow Museums and the FHC, accentuating the value of museum collections for ancestral tourism. These heritage resources allow ancestral tourists to learn about the context of their ancestors' lives focusing on human experiences and what life may have been like at the time when their forebears lived in Glasgow. The findings here also draw attention to the role of visitor services staff in facilitating personal heritage tourism experiences. While Poria et al. (2006a) warn against tour guides' interpretations in personal heritage tourism given the individuality of perceived heritage relationships (Poria, Butler et al., 2001), these findings suggest that frontline staff assist ancestral tourists by providing the empirical framework necessary for personal connections to heritage that may have been overlooked otherwise. This links with the issue of latent demand discussed in tourism demand studies (Davies & Prentice, 1995), implying that ancestral tourists may have a propensity to visit museums and archives if they were made more aware of the possible associations to their own heritage.

This study highlights that the activities of genealogical and roots tourists often overlap. It also reveals interactions with ancestral tourists who have limited interest in researching documentary evidence. Neither were they looking for specific sites connected to their ancestors. Instead, they wish to build a picture of the past. This bears some resemblance to ancestral tourists with 'empirically dubious, notions of personal "imagined pasts"' (Bryce et al., 2017:49). However, the findings in this study contrast with a Scottish diaspora 'with historical lived experiences of the *idea* of a specific ancestral destination' (Bryce et al., 2017:57) which link to 'Highlandised' notions (Devine, 2012; Fenyő, 2000; Whatley, 2000). Rather than seeking to authenticate these ideas of Scotland (Bryce et al., 2017), participants in this study indicate that ancestral tourists often have known connections to Glasgow and seek to understand the context of their ancestors' lives. Furthermore, as Huang et al. (2018) highlight, ancestral tourists are not only drawn to a homeland but to the specific towns where their ancestors were from, with increased digitisation of records enabling access to this information before travelling.

The findings extend the conceptualisation of the 'roots' elements of ancestral tourism. The literature describes roots tourists' activities as a pilgrimage (Alexander et al., 2017), visiting places of ancestral significance (Alexander et al., 2017; Iorio & Corsale, 2013). For some, roots tourism also involves a desire to step on homeland soil, visiting places of national significance (Bhandari, 2016; Li & McKercher, 2016; Marschall, 2012; Park, 2010; Wright, 2009). Other research also links ancestral tourism with rural activities stipulating associations with 'cultural, natural, rural, mountain, seaside' tourism (Iorio & Corsale, 2013:204), overlooking urban tourism. However, reflecting the work of Huang et al. (2018:62), this research reinforces that ancestral tourists are also keen to visit the cities where their ancestors lived, 'emotionally drawn and attached to the home country and the hometown' evidenced by staff delivering services to these tourists. Given that most Scots emigrated from lowlands and urban industrial areas of Scotland (Aitchison & Cassell, 2012; Devine,

2012), this research suggests opportunities to develop and promote ancestral tourism in urban locations such as Glasgow.

The research also supports Timothy's (2018:179) observation that there is an increasing demand for ‘the vernacular heritage of ordinary people’ over ‘iconic and exceptional places.’ Rather than the dominantly promoted Highland ancestral tourism, this study reveals the potential in other areas of Scotland, supporting diasporic travel studies in various countries that highlight the heterogeneity of diasporic connections and place attachments to the home country (e.g. Chan & Cheng, 2016; Graburn, 2017; Iorio & Corsale, 2013; Li & McKercher, 2016). This is contrary to studies emphasising genealogical heritage visits as ‘seeking a sense of superiority and uniqueness’ (Poria & Ashworth, 2009) or associations with narratives of nobility and Highland heroism (Basu, 2005b; Devine, 2012). Instead, the findings here suggest interest and empathy towards everyday working lives and living conditions. This has implications for the development and promotion of ancestral tourism in Scotland in all its diverse potential.

7.2 Delivering Personal Heritage Tourism

Chapter 6 outlined the challenges of delivering ancestral tourism, drawing on previous research from small ancestral tourism providers in rural areas. The findings highlight problems in catering to the needs of those with limited information on their ancestry, preconceived notions of their ancestry or expectations of an individual, customised service. Although there are opportunities to develop ancestral tourism provision to include elements which require less customisation of services (as shown in Section 7.1), this research uncovers further complexities within large cultural organisations in the public sector, with the findings disseminated in this section. These findings provide additional insights into issues of delivering tourism services within publically funded heritage organisations, contributing to research exploring the tensions surrounding preservation, access, visitor services and the

commercialisation of public heritage (e.g. Apostolakis, 2003; Calver & Page, 2013; Minkiewicz et al., 2014; Wells et al., 2015).

7.2.1 Widening Access to Public Heritage

One of the themes to emerge from this research was the emphasis on facilitating public access to collections held by Glasgow Life. While curatorial principles on the preservation of heritage are evident, the following participant's comments represent the general attitude of many participants towards access:

> *Obviously, we want to preserve our collection items as best we can, but we are not just custodians: the whole point of collecting should be to share rather than to hoard* (Participant FH-I-112).

In comparison, public sector management of heritage resources has traditionally held a 'strong curatorial imperative' (Garrod & Fyall, 2000:693) prioritising preservation and guardianship over visitor services and access (Calver & Page, 2013; Garrod & Fyall, 2000; Minkiewicz et al., 2014; Murdy et al., 2016). The stress on access was evident across all levels and areas of the organisation, as the examples in the following paragraphs illustrate.

Access to Glasgow Museums is free, as is access to most resources held within the FHC in the Mitchell Library (except for RGC). Free access to public heritage is influenced by top-down approaches "*keen to make the city's collection accessible, to ensure greater use, improve awareness"* (Participant GM-I-127):

> *[With the appointment of a new Head of Policy], it was to encourage greater access to those who couldn't… This has been an intense period of change in museums – new buildings, new services, the Open Museum, for those that may not get access. There are some areas of the city with no museums, little access to the objects, hence the importance of open museum/community museum services and policy to make services as accessible as possible* (Participant GM-I-111).

This awareness of inclusive access was a common theme across all levels and areas of the organisation and reinforces observations from several authors who comment on the increasing pressure from governments to widen audience accessibility to public heritage (e.g. Davies, 2001; Goulding, 1999, 2000b; Mason, 2004). However,

Glasgow's tourism strategy aims to benefit from the promotion of its cultural heritage assets, presenting possible conflicts between facilitating free access and commercial gain. This is explored further in Section 7.2.3.

Interviewees voiced concerns over promoting the FHC for ancestral tourism, reflecting broader concerns regarding heritage commercialisation and the marketing of public heritage (e.g. Calver & Page, 2013; Garrod & Fyall, 2000; Nuryanti, 1996; Rentschler & Gilmore, 2002). Concerns over commercialisation related to meeting the needs of other users of the FHC. Coordinating services for tourism, many participants express, should be balanced alongside other goals:

> *We've a desire to have the Family History Centre established before branching out to these other connections…not just for tourists; family history is of interest to many…our new FH website (not the new FH Centre per se) should establish its own presence and offer before broadening out to link to other organisations such as VisitScotland* (Participant FH-M-104).

The commodification and promotion of heritage for tourism purposes, is a controversial issue, with curatorial goals often taking precedence over visitor experiences (Calver & Page, 2013; Falk, 2016; Garrod & Fyall, 2000; Wells et al., 2015). While widening access and improving *"the customer journey"* (Participant FH-M-104) were considerations for managers in this study, commercialising heritage for tourism purposes, was a contentious issue.

Participants emphasised the importance of improving inclusive access to heritage for local communities in Glasgow. Some interviewees stressed the potential of ancestral stories to strengthen links to communities explaining that that *"ancestry can complement unheard stories"* (Participant GM-I-111). Several respondents also highlight the value of Open Museums, where objects from museum collections are taken out into communities allowing Glasgow Life to find out "*who's in the community, how can we help them to find us, how can we connect with local communities* (Participant GM-M-126). These outreach activities, as respondents explain, involve *"listening to what people of the city want"* (Participant GM-I-111) as well as understanding *"ancestral connections…finding out what relates to those*

areas, develop[ing] a stronger sense of personal connections" (Participant GM-I-127). This supports research suggesting heritage is vital in creating a stronger sense of community attachment (Labadi, 2016). It also accentuates the value of ancestral stories in connecting local communities to their heritage, discussed further in the next subsection.

The focus on improving access plays a central role in the activities of several participants. Speaking on the availability of family history resources within the FHC, a participant accentuates the value of digitising and cataloguing collections, rendering them more visible and searchable:

> *Something that would almost certainly help open up access to the library's materials and make finding out about and sourcing what we have much easier for all concerned would be retrospective cataloguing. An enormous job but with huge potential* (Participant FH-V-123).

Reflecting curatorial concerns for balancing access with preservation (e.g. Garrod & Fyall, 2000; Minkiewicz et al., 2014; Wells et al., 2015), another comments that "*digitisation can benefit preservation as it means that the original items don't need to be handled to the same extent"* (Participant FH-I-112). However, cataloguing and digitisation is as an ongoing task carried out across the FHC and museums which, "*takes a lot of work"* (Participant FH-I-112). These tasks often impact on participants' abilities to provide in-depth visitor services.

As well as the FHC, participants in museums also referred to duties aimed at widening access to museum collections. Glasgow Life has an online search facility, *Collections Navigator*, which enables the public to search and locate items within Glasgow Museums and Collections. Curatorial staff are *"working through all our own collections, and we're updating things like the name and category and the manufacture details"* (Participant GM-I-103). However, this database only contains information on a fraction of the available collections, limiting access potential: "*it's not very good… The Navigator website does provide a location for the public...The only real issue with navigator is that it lists so little of the collection"* (Participant GM-I-129). Again, this is an ongoing challenge, but one that many curatorial and

archival participants deemed essential for improving universal access. It also allows potential visitors such as ancestral tourists to carry out their own searches, limiting the need for assistance from curatorial staff. This aligns with studies that stress the need to advertise resources as publically available, to broaden audiences and encourage public access (Keene et al., 2008; Robinson & Silverman, 2015), but the findings here demonstrate the laborious nature of this task.

With consideration of ancestral tourists' needs, participants believe that increasing the visibility of available resources, and digital access will assist staff in locating and directing visitors to appropriate sources, making it easier for all visitors to find the sources they need. Furthermore, online search facilities for heritage collections offer the possibility for personal heritage tourists and the local community to search under various subject headings, for objects and documents that may have personal relevance. However, as illustrated above, improvements are needed for this to be used more effectively. Also, although improved search facilities may ease the volume of collection/genealogical enquiries for curatorial staff, it also adds to the "*plethora of portals"* (Participant FH-M-104), with many requiring or expecting individual attention to make sense of the maze of information. Another issue is the time and resources needed to improve access. The topics discussed thus far reflect research underlining the challenges of providing satisfactory visitor experiences as well as the financial pressures of maintaining access for future generations (Apostolakis, 2003; Garrod & Fyall, 2000; Wells et al., 2015).

7.2.2 Delivering Personal Heritage with Limited Resources

A common theme revealed in this study was the limited resources available, which many participants feel inhibits their ability to provide the individualised services required for some ancestral tourists, while balancing the needs and expectations of many other users. One participant comments on the financial constraints affecting Glasgow Life services over several years:

> *It's a time of austerity – looking at Glasgow Museums, services actually diminish…the ability to supply is difficult…there may be strategic documents on*

> *paper, but in reality, there are not the resources, there's a reduced service…We may have the best intentions, but the ability to deliver is another thing* (Participant GM-I-111).

Comments from other respondents include, "*we do not have the resources"*, "*it's a resource issue", "because of the resources, or lack of", "working on limited resources", "not resourced to offer that service",* which, as one participant emphasised, restricts *"the ability to spend more time"* (Participant FH-V-122) with ancestral tourists.

The findings highlight how limited resources also impact upon service provision:

> *Some of the finding aids aren't the best; some better than others, and we can spend more time locating the sources, time that could be spent with enquiries. We've got collections but don't know where…they're not properly catalogued, but they are trying to resolve this. It's a time and resources issue* (Participant FH-V-123).

Many respondents underscore the strain on resources, voicing frustration over the direction received from management:

> *With the ongoing work of refurbishment and redisplay of the Burrell Collection, curators said they had received an email advising them to limit the time that they spent on individual enquiries given that resources were squeezed. They expressed some frustration with this, emphasising the value these interactions have in contributing to the human stories surrounding objects* (Researcher's Diary 18th November 2016).

This supports the work of Murdy et al. (2016), arguing that curatorial duties are widely understood as relating to custodianship and interpretation of heritage for broad audiences rather than providing individualised services. However, the findings here suggest incongruity between managerial perspectives and customer-facing staff.

