

Bangor University

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

Visitor experience of industrial landscapes: Heritage tourism development at Amlwch and Parys Mountain

Stiefvater-Thomas, Christopher

Award date:
2009

Awarding institution:
Bangor University

[Link to publication](#)

General rights

Copyright and moral rights for the publications made accessible in the public portal are retained by the authors and/or other copyright owners and it is a condition of accessing publications that users recognise and abide by the legal requirements associated with these rights.

- Users may download and print one copy of any publication from the public portal for the purpose of private study or research.
- You may not further distribute the material or use it for any profit-making activity or commercial gain
- You may freely distribute the URL identifying the publication in the public portal ?

Take down policy

If you believe that this document breaches copyright please contact us providing details, and we will remove access to the work immediately and investigate your claim.

**VISITOR EXPERIENCE OF INDUSTRIAL LANDSCAPES: HERITAGE
TOURISM DEVELOPMENT AT AMLWCH AND PARYS MOUNTAIN**

THESIS SUBMITTED FOR
THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

By

Chris Stiefvater-Thomas

M.A., B.A. (Hons.)

DECEMBER, 2009

SCHOOL OF ENVIRONMENT, NATURAL RESOURCES AND GEOGRAPHY
BANGOR UNIVERSITY



Abstract

The objective of the research was to determine best practice guidance for the development of industrial heritage landscapes as visitor experiences. Best practice is considered as delivering optimum economic and social benefits to the host community without impairing the value of the heritage resources. The Copper Kingdom Project, an effort led by the Amlwch Industrial Heritage Trust to develop the tourism potential of the industrial landscape of Amlwch and Parys Mountain in North East Anglesey, was studied through participant observer activities, audience research and comparative case studies. Key areas of inquiry were the mediation of visitor experience of landscapes, the application of the product lifecycle model and the use of heritage in regeneration strategies. Key problems for realising optimum benefits for communities were identified as resulting from current funding models for heritage development and a lack of diversification in the experiences offered to tourist markets working against the sustainability of heritage tourism. The solution proposed was to invest more of the limited funding available in training and retaining a permanent work force thus internalising the ability to redevelop the visitor experience over time. The key policies recommended were interpretive training for all attraction employees, a system of job enrichment, the regular replacement of interpretive materials and year round opening of attractions.

Table of Contents

Summary contents:

1: Introduction and project background	1
2: Literature review	56
3: Research Methodology	115
4: Results	
4.1. Development of the Copper Kingdom project 2006-2008	145
4.2. Visitor Activity on Parys Mountain	188
4.3. Survey results 2007	202
5: Case Studies	233
6: Discussion	269
7: Conclusions	291

Detailed contents:

1: Introduction and project background.....	1
1.1. Introduction	1
1.1.1. Research Objectives	9
1.2. Overview of Amlwch’s Industrial history	10
1.2.1. Prehistoric Mining	10
1.2.2. Amlwch before the Copper Industry.....	12
1.2.3. Thomas Williams	13
1.2.4. Working in the mines	18
1.2.5. The Amlwch Community	21
1.2.6. The Cornish in Amlwch	24
1.2.7. Seafarers in Amlwch	26
1.2.8. Industrial decline	31
1.3. Modern Amlwch and Tourism on Anglesey.....	33
1.3.1. Amlwch’s economy	33
1.3.2. Anglesey’s tourist industry	40

1.4.	Amlwch Industrial Heritage Trust organisational profile	49
2:	Literature review	56
2.1.	Cultural landscapes	56
2.2.	Defining Interpretation	68
2.3.	Interpretation Technology	73
2.4.	Economic Impact of Heritage Attractions	86
2.5.	Sustainability of Tourism	96
2.6.	Valuing Heritage	103
3:	Research Methodology	115
3.1.	Participant observer activities	116
3.1.1.	Content analysis.....	119
3.2	Audience research at the Sail Loft and on Parys Mountain	122
3.2.1.	Visitor observations:	123
3.2.2.	Visitor Surveys	125
3.2.2.1.	Visitor demographics	126
3.2.2.2.	Tourist activity	127
3.2.2.3	Interpretation	128

3.2.2.4. Usage of the paired sites	132
3.2.2.5. Level of historic knowledge	133
3.2.2.6 Open questions	135
3.3 Comparative case studies of other heritage attractions and landscapes	135
4: Results	145
4.1. Development of the Copper Kingdom project 2006-2008	145
4.1.1. Project Planning and Grant Applications	145
4.1.1.1. The grant application process	146
4.1.1.2. Objectives of the Copper Kingdom Project	151
4.1.1.3. Management of the project	156
4.1.1.4. Phasing of developments	160
4.1.1.5. Interpreting the resources.	162
4.1.2. Walk Amlwch	165
4.1.3. The Sail Loft Refurbishment	175
4.2. Visitor Activity on Parys Mountain	188
4.2.1 Visitor numbers derived from visitor group record	188
4.2.2. Group Composition	191
4.2.3. Dog walkers	193
4.2.4. Visitors per car	195

4.2.5. Visit duration	197
4.2.6. Misuse of the car park	200
4.2.7. Conclusions	201
4.3. Survey results 2007.....	202
4.3.1. Sharing of visitors between the two sites.....	202
4.3.2. Visitor demographics.....	207
4.3.3. Local and tourist usage.....	212
4.3.4. Repeat visiting.....	216
4.3.5. Interpretation.....	220
4.3.5.1. Topic Selection.....	220
4.3.5.2. Feedback on the Sail Loft displays.....	225
4.3.5.3. Landscape appreciation.....	228
4.3.6. Open Questions.....	231
4.3.7. Conclusions.....	232
5: Case Studies.....	233
5.1. Packaging landscapes for tourist consumption.....	233
5.2. Interpretive media: man versus machine.....	241

5.3. Interpretive contents.....	248
5.4. Competition and the lifecycle in South Wales.....	255
5.5. Community Impact.....	260
6: Discussion.....	269
6.1: Heritage visitor attractions.....	270
6.2. Developing the Copper Kingdom Project.....	279
7: Conclusions.....	291
Bibliography	298
Appendix 1: Survey responses to open questions.....	CD
Appendix 2: Research reports to Amlwch Industrial Heritage Trust.....	315
Sail Loft Survey 2006 final results.....	CD
Special Interest Tourism Market Report.....	316
Access Improvements on Parys Mountain.....	324
Interpretation plan for an external introduction panel to the Sail Loft Exhibition.....	336
Interpretation plan for replacing the Parys Mountain car park sign.....	341

Interpretation Process: Mona Windmill.....	349
Appendix 3: Survey forms	463
Parys Mountain Questionnaire	
Sail Loft Questionnaire	

List of Illustrations

Image 1.1: Map of the Copper Kingdom landscape (Source: AIHT draft business plan 2005)5	5
Image 1.2: The Great Open Cast, Parys Mountain6	6
Image 1.3: Porth Amlwch6	6
Image 1.4: Portrait of Thomas Williams by Sir Thomas Lawrence 178714	14
Image 1.5: Ruins of Mona Mine offices, Parys Mountain15	15
Image 1.6: Mona Opencast15	15
Image 1.7: “Parys Mountain Copper Mine” by William Havell 1803.....18	18
Image 1.8: Drawing by J. Ibbetson depicting a mine worker being lowered into the Open Cast.....19	19
Image 1.9: Ruins of Treweek’s ship yard..... 28	28
Image 1.10: Remains of Iard Newydd.....29	29
Image 1.11: Newspaper report of collapse of Australian mining deal.....32	32
Image 1.12: Newspaper report of failure of Ty Mawr development scheme.....46	46
Image 1.13: Map showing distribution of historic buildings, sites and landscape areas on Anglesey48	48
Image 1.14: Interpretation Panel in Amlwch Port51	51
Image 1.15: Interpretation panel on Parys Mountain, overlooking the great open cast.....51	51
Image 1.16: PUG member entering the underground workings.....54	54
Image 1.17: PUG members exploring the Joint drainage Level at Parys Mountain.....54	54
Image 2.1: The Themes – Markets – Resources planning model87	87
Image 2.2: The Multiplier effect91	91

Image 4.1: Design Proposal for the Copper Bin gallery	150
Image 4.2: Guided tour of Parys Mountain lead by Dave Wagstaff	169
Image 4.3: Guided tour of Parys Mountain lead by Alan Kelly, Amlwch resident	169
Image 4.4: The Sail Loft gallery before 2007 refurbishment	176
Image 4.5: Competing introductions to Amlwch Port.....	181
Image 4.6: New panels at the Sail Loft	179
Image 5.1: Blaenafon Ironworks.....	234
Image 5.2: Trail panel on the outskirts of Falun.....	233
Image 5.3: Part of the Falun historic townscape.....	236
Image 5.4: Computer installations, National Waterfront Museum.....	242
Image 5.5: Out of order sign, National Waterfront Museum.....	244
Image 5.6: Former miner Graham Williams demonstrating use of explosives in mining at RHP.....	246
Image 5.7: Lockers at the Pithead baths, Big Pit.....	249
Image 5.8: Victor ‘Mad Mac’ Macdonald.....	250
Image 5.9: “On the other hand” exhibit, Big Pit national Coal Mining Museum.....	251
Image 5.10: Use of quotations, Big Pit national Coal Mining Museum.....	251

Image 5.11: Price of Coal mural, Rhondda Heritage Park.....	252
Image 5.12: Royal signatures engraved in gold at Falun.....	254
Image 5.13: Grave of Maats Israelson, Falun.....	254
Image 5.14: The fake underground mine at RHP, decorated for use as “Santa’s grotto.”.....	258
Image 5.15: Mannequin miner at RHP with Santa Claus hat.....	259
Image 6.1: Our Lady Star of the Sea Catholic Church, Amlwch.....	284
Image 6.2: Mona Lodge, Amlwch, former home of mine manager James Treweek.....	285

List of charts

Chart 4.1: Visitor numbers by quarter divided by gender and child status	191
Chart 4.2: Visitor numbers by quarter with and without dog walkers	193
Chart 4.3: Visit Durations	199
Chart 4.4: Usage of the Copper Kingdom Sites.....	206
Chart 4.5: Age groups of copper Kingdom Visitors.....	207
Chart 4.6: Change in Age balance at the Sail Loft 2006-2007.....	208
Chart 4.7: NRS Social Classes of respondents.....	210
Chart 4.8: Origin of visits: home or holiday accommodation?.....	212
Chart 4.9: Visitor Drive time.....	213
Chart 4.10: Home regions of holiday makers and day trips.....	214
Chart 4.11: 2007 Copper kingdom audience characterised by holiday type.....	215
Chart 4.12: Percentage of first time and repeat visiting at the two sites.....	217
Chart 4.13: Times of repeat visitors last previous visit by location.....	219
Chart 4.14: Last previous visit by holiday makers and day trips.....	219
Chart 4.15: Topic Selection.....	221
Chart 4.16: Sail Loft scores.....	225

Chart 4.17: Understanding of landscape links.....229

Chart 4.18: Landscape appreciation amongst Sail Loft Visitors and non-Sail Loft visitors.....230

Chart 5.1: Comparative visitor numbers for Big Pit and RHP 1997-2005.....257

List of Tables

Table 1.1: Unemployment in Amlwch	35
Table 1.2: Multiple deprivation in four Anglesey wards	36
Table 1.3: Top ten most deprived wards on Anglesey	37
Table 1.4: Tourism on Anglesey STEAM data	42
Table 2.1: Eden Project Visitor numbers	103
Table 3.1: Matrix of sources of evidence used in the research.....	116
Table 3.2: NRS social grades by occupation	127
Table 4.1: Development grants awarded to AIHT 1998-2008	147
Table 4.2: Backgrounds of AIHT Trustees and Directors.....	152
Table 4.3: Visitor numbers and profits for the Sail Loft Visitor Centre 2000-2007	178
Table 4.4: Panel titles in the refurbished Sail Loft	184
Table 4.5: Visitor observations July-August 2007	190
Table 4.6: Quarterly and annual visitor numbers estimates	191
Table 4.7: Composition of visitor groups	192
Table 4.8: Quarterly and annual visitor numbers excluding dog walkers	194
Table 4.9: Visitors per vehicle	196
Table 4.10: Data set for visit durations based on length of stay of vehicles	199
Table 4.11: Respondents who have previously visited the other site	202

Table 4.12: Respondents intention to visit the other site.....	203
Table 4.13: Sail Loft visitors' usage of Parys Mountain	203
Table 4.14: Parys Mountain Visitors usage of the Sail Loft	204
Table 4.15: Age groups of adult visitors to the two sites.....	208
Table 4.16: Age groups of adult visitors to both sites or just mountain.....	209
Table 4.17: Comparison of Gender Balance at Copper Kingdom sites.....	210
Table 4.18: Comparison of social class (upper or lower) to whether visitors travelled from home or from holiday accommodation.....	211
Table 4.19: Comparison of social class (upper or lower) and visiting to either site.....	211
Table 4.20: Numbers of retired visitors at Copper Kingdom sites.....	212
Table 4.21: Comparison of 'day trip' visitors- living on or off Anglesey.....	215
Table 4.22: Cross tabulation of repeat visiting and holiday making.....	218
Table 4.23: Cross tabulation of repeat visiting and sites visited.....	218
Table 4.24: Repeat visiting by adult age group.....	220
Table 4.25: Levels of interest in Topics by gender.....	222
Table 4.26: Levels of interest in topics by visit type.....	224
Table 4.27: Comparison of overall visitor satisfaction 2006-7.....	226

Table 4.28: Comparison of visitor satisfaction with interpretive contents 2006-2007.....	227
Table 4.29: Level of landscape understanding compared by sites visited.....	231
Table 5.1: Trail walks in Blaenafon World heritage Landscape.....	235
Table 5.2: Comparison of visitor numbers and size of workforce at case study attractions.....	262
Table 5.3: ERIH attractions experiencing the greatest gains and losses in visitor numbers 1997-2005.....	265
Table 6.1: Recommended Staffing of Copper Kingdom Sites.....	288
Table 6.2: Example Staff Rota for Copper Kingdom Project.....	289

Acknowledgments

I would like to thank the Amlwch Industrial Heritage Trust for its sponsorship and generous support of the project and the European Social Fund for funding the research. Thanks especially to Neil Johnstone and Dr. David Jenkins for their close involvement. I would also like to thank my academic supervisors Sian Pierce and Dr. Cledwyn Hughes as well as Robert Morris, Dr. David Wright and Dr. Thomas Yarrow for additional academic support. Thanks to The School of the Environment and Natural Resources and Geography for providing a stipend to cover living expenses during the latter part of the research project. Thanks to the Parys Underground Group, the Parys Mountain Wardens and guides and staff at the Sail Loft visitor centre for their help and participation. Thanks also to staff at the case study sites especially Peter Walker at Big Pit, John Harrison and Graham Williams at Rhondda Heritage Park and Otto Hauser at the Roman Baths, Bath. Finally thanks to my mother, Dr. Patsy Thomas.

List of Abbreviations

ADO:	Audience Development Officer
AHDT:	Amlwch Heritage Development Trust
AIHT:	Amlwch Industrial Heritage Trust
BBC:	British Broadcasting Corporation
CCW:	Countryside Council for Wales
CMP:	Conservation Management Plan
ELC:	European Landscape Convention
ERDF:	European Regional Development Fund
ERIH:	European Route of Industrial Heritage
ESF:	European Social Fund
FTE:	Full time Equivalent
GAT:	Gwynedd Archaeological Trust
HLF:	Heritage Lottery Fund
IACC:	Isle of Anglesey County Council
ICCROM:	International Centre for the Study of the Preservation and Restoration of Cultural Property
ICOMOS:	International Council on Monuments and Sites
ITG:	Institute of Tourist Guiding
IUCN:	International Union for the Conservation of Nature

LDP:	Local Development Plan
LDR:	Locum Destination Review
NRS:	National Readership Survey
OAP:	Old Age Pensioner
PCH:	Pendden Community Heritage
PPG:	Project Planning Grant
PUG:	Parys Underground Group
RHP:	Rhondda Heritage Park
SAM:	Scheduled Ancient Monument
SIT:	Special Interest Tourism
SSSI:	Site of Special Scientific Interest
STEAM:	Scarborough Tourism Economic Activity Model
UNESCO:	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation
UNWTO:	United Nations World Tourism Organisation
VAQAS:	Visitor Attractions Quality Assurance Service
WDA:	Welsh Development Agency
WHC:	World Heritage Committee
WHS:	World Heritage Site
WIMD:	Welsh Index of Multiple Deprivation

Chapter 1: Introduction and project background

The opening chapter introduces the area of study and establishes the aims and objectives of the research. It then goes on to provide background and contextual information on the heritage resources of the main study area, the condition of the Amlwch community and the regional economy and the state of development of the local heritage resources at the beginning of the research project.

Chapter 1: Introduction and project background

1.1. Introduction

The goal of this thesis is to determine best practice for heritage managers involved in the development of industrial landscapes as visitor destinations. Industrialisation from the late 18th century onwards had a major impact on the landscape of much of the inhabited world. This is especially obvious in Wales, the earliest country in world history in which the proportion of the population that was urbanised and worked in industry overtook the proportion engaged in agricultural activity. Today Wales is a heavily deindustrialised nation with far greater numbers employed in service industries than in manufacturing of goods. Many areas that were once associated with the once great industries of coal, slate, copper and lead now suffer from underemployment having lost the occupations that originally brought these settlements into existence and failed to find sufficient alternatives.

Amlwch on the Isle of Anglesey, the northernmost town in Wales is a good example. An obscure fishing village prior to the discovery of copper ore on Parys Mountain a couple of miles inland (Image 1.1), Amlwch grew very rapidly in the early industrial revolution of the late 18th century becoming the second largest town in the country after Merthyr Tydfil. This growth was caused by the influx of miners employed at Parys Mountain and the establishment of Amlwch as a shipping port exporting the ores won at the mountain when it was the most productive copper mine on earth (Harris 2003). By the mid-nineteenth century though the mines output had fallen dramatically and with cheaper competitors emerging overseas mining ceased, bringing a slow death to other ancillary sources of employment dependent on mining. The last to go was a shipbuilding industry that had developed in the port which continued after the decline in shipment of ores for some decades. The port and its shipbuilders operations were however too small to adapt to technological change as the age of sail gave way to steam powered shipping in the course of the 19th century.

The town's economic stagnation has occasionally been alleviated by developments such as the establishment of a nuclear power station in north Anglesey creating jobs, but has largely gone

undisturbed throughout the twentieth century. The population has declined by 50% since the industrial heyday of the town (Rowlands 1966) but for the three and a half thousand or so people that remain a lack of jobs has been a permanent problem since time immemorial and with it comes a raft of social ills. There are countless other Welsh towns that have been through the same cycle of industrial development and post industrial decline, particularly since the demise of coal mining but few as long ago as Amlwch, which developed early and lost its main industry when in other parts of Wales the industrial revolution was still getting started.

The employment to be found today in Wales is mostly in the service industries and tourism is an important contributor to these industries. In 2007 the service industries accounted for 79% of employment in Wales with 35% of these jobs in the areas of 'Distribution, hotels and restaurants' and 'transport and communications' suggesting the only bigger employer than tourism is the public sector with 'public administration, education and health' providing 41% of service industry employment (Statswales 2007). Cultural activities play a significant part in choice of holiday destination and since the 1980s heritage and tourism have become closely linked. The relics of the past, such as important buildings and artefacts housed in museums appeal to the much increased numbers of tourists who have received a tertiary education. As such many deindustrialised areas see the potential for their own relics to draw in visitors and so relieve their economic problems.

Deindustrialisation is itself a major contributor to the modern phenomena Lowenthal (1998) suggests have led to the growth of heritage as a cause whose "praise suffuses public discourse" and a lure to tourism. These include the pace of change in employment driven by technological change, with the resulting instability in working life necessitating migration, displacing people from their hometowns, which in turn contributes to the break up of family groupings. Increasing personal longevity and the more rapid obsolescence of goods consumed and produced also engender a sense that nothing in life is permanent or definitely reliable. These aspects of current capitalism give life an ephemeral quality which people react against by seeking contact with the supposedly unchanging certainties of heritage. Heritage responds to these needs with, critics suggest, an idealised and inoffensive caricature of the past that celebrates lost simplicity and stability. Industrial heritage attractions Dicks (2000) observes serve the multiple tasks of

preserving a remnant of former industries as a community memorial, salving the conscience of the modern capitalism responsible for ending these industries and the ways of life associated with them and creating a new commodity for tourist consumption in a nostalgic vision of the past.

Here relative latecomers to post industrial stagnation such as the coalfield of South Wales have an advantage in the completeness of these relics. A mine may cease working and almost immediately be designated as a heritage site so that it reopens as a tourist attraction with just a couple of years, with its buildings preserved from the day of closure and undamaged by the quick change over. This occurred in Blaenafon with the conversion of Big Pit from working mine to mining museum and at Geevor tin mine in Cornwall which closed as a mine in 1991 and reopened as a museum in 1993. In Amlwch the situation is different as decades of dereliction have reduced buildings such as the mine offices on Parys Mountain to ruins. Nonetheless the “heritage assets” of Amlwch are substantial and all tied in to its period as the world’s leading copper producer. At Mynydd Parys there remains an extraordinary landscape created by mining of huge opencasts (Image 1.2), vivid colours and extensive underground tunnels while the port of Amlwch (Image 1.3) is substantially unchanged and intact from the 19th century.

This thesis is concerned with investigating the development this historic industrial landscape to tourism. It has been undertaken in partnership with the Amlwch Industrial Heritage Trust as part of the programme of PhD projects funded by the European Social Fund to promote partnership working between Bangor University and businesses in the region of North West Wales. The Amlwch Industrial heritage Trust is a registered charity formed in 1996 with the initial goals of preserving the built heritage of Amlwch’s industrial past and encouraging their use in education and research into the area’s history. Like many social enterprises concerned with historic sites and buildings the AIHT has since expanded its goals to include the exploitation of these assets to drive tourism and spur regeneration of the area’s economy. The Trust’s activities for the past several years have been principally concerned with furthering its plans for developing heritage tourism in the area, which it refers to as the Copper Kingdom Project.

The Partnership project provided an opportunity to study a developing heritage project in depth and assess how a major historic landscape can best be developed as a tourist destination. Initially it appeared likely that the period would see a multi-million pound development grant

awarded to the Trust by the Heritage Lottery fund and an enormous amount of development activity commencing in North east Anglesey. However as this grant failed to materialise, the focus of the research became more concerned with the application process itself and the successive reiterations of the Trust's plans for the project as debated and criticised between applicant and funder. The long process of AIHT seeking to raise funds for its project on the basis of a solid strategy for development reveals a great deal about the place of heritage in the UK economy and the interactions between private sector community organisations, grant awarding bodies, private specialist consultancies and public sector parties such as national heritage agencies and local government. The primary aim of the research was to develop best practice advice for projects of this kind to deliver optimum economic and community impacts through development of heritage tourism. Related to providing this guidance it was necessary to develop an overall picture of the marketplace for heritage tourism attractions in the UK.

There were three main conceptual areas used to explore process taking place in North East Anglesey, interpretation or the development of a visitor experience, economic impact of tourist development and the concept of cultural landscape. The connection between economic impacts and visitor experience is that the visitor experience delivered by heritage projects shapes visitor behaviour and influences the size and profile of the audience, increasing or diminishing the economic impacts on the host economy. Therefore questions of best practice and quality assurance in the provision of interpretation to visitors are shown to be of direct relevance to claims made by heritage projects that they will spur regeneration and bring a "multiplier effect", in which tourist spending spread through local networks bringing benefits to the entire host community as explained in 2.4. While this question of quality and audience size is the main interrelation of these two themes other connections were to be found in looking at different ways interpretation might be financed, procured and produced and how these could vary the economic impacts a heritage project has on its regional economy.

The third element was to consider the heritage resources in the area as a cultural landscape. A cultural landscape is the artefact produced by human culture interacting with natural resources over time. Individual historic buildings or other man made features such as the vast pit of the

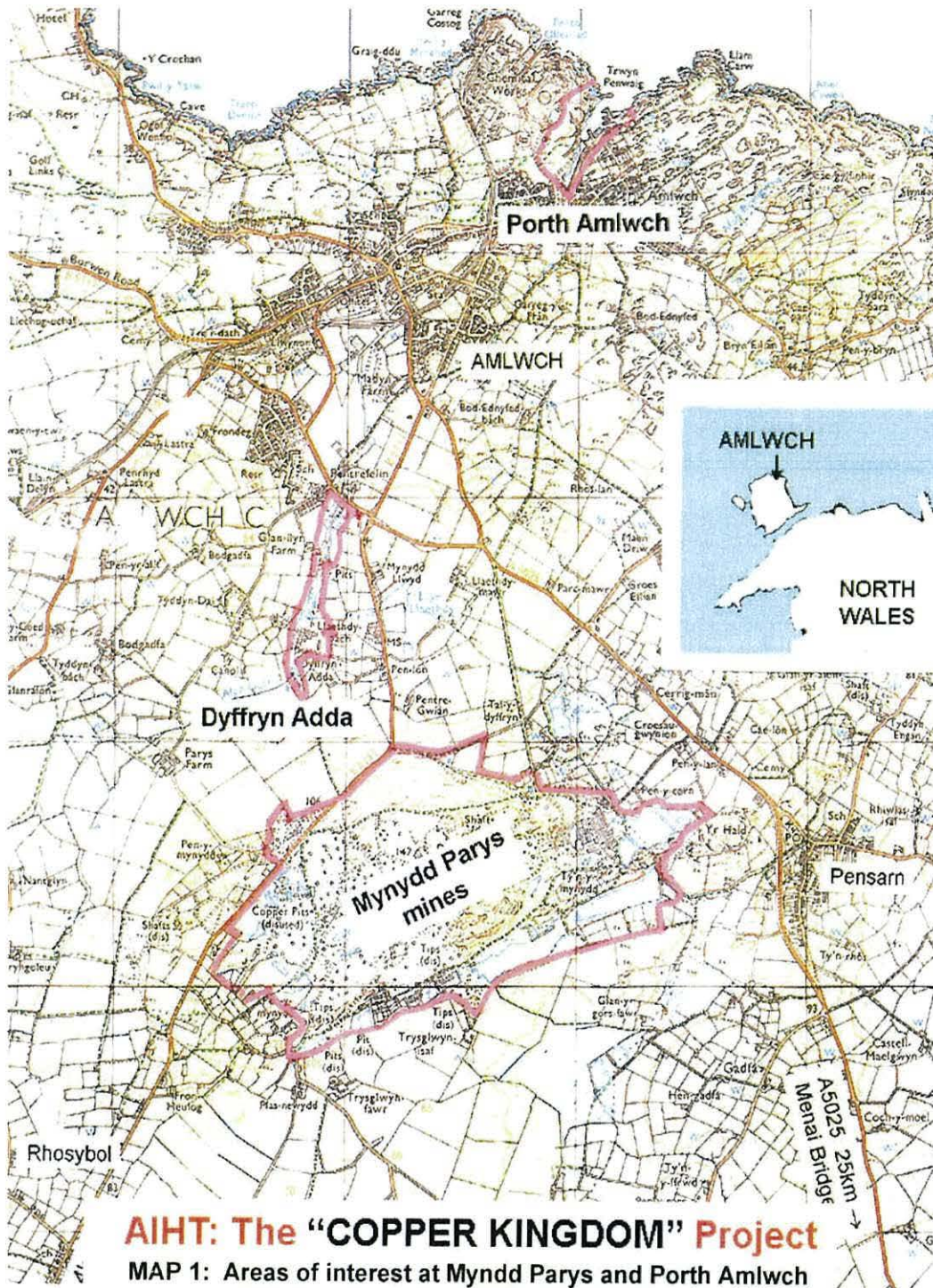


Image 1.1: Map of the Copper Kingdom landscape (Source: AIHT draft business plan 2005)



Image 1.2: The Great Open Cast, Parys Mountain



Image 1.3: Porth Amlwch

Great Opencast on Parys Mountain may be looked at as heritage artefacts in their own right or as mere component pieces of a landscape as artefact. Heritage landscapes as visitor attractions have only really begun to emerge since the 1990s. The concept has gained credence amongst heritage managers as a result of the decision by UNESCO in 1992 to recognise cultural landscapes of global value by inscribing them as World Heritage sites (Fowler 2004). This has of course prompted many nations to seek to identify significant landscapes within their borders with an eye to nominations for WHS status. In Wales such a scheme led to Amlwch and Parys Mountain being designated a landscape of outstanding historic interest, one of 38 in Wales. The landscape of North East Anglesey can easily be read as a large machine built in response to the metallic rocks beneath Mynydd Parys to extract them and profit from demand for copper. The practical use of the cultural landscapes concept for heritage managers lies in its ability to realise value in collections of smaller “units” of heritage scattered across a large area by arguing for their preservation as part of a much larger and more valuable heritage asset. Looking at North Wales it is easy to see the impact of single massive unit of heritage such as a medieval castle located in a town, with Beaumaris castle receiving 81,638 visitors in 2007 and forming the backbone of the town’s tourism based economy (Visit Wales 2007). The challenge of heritage landscapes for managers is how to take a large collection of scattered, small but closely interrelated items of heritage and develop them so that they add up to a resource of the same value to the local community as world class medieval castle in the middle of town.

By taking responsibility for Parys Mountain and Amlwch port and declaring interest in the other heritage in the areas in between such as the rest of the Amlwch townscape AIHT perhaps unwittingly adopted a policy of developing a historic cultural landscape for tourist consumption. Such an undertaking is in some respects very different from developing more stereotypical heritage attractions: museums or historic buildings considered sufficiently large and interesting to act as stand alone attractions. More traditional heritage attractions are located on a small site where tourists can be charged for admission, spend around 3 hours seeing the building and collections and leave via the gift shop. Encouraging tourists to explore a whole landscape in a way that feeds into the local economy raised new issues both for the practice of interpretation and fostering local regeneration through heritage.

The nature of the partnership project required that the research be geared towards gathering data and presenting conclusions that would be of practical use to the AIHT in achieving its stated aims and objectives. The Trust's main expectations of the project were to get an independent appraisal of interpretation it commissioned or created internally and the economic impacts the Copper Kingdom project might have. It is to be hoped though that by considering the interactions between these two aspects and the third of developing landscapes for visitors, insights might be generated of value to many other projects outside of the Amlwch area. Britain has a vast amount of industrial heritage, many areas that may be classed and marketed as cultural landscapes and finally many regions in need of regeneration. Amlwch is all three of these and so knowledge of the issues faced here should be useful very widely. The main objective of the research though is to provide a strategy likely to maximise the benefits of heritage tourism to the Amlwch community.

Although considerable literature exists to guide those who would interpret historic sites to the general public, from Tilden (1957) to Beck and Cable (2010), there is little in it concerning cultural landscapes, since it is only since the turn of the century that significant attempts have been made to market such landscapes as a result of changes to World Heritage status. But the idea of a cultural landscape is not the most straightforward thing in the world and explaining what it means is a job for the interpreter, so there is a real need to think more about how interpretive practice needs to be adapted for dealing with landscapes of scattered but historically closely linked heritage. Similarly the rise of cultural landscapes makes it necessary to investigate the economic impacts of heritage and how designating a landscape might bring modified consequences to those normally expected when for example a museum opens in a new tourist destination. Finally the relationship between interpretive practice and possible economic benefits is also extensively considered in the research.

To explore these issues the research activities mostly fell into two areas: gathering more data on the audience visiting the Amlwch area and comparing the Copper Kingdom project to other heritage attractions through case study research and field visits. It soon became clear the AIHT had a shortage of data on its visitors and that this was an area where the research effort could usefully add to the Trust's knowledge base for marketing and other purposes. The Trust

possessed some research on its market from consultancy services and kept a count of visitor numbers at its heritage centre in Porth Amlwch but lacked any data on visitor figures at Parys Mountain. The research therefore involved visitor observation and surveys of visitors to gather data both on who was visiting and why and on this audience's view of questions arising from the three main research topics. This data would provide a more detailed and complete picture of the Copper Kingdom project as it currently exists, but to be able to provide useful guidance for developing the project further it would be necessary to compare this picture to other sites. Successful examples of industrial heritage based attractions would provide insights into best practice, while other attractions at varying stages in the process of development would give signposts to the possible futures of the AIHT's work.

1.1.1 Research objectives

In summary there were four key aims for the research based on the AIHT's requirements for the project and the scope for furthering understanding of cultural landscapes:

1. To understand the current visitor experience of the Copper Kingdom heritage landscape by gathering and comparing data on the audiences of the two key sites in order to determine their relationship in terms of shared audience and cumulative visitor experience.
2. Establish principles of best practice in developing the tourist appeal of heritage landscapes.
3. Appraise independently the planning and development of the visitor experience to be offered by the Copper Kingdom project to tourists.
4. Provide recommendations for how to develop the Copper Kingdom project in order to maximise its regenerative effect on the Amlwch community and the regional economy.

The remainder of this chapter is concerned with providing the necessary understanding of the context of the project in Amlwch by outlining the history of the community, its current condition and the work of the AIHT so far in providing a possible route to future renewal for Amlwch and North East Anglesey.

1.2. Overview of Amlwch's industrial history.

The story of Amlwch's industrial past is not a widely known episode of history, but it made a significant contribution to the development of our current society and many of its issues are still highly relevant to us. The former copper industry of Wales, in which Amlwch and Swansea were the key locations, is overshadowed in the public consciousness to the point of obscurity by coal and slate. For various reasons the copper mines of Amlwch do not fit very snugly into most narratives of the industrial revolution, the rise and fall of Amlwch being largely complete in a few decades while the bulk of technological developments we call the industrial revolution were still in the pipeline and Welsh coal and slate had yet to take off. Events in and around Amlwch in the late 18th century may be seen as a small demonstration of what was in store for the rest of Wales and later much of the world. But when dealing with an industry based in a small area it is easy to forget the very wide impacts that it had. The use of copper to improve the speed of sailing ships, which had a major impact on the economy of the world and the balance of military power amongst European powers is now largely forgotten (Harris 2003). Amlwch is significant both in its own right and as part of the tapestry of industrialisation in Wales. The shift to an industrial society which began in places like Amlwch is one of the most dramatic shifts in human history and defines the world we now live in, as industrial archaeologist Dafydd Gwyn writes:

“Industrialisation is the most profound change in human society since the establishment of agriculture. It underlies a restless, conflict ridden world. It has brought human society near to the brink of destruction and to within sight of irreversible change to our ecology. We cannot understand how we live without a close study of its material remains ... Only then will we begin to comprehend the world we inhabit.” (Gwyn 2006 p.238)

1.2.1 Prehistoric mining

A map of 1764 indicates the supposed location of Roman workings on the mountain and in the next century confirmation of the story seemed to be found when miners working underground

following a seam of ore found it abruptly ended and met an ancient tunnel coming from the other direction (PUG 2008). The miners assumed these older workings to date from a Roman mine in the first few centuries AD. In fact the workings dated from even earlier than this, and were being mined around 1600 BC, though this was not discovered until late in the twentieth century. (Lynch 1991) It is immensely fortunate that evidence like this has survived the large scale destruction of the 18th and 19th century mining period as it places Parys Mountain in the context of the Bronze Age on Anglesey. The island of Anglesey was relatively well populated compared to much of the British Isles throughout Prehistory receiving settlers from Wales, Ireland and England and a valuable collection of sites and artefacts has survived making the island an archaeological treasure (Yates and Longley 2001).

Having used their impressive knowledge of geology to find copper ore sites Bronze Age miners used hammer stones brought from a beach two miles away to dig out the ore from the rock. Frequently the rock was too hard to attack with just muscle power and the Bronze Age miners used an ingenious method of starting large fires to heat the rock and then throwing on large buckets of water, so that the rock face cracked as it suddenly cooled. These methods allowed the Bronze Age miners to dig pits 50 feet underground into the rock (PUG 2008). How they solved the flooding problem that so hampered would be miners efforts in the 18th century AD is unclear. A grueling amount of effort was probably involved but the rewards would have been great as well.¹ Copper is of course the main ingredient in bronze, and in an era we refer to as the Bronze Age when the first metal tools were created its value would be hard to overestimate.

Copper was needed everywhere but only available at a few locations like Mynydd Parys and so trade networks emerged that would have greatly empowered bronze rich areas (O'Brien 1996). Inequalities that had not existed in the Stone Age lead to the rise of social hierarchies across Bronze Age Europe (Ibid.). The Bronze Age was one of greater violence and competition for resources than the one that preceded it and sources of copper would have been worth fighting over if anything was. Whether this ever happened we of course don't know but it brings us back to the question of the Romans, who invaded Anglesey in 60 AD. This came about due to the

¹ If the actual miners received any share in them. Whether such men and/or women were free or slaves is one of a million seemingly unanswerable questions we might ask about them.

political conflict between the Roman Empire and the Druid religion which was based on Anglesey but we may speculate that the metal resources to the north of the island came as an added bonus. We cannot say if mining occurred in the centuries of occupation that followed or if it had ceased long before, there just isn't enough evidence either way.

1.2.2 Amlwch before the copper industry

Prior to the “great discovery” of copper ore in 1768, Amlwch was an unremarkable coastal village that had changed little in centuries. In 1749 roughly 800 people lived in the Parish of Amlwch surviving at a subsistence level through a mix of farming and fishing (Rowlands 1960). The quality of the local land was quite poor though, the town's name is theorised to mean “by a marshy place”. Some residents were able to make better money through smuggling thanks to the village's isolated position on the north coast of Anglesey, though the natural creek at Amlwch was very hazardous to sail into. A couple of miles inland to the south was Mynydd Parys, a large partly wooded hill, used for sheep farming but also home to a large population of foxes, which were a major nuisance to locals trying to live off the land. (Ibid.)

The majority of people were unaware of the vast wealth of copper contained within the mountain including the owners of the land (Rowlands 1966) but its eventual discovery was not unheralded coming after centuries of speculation about the mountain and failed attempts to find and extract copper from it. Encouraged by increasing military demand for the metal (for the production of bronze cannons) there is evidence of attempted mining at Mynydd Parys as early as the reign of Elizabeth I (Hope 2005). Searches for accessible veins of ore continued periodically but were severely hampered by the North Wales climate, constantly flooding any pits prospectors attempted to dig as happened to Scotsman Alexander Fraser's attempt in 1762. With the notable exception of Cornwall, mining in Britain before the industrial revolution was a short term business pioneered by wandering adventurers like Fraser looking to find an easily workable seam of ore near the surface, clear out as much as possible as quickly as possible, and then retire elsewhere to spend his money (Dodd 1971).² Though odds of success were slim there were

² Fraser himself is reputed to have been on the run for murder in his home country at the time.

strong clues to encourage prospecting on Parys Mountain such as local knowledge suggesting that a mine may have existed there in the time of the Romans (Rothwell 2007) and the presence of pools of copper contaminated water, which was briefly recommended as a quack remedy for a number of ailments in 1760 (Rowlands 1966).

By the 1760s the list of failures would have been long and so when Sir. Nicholas Bayly owner of half of the mountain sought to involve an English mining firm whose expertise would give better results, Roe and company of Macclesfield were very reluctant, only taking on a lease on Parys mountain because Bayly insisted on bundling it together with a tin mine he owned on the Llyn peninsula which they were really interested in (Dodd 1971). Reluctantly the English firm began prospecting on Mynydd Parys and like others before them found some ore but were unable to make any profit from it due to the problem of flooding (Rowlands 1966). The firm was considering whether to write off its bad investment before 1768 when at last a large body of easily accessible ore was discovered.

This event was later called “The Great Discovery” and came to be mythologized and celebrated annually in the Amlwch area on the 2nd of March. This date may in fact be arbitrary but according to folklore it is when miner Roland Puw struck the “Golden Venture Load” and was rewarded for his good luck with a bottle of brandy and a cottage rent free for life.

1.2.3 Thomas Williams

Once it became clear that there were fortunes to be made from the mining of Mynydd Parys a lengthy legal dispute soon arose over who actually owned what was beneath the mountain. In the past much of the mountain had been divided between two farms that used it for grazing and saw no need to define where the boundary lay between them since the land was fairly worthless for the time being regardless of the inaccessible wealth it might harbour. It was Sir Nicholas Bayly who, having initially only mined the land of Cerrig y Bleddia farm on the East of the mountain which he solely owned, had men break the soil on land he had co owned with William Lewis, the farm owner to the west, without consulting Lewis’ heirs (Harris 2003). The inheritors

of Lewis' share in the land hired a 32 year old local solicitor named Thomas Williams (Image 1.4) as a legal advisor.



Image 1.4: Portrait of Thomas Williams by Sir Thomas Lawrence 1787

The son of a small landowner near Llansadwrn in SE Anglesey, Williams already had a good reputation as a solicitor having worked for many of the island's richest landowning families (North 1962). After 9 years of legal wrangling the disputed land ownership and mining rights were finally resolved with the mountain and its ores clearly divided between the two parties. The results of the legal compromise Williams engineered are evident in the relict landscape of the mountain which came to be worked separately as Parys mine on the west side and Mona mine on the east. Accordingly there are two sets of now ruined mine offices (Image 1.5) and two large opencasts (Image 1.6) divided by a steep sided connecting wall of mountain rock left intact between them. Having won the inheritors the rights to their side of the mountain Williams took the opportunity to cease being a solicitor and become manager of the Parys mine.

Williams used his position as a springboard to establish a commercial empire that made him perhaps the UK's richest businessman in this period (Harris 2003). The output of the mountain was at its greatest in the early years of mining when large supplies of ore could be dug out easily and problems such as collapsing overhangs were still being created for future miners. However



Image 1.5: Ruins of Mona Mine offices, Parys Mountain



Image 1.6: Mona Opencast, the smaller of the two opencasts just east of the larger Great Opencast

Williams saw that the profits he made were limited by the share taken by the other parts of the production process of copper products. The company had purchased a smelting works in Swansea by 1782 which was already an established hub for smelting copper, its raw material then coming from Cornwall to the south, and built its own smelting works in Cheshire close to cheap supplies of coal (Harris). Now able to process the mountains ore into workable copper Williams established a large factory in Holywell, Flintshire close to the water power needed for rolling and wire mills (Williams 1980). Williams worked extremely long hours and spent much of his time travelling in order to organise this scattered network of facilities. In modern capitalism it is easy to maintain a production line with components scattered across the globe but in Williams's era of slow travel and communications such an organisation was only just possible and hence was the first of its kind.