While most participants agree that providing customised services is challenging, they also emphasise the value in facilitating personal heritage experiences. Information, photographs and other relevant material gathered from visitors are added to 'object files', viewed as valuable enhancements to collections:

> *If we have information on the background…family connections on objects…then we can have more personal connections with the objects in our collection…this [widens] the collection and our understanding of it* (Participant GM-I-127).

Another participant explains that personal stories contribute to the presentation and interpretation of existing collections:

> *She sent me a lovely old photograph…with her permission, we were able to use that…a link with…a living ancestor… one of the things that our predecessors did in the same jobs or what they didn't do was put a value on the social history of an object, or the family history…you get a true perspective on the value of that piece* (Participant GM-I-103).

This statement emphasises the importance of tangible and intangible elements in creating a sense of place (Campelo et al., 2014) and reflects contemporary heritage management attitudes accentuating the benefits of visitor engagement (Calver & Page, 2013). However, these interactions are often lengthy with curatorial and archival staff expressing how the limited resources hamper efforts to provide these in-depth interactions.

Although there are benefits to be gained from the delivery of personal heritage, participants again highlight the time-consuming nature of these enquiries and the detailed curatorial work associated with these interactions. As one participant articulates, "*there's the verification element. How much do you want to do cross-referencing to ensure that the piece is corroborated"* (Participant GM-I-103)? Another participant shares, *"people are enthusiastic…but I feel that we can't just take their word for it. We need to check accuracy; people will dispute what has been said"* (Participant GM-I-117). The attention to professional curatorial integrity is evident here (Bryce et al., 2017; Murdy et al., 2016), but making the most of these personal heritage encounters is again challenging when limited resources inhibit the time that can be spent attending to these visitors and verifying their information.

Thus far, the findings illuminate the difficulties in providing personal heritage tourism in a public sector context that has limited resources. Tasks relating to widening access appear to take precedence over visitor experiences despite the recognition that engagement with visitors can enhance existing collections. These

issues mirror studies that discuss the compromises between various heritage goals (Mason, 2004; Timothy, 2018). It also supports the work of Rentschler and Gilmore (2002), stressing the lack of consensus in heritage missions, which present challenges in the marketing of public heritage.

Due to the high costs of preserving heritage alongside cuts in public funding, many public sector heritage organisations are under increased pressure to demonstrate value to funding bodies, to widen access, but also to generate income (Calver & Page, 2013; Minkiewicz et al., 2014; Timothy, 2018). Glasgow Life is tasked with generating revenue to contribute to the city's broader economic and social objectives (Glasgow Life, 2017c), and while ancestral tourism is identified as a growth market, the findings demonstrate that limited resources hinder the ability to benefit fully. The complexities of delivering any form of tourism within a large public sector organisation then, are also intertwined with tensions around commercialisation as well as 'conservation, financial and public access constraints' (Wells et al., 2015:409), with several examples to follow.

7.2.3 Tourism and the Commercialisation of Public Heritage

While there was an emphasis on improving and widening access to public heritage, there was also some agreement that income was needed to contribute to the delivery of services:

> *Income generation hadn't been so important before. It's only recently that the Directorate mentions this…and there has been a significant shift in focus… Tourism hasn't been the major focus. It's been looking after objects, engaging with the community but the link is stronger now…There's been an interesting change towards tourism, almost overnight* (Participant GM-M-115).

Cuts in public funding has increased pressure on heritage organisations to become more self-reliant (e.g. Goulding, 1999, 2000a; Minkiewicz et al., 2014). Speaking on Glasgow's tourism strategy (See Chapter 1 - Glasgow Life, 2017c), a participant notes that *"this is the first time that cultural heritage has been given this emphasis"* (Participant MA-M-124). Despite this development in heritage policy and strategy, the following findings demonstrate varying opinions as well as direction on how

tourism should be incorporated within current roles, especially how to benefit commercially.

Conversations with participants in managerial roles demonstrate varying attitudes towards the balance of access and the commercialisation of heritage. The following example summarises this lack of consensus:

> *We have a balance to keep between what our objectives are; social inclusion /cultural engagement and Tourism. Tourism has been a bit of a bad word …There are tourists, but many local visitors and our energy goes into these other goals… It depends what you see the organisation as, and tourism might not fit with this unless you view it as feeding back into the city…the need to bring in tourists/visitors to bring in money* (Participant GM-M-115).

The following respondent takes up this latter viewpoint concerning Glasgow's economic and cultural strategies: "*With regards to the heritage and economic gain, I don't see a conflict, because for development and regeneration, we have to be able to put the pounds in"* (Participant MA-M-124). While previous studies highlight tourism, commercial ambitions, and service-led approaches as secondary heritage goals (e.g. Bryce et al., 2017; Garrod & Fyall, 2000; Nuryanti, 1996), the findings here more closely resemble Rentschler and Gilmore's (2002) observations on the lack of agreement from museum management on heritage missions. The findings also support contemporary research describing heritage management as a balance of conservation, access, visitor services and commercialisation (e.g. Calver & Page, 2013; Minkiewicz et al., 2014; Timothy, 2018; Wells et al., 2015). Participants in this study possess multiple perspectives as to the order of importance for these different heritage goals.

Despite awareness of the need to generate revenue, many share an opinion that there is no clear strategy on how to achieve this. The following refers to Glasgow's new tourism strategy:

> *There's now an awareness that the museum service is a key strategy within it. This has been picked up in meetings… how can we tackle this going forward?... There's not necessarily a clear route, [it's] not incorporated into our roles* (Participant GM-I-127).

In a Glasgow Life meeting with managers, curators, and archivists, discussions revolved around revenue generating options:

> *The conversation was on understanding sources and potential sources of income... External talks…ad hoc classes, photo reproductions, retail, venue hire, donations were all mentioned as current sources of revenue which could be expanded…It was suggested that curators should charge for enquiries that take over half an hour, but many voiced their discomfort with this and stressed there were no guidelines to indicate what these charges should be* (Field Notes, 11th August 2016).

Individualised, lengthy enquiries are a feature of delivering personal heritage tourism, but other visitors also require these services. Hence, charges on queries could potentially conflict with inclusive access goals, a contentious issue for custodians of public heritage assets (Aas et al., 2005; Timothy & Boyd, 2003).

Notably, there was minimal agreement on ideas for generating income and no clear guidelines on how to balance tourism with other heritage imperatives:

> *Some are frustrated that there's not a clear steer on that…with tourism, it's complex, how do we apply this in different venues…I'd expect we'll continue to try to balance the need for visitor figures and income with our more local and equality related objectives* (Participant GM-M-128).

This research illustrates that participants show a willingness to consider tourism and potential revenue sources. However, in this specific organisational context, the strategy and guidelines to develop tourism services appears to be in the early stages and may conflict with the promotion of inclusive practice and broadening of audiences (Goulding, 1999, 2000a; Mason, 2004).

7.2.4 Discussion: Balancing Access, Visitor Services, and Commercialisation

Heritage is viewed as a resource (Prentice, 1993) with potential economic benefits to be gained from the promotion of heritage tourism (Aas et al., 2005; Calver & Page, 2013; Kerstetter et al., 2001; Millar, 1989). While Glasgow Life strives to gain economically from sectors of heritage tourism, the lack of resources inhibits staff from providing services, such as those needed by some ancestral tourists. Widening access is an evident priority for many participants in this study while generating

income from services potentially conflicts with inclusive access goals. This underlines the complexities of delivering personal heritage tourism in this publically funded context. Respondents' varying attitudes over the emphasis which should be given to different heritage goals reflects contemporary research on the compromises of public heritage management (Calver & Page, 2013; Pendlebury & Porfyriou, 2017; Wells et al., 2015) with this study contributing to empirical research on specific challenges of balancing tourism objectives alongside other heritage goals.

This research demonstrates both the challenges and benefits of delivering personal heritage experiences. The research sheds light on the value of personal heritage experiences, adding to the human stories surrounding heritage collections. Whilst some authors warn of possible tensions between host communities and migrant communities who return as tourists (Bruner, 1996; Ndione et al., 2018; Timothy & Coles, 2004), the findings demonstrate the possible advantages of ancestral stories to heritage interpretation, surfacing untold and less known narratives (Barnwell, 2015; Kramer, 2011b) and connecting diasporic experiences with host communities. This could also be true for other personal heritage visitors with common experiences linked to heritage collections.

The literature review highlighted that broadening the appeal of heritage attracts community support, helping to increase donations (Kotler & Kotler, 2000). Authors also discuss the importance of visitor engagement and attracting new audiences in order to demonstrate value to funding bodies (Apostolakis & Jaffry, 2005; Calver & Page, 2013; Gilmore & Rentschler, 2002). Some participants in this study argue that personal heritage interactions and collective memories associated with industrial heritage and everyday working lives, enhance collections. This suggests that these interactions help to create links with local communities, developing a sense of place (Labadi, 2016; Martinović & Ifko, 2018; Rasoolimanesh et al., 2017; Richards, 2018; Sutestad & Mosler, 2016). Hence, while these interactions may ultimately enhance heritage collections, contribute to community connections, and potentially help to

increase donations from the public, limited resources impact on the ability of staff to provide these in-depth services.

7.3 Connecting and Marketing Ancestral Tourism

Prior research highlighted a fragmented network of ancestral tourism provision in Scotland (Durie, 2013) with issues over the coordination of records and facilities and confusion often caused by the volume and disparity of available resources (discussed in Chapter 6). The findings in this chapter demonstrate tensions between differing public heritage management attitudes towards access, preservation, visitor services, and commercialisation. This section presents further issues affecting ancestral tourism provision, beginning with an exploration of various employees' understanding of this form of tourism. While there are challenges, this section also provides insights into opportunities for further development, coordination, and marketing of ancestral tourism for Glasgow Life and urban settings in Scotland. It stresses the need for collaboration and cooperation in both development processes and the delivery of experiences, which also needs to be considered in the management and marketing of ancestral tourism.

7.3.1 Awareness of Ancestral Tourism in Glasgow Museums

The findings in Section 7.1 demonstrate museums as places that ancestral tourists visit to gain an understanding of the context of their ancestors' lives. However, the focus, particularly from managerial and marketing perspectives and those working within the FHC, is on genealogical tourism activities and the facilities and resources within the FHC. This potentially inhibits ancestral tourists from visiting places where they may be able to discover details about their roots. This section demonstrates nascent awareness of the potential of ancestral tourism within museums.

Many participants within the FHC recognise that ancestral tourists are looking for more general information on the context of their ancestors' lives: *"[they] want that broader picture of what their ancestors' lives might have been like, where they lived, as well as the records"* (Participant FH-M-104). However, direction again focuses on the FHC. In this example, the participant is referring to the maps, books, and photographs within the FHC, which will provide some of this *"broader picture".* Visitors ask about specific places (e.g., streets, burial places) relating to their ancestors, sometimes looking for directions, again highlighting the overlap of genealogical and roots tourists' activities:

> *There's this multi-layered aspect of family history…It's like a skeleton, adding meat to bones…questions like where was it the ancestors lived, can we visit? How do you get there?* (Participant FH-M-105).

When asked whether they would direct visitors towards museums, one participant answered, "*I would advise if specifically asked* (Participant FH-I-120) while another explained that "*information on museums…we don't have that information, but we signpost them to the library"* (Participant FH-I-113). This suggests that awareness and understanding of the museum product for ancestral tourism is limited outside of individual museums.

Conversations with museum and marketing managers also revealed nascent awareness of museums as part of ancestral tourism provision. The following participant summarises a discussion in a meeting, including managers from museums and the FHC:

> *[Ancestral tourism] had come up at a management meeting but we were advised by a colleague that Archives were dealing with this and that it wasn't so much a museum thing – so management dropped it…But Ancestral tourism might be something that we are doing without knowing it…We're aware that ancestral tourism is a prioritised market, but for family tree research, Archives have the knowledge…there are no programs or workshops for ancestral tourism in museums…almost no delivery of ancestral tourism* (Participant GM-M-115).

This view contrasts with the details provided in Section 7.1 with frontline employees delivering services to ancestral tourists across the museums and galleries, suggesting

that some museum managers are unaware of ancestral tourism delivery and potential within museums.

This research also finds that Glasgow Life marketing efforts for ancestral tourism are currently concerned with genealogical aspects, promoting archive resources within the FHC. As a respondent claims, *"the link is missing for museums perhaps"* (Participant GM-I-111). Another participant admits that ancestral tourism marketing centres on "*on the local market, family history…aimed at wider West of Scotland, not so much international*" (Participant MA-M-109). For museums, the same participant stresses that *"places like People's Palace have collections about life in Glasgow, but it is not apparent for ancestral tourism, there's not the push anyway"* (Participant MA-M-109). This implies there are potential marketing opportunities to develop an awareness of museums as part of the ancestral tourism offering.

7.3.2 Connecting Genealogical and Roots Tourism

The findings thus far highlight that staff often adopt strategies to minimise adverse outcomes of interactions with ancestral tourists. In the FHC, employees try to *"give [ancestral tourists] something to go away with"* (Participant FH-I-113), which often involves directing ancestral tourists towards books, records, external archives or professional genealogical services. Additionally, another interviewee articulates the 'directional' role of customer-facing staff within the FHC:

> *They are walking, talking finding aids…no digital device can ever replicate their ability to locate even the most elusive item…the human element is as vital as only people who have worked with the collection for a long time… [Staff] can make particular connections between items and, most importantly, know where to physically locate them in the building!* (Participant FH-I-112).

Again, this emphasises the role of staff in coordinating provision and signalling available resources. However, the direction here is on genealogical activities with roots tourism within museums rarely integrated into marketing activities and provision.

While most respondents were aware that the FHC contains sources of interest to some ancestral tourists, many confess limited knowledge of specific resources, facilities, and charges. As one museum employee agrees, *"it would be good to know what the Mitchell offered so that we would have an idea what to tell people"* (Informal Conversation 211). Within the FHC, however, there were concerns that this would result in museum staff giving inaccurate details to ancestral tourists:

> *It's in-depth knowledge that's available at archives as opposed to Visitor Services…we would want to provide a basic, brief overview for staff rather than a great deal of info, like where to direct ancestral tourists. We want to ensure they are not providing the wrong information… [I'd suggest] general awareness as a possible starting point* (Participant FH-M-101).

Despite concerns over accuracy, this suggests that providing staff with more information on available services may contribute to managing visitor experiences before arriving at the FHC, and to more coordinated provision, given that museum visitor services staff often signpost services across the organisation.

Another observation from this study was the developmental nature of ancestral tourists visits to museums and the FHC. For example, Participant GM-I-102 explains that the activities of ancestral tourists are sometimes *"developmental, incidental, after they've learned or seen one thing or found new information, this spurs interest, leads to another visit somewhere"* (Participant GM-I-102). Staff often facilitate these visits and provide ancestral tourists with information or direction. One participant confirms: "*I am reminded by the sheer number of people that talk to us because they are spurred on by seeing an object"* (Participant GM-I-103). Likewise, participants' experiences demonstrate the overlap of roots and genealogical activities:

> *They came [to this museum] because they wanted to know what life was like. They see something that reminds them, and then they sometimes ask about finding out about their ancestors. We would then direct them towards the Mitchell* (Informal Conversation 219).

Again, this stresses the value of customer-facing staff in linking areas of service and highlighting areas that may have some personal relevance for ancestral tourists.

This research underlines the importance of Glasgow Life frontline staff in having knowledge and understanding of collections situated across the organisation. As one participant stresses: "*[Gallery Assistants (GAs)] are the first approach to everyone that comes through that door…we need to know about other venues too, what's on at other museums" (Participant GM-V-133).* When asked how staff gain this knowledge, one participant explains, *"You learn it from others that work here and if you don't know then you can ask someone that does"* (Participant GM-V-134). Similarly, in the FHC, *"the training was on-the-job…it's a front-facing role…if there's something new to be told,…we have the odd briefing"* (Participant FH-V-123). Again, given the limited awareness of ancestral tourism within museums, this suggests developments could be made in sharing information on interactions and experiences with these tourists, to improve the coordination of provision, linking genealogical and roots components.

Participants within marketing roles acknowledged that the focus for ancestral tourism was on genealogical aspects and the resources within the FHC. Referring to a recent media visit to the FHC, aimed at promoting Glasgow's ancestral tourism services internationally, one participant observed that *"there were no real-life examples…there wasn't that personal connection or emotion"* (Participant MA-M-110). Another expressed that they wanted "*taken on a journey…just pulling documents out, it wasn't visual, just talking about the sources…how does it all come alive?"* (Participant MA-I-125). These marketing participants recognised that the ancestral tourism product needs development beyond genealogical aspects with one stating that *"those in the Mitchell, their job is not to sell their service….It needs to be packaged up; we need to be telling the bigger story, to the tour operators"* (Participant MA-I-125). Recent developments merging Glasgow's DMO and Glasgow Life presents scope for integrating provision: *"there is the opportunity to streamline activities"* (Participant MA-M-109). However, a common theme prevails: *"there haven't been the resources to push this"* (Participant MA-M-109). Again, this highlights challenges within this public sector context, limiting the potential to benefit commercially from ancestral tourism.

As discussed in Chapter 2, Poria et al. (2003) argue that heritage tourists are those that perceive a site as part of their heritage and does not include those who visit out of general interest. However, participants underline experiences of ancestral tourists visiting museums who did not have previous awareness of the personal heritage links these museums may have, with frontline staff facilitating these connections. This supports the work of Bond and Falk (2013:437) who emphasise tourism as a 'means of maintaining, reconfirming, or establishing new aspects of identity.' Furthermore, Chan and Cheng (2016:10) stress that diasporic identities are not 'static and enduring' with travel to the homeland facilitating the 'extending repertoire of coexisting ties'. Also, Caton and Santos (2007) argue that the focus on national, iconic heritage ignores the meanings and interpretations felt or experienced by individuals. This research again highlights experiences and associations outside of the leading promotional areas for ancestral tourism in Scotland with opportunities to develop products and extend the marketing of genealogical and roots elements in several other regions.

7.3.3 The Multifaceted Nature of Ancestral Tourism

Another consideration in this study is the multifaceted nature of ancestral tourists' travel to their homeland, which has implications for the development and marketing of ancestral tourism for Glasgow Life. Linking genealogical and roots activities, one participant observes, *"they want to get out and about, not in the archives the whole time. They don't want to spend all day in the Mitchell"* (Participant GM-M-137). Another respondent underlines the various elements of ancestral tourism trips:

> *Sometimes [visiting the FHC] is part of their holiday, sometimes this is their holiday…they spend varying amounts of time…some with varied itineraries…They may spend the morning in archives, then a trip to Lanarkshire or wherever to walk in their ancestors' footsteps* (Participant FH-I-119).

This agrees with observations from several authors who highlight the multiple components of ancestral tourists' trips (Alexander et al., 2017; Coles & Timothy, 2004; Marschall, 2015a). The literature suggests visiting places of national significance as one of these components (Marschall, 2014) as one participant agrees,

"they love a castle" (Participant MA-M-110). However, this again overshadows the opportunities in urban contexts and the value of museums as part of ancestral tourism.

Thus far, the findings demonstrate the multifaceted nature of ancestral tourism, suggesting an opportunity to expand ancestral tourism provision, beyond the focus on genealogy. However, in the following marketing perspective, the participant emphasises that *"the city needs to come up with the products. The job of the travel trade is to sell this product to tour operators"* (Participant MA-M-110):

> W*e need the pieces that make up a perfect ancestral tourism cake…we need a compelling program pulling the parts together...a day itinerary would be useful, to get together, for tour operators…Perhaps we need to widen the ancestral tourism product…identifying what these things are – amplify and promote that message* (Participant MA-M-110).

The findings in this study suggest that an ancestral tourism product already exists, informally facilitated and coordinated by visitor services, but not currently 'amplified' in more official marketing activities, suggesting a disconnect between what is delivered and understood by staff providing these services, and what management and marketing believe is the ancestral tourism offer.

Participants in this study also observed that, like many heritage tourists, ancestral tourists have multiple motivations for visiting (Apostolakis, 2003; Caton & Santos, 2007; Murdy et al., 2018). As participants state, ancestral tourists have *"a great crossover with other interests"* (Informal Conversation 220) and are often accompanied by visitors with no ancestral links (Li & McKercher, 2016; Murdy et al., 2018): *"one person may be interested in family history, but another travelling with them may be interested in heritage aspects"* (Participant FH-M-104). The findings support the work of Basu (2007), Ray and McCain (2009) and Murdy et al. (2018), accentuating that ancestral tourists partake in a range of activities as part of a holiday and 'tourism managers need to be careful to incorporate ancestral tourism activities into broader leisure experiences' (Ray & McCain, 2009:298). Murdy et al. (2016) emphasise the importance of considering these other elements and interest in

general heritage to avoid under providing for ancestral tourists. Additionally, Iorio & Corsale (2013) stress the overlap of ancestral tourism with other forms of tourism, broadening the benefits from visitor expenditure. This is significant, given Glasgow's tourism strategy to increase visitor numbers and visitor spend (Glasgow Life, 2017c).

Glasgow's tourism strategy aims to maximise heritage tourism opportunities (Glasgow Life, 2017c), linking Glasgow's ancestral tourism resources with the more extensive cultural heritage proposition, extending provision beyond Glasgow Life. However, as one interviewee explains, the heritage product needs further development:

> *The city needs to create activities and the heritage offering…this needs development…For marketing and tourism, Glasgow Life hasn't yet created these products…there isn't enough activity. We need cultural decision making and a group to create that activity…museums, archives, DMO, Education, Land and Environment…Ancestral Tourism is just the tip of the iceberg* (Participant MA-M-124).

A participant in a marketing role explains that there have been several conversations with managers across museums and archives *"to discuss how we can add value so that the city gets some income. So, for example, a tour bus turns up to a museum, creates a queue at toilets, café – how do we manage them, how do we this do so that there is an income generation for Glasgow Life?"* (Participant MA-M-110). Commercial tour companies were mentioned by several participants as a possible way to generate revenue for Glasgow Life.

While there were concerns over the commercialisation of public heritage intervening with goals to widen access, some participants saw opportunities from commercial tour companies. Tour groups currently take visitors (including ancestral tourist groups) to museums and the FHC as part of a *"whistlestop tour"* (Informal Conversation 219). Many "*use the facilities for free, but advertise their product to tourists as a package that includes visits to museums but with no income gain for museums"* (Field Notes, 11th August 2016), causing a strain on resources (see 6.2.1)

especially since in several cases, there was *"virtually no interaction beforehand"* (Participant GM-I-115). As one participant stresses, *"we can have a bus tour that comes straight in, to us [Registrars Genealogy Centre within the FHC]…and we have a big queue"* (Participant FH-I-113), which creates difficulties in catering to the needs of other users.

Participants within museums also emphasise that tour groups, including ancestry-related tours, *"seem to have increased…we never used to get as many"* (Participant GM-I-126), agreeing with information that specialist genealogy travel agents for numerous diasporic groups, are growing in number (Iorio & Corsale, 2013). As another respondent highlights, however, many of *"these itineraries [are arranged] years in advance"* (Participant GM-I-126). Therefore, contacting some of these tour operators before trips may assist with managing the service encounter. It could also offer opportunities to explore revenue-generating options, especially given the evidence that many of these visitors require customised services.

Marketing participants were aware that working with tour operators could provide income opportunities. One interviewee acknowledges "*that there could be so much more that could be done – that Glasgow Life has, needs to do… we know there is potential, that we have the family history resources, we just don't know the size and scope of the market, the scale of opportunity"* (Participant MA-M-110). Although this implies a lack of resources, it again demonstrates the limited understanding of the heterogeneity of ancestral tourism, focusing on genealogical tourism. Admittedly, one respondent explains, *"we are still very reactive, so more work has to be done to devise a proactive strategy for tour operators"* (Participant MA-M-109). The findings show there may be opportunities for pre-planned, revenue-generating activities with tour operators, which take into consideration the multifaceted nature of ancestral tourism. However, to advance on this requires strategic decisions and cooperation from a range of stakeholders.

7.3.4 Improving the Network of Provision in Scotland

This research identifies several challenges in the coordination of ancestral tourism provision within Glasgow Life and the broader network in Scotland. As stipulated, issues include strained resources, the volume and disparity of information, and limited awareness of ancestral tourism beyond the genealogical aspects. This subsection explores participants' views on improving some of these ancestral tourism links both within Glasgow Life and the wider network of provision and marketing activity in Scotland.

Many participants accentuate the value of partnerships both within Glasgow Life and the more extensive network of heritage provision: "*To have a slice of the pie…working in partnership, it's all-important with less and less funding likely"* (Participant GM-I-111). The theme of limited resources was again prevalent with participants viewing collaborations as a way to alleviate some of these issues:

> *We have limited resources compared to other cultural heritage institutions but, perhaps, we can work in partnership with others (such as the National Library of Scotland) to share digitised resources and better benefit both our customers and each other* (Participant FH-I-112).