With control of every stage of production Williams was now directly involved in inventing and selling products made from the ore being dug from Parys Mountain. Thomas Williams' best single customer was the Royal Navy which was the first to adopt the practice of sheathing the wooden hulls of their ships with copper plates (Ibid.). This greatly improved the agility of warships and prevented sea worms from attacking the wooden hulls. This market was jeopardised though by the naval disasters the Royal Navy experienced during the American War of Independence, for which some of the admirals who had been in charge sought to shift the blame onto defective copper bolts supplied by Williams' commercial empire. Williams personally oversaw work at his Holywell factories to address the problems attributed to his products and was able to preserve this essential market. By 1785 it was not only the British Navy, but the French, Dutch and Spanish Navies also being supplied by Williams' organization (Dodd). Williams therefore saw to it that the benefits of this technology to military ships were universally recognised and ubiquitously adopted. The outbreak of the Napoleonic wars was given as a major cause for the rising demand and price for copper when Williams was called to account by Parliament.

If war provided one half of the fortune Williams built for himself and his business partners, slavery provided the other. With the slave trade at its height the Welsh Copper industry was

turning Parys Mountain's ore into huge quantities of copper and bronze rings, bracelets and other cheap and gaudy trinkets and ornaments (Dodd). These items were ultimately intended to be given to African slavers in exchange for people they had captured who were then shipped west to a life of misery for them and their descendants for generations to come (Wales Office 2007). In 1788 Williams and his partners petitioned parliament in opposition to those who wished to regulate the slave trade, unashamedly arguing that slavery was essential to his business (Harris).

Williams became manager of the separate Mona mine on Parys Mountain in 1785 increasing the supply of ore to his business empire. In these years Williams was locked into a price war with the copper mines of Cornwall, the older and better established source of British copper. In response to the threat of Anglesey copper which at this time could be produced faster and in greater quantities than at their mines the Cornish Metal Company was formed, but proved a commercial failure until 1787 when its administration was taken over by none other than Thomas Williams. This put him in charge of virtually all the copper ore produced in Britain, which was bad news for smelters and factories outside of Williams' organisation as it allowed him to set prices at whatever he thought was reasonable (or that he could get away with). Certainly he took some advantages as in the years of this monopoly British copper ore was much more expensive to buy in Britain than it was once one was in Europe where it still had competition from Falun in Sweden and the copper industry of Germany (Levy 1911). A group of Birmingham brass manufacturers complained to the government about Williams and the high price of their raw materials, leading to him being called before a parliamentary enquiry in 1799 (Rowlands 1966). It was successfully argued by his friends in Parliament (Williams had by now served as an MP himself for a rotten borough in England) that the high prices were due to demand caused by the Napoleonic wars and not price fixing by Williams, and the complaint did not lead to the lifting of import duties the brass companies hoped for. By now Williams had relinquished the management of the Cornish metal company anyway (Pascoe 1981) and his whole business was in decline due to falling productivity on Parys Mountain. Nonetheless by his death at the age of 65 in 1802 Williams was worth about half a million pounds (Dodd 2003).

1.2.4 Working in the mines



Image 1.7: “Parys Mountain Copper Mine” by William Havell 1803

By 1798 Amlwch was a large and busy town thanks to the mines and was visited by a Reverend W. Bingley who was touring the country. The different quarrying sites of a few decades earlier had by now merged and deepened to create the two opencasts of the mountain. The Reverend was able to find a miner who spoke English who showed him the mines:

“Having ascended to the summit of the mountain, I found myself standing on the verge of a vast tremendous chasm (Image 1.7), which the miners call an open cast. This I entered, and when at the bottom, the shagged arches and overhanging rocks, which seemed to threaten annihilation to anyone who was daring enough to approach them, fixed me almost motionless to the spot. The roofs of the work having in many places fallen in, have left some of the rudest scenes imagination can paint, and sulphurous smell arising from the kilns in which the ore is roasted, made it seem to me like the vestibule to Tartarus.

‘Tis here in different paths the way divides,
The right to Pluto’s golden palace guides;
The left to that unhappy region tend,

Which to the depth of Tartarus descends;
The seat of night profound, and punished fiends.

Virgil, Aeniad.”
Bingley 1800 p.277

Bingley's is one of the earliest and most detailed accounts of the working conditions in the mine:

“The sides of the dreadful hollow from whence the ore is taken, are nearly all perpendicular, but in one place was sufficiently sloping to permit my walking to the bottom, a depth of about fifty yards. Along the edges, and in general hung by ropes over the precipices, are stages with windlasses or *whimsies*, as they here term them, from which the men who work upon the sides, are lowered by cords (Image 1.8). Here, suspended in midair, they pick a small place for a footing, cut out the ore in vast masses, and tumble it with a thundering crash to the bottom. In these seemingly precarious situations, they make caverns in which they work for a certain time, till the rope is lowered to take them up again.” (Bingley 1800 p.287-8)



Image 1.8: Drawing by Julius Ibbetson depicting a mine worker being lowered into the Open Cast.

Although most smelting went on elsewhere ore from the mountain was roasted on site to remove impurities and reduce its weight to save money on shipping. For this purpose the woods on the mountain were quickly destroyed as fuel (then replaced by imported coal) and the sulphur fumes given off by the roasted ore soon took care of the rest of the plant life as Reverend Bingley describes:

“The mountain, owing to the sulphurous fumes from the works, is so entirely destitute of every kind of vegetable production for above half a mile on every side, that there is not in that space so much as even a lichen to be found. I was almost suffocated the whole time I was in the mines... I was much surprised to see the miners appear so healthful as they do. Their complexions are in general somewhat sallow, but certainly less so than I could have supposed it possible, considering the kind of employment they are engaged in for near twelve hours every day.” (Bingley 1800 p.277)

Once the roasting was completed the ore was washed and the waste water from this process channelled into the precipitation ponds which are such a feature of the mountain today. These large rectangular pools were filled with copper contaminated water and sheets of iron then placed in them. A chemical process then occurred in which the copper particles stuck to the sheets and could be extracted from the water as a sludge which once dried could be smelted.

The two sets of mine offices on the mountain (for the Parys and Mona mines) each had an infirmary and a morgue as mining was full of lethal hazards. Not the least of these was the eight tons of gunpowder used each year to blast the rock:

“The process of blasting must frequently be attended with danger, as the men have been known to be so careless as not to be sufficiently distant when the explosion has taken place... Since the first forming of these mines, they have been the graves of many unfortunate persons, either from the roofs falling in, the stages giving way, or the ropes breaking. But a few weeks before I was there,

three men were all killed at once by the breaking of a rope.” (Bingley 1800 p.288-290)

1.2.5 The Amlwch Community.

Depending on what their duties were in the mine the workers were either paid a regular wage or were paid using the bargain system, in which case their wages were dependent on how many tons of ore they produced. Regular wages were low but reliable at least while the bargain takers were largely in the hands of fate and might if they were following a rich seam be relatively well off for a time or if they found themselves working an area that yielded little or was exceptionally hard going they could find themselves only getting poorer by their hard work, as they had to purchase their equipment from the company and could easily get into debt with the mine owners.

Miners at the Parys and Mona mines rarely lived on more than a subsistence income and their labour alone was not enough to achieve even this much of the time. Many miners were still involved in agriculture and had small plots of land which were mainly worked by their wives and children to provide some food (Hope 2005) since the patriarch of the family worked 12 hours a day. The families of miners without any land often worked at the mines themselves. The copper ladies of Amlwch are one of the more famous aspects of its history, breaking up ore using a mallet and a gauntlet in long sheds on the mountain, while children also worked at various tasks around the mines. The small wages paid to women and children were considered a form of charitable donation by the mine companies (Rowlands 1966).

During the centuries of competition and price war between Williams' Anglesey ores and the Copper of Cornwall a key advantage Williams had was the low wage accepted by North Wales Miners relative to their more skilled and better organised Cornish counterparts. There is no evidence of protest against such wages during Williams' time nor any attempt by miners to organise themselves for mutual benefit instead of allowing the bidding system to make them drive down each other's wages. Historians such as Dodd (1971) attribute the lack of protest against the exploitation of workers to the religious character of North Wales at this time and in

particular the popularity of Methodism which was the dominant Christian sect in Amlwch. Methodist preachers would advocate patiently enduring the sometimes horrific working life in the mines as beneficial for one's odds of getting into heaven and would vehemently oppose any kind of challenge to the social order of the time. The Methodist revival had swept as far north as Amlwch 30 years before the great discovery where it met with initial hostility by the townsfolk but was accepted after it received the support of local gentry (Evans 1953). Aikin, a visitor to the town in 1797 gives an account of the place emphasising its pious character that borders on the utopian:

“As we approached Amlwch we were much pleased with seeing the scars of rock between the town and the sea, occupied by numerous groups of men, women and children all neat and in their best clothes, it being Sunday, who were enjoying the mild temperature of a summer evening rendered refreshing by the neighbourhood of the sea. In one place we observed a circle of men gathered round a point of rock on which was seated the orator of the party reading a newspaper aloud and commenting upon it: on other little eminences were seen family parties, the elder ones conversing and the younger children gambolling about them or running races with each other: in a new mown meadow close to the town we passed by a large company of lads and lasses seated on a green bank, chatting, laughing and full of mirth and frolick. To one who had been a spectator of the gross and riotous delight too frequent on holiday evenings in the outskirts of the metropolis or any large town in England the contrast could not fail of being very striking and much to the advantage of the inhabitants of Amlwch: out of the whole number we did not see one drinking party; the pleasures of society and mutual converse needed not the aid of intoxication to heighten their relish ... I am acquainted with no place the manner of whose inhabitants are so unexceptional as far at least as a stranger is allowed to judge of them) as Amlwch; and the favourable opinion which I was led to entertain of them on visiting the town last year is confirmed by what I have observed at present. Not a single instance have I known of drunkenness, not one quarrel have I witnessed during two very crowded market-

days, and one of them a day of unusual indulgence that I passed at this place; and I believe no gaol or bridewell or house of confinement exists in the town or neighbourhood. Most of the miners are Methodists and to the prevalence of this religious sect is chiefly to be attributed the good order that is so conspicuous.”
(From Rowlands 1966 p.83)

Other descriptions of the Amlwch Community however give a very different picture where miners did not seek consolation for their hardships in religion and pleasant conversation, but in alcohol, with sometimes unpleasant consequences:

“Saturday nights were notoriously noisy and riotous, the taverns were numerous and crowded, and quarrelsome miners and sailors fought in the streets. Fists, feet and heads were used in the brawls, but never knives or pistols...Women also fought.” –T.G.Walker (From Hope 2005 p.20)

A large number of inns, taverns and public houses are recorded in Amlwch in the 19th century and some like the Adelphi vaults, the Dinorben Arms, the Liverpool Arms and the King’s Head remain in business today serving alcohol to the people of 21st century Amlwch. Robert Roberts who was a schoolmaster at Amlwch in 1855 saw it as a place full of drinking, swearing and fighting (Rowlands 1966 p139) and said:

“[I] left the place with a sigh of relief, shaking its black dust from off my feet and leaving its smoky atmosphere as one might leave the close air of a prison ...I might reasonably expect to live among people a little more civilised than the good Amlwchians.”

Roberts was writing a generation later than Aikin and so it may be imagined that with the downturn in mine production and employment there was quite a remarkable degeneration of the civic life of the town. However a set of stocks was being used to publicly punish unruly behaviour in Amlwch as early as 1777 and an Amlwch Society for the Prosecution of Felons was

formed in 1788 to combat disorder, so there is evidence for the social ills emphasised in later accounts well before Aiken's idyllic description of the community. The true character of the community probably lay somewhere between the two visions of the sober town of respectable Methodists and the squalid pit of alcohol and violence.

1.2.6 The Cornish in Amlwch

One of the key impacts of the industrial revolution in shaping Wales as it exists today was the influx of workers from England and the impact of this on the language and culture of the country. The mining community of Amlwch in the 18th century was largely monoglot Welsh speaking and this remained the main language of the town throughout the following century as bilingualism became more common. From 1811 onwards a sub community of Cornish families began to settle in Amlwch though they always remained a small minority amongst the mostly north walian inhabitants of the town. Though largely accepted there was an undercurrent of tension at times between the two groups due to events at the mines. With the ores of Mynydd Parys that were easily (relatively speaking) accessible by open casting in Thomas Williams' time largely used up in the productive rush of the mines early heyday, it was necessary to progress to the more demanding use of underground tunnels to keep money coming in to the mines, however the skills and technology to do this did not exist locally. In 1811 James Treweek, a Cornishman with mining experience who had also worked at the Swansea copper smelters, was appointed as the manager of the Mona mine. The Cornish community of Amlwch formed around this one man who consistently sought to bring as any Cornish families to the town as possible by hiring people he knew from the old country to administrative and technical positions within the Mona mine. Treweek appears to have been motivated as much by home sickness as by the need for specific skills in his hiring policies such that the mine became "administratively a Cornish colony" (Rowlands 1960 p445). Treweek's need to stay in touch with his homeland is further demonstrated by the correspondence he kept up with Cornwall and that he had Cornish local newspapers delivered to him throughout the forty years he lived in Amlwch. The majority of the workforce was still composed of Welshmen though whose prospects for advancement were far more limited than at the neighboring Parys mine. This was a source of resentment against

Treweek and the Cornish in general though not as much as the general shortage of work in these years. Though Treweek succeeded in returning the mine to profitability following the lull after Thomas Williams' reign, mining was on nothing like the scale previously seen and with few other places to work in the area Treweek was consistently in the position of turning away unneeded local miners. Festering ill feeling against Treweek is evidenced by anonymous crank letters to the nobility at Plas Newydd (who were Treweek's employers) accusing him of all kinds of corruption throughout the decades he worked there, none of which were taken very seriously by his employers who held Treweek in consistently high regard.

James Treweek was mindful to minimise ill feeling amongst the locals. He seems to have sought to give as much work as possible, became a fluent Welsh speaker and gave a lot of his money to local parish relief and other charitable causes in Amlwch. He also took pains to not aggravate Welsh people by his demeanour and wrote in 1817: "I can say and I am sure no one can't deny that I give everyone civil language and them for whom I am not able to find work." (Rowlands 1966 p 48) Treweek's efforts to win favour with the Welsh community were rather undermined though by the conduct of his sons John Henry Treweek and William George Treweek, both of whom held important managerial posts and did much to embarrass their father amongst the more pious Methodist miners. John Henry genuinely did steal money and wares from the business (of which his father was often accused) and was frequently drunk in Amlwch where on one occasion for example he "was mad drunk and without the least provocation stripped off his coat and challenged Dr. Parry to a fight." (Rowlands 1960 p.463) William George Treweek was a very frequent patron of the Dinorben Hotel in Amlwch where he too got very drunk very often. He also fathered an illegitimate child in the town and on one occasion threatened to commit suicide by jumping into the Mona opencast. When his mother tried to talk him out of doing this he punched the 71 year old woman unconscious and had to be restrained by a policeman until morning (Ibid.). James Treweek seems to have in part blamed his sons' behaviour on the corrupting influences of Amlwch saying that "Amlwch was one of the worse places I ever knew for young men to be brought up." (Rowlands 1966 p139)

Slow burning resentment against the Cornishmen in Amlwch came to a head in 1863 when a pair of Cornish brothers, William and Thomas Buzza, came to work in the underground tunnels at Mona mine. While for decades the local Welsh workforce had been accustomed to working under the direction of Cornish managers this seems to have been the first case of incomers taking work at the lowest levels of the organisation, and the favouritism shown to the Buzza brothers resulted in a riot. The Cornish brothers had to be saved from being beaten up by a large group of their co-workers in the mine and were then prevented from returning to work several groups of miners blocking entrances to the site and threatening to kill them. The brothers left Anglesey while ringleader Owen Roberts was fired from the mine (Rowlands 1966).

1.2.7 Seafarers in Amlwch

As a coastal town the sea has obviously always been of great importance to the people of Amlwch. In both the days before and after the Great Discovery of Copper ore local herring and other fish were almost as important as the farmland to keeping local people fed. The natural creek that existed at Amlwch facing into the often wild and dangerous Irish Sea was just acceptable for fishing boats and the occasional smuggler but for larger vessels was considered too dangerous a place to try to dock except in an emergency. This narrow inlet on the coast was between two large walls of jagged natural rock and vessels attempting to negotiate the gap between these were jeopardised by powerful winds and tides pushing in from the north.

With the advent of copper mining on Parys Mountain, which was at its most productive in its early years, there was now a necessity for more and more ships to run the risk of docking in Amlwch to load ore bound for the smelters in Swansea or for Liverpool. By 1790 such voyages were greatly delayed by congestion and a lack of suitable berths in Amlwch Port (Hope 2005). The flourishing mines on Parys Mountain were at this time considered an important contributor to the power and wealth of Britain as a whole and so in 1793 Parliament passed an act ordering that the harbour be completely overhauled. The trust set up to implement Parliament's programme of improvements included individuals like Thomas Williams, Rev. Edward Hughes and Jonathan Roose whose fortunes derived largely from the mines who were granted

considerable powers by the act to order works, impose bye laws and fines and charge commercial ships for the use of the harbour to finance the works (Rowlands 1966). Being experts on mining the trust came up with a plan to quarry away the high rock face on the east side of the port leaving only a flat platform at roughly the same level as the overcrowded quays on the western side. A portion of the large workforce of the mines was redirected to blasting and removing more than 20,000 tons of rock to create the 400 by 60 foot platform (Hope 1994). Some of the huge amount of removed material was reused to build bins for copper ore on the new platform and cone shaped kilns for burning ore on the headland above the port. With this daunting project completed not only were the problems of shipping out ore solved but the older quays on the west side were freed up to be used for ship building and repairs. Some years after the completion of the work James Treweek the mine manager invested in redeveloping this side of the harbour for shipbuilding (Image 1.9), the business being managed by Nicholas Treweek one of his more sober and well behaved sons whose first ship the Unity set sail from Amlwch in 1825 (Ibid). A total of 72 ships would be built in Amlwch up to the last during World war one, the majority of them wooden schooners. A community of highly skilled carpenters and other artisans clustered around the port in Amlwch and there was also a training school established for ships captains in the town.

The busy port offered a great temptation to the sons of the town's miners to escape a lifetime in the pits of Parys Mountain. In 1834 William Thomas aged 12 is thought to have stowed away on a ship sailing from Amlwch to Liverpool and after several years with no contact from the runaway was presumed to be dead by his parents. Miner Lewis Thomas was therefore greatly surprised when his prodigal son turned up again in Amlwch in 1841, now 19 years and a remarkably young ships captain having spent the past 7 years in the North Atlantic trade sailing between Britain and America. In years to come William Thomas came to own many ships and established his own ship building business in his hometown of Amlwch. The ships built by William Thomas and Sons were of exceptional quality and the business successful enough that it financed the construction of a new shipyard, Iard Newydd, on the east side of the harbor (Image 1.10). William Thomas was probably the town's most successful sailor but for many who ran

away to the adventure of a life at sea things did not work out so happily and perhaps the majority of families in Amlwch had a member who was lost at sea.

Life at sea was hazardous enough during peace time but from the Napoleonic to the First World War many Amlwch sailors found themselves going into battle. Evidently following the Napoleonic wars many sailors discharged from the navy returned home to Amlwch to find a shortage of work and food prices rising due to poor harvests. Such unemployed sailors and also soldiers were the main groups blamed for the food riots that occurred in Amlwch in 1817, though in fact miners were heavily involved as well, some of them recently laid off due to falling productivity in the mines. The riots began on the night of the 28th January when an armed mob



Image 1.9: Ruins of Treweek's ship yard, the older of the two shipyards to have existed in the port.



Image 1.10: The Sail Loft (upper right) and remains of a dry dock (lower left) are all that remain of Iard Newydd, the newer shipyard on the east side of the harbor. Also in this picture is the Shell Oil terminal building, currently disused.

stormed the Wellington of Liverpool in the port and stole its helm making it impossible for the ship to sail as it could not be steered. The Wellington was loaded with corn to be sold at market in Liverpool and the attackers hoped that with the ship stranded it would be forced to sell its cargo locally bringing down the price of bread in Amlwch to a level the poverty stricken town could afford. Amongst those named in later court records amongst those who boarded the ship roughly half were miners and the other half mariners (Beaumaris Quarter sessions 1817). The action sparked three weeks of lawlessness in the town as protests against food prices turned violent and order was only restored when about 170 soldiers marched in to Amlwch (North Wales Gazette Feb.27 1817). Martial law continued for about a month in Amlwch before the troops left the pacified town. In the wake of the riots some efforts were made to raise money to finance public works to lessen unemployment, including the construction of the watch tower in Amlwch port.

While Amlwch sailors served in the British Navy and Amlwch copper contributed to many British victories it is thought that Amlwch's sailors may have played a surprising role in the American civil war as well, and indeed contemporary rumours claimed that William Thomas made much of his fortune from fighting in America's war. In 1861 Captain James D Bulloch arrived in Britain on a secretive mission to commission war ships for the navy of the rebellious Southern Confederate States. To fund its war effort the Confederacy was dependent on continuing to trade its cotton harvests overseas in particular with Britain, its best customer. Lincoln's blockade of southern ports sought to end this trade and bankrupt the South, hence Bulloch's mission. Although Britain was neutral in the conflict there were many sympathisers who would help Bulloch particularly in the cotton and shipping industries whose financial interests lay with the Confederacy. Bulloch was unable to openly commission war ships and was being spied on by the United States Ambassador, but was able to commission civilian craft and ordered the construction of a ship in Liverpool based on Royal Navy designs but unarmed. Bulloch invited many guests to travel on the ship's maiden voyage, all of them Confederate sympathisers and hired a second ship to accompany the 290 as it was named for "safety reasons". Once out of Liverpool the genteel passengers were transferred to the second ship and returned to Liverpool while the 290 continued on to Anglesey under a new assumed name of the *Enrica*. The ship docked in Moelfre bay not far distant from Amlwch where it was hastily fitted out for combat and manned by a locally recruited crew before changing its name again to the CSS *Alabama* and sailing off to war having evaded the USS *Tuscarora* which the US Ambassador ordered to intercept it having learnt of the subterfuge. The *Alabama* and its Welsh crew sank or captured 64 northern ships and was one of the most feared ships in the Civil war. Who recruited the crew and supervised the refitting at Anglesey was never discovered, but it is rumoured it was William Thomas he would have made a great deal of money and have had ample reason to keep it quiet as following the victory of the Northern Union the British government had to pay over fifteen million dollars for failing to use due diligence in its neutral obligations (Hope 1994).

1.2.8 Industrial decline

The latter half of the nineteenth century saw the decline of Amlwch as an industrial centre in North Wales which was a gradual process rather than an overnight collapse. The root cause of this decline was the end to copper mining on Mynydd Parys, the industry from which all others had sprang and still ultimately relied on though they had tried to become independent of it. By 1851 only eighty four miners worked at the Mona mine and most workings on Parys Mountain were abandoned (Rowlands 1966). During the first half of the 1850s a smelting industry had been well established in the town, initially begun by Thomas Williams to process the mines' ore into usable copper. James Treweek though had seen the need for smelting to stand on its own and had worked to have ores from other mines shipped to Amlwch for smelting as output from Parys Mountain diminished. For a time the Amlwch smelters competed successfully with their larger, well established competitors in Swansea but were ultimately undermined by a lack of local coal and shipping costs. Today sadly there is little trace of Amlwch's smelting industry as the buildings were all demolished to make way for the Craig y Don housing estate in the 20th century (Hope 1994) Like the smelters Amlwch port made efforts to adapt to life without the copper mines but was ultimately undone as well. The much diminished traffic to the port meant less repair work for the ship builders who were also threatened from without by technological change. Bold efforts were made to adapt; in 1858 the Mary Catherine, the first ship to be made from Iron in North Wales was launched and in 1881 William Thomas and Sons launched the ports first steamship the WS Caine. But the small size of the port and its ship building operations meant that economies of scale would ultimately spell death for these enterprises as the market for wooden sailing ships disappeared. Advances in metallurgy meant ships would only go on getting larger and at Amlwch Port there was no possibility of redeveloping to accommodate larger vessels (Hope 2005). The quality of the ships built in this small port should not be forgotten though as the Eilian, one of the last ships built in Amlwch in 1908 remained in commercial service until 1984 (Hope 1994).

In the early twentieth century the precipitation ponds, long the only activity on Mynydd Parys, closed down rendering the whole mountain derelict and leaving Amlwch greatly diminished in

fortunes. Since then there have occasionally been motions toward beginning to mine the mountain again that have raised hopes of Amlwch returning to prosperity founded on this original raison d'être. Geological surveys have repeatedly shown the mountain to be far from exhausted and still rich in zinc, copper and small amounts of silver and gold. The 300 metre deep Hugh Morris shaft was dug in the late 1980s at a time when Anglesey mining company was optimistic of beginning deep level mining soon. Such plans have however been both prompted and then derailed by the fluctuations of the price of copper on the world market. In recent years Copper prices have tended to rise due to demand from China, and the government of South Korea sent representatives to Amlwch in 2007 to consider investing in the mine. In 2008 advanced plans for an Australian firm to buy the mining rights from Anglesey Mining Plc and renew mining fell through (Image 1.11). This was attributed to the global credit crunch and the consequent weakening of the Australian dollar. The prospect of renewed mining seems to have been promised for a couple of years in the future for much of the past 20 years, but were it to happen it would bring a number of highly skilled jobs to the area for as long as it endured.



Image 1.11: Newspaper report of collapse of Australian mining deal 8.14.2008

1.3. Modern Amlwch and Tourism on Anglesey

This section describes the economic problems currently experienced by Amlwch and seeks to explain why tourism, based on the town's heritage, has been advocated by the AIHT and supporters as a possible means of regenerating the town. Amlwch is considered in its context as a pocket of concentrated unemployment and deprivation on the Isle of Anglesey, an island which has serious economic weaknesses as a whole.

Developing Amlwch as a visitor destination has the potential to address the immediate lack of jobs available in this area and also to contribute to the well being of the Island's economy as a whole by adding a new attraction to an elderly holiday destination in danger of decline. The position of Amlwch on the island well away from its main transport corridor is an obstacle however. When considering the possibility of regenerating Amlwch through tourism it is worth noting that Amlwch is not a 'blank slate' for such development but rather is a peripheral part of a long established tourism economy of the island as a whole. Marketing of the attraction at Amlwch must form a coherent part of the Island wide offer to tourists while also competing with its Anglesey partners for its share of visitors and spending. Hence this section includes an overview of the tourism industry of Anglesey as a whole.

1.3.1 Amlwch's economy

The preceding section of this chapter attributed the long term decline of Amlwch since its heyday to the demise of mining at Parys Mountain. This is certainly the main factor in the shrinking of the town over generations from a population above 10,000 in the late 18th century to one of roughly 3700 today (AIHT 2008). It would be inaccurate though to say that over the 20th century Amlwch has been entirely unsuccessful in finding new industries to support its economy and population. Within the larger pattern of growth and decline at Amlwch based on mining industries, recent history has given smaller demonstrations of the same process based in the energy industry and access to the sea. In 1952 a plant was established next to the by now redundant port to pump sea water and extract bromine from it, initially for use to prevent engine

knock when using leaded petrol and later for other products (Amlwch History 2008). Known as the Great Lakes plant for most of its history this plant was a major employer until closure in 2005 bringing many redundancies. Meanwhile on the other side of the port much of the historic Iard Newydd shipyard had been demolished to make way for the Shell oil terminal opened in 1974 (Hope 1994). This large imposing building now stands derelict as the next door neighbour of the Sail Loft visitor centre having closed down in 1990. Currently there is less economic activity around Amlwch Port than ever before but there is promise of some employment being restored as the Great Lakes complex has been purchased by CANATAXX for redevelopment as a liquid natural gas plant playing a similar role to that of the Shell terminal previously. The CANATAXX plant will use left over machinery from the bromine plant (for warming the liquid gas using sea water to convert it back into gas) and the off shore facilities of the shell terminal, but will create only 60 jobs to replace the 160 jobs these two facilities once provided (BBC 2008a). A current employer of significant numbers of Amlwch residents is the Magnox North nuclear power station at Wylfa some distance west along the island's north coast. This elderly nuclear plant is due to be decommissioned in 2010 and may or not be replaced by a new nuclear plant. Political wrangling over the proposed 'Wylfa B' plant has now gone on so long there is no possibility of a smooth handover from one plant to the next to keep the workforce stable. The uncertain future of nuclear power at Wylfa is not just a problem for Amlwch but for the economy of the whole island particularly due to the knock on effects on the Anglesey Aluminium plant outside Holyhead, another major employer reliant on energy supply from Wylfa. 1500 jobs have now been lost from the Island's economy due to the failure to renew a cheap energy contract at Anglesey Aluminium causing the plant to close (BBC 2008b). The net effect of the comings and goings of big employers is an insufficient number of jobs in the present that is more likely to get worse in the next few years than it is to improve, an economic situation that would have come about even without the current national recession.

As a result of shifting industrial fortunes the townscape of Amlwch features significant amounts of disused retail and residential property as well as industrial space. The town possesses a single supermarket and a small number of convenience stores giving limited choice to residents compared to other large towns on Anglesey. Entertainment options are limited to pubs and a

betting shop. There are also fewer takeaway options than in the other town's on the island. It will be apparent from this that the people of Amlwch lack the spending power to attract more businesses into the town, and this stems from underemployment. The following table shows the levels of long term unemployment for those of working age (16-74) in the two electoral wards that make up the Copper Kingdom landscape and for Anglesey and Wales as a whole from the most recent census.

Table 1.1: Unemployment in Amlwch

Area	Amlwch Port	Amlwch rural	Isle of Anglesey	Wales
Percentage unemployed	45.21%	37.7%	40.7%	31.26%

(National Statistics 2001)

As can be seen while Anglesey as a whole is an employment deprived sub region of Wales the town of Amlwch is a particularly severe pocket of joblessness, though its rural environs with their greater number of retired residents are relatively well off. With this number of residents out of work comes a number of social problems for the Amlwch community. The Welsh Index of Multiple Deprivation (WIMD) was established in 2000 by the office of National Statistics (replacing the Welsh Index of Socio-economic conditions) with the aim of gathering data on levels of deprivation in Welsh communities to help government target resources for regeneration to the communities most in need (National Statistics 2000). It has consistently placed Amlwch port in the top quarter of Wales' most deprived wards and one of Anglesey's most severe pockets of multiple deprivation. The subtle difference between 'deprivation' and 'poverty' as explained by the WIMD is that poverty is a state of the financial resources available being less than the combined costs of the goods and services needed, whereas deprivation is the condition of not having these necessities whether the reason is lack of money or some other obstacle. The methodology of the WIMD determines what the necessities of life are considered to be in 21st century Britain in the selection of the types of deprivation it measures. In 2000 these areas were: income, employment, health, education, housing and access to services. To these six measures

quality of environment was added in 2005 and community safety (a measure of levels of crime) in 2008. The methodology of the index has changed with each edition in its application but basically works by measuring how deprived people are in each of these essentials of life and combining the measures to give an overall ranking of Welsh electoral wards from the most multiply deprived to the least. While the index measures many areas besides the employment level and average income these are two given the most weight in the equation to collate different areas into a single measure of multiple deprivation. Table 1.2 shows how Amlwch's urban and rural areas rank up out of the 1896 wards in Wales in each area along with the wards of Morawelon in Holyhead and Tudur in Llangefni.

These figures show that the people of Amlwch port experience serious multiple deprivation albeit not so bad as the worst area of Holyhead. Holyhead is Anglesey's largest town by far and the Island's only settlement with a population of over 10,000. The town is made up of six electoral wards, all of them outranking Amlwch port on the WIMD for 2008 with Morawelon the worst, as can be seen in Table 1.3.

Table 1.2: Multiple deprivation in four Anglesey wards

	Amlwch Port	Amlwch Rural	Morawelon (Holyhead)	Tudur (Llangefni)
Multiple deprivation index score	30.6	20.4	48.2	42.0
Multiple deprivation rank	432	796	119	187
Income	480	951	158	132
Employment	573	687	175	311
Health	582	1399	296	342
Education, skills and training	720	1053	119	182
Housing	366	287	37	306
Geographical access to services	305	201	1059	700
Physical environment	219	752	404	565
Community safety	318	1212	313	398

(National Statistics 2008A)

Table 1.3: Top ten most deprived wards on Anglesey

Rank (on Anglesey)	Name	Multiple deprivation index score	Rank (in Wales)
1	Morawelon (Holyhead)	48.2	122
2	Tudur (Llangefni)	42.9	190
3	Porthyfelin 1 (Holyhead)	41.6	207
4	Holyhead Town	39.3	239
5	London road (Holyhead)	33.2	355
6	Maeshyfryd (Holyhead)	31.4	408
7	Kingsland (Holyhead)	30.6	429
8	Amlwch Port	30.6	435
9	Bryngwran	29.3	465
10	Aberffraw and Rhosneigr 1	25.0	603

(National Statistics 2008A)

The purpose of WIMD is to target resources for regeneration and so in the Anglesey Economic Development strategy Amlwch takes the place of third priority for regeneration behind Holyhead and Llangefni (AIHT 2008). As the top priority on Anglesey, Holyhead has seen considerable investment in recent years from local and European government, most obviously in the Celtic Gateway project which cost £7.5 million, including £5 million to build a pedestrian bridge connecting the town centre to the ferry terminal and train station complex, as well as other improvements at the train station and in the town centre (Holyhead Forward 2009). The bridge is intended as a landmark and symbol of the regeneration of the town which has elsewhere seen

investment in developing land on the waterfront, new berthing facilities for cruise ships (a lucrative potential tourism market) and the development of an annual Holyhead festival (Corporate Wales 2008). The targeting of funds on Holyhead is sensible as the WIMD clearly shows there are larger numbers of people in greater need there but an additional factor not experienced in Holyhead making life difficult for Amlwch citizens is their relative isolation. Holyhead is a major port for shipping between the UK and the Republic of Ireland and is connected to the motorway running across the South West of Anglesey to the mainland with a parallel train line. Amlwch on the other hand is tucked away in the North West of the Island at a great remove from the island's main transport corridor. This is reflected in Amlwch's poor rank for access to services in the WIMD and also in the Office for National Statistics' classification of Amlwch as part of a highly rural area (National Statistics 2008B). Uniquely amongst the core settlements of Anglesey, Amlwch is over 40 minutes drive from the nearest population centre of 10000+, and of course many of its more deprived residents own no vehicle to make this journey leaving them cut off from the greater levels of economic activity along the Menai Straits on the south side of the island. Amlwch once had access to Gwynedd and the wider world via the Anglesey Central Railway but passenger services ceased in 1974 apart from very occasional special events up to 1994 when freight services to the Great Lakes plant also ended and the disused line began to fall into disrepair (Rear 1994). The isolation of Amlwch is an obstacle to regeneration and limits the town's possibilities.

In response to the first WIMD in 2000 the Welsh Assembly Government launched the Communities First programme aimed at regenerating what were identified as the 100 worst communities in Wales based on the WIMD, and Amlwch was one of these. The Communities First network includes two full time staff based in the town council offices in Amlwch (Communities First 2008). The programme's aims are to reduce poverty and to improve the lives of those living in the poorest areas using a "bottom up" or community originated approach. The Communities First officers are supposed to encourage the community to decide for itself what it needs and help them get it rather than imposing their own ideas as to how to rejuvenate the area. In practice this means the officers are concerned with encouraging the formation of local groups and schemes and helping them pursue available funding. Communities First in

Amlwch is inextricably linked with the Amlwch Regeneration Partnership formed in 2002, composed of local people and representatives of local government, business and community organisations.

The partnership organisation with Communities First assistance has raised hundreds of thousands of pounds for its projects which reflect some of the major concerns of those living in Amlwch. A large part of the partnership activity is in one way or another aimed at helping young people in Amlwch, providing several youth clubs and also financing play areas for young children and the somewhat controversial Amlwch skate park. The title “skate park” is somewhat dubious consisting as it does of only a single wooden half-pipe ramp in an area surrounded by grass and hence unsuitable for the use of skateboards. The half pipe is used by the local youth primarily as a place to congregate and drink to the annoyance of local residents (Bangor and Anglesey Mail), and the author of this thesis has so far never seen it used for skateboarding, or indeed seen a skateboard in Amlwch. The partnership has also established two groups for the area’s old people, organising lunches and social activities to tackle the problems of social isolation of the elderly. The partnership is also involved in promoting events to bring more visitors to the town such as the annual copper fest music festival held in the port and the very popular biennial Viking festival which includes battle recreations and attracts enthusiastic “Vikings” from throughout the UK and beyond.

The highest priorities of the partnership though are reflected in the two trading arms it has set up. The younger of these is the Meithrinfa Camau Cyntaf nursery opened in 2006 which provides cheap child care facilities to allow women in Amlwch to seek work and undertake training. The nursery also employs 15 directly (Amlwch Regeneration Partnership 2008). The older trading arm of the Partnership is Hyffordiant Parys Training based in one of the business units on the town’s industrial estate. The training centre’s aim is to improve the skills base in the local economy particularly amongst those who are long term unemployed or likely to grow up to be long term unemployed. The centre facilities are open to commercial hire but are mainly involved in two projects funded by the ESF. Community Stepladder training offers courses in areas such as food hygiene, first aid, and information technology ranging from basic skills to the European

Computer Driving Licence qualification. It has also recently provided English language courses for the area's Polish community. Courses on the Stepladder scheme are free to the unemployed or those in low paid, low skilled work, with the aim of giving locals the skills needed to escape a "dependency culture". Amlwch skills centre 16+ has similar goals working with young people aged 16-24 "at risk of disaffection", those who have left formal education at 16 and have no meaningful employment or training opportunities due to personal problems and a lack of basic skills. Participants undertake small tasters of courses on the Stepladder scheme and have sessions to tackle motivational problems and also literacy and numeracy problems. They are also involved in "character building" activities, for instance one group was given an adventure day walking to the summit of Mount Snowdon. It is hoped that the scheme will enable disadvantaged young people to progress to normal forms of employment and further training by addressing their basic deficiencies.

The work of the Amlwch Regeneration Partnership shows the communities efforts to help itself but can only go so far in tackling deep rooted economic and social problems. The funds raised by Communities First are spent on laudable projects but are fairly paltry in amount when compared to the £7.5 million spent on a footbridge in Holyhead. If AIHT had been successful in implementing the Parkin business plan which involved more than £10million of investment this would have vastly outstripped the amount raised so far by the regeneration partnership, as would the more conservative bid that was withdrawn in 2008. The large amount of match funding that would need to be raised for a million pound plus bid to HLF most likely from the County Council means it would need to be demonstrated that the project could benefit not just Amlwch but the Island as a whole.

1.3.2 Anglesey's tourist industry

Tourism, if defined as travel for leisure rather than work purposes has been growing in prominence in society for over a century barring brief wartime interruptions, driven by technological and social change. Prior to the development of railways, leisure travel was the province of a small percentage of people and a mark of their elite status. With the advent of rail,

then later commercial sea and air travel and automobile ownership and increasing leisure time to make use of these technologies, leisure travel has become democratised though it still acts as a signifier of social class and status with different destinations, activities, modes of transport and trip durations serving to define membership of classes and social groupings (Munt 1994). As the numbers of tourists has grown so too has the number of tourist destinations. Post World War 2 mass tourism was associated with a limited number of destinations characterised by “sun, sea and sand” and mostly sedentary activity to rest and recuperate from the rigours of work (Weiler and Hall 1992). Tourism is a key defining property of leisure time as distinct from work time, the two serving to define each other. Urry (1995) defines how tourism is “consumed through a socially constructed experience of the “tourist gaze”. This at its simplest is the sensory taking in of a new environment defined through imagination as distinctive from the consumer’s ordinary environment of work and home. This gaze is the crucial act of tourism, the purchasing of goods and services such as travel, accommodation and so on are all incidental contributors towards achieving this gaze. Urry argues that tourist travel is by now so ubiquitous that the tourist gaze can occur just about anywhere. One reason is that a driving factor of the tourist gaze is often the presence of other tourists, which in some cases may be a necessity of the experience but in others may mar the sought for experience (Ibid.). In these cases as the number of tourists grows so new destinations must be developed as old ones exceed their carrying capacity, a process represented in the Tourist Area Lifecycle Model. Another factor is the diversification in holiday activity. The sedentary beach holiday is now less dominant as tourists are more active on holiday, reflecting more sedentary desk-bound working lives, and have different expectations of their holidays and what they will gain from the experience (Weiler and Hall 1992). The diversification of tourist products and gazes to consume helps diverse new social groupings to define themselves by conspicuous consumption (Munt 1994). As a result areas that only a few decades previously could not have been imagined as tourist destinations have been transformed by the social construction of the tourist gaze, with Urry (1995) citing the industrial townscape of Wigan in Lancashire as an example of an area that would only have been visited out of necessity but now has a well developed tourist infrastructure.

The rural character and extensive coastlines of Anglesey have long made it a popular destination to visit for those with sufficient money and free time to travel, going back more than 200 years to early guidebooks such as Reverend Bingley's Tour round North Wales conducted in 1798 (Bingley 1800). The Island's modern tourism industry developed in the years after World War 2 and particularly after the improvements in access to North Wales from England brought by the A55, and has been one of the essential components of the Island's economy since the 1960s. An account of tourism on the island written in 1972 gives a picture very similar to the structure of this sector today, 36 years later. Then and now accommodation for tourists consists largely of caravans and camping sites and is placed close to the Island's sandy beaches, with the largest block of caravanning spaced around Bennlech near to Red Wharf Bay, the island's largest beach (Richards 1972). This infrastructure reflects the traditional Anglesey holiday experience of around two weeks spent resting either on a beach or in a caravan waiting for good weather.