This perspective reinforces the work of scholars who emphasise the importance of working in partnership to develop heritage tourism, including private and public stakeholders (Chang et al., 1996; Kotler & Kotler, 2000; Richards, 2018). Glasgow's cultural strategy also stresses the importance of public/private cooperation (see Glasgow City Council, 2006). However, some participants indicate issues surrounding the duplication and coordination of services.

Chapter 5 described the National Library of Scotland's Moving Image Archive within Kelvin Hall, operated by Glasgow Life. Although only open for a short time, one participant expresses that this facility may be of interest to ancestral tourists since recent visits included locals *"with family connections to shipbuilding…they could view film on this"* (Informal Conversation 248). Another service this facility offers is family history workshops. This was mentioned to a FHC participant who remarked on the issues of duplicated services:

> *[Running] FH workshops when there's the city's FH Centre ten minutes' walk away with some crossover on the offer does not sound very joined up and worth exploring alternatives…it's important to share information, to avoid duplication, we could miss opportunities because we don't know about them* (Participant FH-M-104).

This view highlights some of the broader issues of coordinating services within Glasgow Life, and while there may be opportunities to incorporate resources (such as the film archive) alongside current ancestral tourism provision, there is currently some overlap of services. However, as mentioned in the previous section, Glasgow Life's merger with the DMO presents further collaborative potential, as an interviewee stipulates: *"there was always a crossover…[but now] we can be quicker to respond, more efficient…less duplication"* (Participant MA-M-109). The incorporation of the DMO, therefore, presents an opportunity to better coordinate marketing activities for ancestral tourism alongside other heritage products.

Some organisations and individuals, including family history societies and professional genealogy services, utilise the resources of the FHC to provide required services to ancestral tourists (through donation or paid services). As one participant explains, *"the [FHC] have more records…but can only offer individual guidance on how to use the records whereas [family history societies] can give time, guide them to use the records to try to work around the brick walls"* (Participant FH-M-138). Recognising that many ancestral tourists require customised services and are willing to pay for services, which Glasgow Life are currently unable to provide, this again presents opportunities for future collaboration and income generation, possibly by utilising bundling strategies that combine the services of public and private organisations (Garrod & Fyall, 2017). However, there is potential conflict relating to the access of public heritage resources, as well as the implications of service failure from one or more providers, requiring strategic decision making.

Several authors highlight that diasporic communities often attach themselves to mythical, imagined pasts (Alexander et al., 2017; Bryce et al., 2017; Marschall, 2017b; Ndione et al., 2018). The findings in this study, however, suggest

heterogeneous connections, with ancestral tourists showing interest in discovering 'roots' and ancestral associations in places outside of well-promoted Highland, rural areas, with scope to link marketing initiatives with the broader network in Scotland. The following marketing perspective shows changing attitudes towards the promotion of places like Glasgow:

> *Previously we didn't always articulate Glasgow's 'Scottishness,' but there's a real opportunity to push this messaging...we did shy away from this…downplayed it…emphasised Glasgow as something different* (Participant MA-M-110).

From a curatorial perspective, another participant emphasises that interpretation of 'Scottishness' and Scottish history in museums should also strive to include urban, industrial narratives, alongside rural accounts of Scotland: *"We need to look at the different elements that make Scottishness…The many different stories of Scottishness, the Scottish 'isms,' not just the Jacobite related stories"* (Participant GM-I-111). This viewpoint recognises the use of dominant narratives for tourism promotion (Ateljevic & Doorne, 2002; Bandyopadhyay et al., 2008; Seaton & Hay, 1998), but suggests future marketing could include other aspects of 'Scottishness.'

With DNA-related travel increasing (Lowenthal, 2015) and some ancestral tourists only having details on their ancestors' country of origin and not specific information (Basu, 2005b; Cohen, 1997), genealogical research in the homeland may not be possible since specific details are usually required to begin research. In cases where ancestral tourists have identified Scotland as an ancestral homeland but have no details on towns of birth, their 'roots' activities may include visits to sites of national or surname/clan significance (Basu, 2005b) (though with often erroneous assumptions as shown in 6.2.1). However, Section 7.1 outlines collective emigration and industrial experiences common to many Scottish emigrants in the nineteenth century (Aitchison & Cassell, 2012; Devine, 2012) suggesting these narratives should be included alongside the established national promotion of ancestral tourism for Scotland. This reflects destinations that incorporate multiple representations and identities within tourism marketing strategies (e.g. Campelo et al., 2014; Caton & Santos, 2007; Soper, 2007).

As established in Chapter 1, Glasgow aims to position itself as the 'Gateway to Scotland', emphasising its heritage attributes (Glasgow Life, 2017c). This strategy involves working with partners, as this participant explains:

> *We work with VisitScotland…have close ties with VisitBritain…Quite critical is emphasising Glasgow as Gateway to Scotland - to see Glasgow as a place to visit, 'perfect base for touring' or to come back to as part of a larger trip, as part of itinerary or start in Glasgow, ending in Edinburgh or vice versa* (Participant MA-M-110).

This suggests an opportunity for Glasgow Life to promote ancestral tourism provision, including the FHC resources and museums as an element of Glasgow's 'gateway' offer. Again, this ties in with the varied nature of ancestral tourists' activities:

> *Some come in and then book an appointment and come back. They may be in Glasgow for a few days, maybe on a tour of Scotland, then come back at later point* (Participant FH-I-113*).*

This example highlights the FHC as a place where visitors can return to carry out further genealogical research, as part of a range of pursuits, on a trip through Scotland. It implies there is scope to develop marketing activities extending promotion and provision beyond genealogical components, also including roots tourism. This may also help to alleviate the challenges of one-to-one customised services, by providing alternative experiences.

The findings also demonstrate experiences of ancestral tourists travelling alongside companions with multiple motivations, partaking in diverse activities, which an urban setting can facilitate. As Edwards et al. (2008) note, urban locations are often gateway destinations, but heritage resources also form part of the pull of urban destinations (Su et al., 2018). Relating back to heritage supply in Chapter 2 (see Table 2-1), the findings highlight that Glasgow Life has heritage resources with the potential to offer personal heritage experiences, as well as providing heritage experiences for those with a general interest. However, there are currently shortcomings in the interconnectedness between the museum proposition and family history resources. This agrees with the work of Murdy et al. (2018) calling for improved links between heritage sites and ancestral tourism providers in Scotland

which cater to the needs of a range of Scottish diasporic markets. Again, this also argues the case to develop 'light-touch' (Wright, 2009:29) and 'more general, non-genealogical' (Murdy et al., 2016:16) activities that consider both rural and urban tourism as part of a more holistic ancestral tourism experience in Scotland.

7.4 Chapter Summary

This chapter developed discussion around emergent themes, fulfilling the remaining research objectives. In contrast to prior research which focuses on the experiences of providers in single, small-scale locations, this study reveals the complexities of delivering ancestral tourism in a context where heritage resources are spread diffusely across various museum and archives. It contributes to extant research by exploring a supplier perspective within a large urban heritage organisation, revealing the part that customer-facing staff play in facilitating and coordinating personal heritage experiences. Nevertheless, the study finds that direction for ancestral tourists often depends on individual staff with responses based on their own experience and not formal training about ancestral tourism or family history resources. This study identifies the potential for enriching experiences and provision, but this requires the creation of a well-coordinated, consistent narrative which is understood at all levels of the organisation.

Building on the findings disseminated in Chapter 6, this chapter reveals how genealogical and roots tourism overlap, extending the conceptualisation of roots tourists' activities. The research sheds new light on the 'roots' element of ancestral tourism by demonstrating the diverse ancestral tourists' needs that an urban setting can meet, emphasising the value of museum collections in enabling ancestral tourists to learn about the context of their ancestors' lives. While some studies focus on ancestral tourism consumption associated with dominant cultural narratives and mythical, imagined pasts (e.g. Basu, 2004, 2007; Bryce et al., 2017; Murdy et al., 2016), the findings here reveal experiences of ancestral tourists with multiple ancestral connections to Scotland, partaking in multifaceted activities and reflecting

studies that highlight heterogeneous diasporic connections and identities attached to heritage and place (c.f. Barnwell, 2015; Campelo et al. 2014; Caton & Santos, 2007; Chan & Cheng, 2016; Li & McKercher, 2016; Maruyama et al, 2010; Soper, 2007). Consequently, rather than the dominantly promoted Highland ancestral tourism, this study shows the potential to develop ancestral tourism in other areas of Scotland.

This chapter also underlines the complexities of delivering personal heritage experiences within public sector heritage organisations, contributing to heritage management studies discussing the tensions surrounding the commercialisation of public heritage (e.g. Bryce et al., 2017; Garrod & Fyall, 2000; Nuryanti, 1996). The findings reveal challenges associated with delivering bespoke services in an organisation which attracts many thousands of visitors and where the ability to provide the in-depth services required by many ancestral tourists is inhibited by limited resources. In contrast to research highlighting curatorial and conservation goals as primary heritage missions over public access and tourism (Bakri et al., 2015; Calver & Page, 2013; Garrod & Fyall, 2000; Millar, 1989; Wells et al., 2015), this study reveals widening access as a priority for most participants.

The importance of tourism and generating income were acknowledged, but some respondents view this as conflicting with inclusive access with no clear direction from management on how tourism services should be incorporated into their roles. However, the findings also suggest that personal heritage interactions may ultimately enhance heritage collections, contributing to community connections, and possibly increasing donations from the public. Hence, while one of the objectives of this study was to explore the potential of ancestral tourism within Glasgow Life, the lack of consensus on the priorities of various heritage goals, challenges this potential.

The chapter provides insights into the potential for development, coordination, and marketing of ancestral tourism within this organisational and urban context. The findings indicate opportunities to improve coordination by increasing awareness of the museum offer across the organisation, including museums as an element of

ancestral tourism provision within marketing activities. The study also suggests incorporating genealogical and roots aspects of ancestral tourism within a broader heritage offer, building partnerships with other heritage organisations and services, and working to reduce duplication. Developing a proactive strategy to liaise with tour operators may provide some income generation as well as managing the service encounter. Finally, the findings reveal an opportunity to promote ancestral tourism provision, including the FHC resources and museums, as elements of Glasgow's 'gateway' offer, tying into Glasgow's tourism strategy to market itself as a gateway to Scotland.

Chapter 8. Conclusions

This chapter outlines the main contributions of this thesis to personal heritage tourism, ancestral tourism, and public heritage management and marketing. The thesis aim was to *explore supplier perspectives of personal heritage tourism by analysing provision of ancestral tourism within a publically funded urban heritage context*. Here, the research contributes by revealing how providers facilitate and coordinate personal heritage experiences. It also contributes to ancestral tourism research by highlighting the value of museum collections in providing broad narratives and context for heterogenous ancestral connections in an urban context. The findings also contribute to knowledge on the tensions surrounding heritage tourism and public heritage management and the complexities of balancing various heritage missions. Theoretical contributions, methodological contributions, recommendations and implications for practice are laid out below. The chapter concludes by discussing limitations and future research.

8.1 Theoretical Contributions

8.1.1 Personal Heritage Tourism from a Supplier Perspective

The first contribution is to understanding of personal heritage tourism (Timothy & Boyd, 2006). In particular, this study addresses the limited research from supplier perspectives (Alexander et al., 2017; Murdy et al., 2016), which can provide useful information for managing and marketing heritage more effectively (Swarbrooke, 2011; Timothy, 2011). Personal heritage tourism is noted for the highly personalised nature of its consumption (Alexander et al., 2017; Kozak, 2016; Poria, Butler et al., 2001; Timothy, 1997), and yet there are few studies investigating the difficulties in delivering these bespoke experiences, with some exceptions (e.g. Alexander et al., 2017; Bryce et al. 2017; Murdy et al., 2016). While these studies give useful insights into the challenges of delivering ancestral tourism, a form of personal heritage tourism, the research mainly focuses on supply in single, small-scale, rural locations, where some providers have local or even personal knowledge of the families and heritage sites that ancestral tourists enquire about. This study explored the

challenges of delivering personal heritage tourism in a large multifaceted organisation from the perspective of staff responsible for curation and interpretation, and from customer-facing staff who guide and provide services to these tourists across many museums and archives.

The research contributes to supplier perspectives of personal heritage tourism by revealing how staff facilitate and coordinate personal heritage experiences. Chapter 2, Table 2-1, detailed personal heritage tourism supply which includes libraries, archives and cemeteries, as well as museums and other heritage attractions (c.f. Alexander et al., 2017; Timothy, 1997; Timothy, 2011). This study confirmed staff experiences of ancestral tourists who were on planned visits to museums and archives because of perceived personal heritage connections. Explored from a demand perspective, Poria et al. (2006a) warn of the potential conflict between personal heritage tourists' interpretations and those of tour guides, given the emotional connections some visitors may have with these sites. However, this research demonstrates that customer-facing staff provide the empirical framework necessary for personal connections to heritage. Participants also underlined experiences of ancestral tourists visiting museums who did not have previous awareness of the personal heritage links these sites may have, with frontline staff facilitating these connections. Furthermore, this study reveals how staff coordinate the different areas of personal heritage tourism supply, signposting collections or resources both within and outside the organisation.

Research emphasises the intangible significance of industrial heritage and landscapes, representing places of shared roots, emotion and personal meaning (Hareven & Langenback, 1981; Iorio & Corsale, 2013; Willson & McIntosh, 2007). As well as directing visitors to exhibits or heritage collections within museums and archives, this investigation also highlights how frontline staff help ancestral tourists engage with heritage and cityscapes that may have personal meaning, pointing out remnants of the industrial landscape and community stories connected with them. Visitors also ask about specific places (e.g., streets, burial places) relating to their

ancestors, sometimes looking for directions, with participants in this study assisting with these diverse enquiries. Poria, Butler et al.'s (2001) demand study underlines that heritage tourists may visit places they perceive as being part of their own heritage, though not designated as a heritage site. This research demonstrates how providers assist visitors in finding these undesignated heritage places, even more challenging in this urban, public sector context, where staff cater to the needs of diverse visitors, with heterogeneous personal connections. Personal heritage supply therefore extends beyond the sites listed in Chapter 2, Table 2-1, with this research revealing how providers coordinate personal heritage experiences.

Current demand studies focus on personal heritage visits to places that are well-known, for example, pilgrimage sites for religious and ethnic groups, or monuments that symbolise national identities (c.f. Poria, Airey et al., 2001; Timothy, 1997). However, these studies overlook lesser-known places which may also have personal significance, as well as latent demand (Davies & Prentice, 1995) where those that may have a propensity to visit are unaware of the possible associations to their own heritage. Chan and Cheng (2016:10) argue that travel to homelands expands ancestral tourists' 'repertoire of coexisting ties', with this research demonstrating the role of heritage providers in facilitating these associations. By revealing how staff interact with visitors and signpost personal heritage connections that may have been overlooked otherwise, this study diverges from Poria et al.'s (2003) suggestion that heritage tourists are those that perceive a site to be part of their own heritage and does not include those visiting out of more general interest.

8.1.2 Ancestral Tourism in an Urban Setting

This study also contributes to literature on ancestral tourism. Again, these studies are mainly from demand perspectives with studies of ancestral tourism in Scotland centring on the experiences and motivations of ancestral tourists (e.g. Basu, 2004, 2005a, 2005b, 2007; Bhandari, 2016; Murdy et al., 2018). While there are several supply-side studies in a Scottish context, these have mainly focused on heritage facilities within Highland, rural areas provided at a local level, and often run by

volunteers (Alexander et al., 2017). This research contributes to ancestral tourism by shedding new light on the challenges of delivering consistent and coordinated approaches in an urban industrial context where ancestral tourists have heterogeneous requirements and personal heritage connections across various cultural organisations. It also contributes to ancestral tourism by expanding the conceptualisation of the 'roots' form of this travel and by highlighting the value of museum collections for ancestral tourism provision.

Previous studies describe roots tourists' activities as pilgrimages, that include visits to specific places of ancestral importance as well as sites of national significance (Alexander et al., 2017; Bhandari, 2016; Iorio & Corsale, 2013; Li & McKercher, 2016; Marschall, 2012; Park, 2010; Wright, 2009). Other research links ancestral tourism with rural activities and 'cultural, natural, rural, mountain, seaside' tourism (Iorio & Corsale, 2013:204), overlooking urban tourism. While the literature review highlighted rural locations as facilitating imagination of its past (Fenyő, 2000; Lowenthal, 1981; Palmer, 1999), this study also reinforces urban heritage collections and landmarks as representing places of shared roots and personal meanings. This research sheds new light on the 'roots' element of ancestral tourism by demonstrating the diverse ancestral tourists' needs that an urban setting can meet. It demonstrates the value of museum collections in enabling ancestral tourists and more local visitors, to develop a sense of place (Chang et al., 1996; Labadi, 2016).

The research contributes to urban heritage tourism studies where heritage tourists show interest in the everyday working lives in an industrial era (e.g. Caton & Santos, 2007; Chen et al., 2001; Wu et al., 2016) but with the added element of personal and ancestral connections. It supports Timothy's (2018:179) observation that there is an overemphasis on 'iconic and exceptional places' with some markets demanding more balanced memories including 'the vernacular heritage of ordinary people'. This is contrary to studies emphasising genealogical heritage visits as 'seeking a sense of superiority and uniqueness' (Poria & Ashworth, 2009) or associations with narratives of nobility and Highland heroism (Basu, 2005b; Devine, 2012). Instead, the findings

here suggest interest and empathy towards everyday working lives and living conditions, which has implications for the development and promotion of ancestral tourism in Scotland in all its diverse potential.

The research contributes to ancestral tourism in Scotland by highlighting experiences of tourists with personal heritage connections to urban, industrial heritage and an interest in the human experiences of Glasgow's industrial past. The research reinforces research underlining the complexity of diasporic connections to destinations (Chan & Cheng, 2016; Iorio & Corsale, 2013; Li & McKercher, 2016). It also reflects the work of Huang et al. (2018) highlighting that ancestral tourists are not only drawn to a homeland but to the specific towns where their ancestors were from. This contrasts with existing studies that highlight a tendency for the Scottish diaspora to focus on 'Highlandised' perceptions and associated places (Basu, 2007; Bryce et al., 2017; Devine, 2012; Whatley, 2000), revealing the potential for other areas of Scotland to benefit from ancestral tourism.

8.1.3 Personal Heritage Tourism and Public Heritage Management

The study contributes to literature exploring the management challenges in diverse heritage contexts and the tensions surrounding the commercialisation of public heritage. It provides insights into the issues of delivering personal heritage services within a publically funded heritage organisation, contributing to research exploring the tensions surrounding preservation, access, visitor services and the commercialisation of public heritage (e.g. Apostolakis, 2003; Calver & Page, 2013; Minkiewicz et al, 2014; Wells et al. 2015). The study emphasises the various compromises between different heritage goals (Mason, 2004; Timothy, 2018). The high costs of preserving heritage alongside cuts in public funding, means public sector heritage organisations are under increased pressure to demonstrate value to funding bodies, to widen audiences, but also to generate income (Calver & Page, 2013; Leask, 2010; Leask, 2016; Leask, Fyall et al., 2013; Minkiewicz et al., 2014; Timothy, 2018).

While understanding individual audience needs and expectations, including local day visitors as well as domestic and international tourists, are essential for effective heritage management (Leask, 2016; Leask, Fyall et al., 2013), this study underlines the challenges in delivering services to a key growth heritage market, ancestral tourism. Glasgow Life is tasked with generating revenue to contribute to the city's broader economic and social objectives (Glasgow Life, 2017b) and is a key partner in Glasgow's tourism strategy, aiming to benefit from the promotion of its cultural heritage assets. Whilst ancestral tourism could help achieve this goal, the findings revealed challenges associated with delivering personal heritage experiences in an organisation which attract many thousands of visitors and where the ability to provide the in-depth services required by many ancestral tourists is inhibited by limited resources. Participants were aware of the need to generate income, but there was a lack of consensus, as well as direction, on how to approach this while balancing the needs of other stakeholders, including the local community. This reflects broader concerns regarding heritage commercialisation and the marketing of public heritage (e.g. Calver & Page, 2013; Garrod & Fyall, 2000; Nuryanti, 1996; Rentschler & Gilmore, 2002).

In contrast to research highlighting curatorial and conservation goals as primary heritage missions over public access and tourism (Bakri et al., 2015; Calver & Page, 2013; Garrod & Fyall, 2000; Millar, 1989; Wells et al., 2015), this study reveals inclusive access as a priority for most participants. Cataloguing and digitisation were ongoing tasks aimed at making collections more visible and broadening appeal, but often impacting on participants' abilities to provide in-depth visitor services, due to time constraints and limited resources. Hence, the tasks relating to widening access often took precedence over visitor experiences, with staff under pressure to limit the time spent on bespoke enquiries, a feature of many interactions with ancestral tourists. However, this research sheds new light on the value of personal heritage interactions, reflecting contemporary heritage management attitudes which accentuate the benefits of visitor engagement (Calver & Page, 2013).

Several authors discuss the importance of visitor services and engagement for attracting new audiences, which demonstrates value to funding bodies (Apostolakis & Jaffry, 2005; Calver & Page, 2013; Gilmore & Rentschler, 2002; Leask, 2016). This study contributes to these studies by revealing the value of provider interactions with personal heritage visitors. Participants expressed how personal stories, photographs and examples of shared diasporic experiences, add to the human stories surrounding heritage collections. Whilst some scholars warn of possible tensions between host communities and migrant communities who return as tourists (e.g. Bruner, 1996; Ndione et al., 2018; Timothy & Coles, 2004), the findings here demonstrate the possible advantages of ancestral stories to heritage interpretation, surfacing untold and less known narratives (Barnwell, 2015; Kramer, 2011b), and adding to the sense of place, and links with local communities (Labadi, 2016; Martinović & Ifko, 2018; Rasoolimanesh et al., 2017; Richards, 2018; Sutestad & Mosler, 2016). With museums under pressure to become more self-sufficient (Gilmore & Rentschler, 2002), this is also important given Kotler and Kotler's (2000) assertion that broadening the community appeal of heritage, helps increase donations.

While personal heritage tourism interactions may ultimately enhance heritage collections, contribute to community connections, and potentially help to increase donations from the public, limited resources impact on the ability of staff to provide these in-depth services. The complexities of delivering any form of tourism within a large public sector organisation then, are tangled with tensions around commercialisation, preservation, public access and financial limitations (Wells et al., 2015). Respondents' varying attitudes over the emphasis which should be given to different heritage goals reflects contemporary research on the compromises of public heritage management (Calver & Page, 2013; Pendlebury & Porfyriou, 2017; Timothy, 2018; Wells et al., 2015), and the lack of agreement from museum management on heritage missions (Rentschler & Gilmore, 2002). Investigating the delivery of a form of personal heritage tourism has heightened awareness of the complexities and tensions associated with heritage tourism and public sector heritage organisations.

8.2 Methodological Considerations

The use of mobile methods, particularly 'go-along' techniques as part of this multi-method qualitative study offered important insights into the services delivered by staff within different parts of the organisation that would not otherwise have been revealed by a qualitative study utilising mainly static methods or observation in isolation. Mobile methods broadened the scope of the interview process, and were highlighted as valuable supplements to ethnographic techniques due to the informal nature of these encounters, their contribution in facilitating discussion of the surrounding environment, and their effectiveness in facilitating recruitment to participate (Carpiano, 2009; De Leon & Cohen, 2005; Evans & Jones, 2011; Garcia et al. 2012). For this study, the ability for museum staff to demonstrate the ancestral tourist experience through visualisation with actual exhibits was of particular importance. In addition, by moving through spaces, museum staff were prompted by their surroundings to recall specific interactions with visitors.

While mobile methods are increasingly used in health and social research studies (Carpiano, 2009; Evans & Jones, 2011; Garcia et al., 2012), there are limited examples of its use in hospitality and tourism settings. However, this study emphasises the contribution of go-along techniques in conjunction with other ethnographic methods as a novel approach to developing an understanding of complex, spatially dispersed tourism organisations. Increasingly hospitality and tourism organisations are multifaceted and often contain discrete sub-organisations with a variety of service delivery models. This research has relevance for researchers studying these organisations including, but not limited to, hotel chains, tour operators and airlines, for example, where activities are often spread through different parts of the organisation with staff moving between settings and inhabiting a variety of roles. Use of static qualitative methods alone limits the potential for gaining a broader understanding of heterogeneous, mobile activities. The research

suggests that using mobile methods can contribute to developing an understanding of the complexities of delivering cohesive services in a variety of tourism settings.