With this type of holiday intended to 'recharge the batteries' no longer a norm and giving way to shorter holidays with as much activity as possible crammed into them Anglesey is now increasingly likely to be 'done in a day' by those on holiday elsewhere in North Wales rather than be the place where people stay overnight. In 2005 of the 1.077 million people who visited Anglesey as tourists only 4%, 43080 stayed overnight on the island. The rest either travel from home most often in main land North Wales or from holiday accommodation within the much larger markets of Snowdonia and the North Wales coast. In 2004 the split was 37% of tourists to Anglesey originating from home and 63% from holiday accommodation including those staying on the island. In this context Amlwch's position on the far north of the island is a disadvantage as it misses out on the lion's share of the island's tourism which is concentrated on town's near or on the Menai Straits such as Beaumaris and Llanfair PG which have long been the Island's 'honey pots' for day visitors.

The overall picture of tourism on Anglesey is one of fairly static levels of visiting and spending throughout the first half of this decade as shown in the table below which uses data from the Scarborough Tourism Economic Activity Monitor (STEAM). Tourist destinations are theorized by Butler (1997) and others to be subject to a lifecycle of growth, stagnation and decline. This is

a concept imported from marketing studies where it exists as the product lifecycle. In both disciplines, while efforts have been made to operationalise the concept and identify the precise stages as they apply to a real world example, usually retroactively (see for example Zhong et al.), the greater value of this model and its variants is as a precautionary against management complacency (Coles 2006). According to the lifecycle model (see 2.5) the lack of any consistent growth in visitor numbers should be taken as an indicator of the stagnation phase of a tourism destination which heralds a decline. The figures may well mask a trend of decline in the Island's accommodation sector compensated for by an increase in day visits from the mainland. The rest of Wales saw significant growth in this same period in tourist spending and the trickle of a share of some of this money may have kept Anglesey stable.

This lack of any trend of growth speaks of the dated nature of the tourism product on offer in Anglesey. It is not just a theoretical model that predicts decline for Anglesey, local government in Anglesey foresees and fears a shrinking in visitor numbers and revenues from tourism if the regular visitors from North West England stop returning and are not replaced by anyone else. The roughly £100,000,000 injected into Anglesey each year by tourism represents 20% of the Island's fragile economy and has been a reliable earner by the Island's standards, considering that agriculture has long been in crisis and in industry the island relies on a few big employers

Table 1.4: Tourism on Anglesey STEAM data

	Revenue	Visitors	Average Spend
2000	£112,200,000	1,079,000	£104
2001	£97,400,000	963,000	£101
2002	£99,700,000	1,026,000	£97
2003	£115,700,000	1,147,000	£101
2004	£115,500,000	1,177,000	£98
2005	£111,400,000	1,077,000	£103

IACC (2008)

that can disappear at short notice. Beyond the obvious example of Anglesey Aluminium too many of the Island's jobs are unskilled and in low tech manufacturing and food processing and so likely to be moved overseas to cheaper labour markets. Tourism plays a large role in supporting service industry jobs in retail, hotels and catering, and the service sector provides almost half of the Island's employment (IACC 2008). The tourist trade combined with public sector employment has made the south the strongest part of Anglesey (with the north the weakest). At a meeting to discuss the role of tourism in the new Local Development Plan in 2007 the threat to tourism loomed large: "tourism spend had been static over the past six years contrary to the trend for the remainder of the UK- unless we do something it would decline (SIC)". Normally alarm at the prospects for tourism is only expressed publically when given a positive angle, so rather than hearing of the threat of tourist decline we hear of tourism as a sector with strong potential for growth and a need for rejuvenation. Indeed Butler's lifecycle model shows that beyond the current stagnation phase rejuvenation is the only alternative to decline, necessitating a return to the beginning and the investment of considerable resources in creating a new destination product.

Of course the logic of Butler's model does not demand that all elderly failing destinations overhaul themselves, there is the possibility for a managed, less painful decline particularly where other industries exist to take on those who have lost jobs dependant on tourists. Baum (2006) observes that there is an inertia in regional economies that have an established tourism infrastructure that may blind them to opportunities to develop alternative industries when the tourist trade is in decline. Contributing to such inertia is the large number of small businesses that typify tourist destinations many of which will have sunken development costs forcing their owners to continue to operate the business even as the market deteriorates, while other businesses may be being run in a sub-optimal fashion for reasons as much to do with lifestyle as profitability. Baum therefore suggests an "exit strategy" may in some cases need to be led by central authorities. Rightly or wrongly no such exit strategy has been seriously suggested on Anglesey and instead the only other option of redeveloping and rejuvenating tourism is being pursued.

What perhaps should be considered is the greater need for regeneration in the north and east of the county demanding investment, while the south is less deserving of limited funds for tourist development for two reasons. The first is that as the wealthiest part of the island, closely connected to the larger and growing economy of Gwynedd this portion of Anglesey has the most opportunities to create new jobs. The second is that developing the worst off areas coincidentally brings the chance to move the 'centre of gravity' of tourism onto the island itself which would benefit all parts of Anglesey including tourist businesses in the south as it would encourage staying on the island against visiting from Llandudno or elsewhere in Gwynedd, helping encourage accommodation and catering on Anglesey and so raising the overall tourism spend.

This kind of spatial thinking with regards to tourism on Anglesey is less prominent than discussion of what kind of tourism experience the Island now needs to offer and has the potential to provide. There is little Anglesey can do about the decline of the long British holiday brought about by changes in working life and cheap transport to overseas destinations except to adapt to it. The hope is that short breaks and holidays additional to people's main overseas vacation can take up the slack in tourism to Anglesey. To achieve this the Island needs to offer more activities for visitors to meet modern tastes. As with the old tourism the principal strength of the Island is seen as being in its coastline and unspoilt rural character, in short in the natural beauty of the island. All of the coastline of the island is designated as an Area of Outstanding Natural Beauty and can be enjoyed by walking the Anglesey Coastal path. Walking and cycling are key activities for visitors to the island with potential for more development in land and away from the coast. The island also offers opportunities for fishing and sailing and related activities. The problem with all these activities is that they are at the mercy of the weather and a rainy summer is usually given as the reason for slump years like 2001. The other prong for enhancing the offer to tourism then is the need to offer more indoor facilities and experiences for rainy days. In this area the island is massively lacking at present due to its rural character. An interesting prospect in this area was the proposed Ty Mawr development, intended to be a mixed business and leisure park just outside of Llanfair PG and so close to the Britannia Bridge and markets in Gwynedd. The £106 million development would have included a nine screen cinema, a bowling alley, a

gym plus food outlets all of which would be rather unprecedented on Anglesey. The development was met with vehement opposition on the grounds that it should be located in Llandegfan where it would be nearer to pockets of greatest unemployment (the development is supposed to create 1300 jobs) but much further from the transport corridor connecting Bangor, Caernarfon and Holyhead whose markets would make the site viable for businesses like a 9 screen cinema and a bowling alley. After two years attempting to secure planning permission the Ty Mawr scheme was cancelled in September 2009 (Image 1.12).



Image 1.12: Newspaper report of failure of Ty Mawr development scheme (Mail 16.9.2009)

The Isle of Anglesey has a very rich history and a copious supply of heritage sites that can feed into providing more activities for visitors both outdoors and indoors. The basic dictionary definition of heritage as something inherited by one generation from another does not get us very far in understanding the phenomena of modern society represented by the term. The term is today widely used in any number of contexts and often gets by without precise definition of what is meant by it, but its use usually implies a value judgment based on alleged historic significance and contemporary needs served by preservation of elements from the past. Though often conflated, history and heritage have two very distinct agendas defining their relationship to each other. History is a pursuit of understanding of past events that as an academic discipline acknowledges complexity and that key questions often cannot be settled definitively, whereas

heritage is a codification of the past into a communicable idea to serve some end or need. As Lowenthal (1998) put it, “History explores and explains pasts grown ever more opaque over time; heritage clarifies pasts so as to infuse them with present purposes.” Advocates for the ‘present purposes’ associated with a particular building, artifact or practice may speak of its heritage value as though it were inherent and a tangible attribute but in reality heritage is only a set of abstract ideals attached to physical materials in an effort to borrow some tangibility (Smith 2006). Heritage is therefore a way of looking at places and objects and so the social construction of heritage is comparable to Urry’s ‘tourist gaze’, the growth in heritage being intimately related to the emergence of new forms of cultural consumption (Dicks 2000).

Anglesey has 159 Scheduled Ancient Monuments (Image 1.13) and 138 Grade I and Grade II* listed buildings and a further 977 Grade II listed buildings (IACC 2009). These resources include representation of virtually every era of history from the Neolithic to World War 2. The appeal of heritage to tourism is obvious at Beaumaris castle, a world heritage site, and at Plas Newydd, a stately home run by the national trust both of which are key visitor attractions in the relatively prosperous south of the island. In 2006 Beaumaris castle received 75,199 visits. Much of the Island’s heritage though is under developed and poorly appreciated. The Mona Antiqua report produced by Menter Mon in 2003 indicated the extent of the heritage resources and their potential appeal to tourism as well as the current weaknesses in the marketing of these resources. Visitors receive insufficient help and encouragement to find heritage sites and have the information available on site to make visits meaningful and worthwhile, if they are even aware in the first place of the Island’s unique collection of stone age monuments, for one example. Visiting historic sites traditionally appeals to the ABC1 social classes who are more likely to have received tertiary education and who often want to at least appear to be interested in history. These social groups make up 58% of visits to Anglesey with 30% of visitors to Anglesey in the high-spending AB classes when they make up only 21% of the UK population. The pull of heritage on current visitors is not as strong as that of the scenery and coastline of the Island but heritage is the 5th most popular holiday activity and forms a part of many if not most visits to the island. Anglesey hopes to develop this further by raising awareness and encouraging development of the heritage. A new heritage attraction, Melin Llynnon, a working windmill of

which there were once many on the Island was opened as a museum in 2001 and Cadw is actively looking to increase visitor numbers to its non-staffed sites, the burial chambers and other monuments, in the next few years, having only just begun to even monitor visitor numbers at these important historic sites. Some of the Island's heritage such as these monuments and Parys Mountain are well suited to walking activities and further enriching the experience of the island's rural landscape and nature, while the heritage also can add to the Island's provision of indoor wet weather experiences through museums and heritage centres.

Historical Designations on Anglesey

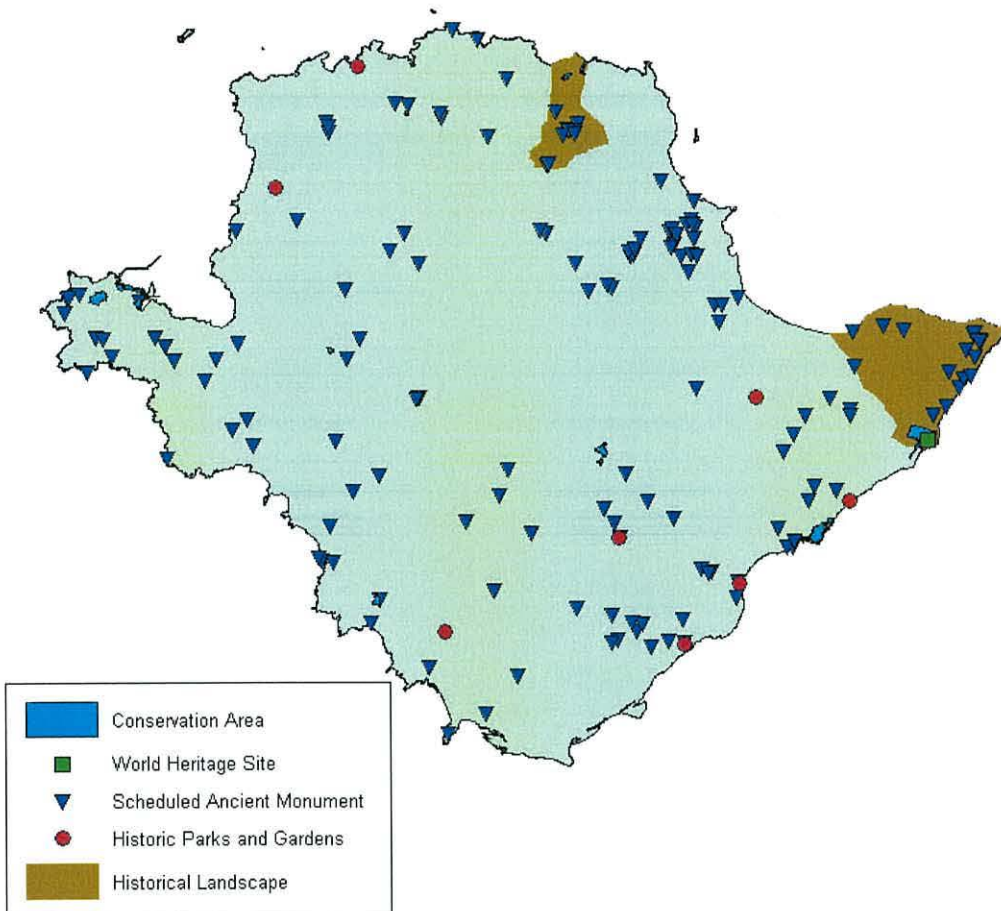


Image 1.13: Map showing distribution of historic buildings, sites and landscape areas on Anglesey (IACC 2009)

Attracting tourists to the North of Anglesey and giving them a positive experience of the Island's industrial heritage would have wide regional benefits while creating employment and stimulating economic activity in one of Wales' worst and most neglected pockets of deprivation. Having a valid reason to progress further north beyond the sight of the Menai Straits and Snowdonia would significantly alter the dynamics of tourism in North Wales and open up the whole county. This kind of rejuvenation is needed to prevent another key sector of the Island's economy collapsing. The future success or failure of the Copper Kingdom project will therefore have impacts extending far beyond Amlwch itself.

1.4. Amlwch Industrial Heritage Trust Organisational Profile

The Amlwch Industrial Heritage Trust was formed in 1996 as a small informal group of enthusiasts with a passion for the richly interconnected heritage landscape of Amlwch and nearby Parys Mountain and was incorporated as a private limited company on the 1st of October 1997 (Companies House 2006). The AIHT originally formed in response to the deterioration of the built heritage and so its original purpose is that of conservation, though many members had strong interests in researching and investigating the landscape and its history. For example founder member and now Secretary of the Trust Bryan D. Hope had already had his book *A Curious Place- The Industrial History of Amlwch* published in 1994 (AIHT, 2005). It was soon recognised though that the heritage assets could be of great benefit in reviving the local economy and promoting culture and education and that by making the heritage landscape valuable to North East Anglesey it would be easier to secure the protection and conservation of its features. The Trust's plan to develop Mynydd Parys and Porth Amlwch as a site of cultural tourism is referred to as the Copper Kingdom Project and is the main thrust of the AIHT's activities. The Trust is more than just a pressure group for conservation and its stated Aims and Objectives cover the promotion of research and disseminating information about the landscape and harnessing the resources to generate tourism for the benefit of the local economy.

In 1998 the AIHT received a start-up grant of £40,000 from island development agency Menter Mon. (Ibid.) With this money the Trust was able to apply for a further £165,000 grant from the European Regional Development Fund using match funding assistance from the Welsh Development Agency and Landfill Tax. Using these funds the Trust took out a 25 year lease on 3 historic features of the Port: the Watchtower, the Copper bins and the Sail Loft at a cost of £2000-£3000 per year paid to the Isle of Anglesey County Council. The Trust soon established several basic provisions for visitors to the Copper Kingdom landscape. A visitor centre was set up first in the Watchtower and then moved to the more spacious Sail Loft building in 2000. Heritage trails were established at Mynydd Parys and Porth Amlwch, including the viewing platform and car park on the mountain. Each trail is supported by an information leaflet and small unobtrusive numbered signs along the trail linked to the information in the leaflet. The trail leaflet at Porth Amlwch is in full colour and available free from the Sail Loft Centre whereas the leaflet for the Mountain is in black and white and can be picked up from an 'honesty box' in the mountain car park for a requested twenty pence. Each site also has a large full colour illustrated interpretive panel produced by Image Makers (Images 1.14 and 1.15), of a style recognisable throughout Anglesey supported by Menter Mon. The Trust also funded the completion of a conservation work scheme begun by the Welsh Mines Preservation Trust on the mountain and co funded with Cadw an archaeological survey by Gwynedd Archaeological Trust in 1999 which was later incorporated by the Conservation Management Plan.

The Trust benefits from the support of three patrons, the initial patron having been the Most Hon. The Marquess of Anglesey, the Trust has since its formation acquired the patronage of Glenys Kinnock MEP, and Professor Eric Sutherland OBE. Renowned local artist Sir Kyffin Williams (1918-2006), who was a descendant of the brother of Thomas Williams, Amlwch's copper magnate, was also a patron of the Trust before his death (AIHT 2005). The membership of the Trust is predominantly male with an age range beginning in mid life with a significant number of retired members. Members of the Trust and the Board of Trustees in particular are highly



Image 1.14: Interpretation Panel in Amlwch Port



Image 1.15: Interpretation panel on Parys Mountain, overlooking the great open cast.

educated with several career academics from the nearby University of Wales, Bangor. 3 of the 7 Trustees have had the bulk of their careers at Bangor University including the Chairman (Ibid.). Surprisingly few members have home addresses in Amlwch, with three Amlwch residents on the Management Committee in 2006 and none on the board of Trustees (Ibid.).

The Trust is led by a seven member Board of Trustees (also known as the Council of Management) chaired by Gareth Wyn Jones. Prior to 2008 this group met four times a year to determine the Trust's policies and overall direction and strategy. (Ibid.) The day-to-day operations and decision making of the Trust is overseen by a management committee, which met on a monthly basis also chaired by Gareth Wyn Jones. There are currently 15-20 members of this group (some are routinely absent from meetings and so their status is uncertain), which is unlimited in number and can expand to include new members by a simple process of internal nomination and vote by the existing members. In 2008 the Trust's schedule of meetings was reorganized so that the smaller group of Trustees met monthly while the larger group met less frequently on a quarterly basis. The members of the Board of Trustees can of course participate in the decision making of the management committee, which acts as an entry level into the trust. Every year two of the seven members of the board are required to stand down, though they are eligible for immediate re-election, as the management committee then votes on who should fill these vacancies, with only those already on the Management Committee or standing for re-election eligible as candidates (AIHT 2005).

The Friends of Amlwch Industrial Heritage Trust is a volunteer organisation whose main purpose is fundraising for the AIHT. Its chairman Paul Branch is a member of the Trust's management committee. The Friends has around 60 members half of whom regularly attend the group's monthly meetings and social events. (Ibid.) Project Officer Neil Johnstone has often expressed a wish for the Friends to be more active in their support and to help for example to maintain the paths on the Westside of Porth Amlwch by keeping them clear of overgrowing plants. As well as being of practical benefit and improving the presentability of the port, such volunteer efforts are helpful in demonstrating the support of the local community for the project. This is regarded as very important by the Heritage Lottery Fund and so acquiring and motivating

local volunteers is important to the AIHT's future. However the Friends society's current membership has an overall age balance that is even older than the Trustees themselves and so is not currently suitable for physically demanding work of clearing paths. The Friends fundraising function is important though as the AIHT is a registered charity and since it does not plan on setting up price barriers to the cultural landscape in its care donations from visitors are likely to be an important source of revenue for the Trust. So far the Friends have raised only small amounts prompting gripes from some Trustees that the group is not active enough.

A more active form of volunteer effort under AIHT supervision is the Mynydd Parys Mountain Warden Scheme. A team of about 15 individuals routinely patrol the mountain wearing uniform red jackets and a badge in order to monitor activity on the mountain and the condition of the trails and landscape. The wardens are able to give safety warnings to visitors who stray off the safe trails, deter fly tippers and others who are misusing the mountain and they also do practical work such as repairing potholes in the car park (intended to be renovated under the Interreg III programme). Before 2006 the wardens group was also called upon occasionally to lead guided walks around the mountain, though this function was to be transferred to a dedicated group of trained guides, including several of the wardens, under the Walk Amlwch scheme discussed in Chapter 4. The volunteer wardens operate solely on Parys Mountain though it would be desirable to set up a similar system of volunteer wardening at Porth Amlwch as well in order to tackle problems such as keeping narrow paths clear and ensuring the site is presentable. Whether or not it is possible to find willing enthusiasts who will volunteer their time and energy for the port as at the mountain is uncertain though as the Port is in an urban area and has more complex issues of how it should be used and who is responsible for its care and maintenance.

The Parys Underground Group (PUG) is a separate organisation in no way under the direction of the AIHT, however there is a large overlap in the two organisations memberships (Parkin 2005). Whilst AIHT is responsible for the heritage on the surface of Parys Mountain PUG's concern is with the exploration, recording and conservation of the underground mining tunnels and shafts (Images 1.16 and 1.17). The group meets on Wednesday evenings throughout the year to go underground and explore the sections it has permission to, all of which are currently in the Parys

mine. The group welcomes guests interested in seeing the mines and takes many specialist groups on informal tours by appointment. The AIHT has shown interest in providing “virtual access” to the underground workings but the Trust’s current business plan does not involve any provision of physical access to underground features, and so this remains the sole area of PUG.

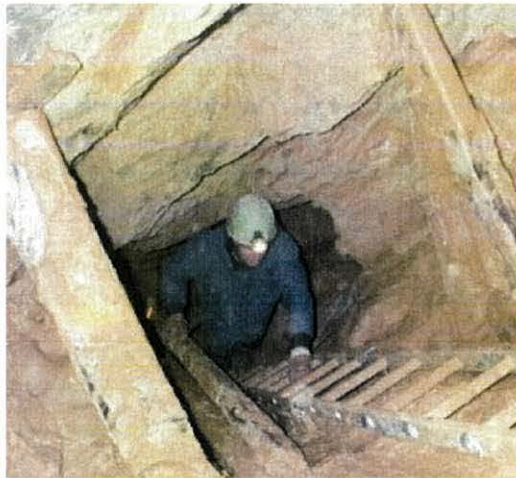


Image 1.16: PUG member entering the underground workings. (PUG 2008)



Image 1.17: PUG members exploring the Joint drainage Level at Parys Mountain. (PUG 2008)

Officially the PUG is not a tourism provider and makes people who want to view the underground workings “temporary members” for £5/£10 (depending on whether they are waged or unwaged), covering insurance costs and providing some leftover to fund the group. However

if in years to come the AIHT and the Copper Kingdom project is successful in attracting more visitors and raising interest in the mountain, this informal system is likely to become unsustainable. Increasing demand to visit the underground may force the PUG to turn away people or provide more than one tour per week. Of course an increased flow of visitors will jeopardise the archaeology and organisms of the underground complex and raise the danger of accidents. Instead of the current system where the group improvises its route around the mines based on the interests of guests and the whim of the moment, it might be possible to create one or more standardised routes that concentrate visitor impact on areas that can take it and have increased safety measures, avoiding sensitive and dangerous parts of the mine. This though would likely put off some PUG members, as they would become bored doing the same tour routinely in a volunteer capacity. Some members of the PUG have also undergone guide training for providing tours of the surface of the mountain and so could potentially be persuaded to provide such tours underground for a wage.

Even if such a scheme becomes established the mines will remain accessible only to the fully able bodied and adventurous, in numbers that will remain miniscule compared to the Copper Kingdom's hoped for visitor numbers. Some members of both PUG and AIHT harbour more ambitious plans for providing access to the underground workings at some point in the future. These aspirations revolve around the Joint Drainage Level. As its name suggests this section of the mines was built as a joint venture between the Parys and Mona mines on either side of the mountain to serve their needs to drain water from the tunnels. Its exit can be seen on the Mountain although it is currently blocked off for safety of course and the level is not currently included in the areas PUG are permitted to explore, though negotiations have been underway for some time on this matter. The significance of this is that the joint drainage level is large enough to walk through and if it were open one could use it to access a number of mine sections without ever having to crawl through a confined space or use a ladder. There is the potential therefore to create a much easier method of access to real underground workings that could even be self guided if it can be made safe enough.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

This chapter discusses the conceptual framework for the research further developing the main themes of cultural landscape, heritage interpretation and economic regeneration. Each of these three areas is considered in turn with an opening section on cultural landscape, sections on the theory and the practice of interpretation, a section on the economic impact of heritage attractions and on the sustainability of such developments. The final section seeks to link up the three main conceptual topics and illustrate how they interact.

Chapter 2: Literature review

2.1. Cultural Landscapes

“The Cultural Landscape is fashioned from a natural landscape by a culture group. Culture is the agent, the natural area the medium, the cultural landscape the result.”
Sauer 1926

The Cultural landscape is the product of man’s interaction with nature over time and exists in the minds of those who appreciate it rather than intrinsically. Individual cultural landscapes are significant pieces of the whole cultural landscape of the inhabited world that in some way stand apart as a unity, because they are exceptional or conversely because they are particularly exemplary or because they represent some kind of closed system of interaction between culture and landscape. There is a large amount of literature attempting to formulate more perfect definitions of the general concept of cultural landscapes and many summaries and overviews of these efforts (see for example Fowler 2004) but for the purpose of this research it should not be necessary to add another survey to justify the interpolation just given. It is only necessary to first show that the cultural landscape perspective is a valid and useful one and secondly that significant cultural landscapes can be identified as units of heritage. Thirdly it needs to be shown that the ‘Copper Kingdom’ defined by the Amlwch Industrial Heritage Trust consisting of Amlwch, Parys Mountain and the spaces in between and on the perimeter of these form a significant cultural landscape worthy of conservation as such.

Cultural Landscape is an idea that was developed for geography by the ‘Bekerley’ School of Geographers and Carl Sauer (1889-1975) in particular in the 1930s as a reaction against the then popular concept of ‘environmental determinism’, Sauer arguing that human culture creates the landscape it inhabits rather than the natural landscape shaping the characteristics of the human culture that comes to inhabit it in a theoretically predictable way. Slightly earlier in Europe the German Ecological movement developed the term cultural landscape N.Krebs giving a definition

of a cultural landscape as: “A landscape which to a substantial degree has been altered from its natural state, by human activities and use.” (cited in Bruun 1993) Both the Berkeley geographers in America and the Ecologists in Europe drew on ideas developed in the previous century and synthesized them under the term cultural landscape. Having developed as a perspective for viewing and understanding all of the landscape inhabited by man it has been adopted by conservationists of both manmade and natural heritage. While heritage management and other fields of study retain the concept that all inhabited landscape is cultural rather than natural, to make it useful operationally it is necessary to classify and characterise landscapes and select those of special significance that need to be protected from developments or neglect that would harm their value as cultural artefacts. This might be thought of as similar to the selection of historic buildings or artefacts for preservation, although on a larger scale, and involves the same problems of being based on subjective judgements of value. Inventorying the cultural landscape does however demand a much more interdisciplinary approach as it needs to consider both the natural properties of an area, how man has used or adapted to them in history and how this informs the lives of the present inhabitants. The most obvious and ubiquitous cultural landscape is the countryside, a case which is illustrative of the difficulty of grasping landscape ideas as it tends to be misinterpreted as either an entirely natural domain in contrast to manmade townscapes or as a purely manmade artefact built through enclosure laws and human design for food production (Rackham 1986). In each case too much emphasis is given either to nature or culture missing the crucial interaction of the two.

With academia having established the concept of what a cultural landscape is it was UNESCO that first sought to implement the concept by designating important landscapes worthy of protection. The 1972 UNESCO convention concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage is the source of the widely sought after title of ‘World Heritage Site’. As is indicated in the name of the convention a subject boundary was put in place between man made cultural sites and objects of natural heritage, a distinction that was widely questioned even in 1972 and later came to be seen as an anachronism. The separation of disciplines also manifested in the creation of different independent advisory bodies to guide the World Heritage Committee in designating historic sites and monuments (ICOMOS and ICCROM) and natural features

(IUCN). Initially then World Heritage sites were to be classed as cultural properties or natural properties, but a number of important sites then had to be classed as “mixed cultural and natural properties”. In 1992 it was agreed that Cultural Landscapes could be inscribed as World Heritage Sites under the 1972 convention. Working within the existing framework Cultural Landscapes are classed as cultural properties, not natural or mixed, and the lead body in advising the World Heritage Committee is ICOMOS, working in close partnership though with IUCN. Some but not all of the mixed properties have since sought successfully to be classed as cultural landscapes and many other landscapes have also been designated with a current total of 66 (UNESCO 2009).

There are three categories of World heritage site that serve to illustrate the concept as laid out in the Operational Guidelines for the implementation of the World Heritage Convention:

“Definition and Categories

10. Cultural landscapes fall into three main categories, namely:

(i) The most easily identifiable is the clearly defined **landscape designed and created intentionally by man**. This embraces garden and parkland landscapes constructed for aesthetic reasons which are often (but not always) associated with religious or other monumental buildings and ensembles.

(ii) The second category is the **organically evolved landscape**. This results from an initial social, economic, administrative, and/or religious imperative and has developed its present form by association with and in response to its natural environment. Such landscapes reflect that process of evolution in their form and component features. They fall into two sub-categories:

- a relict (or fossil) landscape is one in which an evolutionary process came to an end at some time in the past, either abruptly or over a period. Its significant distinguishing features are, however, still visible in material form.

- a continuing landscape is one which retains an active social role in contemporary society closely associated with the traditional way of life, and in which the evolutionary process is still in progress. At the same time it exhibits

significant material evidence of its evolution over time.

(iii) The final category is the **associative cultural landscape**. The inscription of such landscapes on the World Heritage List is justifiable by virtue of the powerful religious, artistic or cultural associations of the natural element rather than material cultural evidence, which may be insignificant or even absent.”

-UNESCO (2005) p.84

The Lednice-Valtice cultural landscape in the Czech Republic, inscribed as a world heritage site in 1996 is an example of category 1, a large area of heavily managed countryside containing two castles created over several generations by the Dukes of Liechtenstein. The first ever cultural landscape inscribed in 1993, Tongariro National Park in New Zealand is an example of the associative landscapes of category 3, containing a trio of volcanoes of great importance in the rich oral traditions of the Maori inhabitants. Note that associative landscapes may be physically unchanged from their natural state broadening the idea of cultural landscape beyond some definitions such as that given by Krebs. A relict example would be the Archaeological example of Tamgaly in Kazakhstan, inscribed in 2004 which contains an enormous wealth of rock art, settlement remains and burial grounds which “together provide testimony to the husbandry, social organisation and rituals of pastoral peoples from the Bronze Age right through to the early 20th century” (UNESCO 2004). The mountainous agricultural landscape of the Cordilleras rice terraces in the Philippines are an example of a continuing organically evolved landscape having developed two thousand years ago and still being in active use. Organically evolved cultural landscapes are the product of generations of accumulated effort by large numbers of people about the majority of whom history will have recorded very little, hence Fowler’s (2004 p21) statement that ‘a cultural landscape is a memorial to the unknown labourer’.

None of the landscapes given as examples above are industrial in character but it is obvious that much of the cultural landscape of the world and Britain especially has been transformed by industry and by technology developed since the industrial revolution. The World Heritage

Committee during the 1990s though showed a reluctance to accept Cultural Landscapes that were predominantly industrial. The first industrial Cultural Landscape inscribed on the World Heritage list was Blaenavon in Wales in 2000, a landscape shaped by the coal and iron industries. In 2001 though in what Fowler (2004 p82) calls a retrograde step the committee rejected the Falun Copper Mining Landscape in Sweden precisely because of its industrial character, the mine instead being inscribed as a historic site. The cultural landscape concept itself clearly impels an acceptance of industrial influence however an attitude remained that a cultural landscape should be rural and low tech. Perhaps this is because of the criticism sometimes levelled at the cultural landscape idea that it glorifies an attack on nature (Fowler 2004). Many Longstanding rural cultural landscapes show models of sustainable living and hence can easily allay this concern of those who are ecologically minded. For industrial landscapes and mining landscapes though there is a greater risk that in designating and conserving these as important a message is sent of being anti environment, which the World Heritage committee probably does not want to be seen as. Fowler's (2004) statement that this reluctance was intellectually unsustainable and would have to change would appear to be vindicated by the inscription of the Cornwall and West Devon mining landscape in 2006.

The creation of World Heritage Cultural Landscapes in the UK required the creation of management plans for each of these landscapes as a prerequisite for inscription, so as entities these cultural landscapes are now a managerial reality rather than just a concept. However as yet there are no cultural landscapes and no such thing as a cultural landscape in the law of the UK. Although the UK has been an enthusiast for the World Heritage Charter since rejoining UNESCO in 1997, its collection of World Heritage sites do not have any special legal status as a consequence of their inscription by the World Heritage Committee. They are instead protected by the UK's system of legal protection for natural and cultural heritage: listed buildings, AONBs, conservation areas etc. none of which recognise the idea of landscape as a cultural artefact and it has been up to the management systems of World Heritage Cultural Landscapes like Blaenavon to seek to use these legal protection in concert to conserve the pieces that add up to the cultural resource recognised by the UN.

The UK is a signatory to the European Landscape Convention (ELC) which came into force on the 1st of March 2007. The convention commits the UK to forming policies of landscape protection, management and planning, to ensuring the participation of the public and stakeholders in management decisions, most importantly to our discussion the convention stipulates signatories must integrate landscape considerations into planning and cultural and economic policies. The European Landscape Convention also includes measures such as raising public awareness of landscape concerns and fostering training and educational programmes of a multidisciplinary character to aid in the appraisal and management of landscapes. (Council of Europe 2006)

As with much European legislation the UK was left to formalize its own arrangements for recognizing landscapes and their importance in its planning laws and achieving the other goals of the convention. In Wales, the Countryside Council for Wales (CCW) has been the main actor in this process, adopting as its own the ELC's definition of landscape as "an area as perceived by people, whose character is the result of the action and interaction of natural and/or human factors." (CCW 2010) The CCW uses a system called LANDMAP to record and assess landscapes, data from which is used in considering planning applications and other development decisions. Landscape values are protected using long established legal mechanisms such as AONBs and SSSIs rather than any new legal designation under this system.

Because World Heritage sites are much sought after by most nation states for the prestige and economic value they bring, the World Heritage Committee's 1992 decision to recognise cultural landscapes prompted many state heritage agencies to launch schemes to evaluate the cultural landscape of its territories. In Wales Cadw: Welsh Historic Monuments launched a joint scheme with CCW in 1993 to compile a Register of Landscapes, parks and gardens of Special Historic Interest in Wales, also working with ICOMOS UK, the Royal Commission on Ancient and Historical Monuments in Wales and the four regional Welsh Archaeological trusts. It is notable that while much of the substance of the WHC concept of cultural landscapes was adopted the term 'Cultural' was replaced by 'historic'. Justifying this Richard Kelly (1994) the Historic Landscapes Project Officer for CCW wrote:

“there is little reason to distinguish between a ‘cultural’ or an ‘historic’ landscape, particularly if we assume that the historic landscape starts from the present as we have done in Wales.”

In response to the initial problem of defining historic landscapes the initiative distinguished five types of historic landscape:

1. Intensively developed or extensively remodelled: This refers in the main to townscapes of Wales but can also include “industrial areas” and large scale civil engineering projects.
2. Period Landscapes: a criterion very similar to the organically evolved relict landscapes of the World heritage convention guidelines.
3. Historic diversity/ multiperiod: broadly corresponding to the continuing organically evolved landscapes recognised by UNESCO though emphasising visible evidence of multiple phases and continuity of development.
4. Buried/ subsumed or destroyed: Lost landscapes that can only be inferred to have existed through historic documents and archaeological investigations.
5. Cultural merit: corresponds to associative landscapes. (Cadw, CCW, ICOMOS UK 1998)

There is no criterion similar to the World Heritage Convention’s “landscape designed and created intentionally by man” as a separate register of parks and gardens of special historic interest has been produced for these by Cadw and ICOMOS.

While recognising that all of the landscape of Wales fits into these categories and can be said to be historic a system was desired for distinguishing important landscapes in Wales worth treating as heritage assets and this was the purpose of compiling a register. Based on the criteria above 60 specialists and experts in Welsh geography, history and archaeology contributed by invitation lists of up to 12 historic landscapes each (Kelly 1994). These 60 lists were compared, with the landscapes rated in terms of importance according to how many experts had argued for them. It was initially planned to apply non statutory grades based on the model of listed buildings with Grade I, Grade II* and Grade II as descending levels of merit, with landscapes below a minimum threshold of support excluded entirely. This was in implementation simplified with the

production of two registers, a Register of Landscapes of outstanding historic interest in Wales for the 38 highest scoring landscapes, and an inferior register of Landscapes of Special Historic Interest in Wales for the next 22 highest scoring landscapes. Amlwch and Parys Mountain made it into the Outstanding register as one of the landscapes, classified under criteria 2 (above) as a period or relict landscape (Cadw, CCW, ICOMOS UK 1998). Following compilation of the register a process began of dividing up the landscapes into smaller landscape character areas which were then the subject of landscape characterization reports compiled by the four Welsh archaeological trusts. The results of these characterizations are incorporated into LANDMAP data kept by CCW and so judgments of heritage value are able to find their way into environmental assessments of proposed developments (CCW 2010). This process is not yet complete however and in early 2010 the Amlwch and Parys Mountain Landscape has not yet been characterized by the Gwynedd Archaeological Trust (GAT).

The approach adopted in compiling the register was a “top down” and arguably elitist one with no public consultation on which landscapes should be recognised and thus elevated in importance. This was justified at the time by the fact that the joint initiative was initially only of one year duration making such a consultation process impractical. However while the initiative was extended for several years longer, the registers eventually produced remained based solely on the specialist views gathered in the short initial period.

The process by which the registers were compiled is problematic as there is no guarantee any of the landscapes on it are recognised and supported as such by local people or the general public and there may be historic landscapes with much greater popular appeal and support that are not on either register. The register is based on expert attribution of historic significance, but heritage value does not automatically follow on the heels of characterization of something as historic. History and heritage are interrelated but separate spheres and physical remnants of the past can only be considered heritage where this culturally constructed appellation is applied to them through social discourse (Grydehoj 2010). Ronstrom (2008) suggests a distinction between ‘heritage’ and ‘tradition’ with both produced on a basis of locality but the difference being in the emotional response elicited amongst the host community, with the former being a recognition of

universalist value and interest that may be utilized without jeopardizing local cultural norms whereas the latter is a much more emotive and nostalgic set of obligations to honour a specific local past that is exclusive and not necessarily for commodification. 'Heritage' may exist without 'tradition' amongst the local community and so be considered "uninherited heritage" (Grydehoj 2010), and there is a sense of this in the Amlwch case due to the remoteness of the town's industrial heyday, especially compared to towns in South Wales where the demise of mining evokes much more a much more recent and emotive set of memories. There are dangers however in ascribing heritage value, particularly where through the LANDMAP system there may be major 'real world' repercussions, without any consideration of the local cultural history and how locals may perceive heritage assets in their midst.

This raises the issue of 'community' in heritage management, a term that will be seen to be used frequently in the formulation of heritage projects, often in an unreflexive fashion. The term community is often deployed to evoke an emotive idea of a close-knit and isolated, possibly isolationist, social grouping nostalgically placed in an agrarian past with its virtues of cooperation and trust arising from economic and technological hardships. The white middle classes regard themselves as having escaped those hardships but in so doing having lost the consolation of community (Waterton and Smith 2010). This romanticising of community may motivate the expert middle classes who manage the social creation of heritage to pledge support for host communities but at the same time it creates a distinction between "community representatives" and "experts" that handicaps consideration of local views such as Grydehoj advocates and glosses over the complexities within the group of people identified as "the host community". Efforts to widen participation in 'heritage' depend on white middle class professionals such as those who had a say in compiling the registers of of landscapes of outstanding and special historic interest, to move from acting as arbitrators of heritage value to mediators of community heritage (Ibid.) but assumptions about community life may promote caricature over mediation even where there is found to be local tradition to mediate.

The inclusion of Parys Mountain and Amlwch on the Register of Landscapes of Outstanding Historic Interest in Wales as a period landscape is explained by the registers statement of contents and significance:

“An unparalleled, internationally important and visually highly striking landscape situated on Parys Mountain in north east Anglesey, comprising huge, mainly hand-dug, opencast, 18th to 19th centuries copper mines and waste tips, with an extensive attendant complex of processing features and structures superimposed on earlier workings dating from the prehistoric and possibly Roman and medieval periods. The area also includes the remains of an associated transport system, settlements, Amlwch town, port and ore processing works.”

(Cadw, CCW, ICOMOS UK 1998)

This description seems to place more emphasis on the value of the mountain and features in the south of the landscape than the port and features in the north though the map given of the landscape covers both areas and corresponds closely with the area of study used for the copper kingdom conservation management plan. The conservation management plan takes more time to give weight to the port's importance as well as the mountain's though the registers emphasis is understandable as the Conservation Management Plan says “the basis for everything else here is the mineralogy of the Mynydd, which is geologically significant and quite breathtakingly stark and beautiful.” (Gifford 2005) The Conservation Management Plan acknowledges the importance of the non-statutory designation and argues that as a landscape the study area is certainly of national significance to Wales and is also of international significance. The plan repeatedly emphasises the ensemble nature of the area's importance and its assessment of significance states while the landscape is of international importance, most of its contents are of national or regional significance only though the mountain's status as the type locality for the mineral Anglesite and the above ground mining remains are both of international significance in their own right. (Ibid.) As any study of a cultural landscape should be the conservation management plan is interdisciplinary in its approach. The landscape is important for its natural characteristics (its geology and ecology) and its manmade characteristics (its buildings and

artefacts) and both of these have impacted on each other to such an extent that one cannot make sense of either element without considering the other. It is therefore a very strong example of what the term cultural landscape means.