8.3 Recommendations and Implications for Practice

8.3.1 Genealogical and Family History Tourism

This research highlights the differences between genealogical and roots tourism, and how these different types of ancestral tourism manifest across the museums and archives of Glasgow Life. Genealogical or family history tourists travel to carry out detailed and purposeful research within archives and libraries (Alexander et al., 2017; Marschall, 2014). The availability of family history resources within the FHC allows visitors to conduct extensive research on many aspects of their ancestors' lives, suggesting that they may not require the same level of direct assistance needed in many of the smaller heritage centres in Scotland (Alexander et al., 2017; Bryce et al., 2017; Murdy et al., 2016). However, this research reveals interactions with ancestral tourists who have no desire to conduct their own research, with many expecting customised genealogical services. It also shows that Glasgow Life's limited resources impacts on the ability of staff to deliver these in-depth services, implying that the needs and expectations of many ancestral tourists are not always realised.

The findings demonstrate a lack of consensus as well as direction on how tourism should be incorporated within current roles, not only in the FHC but across Glasgow Life's museums and galleries. Alexander et al. (2017) argue that compared with small heritage centres, publically funded heritage organisations have opportunities to gain commercially, with prescribed charges in place. However, these findings show that currently, only the RGC area of the FHC has formal charges in place, and not for bespoke services. Some of the small providers in previous studies include genealogical consultations as part of their ancestral tourism offer (Alexander et al., 2017; Murdy et al, 2016) but this is a service that Glasgow Life is not currently resourced to provide. While this may suggest there are opportunities to charge fees

for genealogical services, given that many ancestral tourists require and expect a highly customised genealogical service, the FHC has many other users, including local visitors and family history enthusiasts. Hence, charges on enquiries could potentially conflict with inclusive access goals, a contentious issue for custodians of public heritage assets (Aas et al., 2005; Timothy & Boyd, 2003).

Although genealogical and family history tourists' activities are generally associated with visits to archives and libraries (Alexander et al., 2017; Marschall, 2014; Santos & Yan, 2010), this research also reveals interactions with these tourists in Glasgow Museums, investigating specific factual information or artefacts. However, curators are not permanently located in museums, which leaves visitor services staff with the task of leading these tourists to suitable resources or providing alternative experiences. The approaches vary and depend on the individual participant, their knowledge of the local area, and their knowledge or experience of Glasgow Life's other services and genealogical resources. While some participants raise concerns over the professional integrity of these interactions, visitor services staff are often responding to the needs of a queue of ancestral tourists on short visits, striving to provide satisfactory experiences. This research provides insights into the ways in which various frontline staff, in disparate areas of the organisation, provide ancestral tourism. This may be useful to management and marketing in developing more consistent approaches to the delivery and promotion of available resources.

Visitors' varied needs, ancestral connections, and travel circumstances add to the difficulties in delivering consistent, coordinated provision across the organisation. Many ancestral tourists arrive without prior notice, sometimes as part of a tour group, with participants reporting on the difficulties of providing adequate services while trying to balance other duties. This is particularly challenging in peak periods with staff catering to the needs of many users of the facilities, including more local visitors. While staff utilise a range of approaches to minimise the negative impacts of being unable to provide bespoke services, this varies across the museums and galleries, suggesting a need for consistency, particularly for those visitors that were

unwilling or unable to conduct their own genealogical research. Directing these visitors toward local family history societies and professional genealogists is one approach used by staff, which could alleviate the pressure of delivering these customised services, though this is less effective for ancestral tourists with limited time. Another is to signpost collections which offer broader narratives and context, diverting some of the issues caused by face-to-face, in-depth interpretations.

The study shows that decisions at a strategic level and organisations external to Glasgow Life impact on the coordination of genealogical aspects of ancestral tourism provision within this multifaceted organisation, relying on staff to help visitors navigate the volume and disparity of sources. Currently, there also appears to be duplication and overlap of some services. While there is no quick-fix solution to this issue, developing the roots form of ancestral tourism may help alleviate some of the issues of customisation by offering what resembles 'light-touch' (Wright, 2009:29) or 'more general, non-genealogical' approaches to ancestral tourism (Murdy et al., 2016:16). This form of ancestral tourism could also be of interest to international and domestic tourists, as well as local residents, which may help to focus the attention of the FHC on genealogical and family history research. Increasing awareness of the roots aspects of ancestral tourism across the organisation may improve the coordination of provision and marketing and minimise some of the negative outcomes when unable to deliver bespoke services.

8.3.2 Developing Roots Tourism

The focus, particularly from managerial and marketing perspectives and those working within the FHC, is on genealogical tourism activities and the facilities and resources within the FHC. This potentially inhibits ancestral tourists from visiting places where they may be able to discover details about their roots. There was some consensus from marketing participants that Glasgow Life's ancestral tourism product needs development beyond genealogical aspects. This study suggests opportunities

to develop the roots tourism proposition, informally facilitated and coordinated by visitor services, but not currently promoted in more official marketing activities.

In contrast to genealogical tourists, roots tourists have limited interest in assembling names and dates but show interest in the places where their ancestors lived, worked, went to school, were buried; to build a picture of their lives (Basu, 2004; Higginbotham, 2012; Marschall, 2015a). Participants within the FHC shared examples of ancestral tourists utilising heritage resources to construct a picture of their ancestors' urban industrial lives, requiring less customisation from staff. This aspect of ancestral tourism has received limited attention, with archives and libraries considered places to conduct in-depth genealogical research from documented sources (Alexander et al., 2017; Basu, 2004; Marschall, 2014), rather than places to create an idea of context. This research also reveals the value of museum collections, allowing ancestral tourists to learn about the context of their ancestors' lives focusing on human experiences and what life may have been like at the time when their forebears lived in Glasgow. Here, the research identifies the potential for enriching experiences and provision, but underlines the needs for a well-coordinated, consistent narrative which is understood at all levels of the organisation.

While staff may not be able to provide the in-depth genealogical services required by some ancestral tourists, this research underlines the importance of Glasgow Life frontline staff in having knowledge and understanding of collections situated across the museums and archives. The research reveals how front-facing staff often mediate personal heritage experiences, coordinating personal heritage supply. It suggests that their expertise contributes to the coordination of provision across a wider network, underlining the 'gateway' value of frontline services. This accentuates visitor services' role as part-time marketers (Gummesson, 1991; Lundberg, 2008), linking and facilitating personal heritage experiences. However, this study demonstrates that these encounters currently rely on participants' prior experience and knowledge and not formal training about ancestral tourism or family history resources. Furthermore, awareness and understanding of the museum product for ancestral tourism is limited

outside of individual museums, with some museum managers unaware of ancestral tourism delivery within these locations.

8.3.3 Broadening the Ancestral Tourism Product

This research also draws attention to the overlap of genealogical and roots tourists' activities, seeking documentary information that would enable them to visit places of familial significance. The findings show that the resources available within Glasgow Life and this urban context allow ancestral tourists to piece together several elements of their ancestors' lives through access to documented heritage resources and museum collections. This heritage supply, discussed in Chapter 2, has local as well as personal significance, with this research highlighting how ancestral stories and shared heritage experiences contributes to community connections, potentially widening appeal. The findings illuminate opportunities to promote broader and more varied ancestral products and marketing activities that go beyond the promotion of archives, emphasising museums as places to give context. Again, this requires awareness and understanding of both genealogical and roots activities across different locations.

The findings show minimal agreement on ideas for generating income with participants stressing there are no clear guidelines on balancing tourism with other heritage imperatives. Genealogical travel agents and tours are increasing (Iorio & Corsale, 2013) with several participants highlighting commercial tour operators as a potential area where services could be customised, with possible revenue-generating opportunities or bundling of products to enhance perceived value for visitors (Garrod & Fyall, 2017; Leask, Fyall et al., 2013). Recognising that some ancestral tourists require customised services and are willing to pay for services, which Glasgow Life are currently unable to provide, presents opportunities for future collaboration and possible income generation by combining the services of public and private organisations. Proactively contacting tour companies in advance, looking into the possibility of some customisation and nominal fees, may also limit the problems

caused by these tours arriving unannounced. However, there are implications from service failures and potential conflict relating to the access of public heritage resources, requiring strategic decision making.

This research also contributes by revealing opportunities to develop and promote ancestral tourism in urban, as well as rural areas. Although, in the context explored in this thesis, national ancestral tourism promotion focuses on Highland versions of 'Scottishness' and the associated places linked with these dominant narratives, the research reveals that shared diasporic experiences are significant in ancestral tourists' motivations (e.g. Cheal & Griffin, 2013; Etemaddar et al., 2016; Kidron, 2013) with this research showing that ancestral tourists seek to discover everyday and collective experiences in a variety of settings. This also suggests an opportunity for official destination marketing efforts, both local and national, to better coordinate genealogical and roots elements of ancestral tourism by signposting localised, everyday ancestral stories and collective industrial and emigration experiences, alongside the dominant national, and in this context, Highland narratives.

Previous research stresses that ancestral tourists are often accompanied by tourists without ancestral connections, and aim to experience a range of activities as part of a holiday (Ray & McCain, 2009). This underlines the importance of considering broad leisure experiences and general heritage interest to avoid under providing for ancestral tourists (Iorio & Corsale, 2013; Murdy et al., 2016; Ray & McCain, 2009). The findings emphasise the potential of Glasgow Life's heritage resources to provide personal, local, national and more general heritage experiences (Timothy, 1997), which is significant, given Glasgow's tourism strategy to increase visitor numbers and visitor expenditure (Glasgow Life, 2017c). Furthermore, Glasgow aims to position itself a 'gateway to Scotland' (Glasgow Life, 2017c:3). This presents an opportunity for Glasgow Life to promote ancestral tourism provision, including the FHC resources and museums as an element of Glasgow's 'gateway' offer incorporating Glasgow (and other destinations in Scotland) as part of a more holistic ancestral tourism product for Scotland.

8.4 Limitations and Future Research

8.4.1 Investigating Activities within Multifaceted Organisations

The hermeneutic process of understanding and the double hermeneutic approach, where the researcher mediates the meanings presented by the research context, presents a limitation. While chapters 5 and 6 represented the initial hermeneutic stages of knowledge, the researcher appreciates the difficulty in engaging with biases (Schwandt, 2000) or declaring our prejudices, background and prior knowledge (Gadamer, 2008, 2013). Chapter 6 offered some insight into the researcher's understanding of the research context but given the ongoing, cyclical development of knowledge and the practicalities of snowball sampling, outlining where new themes emerged would have been problematic. Hence, rather than declaring each stage of understanding, the researcher emphasises the appropriateness of the hermeneutic spiral metaphor (Hatch & Yanow, 2005; Schökel, 1998) and the iterative, progressive process of understanding.

Another limitation relates to the use of mobile methods in augmenting other qualitative techniques within a multi-method study. Go-along interviews became quite lengthy given that a range of topics can be discussed according to the direction of the movement and conversation. Whilst this is not viewed as a limitation in terms of the ability to collect rich data, the researcher could not maintain as much control as they might within a static, sit-down interview. This study also discussed the multiple ways required to gain access to the various parts of the organisation. As well as the need for a gatekeeper, various other approaches were needed to ensure access to each of the cultural organisations – this included attendance at meetings, seminars and workshops where the research could be introduced. In addition, interviewees became surrogate gatekeepers during the go-along process assisting in bringing other participants into the research process. Whilst this activity was not unmanageable, there was a need to ensure consent was an ongoing process to account for the informal nature of interactions. Nevertheless, this study highlights

the possibilities for mobile methods to be utilised in a range of hospitality and tourism organisations to better understand complex, spatially dispersed organisations.

Narrative analysis is utilised in subjectivist, interpretive organisational studies that focus on the 'knowledge of organizing' (Herrmann, 2011:246) and the social and communicative perspectives (Weick, 1995). There may have been opportunities for narrative analysis if recording equipment was used. As stipulated, this was not practical in several situations, neither was it essential for this study, which focused on the experiences of delivering ancestral tourism. While objectivist research tends to focus on organisational structure, rules, procedures and generalisations (Crotty, 1998; Tsoukas & Chia, 2011; Zey-Ferrell & Aiken, 1981), studies of sensemaking aim to understand the activities and actions of those 'doing' the organising (Barrett et al., 2011). The research highlighted that participants often respond to ancestral tourists' enquiries based on prior experiences or 'cues', as referred to in sensemaking studies (Brown et al., 2015; Fulton, 2005). Narrative analysis of participants' views could have facilitated understanding of staff sensemaking within this multifaceted organisation and how they interpret and cope with interruptions and constant change (Weick, 1995).

8.4.2 Personal Heritage Tourism Demand in Urban Settings

While this study explored supplier perspectives within the research context, there is also further opportunity to investigate demand perspectives, exploring expectations and satisfaction levels with provision, as well as motivations. This would also present opportunities to engage with the literature surrounding identity, self-identification, and existential authenticity within this urban context (c.f. Bryce et al., 2017; González, 2008; Kramer, 2011b; Li & McKercher, 2016; Santos & Yan, 2010). Research conducted with Chinese diaspora visiting China also considers the views of different generations and their distinct motivations and place attachments to the homeland (Li & McKercher, 2016; Li & Chan, 2018), which may provide

insights into future marketing opportunities and development of ancestral tourism in Scotland. However, there are practical issues in locating ancestral tourists across the disparate locations within Glasgow Life, with some sites having fewer visitors, especially in low season. Hence, this may require assistance from each site, which may not be practical given the limited resources.

Although outside the scope of this study, another area of consideration is to investigate resident perceptions and the personal meanings they attach to heritage in the communities where they live. This would add to existing studies exploring personal heritage tourism in diverse contexts, also having the potential to contribute to research investigating the management implications of local resident attitudes to heritage (Fyall et al., 2012; Leask, 2010). This may also contribute to meeting the long-term goals of Glasgow's tourism strategy, balancing Glasgow's social and economic objectives.

8.4.3 Personal Heritage Tourism from Supplier Perspectives

This study was conducted at a service and product level. While many interviews were conducted with facility managers (museums, and archives), the researcher was unable to arrange meetings with senior managers which could have provided some comparison between participants' views and those at a strategic level. This would have provided further insights into the complexities of delivering personal heritage tourism within a public sector organisation. Furthermore, the researcher was unable to meet with senior representatives from the national tourism organisation which may have offered an opportunity to explore their views on current and future strategies for ancestral tourism promotion for Scotland, and the extent to which they aimed to maximise the opportunities of ancestral tourism in all areas of Scotland.

Due in part to practicalities of gaining access, the research was limited to the service and product level of ancestral tourism and some of the views of those within partner organisations such as Glasgow City Council. Future research could broaden the

research context to investigate the opinions and behaviour of a range of stakeholders (e.g. Fyall, Garrod, & Wang, 2012). The research could also consider the heritage tourism marketing system and how the structural constraints of the organisation as well as multiple stakeholders affect the heritage tourism supply chain (see McCamley & Gilmore, 2017). Stakeholder Theory has also been utilised in tourism management settings (e.g. Todd, Leask, & Ensor, 2017), to understand the multiple roles and perspectives of stakeholders where the success of organisations depends on 'requirements and aspirations of a wider array of groups that have their own particular interests' (Garrod et al., 2012:1160). This is pertinent to this study which aims to maximise the potential of heritage tourism and where participants emphasised the need to work in partnership with public and private organisations.

Personal heritage tourism is of growing interest with demand studies seeking to understand experiential engagements with heritage and the personal draw and attachments to heritages (e.g. Alexander et al., 2017; Apostolakis, 2003; Kozak, 2016; Poria et al., 2003; Timothy & Boyd, 2003; Timothy, 2018). However, the supply-side remains under-researched with scope to increase empirical research in a range of international contexts. In particular, interest in travel associated with various diasporic groups highlights the complexities surrounding place attachments, multiple allegiances and changing affiliations (e.g. Chan & Cheng, 2016; Huang et al., 2018; Iorio & Corsale, 2013; Li & McKercher, 2016), leaving room to investigate the implications in a range of international contexts.

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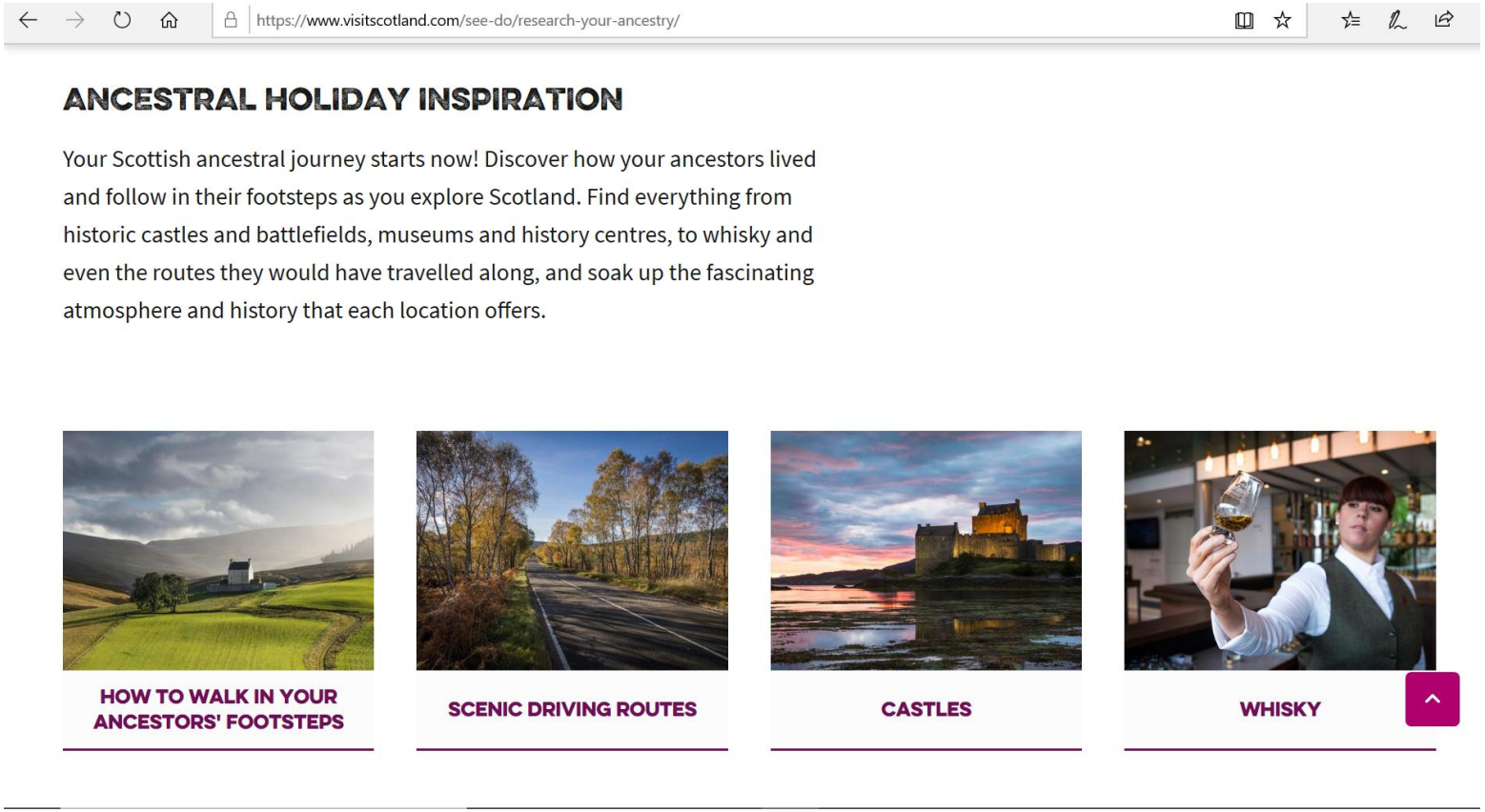
Appendix 1 - Ancestral Tourism Promotion for Scotland

Source: VisitScotland (2019b)



https://www.visitscotland.com/see-do/research-your-ancestry/

CONNECT WITH YOUR FELLOW SCOTS

There are few better places to immerse yourself in Scottish culture than by attending one of our many unique events - from Highland games, many of which have clan connections, to traditional music events and understanding where your ancestors may have enjoyed them.

HIGHLAND GAMES

BAGPIPES & CEILIDHS

TRADITIONAL FOLK MUSIC

ANCESTRY

EXPERIENCE SCOTLAND LIKE YOUR ANCESTORS

Many people across the world are lucky enough to have ancestral ties to Scotland – are you one of them? Discover Scotland like your ancestors would have done, follow in their footsteps and uncover fascinating history and captivating stories.

Does your family have connections to one of Scotland's well-known **clans**? Learn about where in Scotland the clans have their ancestral roots, or find which castles are connected to which clans and discover these stories for yourself. Plan the holiday of a lifetime where you can visit the towns, villages and streets where your Scottish ancestors would have once travelled. Or why not visit the variety of historic battlefields across the country, each offering a unique glimpse into the past?

Appendix 2 – Glasgow Life Services

Our service areas

Arts and Music

Glasgow Arts and Music creates, manages, operates and delivers the city's iconic high profile cultural venues, festivals, learning programmes and cultural events of international significance across a range of art forms.

Communities

Glasgow Communities manages a network of local venues across the city. The service creates opportunities for the people of Glasgow to participate in a range of cultural and sporting activities on their doorstep, whilst supporting their learning aspirations.

Libraries

Glasgow is home to the largest public network of library and information services including 32 community libraries, 29 school libraries and the iconic Mitchell Library. The offer is designed to inspire a love of reading, learning and discovery.

Museums

Glasgow Museums is the largest museum service in the UK outside London and operates 10 venues across the city. The civic museum collection includes over one million objects and has been described as one of the finest civic collections in Northern Europe.

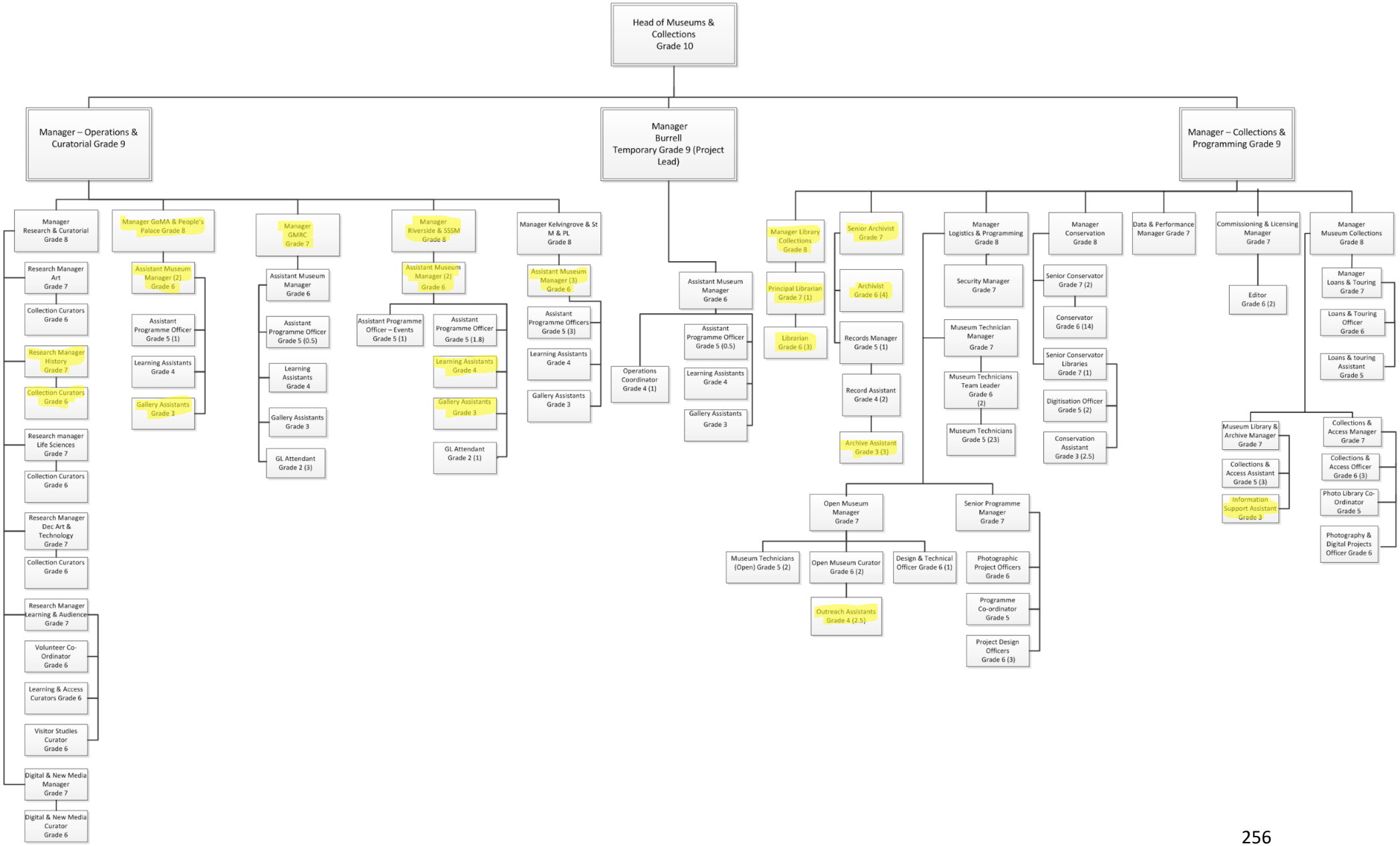
Sport

Glasgow Sport operates one of the most extensive leisure operations in the UK with 32 leisure facilities and a significant outdoor leisure estate including the Emirates Arena and Tollcross Swimming Centre. The dedicated Sports Development and Physical Activity Team promote sport from grassroots level through to elite athletes.