The Copper Kingdom landscape bears comparison with the World Heritage Cultural Landscape the Cornwall and West Devon mining landscape with which it has close historic links. The Cornish mining industry was at one time run from Amlwch as part of Thomas Williams' monopoly and many miners travelled from Cornwall to live and work in Amlwch bringing technology with them. Like the Copper Kingdom the world Heritage Landscape is shaped by copper (and also tin) mining in the 18th and 19th centuries and contains a range of different features all linked to this mineral wealth; the mines themselves, associated foundries and works, settlements and ports that owe their origin to the mines and agricultural landscapes transformed by mine money to meet the mining industry's needs. While the Copper Kingdom is a compact landscape with a whole landscape system of mine, settlement, farmland and port in one small corner of Anglesey, the Cornwall and West Devon mining landscape is larger and its features more scattered. The landscape consists of ten distinct areas with most on the western tip of Cornwall and a few further east towards the boundary with Devon. The landscape of ten areas contains multiple mines, settlements, ports and stretches of countryside. The physical and historical similarities with the Copper Kingdom are many but it is because so much mining technology was first developed in Cornwall and then exported to the rest of the world that the Cornish mining landscape is justified as being of world importance and outstanding universal value (UNESCO 2006), hence why the Cornwall landscape is inscribed as world heritage and Amlwch and Parys Mountain are not.

Cultural landscape is a way of viewing places that is opposed to a very common perception that the landscape is solely the product of nature and settlements or townscapes are manmade and an intrusion on landscape, perceived by some as intrinsically negative. This is the unconscious majority view even in Europe and Britain especially where none of the landscape is 'natural' (except for some caves and mountain peaks) all of it having been heavily modified from Stone Age forests that would be there had the human race never evolved. The holistic cultural

landscape concept breaks down an artificial distinction to view the whole inhabited landscape on equal terms but it remains the case that this is not the way most people think and this presents a problem for those who wish to apply the idea to managing landscapes as cultural assets since in democratic countries such conservation costs the people and is intended to benefit them and therefore must command their understanding and sympathy. The concept has been characterised as 'elite' and however useful and delightful the academic world may find it it is unlikely to progress much in application if non academics cannot be won around to this viewpoint (Fowler 2004). Will the public embrace a cultural landscape as they sometimes embrace a historical building or a conserved species?

It is worth briefly considering the implications of answering "no" to this question. If only a certain proportion of professionals are interested in this idea and the public only concerned for the 'parts' that make up the 'sum' then the idea has a very limited usefulness for those managers. Managers at an individual site might be keen to set their site in its cultural landscape context in their interpretation though marketing pressures would tend to discourage referring to other sites and competing attractions in particular. This would still be possible but only in using the cultural landscape to reveal the meaning of the site rather than using the site to reveal the meaning of the cultural landscape since in this scenario the latter approach would be met with hostility and the whole programme might be thought of as too academic to win funding in the face of likely public indifference. If managers at a landscape level were sympathetic to cultural landscape thinking but the public not the concept might be operationalised at a 'backstage' level and used to guide which sites and artefacts are chosen for preservation by an organisation trying to maintain a cultural landscape while 'front stage' each site is interpreted to the public without its landscape context as one of the arguments for its conservation. Each site still must justify its existence in terms of its cultural value as a single item rather than as part of a whole collection of different types of items and ephemera that make up a landscape. This is an untenable situation since neither the public nor the professionals are getting what they want and without them being creative past the point of deceit they will not be able to preserve the cultural landscape, as some of the items will obviously not be worth saving as standalone units of heritage, only as part of a greater ensemble.

It seems clear that those who wish to preserve cultural landscapes must either sell the view of landscape that makes it possible or discard the whole concept. This is a challenge to interpretation and potentially quite a difficult one.

2.2. Defining Interpretation

In this section we begin to look at the practice of interpretation by defining what we mean by this term when used in the context of heritage projects and looking at how the concept has developed. Later sections will look at some of the most commonly advocated guidelines and techniques for those designing interpretation, and at the variety of objectives that interpretation may be called on to deliver for heritage projects.

A heritage attraction may consist of a historic building or a collection of artefacts (though in some cases a heritage centre may have no real historic artefacts or architecture, only simulations) with certain attached facilities that make an attraction out of the historic feature such as toilets, catering facilities and a gift shop possibly with a price barrier to entry to the complex. Also added by the management to the original historic structure or items is the presentation of the heritage, the material that seeks to add value to the visit by providing an insight into the heritage on display. Amongst managers such presentational materials are often referred to as 'Interpretation', or sometimes in Europe as "animation" of the heritage. If an historic site is being preserved by the state or is of public interest in an area with an interest in tourist revenues (i.e. everywhere) there is normally an effort to make information about the site's history available to visitors. The term interpretation in the context of heritage management refers to approaches to the problems of deciding how much information to provide, which information to give and how to convey it to the visitor. Under the name of Interpretation there is a body of theory and techniques intended to inform the design and practice of presenting special sites and artefacts to the public.

Interpretation can be as necessary between spheres of specialised knowledge and the general public as it is between different languages (Ham 1992). In its common usage the word interpretation means the process of communicating the meaning of an expression in one language into another and is synonymous with translation. The term can also mean any communication that mediates understanding for the purpose of producing a better result than direct communication would allow due to the lack of mutual understanding. In this sense an interpreter is needed for someone who speaks only English to understand a speech being made in French, so in a museum of machinery an interpreter is needed to explain to visitors the purpose of machines they have never seen before and how they work. Similarly on an archaeological dig an interpreter must explain to the untrained how different shades in the soil tell where a building once stood. This is a fairly conservative idea of what interpretation is for and is capable of, some writer's giving much more sweeping aims to the practice. Freeman Tilden (1957) who was one of the founders of interpretation as currently practiced in the English speaking world, described interpretation as a public service whereby curators and other middlemen seek to provide a sense of wonder and spiritual inspiration to members of the public who while visiting a site volunteer to learn about it from the Interpretive material. The definition he gave was:

“An educational activity which aims to reveal meanings and relationships through the use of original objects, by first hand experience, and by illustrative media, rather than simply to communicate factual information.” (Tilden 1957 p.8)

Though he himself says this definition is unsatisfactory in its effort to be acceptable to a dictionary, perhaps because it tones down his grandiose talk about spiritual meaning. It does cover some essential recurring ideas in interpretive literature though, the most basic of which is that to be interpretation the presentation of heritage must go beyond simple facts to reveal the context of the heritage. Of course tour guides have existed since ancient history and so in theory there has always been interpretation as there have always been individuals with a natural gift for communicating the great meanings supposedly inherent in a cultural site. In writing about the subject and founding a body of theory Tilden hoped it would be possible for many more than just

the rarely gifted to interpret to a high standard and hence for much larger numbers of people to experience successful interpretation.

An important part of Tilden's definition is the reference to first hand experience of natural or man made heritage and he elaborates on this making contact between the public and "the Thing Itself" the cornerstone of his philosophy. To be in the physical presence of a work of man or of nature is to have access to knowledge that no book can provide on the subject (Tilden 1957 p.3). Tilden argues that the impact of such direct contact allows a type of learning in some ways superior to what is possible in formal educational environments, a theme Ham picks up on in emphasising the difference between formal learning and the voluntary learning that goes on as part of visits to historic sites. The difference is crucial and will be elaborated on in a later section as it explains why interpretation is needed as a mediator between the public and the hoard of knowledge about historic sites and artefacts held by experts and academia. The academic would like to get the whole world into the lecture theatre to explain his or her life's work rather than a small number of students and so are often guilty of reproducing the academic teaching style at inappropriate times when involved in heritage projects by using jargon, assuming knowledge and worst of all assuming interest where there is none. An interpreter (who may well be an academic with the skills to adapt to a different audience) is someone who seeks to harness the interest in seeing 'the Thing Itself' first hand to communicate a message. What this message is depends on the interpreter's goals.

This is something not explicitly recognised in Tilden where the goals of conservation and promoting interest in heritage by "happy amateurs" are the assumed goals of interpretive activity, and as in other writers such as Uzzel the message revealed through interpretation is assumed to be an intrinsic property of the place or artefact itself. This implies that the same message would be revealed by competent interpretation work whoever carried the work out and whatever their agenda, but clearly it is not even the case that all possible perspectives would have to begin from the same starting point as the amount of factual information and associations accumulating to an object or a place is infinite. If one sees a Carcano bolt action rifle labelled as such in a case at some museum most of us will pass over it fairly quickly as we are not gun experts. One

interpreter may choose to inform us that this was a standard issue weapon for the Italian soldiery of the Second World War while another might start from the observation that this model of rifle (and perhaps this specific rifle) was used by Lee Harvey Oswald to assassinate the President of the United States. Either choice opens up a huge vista of stories and associations and leaves the interpreter a lot of freedom in choosing which associations to follow to communicate the message of the project. If the “artefact” is something as sweeping and multi faceted as a cultural landscape, the interpreter’s choice of perspectives is truly limitless. Thus critics may argue that the interpreter imposes him or herself between the public and history and meddles in our perception of it stopping us reaching our own conclusions and forming our own ideas about the past. However the interpreter is working to create this contact between people and their heritage which might otherwise never occur. In some cases the interpreter may interpose to such an extent as to eliminate contact with the thing itself altogether as in Lascaux where visitors see only a replica of its famous cave paintings to prevent damage to the real thing, and at the many heritage centres that are all media and free of original artefacts.

The ideas of interpretation Tilden wrote about came from within the National Parks service in the USA in which he worked for many years. In its origins therefore interpretation was a task of curators of natural and manmade heritage, so that the same person who was in charge of studying and conserving these resources was also responsible for interpreting them to the public. Tilden argued that research into a preserved site and interpretation of it to the public needed to go hand in hand (Tilden 1957). Continuous research is necessary for the authenticity and accuracy of presentation to the public while the need to communicate value to this public through interpretation serves to guide research toward the most relevant questions. As the popularity of interpretation has spread it has become possible for some to make interpretation the main part or the entirety of their occupation. Implicit in Tilden’s writing was that the art of interpretation is teachable and the teaching of interpretation was a task taken up both by universities and by some with real life experience as practitioners. The growth of tourism generally and cultural tourism in particular increased the amount of money involved leading to the professionalisation of interpretation and the creation of an interpretive industry. It is a widespread assumption that a professional interpreter with a body of training and widespread experience of different projects

will do a better job than the curator of a site who has less experience and training in interpretation. The curator though does have a strong advantage in most cases in their level of understanding of what is being interpreted. Alfrey and Putnam (1992) argue that the process of interpreting the importance and significance of items in care and passing on this understanding to the public should be treated as part of a curator's job complementary to conserving the items and investigating them. They therefore argue against splitting off this function and outsourcing it from interpretation professionals as this leads to rapid production of interpretation based on a shallow understanding acquired through quick research techniques, ultimately diminishing the value of the resource.

The current shape of the heritage sector in Britain may have encouraged interpretation's development as a job in itself rather than a task to be combined with the other duties of permanent staff members. Only large agencies such as state heritage agencies have sufficient budget to permanently employ staff members as interpretation officers. Small independent museums and heritage operations generally employ few skilled staff on a full time basis and when able to an interpretive officer is seen as less of a priority than other functions such as marketing and conservation specialists. Interpretation itself is also a low priority in overstretched budgets and there is a perception that with interpretation not provided by live guides, once installed it does not need to be thought about for a few years until the budget to replace it becomes available. The trend in both public and private sector then is for professional interpreters to move around from site to site on different projects rather than for any site or attraction to have an interpreter attached and constantly working on interpreting that one site for the long term. Lord and Barrow (in Uzzell 1989) suggest that the higher managerial staff whose main role in interpretation is commissioning it would benefit from receiving some training in the suggested potential and utility of interpretation. Freelance interpreters on short term projects in particular will be highly reliant on the brief for the project set by the customer and where the site managers have little knowledge or interest in interpretation theory these briefs are likely to be conservative and hence lead to under ambitious design of interpretation, and potentially imprecise in not setting a clear outcome to be achieved by the interpretation.

In an age where most westerners have remote access to all periods of history virtually on tap via books, television and websites there remains a persistent interest in having direct contact with the relics of history, more likely to be stoked up by these remote forms of contact than diminished by them. The art of interpretation lies in managing the interaction between the public and the heritage to achieve the desired outcomes for both sides of the interaction, delivering the desired perception of the heritage and the desired behaviours, attitudes and knowledge to the public. Critics such as Walsh (1992) suggest that the interpreter is choosing for us what we think about the heritage places and artefacts and that his or her employer's interests take a higher priority than ours when selecting what story to tell about the heritage. It is perhaps in response to such fears that some heritage projects and agencies seek to shy away from the use of interpretation's techniques and gimmicks, decrying them as "dumbing down" of the heritage and only present limited factual data but in reality this provides no escape from the stickier aspects of presenting heritage. The would be non-interpreter still has to pick and chose what dates and figures and names to provide and while they may think they are giving visitors freedom to form their own view visitors may not be grateful for this freedom, seeing the intellectual barrier imposed on them by not offering any explanation as elitism. There is therefore no way of avoiding the moral quandaries and responsibilities of mediating between people and their history for heritage managers and no way for a member of the public to claim the right to form their own views of their history without putting in a significant effort of private study and investigation. It was Tilden's hope that the initial appetite for direct contact with the heritage could be nurtured into the motivation to pursue such an edifying past time, increasing the number of "happy amateurs" actively involved and interested in the history of their community, country and the world as a whole. If from the starting point of an interpreter's work individuals eventually come to a radically different perspective on the same piece of heritage, than this is still a result for the practice of interpretation and probably a good one.

2.3. Interpretation Technology.

The preceding section may give some idea of how nebulous the concept of interpretation becomes when separated from the two crucial but massively variable factors of the goals of the

interpretation and the methodology used to design and implement it. From Tilden's work onwards there have been many books intended as How To guides for the interpreter and they all tend to either assume the goals of the interpretive project as part of their framework (as in Tilden) or only acknowledge a limited range of possible objectives (as in Veverka). This section attempts to summarise some of the more influential approaches to the practice of interpretation, the actual methods of communicating or mediating between the heritage and the public. Most of the same names will recur later in the discussion of the range of objectives of interpretive projects. The aim is to illustrate the variety of technologies advocated for the interpreter and to pick out some recurring ideas that have been enduringly popular in the literature rather than to give an exhaustive overview of all the possible sources of guidance for the interpreter.

In the US and more recently the UK it is possible to study interpretation at university and the variety of areas from which modules can be chosen is illustrative of the variety of fields of knowledge that feed in to the practice of interpretation and influence the literature of guidance for interpreters. Interpretation is concerned with holding an audience's attention and persuading it to think and act in a certain way and so there is an overlap with marketing. The principles of good copy writing are essential tools for both professions and the need to zero in on a persuasive message and have it encoded into every image and word is the essence of both selling heritage and selling toothpaste, but marketing consists of more than just copy writing, its goal being to foster profitable customer relationships by identifying consumer needs and desires and designing products accordingly (Kotler and Armstrong 2004), and so interpretation must respond to the characteristics of its audience particularly in the creation of visitor attractions and tourism products. Uzzel (1998) though warns against treating interpretation too much like an exercise in marketing as the physical resources and their cultural context or themes should have equal weight to the consideration of market factors. Unlike the Marketing professional though the interpreter is part of the world of education and often called upon to provide learning outcomes and due to the lucrative school trip market to work within an educational syllabus. Trainee interpreters therefore also study education and teaching methods. Both education and marketing are today heavily influenced by the science of psychology providing an evidence base from its experiments, and so interpretation draws on psychology as well.

One of the most enduring contributions to ideas on interpretive techniques has been Tilden's setting out of six broad principles for interpreters to try and stick to as they practice the 'art of interpretation'. Tilden's work has been highly influential on the theory and practice of interpretation and his six principles provide a framework for examining interpretation produced in Amlwch and at comparative case study sites. In Tilden's work it is often difficult to separate the definition of just what interpretation is, how it should be done and what its goals should be as is being attempted in this literature review. The six principles may be presented as guidelines to follow but are also used in elaborating Tilden's expansive definition of what interpretation is. Tilden's principles form the whole first half of his seminal work interpreting our heritage with each of the six points elaborated on and explained in a chapter of its own. They are presented here with some brief explanatory notes based on these chapters:

1. Any interpretation that does not somehow relate what is being displayed or described to something within the personality or experience of the visitor will be sterile.

Tilden reminds interpreters that the visitor needs help to relate what he or she is seeing to things already in their own mind, in order to keep alive the spark of curiosity that motivated them to show up in the first place. To this end he suggests for example encouraging people to imagine what they would have done if placed in historic situations, and illustrating similarities between daily concerns of visitors and historic personalities.

2. Information, as such, is not interpretation. Interpretation is revelation based upon information. But they are entirely different things. However, all interpretation includes information.

Interpretive writing or speaking should not just relate a list of agreed facts but should use the methods of tabloid journalism to make a story out of the factual information around the resource that will interest and involve the audience.

3. Interpretation is an art, which combines many arts, whether the materials presented are scientific, historical or architectural. Any art is in some degree teachable.

Interpretation is a creative process and interpretation programmes should follow a narrative structure like a piece of theatre. The “many arts” refers to the range of media that may be employed by interpreters as well as skills such as story telling, oratory, poetic language, debating and humour which interpreters should be able to employ.

4. The chief aim of interpretation is not instruction, but provocation.

Interpretation is meant to foster interest and enthusiasm for the subjects it discusses rather than just provide knowledge. Its goal is to create curiosity not to satisfy it.

5. Interpretation should aim to present a whole rather than a part, and must address itself to the whole man rather than any phase.

Interpretive programmes need to add up to a complete picture rather than a set of fragmentary ideas. Similarly interpreters need to bear in mind the full range of human interests each visitor has and not just tailor to one aspect eg. The desire for entertainment or the goal of intellectual enrichment.

6. Interpretation addressed to children (say, up to the age of twelve) should not be a dilution of the presentation to adults, but should follow a fundamentally different approach. To be at its best it will require a separate programme.

This follows logically from the first principle since children have fundamentally different interests from adults and so interpretation for one group will not satisfy the other. For example interpreting industrial history to children should use a child’s perspective by looking at the lives of child labourers.

Having defined his six principles Tilden goes on to offer rather more concrete advice on a number of specific areas of an interpreter's work. The most interesting as far as the present study is concerned is the comments on working at specifically historic sites. The important point about the prehistoric native American monuments, rustic dwellings and stately homes in the care of the American national parks system was not their architecture or furnishings so much as what they represented about the lives of the people who once lived in them. Tilden said of preserved historic houses "we must find the art to keep them from seeming to have been frozen at a moment of time when nobody was at home." (Tilden 1957) The value of direct contact with historic artefacts and places lies not in "the thing itself" in fact but in the link between the modern audience and the long dead individuals that once lived in and owned and held and used these artefacts. The aim of peopling historic monuments and bringing out their human stories was acknowledged to be difficult and a few tips offered. Interpreters were encouraged to demonstrate the usage of now unfamiliar items from the past such as mining tools. The next step beyond such demonstration is to get visitors to physically participate in some activity that was commonplace to people in the past but will be novel to the modern audience. The final tip was to use "animation" or to introduce some element to establish an atmosphere and vivify a historic site. Tilden's example was to have someone in period clothing playing period music on a piano in one room of a preserved mansion so that it could be heard throughout the house.

There are two other pieces of advice proposed in this foundational text of interpretive literature, one very influential, at least on the literature if not always on the practice, the other now rather ignored. The first was Tilden's emphasizing of the principle of 'Nothing in excess', a need for brevity and more significantly for the interpreter to know how to quit when he or she is ahead. Those who work for a heritage project should have a great deal of enthusiasm for the resource they are working to protect but his enthusiasm can be damaging when there is too much material that the interpreters feel they just have to cover. Once the crucial message has been conveyed to the audience the interpretation should cease as to plough on can only water down the understanding that has been revealed and jeopardise an objective already achieved. The need for brevity applies in particular to written interpretation, as people will not want to read a long and wide ranging text whilst on their feet and most likely part of a social group. The second rule of

thumb can be said to relate to this tendency for interpretation to lose out if it is in competition with human contact. Tilden felt ideally interpretation should where possible take the form of a direct communication between a live interpreter or guide and visitors. He understood the intentions behind providing technological substitutes such as voice recordings but was sceptical of such gadgetry. Whilst it was acknowledged that a good device might be better than a poor tour guide or speaker, a bad speaker was better than no interpretation at all whereas a poorly designed pre-recorded interpretation was often worse than having no interpretation (Tilden p.96). a lot of technological progress has occurred since Tilden's time and in place of the recorded tapes Tilden was preoccupied with modern heritage projects have access to an enormous range of expensive technology such as mini-cinemas and interactive touch screen computers. They might therefore feel justified in ignoring Tilden's advice to favour the live interpreter as far as possible but they certainly should not ignore this pointer:

“No institution should install any mechanical devices until it knows that such gadgets can be adequately, continually, and quickly serviced. No matter how good they may be when they are working properly, they are a source of shame and chagrin, as well as an imposition on the public, when they are allowed to be more than briefly inoperative.” (Tilden 1957 p.96)

Although written more than half a century ago Tilden's work has never been eclipsed as a foundational text for the practice of interpretation and continues to provide a detailed and comprehensible picture of an idealized interpretation to which the interpretive parts of current heritage projects can be compared.

Veverka's (1994) work develops and simplifies some of Tilden's thinking and makes a great effort to be practically applicable. It therefore contains ideas that can be checked for in real world examples of interpretation.

Similarly to Tilden John Veverka began a career in interpretation as an employee of the Ohio state parks, later receiving academic qualifications in interpretation and becoming a freelance

interpretive consultant and trainer. His own work of interpretive theory draws heavily on Tilden and provides a very detailed and formal step by step approach to planning and delivering interpretation. Veverka presents a distillation of Tilden's philosophy he refers to as "Tilden's Tips", which amount to a communication strategy called Provoke-Relate-Reveal and a strong emphasis on unity of message. Veverka is also influenced by Sam Ham who emphasises that audiences for interpretation are non-captive, so that unlike captive audiences in a formal learning environment with incentives such as grades to make them put effort into paying attention, the leisure visitor will only pay attention to interpretation as long as such attention is effortless (Ham1999). To make interpretation able to engage and hold such an audiences attention Veverka advises that written or spoken communications employ this structure:

Provoke: An opening sentence tries to engage the reader's attention, perhaps by saying something weird or shocking or posing a question for the viewer to think about. Interpreters may approach their opening lines in the same way a tabloid journalist writes a headline. Directly addressing people by using the word 'you' is a simple trick to provoke interest and also serves to relate the subject to the audience.

Relate: A sentence relating the subject of the panel to the reader's own experience so they feel involved. For example, if you are talking about what some zoo animal eats you allude to what the average zoo visitor eats. Interpreters should use metaphors and analogies to relate aspects of their subject to aspects of the audience's everyday experience.

Reveal: A concluding sentence to wrap up the subject that answers the initial question raised or explains the weird or shocking comment you used to cheat the viewer into paying attention. The experience of a new insight is what will satisfy visitors and hold their attention. As Veverka (1994) puts it "that brief sense of joy of having solved the puzzle, that spark of excitement or accomplishment, of *understanding*, is the big payoff."

These ideas all certainly exist in Tilden though Veverka goes further by structuring them into this 3 step process. Some care and judgement needs to be used in applying the provoke-relate-

reveal concept so that it does not become mechanical and hackneyed. However the concept is very useful due to its simplicity, being easier for interpreters to understand and apply than Tilden's six points. It will be clear that encoding messages and information into communications using these 3 steps will generate significantly more word count than just stating them without using these methods intended to hold the audience. This tendency is balanced in Veverka's philosophy by two further "Tilden's Tips" that both aim to keep communications focused and brief:

Address the whole: the talk or exhibition must have exactly one unifying theme.

Strive for message unity: Having established such a theme there should be regular repetitions and restatements of it throughout the interpretation.

As Interpretation has become a tool recognised as essential to heritage attractions, it has become a commonplace that such attractions have an interpretation plan. Interpretation plans usually exist as official documents kept within companies that run heritage attractions. Veverka presents a seven step process to produce such a plan. While it is anticipated that this master planning approach will generally be used for exhibitions or individual sites, Veverka suggests it can easily be applied on a larger scale as an interpretive systems plan to provide coordination and a unified message in interpretive provision across multiple attractions and sites or across a whole region. This is significant therefore as one of the few pieces of interpretive literature that deals with the challenge posed by heritage landscapes. Veverka's schema it is suggested is flexible enough to be applied to a case such as the Copper Kingdom landscape with a multitude of very distinct and diverse elements of physical and cultural heritage and deliver a clearly organized approach to interpreting the whole area.

1. Resource Inventory

Veverka divides the process of creating an interpretation master plan into a sequence of steps the first of which is an inventory of the interpretive resources (the places or objects to be interpreted).

A standard form is filled out for each resource giving a name, location description and index number for the site as well as comments on its interpretive significance. The statement of interpretive significance is simply one of what topics and knowledge each resource might illustrate. It therefore may be subjective and in the eyes of the interpreter. This is only a first step in the formulation of interpretive messages for each resource and placing a statement of significance in the inventory is indicative of the belief of seemingly all interpretive theorists that the message of interpretation must somehow develop naturally from the site itself before being channeled towards the achievement of the project's objectives.

2. Theme.

The second step is the production of an overarching theme for the interpretation of the collection of resources that meets all four criteria of the following checklist:

- The theme is stated as one complete sentence.
- The theme contains one main idea, no more, no less.
- The theme reveals the overall purpose of the interpretation, such that once you've heard it you have a reasonably clear idea of what sort of topics you'll be hearing about in the presentation.
- The theme is stated in an interesting manner.

As a final point of guidance Veverka recommends interpreters imagine the visitor will soon after leaving the site be able to remember only one piece of information about it all the rest having been forgotten. Whatever the interpreter wants this one thing to be should be encapsulated in the theme. As Veverka acknowledges, the distillation of a collection into a single theme is a challenging but essential stage in the process, and this theme is likely to be quite broad particularly if planning on the large scale of a landscape or an interpretive system covering multiple resources possibly across different agencies. Nonetheless this snappy one liner must be in place and all the interpretive messages and devices that come later must do some work

towards communicating it to the visitor. Other interpretive theorists and practitioners are not so strict and accept the use of several themes. Cunningham (2004) for example suggests a target of 3 themes for a museum collection.

Ham offers an interesting perspective on the use of themes to structure interpretation as he uses evidence from experiments in cognitive psychology to show how this can help to hold people's attention and allow them to absorb the messages of communication encoded this way. This research shows the value of providing audience's with a cognitive framework, which is an overarching concept they can use to 'chunk' together the pieces of information they gather, slotting facts and statements into this framework. Cognitive psychology shows if an audience is not given such a framework at the outset of a presentation it assumes one based on its expectations, and that once the presentation has got going any information that does not seem to fit with the framework being held in mind is quickly discarded and forgotten and causes attention to diminish (Ham 1999). Thus the use of themes presented up front to give audiences a framework to guide them through exhibitions and sites can be empirically shown to increase their engagement and ability to recall information communicated to them. Ham remarks based on one experiment "an a thematic presentation can make as little sense to us as a random presentation of unrelated sentences." (Ibid.)

3. Objectives.

The third step in Veverka's method is the formulation of a mission statement and a list of the goals and objectives for the interpretation. It might seem more intuitive to do this first particularly as mission statements and the like are usually placed right at the front of interpretation plan documents, but Veverka advocates letting the objectives take shape from a consideration of the resource (through the inventory) rather than imposing preconceived objectives on a potentially mismatched site (Veverka 1994). Veverka insists that at this stage the broad goals of the interpretation programme, probably in mind before any scheme was commissioned, must be developed into objectives that are clearly stated and, crucially, possible to measure. Veverka divides objectives into the categories: learning objectives, behavioural

objectives, emotional objectives. There may be more possible objectives for projects than are covered by these categories. For instance the copper kingdom interpretation plan uses these same categories and adds a fourth: economic objectives. Veverka might counter that this is unnecessary as a typical economic objective such as encouraging visitors to buy souvenirs can be redefined as a behavioural goal. Veverka has said that the emotional objectives of an interpretive scheme are the most important as it is through these that learning and behavioural goals are achieved. Without affecting the visitor's emotions somehow they will not be sufficiently engaged to learn or to modify their behaviour.

4. Visitor research.

Before proceeding to more detailed planning in the second half of the process Veverka advises the planners to undertake a visitor research that only focus on demographics. It is necessary to gather data also on visitor motives and what subjects have sparked their interest in attending and what interpretive services they would like. This information is needed to serve the aim of making interpretation relate to the life experience of the visitor, and of course of meeting their expectations for a visit.

5. Story development.

The above steps constitute the early phases of drawing up an interpretation master plan, which in a suggested timeline would take up the first month of activity where five months in total were available for preparing the plan. The next is to complete a set of standardized story development forms and this is the most work intensive part of the plan which should take three times as long as the preliminary stages. A set of three story development forms is produced for each interpretive resource (giving each resource or location a total of four forms including the one from the initial inventory. The contents of each form is as follows:

Story Development Form A: Contains the name and number of the resource for cross referencing and a theme for the resource that is derived from the main theme of the plan and accords with the checklist set out earlier. There follow site objectives outlining any structural changes or improvements necessary (eg. Display cases, pathway maintenance) and interpretive objectives from the lists prepared earlier that can be achieved at this site with its assigned theme.

Story Development Form B: The actual details of the interpretation including panel text, images to be used and specifications for media that needs to be produced.

Story Development Form C: A justification section explaining why the approach taken has been adopted, seeking to anticipate and counter any objections that may arise and a final planner's notes section for any miscellaneous comments or information that needs to be included.

Veverka suggests planners may wish to alter the structure of the forms to suit them rather than using his own templates, but insists on the benefits of a forms based approach. He argues using forms ensures all the information that should be contained in a master plan is included and easy to find and that "the forms approach will save you time and ensure accuracy and uniformity during the whole planning process." (Veverka 1994 p.74)

6. Implementation and Operations.

Once all the actual interpretive material is largely designed and ready for production, the next stage is to prepare an implementation and operations plan, collecting in one place all the purchases of materials and labour specifies in the story development forms with cost estimates and a suggested time by which to implement these purchases. Veverka's planning system suggests full realisation of the plan may take several years and is praiseworthy in that it seeks to establish what interpretation is actually needed and then implement this as and when funds become available rather than letting irregular funding opportunities prompt interpretive activity. Veverka has remarked that having very specific plans waiting on file is a great help in pursuing

grants and is likely to be more successful than tailoring interpretive plans from scratch to a specific grant aiding bodies' requirements.

7. Assessment.

The last step is the plan for evaluation which Veverka emphasises is essential and must be incorporated into the plan rather than left until later. Having measurable objectives was emphasised and it is also important to have a plan for when and how these assessments will be carried out included in the plan and its budget. This will make it easy to see which parts of the plan worked and which didn't to aid in future developments. Also as interpretation and the theories around it are sometimes perceived as 'wooly' or nebulous with a lack of quantifiable benefits, having such assessments is helpful in providing hard evidence of the interpretation's contribution. This is obviously useful in arguing the merits of interpretation to the organisation and hence improving the share of future budgets allocated to interpretive projects.

David Uzzel's approach to interpretation planning is rather looser than that put forward by Veverka. It has no sequence in which planning stages should be undertaken, Uzzel arguing that a linear approach is undesirable as interpretation should be planned in a recursive and iterative fashion so that each part of the plan is properly reconciled with the other parts. Instead of a step by step process therefore Uzzel just offers a model that lists and reminds planners of all the factors that they need to take into account with the plan developing gradually out of these discussions. The model shown below (Image 2.1) is called the themes-markets-resources model, these three being the factors that in their combined effect shape the interpretive experience (the visitor experience) of a heritage site.

The resources sphere comprises all the intrinsic properties of the heritage attraction such as the actual heritage resource it is based around, the funding of the attraction, its staff and management structure and its facilities. The markets sphere covers all topics related to the consumers of the heritage for example visitor profiles, potential to develop audiences, catchment areas and so on. The themes sphere covers all questions of what the site is trying to say to the world at large and

how to express this. These are three vast areas a planner could go on cogitating and gathering data on forever, however the topics the planners need to think about in detail Uzzel suggests is not the spheres themselves but the relationship between them as represented by the overlaps. Uzzel could easily be misread as saying that the themes should be chosen on the basis of what is possible at the site (themes-resources overlap) and what will attract the target visitor (themes-markets overlap). Uzzel though specifically argues against the latter of these:

“A common problem with interpretation is that much of it is highly influenced by market factors. That is, interpretation is geared more to what providers think visitors want to hear rather than the story they should be telling. Typically this happens at sites where authentic heritage may be in short supply and where the principle motivation is not heritage conservation but tourist income generation.”
(Uzzel 1998 p.237)

In fact in Uzzel’s model since themes are put on an equal footing with resources and markets it is assumed that the theme of a heritage location really exists as an intrinsic property and is to some extent as non-negotiable for managers and interpreters as the resources of their site and the characteristics of the population from which they are trying to draw visitors. What is to be considered is only how this theme can be presented (themes-resources) and how to make it understandable and appealing (themes-markets). The third overlap (markets-resources) it will be noticed covers a lot of areas that would normally be considered management responsibilities outside of the interpreter’s remit such as the transport infrastructure and promotional strategies. Firstly it must be observed that this overlap raises questions that interpreters probably need to be mindful of so that the interpretation is designed for the level of use it is likely to receive. An interpretive tour guide cannot address 100 people at a time and it is similarly undesirable to build a cinema with 200 seats to show interpretive films to about five people per showing. Secondly, the outcome of Uzzel’s planning approach is the visitor’s interpretive experience and Uzzel is indeed arguing that this should be the central consideration of management. A visitor’s experience of a site is indeed affected by promotions they see and the transport to the site and so

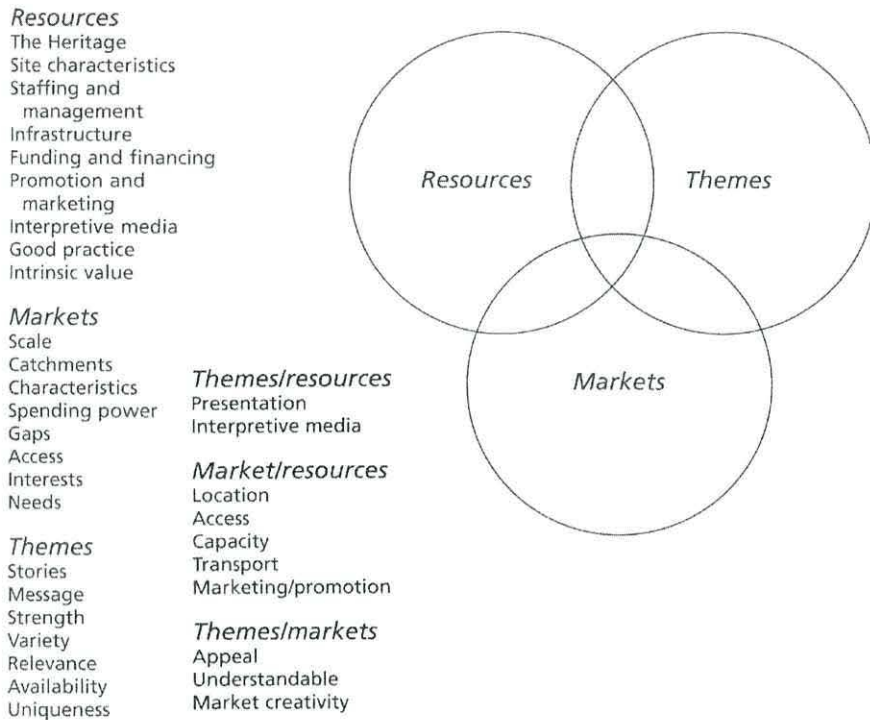


Image 2.1: The Themes – Markets – Resources planning model From Uzzel and Ballantyne 1998 pg 237-8

an interpreter’s eye should be applied to these questions. Thus interpretation is not a final polish to be applied after management has provided the funding, location, customer services and facilities that make up a heritage attraction but a useful guide to all these earlier decisions that come before the first visitor arrives. Both Veverka and Uzzel’s planning strategies should result in a document covering all the questions of what the organisations goals are, how these can be met through interpretation, what themes and subjects will be addressed, what media are going to be deployed, how much it will cost, when it will be complete by and how it will then be evaluated.

Tilden tended to write of interpretation as an art more than a science but with elements of both. There is something pseudo-scientific about some writer’s efforts to establish principles and

formulas for the practice of interpretation and in some cases real scientific studies are drawn on to formulate these guidelines. However at its inception by Tilden the point was thoroughly made that the need for a guiding philosophy behind interpretive practice was to allow the majority to rise to a minimum standard rather than to be a constraint on the few rarely talented individuals already delivering good interpretation without reference to any such guidelines. Tilden even said where the interpreter was sufficiently inspired they would be better off ignoring his advice and just pursuing their inspiration, but, he added, “we are not so cluttered with genius as all that”. Those to whom interpretation is a bit more of a science might be less optimistic that inspiration and enthusiasm will always deliver a good result, but few would disagree that there must be room for individual approaches and rule breaking where appropriate. So none of the different approaches is meant to be followed religiously and interpreters will tend to be following none of them if untrained and several if trained, picking and choosing the parts they find useful from different authors. This makes it impractical for the customer buying the services of an interpreter to criticise or assess their work based on the literature. It also means that none of the approaches outlined above has been clearly implemented enough times that it would allow for a comparison across projects to see which approach normally works best.

Fortunately there is a simpler way available to assess the quality of interpretation and it is laid out very clearly in Veverka’s planning model, which has its lynchpin in the setting of objectives so that the outcomes of a project can be measured to determine how good or bad the interpretation is. I would argue that the basic idea of setting objectives for a project and having an assessment after or during to see if the objectives were met is one that all heritage projects should utilise. This does not imply any need to use any of Veverka’s other ideas such as Provoke, relate, reveal or to favour these over different authors’ approaches. It simply puts the project in a better position as a buyer of the services of the interpreter to know if it is getting value for money. Some of the possible goals of interpretation may be challenging to express in such a way that they can be assessed, particularly as the assessment probably needs to cost less than the interpretation itself. The full range of possible objectives for heritage projects and hence interpretation is discussed in the final section of this chapter but first there is one objective of

paramount importance to current heritage projects in the UK such as the Copper Kingdom in Amlwch that needs to be explained at length: attracting tourism.

2.4. Economic impact of heritage attractions

Creating a tourism attraction can be of great benefit to a disadvantaged community, or it can have no real effect or even be harmful depending on how the development is implemented and how well the attraction performs. Tourism is at present a massive global industry. In 2003 receipts from international tourists represented 6% of world exports¹ (UNWTO 2006) and although less measurable, leisure tourism within nation states are thought to be a much larger component of the wealth of nations than international tourism. Due to factors such as rising educational standards in major tourism importing nations like Britain and the ability of heritage to differentiate competing destinations heritage assets have become increasingly important to the tourism industry. This chapter concentrates on tourism as the principal economic benefit to be derived from heritage; however it is not the only such use of heritage for economic development and growth. The other uses of heritage tend to revolve around public perception and the prestige of heritage and are as such very difficult to quantify. For many historic buildings adaptive reuse is a more feasible option than development into a visitor attraction, though businesses often take on a high maintenance cost by basing their activities in a piece of built heritage designed for a different purpose. In some cases renovation can appear a more expensive option than demolishing a site and building a new purpose built structure (Shiple, Utz and Parsons 2006). The return for the added costs of adaptive reuse is the association of the new enterprise with the old heritage in the minds of investors and customers. Companies based in historic buildings hope to gain association with tradition and reliability and be seen to be providing a public service by preserving community heritage out of their own pocket. (Graham, Ashworth and Tunbridge

¹ It is sometimes confusing but it should be remembered that a UK citizen travelling to France and spending money on holiday activities there is considered to be importing tourist products into the UK and France exporting them in economic terms, as it is the UK that is losing currency and France gaining it in this exchange.

2000) On the larger scale of regional development heritage assets may be used in a similar way to differentiate a region from its competitors for investment.

Development of tourism has a reputation as a panacea for the problems of underdeveloped or de-industrialised economies. Wales it is often said was the first country on Earth to industrialise and did so rapidly and heavily with many parts of the country like Amlwch witnessing an explosion in population and the sudden appearance of large towns and cities in the place of small villages. When the Welsh copper, slate and coal industries went into decline so did the communities built up around them, often declining at the same speed with which they had grown. By the mid-twentieth century it was clear that many parts of Wales suffered from severe regional disparities, that is their levels of household income, educational achievement, life expectancy, employment and so on were significantly worse than the averages for the UK as a whole. Since World War 2 there have been myriad attempts to regenerate these areas and raise them up to the same standard of living as the rest of Britain, but it is a measure of the success of these efforts that while the methodologies of regeneration have changed many times, the areas targeted for regeneration have always remained the same (CAG Consultants 2005). Today the massive global tourism industry is commonly seen as part of the answer to the problem of regional inequality especially given the rise of cultural and nature based tourism. Disadvantaged regions due to a lack of modern development and activity often have a wealth of heritage assets such as relict industries and building stock that is antiquated and hence distinct from the mainstream of society, and possess countryside resources perceived as 'unspoiled'. Thus the lack of modern infrastructure and development that hampers the introduction of most industries to peripheral regions is an asset to the tourism industry. The overall benefit of developing tourism in regions that can be said to be peripheral, both geographically and in the national economy, is that it provides such areas with an exportable product that can be sold to more central regions thus redistributing national wealth and bringing the peripheral region closer to parity. It may be objected that only those directly employed in the tourist trade will benefit while other potentially detrimental effects will be shared by the whole community. These effects include the construction of place identities for consumption by tourists that will inevitably affect the self-conception of people living in the communities that are being presented to the tourist gaze. The

impact of this and the arguable cultural threat of tourist development is an area with a large literature and no easy answers, whereas the former problem of unequal distribution of the economic benefit is more simply addressed by advocates for tourist development through appeal to the concept of economic multipliers.