Young Glasgow

Provides services, activities and learning opportunities to over 85,000 Glasgow children, young people and their parents/carers. Young Glasgow also manages the Glasgow Young Scot and Glasgow Kidz Card programme.

Appendix 3 – Glasgow Museums and Collections Organisational Chart


Head of Museums & Collections Grade 10
Manager – Operations & Curatorial Grade 9
Manager Burrell Temporary Grade 9 (Project Lead)
Manager – Collections & Programming Grade 9
Manager Research & Curatorial Grade 8
Research Manager Art Grade 7
Collection Curators Grade 6
Research Manager History Grade 7
Collection Curators Grade 6
Research manager Life Sciences Grade 7
Collection Curators Grade 6
Research Manager Dec Art & Technology Grade 7
Collection Curators Grade 6
Research Manager Learning & Audience Grade 7
Volunteer Co-Ordinator Grade 6
Learning & Access Curators Grade 6
Visitor Studies Curator Grade 6
Digital & New Media Manager Grade 7
Digital & New Media Curator Grade 6
Manager GoMA & People's Palace Grade 8
Assistant Museum Manager (2) Grade 6
Assistant Programme Officer Grade 5 (1)
Learning Assistants Grade 4
Gallery Assistants Grade 3
Manager GMRC Grade 7
Assistant Museum Manager Grade 6
Assistant Programme Officer Grade 5 (0.5)
Learning Assistants Grade 4
Gallery Assistants Grade 3
GL Attendant Grade 2 (3)
Manager Riverside & SSSM Grade 8
Assistant Museum Manager (2) Grade 6
Assistant Programme Officer – Events Grade 5 (1)
Assistant Programme Officer Grade 5 (1.8)
Learning Assistants Grade 4
Gallery Assistants Grade 3
GL Attendant Grade 2 (1)
Manager Kelvingrove & St M & PL Grade 8
Assistant Museum Manager (3) Grade 6
Assistant Programme Officers Grade 5 (3)
Learning Assistants Grade 4
Gallery Assistants Grade 3
Assistant Museum Manager Grade 6
Operations Coordinator Grade 4 (1)
Assistant Programme Officer Grade 5 (0.5)
Learning Assistants Grade 4
Gallery Assistants Grade 3
Manager Library Collections Grade 8
Principal Librarian Grade 7 (1)
Librarian Grade 6 (3)
Senior Archivist Grade 7
Archivist Grade 6 (4)
Records Manager Grade 5 (1)
Record Assistant Grade 4 (2)
Archive Assistant Grade 3 (3)
Manager Logistics & Programming Grade 8
Security Manager Grade 7
Museum Technician Manager Grade 7
Museum Technicians Team Leader Grade 6 (2)
Museum Technicians Grade 5 (23)
Open Museum Manager Grade 7
Museum Technicians (Open) Grade 5 (2)
Open Museum Curator Grade 6 (2)
Outreach Assistants Grade 4 (2.5)
Design & Technical Officer Grade 6 (1)
Senior Programme Manager Grade 7
Photographic Project Officers Grade 6
Programme Co-ordinator Grade 5
Project Design Officers Grade 6 (3)
Manager Conservation Grade 8
Senior Conservator Grade 7 (2)
Conservator Grade 6 (14)
Senior Conservator Libraries Grade 7 (1)
Digitisation Officer Grade 5 (2)
Conservation Assistant Grade 3 (2.5)
Data & Performance Manager Grade 7
Commissioning & Licensing Manager Grade 7
Editor Grade 6 (2)
Manager Museum Collections Grade 8
Manager Loans & Touring Grade 7
Loans & Touring Officer Grade 6
Loans & touring Assistant Grade 5
Museum Library & Archive Manager Grade 7
Collections & Access Assistant Grade 5 (3)
Information Support Assistant Grade 3
Collections & Access Manager Grade 7
Collections & Access Officer Grade 6 (3)
Photo Library Co-Ordinator Grade 5
Photography & Digital Projects Officer Grade 6

Appendix 4 - Participant Information Sheet and Consent Form

Name of department: Department of Marketing, Strathclyde Business School
Title of the study: Ancestral Tourism Provision in Glasgow: Heritage Marketing, Management and Organisation

Researcher Details

Name: Jane Johnstone

University: Strathclyde

Job Title: PhD Student

Purpose of Investigation.

- To investigate the current delivery of ancestral tourism provision within Glasgow Life;
- To explore the potential to provide more structured, focused provision for ancestral tourists across Glasgow Life's collections and sites.

Ancestral tourism has been highlighted as a growth market by VisitScotland, the national tourism organisation for Scotland, and highlighted as having the potential to benefit all areas of the country. However, preliminary research has identified an inconsistent and disjointed network of provision across Scotland with little attention been given to the urban / industrial heritage ancestral narratives which Glasgow could benefit from.

As custodian of the Glasgow's cultural and heritage assets, Glasgow Life promotes and encourages public access while balancing the preservation of these assets through its archivist and curatorial roles. Ancestral tourism offers potential to encourage larger use of its public resources, some of which are not on public display but available on request. Working in collaboration with Strathclyde University and Glasgow Life, the research aims to investigate current delivery of Ancestral Tourism within Glasgow Life, and its provision across disparate functions. The research aims to contribute to an understanding of how Glasgow Life might provide more structured and coherent provision for Ancestral Tourism. The research also proposes to contribute to literature on Heritage Marketing, Management and Organisations.

Do you have to take part?

Participation is voluntary and the participant has the right to withdraw or refuse participation without giving any reason.

What will you do in the project?

Interviews will take the form of guided conversations in order that the researcher can deepen their understanding of current ancestral tourism provision within Glasgow Life. Conversations are likely to take around 1 hour and will take place at a mutually agreed location.

In some cases, and with prior consent, conversations may be recorded but otherwise notes will be taken. The interviewee will be invited to inform the researcher if they wish any information to be off the record and either the recorder will be turned off or a note taken that information is off the record.

Why have you been invited to take part?

You have been selected based on your knowledge and expertise of a particular area which the researcher feels will contribute to a deeper understanding of the research environment.

What are the potential risks to you in taking part?
Risks are low level and associated with the participant's normal working environment.

What happens to the information in the project?

The University of Strathclyde and Glasgow Life have academic ownership of the data which will be stored by the researcher drive within the University of Strathclyde server which is password protected.

All raw data will be pseudo-anonymised, given a code name with the key for the codes being stored in a separate file location, also password protected.

The research will be gathered for the purposes of completing the PhD thesis and the final manuscript will be available to participants.

The University of Strathclyde is registered with the Information Commissioner's Office who implements the Data Protection Act 1998. All personal data on participants will be processed in accordance with the provisions of the Data Protection Act 1998.

Thank you for reading this information – please ask any questions if you are unsure about what is written here.

What happens next?

If you are happy to be involved in the project, please reply to this email to confirm this or sign if handed over in person.

If you do not want to be involved in the project, thank you for your attention.

If recorded, the interview will be transcribed and sent to you for review where you will be given the opportunity to provide feedback. If not recorded, notes of the conversation will be sent for your perusal and feedback.

Participants will be invited to attend a presentation, or to read the finished thesis, where the researcher will present their findings.

Publication of findings will be sought with the aim to present at academic conferences.

Researcher contact details:

Jane Johnstone

Email: jane.johnstone@strath.ac.uk

Chief Investigator details:

Dr Matthew Alexander

Tel: 0141 548 3949

Email: matthew.j.alexander@strath.ac.uk

This investigation was granted ethical approval by the University of Strathclyde Ethics Committee.

If you have any questions/concerns, during or after the investigation, or wish to contact an independent person to whom any questions may be directed or further information may be sought from, please contact:

Secretary to the University Ethics Committee
Research & Knowledge Exchange Services
University of Strathclyde
Graham Hills Building
50 George Street
Glasgow
G1 1QE

Telephone: 0141 548 3707
Email: ethics@strath.ac.uk

Participation Consent Form

Name of department: Department of Marketing, Strathclyde Business School
Title of the study: Ancestral Tourism Provision in Glasgow: Heritage Marketing, Management and Organisation

- I confirm that I have read and understood the information sheet for the above project and the researcher has answered any queries to my satisfaction.
- I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw from the project at any time, up to the point of completion, without having to give a reason and without any consequences. If I exercise my right to withdraw and I don't want my data to be used, any data which have been collected from me will be destroyed.
- I understand that I can withdraw from the study any personal data (i.e. data which identify me personally) at any time.
- I understand that anonymised data (i.e. data which does not identify me personally) cannot be withdrawn once they have been included in the study.
- I understand that any emails or information recorded in the investigation will remain confidential and no information that identifies me will be made publicly available.
- I consent to being a participant in the project.
- I consent to being audio recorded (only for sit-down interviews) as part of the project (if applicable).

(PRINT NAME)	
Signature of Participant:	Date:

Appendix 5 – Interview Participants

Participant	Location / Area	Role
FH-M-101	Family History Centre	Management-Managers/Assistant Managers
GM-I-102	Glasgow Museums	Information-Curators/Archivists/Librarians/Registrars
GM-I-103	Glasgow Museums	Information-Curators/Archivists/Librarians/Registrars
FH-M-104	Family History Centre	Management-Managers/Assistant Managers
FH-M-105	Family History Centre	Management-Managers/Assistant Managers
GM-M-106	Glasgow Museums	Management-Managers/Assistant Managers
GM-M-107	Glasgow Museums	Management-Managers/Assistant Managers
GM-M-108	Glasgow Museums	Management-Managers/Assistant Managers
MA-M-109	Marketing	Management-Managers/Assistant Managers
MA-M-110	Marketing	Management-Managers/Assistant Managers
GM-I-111	Glasgow Museums	Information-Curators/Archivists/Librarians/Registrars
FH-I-112	Family History Centre	Information-Curators/Archivists/Librarians/Registrars
FH-I-113	Family History Centre	Information-Curators/Archivists/Librarians/Registrars
GM-M-114	Glasgow Museums	Management-Managers/Assistant Managers
GM-M-115	Glasgow Museums	Management-Managers/Assistant Managers
GM-M-116	Glasgow Museums	Management-Managers/Assistant Managers
GM-I-117	Glasgow Museums	Information-Curators/Archivists/Librarians/Registrars
GM-M-118	Glasgow Museums	Management-Managers/Assistant Managers
FH-I-119	Family History Centre	Information-Curators/Archivists/Librarians/Registrars
FH-I-120	Family History Centre	Information-Curators/Archivists/Librarians/Registrars
FH-I-121	Family History Centre	Information-Curators/Archivists/Librarians/Registrars
FH-V-122	Family History Centre	Visitor Services-Frontline/Gallery&LearningAssistants
FH-V-123	Family History Centre	Visitor Services-Frontline/Gallery&LearningAssistants
MA-M-124	Marketing	Information-Curators/Archivists/Librarians/Registrars
MA-I-125	Marketing	Information-Curators/Archivists/Librarians/Registrars
GM-M-126	Glasgow Museums	Management-Managers/Assistant Managers
GM-I-127	Glasgow Museums	Information-Curators/Archivists/Librarians/Registrars
GM-M-128	Glasgow Museums	Management-Managers/Assistant Managers
GM-I-129	Glasgow Museums	Information-Curators/Archivists/Librarians/Registrars
GM-V-130	Glasgow Museums	Visitor Services-Frontline/Gallery&LearningAssistants
GM-V-131	Glasgow Museums	Visitor Services-Frontline/Gallery&LearningAssistants
GM-V-132	Glasgow Museums	Visitor Services-Frontline/Gallery&LearningAssistants
GM-V-133	Glasgow Museums	Visitor Services-Frontline/Gallery&LearningAssistants
GM-V-134	Glasgow Museums	Visitor Services-Frontline/Gallery&LearningAssistants
GM-V-135	Glasgow Museums	Visitor Services-Frontline/Gallery&LearningAssistants
GM-V-136	Glasgow Museums	Visitor Services-Frontline/Gallery&LearningAssistants
GM-M-137	Glasgow Museums	Management-Managers/Assistant Managers
FH-M-138	Family History Centre	Management-Managers/Assistant Managers