The multiplier effect (Image 2.2) is thought to spread out and magnify the benefits of tourism spending. The concept of the economic multiplier describes how the outside money tourists inject into certain businesses (attractions, accommodation etc.) is subsequently spent in the local economy creating more favourable conditions for other businesses (Wall and Mathieson 2006). The multiplier effect covers tourism business profits, business spending and the money spent by tourism employees whose wages derive from the tourism input. The owners, businesses and employees re-spend the tourists' money within the region on products from other sectors of the economy and so the benefit of the tourism trade is spread out. The idea was developed by J.M. Keynes to illustrate how Keynesian inefficiency could be combated and economies grown. Keynesian inefficiency refers to the state where some of an economy's resources (labour, materials, machinery) are going unused due to a lack of demand for products. Writing in the 1930s Keynes argued that if the government spent more money its employees would have the confidence to buy more products and services, the suppliers of these products would have more money to buy things themselves and so on so that by injecting money into some areas the whole economy would be protected from depression and its resources fully utilised.

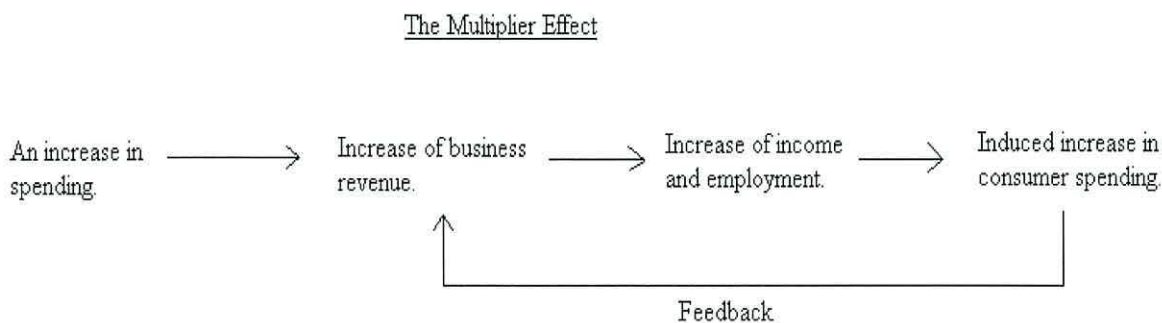


Image 2.2: The Multiplier effect.

Keynesian ideas remain popular and his view that the demand for goods is what drives economic growth remains the prevailing one though there are alternatives.² It should be noted that the multiplier effect occurs in all sectors of the economy and is not unique to tourism, nor is it exceptionally pronounced in tourist based economies (Pearce 1989 p211). Formulas can be used to estimate the multiplier effect within an economy as the tourists' money is spent and re-spent and in theory these equations can be used to calculate which of a number of development options will do the most to stimulate new economic activity. However problems of data gathering often derail such attempts at an impartial judgement as there is a wide array of different methods for calculating the economic multiplier each using different inputs of data and organisations are likely to select the approach that best matches the data they already have or can easily gather. Slight variations in the calculation though can have drastic effects on the final outcome leading to unfairly distorted comparisons (Wall and Mathieson 2006).

The multiplier effect of tourism is highly sensitive to the level of interconnectedness in the host regions economy. The size of the multiplier by which spending in the whole regional economy is stimulated by tourist spend will be decreased depending on the amount of 'leakage'. Some goods necessary for tourist businesses will not be able to be sourced from within the regional economy and so the money spent on these supplies is immediately lost to the region without causing a multiplier effect. (Hall 2005) Areas in need of regeneration are likely to have a small economic base and so tourism businesses starting up in these areas will need to buy a large amount of material from more developed areas and pay extra fees for transport. Similarly in cases where outside groups have sought to tap into an area's tourism potential the ownership of tourist businesses will belong outside of the region and hence their profits subject to leakage, whilst tourist businesses owned by residents of the destination area cause a greater multiplier effect. The injection of tourism revenues into a region should stimulate entrepreneurial activity

² Followers of Jean-Baptise Say for example argue that production leads to demand rather than vice versa. While Keynes argued that people should be discouraged from "thrift" or saving their income for the good of the overall economy objectors argue that saved money is often invested in new productive capacity (machinery, starting businesses etc.) and that the distinction is not between spending or hoarding with the former preferable, instead the question is whether personal income is consumed or invested. People must consume some of their money by buying food for example but it is the money they put back into enlarging the means of production that serves to grow the economy and fully utilise resources. (Shostak 2005)

and the creation of new business whether seeking to sell products to the tourists themselves or just tap into the general increase in spending caused by economic multipliers. The activity of local entrepreneurs is important as by broadening the economic base and variety of businesses it will over time diminish the amount of leakage from the economy provided businesses switch from external producers to new local suppliers, increasing the level of interdependence within the region and hence the multiplier effect becoming more pronounced. Whether this occurs in practice depends on a number of factors perhaps the most important of which is the availability of money for entrepreneurs to attempt to launch new businesses. Other factors are the business culture of the area and the level of skills and entrepreneurial experience of people in the area which in disadvantaged peripheral regions is likely to be low. (Wall and Mathieson 2006)

In a tourist economy the principle sources of leakage are:

- Cost of imported goods, especially food and drink for tourists.
- Cost of imports for the development of tourist facilities (eg. Consultancy and design services.)
- Remittance of profits outside the region (from businesses not owned locally)
- Remittance of wages by employees who live outside the region or support family outside the region.
- Fees of managers living outside the region and royalties for franchises.
- Payments to carriers and travel companies.
- Cost of promotion to tourists.
- Locals spending money derived from tourism on products imported from outside the area.

(Holloway 2006)

Some of the factors affecting leakage are possible for managers to affect by the decisions they make in developing and running their attractions (eg. Sourcing of goods and labour). Others are realistically somewhat beyond the power of heritage managers to control such as how and where there employees spend the wages they have earned and hence should be considered at the earlier

stage of deciding whether tourism development is the correct approach to regenerating the economy.

The tourist industry is credited with generating employment cheaply though this does not guarantee that money spent creating tourism jobs is well utilised. Arguably you only get the jobs you pay for. Related to the stimulation of local spending by tourist money is the creation of jobs as a consequence of tourism. Tourism is largely a service sector industry and therefore requires a lot of manpower with labour costs the largest overhead in most tourism businesses. (Shaw and Williams 1994) This of course makes tourism development more attractive to areas with unemployment problems, though there are causes to doubt the value of jobs created in the tourism sector. Jobs in tourism are characterised as being part-time, poorly paid and short term with the seasonal pattern of tourism meaning these jobs only exist for a small portion of the year. Related to the low pay, tourism employment is mostly unskilled work with low entry requirements (Wall and Mathieson 2006). Tourism employment is also skewed towards women who can be hired for lower wages than men in many countries (although at managerial level the gender-balance is even or in favour of men). (Hall 2005)

The low skills requirement and lack of equipment necessary to perform customer service tasks mean that tourism jobs are cheaper to create by investment than jobs in other sectors such as manufacturing (Lumley 1988). However in the industry of tourist visitor attractions where the market has arguably become saturated leading to intense competition it is likely that to survive these businesses will need to invest more in customer service training and reducing turnover so as to retain skilled and experienced employees in order to be competitive. Also where the customer service roles at heritage attractions are combined with curatorial and interpretive tasks the educational requirements are increased and employees can legitimately expect higher wages.

Badly managed tourism development can bring greater negative economic impacts than positive ones. As well as money, tourists also bring themselves to a destination adding to the burden on the community's infrastructure. Increased traffic leads to congestion and more frequent accidents, public facilities will see more use and require more maintenance and tourists increase

the attractiveness of crime. The solutions to many of these problems (road building, extra policing etc.) often involve a rise in local taxes which are paid by the resident populace not the tourists. (Wall and Mathieson 2006) This is fine for those whose income is derived from the tourist as then the visitor is paying indirectly for the burden he causes the infrastructure in the price he or she pays for tourism products. It is also fair in a destination where the multiplier effect is working well and the economy is interdependent with little leakage of tourist money as then everyone is deriving some of their income from the tourist and may fairly be asked to pay for the extra services needed to host them. However it is much harder to justify such costs where there is a lot of leakage as is likely to be the case for the first several years after a tourism destination is established in a peripheral area with a small economic base, as in such a case people's taxes will increase to develop more infrastructure while they receive no extra money as a result of tourism. This would create a dire and untenable situation where tourism serves only to make poor people poorer.

Tourism can also cause inflation of prices in an area and alter the price and availability of goods in ways that may be detrimental to those living in a tourism destination. Tourists may be wealthier than those living in a peripheral area and while on holiday will be willing to spend more per day than they would at home. This allows retailers to raise prices beyond what residents can afford. Also as businesses catering to tourists increase they can displace businesses catering to residents to other areas adding to travel times and altering the character of the community by moving the facilities it relies on and shifting its centre of gravity (Wall and Mathieson 2006). Rural Tourism often leads to the purchasing of second homes, raising property values and potentially driving out some local, particularly the young. (Pearce 1989)

Another cost of tourism development that certainly exists but is difficult to quantify is the opportunity cost. This is the cost a destination incurs in its ability to pursue other economic options when it chooses to pursue a strategy based on tourism. In every community resources of money and manpower are limited and in areas needing regeneration they may be severely limited. By spending these resources on developing tourism they of course cannot be spent on something else and so other opportunities are lost or their chances of success reduced by the pursuit of

tourism. In some cases a source of funding may only be available for a specific type of development and this is often the case with heritage attractions which have access to conservation and community funds. However because match funding is usually required an opportunity cost is still created. The tourism industry may also be incompatible with other industries that an area might wish to develop. For instance conflict often arises between the needs of rural tourism and the needs of agricultural production of goods, also between the production of timber and the use of woodlands for recreation (Hall 2005).

Creating a heritage tourism attraction can be of great benefit or no benefit to a disadvantaged community depending on how it is carried out. The principle of maximising the multiplier effect for businesses whose mission statement involves regeneration is straightforward; businesses simply need to source as many of their overheads (including labour) from inside the regeneration area as possible. In areas with poor employment the creation of any jobs at all may be seen as a success but given the substantial costs of tourism development it is important to ask if the jobs created are worth the funds invested and who is really benefiting from the development. (Hall 2005) Passive host communities will derive little benefit from tourism development happening around them. Stimulating community involvement in decision making and development will encourage local enterprise and allow leakage to be tackled.

2.5. Sustainability of tourism

Developing heritage assets into tourist attractions can bring significant change, both good and bad, to a regional economy. Many of these costs may be considered an acceptable price to pay for the often substantial revenue tourism brings, provided costs and benefits are fairly distributed amongst the community. A more severe criticism levelled at tourism development though is that it quickly fosters a reliance on an industry that is not dependable in the long or even medium term. Although the figures showing the growth of tourism at worldwide and national levels are impressive this does not mean destinations are guaranteed to succeed or that a successful tourism destination will remain profitable forever. The tourist industry is competitive and tourists

themselves fickle in their demands. While any destination may abruptly fail due to circumstances that scare off customers such as political unrest or natural disaster, the Tourism Area Lifecycle Concept (TALC) implies that every destination will eventually fail anyway. Butler's TALC is a model of the rise and fall of tourist areas based on the product lifecycle, a key concept in marketing. Since its origination in 1980 the TALC has never gone out of fashion as a conceptual framework in tourism studies as it is easy to grasp due to its underlying biological metaphor and offers a plausible framework for understanding the relationship between the supply and demand sides of the tourist trade (Papatheodoru 2006). Application and criticism of the model has more often focused on beach resorts than on cultural resources but as Malcolm Davies (2006) observes with the diminution of public funding for cultural resources and their commodification as heritage, museums, historic buildings and even ancient monuments have been put into a marketplace and as such are now subject to the product lifecycle. For those working in the heritage sector the TALC's message of temporariness may be difficult to reconcile with the age and unchanging character of heritage resources themselves, but this is to overlook that however old the buildings or artefacts their existence as heritage visitor attractions is a recent development and in no way exempt from normal patterns in the exchange of products. The current research contributes to the application of TALC to specifically heritage based cases called for by Malcolm-Davies. The implication of TALC is that the process of development may be damaging to heritage assets and will inevitably lead to a new phase of economic stagnation and need for regeneration. It is argued that:

“Destination areas carry within them the potential seeds of their own destruction, and lose their qualities which originally attracted tourists.”

Plog 1974 (Quoted in Butler 1997)

This grim assessment is not intended to put off communities from developing tourism, but rather to show the need for awareness of the patterns of growth and decline in tourism and to be prepared for the changes brought by the different stages of the lifecycle. As a perspective to inform management decisions the destination lifecycle idea may serve both to protect heritage resources from deterioration and to safeguard the long term economic well being of the

communities affected. However Cooper (1992) regards the life cycle as useful for researchers as an explanatory framework but argues that attempts since Butler to utilise it in destination management have been misguided. The predictive and prescriptive powers of the model are undermined by the variables of a competitive market environment (Papatheodoru 2006) and the many different trajectories management decisions and responses can bring about at each stage of lifecycle.

In marketing the product lifecycle seeks to make sense of the rise and fall of sales in a specific product by demarcating four stages in its life. These are introduction, growth, maturity and decline. In the introduction stage a new product is offered for sale with its profits initially in the negative to the amount of the cost of developing and launching the product. For most products this is actually the only stage in the lifecycle and they will never recoup these entry fees to make profit, with an estimated 60-90% failure rate for new products depending on the industry (Dibb et al. 2001 pg 258). The few successful products progress to a stage of rapid growth in sales and in profits. Sales eventually peak and begin to decline in the maturity stage though profits may continue to rise as production costs can be reduced increasing the profit on each sale. Ultimately profits catch up on sales which fall rapidly due to the growth of younger competitor products and the company must decide how much to invest in trying to revive sales and ultimately when to terminate production of the product entirely. Companies are advised to have a mix of products at different steps in the lifecycle so that the profitable ones can finance attempts at new products to replace those in decline. Some marketers see these stages as inevitable and there are mathematical models for determining not just what stage a product is in but also the optimum time for example to terminate a product to maximise its overall profits for its lifetime (see Immonen and Saaksvuori 2005 for example). Others though see the concept only as a useful tool, not a law and point out possible exceptions that will be discussed later, as well as seeking to advance consideration of continual change in the market place through alternative models to the PLC and variations inspired by it such as the Retail Life Cycle concept (Coles 2006).

When Butler (1980) sought to apply this traditional marketing concept to tourist areas in the Scottish Highlands he developed a more detailed six stage model of Exploration, Involvement,

Development, Consolidation, Stagnation and finally Decline. Where the product lifecycle was primarily determined by the number of sales the destination lifecycle has as its basis the number of visitors arriving at a destination. More detail can be added to the model by incorporating Plog's theories of different psychological types of visitors present at different stages of the lifecycle and how these affect the income of tourist areas. Plog argues there are two extremes of psychology amongst tourists, venturers or allocentric visitors and dependables or psychocentric visitors with the majority of the population as centrics between these two extremes forming the mass market in tourism. Venturers are described as self confident and influential over their peers and much of society as the people who start travel trends through their enthusiasm for new and authentic experiences. Dependables are much less confident about life in general and because they worry a lot only like to visit well established holiday destinations as their popularity is seen to guarantee a reasonable experience and value for money, as even on holiday dependables do not like to spend too much. Plog argues psychographically profiling visitors has better predictive power than demographics traditionally used to target households of certain income levels (Plog p.254). Plog's psychological types have been criticised as making claims too great on too little evidence by Pearce (Butler 1997) however, and given that venturers have a defining characteristic of being willing to spend large sums of money on visiting untested destinations and dependables are defined in part by travelling less often and spending less, it may be that behind these personality types is a simple division between those with high and low incomes that could be measured without the need for psychologically invasive surveys.

Any part of the world a private person can legally travel to will occasionally receive leisure visitors or tourists however underdeveloped though the numbers may be very small and the visits very occasional events. The first stage in the destination lifecycle represents this phase when a small amount of tourism exists but the host area has not yet begun to court the tourist and has no infrastructure or businesses specifically aimed at tourism. There will be a low level of tourism at this stage from travellers who are particularly adventurous or have a strongly motivating special interest in the area, who may travel to visit a resource such as a natural resource or heritage site that is completely undeveloped and has no 'presentation'. That there will be no facilities tailored specifically to accommodate them at the destination will for some be part of the appeal. These

are Plog's venturers who are happy to stay in typical local accommodation and improvise when it comes to getting around and seeing the sights. These allocentric visitors tend to be contemptuous of homogenised tourism destinations where the "local colour" is toned down or absent and so are often drawn by undeveloped natural resources and local culture and heritage. In areas with significant natural or heritage assets the first tourists will likely be a mixture of special interest visitors on "serious leisure" time (See Special Interest Tourism market report in Appendix 2) and venturers looking for a new experience.

In response to these pioneering tourists local entrepreneurs may begin to actively court tourist spending leading to the involvement stage in the lifecycle. Entrepreneurial activity is key to progressing destinations through the stages of the lifecycle but because of the unpredictable role of individual entrepreneurship is arguably the least clear element in the model and so a significant handicap to its use as a tool of prediction (Russel 2006). Positive word of mouth from venturers combined with a developing hospitality sector at the destination will begin to attract the near-venturers, sometimes called mass market innovators, who are the real trend setters for the mass market. Early tourist facilities will often be of quite high quality and high cost being intended for these fairly well to do visitors. The positive reports of near venturers make it into the media and a public awareness of the destination and a positive image of it begin to grow. Already though some allocentrics will be moving on in response to the early stages of tourist development and the first seeds of a more negative public image of the destination as over developed and unfashionable are planted (Plog 1998).

For now though it is time to reap the benefits of the positive image the destination has and turn it into visitor numbers and cash. In the development phase there is significant investment in new facilities such as hotels and attractions and visitor numbers rise quickly made no of the psychographical centrics in Plog's model. The visitors now arriving will normally represent more of a consistent group than the trickle of allocentric visitors that existed before the development stage and so give the destination developers a better target to aim their marketing at. Cooper (1997) warns that as it is at this stage in the lifecycle that the potential for private sector profit is at its highest, community control of tourism related decisions must be well established

before this stage if tourism is to be managed for the community's development or regeneration. With the destination now a recognised brand in the holiday market the near venturers will move on to another up and coming competitor destination where they will not have to rub shoulders with mass market riff raff.

In the consolidation stage visitor numbers are still rising but the rate of increase slows. While the mass market is still present, dependables or psychocentric visitors are now beginning to arrive in significant numbers. These guests are referred to in other literature as mass market followers or laggards. For them the presence of facilities specifically for tourists and access to simulations of home comforts (e.g. the "traditional British bar and restaurant") are at least as important as the local culture and natural and heritage resources. Tourism products such as coach tours that provide a string of packaged and possibly contrived experiences of the destination while guaranteeing there will be more interaction with fellow tourists than with locals appeal to these dependables and often appear at the consolidation stage. The homogeneity of tourist attractions can be seen to rise at each step in the lifecycle. Unfortunately the traits of homogenised destination such as a varied hotel sector and wide variety of food outlets can be built anywhere unlike unique local natural features for example. Due to the competitiveness of tourism the group Plog calls "dependable" who dominate from this stage on may be anything but dependable.

The fifth stage in the lifecycle model is stagnation. At this stage visitor levels increase at a slower rate and the customer profile will change so that the majority are mass market followers, more likely to be repeat visitors and generally only interested in well established and well known tried and tested destinations. The label of dependables is justified in the sense that once this type of visitor has found a holiday experience they like they are more likely than fickle mass market tourists to come back year after year. Unfortunately though they take shorter holidays and spend less per day than the mainstream. Heritage projects often speak of the need to encourage repeat visiting, which obviously leads to more spending and represents an endorsement of the attraction facilities. The lifecycle model does not say repeat visitors are always a bad thing but warns against a rising percentage of repeat visitors as indicative of stagnation and leading to lower

spend per visitor and a poor perception of the destination by many. It is at this stage that the negative image of a destination eclipses the positive perception that existed during earlier developmental stages. The number of market competitors is likely to rise at this stage challenging the well established destination for its market share. Development of new products and consolidation of market share is needed to remain at this stage but difficulties are likely as targeting new audiences may alienate the existing customers who will gradually drift off to younger destinations after the mass market innovators anyway.

When visitor levels are shown to be consistently falling (any destination may have a bad year without it being a trend) the destination has entered the decline stage of its product cycle. As well as falling visitor numbers this stage is characterised by a shrinking catchment area. At this stage there will be severe economic and possibly social problems depending on how reliant the area is on tourism. If the area has used tourist money to diversify its economy at earlier stages the problems will be less severe and this stage may be an opportune time to greatly reduce the scale of tourism. Otherwise substantial investment will be needed to try to revive the tourist trade through new attractions and products. Based on the model presented which is predicated on the PR value of near venturers as guests, it is easy to imagine how difficult and painful it is to revive a declining visitor destination since the facilities that built up during growth and consolidation are intrinsically alienating to fashion conscious allocentric guests. These facilities will be maintained by a patchwork of small to medium sized businesses who as individual units may be unable to extricate themselves from the tourist trade due to sunken costs (Coles 2006) and so local or national government may be the only agency powerful enough to orchestrate an exit strategy, though this is bound to be a difficult decision that is painful to push through (Baum 2006).

There has been a lot of debate over the frequent application of the product lifecycle to tourism development implying that its stages are not inevitable. In marketing where the product lifecycle has its origins it is sometimes retorted that there are some products that will always be needed and so are 'immortal' as far as the lifecycle is concerned. Toilet paper is a good example. Like food and shelter people will always need it and it is hard to imagine purchasing this product

going out of fashion, but the error here is to mistake a particular invention for products, which can be very varied applications of the same invention with very different marketing. There are countless different types and brands of toilet paper aimed at different consumers and as much subject to the product lifecycle as a video game or a vacuum cleaner. Returning to tourism matters it is clear that there are some destinations the lifecycle is hard to apply to as they suddenly spring up overnight skipping the early stages. The Eden project in Cornwall for example was a revolutionary development rather than an evolutionary one, requiring massive initial investment before it could open its doors to the huge number of visitors received during its first year of operations. Half of the funding for the huge project came from the lottery funded Millennium commission which also financed several other high profile ‘revolutionary’ type new attractions of which Eden has been the most successful. Other projects on the list have not done so well, such as the notorious Millenium Dome (now the O2 arena). It appears though that having bypassed the limited stages of early development and gone straight from nothing to mass market success the Eden project has in no way avoided the hazards of maturity with expensive new additions since its opening such as The Core, a building containing galleries and seminar rooms, and regular new installations to encourage repeat visitng only slowing a decline in visitor numbers without arresting it:

Table 2.1: Eden Project Visitor numbers

Year	Visitor numbers (millions)
2001 (9 months opening only)	1.7
2002	1.83
2003	1.4
2004	1.22
2005	1.18

(Cornwall Calling)

While some destinations may prove to be exceptions from the pattern the destination lifecycle predicts they should still be mindful of the underlying lessons of the model which are the need to preserve the original features that first attracted tourists and more controversially to limit the

scale of tourism so that it does not overwhelm the destination. Plog (1998) observes though that destination managers are in a poor position to judge when their area has become overdeveloped to the detriment of its underlying appeal, and it is the repeat visitor who comes back after a few years absence to see the place transformed by too many hotels and souvenir shops who recognises the loss of value.

The purpose of sustainable tourism development is to tame the tourist destination lifecycle so that it does not harm local distinctiveness and the environment and brings lasting economic benefits rather than a boom followed by a recession. Butler speaks of destinations having a limited carrying capacity which unsustainable development as in his lifecycle model quickly exceeds leaving the destination ultimately worse off having damaged its initial character through development of homogenous facilities that ultimately become redundant. Plog similarly speaks of limiting development so that it is not allowed to reach a temporary peak of income but retains the partly developed character that appeals to near-venturers. Where the initial appeal of an area lies in its heritage development must obviously be managed so that tourist access to monuments and relics is controlled and does not damage the heritage resources of the local community. Interpretation is a useful tool as far as promoting desirable conduct on behalf of tourists in regard to maintaining the integrity of buildings and artefacts. More troublesome for those who would develop sustainable destinations is the intangible heritage, which covers such things as local language and traditions that may be jeopardised or distorted as a consequence of tourist development. Also affected is the underlying meaning and significance that makes a building, place or object into heritage and this intangible quality is essentially impossible to leave unaltered. Interpretation even when it is not called such and is a drier academic presentation of facts has great influence on the fluid perception of what a heritage site means and represents.

Walsh (1992) argues that making heritage into products for export alienates people from their own past and that custodianship of heritage should be seen as a public service with sufficient funding and maintenance guaranteed by the state so that custodians do not have to chase visitor numbers by turning local history into a commodity. While it is understandable that heritage conservation groups should seek to use tourism as a justification to try to win funding and the

support of government, it is suggested that this approach may undermine the 'real value' of heritage resources. This 'real value' relates to people's sense of identity, community cohesion through shared heritage and the educational and cultural benefits of well preserved heritage sites. These benefits it is suggested will not be maximised if management approach revolves around maximising two numbers: annual visitors and average spend per head. Plog's schema applied to heritage projects suggests that gearing interpretation to locals not tourists will perversely make it more appealing to tourists on the venturer side of the psychographic spectrum who are the key to optimising spend per head of tourists.

In the development of tourism destinations there is a great potential for conflict between residents, whose motivation is for the area they live in to be as amenable as possible, and the place entrepreneur who is motivated to make the area as economically active as possible (Hall 2005). It is therefore difficult for heritage attractions to strike a balance between catering to local people and interpreting their own history to them and appealing to 'outsiders' and attracting visitors. Because of the economic value of tourism the need to appeal to non locals can sometimes lead to a low priority being assigned to winning popularity with the host community. It is clearly undesirable that residents should come to view the heritage assets of their home area as exclusively for the tourists, however large a multiplier is generated. Applied universally such a situation would result in everyone visiting other people's heritage while having no knowledge or experience of their own. Funding for heritage projects more often comes from the public sector than the private sector and public sector organisations are becoming increasingly concerned that the heritage they fund has value other than as an asset for the exploitation of private sector businesses. The Heritage Lottery Fund for example states that it considers anthropological values of heritage (i.e. social, aesthetic, spiritual value etc.) as of equal importance to economic values in judging grant applications. (HLF 2009)

It is a clear theme of discussions on the regenerative application of tourism that the interconnectedness of the regional economy is crucial to the level of impact achieved. If the community is involved in developments therefore its members will have more opportunities to benefit from it and entrepreneurial activity initiated from within the community will be more

likely to take off. There is an extra requirement for the community to participate when the tourist attraction is the community's heritage. If we take it as read that as an area ages as a tourism destination entrepreneurial activity will increasingly seal up leaks maximising the multiplier effect then a slower advance through the lifecycle based on gradual development may have stronger regeneration benefits than a sudden leap in the tourism product from nothing to fully developed attraction. In the latter scenario a large amount of tourism money may arrive at the new destination and immediately leak out with the entrepreneurial activity not yielding results until the decline phase if ever. It has been observed that a gradual increase in the total availability of beds makes it easier for local entrepreneurs to respond to the change than the sudden opening of a large hotel (Shaw and Williams 1994) and this may apply as much to tourism attractions as it does to tourist accommodation.

Tourist experiences are a luxury, not a necessity like food and energy and so the tourism industry can be a fickle source of income due to unstable demand and competition. Even if a peripheral area succeeds in establishing itself as a tourist destination this is only half the battle as the resultant changes to the area need to be managed with care. The most important principle is that the heritage collection not be damaged or altered in order to make it more accommodating to tourists or through unmanaged wear and tear. The product lifecycle does apply to heritage landscapes like the Copper Kingdom, but the product in question is the visitor's mediated experience of this landscape, not the physical environs of Parys Mountain and Amlwch Port. This experience can be altered and rejuvenated in response to the fluctuating tourism market. As long as the historic sites around which the experience is based are preserved, there is nothing to prevent the tourist destination lifecycle from operating cyclically.

2.6. Valuing Heritage

We have focused in the last two sections on the utility of heritage projects as a stimulus to economic activity. An attempt is made here to broaden the spectrum of purposes heritage may be called on to serve, and it will be seen that there are many other values and goals that may be

associated with efforts to manage heritage assets. Uzzel's (1998) perspective that interpretation encompasses the totality of the visitor's experience of the heritage including initial contact through marketing and the hospitality facilities of the site, not just the presentational materials means that all management decisions are interpretive in the sense of contributing to visitor experience. This is the perspective taken throughout this study and dictates that interpretive objectives and overall project goals are one and the same thing, and whatever the goals of a particular heritage project they will be achieved or not through interpretation.

The wide range of possible goals for heritage schemes cannot always be in harmony with each other and as Lowenthal (1997) puts it "promising so much to so many, heritage is bound to disappoint." Different groups and individuals will have differing priorities for heritage projects, and as the art of interpretation requires a clear focus for communication and quickly becomes untenable where it seeks to marry conflicting goals, heritage projects often inspire revulsion in their final form from those who had fundamentally different hopes for the heritage to what was realised. Dicks' (2000) study of the development of the Rhondda Heritage Park gives a detailed picture of differing aspirations colliding and producing a result no party originally had in mind. Dicks' work will be referred to throughout this study as it has many parallels to the development of the Copper Kingdom, not just due to the shared Welsh context and industrial background but also in the fusion of differing agendas into a single project to the inevitable dissatisfaction of some stakeholders. The "anti-heritage animus" (Lowenthal 1997) is expressed by many writers attacking the whole societal edifice of 'heritage' from a variety of different standpoints mirroring the range of aspirations inspiring the growth of heritage.

Because most cultural heritage relies on the guardianship of volunteers or of the state it is necessary to engender a degree of popular support for this protection. Tilden proposed that by helping the public to experience the full benefits of cultural items through interpretation they would naturally be motivated to support those seeking to protect such cultural goods. He quoted from a training manual of the US National Park Service: "Through interpretation, understanding, through understanding, appreciation, through appreciation, protection." (Tilden p.38) As Uzzel points out this implies that if interpretation is done well it will be effective in encouraging

conservation without ever explicitly exhorting the audience to specific action as this would be preaching. The behaviour interpreters seek to engender varies from far reaching aims of encouraging certain attitudes in public discourse and even at polling stations that support heritage preservation, to more small scale actions such as donating change or refraining from taking bits of a crumbling site as souvenirs. Interpretation it is thought can be used as a management tool to reduce harmful visitor impact and encourage good behaviour more effectively than signs that simply deliver prohibitions and commands without explanation of why the command should be obeyed.

Inculcating impact sensitive conduct in visitors and building support for conservation may seem uncontroversial, but the latter point especially raises a question of how far to go and how much needs to be conserved. Some heritage critics argue the gamut of heritage is far too broad and much cultural activity now being rehabilitated as 'heritage' is simply inane (Lownethal 1997). A related problem is the dilution of value by classifying more and more material as heritage, with the ever increasing number of world heritage sites a possible example as each new designation detracts from exclusivity diminishing the perceived value of all inscribed sites. Limiting the growth of heritage though creates new problems of how heritage value should be determined and by whom to which we will return but a basic duty of interpretation is to state the case for a particular resource's value and why it should be conserved.

A commonly quoted justification for conserving heritage assets is their value to education. Tilden explicitly described interpretation as an educational activity and education has been the most widely stated goal of interpretation schemes. Interpretation specifically seeks to harness the benefits of direct contact between the learner and real objects or places that are illustrative of the subject being learned about. It seems obvious that in arts education for example a talk on a specific painting is going to be absorbed much more easily if the listener can actually see the painting during the talk and this principle it is argued can be applied in most fields of knowledge, that contact with real material makes the mind more receptive to insights. A limit is placed though on the role of interpretation so that it cannot be conceived of as obliterating the need to read text books and sit through lectures where one is out of contact with 'the thing itself'.

Interpretation's goal is to communicate a broad understanding or framework into which facts and figures can be slotted so that they become meaningful; it is not intended to impart significant amounts of information that will be memorised. An excess of facts and figures is seen as a menace to good interpretation, the role of which is to stoke up an appetite for knowledge and give it direction rather than to actually nourish this appetite. Education becomes easier when there is an actual interest in learning as a satisfying end in itself rather than just for the external rewards of education (eg. Grades, better paid employment). Interpretation is therefore highly complementary to formal education though the two experiences are fundamentally different due to the differences between captive and non-captive audiences (Ham 1992). Captive or involuntary audiences such as a school class have a fixed time commitment during which they cannot escape the education and are obliged to make an effort of concentration even when bored as they are motivated by external rewards (qualifications with economic value) and so will accept a formal approach. The voluntary or non captive audience can abandon an educational activity as soon as it becomes bored of it as the motivating rewards on offer are internal ones such as interest, self improvement and entertainment. Visits to interpreted heritage sites therefore may act as a useful supplement to formal education and as a possible prompt towards adult learning, which can have personal as well as economic benefits.

The most common criticism of heritage though is that it runs counter to educational aims and rather than inspiring audiences to learn about history it leads them to accept a false caricature of complex historic realities. Lowenthal's (1998) demarcation of history and heritage as separate distinct activities argues against the use of school trips to heritage sites in historic education, and even if as Urry (1995) suggests savvy contemporary tourists are able to enjoy heritage without credulous acceptance of its claims, this only frames heritage as non-harmful to understanding history, not as beneficial.

Tilden saw a role for interpretation in fostering the mental well being of individuals and society as a whole. He compared the America of the late 1950s in which he lived with its quickening technological advancement to two cultures of the ancient world that both experienced an influx of slave labour creating unprecedented amounts of leisure time amongst free men. In Rome

following the successful Mithridatic wars this new freedom from work led to a period of debauchery and ungovernable social chaos and may be said to have been misused. In the “golden” period of Athens on the other hand the free time allowed to slave owners led (according to Tilden’s interpretation) to great advances in philosophy and all forms of art. Tilden felt America with its increased leisure time (through scientific advancement rather than enslaving foreigners and stealing their treasure) could be led to follow the Greek model through interpretation, or as he put it “to cease being a nation of prosperous slovens”(Tilden p.106). Now that people had a weekend free of labour they needed to learn how to use this time in a healthy and life affirming way, otherwise it would be a time in which neurosis and restless anxiety festered. For Tilden the best way to use free time was as what he termed a “happy amateur”, arguing against the use of the word amateur to mean inferior or cack-handed attempts at something, reclaiming it as meaning someone dedicated to an ennobling pursuit wholly outside their means of procuring wages and paying for living. Tilden’s argument seems invalidated by the current of history since he wrote it. Current society does not conform unambiguously to the Roman or Athenian model, mental ill health has increased at the same time that greater numbers are engaged in creative pursuits. Globalisation, economic restructuring, the emergence of a possibly post-industrial service class, the emergence of leisure time and work time as two symbiotic spheres of public life (Urry 1995), and a loss of job security have all led to a more complex situation than Tilden could have envisaged.

Efforts to use interpretation to make people support the preservation of historic buildings or behave in a more environmentally sensitive way are a type of propaganda (a word used here in its neutral, non-pejorative sense). But as important as these aims were in the development of many interpretive techniques, there is nothing that limits those techniques to expressing and maybe convincing people of only this type of message. Interpretation can serve any number of political ends for example holocaust museums or sites related to black slavery usually have a strong anti-racism message in their interpretation which seeks to influence people’s attitudes and conduct. Another example would be military museums seeking to encourage people to join the army. Critics of the growth in heritage attractions in Britain suggest that the alleged sanitising of history is not just carried out for the sake of commercialisation but serves a highly conservative

political agenda favouring the wealthy elites who exercise control over what is deemed to be heritage (through organisations like the National Trust and the Heritage Lottery Fund), while others see heritage as intrinsically chauvinistic and so breeding conflict between different groups (Lowenthal 1997). Hewison states that “the heritage industry” in Britain “is largely focussed on an idealised past whose social values are those of an earlier age of privilege and exploitation that it serves to preserve and bring forward into the present.” (Hewison 1989 p.21) Walsh (1992) links the rise of a heritage industry in the UK to the new right as lead by Margaret Thatcher eroding the educative values of the museum sector while setting up unelected quangos who determine what counts as heritage on the basis of a politically narrow worldview. This negative view is based on a perceived sanitising and standardisation of museums into heritage experiences, implicitly recognising a positive potential for communities to derive strength from heritage assets. Because of heritage’s importance to self-image heritage attractions are sometimes expected to play a role in strengthening communities as well as attracting tourism. To create a sense of community cohesion requires a tailored approach to interpretation of heritage that seeks to make the communities’ past appear relevant and to be a source of pride. The Copper Kingdom Interpretation plan for example states as one of its objectives:

“to generate a sense of local pride amongst the community of Amlwch in the rich and unique heritage resource of their surroundings.” (Parr 2005 p.34)

The setting of objectives like this is increasingly popular with the government supported heritage agencies (and the HLF in particular). Such approaches suggest it is possible to utilise heritage resources in a regeneration context to combat social ills as well as purely economic ones. For this to work though it would seem necessary for interpretation to downplay past and present divisions within communities and the more shaming episodes of local history. Uzzel (1998) though gives the example of apartheid related museums in South Africa to show how interpretation can take on fairly recent and still problematic conflicts directly to serve a community development function. His concept of ‘hot’ interpretation states that interpretation must have an affective component rather than shying away from provoking an emotional response, possibly an unpleasant one, from visitors. It is not necessarily the case therefore that

interpretation seeking to serve its community will always be a whitewash. There remains an assumption though that 'communities' feel a backwards looking nostalgia for bygone ways of life, whereas Dicks (2000) found in the Rhondda for many local pride is more contemporary in its focus, with people in former industrial communities glad to no longer be born into a specific workforce but to have choice in their careers and opportunities to move away if they wish.

The potential economic value of heritage once commodified as a tourist product gives rise to a good deal of criticism that heritage puts a price label on what to many should be sacred and ring fenced against commercialisation. Heritage is capitalism at its worst, turning every aspect of human experience into a marketplace of competing consumables and so as seen in the hellish implications of the lifecycle concept putting an expiry date on everything. Critics also attack the tastelessness of profiting from histories steeped in human suffering, with the memory of those who suffered demeaned by trade in packaged faux experiences and branded souvenirs (Lowenthal 1997). It has been suggested that the emphasis on the value of heritage to tourism and the commercialisation of heritage assets it entails brings conflict as this aim is incompatible in some ways with the alternative values for heritage projects briefly outlined here. Jenkins (1992) points out the dangers of ever closer links between tourism and heritage conservation seen in Wales in the 1980s. He argues that allowing the need of some areas for regeneration and the urge to develop new attractions in areas with an existing tourism dependency leads to a distorted public understanding of national history. Instead he proposes a more centralised administration of the nation's heritage based on tax support for its conservation and organisations such as the national Museums of Wales, of which Jenkins was an employee. Allowing undue influence of tourist trends on the management of heritage may compromise the educative value of these assets, as well as its political uses. Allowing visitor numbers as a reflection of tourist and local interest combined to determine what sites survive and which do not going into the future is at least democratic, while having a government agency or consensus of academics determine where and how much money for repairs and maintenance is allocated disempowers the public whose money is spent on these repairs and invites the charge of elitism (Lowenthal 1997). For Walsh however such an attitude is one that excuses government from a

responsibility to maintain all valuable heritage for its educational value, thus harming democracy:

“Something as important as the preservation and presentation of material culture should be regarded as a ‘public service’, the preservation and presentation of material culture as something which is important in itself, and not because of its revenue generating potential. By public service, I mean a provision which is deemed as essential, so essential that it is crucial to the quality of life in any given society, from health and rescues services, to the provision of education. It is as a form of educating experience that the representation of the past should be considered. Crucial to any democracy is the *free* provision of such services. To put it crudely, the level of civilisation in any society is related to its tax structure and specifically to the level of public provision of education services.” (Walsh 1992 p.178)

This does not deal with the challenge of choosing from limitless possible heritages in a fair way though, and the solution working itself out for good or ill today is to allow anything described by anyone as heritage to be treated as such initially and to allow the free market to arbitrate which heritages survive and which disappear.

According to the literature good interpretation communicates complex ideas and relationships and is capable of inducing strong emotions in audiences and affecting their behaviour, attitudes and beliefs. It is therefore a powerful tool which like any communication may be used to serve an infinite variety of aims. The agendas for which interpretation is most often employed though have since its origins been conservation and education and increasingly over time entertainment and propaganda. Interpretation theory emphasises being entertaining and informal as a means to achieve more worthy goals of conservation and broadening intellectual horizons, but in many cases today these laudable aims will be of secondary importance to the visitors having a pleasurable and entertaining experience. As heritage attractions are important to luring tourists and often used in a regeneration context maximising visitor numbers becomes all important

especially as many such sites receive insufficient government support to survive and so must make money from visitors. Interpretation is often criticised if it is motivated to entertain for giving inaccurate representations of history that pander to preconceived ideas and stereotypes, so as not to offend desperately needed visitors. There is clearly a lot of scope for conflict within heritage projects between the imperative to deliver tourist spending and revitalise the local economy and the imperative to use the heritage for education and in a less tangibly improving fashion. While there is nothing to make economic and educational goals or any other objectives mutually exclusive, there will unavoidably be instances where time and resources spent on meeting one set of goals deprive the other, with the pressures influencing which goals take precedence coming primarily from funding agencies.

The study of heritage demands an interdisciplinary approach calling on a host of different literatures. The Copper Kingdom can be viewed from a variety of perspectives; as an exercise in regeneration, as the commodification of local history for post modern consumption, as a way of preserving a distinctive landscape. The work of furthering understanding of heritage and contributing to best practice lies in strengthening the linkages between different bodies of thought overlap in the heritage phenomenon through application to real cases. The main such overlaps to which the present research will contribute are between destination lifecycles (as a keystone of sustainable tourism) and the memorialisation of the past, and between interpretation theory and the recognition of cultural landscapes.

Chapter 3: Research Methodology

This chapter describes how the case of Amlwch was critically examined according to the areas of greatest interest arising from the literature review. Participant observer activities related to attraction development, visitor observation and visitor surveys were all used to build a detailed picture of the situation of the Amlwch and Parys Mountain heritage landscape, with the results of these activities presented in chapter 4. Comparative case studies were also made of other projects with similar issues to the Copper Kingdom project, and the outcomes of these studies are given in chapter 5.

Chapter 3: Research Methodology

The aims of this project were:

1. To understand the current visitor experience of the Copper Kingdom heritage landscape by gathering and comparing data on the audiences of the two key sites in order to determine their relationship in terms of shared audience and cumulative visitor experience.
2. Establish principles of best practice in developing the tourist appeal of heritage landscapes.
3. Appraise independently the planning and development of the visitor experience to be offered by the Copper Kingdom project to tourists.
4. Provide recommendations for how to develop the Copper Kingdom project in order to maximise its regenerative effect on the Amlwch community and the regional economy.

These aims would be achieved by studying the Copper Kingdom Project over 3 years from 2006-2008 in terms of regeneration impacts, visitor experience and cultural landscapes, three closely interrelated key concepts explored in the preceding literature review. The research was conducted using a mix of qualitative and quantitative methods applied in depth to the main case of Amlwch and Parys Mountain and also to comparative case studies elsewhere. Table 3.1 puts the different methods and approaches into this matrix. The table is a simplification, as survey data includes responses to some open questions that would be classed as qualitative evidence while documentary evidence such as business plans often contained some quantitative. More generally with all these methods being applied it was both unavoidable and desirable that experience from one aspect of the research affect how others were conducted. Moving vertically on the matrix for example, immersion in the Copper Kingdom Project through participant observation helped with the framing of questions in the correct language and terminology during interviews with key personnel at case study sites. Moving horizontally knowledge gained from qualitative research helped

to interpret quantitative data and vice versa. In this way complementary research activities contributed to a more balanced and multi-dimensional perspective on the research topics from which to develop best practice guidance.

Table 3.1: Matrix of sources of evidence used in the research

	Qualitative	Quantitative
Amlwch case	Documentary evidence, Participant Observation, 'Action research' reports to AIHT	Visitor Observation, Visitor Surveys, Visitor numbers data
Comparative cases	Documentary Evidence, Site Visits, Interviews with Key Personnel	Visitor Survey data, Visitor numbers

3.1. Participant observer activities

Participant observation is a well established form of qualitative research originating in anthropology and now employed throughout the social sciences. It can be defined as an activity where a researcher enters into the milieu of research subjects assuming a role as an agent within it for a prolonged period (Bogdan 1972). During this time data is recorded in the form of field notes. The participant observation approach offers opportunities and risks that needed to be borne in mind. The prolonged period of immersion (three years in this case) means as time elapses the presence of the researcher becomes normal to inhabitants of the milieu being studied, particularly as the researcher has another role, in this case as a source of consultancy work, that is of more immediate concern on a day to day basis. This enables subjects to behave more naturally and be more open about research topics. Immersion in day to day activities and listening to conversations also allows the researcher to put research questions into the language that is most meaningful to the subject rather than the interviewer (Bogdewic 1999). The potential hazard of all this however is that the researcher may uncritically accept ideas and assumptions that are common places within the milieu

being explored but may not be valid. This would be a particularly severe risk where participant observation is coupled with grounded theory, but in this case exploration of theoretical perspectives and models found in literature was useful in maintaining a critical perspective on data collected through participant observation. This proved especially true when studying interpretive projects and aspects of project planning related to economic regeneration. Knowledge gained from comparative case studies (see 3.3 below) was also useful in maintaining a critical perspective on activities within the AIHT as it sought to advance the Copper Kingdom Project.

The participant observer activities and the research as a whole may also be considered as 'action research'. Action research is conducted collaboratively between a researcher and a client (the AIHT) to diagnose and develop solutions for problems or needs of the client's business or organisation (Saunders, Lewis and Thornhill 2003). The objectives of the research are geared towards finding ways to enhance the viability of the Copper Kingdom Project through specific actions and policies. Like the use of participant observation an action research approach developed naturally from the ESF project partnership programme which required research outputs be of practical value to the sponsoring partner:

“The purpose of (action) research and discourse is not just to describe, understand and explain the world but also to change it.”

- Coghlan and Brannick (2001)

The research does not currently meet every definition of action research however as Thornhill et al. (2000) for example conceive action research as a cyclical activity, in which the recommended actions are implemented by the client and the researcher assesses the effects before recommending further actions and so on. The recommendations generated by this research have not yet been implemented and so their consequence cannot yet be assessed or follow up actions recommended.

Through access to the organisational workings of the AIHT it was possible to conduct detailed qualitative research on all aspects of the developing Copper Kingdom project. This access took the form of copies of much of the paper work of the project, from

official documents and plans to some internal correspondence, attendance at meetings and the opportunity to interview relevant parties.

Participant observer activities included contributions to the preparation of grant applications including planning documents prepared during the period of study, specifically the 2007 business plan and the Audience development and access plan produced in the same year (see 3.1.1.). The documentary evidence represents a set of milestones in the history of the project over the period of study that may become available for study by other researchers in the future, but a large part of the study was grounded in personal observation, interviews and work done for the Trust as part of the professional placement component of the partnership project between Bangor University and the AIHT. Key meetings such as AGMs and meetings between the trustees and consultants were observed and recorded through note taking and regular interviews were carried out with the project manager to keep track of different elements of the project. The interviews with the project manager and Trustees and observation of meetings also gave access to opinions and perspectives of key decision makers in the shaping of the heritage experience at Amlwch.

A number of reports compiled by the author in the course of participant observation are included in Appendix 2. The process of preparing these reports, some of which are referred to in the main text, was crucial in developing and testing the best practice advice that is the aim of the research and in developing a complete understanding of the resources to be developed in North East Anglesey and their full potential. While they may be classed as action research they are prepared and formatted for the needs of the Trust rather than academic review and so need to be separated from the main text of the thesis. The appendix contains:

- A report on the results of a Visitor Survey carried out in 2006, the survey form being designed by Headland design associates. This contains data on visitor demographics and the desires and expectations of visitors for future developments and so collating and reporting results was helpful to the project aims.

- A report on the potential Special Interest Visitor Market at Amlwch, an important facet that needed to be considered in developing the visitor experience to suit as many potential users and visitors as possible. The conclusions of this report feed in to recommendations concerning the provision of interpretation services in the final discussion.
- A report on potential access improvements at Parys Mountain. This report illustrated the scope for enhancing the accessibility of the mountain and involved gathering information from the Walk Amlwch guides about their work and the possible futures of tour guiding within the project.
- Interpretation Projects: 3 reports proposing new interpretation panels at the Sail Loft, Parys Mountain car park and at Mona Windmill overlooking Porth Amlwch. Preparing these yielded valuable practical insights into designing interpretation and using the methodologies covered in the literature review. They are therefore relevant to validating the critique of interpretation commissioned by the Trust and propositions for how to manage the delivery of interpretation in the future.

3.1.1. Content Analysis

There is a large body of documentation related to the Copper Kingdom project, most of it in the form of planning documents prepared to be submitted to funding agencies as a prospectus for how the Trust would seek to realise its organisational aims with the development grant it seeks. There is a corresponding body of review documents commenting on and criticising these plans, prepared by consultants employed either by agencies making grant applications such as the county council whilst acting on the Trust's behalf or by the funding agencies receiving these applications, the most significant of which has been the Heritage Lottery Fund. This has always been regarded as the most likely source of funding for major expansion in the Trust's work and development of the attraction it offers. These latter documents have been prepared for internal use by funding agencies in reaching decisions and have only been released to applicants subsequent to applications being resolved or withdrawn, and remain confidential to the applicant agency and the funding agency. Taken together this body of documentation contains a large amount of debate and differing

perspectives amongst professionals and experts, much of it pertinent to the research objectives. The documents also illustrate the funding process itself and how it influences the design of heritage projects. Of particular interest in the case of the Copper Kingdom project is the struggle to design an attraction that will be able to finance itself subsequent to a programme of major expansion and investment after which no further development funds will be available.

The major documents that will be referred to most frequently warrant a brief introduction each. They are:

Planning documents-

Conservation management plan: Prepared by Gifford and partners Ltd. Funded through the project planning grant and delivered November 2005. The Conservation Management plan (CMP) catalogues and describes the heritage collection conflated in the title of the Copper Kingdom Project and assesses its significance and value, and how these can be preserved from identified threats while being utilised towards project aims of greater public access and the promotion of tourism and educational uses. Although its plans for development are not detailed the CMP is a valuable repository of data on all components of the landscape.

Parkin business plan: Prepared simultaneously to the CMP by Ian Parkin and associates this is the first business plan for how the Copper Kingdom would develop and operate with major investment. It was specifically commissioned as the existence of such a plan was at the time a prerequisite for grant applications above one million pounds to the Heritage Lottery Fund, and was paid for using the HLF project planning grant.

Copper Kingdom business plan: This document was prepared during 2007 amidst major revisions of the Trust's Lottery application plans to replace the Parkin document. Unusually it was principally authored by the Trust itself with the project manager doing the majority of the work rather than commissioning a team of consultants to prepare it. It was therefore funded by the Interreg project which paid

the Project manager's salary during this period. Access to several successive drafts of this document was granted for the use of this research.

Copper Kingdom Interpretation plan: This document was prepared alongside the original Parkin business plan in 2005 as a guide to how the history of the area and the scientific subjects of the landscape would be related to visitors, assuming the framework of tourist development modelled by Parkin. It contains a summary of the subject matter, interpretive objectives and themes and a list of interpretive projects to be commissioned with price estimates. It was principally authored by consultant Carol Parr and paid for out of the HLF project planning grant.

Audience development and access plan: prepared by Headland Design Associates in 2007, this document was intended to meet another requirement of HLF that large projects have an audience development plan, identifying what barriers prevented some groups from accessing heritage resources, both physically and intellectually, and proposing steps to remove these obstacles. Very roughly speaking it relates to the second business plan in the same way Parr's Interpretation Plan relates to the original Parkin plan. The work was financed using the interpretation budget of the Trust's Interreg project.

Review documentation-

"The Ilex report": A 2006 report prepared by Frank McBratney of Ilex Leisure Services (a consultancy) reviewing Parkin's business plan. The report was commissioned by Anglesey County Council and prompted the abandonment and replacement of the original business plan for the project.

Commentary by Gareth Gregory and John Marjoram: Two documents prepared by two different consultants reviewing the bid made to HLF in 2007, commissioned by the HLF. The bid in question was mainly judged on the strength of the business plan (the second one) and the audience development plan.

The findings of participant observer activities within the Copper Kingdom project and content analysis of its documentation are presented in chapter 4 section 1 in the form

of narratives of the three areas of greatest relevance to the project aims. The first is an account of the search for funding within which the debate and articulation of strategies for developing the heritage project occurred. The second is the effort to provide an interpretive guided walks service within the landscape, perhaps the most ambitious scheme yet attempted by the Trust and an important one to the viability of landscapes as tourist attractions and their potential as a source of employment for local people encouraging regeneration. The third is an account of the redevelopment of the Trust's main visitor centre and how the interpretation was shaped by the commissioning process, the influence of the pursuit of funding and the relationship between buyers and sellers of interpretive skills.

3.2 Audience research at the Sail Loft and on Parys Mountain.

Although heavily focussed on the bid process and plans for expansion, the Trust had already established some provision for tourists and locals interested in the landscape and so there was an existing audience of an average 12,000 visitors per year at the Sail Loft and an unknown number using the heritage trail around Parys Mountain. If the Copper Kingdom plans proceeded as the Trust desired leading to major investment and development followed by a significant rise in visitor numbers, then the lifecycle of tourist products would regard these 12,000 or so as the 'early adopters' of the Copper Kingdom, in Plog's model the allocentric explorers first to discover a new tourist destination before over development and commercialisation cheapened its distinctive cultural appeal. Except of course that this was not a new tourist destination but a very old tourist destination trying to redefine and so rejuvenate itself through a heritage project. The existing audience needed to be studied for the light it might shed on what visitor numbers were achievable and what type of audience was being attracted and might develop in the future. More simply there was a need to consult with this audience about its desires and expectations for further development in order to plan accordingly.

The existing audience was studied using surveys and observation methods. The survey conducted by Headland design consultants in 2006 provided data on the gender, age groups and language preference of visitors to the Sail Loft. It also

gathered some data on where visitors came from though the results were difficult to interpret due to ambiguity in the phrasing of the question when applied to holiday makers. Data was also gathered on visitor motivations, sources of knowledge about the site, preferred interpretive media, opinion on the facilities and information currently available and level of interest in the sister site of Parys Mountain. There was some information already available therefore (included in Appendix 2) but in designing and conducting surveys in 2007 this data would be updated and expanded considerably. At the same time a year long visitor observation project was begun, the primary aim of which was to determine the visitor numbers at the mountain.

3.2.1. Visitor observations:

The number of visitors per year coming to see Parys Mountain was a crucial piece of information needed to understand the current state of heritage based tourism in North East Anglesey. An estimate of 5000 visitors per year was included in the Parkin business plan (Parkin 2005) but this estimate was a complete guess (pers.com Neil Johnstone). Having an estimate based on evidence for comparison with the Sail Loft visitor centre's recorded numbers was crucial to understanding the relationship of the two sites. Counting visitors to the mountain was problematic though as the site is completely unstaffed at most times and it is a problematic venue for automated counting devices such as pressure pads or beams due to its size and open character. The approach taken was therefore one of sampling visitor activity for short periods. The full aims of the visitor observation project were to establish a reasonably accurate estimate of visitor numbers to the mountain, to build a picture of seasonal changes in the level of visitor activity, to assess size and composition of visitor groups and the average length of time spent on the mountain by visitors.

Over one year the level of visitor activity on Parys Mountain was periodically sampled in order to use these sample results to generate data that could be used to estimate the overall level of visitor activity.

To reflect seasonal changes in visitor activity levels the year was divided into four quarters, July-September 2007, October-December 2007, January-March 2008, April-June 2008. During each quarter measurements for weekdays, Saturdays and Sundays

were gathered. A full day on the mountain was considered to extend from 9.00am to 7.00pm in the first and the fourth quarters, while only lasting until 4.00pm in the second and third quarter due to there being fewer hours of daylight. A further modification had to be made to the start time for the days observations as the project went on due to changes to the local bus timetable making it impossible to arrive on the mountain by 9.00am, so that from the second quarter onwards observations begin at 10.00am.

Because it was impractical to spend much more than 3 hours on the mountain measurements were taken on 6 separate weekdays so as to cover 2 mornings (9.00-1.00 initially), 2 early afternoons (1.00-4.00) and in the first and final quarter only 2 late afternoons (4.00-7.00). Similarly 1 day's worth of measurements for Saturdays in each block were gathered. Data was collected for 1.00-4.00pm on one Sunday in each seasonal block.

The data gathered was used to establish averages for visitor numbers on a weekday, a Saturday and a Sunday and to then calculate an estimate of visitor numbers in each quarter. The measurements were gathered on dates chosen at the start of each quarter and spaced as evenly as possible throughout each quarter. Because the dates and times for taking measurements of visitor activity were chosen well in advance the weather on sampling dates fairly represents the overall weather of each block. This was important because if observations were only carried out on days with favourable weather the overall picture of visitor numbers would have been skewed given the frequency of rain and strong winds in North Anglesey.

During sampling sessions a photograph was taken of the visitor car park on Parys Mountain every 15 minutes for the duration of the measurement session. The photos were then be used to work out how many cars visited and how long each stayed. Separately visitors were observed and the composition of each visitor group noted down as follows:

- Number of male adults.
- Number of female adults.

- Number of children (judged to be under 16 by the observer).
- Number of dogs.

Parys Mountain is an ideal place for pet owners and it was known that some locals used the mountain for this purpose very regularly. This presented a problem in determining whether such visits were meaningful in terms of AIHTs organisational aims and so should count towards visitor numbers. As well as noting down how many men, women and children were in each group seen heading up the trail a record was also kept of which groups were walking dogs, so that it could be determined what proportion of visits were made by dog walkers and the estimate of visitor numbers adjusted to include or exclude this group.

3.2.2. Visitor Surveys

A survey was designed for each site to gain information on visitors and their opinions on a number of issues. In order to compare the visitor profiles for the two sites most questions were repeated on both surveys, while each included one unique section relating to interpretive provision since this is at a very different stage of development at the Mountain and the Port. The method for soliciting responses on the other hand was different at each site. At the Sail Loft surveys were left on tables in the café area on the first floor with pens for visitors to complete while they ate if they elected to. On the mountain some copies of the questionnaire were left for self-completion in the warden's cabin but due to the cabin only being occasionally open it was not anticipated that visitors would complete the survey here in comparable numbers to guests at the Sail Loft. The majority of the data for this site was therefore gathered in face to face interviews. People walking on the mountain trail were approached and asked if they would be willing to participate in a survey lasting about five minutes. Although sometimes surprised to be approached by a man with a clipboard at such a remote location the majority of visitor groups were happy to take part with 96 of 98 people approached agreeing to answer the survey questions. The interviews on the mountain were performed between 18.7.2007 and 17.8.2007, while the Sail Loft forms were put on tables over July, August and early September during which time the supply of surveys (and free biros) was topped up regularly and the completed

questionnaires collected. This period included the school summer holidays and the related spike in holidays and was predicted by Sail Loft staff to be the busiest time of year for the attraction. In total 120 surveys were completed at the Sail Loft while on the mountain 96 were interviewed in person and a further 11 surveys completed at the cabin giving 107 surveys. These surveys were not intended to capture data representative of the population of the UK, for which the data sets would be much too small, only to represent the views and characteristics of the current Copper Kingdom audience.

Where possible, Chi Square tests were used to determine if findings were statistically significant. The Chi-Square test is a non-parametric test to determine if two categorical variables affect each other or not and so can be applied to surveys to detect trends where one multiple choice answer makes another answer to a different question more or less likely. Although less sensitive than parametric tests and so capable of missing real relationships, if the Chi squared test gives a P value of less than 0.05 then a significant relationship has been detected and the two variables definitely affect each other. In some instances where both variables have only two possible answers, for instance responses to a “yes or no” question compared by gender of respondents, a continuity correction must be applied to the Chi square test and this is recorded in the results section.

The survey questions addressed six areas: visitor demographics, tourist activity, interpretation, usage of the paired sites, level of historic knowledge and motivation for visiting.

3.2.2.1. Visitor demographics:

Demographic data on visitors is vitally important for marketing purposes and essential for audience development projects. Interpretation and marketing often have so much in common they become indistinguishable. In this instance, reliable information on the composition of the target audience is considered essential to providing effective interpretation (Veverka 1994 p.52). The demographics could also be used to compare visitors at the Sail Loft and the Mountain to see if their characteristics matched lending credence to the linked development as a heritage landscape. The

demographic data gathered covered gender, age group and occupation. In order to provide continuity and figures comparable with earlier research the age groups used were the same as those on the 2006 surveys of Under 16, 16-30, 30-50 and 50+.

Respondents were asked to give their occupation and where possible this was used to determine their social class. The National Readership Survey’s ABC1C2DE set of classes was used as this is widely known and used means of classifying people by employment and is used in the Copper Kingdom Business Plan. The table below explains the social classifications and gives examples from the surveys.

Table 3.2: NRS social grades by occupation

Social Grade	Social Status	Occupation	Examples from surveys
A	Upper Middle Class	Higher managerial, administrative or professional	Company director, Doctor
B	Middle Class	Intermediate managerial, administrative or professional	Head master, Chartered civil engineer
C1	Lower Middle Class	Supervisory or clerical and junior managerial, administrative or professional	Nurse, Lab technician
C2	Skilled Working Class	Skilled manual workers	Draughtsman, Barber
D	Working Class	Semi and unskilled manual workers	Barmaid, Crèche assistant
E	Those at the Lowest levels of subsistence	Casual or lowest grade workers, pensioners and others who depend on the state for their income	Carer, Disabled.

Source: National Readership survey (2009)

3.2.2.2. Tourist activity:

The audience of the Copper Kingdom project is a mix of local communities and tourists staying temporarily in holiday accommodation. The survey activities sought to describe this mix. An attempt to determine where visitors at the Sail Loft were coming from in the 2006 survey was hampered by unclear phrasing on the questionnaire which asked “Where have you come from today?” Respondents who were on holiday were unclear whether to answer with their home address or the

address of their holiday accommodation. The 2007 surveys therefore separated out the question into 3 parts:

Where have you travelled from to visit the Sail Loft today?

Is this where you live or are you on holiday? Live On Holiday

If you are on holiday, where do you live?

The value of this data is knowing what the current ratio is between use by the local community and use by tourists and in knowing where tourists originate from so that marketing efforts can be targeted appropriately in terms of both accommodation areas and home regions. Visitors' answers to the question where they were staying were categorised by the drive time regions given in the Copper Kingdom Business Plan (AIHT 2007). Beyond Anglesey, the 60 minute drive time area includes the Llyn peninsula, northern Snowdonia and the North Wales Coast as far east as Rhyl. The 90 minute drive time extends roughly as far south as the A494 between Bala and Mold and east to include the Wirral. Visitor's home locations were grouped into 15 categories: Wales was divided into Anglesey, North Wales and the Rest of Wales while English visitors were grouped into the nine government office regions: North West, North East, Yorkshire and the Humber, East Midlands, West Midlands, East, London, South west and South East. The final three categories were Scotland, Ireland, and the Rest of the World.

3.2.2.3 Interpretation:

Interpretation was the one area where the surveys at each site differed significantly as there was a need to assess visitors' views on the recently installed new information panelling at the Sail Loft. It was intended to gather feedback on the newly refurbished Sail Loft but due to delays this was only partly complete with some work still ongoing during the peak tourist season selected for the exercise. The upper floor of the Sail Loft had been refurbished to roughly its current state while the lower floor was essentially empty awaiting the new material being prepared. The survey responses therefore only directly comment on the new material on the upper floor.

Respondents were asked to rate the visitor centre on four areas on a scale of one to five, one meaning 'very bad', 3 meaning 'average' and 5 meaning 'very good', and then give an overall mark and any comment they wished to make. The four areas were:

- Artefacts on display
- Content of panels
- Friendliness and helpfulness of staff
- Presentation of panels

At Parys Mountain there was less current interpretation available to canvass views on, and so the surveys here were instead used to test the level of interest in different aspects of the landscape. There is more than 4000 years of history associated with Parys Mountain and Amlwch as well as scientific topics such as the area's geology and the environmental conditions left by the period of intense mining. So far documents such as Parr's Interpretation plan and Headland's audience development and access plan have provided lengthy lists of different topics to be covered in interpretation without managing to adequately tie them together with a cohesive overall theme. The discussion of interpretation in Chapter 2 has illustrated the limits to how much information visitors can be told whilst retaining their interest and so decisions will ultimately need to be made about what aspects of the landscape need to be prioritised and which given lesser emphasis. Topics that are of interest to a minority can still be interpreted and it is desirable to have "layered" interpretation that gives visitors choices about which subjects to pursue, but a clear overall message still needs to be articulated that can be easily summarised in marketing the sites and presented to the average visitor. To do this successfully will require information on which of the various themes, as developed by the Trust, Parr and Headland to date, are of the most interest to the audience. To help guide the future development of interpretation on the mountain visitors were shown a list of 10 key topics in the

history of Parys Mountain and asked to choose up to 3 that they were most interested in. This part of the survey was only included on Parys mountain.

The topics chosen for testing were-

How the mountain was formed:

Parys Mountain is a site of interest to geologists as well as historians and the mountain formed a key part of Anglesey's successful effort to secure Geopark status which was hoped to bring an influx of geology based tourism. The Special Interest Visitor market report (see appendix 2) had established geologists as a key special interest group, and this topic would help determine the current size of this special interest visitor group as a proportion of the whole audience.

Ancient miners in Bronze Age and Roman times:

The Bronze Age discoveries made below ground at the mountain tie it into a rich collection of prehistoric heritage on Anglesey and the presence of copper bun ingots is suggestive of mining during the Roman occupation. This adds to the landscape's significance but fits awkwardly into the already complex narrative of the area's role in the industrial revolution. It was important to establish the level of interest in this topic against others arising from this main story line to know in future how to handle this period and how much emphasis to put on it.

Mining techniques and technology:

Explanations of machinery and processes form a staple of information material at industrial heritage sites and Parys Mountain is no exception with a considerable part of its existing guide leaflet focussed on the precipitation process for extracting dissolved copper from water and the use of windmills in pumping mine water from the mines. The panel at the Pearl Engine House is a particularly dry account of the technology employed (see 'Interpretation plan for replacing the Parys Mountain car

park sign' in Appendix 2). It was necessary to establish if continuing to focus on technology would appeal to the current audience.

An average Miner's daily life:

The daily working conditions of miners became established as a core theme in the work of the Amlwch guides, though less represented at the Sail Loft gallery. It would also be interesting to contrast interest in the ordinary workers to interest in the wealthy entrepreneurs making the major decisions at the opposite end of the social scale.

Women and children employed in mining:

The 'copper ladies' were a well established part of existing interpretation that needed to be evaluated in terms of actual appeal, and it would be interesting to note how male and female respondents were taken with a female working class perspective and the upper class perspective coming up next.

The mine managers, Thomas Williams and James Treweek:

These two important figures in the landscape's history dominated much of the old Sail Loft gallery before 2007 and continued to feature if with a reduced word count after refurbishment. Historiographically they are the main characters in much of the canon of texts on the area's industrial history, meaning there is a surfeit of information available if the audience's interest can be established.

Dangers of mining:

Uzzel (1998) encourages interpreters not to avoid emotive or upsetting or unsettling topics but to present them honestly as what he calls 'hot' interpretation. Interpretation, both implemented and merely planned, at the Copper Kingdom so far as not included certain topics, with the links to slavery ignored, the town's reputation for drunkenness and violence not conveyed and the frequent deaths and injuries in the mines themselves covered by the Walk Amlwch guides but left out of displays in the Sail

Loft and trail leaflets. This topic was included on the survey to test the audience's appetite for darker subject matter.

The copper industry in Wales and the world:

The project manager had expressed concerns that material like the old pre-headland displays did not fit the local history into its national and global context and that this would need to be addressed in future. This topic was included to measure interest in the wider copper industry and its significance.

Where the copper went and what it was used for:

Although somewhat tied in to the previous topic this option was included to gauge interest specifically in the end products that made copper valuable, such as the naval uses pioneered by Thomas Williams or the metal's modern importance in electrical products encouraging the prospect of renewed mining.

Plants and animals on Parys Mountain:

This final topic sought to gauge special interests in the rare flora and fauna on the mountain and its ecology, in a similar way to the first topic of geology.

3.2.2.4. Usage of the paired sites:

Significant levels of repeat visiting by local people could help support the project through the off season, and the tourists visiting during the peak season when these surveys were conducted are commonly repeat visitors to the island, part of the island's declining traditional long stay holiday product, an aging audience based in the caravan parks. The surveys were conducted at a time of renewed marketing efforts such as leafleting under the Interreg programme. The balance between new and repeat visitors was therefore worth establishing. Visitors were asked if they had visited the site they were surveyed at previously.

While the Conservation Management Plan addresses historic features scattered throughout the landscape area, the actual visitor experience of the Copper Kingdom remains oriented around the two key sites where historic material is most densely clustered; Parys Mountain and Porth Amlwch where the Sail Loft Visitor Centre is situated. Since its inception the AIHT has claimed responsibility for both sites and sought to link them and there is inevitably potential for conflict over how to balance the need to develop each site and how much funding and time should be dedicated to each. The survey data was used to address the question of whether the Copper Kingdom has one audience or two and whether it can meaningfully be said to be running a single heritage landscape attraction. The two data sets were used to measure the overlap that exists between visitors to the Sail Loft and visitors walking the heritage trail on Parys Mountain and the relative sizes of the total audience at each site.

3.2.2.5. Level of historic knowledge:

To further address the credibility of using the landscapes concept in tourism development, an attempt was made to assess how well visitors understood the relationship between the Parys Mountain mines and the Port in Amlwch. Visitors were asked the open question: "In your own words, what would you say is the relationship between Parys Mountain and Amlwch Port?". The answers were awarded points if they contained certain keywords and concepts giving a score from 0 (people who admitted to not knowing anything about the links between the mine and the town) to 8 (people with quite a deep understanding of local history).

Scoring Scheme:

People who said there was a "historic relationship", the sites were fundamentally linked or interdependent or made other vague attempts to answer received 1 point only.

Using the word copper earned 2 points as it signified understanding what mineral was being mined and exported.

People who said that produce of the mines were exported from the port received 2 points.

People who understood that the development of the port came about due to the mines earned another 2 points

Mentioning that the workforce of the mine lived in Amlwch got 1 point.

Mentioning the links of business ownership between mining and shipping interests earned an extra 1 point.

These were the guidelines used to mark most of the answers from zero to eight but some subjective judgement was used to give scores to the less typical responses received.

Based on this scoring scheme responses were assigned to groups as follows:

No understanding: scored 0 or 1

Examples: blank entries from Sail Loft, from Parys Mountain: “very close in latter days”, “Don’t know.” From Sail Loft: “Closely linked”, “the ore mining?” “Paris Hilton has visited both? Joking haha. Maybe they are near each other and the staff like each other?”

Weak Understanding: scored 2 or 3 indicating a rough idea of how the two sites related to each other or just knowing that Copper was the main industry.

Examples: Parys Mountain: “Wouldn’t have the Port without the mountain”, “Not been into Amlwch yet but I imagine something was exported through Port”

Sail Loft: “Copper”, “It is impossible to understand the growth of Amlwch Port without the mining on Parys Mountain.”

Basic understanding: Answers indicating a reasonable understanding coupled with the confidence to express it. Scored 4 or 5.

Examples: Parys Mountain: “Copper was transported around the world from Amlwch”, “Strong- the copper was shipped around the world from Amlwch port”

Sail Loft: “In past Copper Mining/Smelting. Transported from Docks.” “Trade in Copper. Giving employment to locals.”

Good understanding: More complicated answers demonstrating a deeper understanding of local history. Scored 6 or more.

Examples: Parys Mountain: “The quay is the link, port grew out of transportation of Copper and the mine was a big employer.” “Amlwch port was where copper was shipped out. Port developed because of mountain industry.”

Sail Loft: “I think that Parys Mountain needed Amlwch Port to send the Copper around the world to different countries.”

3.2.2.6 Open questions:

Visitors were also asked what had motivated them to visit, and if they had any further comments concerning Parys Mountain, Amlwch Port or the work of the Amlwch Industrial Heritage Trust. These open questions would not produce data as manageable as the other parts of the survey and did not lend themselves to categorisation in the same way as the open question on the relationship between the Port and the Mountain, but could provide extra insights into the other data. They also provided as opportunity for guests to vent views not touched on by the survey proper, which might after all miss out on something of major importance to visitors.

The results of the audience research are presented in Chapter 4: section 2 of this chapter contains the results of visitor observations, section 3 gives the results of both surveys.

3.3. Comparative case studies of other heritage attractions and landscapes.

The third strand of research activity was to look outside of North east Anglesey at other heritage based tourism projects. Because the Copper Kingdom is not far along the path of development ultimately projected for it, it was necessary to visit other more developed sites with greater visitor numbers to see what the future of the Copper Kingdom might look like and what its real impact on the area might be. The sites are quite a mix of different kinds of attraction and were studied in varying levels of detail. Given the “partnership project” nature of the research, looking for comparison sites was valuable as, on the one hand, it meant lessons could be found elsewhere to be applied to the Copper Kingdom, while on the other it served the research aim of

providing best practice advice that could be generalised and did not apply solely to the one case of North East Anglesey.

All of the sites listed were visited in person in order to experience them as a normal visitor and see their visitor facilities and interpretation from this perspective. Where permitted photographs were taken to record sites and in particular their display materials and samples of interpretive text. Websites of the attractions were read before the visit for further information and in some cases documents were procured of a similar nature to those that shaped the Copper Kingdom's search for funding: business plans, marketing strategies and in the case of World Heritage sites their nomination documents created whilst applying for world heritage status.

At some sites interviews were arranged with staff members and management, normally conducted after having undergone the conventional visit. Interviews were either unstructured or semi structured and conducted in a qualitative manner. In some cases a set of questions was prepared in advance but these lists were not extensive and questions would not necessarily be phrased in the way they had been written in preparation, particularly if the topic of the prepared question arose naturally in conversation. For example the short list of questions prepared for interviewing the manager of Big Pit National Coal Mining Museum was only meant to provide a starting point for discussion on the key research topics of interpretation, sustainability and cultural landscape:

- “Were the guides involved in the creation of the audio visual tours in the mine galleries and exhibition materials in the Pithead baths?”
- How much of the money for running the site comes from its own trading and how much comes from Amgueddfa Cymru?
- Do visitors spend a lot of time seeing the rest of the WHS?”

In general though interviews were unplanned and questions thought of during the dialogue in response to interviewees comments, with interviewees allowed to speak to what they considered most important about their heritage attraction and to fully elaborate their viewpoints on the research topics they were lightly steered towards

talking about. Interviews were recorded by taking notes during the interview which were expanded into a fuller account after the interview, though on the same day while the talk could still be remembered accurately.

Efforts were made to learn the development history of comparison sites in terms of who managed the projects and had founded them, where development funds had come from and when and what current plans if any the attractions had for expansion or redevelopment. Another area of inquiry was the workforce of each attraction, its size and the balance between full time posts, part time posts, volunteering and the seasonality of employment, as well as any other significant impacts on local economic conditions. Visitor numbers data was also sought for each attraction preferably over many years in order to chart visitor numbers against the development history and assess them in light of the lifecycle concept. This part of the study was helped by the fact that the Copper Kingdom is a member of the European route of industrial heritage, a network of industrial heritage visitor attractions. Through ERIH membership it was possible to access a data base of visitor figures for 121 industrial heritage tourism attractions in the UK from 1997-2005.

There follows a list of the comparative case study sites with some notes on why each was selected and what study materials were used and any interviews that occurred. They are listed chronologically by when the field visits occurred:

Sygun Copper Mine

Address: Sygun Copper Mine

Beddgelert

Snowdonia LL55 4NE

North Wales, UK

Website: <http://www.syguncoppermine.co.uk/>

Date of visit: 1.8.2006

Notes: Sygun is the only other attraction dedicated to North Wales' copper industry and for that alone warranted study of its interpretation and the development of its underground experience. Interest was particularly aroused by this quote from J.G.Jenkins:

“There is a grave danger in saying, ‘We have a site, be it a disused quarry or an empty church, a coal mine or derelict industrial site, and since we are in a tourist area let us interpret it’, rather than saying- ‘we have a theme that is of vital importance in the heritage of our people; let us find the best possible site where this can be done’. For example, the very important copper mining industry of north Wales that could be fully interpreted in the major Mynydd Parys area of Anglesey, is represented at Sygun Copper mine- a mere minnow as copper mines go, near the tourist village of Beddgelert.”

-Jenkins (1992)

Great Orme mines

Address: Great Orme Mines

Great Orme

Llandudno

North Wales

LL30 2XG

Website: <http://www.greatormemines.info/>

Date of visit: 10.8.2006

Notes: The Bronze Age copper mines on the Great Orme were discovered in 1987 and are a site of continuing archaeological investigation as well as a tourist attraction. Of interest was the direct contact between researchers and visiting members of the public and the approach to the Bronze Age period due to the existence of bronze age mining at Parys Mountain.

Salt Museum Northwich

Address: The Salt Museum,

162 London Road,

Northwich

CW9 8AB

Website: <http://www.saltmuseum.org.uk/>

Date of visit: 22.4.2007

Notes: Run and financed by the local council the Salt museum receives an estimated 12,000 visits a year, a figure comparable to the Sail Loft and interprets the local Salt industry with the aid of a HLF grant received in 2006. At the time of visiting therefore its displays, mainly consisting of graphic panels were fairly new and represented an up to date example of heritage centre design.

The Roman Baths, Bath

Address: The Roman Baths,

Abbey Church Yard

Bath,

BA1 1LZ

Website: <http://www.romanbaths.co.uk/>

Date of visit: 23.4.2007

Interviewed: Otto Hauser (visitor services assistant)

Notes: The famous Roman Baths are also owned and operated by the local council, for whom they generate a significant profit (£2.5 million in 2006) and act as a major draw of tourists to the city. The main interest in the baths was in their employment practices geared towards fostering interest in the history and enabling staff to field visitor questions on the heritage.

The Eden Project

Address: Eden Project,

Bodelva,

Cornwall,

PL24 2SG

Website: <http://www.edenproject.com/>

Date of visit: 24.4.2007

Notes: Although clearly not an industrial heritage attraction (in spite of being located in a former quarry) this horticultural attraction in Cornwall merited study principally due to the positive economic impacts credited to it, as Eden has reputedly brought

significant benefits to a regional economy with similarities to Anglesey such as under employment.

China Clay Country Park

Address: Wheal Martyn,

Carthew,

St Austell,

Cornwall,

PL26 8XG

Website: <http://www.wheal-martyn.com/>

Date of visit: 25.4.2007

Interviewed: Liz Shan (curator)

Notes: Interpreting the china clay industry in Cornwall this attraction is run by a charitable Trust and had been revamped in 2005 through a HLF grant. However its visitor numbers had failed to rise as much as was necessary for the centre to turn a profit and it was continuously eating into the savings of the charity. The large site consisted of a heritage gallery hosted in an historic building with modern additions, a collection of trains and a view over a working china clay pit.

Geevor Tin Mine

Address: Geevor Tin Mine

Pendeen

Penzance

Cornwall

TR19 7EW

Website: <http://www.geevor.com/>

Date of visit: 25.4.2007

Notes: On the tip of Cornwall Geevor tin mine is being developed as one of three 'gateways' for the Cornwall and West Devon mining landscape World Heritage Site, and received £3.8 million for expansion and redevelopment in 2006, much of it from the HLF. What made this particularly interesting was that Geevor had been through a process of submitting, withdrawing and modifying its bid as was being experienced by AIHT, and so the revision of its ambitions was worth studying through desk

research, and helpfully Pendeen Community Heritage who run the attraction were willing to share its bid documentation with the AIHT. On site Geevor was an example of an attraction where live guides were more prevalent than mechanised interpretation.

Ironbridge Gorge museums

Address: The Ironbridge Gorge Museum Trust,
Coach Road,
Coalbrookdale,
Telford,
TF8 7DQ

Website: <http://www.ironbridge.org.uk/>

Date of visit: 26.4.2007

Interviewed: Maureen McGregor (access & outreach officer)

Notes: Ironbridge Gorge is a major concentration of industrial heritage tourism with 10 museums run by a single Trust organisation and reporting an average 800,000 visitors per year. It was only possible to visit the area briefly to see what some in AIHT see as a model for their ultimate goal of development, but interesting insights were gained into the Trust's continued emphasis on securing new development grants every couple of years to refresh the tourism offer, even at such a well known and long established destination.

Llechwedd Slate caverns

Address: Llechwedd Slate Caverns
Blaenau Ffestiniog
Gwynedd
North Wales
LL41 3NB

Website: <http://www.llechwedd-slate-caverns.co.uk/>

Date of visit: 31.6.2007

Notes: Llechwedd was visited whilst on a training course in Interpretation led by John Veverka. It is probably the oldest industrial heritage attraction in Wales having

opened to tourists 1972, and its main attraction is an extensive underground area with mechanical interpretation based around voice recordings.

Rhondda Heritage Park

Address: Rhondda Heritage Park

Lewis Merthyr Colliery

Coed Cae Road

Trehafod

Nr Pontypridd

CF37 2NP

Website: www.rhonddaheritagepark.com

Date of visit: 21.11.2007

Interviewed: Graham Williams (tour guide), John Harrison (director)

Notes: Rhondda Heritage Park is the subject of Dicks' "Heritage, Place and Community", a study which details the troubled development history of the site and illustrates many similarities between Rhondda in the 1980s and Amlwch today. Rhondda was selected for comparative study as an example of how things can go wrong with a heritage project.

Big Pit National Coal Museum

Address: Big Pit: National Coal Museum

Blaenafon,

Torfaen

NP4 9XP

Website: <http://www.museumwales.ac.uk/en/bigpit/>

Date of visit: 22.11.2007

Interviewed: Peter Walker (mine manager)

Notes: The Big Pit coal museum is currently Wales' most visited Industrial heritage site and has a long history as an attraction having operated as an independent museum before being incorporated into the national museum. Big Pit is well known for employing former miners as tour guides and the interpretation on offer and the philosophy behind it was the main point of interest.

Blaeanafon Iron works

Address: Blaenavon Ironworks

North St,

Blaenavon,

Pontypool,

NP4 9RQ

Website: <http://www.cadw.wales.gov.uk/default.asp?id=6&PlaceID=145>

Date of visit: 23.11.2007

Notes: Only a short distance away from Big Pit, Blaenafon Iron Works receives significantly fewer visitors and is run by Cadw, the historic environment service for Wales. Cadw is noted for its conservatism in the field of interpretation and the experience on offer was in stark contrast to Big Pit.

Blaenafon World Heritage Landscape

Website: <http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/984>

Date of visit: 22-23.11.2007

Notes: Both Big Pit and Blaenafon Ironworks are located in this World Heritage Site, the first industrial landscape to be accorded World Heritage Status. As well as visiting these attractions heritage trails around Blaenafon's rural environs were studied as was interpretation incorporated into the townscape. Plans for interpreting the landscape were appraised using planning documentation such the Visitor Experience and Interpretation Plan for the landscape produced by Red Kite Environment and the 'Destination Blaenavon' Marketing Strategy.

National Waterfront Museum

Address: National Waterfront Museum

Oystermouth Road

Maritime Quarter

Swansea SA1 3RD

Website: <http://www.museumwales.ac.uk/en/swansea/>

Date of visit: 24.11.2007

Notes: The National Waterfront Museum is tasked by Amgueddfa Cymru with presenting the Industrial history of all of Wales and when it reopened in 2005 it represented the cutting edge in the use of computers for museum interpretation. Reaction though has been mixed and it was mainly the use of computer technology to present the industrialisation of Wales that merited study.

Mining Area of the Great Copper Mountain in Falun

Address: Falun Mine,

Världsarvshuset,

Gruvgatan 44,

S - 791 61 Falun,

Dalarna,

Sweden

Websites:

WHS landscape: <http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/1027>

Falu Gruva- <http://www.falugruva.se/en/Falu-Gruva/>

Date of visit: 4.4.2008-7.4.2008

Notes: Of all the sites visited the Great Copper Mountain in Falun, Sweden is the most obviously similar to what exists in North east Anglesey as there is a strong resemblance between Parys Mountain and the Stora Kopparberget with its own great opencast. There were also historic links with Parys Mountain eclipsing Falun as the main source of Copper to European nations and empires and the two acting as competitors in international trade in the 18th century. The area was also a World Heritage cultural landscape based around copper and a well established visitor attraction. Falun was recommended by interpretive specialist John Veverka as a site with many similarities to Parys Mountain where interpretive possibilities for such a site could be found.

The results of the comparative case studies are presented in Chapter 5 in thematic sections covering: tourist experience of landscapes, interpretive media, contents of interpretation, sustainability and finally community impact.

Chapter 4: Results

This chapter presents the evidence gathered from research activities specifically related to the Amlwch area in three sections. The first details development activities over the period of study with critical analysis and is primarily derived from participant observer activities (described in 3.1). This section meets objective 3 of the project to **“Appraise independently the planning and development of the visitor experience to be offered by the Copper Kingdom project to tourists”**. The second reports the results of observation of visitor activity on Parys Mountain. The third section gives the results of dual surveys carried out at Parys Mountain and Porth Amlwch, the two key sites of the Copper Kingdom Project. These latter two sections meet objective 1 of the project **“To understand the current visitor experience of the Copper Kingdom heritage landscape by gathering and comparing data on the audiences of the two key sites in order to determine their relationship in terms of shared audience and cumulative visitor experience.”**

Chapter 4: Results

This chapter presents the results of research activities carried out over the course of the study that related specifically to the Copper Kingdom project in North east Anglesey. Consideration of other sites that can be compared to the Copper Kingdom is included in the following chapter. This chapter is divided into three sections. The first is a detailed account of the development of the project from 2006 to 2008 based on the researcher's participant observer activities. The second section presents the results of the visitor observations on Parys Mountain. The third and final section presents the results of the two surveys carried out in summer 2007 on Parys Mountain and in the Sail Loft.

4.1. Development of the Copper Kingdom project 2006-2008

This section gives a qualitative study of the main areas of progress in the development of heritage tourism in the Amlwch area during the period of study. The first and largest sub-section deals with the process of preparing plans for the project's enlargement and applying for funding in order to realize these plans. This is followed by an account of the Trust's efforts to establish a guided tours service within the Copper kingdom project. Finally the redevelopment of the Trust's visitor centre at the Sail Loft is critically assessed.

4.1.1. Project Planning and grant applications

During the period of study the AIHT was engaged in efforts to secure a large development grant through the HLF. This has been observed to be the Trust's highest priority and the so far mostly fruitless pursuit of HLF backing has been a huge influence on the direction of the project. The grant application process has repeatedly compelled the AIHT to revise and rearticulate its aspirations for heritage resources in Amlwch. It has also been the constant back drop and impetus to the production of development plans for the expansion of heritage tourism facilities in the study landscape.

The grant application process warrants a detailed case study as part of this thesis for two reasons. Firstly national agencies in the UK have only enough resources to look after a small part of the nation's heritage assets. Most of the assets instead receive very limited attention from statutory agencies like Cadw in Wales, and so it falls to local and private initiatives like the AIHT to act on behalf of these assets. As the major funder for such endeavours the interaction between the HLF and the AIHT is worth recording and analyzing as an exemplar of the relationships between funding agencies and the hundreds of other locally initiated projects. Cumulatively these relationships have a huge impact on how the past is remembered and what heritage will and will not be conserved for future generations. The second reason for scrutinizing the bid process is that the application process has led to the creation of many consultancy documents either proposing development options for the landscape or critiquing such plans. Close reading of these sources illustrates debates amongst professional heritage managers that are highly pertinent to the areas of interest arising from the literature review. Grant application documents and assessments of applications contain large amounts of expert opinion from real world practitioners normally only ever seen by the funding agency and the bidder that could be of great use to heritage professionals elsewhere.

A brief narrative summary of the key developments in the application process is given for context before delving into specific area of controversy within the planning process.

4.1.1.1. The grant application process

Since its foundation the Trust has been trying to raise as much money as it can from public sector agencies for the Copper Kingdom project. Cumulatively the AIHT has received and spent a large amount of development funding, with the most significant financial backer of the Trust being the EU through the Interreg IIIA programme which has provided £385,000 to the Trust as part of the Celtic Copper Heritage Project between AIHT in Amlwch and Avoca in County Wicklow, Ireland. Table 4.1 shows the development grants received by AIHT since its foundation.

Table 4.1: Development grants awarded to AIHT 1998-2008

Year	Funding agency / Name of grant	Amount
1998	Menter Mon start up grant	£40,000
1998	ERDF grant (with match funding from WDA and Landfill tax)	£165,000
2003	WDA and ACC grant	£68,000
2003	HLF Project Planning Grant	£50,000
2004	Mon Weithred (Menter Mon grant)	£30,000
2005	Interreg IIIA Celtic Copper	£385,000
2007	HLF Stage One Planning Grant	£31,000
1998-2008	Total	£769,000

The Trust's first grant application to HLF was made in 2002 for a £5.6 million project (Gregory 2007), intended as an interim stage in a programme of works exceeding £10 million in value (Newidiem 2002). The 2002 bid was very conservation focussed and proposed works to consolidate features on Parys Mountain, to renovate buildings at Dyffryn Adda for use as an educational and research facility, and a large number of building projects in the Port where the majority of the grant would have been spent. The bid did not include a business plan to explain how the Trust would stay afloat financially during and after the works it proposed, which was a problem as one report to HLF commenting on the bid estimated that once a project this large was carried out it would need £100,000 per annum for maintenance of the conserved sites.

It is not permitted to reapply to the HLF for a project that has already been considered and rejected and so the Trust was advised to withdraw the bid and revise it. Having established contact with the HLF the Trust applied for and received a £50,000 project planning grant (PPG) in 2003. The Trust was still committed to eventually reapplying for a grant to support a

programme of a huge scale likely to exceed £10,000,000. The PPG was intended to allow the Trust to prepare its strategy for development much more thoroughly and in greater detail and to employ the expertise needed. The three main outcomes of the PPG were the initial employment of a project manager on a part time basis, the creation of a conservation management plan building on the research and planning already done on the landscape by AIHT and the creation of the Trust's first business plan by a team of 8 consultants lead by Ian Parkin of Parkin Heritage and Tourism. The conservation management plan prepared by Gifford and partners did a great deal to articulate why the many features listed in it were significant and deserving of conservation and its main recommendations for achieving this were to develop the mountain as a visitor attraction, Dyffryn Adda as a study centre and Porth Amlwch as a site for new businesses to regenerate the area including retail and catering, advocating adaptive reuse of historic structures (Gifford 2005). The Business plan delivered by Parkin and associates in November 2005 called for a £10,905,000 project with over half the budget raised from the HLF to be implemented over ten years of phased development, the 10 years in question being 2005-2015 (Parkin 2005 p.4). In line with the CMP's proposals 37% of this budget would be spent in the port to conserve buildings and bring them back into use with the derelict shell building converted into a Copper Kingdom visitor centre, a free entry attraction to tourists. The Sail Loft was identified as too small and problematic to bring into Disability Discrimination Act compliance to continue to act as the visitor centre and it was proposed it be turned into a fish restaurant while the watch tower became an art gallery and the Copper bins renovated for business and retail use also. The aim was to stimulate more activity in the port, with the visitor centre attracting footfall to allow other businesses to get off the ground support the project financially through rents, with other income sources from charged parking and vending machines. Meanwhile £1,250,000 would be spent on improving accessibility and interpretation on the mountain which would include the provision of a small single storey visitor reception and site management building with the main benefits to visitors being an information desk and the availability of toilets and vending machines (Ibid.). £75,000 would be spent on the Dyffryn Adda site to conserve the historic reverberatory furnace, main building and precipitation ponds and develop a small field laboratory for academic field trips to use though it was not intended that Dyffryn Adda be promoted as part of the Tourist attraction (Ibid.).

The demise of the Parkin plan came about in 2006 when the Isle of Anglesey County Council applied on AIHT's behalf for funding from the Big Lottery Funds living landmarks programme, including the plan in its application. This was a scheme to fund a limited number of large scale projects open to applications throughout the UK and was not restricted to heritage projects. The AIHT appears to have been grateful to see the council deepening its involvement and support, but to have believed that while it was worth a try winning the desired funding under this scheme was unlikely and the HLF bid should remain the focus of its efforts (AIHT 2006a). The AIHT was not at first overly concerned therefore when the Big Lottery Fund rejected the Copper Kingdom project early in its deliberations, and the Parkin plan remained the basis for the Trust's planned resubmission to the HLF, which was only being held up by the slow legal process of securing the necessary leases on land on Parys Mountain (Ibid.). However IACC had commissioned another consultant to undertake a review of the business plan and the report delivered after the failure of the bid to the living landmarks programme was highly critical of the Parkin plan. The primary objection it voiced was that the project was designed to lose money and require a large subsidy to operate and that furthermore there had been insufficient consideration and research of how this subsidy would be used and from whom (McBratney 2006). On this basis the report stated "we believe the current Business plan to be unworkable in practice by AIHT and its partners, and insupportable by any prospective public sector capital funder" (Ibid). The AIHT accepted these criticisms of its business plan and began to reconsider its bid proposal and start work on a new business plan for a smaller scale HLF project. The writing of the new business plan was therefore done in house and added to the duties of the Project Manager rather than being outsourced to consultants.

In September 2007 the Trust again submitted an application for Heritage Lottery Funding, the key documents of its application being the new business plan and the Audience development and access plan by Headland design consultants. The new proposal was for a £1,538,840 project with 55% to come from HLF and 45% from match funding. The proposal was aimed at creating a self supporting visitor attraction as a first phase of development towards the vision that influenced earlier bids and plans, "contributing to the organisations sustainability over the next ten years." (AIHT p24 2007). There was however no proposal at this stage to establish pay barriers to any part of the attraction and prospective balance sheets in the business plan were

designed to show that the attraction would make a profit through retail and catering at its visitor centres. Visitor numbers were expected to rise to 36,000 a year in the port through the project (AIHT 2007 p.31). This would be achieved primarily through the refurbishment of the main copper bin to include exhibition space, retail and catering and toilet facilities (Image 4.1). The project would also include some works to the Sail Loft, the watch tower and the west side of the port, improvements to Parys Mountain footpaths and conservation work to the windmill and reverberatory furnace on the mountain.

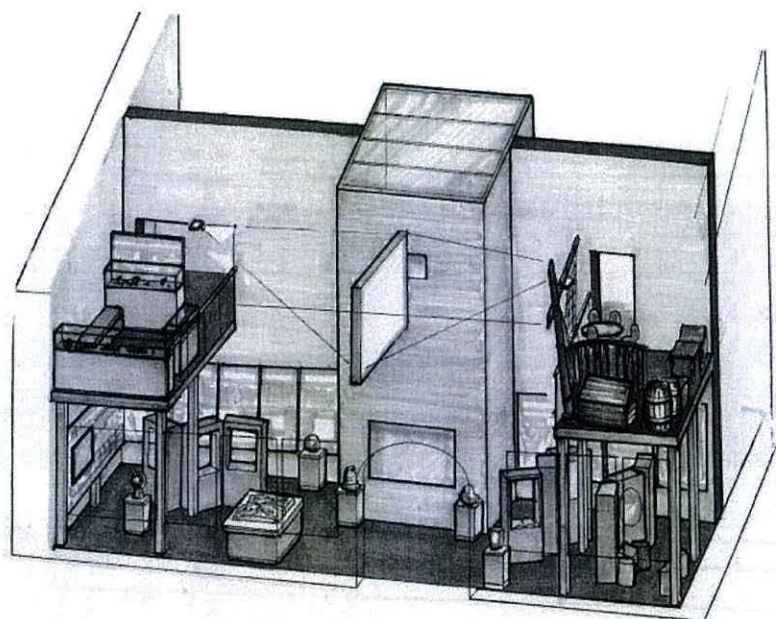


Image 4.1: Design Proposal for the Copper Bin gallery (from Headland 2007)

The plans for the development of the Copper Bin were not abandoned entirely but have since been subject to revision based on HLF criticisms and alternative funding is being sought for their realization. An entirely different project was developed for resubmission to the HLF with a smaller budget of £741,300. A stage one pass, effectively a second project planning grant was awarded in January 2009 to cover bid preparations for a project consisting of:

“1. Recording of selected scheduled features- summit windmill, central precipitation and parts of the Great Opencast (e.g. Marquis Shaft).

2. Conservation of the summit windmill and its adaptation to use as a much needed wet-weather shelter on the heritage trail.
3. Improvements to the heritage trail including provision of a link between the opencasts to provide a spectacular, safe, shorter route.
4. Reconstruction of the iconic sky line Pearl Engine House chimney, involving skills training in conservation masonry.
5. Subsidy of a trial bus link in the tourist season between the port heritage centre and mountain.
6. An education project extending from the current primary to secondary and tertiary levels, combined with a creative arts project relevant to the mountain involving an artist-in-residence.
7. Conservation skills and heritage guidance training linked with a community First project in Amlwch.
8. Development of innovative CIT/AV facilities to link the heritage centre and mountain, and to inform both visitors on-site and the remote public by internet about the industrial heritage of Amlwch.”

(AIHT 2008b, p.8)

4.1.1.2 Objectives of the Copper Kingdom Project

The process of bidding for development funds often calls for statements of aims and objectives to define clearly the purposes a project is meant to achieve. Throughout the bid process the stated purposes of the Copper Kingdom Project have changed, with the remit of the project widening and different objectives being emphasized at different moments in the bid process. Beyond the mission statements though, the AIHT’s own idea of the project’s purpose may have

shifted more slowly and not always kept pace with the expansion of intended outcomes for the project.

The AIHT stumbled naively into the HLF grant application process with its 2002 bid. This was for the first half of a proposed scheme to conserve the historic landscape and restore many of its lost features at a cost of over ten million pounds. The project was very ‘worthy’ in the sense that it focused entirely on maintaining the relict landscape for educational and research purposes, reflective of the academic origins of the Trust itself. The questions of how maintenance of the works would be paid for after completion or how the project might benefit the local community were not considered.

The development of the original proposal through the Project Planning grant, the CMP and the Parkin Business plan represented an effort to justify the conservation work needed on grounds of economic rather than purely historical needs, in order to secure a continuous subsidy that would meet the maintenance costs of the restored landscape. The plan retains all of the conservation works identified as needed in the 2002 bid and includes an extensive discussion of the multiplier effect and the economic benefits to Amlwch and Anglesey, concluding with estimates of how many jobs will be created if the project goes ahead:

“In this section we have developed an economic impact analysis of the Project which shows:

- 27.5 FTE jobs will be created during the construction phase
- 29 FTE jobs will be generated in the port as part of the development
- 38.7 FTE jobs will be generated from the operational expenditure in the port and from visitors amounting to £1.360m.
- 41 FTE jobs will be created by induced benefits from jobs created in the port and indirect jobs £1.44m.

- Other businesses will inevitably emerge as a direct result of the visitors which will complement the wider regeneration of the town which will take place in parallel.

Without doubt the £10.9m capital investment programme envisaged and the increased number of visitors will have a major economic impact on the town and its surrounding area achieving £2.8m annual spend in the local economy and 108.7 FTE jobs.”

(Parkin 2005 p113)

This blunt approach to regeneration gave no consideration to the leakage of investment out of the local economy or how to stimulate local entrepreneurial activity and involvement that would minimize this draining of investment and tourist revenue back out of the area. It was also heavily focused on the development period rather than the hopefully longer term period of actual operation thereafter.

With the multiplier effect of the investment programme to create a tourist destination adopted as the *raison d'être* of the project it is hardly surprising that the consultants quickly totted up a huge shopping list of project elements, as the enormous final bill was in many respects the point of the whole thing. The planning team did however favour the creation of jobs as a secondary impact of spending over the direct employment of local people by the project, since it proposed extensive use of volunteers in order to keep down the running costs of the Copper Kingdom after 2015 when the ten million was all spent. The plan projects achieving 50,000 visitors per year to the main visitor centre in the port and 25,000 visitors per year to the mountain by 2015 and readily acknowledges that with the lack of pay barriers this will be insufficient to maintain facilities developed. It therefore proposes a continuous subsidy from the public sector to meet the shortfall in operating costs, justified to tax payers on the grounds that the tourists drawn in by the Copper Kingdom are essential to the overall economy of the by now rejuvenated town.

Ultimately the downfall of the scheme was that no firm offer of a subsidy could be arranged to make the scheme appear credible to funders.

The idea of regeneration as something that would add value to the project in funder's eyes remained, but adjustments had to be made for the 2007 bid. While economic benefits were still anticipated the smaller scale of this discrete project meant less tangible benefits of heritage projects of this kind were given more prominence, such as contributing to social inclusiveness and community life as the multiplier effect and number of jobs that might be created were now far less impressive. The main public benefits envisaged for the project were now:

- “Conservation and preservation of a part of Wales’ heritage which is of international as well as national and regional importance.
- Greater participation and increased understanding by people from all sections of society.
- Enhanced involvement, interest and pride by children and young people in their heritage.
- Development of a potentially iconic heritage attraction in an otherwise marginalised area of Wales.
- Contribution to the economic and social regeneration of the Amlwch area- in collaboration with the Isle of Anglesey County Council- thereby reducing economic and social deprivation.
- Addressing of issues of importance to the conservation, access and participation in an important component of Wales’ industrial heritage linking north and south.”

(AIHT 2007)

At the time this bid was being prepared there was a greater emphasis from HLF on audience development, or involving members of society who normally would not participate in heritage schemes, which can be seen in the new requirement instituted since the first bid that projects above a certain size have an audience development plan. The new emphasis on local use as well as use by tourists and educational parties also conveniently made it easier to argue that local

repeat visiting would help the project to generate profits once established and so not require subsidization. In the most recent bid ideas of social and community benefit rather than major economic impact have continued to be emphasized alongside the conservation goals that were the original aim of the project.

The Trust's track record for actually delivering economic and social benefits has not been looked on favourably by assessors. Gregory points out that the use of consultants goes against the idea of generating multiplier effect, since leisure tourism consultants tend not to exist in the towns that need them:

“The Business Plan contains extensive references to the project's anticipated contribution to economic regeneration in Amlwch and its benefit to disadvantaged communities. I can find very little evidence to support these claims. Much of the expenditure to date has gone to consultants from outside the county (and outside Wales in many cases)”

(Gregory 2007 p.13).

If as Gregory suggest the Trust has missed opportunities to deliver economic benefits to the area through tourism and tourist development this may have occurred because this part of the Trust's agenda is something that has been forced on it from outside through its search for conservation funding. The Trust's active membership are mostly still focussed on the early vision for the project conceived purely in terms of conservation work, historic and scientific research and use by educational parties. The idea of Amlwch becoming a tourist destination and the creation of economic multipliers to tackle deprivation in the area is something the Trust seeks to utilise to win partnership support and funding from other agencies but which does not command the same enthusiasm as the more established conservation aims for the project originated by the Trust itself nearly a decade ago. A certain inattention to delivering the best results in terms of tourist lead regeneration in the spending of grant's received thus far is demonstrated by the implementation of the Sail Loft refurbishment (see 4.1.3). The focus of Trust activities is continually drifting back towards its starting point of raising money for conservation. A key reason for this is that the administration of the project has not altered to keep pace with the widening of goals for the Copper Kingdom, as discussed in the next sub-section.

4.1.1.3. Management of the Project.

As an organisation the AIHT emerged from a social network of individuals interested in different aspects of the historic landscape in and around Amlwch, several of whom had developed this interest through their academic careers. While it was acknowledged at the time of the 2002 bid that the proposals demonstrated the Trust's collective historic expertise considerable doubts were raised about the organisation's ability to deliver such a large and complex project as "its experience is too heavily loaded towards historical and engineering aspects and too light on business and project management experience" (Newidiem 2002). Table 4.2 shows the main fields of expertise of the Trust's core membership and career backgrounds and does not contradict Newidiem's statement.

It has been argued that the Trust is not a suitable guardian for this landscape as it is of reputed international significance while the Trust is a modest organisation with a small membership giving its time when able and on a voluntary basis (Newidiem 2002). The age profile of the Trust was also thought to be acceptable grounds on which to attack its competence as Newidiem states "its membership and directors arte of an age profile that doesn't suggest a long term commitment to the realisation and future management of such a large project" (Ibid.) and Ilex agreed that trustee recruitment and training needed to be a permanent element in the organisations work and that Trustees "should retire after fixed periods of service" (Mc Bratney 2006).

In 2002 the Newidiem report on the Trust's initial bid stated "It is not easy to appreciate that the outputs to date represent adequate value for the significant time and money spent on developing the project to this point" and questioned the suitability of a company limited by guarantee to deliver such a long term project, stating that due to a lack of investment in shares the Trustees and members would be insufficiently committed to ensure long term success and that such organisations mistake being "not for profit" for meaning they do not need to build up a cash reserve when clearly they do (Newidiem 2002). As such the report argued that if the landscape was of the level of historic significance claimed for it, it should essentially be nationalised and its management taken over by Cadw, the national museum or CCW a view which would accord

Table 4.2: Backgrounds of AIHT Trustees and Directors

Name	Position	Main Field of expertise	Career	Notes
Prof. Gareth Wyn Jones	Chairman	Biology	Director of Bangor University's centre for Arid Zone Studies, (1984-91) Deputy Chief Executive of CCW (1991-95), Currently Vice Chairman of Rural Forum Wales.	Main research interest is plant nutrition, on the editorial board of 4 science journals.
Bryan D. Hope	Secretary	Engineering	Retired, formerly Principal Engineering Officer in Local Government	Local historian and author of <i>A Curious Place-The Industrial History of Amlwch 1550-1950</i> and <i>A Commodious Yard: The Story of William Thomas & Sons Shipbuilders of Amlwch</i> .
William D. Evans	Trustee	Architecture	Chartered Architect, Former President of the Royal Society of Architecture in Wales.	Involved in town planning with a particular interest in building conservation.
Dr. David Jenkins	Trustee	Geology	Retired Senior lecturer in Soil Science at Bangor University	Interest in prehistoric mining, Trustee and former Chairman of Gwynedd Archaeological Trust.
Neil Summers	Trustee	Information Technology	Former chemist. Now employed as a broadband network Engineer by IACC	Volunteer Mountain Warden.
Prof. Denzil Taylor-Smith	Trustee	Geophysics	Retired former head of School of Ocean Sciences, Bangor University	Involved in assessment of prospects for renewed mining at Mynydd Parys
David Wagstaff	Trustee	Engineering	Proprietor of an engineering business manufacturing machinery for the textile and chemical industries	PUG member and organiser of the Volunteer Mountain Wardens. Works as a tour guide in North Wales and the Peak District.

(AIHT 2005)

with Jenkins (1992) arguments for a more centrally controlled approach to preserving and celebrating Welsh history.

In the Parkin plan it was proposed that a Amlwch Heritage Development Trust be formed as a new organisation with a separate trading arm to support it. The AHDT would be a partnership organisation with representation of the AIHT and the public sector agencies suggested by Newidiem as well as the town council and the IACC. The large subsidy sought in the Parkin plan would make some control over the project by the subsidising bodies necessary and the AHDT might be a form of partial nationalisation, but this was an element of the plan criticised by McBratney. The Ilex report was sceptical about such partnerships and saw the AHDT as an acknowledgement of the Trust's inadequacy, and warned that representatives from partnership organisations would be serving their employer's organisational aims and those of the AHDT second. McBratney argued that the AIHT should not dilute its position as the project custodian but needed to build up its own organisational competence through recruiting a wider base of skills.

During the period under study the Trust took on some new members involved through personal connections with long standing members, but an effort to open up the organisation to new blood through an open call for new members failed completely, the advert in a local newspaper receiving only one response (pers.com. Neil Johnstone). The Trust's reputation may not lead the sort of people needed to believe they would be welcomed; one Amlwch town council member accused the Trust of being an "elitist" organisation (Pers.com. Neil Johnstone) and the ADP acknowledges this by listing as a barrier to access to the organisation "strong sense of ownership amongst existing Trustees- perceived by others as exclusive" (Headland 2007 p.22) and advocates "recruitment of volunteers with diverse interests, skills and aspirations" to reduce this barrier.

While failing to attract members with skills oriented to the tourism and business management aspects of the project, the Trust has been reliant on external consultancy services paid for out of development grants to cover these areas. The Trust's income has not allowed it to employ people with the skills and experience lacking in the membership on a more permanent basis, except to maintain the project manager position created at the time of the PPG and subsequently

paid for out of Interreg IIIA money and the stage one HLF grant. The post of project manager has become essential to the Trust. It has been stated at the 2007 AGM for example that without this, the only full time employee in the Trust's organisation, the AIHT's work would grind to a halt without this one permanent employee. However, that the project managers salary has always been derived from a grant funded programme (first the PPG then later Interreg IIIA) has been identified as an organisational weakness and used to criticise the Trust:

“It would appear that the Trust's strategy is to go from one grant funded development phase to another, so that its major staffing and operating costs can be charged to project expenditure.”

(Gregory p.12 2007)

In the 2007 bid to the HLF it was planned to create a second full time management position in the form of an Audience Development Officer (ADO). The ADO would be responsible for reducing barriers to access and organising volunteers and would act as a liaison between the staff on the ground such as the catering personnel and the Project Director who would continue to be based at the Menter Mon offices in Llangefni (Headland 2007). The Project Director would remain responsible for day to day management of the project in between the regular meetings of Trustees to approve decisions on specific issues and monitor progress, in much the same way as the post operated during the Interreg project (AIHT 2008a). 17% of the total project budget would have been used to pay the ADO salary for three years and the Project Director for a further five years had the bid succeeded. That funding agencies like HLF are far more willing to spend money on short term capital projects than to provide money to employ people with relevant skills for any length of time is unhelpful in that it encourages the use of consultants to produce planning documents without building the relevant knowledge within the bidding organisation. Clearly there comes a time when employees are needed more than planning documents and in the history of the AIHT getting funding for staff has been much harder than getting money to spend on consultants. The Trust has not been able to create a situation where income from its business activity is sufficient to maintain even one part time management position or to convince funders that this is achievable. Having become reliant on a project manager to compensate for the limitations to the trust's capabilities (limited experience, lack of

time devoted to the project due to members other commitments), the AIHT must always find development funds to maintain this post.

4.1.1.4. Phasing of developments.

The Copper mining landscape of Parys Mountain and Amlwch is extensive both in terms of area covered and the size of its collection. Simply arresting normal processes of decay for such a large resource would entail a lot of spending, and creating a self sustaining economy around the heritage assets would require a large amount of money all spent very carefully. The AIHT's ambitions for the landscape have been far reaching and have extended as far as having the landscape play an equivalent role on Anglesey to Cornwall's much envied Eden project (Parkin 2005) and the possibility of securing World Heritage status (Pers.com. NJ). The Trust has projected a course of development from its current set up of a single small visitor centre and two footpaths with supporting leaflets to a major visitor destination incorporating such elements as a heritage railway, ship tours out of the port and visitor access to the underground tunnels of Parys Mountain. The grant application process has seen shifts in thinking about how to reach this stage of full development in line with changes in the funding environment and set backs in the process.

The Parkin bid grew out of the sketchily planned original application and organised its scheme of work into a 10 year programme of development divided into three broadly defined phases. Although seemingly supportive of the ultimate scale of development to be achieved through the Copper Kingdom Project the Ilex report was particularly critical of this spreading of its implementation over 10 years, since this meant that of the ten million pound budget, three million would be needed to meet the costs of inflation for a project that if it could all be implemented at 2005 prices would cost only seven million, raising the question "if the project is worth doing, why can't it all be done now and the inflation penalty avoided?" (Ilex 2006). The project phases included periods devoted to securing funding and Ilex viewed the ten year programme as a way to avoid addressing the impractical scale of the project and uncertainty over where funding on the scale needed could possibly come from.

It is worth noting that the Parkin plan was prepared in a context where it may have seemed more hopeful that such a large influx of investment might be secured for the landscape as a whole and Porth Amlwch in particular. The plan is developed from the 2002 bid and so bears the influence of a time that had recently seen a plethora of high profile and massively expensive projects funded by the lottery as part of the millennium celebrations. The plan predates the announcement that London would host the 2012 Olympics, which entailed a major shift in priorities to the detriment of the Heritage Lottery Fund (Lottery funding symposium 2007). The plan was therefore prepared amidst a different atmosphere to that which can be said to exist around heritage developments currently and Parkin and associates do not appear to have been concerned to limit how much the Trust would need to ask for from the HLF.

The solution suggested by Mc Bratney was to have a master plan containing the full design proposed for the ultimate state of the landscape, essentially building on the CMP with much more detail as to the visitor experience and tourist facilities proposed. This master plan would be used as a basis for small incremental bids applied for opportunistically until possibly completed after ten years. Immediately though the priority was for a smaller project with its own business plan that could be completed within 2-3 years and would establish a profit making attraction, capable of supporting itself even if no further funding was to be found after implementation. While seeking to deliver a sustainable project out of the HLF bid no secret was made of the fact that AIHT still hoped to use this smaller bid as a stepping stone to further development towards a project on the scale originally conceived: “It would be expected that the AIHT would pursue other funding opportunities and have a strategic objective to establish the Port and mountain as a successful destination” (AIHT 2007 p.24).

The AIHT now sought to phase its developments but without a master plan for its ultimate state apart from the thoroughly discredited Parkin scheme, and the impact of this could be seen in criticisms that the 2007 bid had not given enough thought to how the Copper Bin would relate to other sites, the Sail Loft in particular. If completed the Copper bin would have interpretation, toilets, retail and basic catering, while the Sail Loft would continue to have interpretation, toilets, retail and catering. This would confuse visitors and amounted to an unnecessary duplication of visitor facilities rather than adding to the tourism product on offer.

The 2007 bid failed to convince the HLF assessors that its project was workable as a discrete step, that hopefully would lead to further developments but if not then it would at least leave something that was self sustaining and would continue into the future. In fact Gareth Gregory, the more critical of the two key reviewers of the 2007 bid appears not to have been convinced the AIHT has this aim in mind:

“It would seem to me that the priority is securing the revenue support that will enable them to continue to function for the next three years and that the actual content of the project is very much a secondary consideration.”

(Gregory p.12 2007)

The approach of seeking to develop the Copper Kingdom in incremental steps based on one successful project after the other seems to have backfired in the 2007 bid assessment. Gregory (2007) acknowledges the Trust's success in raising funding as its main organisational strength, but the picture painted is of an organisation that exists mainly to raise more funds and pays far less attention to project delivery and has perhaps lost sight of what it is trying to achieve.

Trustees have spoken in the past of the need to demonstrate the organisation's competence to run a larger scale attraction by running its current small attraction well, particularly with reference to making the Sail Loft a profitable venture in its own right (pers.com.Dave Wagstaff). But the unimpressive record that has been acquired so far is now a hindrance to the Trust's pursuit of further development grants.

4.1.1.5. Interpreting the resources.

For all the expensive expert planning that has gone on very little time appears to have been spent thinking from the perspective of visitors about what facilities are needed in the area. One reason is that the focus is instead on thinking from the perspective of grant awarding bodies. Another is a lack of real interest on the Trust's behalf in tourists and casual visitors due to their perhaps half-hearted commitment to this element of the project. Consideration of what visitors will gain from a visit and what memory of the industrial landscape they will take away with them has been

left to professional interpreters who would be hired in temporarily once funding was secured and most decisions about the project taken already.

In 2006 the project director remarked that while interpretation was important it was the end of a long process towards presenting heritage to people, a final stage to be undertaken after the establishment of access and facilities (pers.com. Neil Johnstone 2006). Evidently though postponing thinking about the visitor experience is not an approach everyone agrees with, in 2002 Newidiem objected:

“No reason is given for the selection of the buildings, structures and land identified in the project and it is assumed that they are included ‘because they are there’ rather than as part of a particular storyline for presentation to prospective visitors.” (Newidiem 2002)

Practical planning issues were treated as the province of the Trust and its project manager, while the visitor experience was the province of hired in experts, a division of labour perfectly mirroring that observed in the Rhondda a decade earlier (Dicks 2000). This division of tasks calls for a level of oversight to ensure the practical planning issues and design decisions produce a final product that meets the needs of visitors, oversight that did not exist in either the Rhondda or the Amlwch case.

The CMP addressed problems arising from the scale and complexity of the landscape by delineating which structures had the greatest significance and why but nonetheless planning for the interpretive experience in Carol Parr’s interpretation plan and in the more recent ADP tended to not be cohesive but to end up with lists of diverse topics not obviously relating to each other. Parr’s plan lists 6 distinct themes each with a host of storylines (Parr 2005) while the ADP lists 17 ‘key topics’ and HLF’s reviewers did not see evidence of how these 17 topics would add up to a coherent visitor experience (Gregory). Establishing a clear idea of what story was to be told to visitors to the area earlier in the process might have obviated this problem, but there is no reason a coherent visitor experience cannot be implemented now that links the disparate elements since the historic relationship was once so strong, it is simply that this has not been made a priority.

During the 2007 bid there was much criticism of the lack of thought that had gone into how interpretation duties would be divided between the Copper bin and the Sail Loft, and this shows that there had been little effort to match interpretive stories to specific landscape features, as the interpretive significance of the Copper bin was not a factor in focussing a bid on it, just its availability as space. Assigning storylines to features would help avoid confusing visitors so this is a real planning failure:

“Ironically AIHTs proposals for the harbour buildings would appear to have the effect of obscuring their original function to provide adaptations for which they are far from ideally equipped.” (Barrat 2008).

One possible reason for confusion over the story the AIHT is trying to tell, and the reviewers all see a problem with the appeal and cohesiveness of the experience to be offered, is that while the history of the landscape emanates from the mountain the intention has always been to use the port as the main place to tell this story due to the availability of historic buildings in need of reuse. In the Parkin Plan 12% of the budget was to be spent on the mountain and 37% in the port, the rest going on project elements that could be said to benefit both sites equally such as marketing. In the revised plan submitted in 2007 ten percent of the £1,538,840 plan would be spent on the mountain trails (the small reception building proposed in Parkin having been dropped) while 46% of the budget was allocated to the port. It has always been assumed that the port would be the main focus of development and the mountain secondary, important to the overall story but with less visitor appeal. The Parkin plan gave an estimate of 5000 visitors a year to the mountain and projected if its project brought 50,000 visitors a year into the port by this stage the mountain would be receiving 25,000 visitors per year. The 5000 per annum estimate was pure guesswork (per.com NJ) and is shown to be inaccurate in 4.2, but is illustrative of the presumptive supremacy of the port amongst AIHT's planners. This approach was not argued with by Ilex who said “we agree that Amlwch Port is more amenable to ease of development, understanding and popular interpretation than Parys Mountain” (McBratney p.3). Availability of indoor space in which to house artefacts and media is prioritised over interpretive ideas of contact with “the thing itself”, and meeting the visitor's first interest (both from Tilden 1957). The Copper Kingdom is a closely interlinked landscape but there is a need to explain to

visitors (and prospective funders) why people interested in the mines should gravitate to the port and vice versa. Based on the inaccurate visitor numbers estimate Marjoram believes the Trust has not done enough to realise the Mountain's potential visitor appeal:

“there are considerably less visitors to the area with a most dramatic landscape, on which the whole industrial heritage of the area depends.” (Marjoram 2007 p.2)

He recommends more be done to enable access between the two sites “to ensure that the visitor experience is not just concentrated within the Port area.” (Marjoram 2007 p.3) including the provision of a bus link. The emphasis of the current HLF bid has shifted towards the mountain, with more of the theoretical budget allocated here than at the Sail Loft for the first time in the grant application process.

4.1.2 Walk Amlwch

There are many media used at heritage attractions to communicate with visitors. Some of the most common are static panels and portable leaflets combining 2D images and the written word, pre-recorded audio of words and music on either a portable player or at a static point, short films and computer programs that allow at least a little interaction. All of these media are essentially inferior to having a live human being deliver the same messages in person through the spoken word. At least that was the opinion of Freeman Tilden, who saw all the alternatives to the live interpreter listed above as necessary evils needed to stand in for trained interpreters of whom there would never be enough to do the work of communicating with the public required (Tilden 1957). Though 3D touch screen interactive computer programs with live web cam access to remote sites were not an option in 1957 when Tilden wrote on the subject he was confident technological progress would never really undermine his point:

“There will never be a device of tele-communication as satisfactory as the direct contact not merely with the voice, but with the hand, the eye, the casual and

meaningful ad lib, and with that something which flows out of the very constitution of the individual in his physical self” (Ibid p.95)

This endorsement of live speakers and guides as the option of automatic preference for delivering interpretation is based solely on their ability to communicate more than the alternatives and so is based purely on the concerns of interpretation. There are also arguments that can be made in favour of this viewpoint grounded in the other concerns of this research. From a regeneration perspective, live interpretation is labour intensive, traditionally considered a virtue of tourism in areas of under employment, but is also skilled work with the potential to act as a confidence builder and an escape route from social exclusion, particularly of the kind that often affects retired people in areas like Amlwch. The arguments for live guides over interpretive media seem strengthened in the context of a cultural landscape where the alternatives listed are much harder to apply. Many of the more technologically advanced media need to be housed indoors while all the media mentioned are much less durable in an outdoor context. The live interpreter though can operate out in the landscape itself and is free to move with the visitor, hence is much more able to refer directly to “the thing itself” in their interpretation.

The AIHT has provided guided walks around Parys Mountain since its early years, by arrangement with interested groups and for local events such as the annual Anglesey Walking festival. The Trust’s membership includes many experts in varied fields and so has since its founding had the capability to provide talks and tours tailored to specific areas of interest. The volunteers of the mountain wardens scheme added to the Trust’s capacity to arrange guided tours and with the Copper Kingdom Project seemingly on the brink of major expansion in 2006 an effort was made to formalise the provision of guided tours in the Copper Kingdom by making the tours regular events instead of arranging them on an ad-hoc basis and by developing a group of trained guides with a qualification. The ‘Walk Amlwch’ project placed adverts in the local press to recruit people interested in becoming guides. 10 candidates came forward and completed the course to qualify as guides, while a couple attended some of the sessions but pulled out before the final assessment. The candidates were all Anglesey residents, some from as far afield as Menai Bridge while several were from Amlwch itself. The prospective guides had an age range

from 30 to 60 and were all male except one. Four were already part of the volunteer wardens scheme and so had prior experience of giving guided tours on Mynydd Parys while others were entirely new to tour guiding and public speaking generally. There was therefore a broad mix of levels in the course both in terms of knowledge of the Copper Kingdom landscape and tour guiding skills.

The training programme was run in collaboration with Llandrillo College and the Institute of Tourist Guiding. The ITG is best known for creating 'blue badge' guides, who have undergone a much longer (and more expensive) course in order to qualify as professional tour guides for the UK. There have been a growing number of shorter courses qualifying "level 2" guides to operate on a specific site or tour, though the scheme in Amlwch was the first example of this in Wales. It should be noted that though present as a representative of the ITG Derek Roberts had some philosophical differences with the organisations methods, arguing that blue badge training over emphasised memorising large amounts of historical information in a way that lead some of its guides to regurgitate long speeches "parrot fashion", where perhaps they should emphasise ability to improvise and tailor speaking to the audience's level of interest. Similar views on the rigidity of blue badge guides were made by John Veverka who in September 2006 visited the mountain and gave a talk to some of the now qualified guides introducing them to some of his principles for interpretive speaking. The course proper consisted of eight one day sessions over eight weeks with time split evenly between building up knowledge of the landscape's history and tuition and practice in tour guiding skills, emphasizing quality of public speaking and group safety. The final week was given over to exams with a multiple choice question paper to assess knowledge of local history and a practical exam conducted on the mountain. On the course it was frequently emphasised that the guides would need to pursue their own learning about the sites for which they were about to become spokesmen (and spokeswoman). The function of the talks delivered on the course introducing different aspects of site history was to get them started by introducing the whole scope of fields of knowledge they would need to have at least some familiarity with, the course covering scientific subjects as well as historic ones. It was emphasised that guides would never be able to know everything, but they could know where to go and who to ask to get answers to any questions visitors might ask them that they could not immediately deal with themselves.

All ten candidates passed both sections of the exam, though it was recognised a couple still needed more experience of giving tours before they became as confident as the old hands from the wardens scheme. Having established a core of ten qualified guides the next challenge was perceived by the organisers to be that of retaining them whilst the project developed. The guides undertook their exams in May 2006 and the Project Manager set aside funds to ensure that they would be paid for their services for the first year even if they did not in fact deliver enough tours to enough visitors for the Walk Amlwch programme to generate any profit at this stage. It was therefore acknowledged that at this stage there might not be enough demand to keep 10 guides working regularly enough to maintain their commitment to the project, but it was also anticipated that there would be demand for this many guides from the 2007 tourist season onwards, and until then it was important to give the guides chances to build their experience and see some financial return on their investment of time and money in training so far. To help maintain the group after the end of the training course organiser David Wagstaff planned regular meetings to discuss and exchange new information the guides had uncovered in their private researches as well as discussing how tours went and could be improved. In May 2006 it was still early in the heritage project which promised to finance significant improvements in the welcome provided of the two sites as well as their marketing, and it was anticipated that a multi million pound HLF bid would be decided one way or the other the following year.

In spite of the steps taken to maintain their involvement several of the qualified guides had drifted out of contact by the tourist season of summer 2007 when Walk Amlwch began to operate in earnest (Images 4.2 and 4.3). There remained at least six guides (Log book) from the course plus David Wagstaff, and by this time there had been some investment in marketing the tours through posters, leaflets and a website. Also a cabin had been placed in the mountain car park for the use of the guides and the volunteer wardens. In the summer of 2007 tours were offered at fixed start times around the mountain and the port. Tours were priced at £3.50 per person for the mountain tour lasting 2 hours and £3.00 per person for the tour of the Port and Sail Loft lasting 1 hour. Tours could be arranged by phone for days and times other than those advertised.



Image 4.2: Guided tour of Parys Mountain led by Dave Wagstaff.



Image 4.3: Guided tour of Parys Mountain led by Alan Kelly, Amlwch resident.

Stuart N. Langfield performed an assessment on the Copper Kingdom Project in June 2007 to determine whether it could be designated a Quality Assured Visitor Attraction by the Visitor Attraction Quality Assurance Service (VAQAS). Using a “mystery shopper” approach the assessor took both tours and was very positive about the service provided:

“The Port Tour: The tour taken on Sunday 10th of June lasted for approximately an hour, starting from the Heritage centre building and walking the length of the harbour. The guide was very knowledgeable providing in depth detail relating to the social aspects of the port workers, the buildings and their specific uses and the numerous boats built during its hey day. It was very obvious from the information and his enthusiasm for the subject that he had spent most if not all his life in the town. It is noted that without the guided tour the visitor would struggle to appreciate the complexity of the ports buildings and their individual significance to the overall subject. Many of the buildings have either fallen into disrepair or in some cases have disappeared completely under vegetation. Buildings such as the ‘Lime Kiln’ required the guide to explain the processes involved to understand its purpose, whereas the text detail in the leaflet omitted this very interesting and essential information. The Watch House is another example of the importance of the guide to understand its purpose and the function of the ‘Hobblers’, again unexplained in the leaflet.”

(Langfield 2007 p.5)

The assessor’s comments on the mountain tour illustrate some of the key points emphasised during the training course being applied in practice:

“On Wednesday 13th June the assessor booked the guided tour. The guide arrived promptly with a welcoming smile and personal introduction and provided an overview of the walk, what to expect, terrain and safety issues in a clear and professional manner. The tour, which lasted approximately two hours, was excellent and the commentary pitched at a level, which enabled easy assimilation of the subject. All aspects of the

mountains historical influence on the area and the community together with geological information created a sense of place and greatly added to the overall enjoyment.

The guide efficiently answered the many questions asked and it was very obvious that his depth of knowledge was considerable. Where one question relating to plant life was not known the guide offered to email the answer as soon as possible, a very commendable response and indicative of his attitude and enthusiasm to the subject and the visitor.” (Ibid. p8)

While complimentary about the guide, the report was critical of the appearance of the warden’s cabin and the lack of visitor facilities on the mountain:

“The present porta cabin projects more an image of a building site unit used for storage, of equipment than a tourist attraction. It is an image, which is counter productive to encourage tourists to stop and investigate. Whilst the capital outlay would be considerable the building of a dedicated centre using indigenous material and providing essential information together with the availability of drinks via a vending unit and most importantly toilet facilities is seen as crucial to developing the attraction. “ (Ibid.)

The porta cabin is indeed not an attractive sight and during 2007 and most of 2008 was placed in the car park at the maximum possible distance from the information signage and the start of the trail, which when questioned some visitors remarked on as their reason for not looking in it. The cabin does contain some interesting material for visitors to see on the irregular occasions when it is manned by one of the guides. There is a collection of large high quality photographs of PUG members exploring the underground tunnels and an artefact case containing geological samples and a couple of the Bronze Age hammer stones found at Parys Mountain which visitors are allowed to handle. Langfield remarks on this “adding greatly to the enduring memory of the

visit.” (Ibid.)

Feedback from tour customers recorded in the cabin’s log book was also complimentary about the guides. But although Walk Amlwch seemed to achieve a high rate of customer satisfaction, the number of customers it got was considered by all involved to be disappointing. As in previous years there continued to be occasional visits by large groups arranged especially with the Trust and the Walk Amlwch guides were active in trying to solicit more such group visits. But their efforts in being present in the cabin on summer days in case of groups wishing to take the tour rarely paid off. The log book records that in July 2007 a total of six tours around the mountain were arranged in this fashion, serving 13 visitors. In August 5 tours served 24 visitors but in September as the tourist season ended 4 tours were carried out with 7 visitors. In the 2008 season spontaneous tours remained rare and the number of guides further reduced so that by the time of writing the situation regarding guided tours has largely reverted to that which existed before the Walk Amlwch Scheme, with guided tours normally occurring by special arrangement with interested businesses, organisations and clubs, and delivered by a group of 3 or 4 who have been involved with the mountain for years having been volunteer wardens and PUG members before the Walk Amlwch scheme.

Given the praise received for the actual product on offer why have sales of the guided tour been insufficient to maintain the guides programme? :

- Lack of promotion: Several boxes of leaflets and posters produced to promote the tours were never distributed presumably due to a lack of available volunteer time or a perception that such time would be better spent on the mountain than out distributing this material. One guide also complained about the unwillingness of the project manager to pay for posters to be displayed in TICS on Anglesey. Given the evidence yielded by survey data (see section 3) of a concentration of potential and actual visitors in caravanning type accommodation around Bennlech, a single morning spent putting posters on notice boards in this area might have yielded big returns for Walk Amlwch. The guided tours were in the 2007 season under promoted even at the Sail Loft visitor

centre to judge by these comments from surveys conducted at the Sail Loft during the peak season:

“Think it would be nice for tourists to be offered a guided walk round Parys Mountain and Port Amlwch.”

“Are there ever guided walks?”

- Pricing: £3.50 does not seem much for 2 hours of someone’s time but according to guide, warden PUG and AIHT member Ron Clays, the pricing scheme was a frequent deal breaker with casual visitors who contemplated going on the tour. The problem is that there was no concession for large groups except to allow children to take the tour for £2, and a small family of 2 parents and 1 child would pay £9 to have a tour guide accompany them on what would otherwise be a free walk around the mountain. With the guided tours encountered at the case study sites in chapter 6 and most tourist attractions the price of the guided tour includes the guide and an access component, as the only way to be allowed in to a place is on the guided tour. Here access to the mountain is free to all and having a stranger accompany you is a costed extra.
- Length of tour: Though doing all they could to engage with visitors and keep them interested guides often arrived back at the car park with pretty weary customers after a long tour around the mountain typically exceeding 2 hours, their audience satisfied but maybe a little over satisfied. This was anticipated by discussions amongst the guides during their training programme as the entire trail is quite challenging for many especially if the weather was not ideal (and 2 hours is plenty of time for it to deteriorate). Also the tour can be said to peak as an experience early on as at the Great Opencast the visitor has seen the largest spectacle of the mountain as well as two of its key structures, the windmill and the mine yard at a distance. This therefore is the highlight of the tour but comes in the first half hour. The report on access

improvements to the mountain in Appendix 2 shows the guides ideas on how to address this problem.

Although these problems with the underlying product prevented Walk Amlwch from establishing itself as was hoped, there were hidden and perhaps unappreciated benefits to the Copper Kingdom of the is project. Although often unable to sell their services the wardens presence on the mountain meant they were often in contact with visitors and so able to provide a welcome to the site and share a free sample of their knowledge and enthusiasm for the landscape, significantly enhancing the visitor experience of these visitors over those who arrived on other days when there was no such presence and very limited interpretation available (see section 2 for more on existing interpretation in the car park). Some visitors taking part in the survey exercise on Parys Mountain remarked on the helpfulness of the man in the cabin. In late 2008 the Portacabin was moved to a better location for visitors to access encouraging more such personal contact with enthusiastic local interpreters. The downside though is that the cabin remains an eyesore and an off putting one on days when it is not manned which are all too frequent.

The revised heritage lottery bid currently in development is set to include improvements to the heritage trail the major one being to consolidate the link between the two opencasts, creating a much shorter route that takes in precipitation ponds, both ruined mine yards, spectacular views of both opencasts and the windmill which will be developed to provide some shelter from the weather around the halfway stage of what would then be a 1 hour guided walk and a much more appealing product. The Application for Stage 1 also talks of “Conservation skills and heritage guidance training linked with a Community First Project in Amlwch”. It is to be hoped though that new guides will be recruited and trained from within the Amlwch community rather than across the island, which is sensible in terms of regeneration and also because the guides who have stayed on over the years have been those who live closest to the Port and the Mountain. Worryingly the first stage bid still makes no explicit mention of the provision of a toilet on the mountain for visitor use, an absolute essential that has been neglected for years and which will continue to hamper access to the mountain and uptake of the guided tours.

The revised bid promises to do more for the mountain than was done from 2006 to 2008 and to seek to revitalise the availability of live interpreters in the Copper Kingdom landscape. But if another dozen guides are trained will they find enough demand for their services to remain involved or will they simply lose contact and interest in the project? As well as marketing for guided tours and training of guides the current plans include provision of more signage around the mountain trail, to interpret to visitors not accompanied by a live guide, so another question to be asked is given the level of effort that has gone into training guides and the positive feedback to their work, why when panels and displays are designed for the project have the qualified guides never been involved? Is giving an interpretive talk aloud to an audience really so different from writing and designing an address to the same audience that the experience and skills built up over years becomes irrelevant? If panels, leaflets and other media are as Tilden insisted substitutes for the live interpreter, it is desirable that the regular live interpreters be heavily involved in the design of their proxies, in order to maintain unity of message and deliver a visitor experience that is consistent whichever media the visitor uses to access the site's story. Having guides design interpretive materials would have the added benefit of providing an activity that can maintain their involvement during the off season, when they are most likely to disengage.

4.1.3. The Sail Loft Refurbishment

The primary point of contact between the Copper Kingdom Project and the public has since 2000 been the Sail Loft Visitor centre run by the Trust. The various development plans drawn up for the project have included moving the main gallery to a larger venue or supplementing it with other gallery experiences housed nearby but it currently seems probable that the Sail Loft will remain a key location where the story of industrial Amlwch is told to visitors. In 2007 this free entry visitor centre received an overhaul using the majority of a £50,330 budget allocated for 'interpretation' as part of the Interreg IIIA project. It is argued here that the implementation of this project illustrates problems inherent in outsourcing the storytelling function of heritage projects to contractors, and that the pursuit of development grants described in the first section of

this chapter has had negative consequences for public appreciation of Amlwch's heritage resources.

The Sail Loft was opened to the public as a heritage centre by the Trust in 2000. A small exhibition had previously been housed in the Watch Tower building, but this proved too small for the growing artefact collection loaned or donated to the AIHT. The move to the Sail Loft building, once part of the Iard Newydd Shipyard also gave space to develop retail and catering and provide a source of revenue for the AIHT. The building is prominently located on high ground on the west side of the port and has two storeys, the upper storey with a sloping floor to aid the unrolling of ships sails for repair. The visitor entrance is to this upper floor where the café and small gift shop are housed and a flight of stairs leads down to the lower floor with a small gallery space and toilets. The visitor experience of the Sail Loft was substantially the result of volunteer effort by trustees and AIHT members and the exhibition, café and gift shop were developed gradually in an unplanned fashion. The history of the area was presented on the lower floor with a series of homemade information cards mounted on display boards and partitions (Image 4.4).



Image 4.4: The Sail Loft gallery before 2007 refurbishment.

The displays took a chronological narrative approach assuming they would be read by visitors in sequence, starting with the geology of the mountain and its formation and moving on to Bronze Age discoveries and then the modern period of mining. Here is an example of text from the old displays:

“Mynydd Parys is an area of complex geology which is still under investigation. The rocks consist of an isolated series of volcanic intrusions and lavas, ashes and muds laid down in a sea some 440 million years ago (the Ordovician/Silurian boundary). The mineralization originated as deposits on the sea floor from hot fluids associated with the volcanic activity, as has been observed as “smokers” in our present oceans. This “kuroko” type of mineralization at Mynydd Parys is unique in the UK. Later the strata were tilted and folded and some of the metals were redistributed to give the complex ore deposits that have been exploited in the Mona and Parys mines.

The ores contain copper, lead and zinc, and abundant iron, together with traces of gold, silver and other rare metals.”

The Flesch-Kincaid scale is a measurement of the readability of texts based on word length and sentence length originally developed for the assigning of appropriate texts to different age groups and learning stages in schools, as is clear from the scale’s categorisation of texts according to a set of “grades” based on the US school system. At interpretive training courses the use of the scale has been advocated as a way to ensure texts are as accessible as possible, with unfounded claims that the average adult reading age is only 12 being made in support of subjecting texts to the equation (pers.com. John Veverka). Eliminating passive sentences is also advocated for similar reasons. Although the claim concerning average reading ages is suppositional, there are other reasons to aim for a low reading age. Reading from a board on a wall whilst standing is not how people normally take in text and is more tiring, so physical comfort sets a time limit based on the reader’s patience on the taking in of such a text. Such reading is done by non-captive audiences (Ham 1992) as part of a leisure activity. Not being subject to any penalty for not engaging with the text it is in the interpreter’s interest to make texts easy to read, and the

Flesch-Kincaid scale and counting passive sentences are dependable non-subjective ways to measure if this is being done.

This piece of text consists of 16% passive sentences and on the Flesch-Kincaid scale is rated as grade 13.3. This means it is appropriate only for readers who have undergone 13 years of continuous education, or that it would be appropriate only for those who have attended a university. As is the case with much of the material produced ‘in house’ by the Trust during the foundational period of the Copper Kingdom Project the text is authored by career academics and written in an academic style, as if being written for a captive audience, rather than the non-captive tourist audience the project was ultimately meant to appeal to. Table 4.3 shows the visitor numbers received at the centre and how much revenue it fed back in to the Trust up to 2007, the year when the Sail Loft was transformed through the Trust’s Interreg project. The free to enter attraction generally has broken even but has not generated amounts of profit that could contribute significantly to the match funding needed for the scale of projects being contemplated by the Trust in this period.

Table 4.3: Visitor numbers and profits for the Sail Loft Visitor Centre 2000-2007

Year	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007
Visitor numbers	7000 (estimate)	12153	13283	12385	12813	11346	11508	13853
Yearly profits	NA	Unknown losses	£1755	£2564	£532	£2200	£2135	NA
Profit per visitor	NA	0	13p	21p	4p	19p	19p	NA

Sources: Sail Loft 6 year summary, Newidiem 2002, Pers. Com. Neil Johnstone.

The project to overhaul the appearance of the Sail Loft using professional designers had an unclear set of aims and objectives. It also lacked any plan to evaluate the refurbished centre once completed. When there was some notion of a purpose to the project the objectives tended to be

implied rather than explicit and altered according to events elsewhere in the project. The £50,330 interpretation budget allocated under Interreg IIIA was intended to meet the goal of “raising the profile of the area as a visitor destination”. The Trust appears to have had a fairly free hand in choosing how to spend this interpretation budget and took its lead from the Parkin business plan in choosing to allocate it to the port area, as the “honey pot” site of the Copper Kingdom and to addressing the “outdated appearance” of the interpretation on offer (Tender document). In order to achieve the “High quality interpretation” (Ibid.) the Port was currently thought to lack a brief for tenders was put out to several heritage and interpretive design consultancies, interpretive professionals with experience of other projects and attractions. The brief was open to two possibilities: revamping the exhibition materials in the Sail Loft or pursuing some of the recommendations of Carol Parr’s interpretation plan for external interpretation around the Port area. The Trust came to lean heavily towards overhauling the Sail Loft though in the wake of McBratney’s negative report on the business plan which spurred the AIHT to consider how to make the Sail Loft generate more revenue. The real implicit objective for the project was to mimic the appearance of other more developed projects, to make the Sail Loft look the part it was seeking to play. The tender document comes closest to stating this here:

“The BP concludes that **‘while there is a reasonable range of interpretive media already available to visitors, most has been in place for many years and has an outdated appearance. Over the last few years visitor expectations have changed and it is important that a high profile project, like Copper Kingdom, has a high quality interpretation to meet visitor expectations’**. The main thrust of our Interreg application is to use the Celtic Copper Heritage project to ‘Raise the Profile as a Visitor Destination.’ We are therefore looking to implement a project that contributes towards these aims.”

(AIHT 2006b)

Note that it is the appearance of the old interpretation that means it needs replacing, not its overly academic content. The weaknesses of the overhauled Sail Loft as a visitor experience extend back to the failure to ask for any result beyond a more professional surface appearance in exchange for the investment of a significant chunk of the project’s development funding. A

clearer agenda for the refurbishment should have been provided by the project's Interpretation plan authored by Carol Parr but this document is found to fall short of what is needed of it. The planning document has all the elements expected of an interpretive master plan of objectives, themes and proposed media but fails to connect them to each other in a logically clear process or to set priorities. The plan lists twenty 'specific interpretive objectives for Copper Kingdom' (Parr 2005). Designing materials to contribute to all these objectives simultaneously would probably be impossible and with none highlighted by the Trust when commissioning designers or specifically ascribed to the Sail Loft in the interpretation plan. The Interpretation Plan is not useful to contractors in its current state, nor to the Trust as a guide to commissioning projects and accordingly it is not used by anyone. A real interpretive plan would be one that had a fully developed scheme for all the sites in the Copper Kingdom with the objectives and themes tied directly to them, so that irregular spurts of project funding and activity had an overarching interpretive voice, making the patchwork nature of the developing project less obvious to the visitors than it is when every panel and leaflet seems to start from scratch with an utterly unfamiliar voice, as exemplified in image 4.5 showing two conceptually very similar panels from different funding periods of the Copper Kingdom Project placed side by side near to the Watch Tower in Amlwch Port. Both panels have a map of the port as the main graphic with an overview of the area's industrial past and brief details on the key structures labelled in the map. A properly planned approach to the visitor experience would avoid this kind of wasteful and confusing duplication of effort and would really project the professional appearance the project seeks.

Of four bidders for the project, all companies based in England known to the AIHT through previous work on projects in North Wales, three came back to the Trust in March 2006 with what was expected of them: plans for refurbishing the Sail Loft with new interpretation mainly in the form of graphic panels, to provide a more "professional" appearance. Chester based Headland design on the other hand responded with a relatively brief letter arguing that the information in the brief and the Parr Interpretation plan was not really sufficient to produce plans and designs of the sort submitted by the other designers and that further visitor research should be undertaken before interpretive design was progressed to this stage. While the other three consultancies had



Image 4.5 : Competing introductions to Amlwch Port

addressed the 45k budget as a standalone project Headland emphasised that this was intended to be an interim stage in the development of the Trust's vision which was expected to be realised through HLF funding. Emphasising the Trust's ambitions for ongoing development proved a successful strategy as Headland was awarded the interpretation contract by a select committee of trustees. It was agreed that £5000 be split off from the Interpretation budget to pay Headland to producer an Audience Development Plan that would involve an extensive research programme of consultation with visitors and non-visitors through surveys and focus group meetings, much of this was however never carried out and the only research activity undertaken was a self completion survey of visitors to the Sail Loft over the 2006 season, the results of which are

included in appendix 2. The goals Headland envisioned for the remaining budget for the Sail Loft would be “to attract attention to the project and explain its vision”, to “engage in a dialogue by inviting feedback” and to “engender wider support” (meeting notes 1 June 2006). Practical ideas included canvassing visitor opinions on an ongoing basis by having survey questions on panels (e.g. do you prefer the port or the mountain?) and having visitors place magnets to indicate their answers, and having a space where visitors could post up cards with their ideas for the project. The exhibition concerned would therefore be very much a place holder awaiting the HLF bid plan’s realisation and serving to gather audience data and at the same time improve the sense of community involvement, addressing the problem observed at initial meetings that the Trust was seen as aloof and not answerable to Amlwch residents.

Ironically though the Trust began to steer Headland away from these ideas towards something more akin to the plans submitted by the unsuccessful bidders. Headland moved away from its “survey on the walls” approach and produced an interesting concept for a model of the landscape intended to appeal to all ages and illustrate the key features of both Port and Mountain and the links between them. Some trustees disliked the level of abstraction proposed for this illustrative model which would not use a consistent scale but would rather enlarge the most relevant features, but the real reason this imaginative suggestion was turned down was that it would use up most of the budget thus leaving much of the Sail Loft as it currently was, which was now seen as unsatisfactory. Ultimately therefore the interpretation budget was spread more thinly and spent on a collection of 37 graphic panels with some artefact cases and projection equipment used to screen a silent film of a sailing ship at sea on the upper floor.

While the upstairs displays were largely produced by Headland with reference to the Parr interpretation plan document the ground floor exhibition saw more active involvement from the Trust with David Jenkins and Bryan Hope involved in selecting topics and drafting panel texts, though after disagreements the Trustees withdrew and allowed Headland to produce the final versions on their own since the project was already running late. The first of two key points of disagreement between the Trust and its designers was over the sequencing of panels with the Trustees wanting a sequential order that could be followed from geological formation to present day, as with its old exhibition, while Headland believed casual visitors preferred a mix of topics

that they could browse with no obvious order to follow so they could be selective and read as many or as few of the panels as they liked. The other area of disagreement was the Trustees wish to include correct technical terms and in particular to include the chemical symbols for geologic minerals mentioned in the text, which Headland objected would be off putting to the majority of visitors. Note that the panels were produced by the Trust's experts who brought a lot of historic knowledge to the task working with design consultants bringing no such knowledge but instead ideas about presentation and style appropriate to a tourist audience, two parties who had trouble working together to combine their respective strengths. Meanwhile the Walk Amlwch guides group possessing both local knowledge and experience of a casual non-captive audience though to a lesser extent than the two specialised parties was not involved at all in the refurbishment of the project.

Table 4.4 shows the titles of the panels installed on the upper and lower floors. It will be evident that there is no very clear division of topics between the two floors and there is some repetition, the worst example being the two panels on Smelting which use the same image of a ship entering Swansea as illustration and read like two different drafts of the same text, so similar is the information they cover. This redundancy is indicative of a lack of planning and overview in the renewal of interpretation at the Sail Loft, and observation of the project generally gave the sense that the overhaul had a low priority relative to preparing the lottery bid.

During the refurbishment many artefacts long housed in the Sail Loft were removed to provide space for the new panels and an increased number of tables for café customers in the hope of generating more income from the centre. A few of the remaining artefacts were incorporated into the new displays notably the downstairs panels on ship building and mat making which were accompanied by relevant artefacts referred to in the text. The majority of the artefacts on display though were unlabeled and not referred to in panel texts where they might add to the experience of visitors, since real artefacts have a higher level of intrinsic interest than 2D illustrations. For example the panel on Shipwrecks in no way alludes to the many artefacts recovered from Shipwrecks off North Anglesey displayed around it, and the panel on brewing is illustrated by a photo of a beer bottle of the Amlwch Brewing Company but makes no reference to the real example of such a bottle on the nearest windowsill. This problem stems from designing

Table 4.4: Panel titles in the refurbished Sail Loft

Upstairs (16 panels)	Downstairs (21 panels)
James Treweek	Welcome to the basement display
Captain Pritchard	Porth Amlwch today
William Williams VC	Brewing
Development of Porth Amlwch	Amlwch Tobacco
William Thomas and Sons	Ship wrecks
Sail Making	Women in the community
Journeys	Mat making
Ship building 1	Ship building
Ship building 2	Lime
Early mining	Historical characters
Parys Mountain at its peak	By-products
The Copper Ladies	The mountain environment
Working Life	Managing the environment
Smelting	Origins of Copper ores
The demand for Copper	Mining in prehistory
Transporting Copper	Mining in the early industrial revolution
	Surface remains of mining
	Smelting
	Precipitation ponds
	The work of the trust
	Have you enjoyed your visit?

interpretive materials remotely without much familiarity with the venue or its collection. The lack of explanation of the significance of artefacts was remarked on in June 2007 when the Sail Loft failed an assessment by the Visitor Attraction Quality Assurance Service (VAQAS):

“It is noted that many of the artefacts are displayed without any level of interpretation. The quality of the visitor experience is very much affected by this aspect and it is recommended that an audit of all the artefacts be undertaken to effectively address this issue. The use of hand held laminated cards linked by numbering to the objects and providing the necessary interpretation could be considered.”

(Langfield 2007)

Following the report a laminated card was prepared by Andrew Thomas of Menter Mon explaining what the various artefacts around the Sail Loft are.

Here is an example of the new panel texts, taken from one of the panels on smelting.

“Smelting

There is little coal in Anglesey and the cost of importation from other places was high in the 18th century because of taxes. Thomas Williams wanted to smelt the Copper in Amlwch. Frustrated by Parliament’s refusal to reduce taxes on fuel movement he took the copper to the coal and in 1779 built smelters at Ravenshead in Lancashire. Later he was able to build two smelters in Amlwch, but such was the level of production that copper continued to be processed in south Wales and Lancashire as well.

Smelting required intense heat and the smelting works would have had chimneys of 40 to 50 feet high and over 30 furnaces. About 12 hundredweight of ore would be processed at once, with rich coal being added as the heat was increased. First the slag and then the sulphur was removed in a process taking a couple of days. Once the copper reached the desired purity it was either formed into cake granules or bars for use in industry.”

The text has a Flesch-Kincaid grade scale of 10, and so is appropriate to reading age 16 and up. A quarter of the sentences are still passive. While it is a step towards accessibility, Veverka recommends aiming for a reading age of 12 and up even in displays aimed at adults, as this is the

language level of tabloid newspapers and more sympathetic to readers who are standing on their feet rather than sitting holding the text in their hands, as is more usual. The word count of this panel is 167, typical of the new displays, with around 6000 words in total in each language across all the panels. This is a lot to read with no interactive exhibits or changes in style to break up the task, though Headland did not anticipate people reading all the material, just “browsing” some of it.

A 20% increase in visitors to the sail Loft was achieved in 2007 through a marketing campaign of leafleting and advertising and the works to the sail Loft, with an annual visitor numbers rising from 11508 in 2006 to 13853 in 2007. If we consider this as the objective of the project we can compare this increase to the budget spent on the new materials with £40,000 delivering 2345 more visitors per annum. We probably shouldn't expect the new gallery displays to pay for themselves in the first year, and they certainly haven't with each extra visitor effectively costing £17.06, at a site where the profit per head stands at 19p. In the lifetime of these displays with profit per visitors of 19p the panels would need to draw in 210526 extra visitors before they broke even. It is therefore improbable that the gallery will ever recoup what has been spent on it, at least from the general public. In reality the gallery is meant more as a stepping stone to larger grants that have not yet been obtained.

The contents of the panels and style of delivery has barely changed but the centre does now have a veneer of professionalism in its appearance (Image 4.6). It conforms more to the expectations tourists will have from visiting other museums and heritage projects, as one visitor remarks:

“[I] liked it better before, more informal and friendly, now it's just like everywhere else.”

This comment from the 2007 surveys must be said to be atypical as response to the displays was about equally positive as it had been to the material it replaced since the previous year's surveys (see 4.3.5.2). It is in accordance though with the author's view of the new material based on theoretical literature on interpretation and exposure to other galleries at the case study sites. With delivering the conventional appearance of a heritage gallery as the main priority the panel contents are not all that important, resulting in panels that repeat information and ignore the artefact collection around them. The appearance of an interpretive gallery is only skin deep and dissolves when one attempts to read the panels. The overall thrust of the refurbishment of the

Sail Loft was to make it possible to market it to tourists and the coach operators who broker a portion of tourism, essentially by making it look like peoples' expectations, and so to increase visitor numbers and spend per head. The role of the interpretation on offer is to improve the appearance of the venue and so its role is decorative rather than interpretive, and the Trust has pursued greater profits through greater homogeneity rather than differentiation from its competitors.



Image 4.6: New panels at the Sail Loft.

4.2. Visitor Activity on Parys Mountain

This section presents the results of visitor observation activities carried out on Parys Mountain over the course of 12 months from July 2007 to June 2008. The goals of these visitor observations were first and foremost to provide an estimate of the annual number of visitors to Parys Mountain, something seen by the author as a crucial piece of information for making decisions on the future of the Copper Kingdom project. Visitor numbers were broken down into seasonal quarter to see how visitor levels were affected by seasonal changes in weather, levels of tourism to the region as a whole and also to see how the winter closures of the Sail Loft visitor centre impacted on the level of activity on the mountain. Although questions about what sorts of visitors came to the Copper Kingdom were mainly the preserve of the dual surveys detailed elsewhere, by dealing with a larger sample over a longer period the observations were also intended to provide useful data on group composition. In designing these quantitative sampling methods and later analysing the evidence to answer some of the research questions, some qualitative insights were used based on the researchers experience from spending time on the mountain whilst carrying out sampling and engaged in other research activities, and the insights gained from discussions with the volunteer mountain wardens and local people.

4.2.1. Visitor numbers derived from visitor group records:

This section uses the records of visitor groups to calculate for how many visitors were present on weekdays and weekends in each quarter. These averages were then multiplied by the number of days in the 3 month period to give an estimate of overall visitor numbers. Due to difficulty in reaching Amlwch on Sundays via bus it was necessary to assume a pattern of usage through the day not too dissimilar from that which occurred on weekdays and Saturdays. Hence the morning and late afternoon visitor levels for Sunday were inferred by assuming that the distribution of visits throughout the day was the same as had been observed on weekdays and Saturdays. Similarly it had to be assumed that Bank Holidays would see roughly the same number of

visitors as an average Saturday in the same quarter. It is arguable that Sundays would form a closer basis for factoring in Bank Holidays, but as the data for Saturdays was based on more observation sessions and influenced the figures for Sundays already treating Bank Holidays as Saturdays was considered to be the best of limited options.

To illustrate how these quarterly estimates were calculated the full process is shown for the first quarter of July-August 2007, the observation records for which are given in Table 4.5.

Average for Saturdays: $53+37+47 = 137$

Average Weekdays:

Mornings: $(24+41)/2 = 33$ (nearest whole person)

Early Afternoons: $(30+21)/2 = 26$ (nearest whole person)

Late Afternoons: $(34+15)/2 = 25$ (nearest whole person)

Weekdays July-August 2007 = $33+26+25 = 84$

Average Sundays: Early afternoon there were 33 visitors. On weekdays and Saturdays there were on average 101 visitors, with 29 (29%) in early afternoon. $33/0.29 = 110$ visitors on Sunday.

There was one Bank Holiday in this period which was counted as an extra Saturday for estimating overall visitor numbers.

Total visitor numbers estimate for this quarter:

The period was made up of 13 Saturdays (plus 1 Bank holiday), 14 Sundays and 64 weekdays.

Saturdays and Bank holidays: $14 \times 137 = 1918$

Sundays: $14 \times 110 = 1540$

Weekdays: $64 \times 84 = 5376$

Total = 8834

Table 4.5: Visitor observations July-August 2007

Date of observations	Day	Time	Vehicles in car park	Groups entering trail	Composition of groups			Total Visitors
					Adult Males	Adult Females	Children	
3.7.2007	Tuesday	9.00-1.00	15	12	15	8	1	24
14.7.2007	Saturday	1.00-4.00	16	14	17	14	6	37
22.7.2007	Sunday	1.00-4.00	20	14	13	16	4	33
23.7.2007	Monday	1.00-4.00	22	11	9	12	9	30
7.8.2007	Tuesday	9.00-1.00	19	20	17	12	12	41
14.8.2007	Tuesday	4.00-7.00	23	19	24	8	2	34
18.8.2007	Saturday	4.00-7.00	21	20	25	16	6	47
4.9.2007	Tuesday	1.00-4.00	19	11	9	11	1	21
10.9.2007	Monday	4.00-7.00	11	10	9	6	0	15
15.9.2007	Saturday	9.30-1.00	25	14	25	22	6	53

Using the same methodology numbers were calculated for each quarter giving a total of 20455 visits for the year and an overall pattern of usage as shown in Chart 4.1. The same procedures were used to calculate the numbers of males, females and children visiting in each quarter. The results show a marked seasonal variation in visitor numbers with the highest numbers being recorded in the July to September period. Visitor numbers were at their lowest from January to March 2008 which coincides with the closure of the Sail Loft centre from Christmas to Easter.

Chart 4.1: Visitor numbers by quarter divided by gender and child status

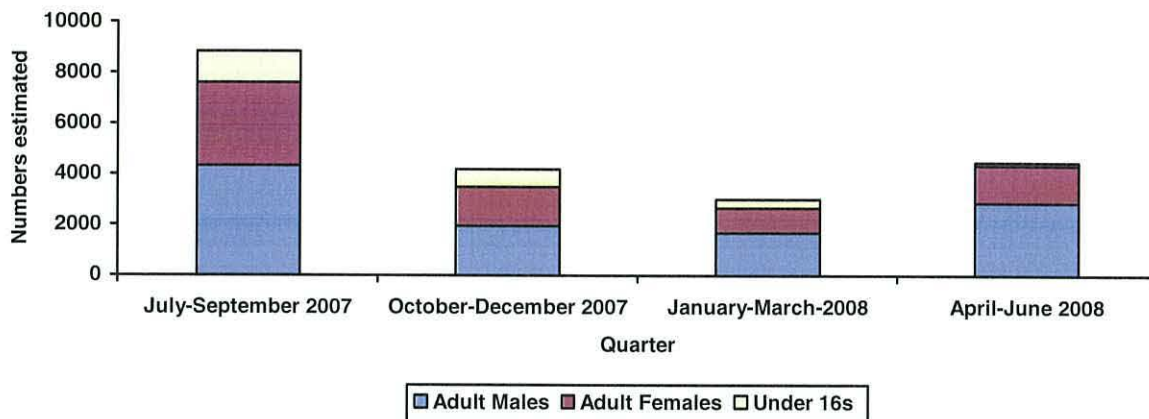


Table 4.6: Quarterly and annual visitor numbers estimates

Quarter	July-September 07	October-December 07	January-March 08	April-June 08	Total
Visitor numbers	8834	4146	3003	4472	20455
Percentage of annual visitor numbers	43%	20%	15%	22%	100%

4.2.2. Group Composition:

The visitor observations were used to supplement demographic evidence derived from the surveys. Visitor groups were noted in terms of adult males, adult females and children providing data on group compositions that was much cruder than that gathered in surveys (the notes were made from observation only and so could not use any age groups as was done in the surveys) but add a much larger sample size and also show seasonal differences that could not be discerned from the surveys which were all carried out in one quarter. Table 4.7 shows the quarterly numbers for each category of visitor and gives the average group composition in each quarter.

Men make up around 60% of the adult visitors to the mountain, a clear gender bias that conforms to expectations of industrial heritage sites but may also be indicative of who in the household is

Table 4.7: Composition of visitor groups

Quarter	Number of groups	Male adults (n)	Male adults (percentage of audience)	Female adults (n)	Female adults (percentage of audience)	Under 16s (n)	Under 16s (percentage of audience)	Average group
July-September 2007	145	163	49%	125	37%	47	14%	1.12 male adults, 0.86 female adults, 0.32 children
October-December 2007	54	62	47%	49	37%	22	17%	1.15 male adults, 0.91 female adults, 0.41 children
January-March 2008	53	60	56%	36	33%	12	11%	1.13 male adults, 0.68 female adults, 0.23 children
April-June 2008	80	107	64%	56	33%	5	3%	1.34 male adults, 0.7 female adults, 0.06 children
Overall	332	392	53%	266	36%	86	12%	1.18 male adults, 0.8 female adults, 0.26 children

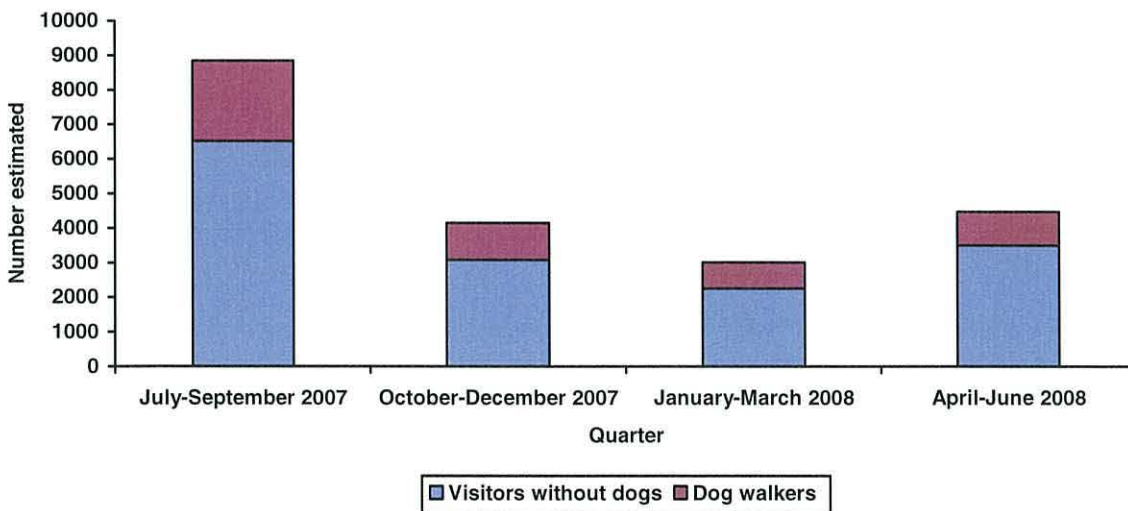
most likely to be given the task of walking the dog on a cold day. This is different to the gender balance suggested by the survey data, even for the same period of July September. The surveys indicated 45.7% male adult visitors and 54.3% female adult visitors. The much larger sample size means this data should be considered more accurate. One factor that may have made the difference is that the surveys were carried out in the peak season on days of ideal weather when the gender balance may be more equal than is usually the case. Children were excluded from the surveys on Parys Mountain and so the observation data here is the only evidence of this, and suggests about one in ten visitors is a child hence family groups on the mountain are not that common, even compared to the Sail Loft.

4.2.3. Dog walkers:

Groups that bring dogs to the mountain may be considered a segment of the audience less likely to purchase guided tours or other services and goods offered by the Copper Kingdom project.

Visitor numbers were recalculated excluding groups with dogs.

Chart 4.2: Visitor numbers by quarter with and without dog walkers



The estimate excluding dog walkers gives reduced annual visitor numbers of 15331.

Table 4.8: Quarterly and annual visitor numbers excluding dog walkers.

Quarter	July-September 07	October-December 07	January-March 08	April-June 08	Total
Visitor numbers	6510	3075	2256	3490	15331
Percentage of annual visitor numbers	42%	20%	15%	23%	100%

Discounting dog walkers eliminates roughly a quarter of visitors to the mountain but the real visitor numbers estimate remains well above the Parkin estimate and also above the number of visitors welcomed at the Sail Loft where visitor numbers in 2007 were 13853 (Source: AIHT). The two figures are however much closer than when dog walkers were accepted as valid visits, and if the visitor figures for January- March 2008 when the Sail Loft was closed are deducted so that the two sites are only compared on the basis of periods when they were both open to the public Parys mountain records 13075 visitors compared to the Sail Loft's 13853. It was thought that locals who regularly used the mountain for dog walking might be the only visitors seen during the winter months but the seasonal proportions of visitors are the same throughout the year whether dog walkers are included or not. The assumption that most the visitors in winter are locals walking their dogs is not borne out by the evidence and even through the winter there are at least 700 visitors per month even after all dog walkers are discounted. This second estimate of visitor numbers does confirm that visiting to the mountain has seasonal variations.

It can be seen that whether or not dog walkers are interpreted as real visitors makes a significant difference to visitor numbers. In favour of their inclusion are some qualitative observations and theoretical ideas: eight of the people surveyed on the mountain had dogs with them of whom two stated they were locals who regularly brought their dogs to Mynydd Parys, while the other six

were holiday makers. Just under 20% of UK residents own a dog and one of the benefits of internal holidays is that it is much easier to bring the family pet along, particularly to a destination such as Anglesey where there is a lot to do outdoors (BBC 2005). On the other hand dog walkers are not the sort of visitors whose activity can easily be made to provide some income for the project as their spend per head is very low.

4.2.4. Visitors per car:

The research task would have been much simpler if the car park under observation was solely used to park vehicles carrying people interested in the mountain and walking the heritage trail around it but the reality was more complicated. As a sizable free entry car park on the road between Amlwch and Rhosybol the car park was often used by locals as a place to meet or take rest and lunch breaks and occasionally a place to leave vehicles overnight. This meant that a simple count of vehicles would not give a reliable estimate of visitor numbers to the mountain if defined as a heritage attraction. Therefore only groups that left their vehicles and walked past the gate to the south of the car park marking the start of the heritage trail were recorded.

Comparison of the number of groups with the number of vehicles (Table 4.5) shows that they are rarely equal in any sampling session with the number of vehicles usually higher. Several factors cause this discrepancy:

- Non visitors parking up to meet people, have lunch, read maps etc.
- Visitor groups arriving in more than one vehicle. In some sampling sessions large tour groups were being guided around the mount by the wardens resulting in a single very large group arriving in many different cars.
- Groups not arriving by car or parked elsewhere.

The total numbers of groups and vehicles per quarter were calculated from the observations using the procedures described previously.

Table 4.9: Visitors per vehicle

Quarter	July-September 2007	October-December 2007	January-March 2008	April- June 2008	Total
Number of groups ¹	3841	1679	1472	2130	9132
Number of vehicles	5306	1919	2004	2875	12104
'Real' visitors per vehicle (excludes dog walkers)	1.67	2.16	1.5	1.56	1.69

The visitor per vehicle figures in Table 4.9 may be of value to the project in the future as they allow visitor numbers to be monitored just by counting cars and applying a seasonally variable multiplier which is much easier to do (either by volunteers or staff observing them or through the use of pressure pads or other devices) than counting actual visitors. The figures though should be corroborated and updated occasionally to ensure their accuracy as usage of the car park changes, hopefully shifting towards more real visitors per vehicle in the years to come as the project progresses.

Arguably those who never leave the car park may be choosing this as a spot to rest because of its views of part of the mountain and across the landscape of North Anglesey, with Wylfa Head and Amlwch visible and a good chance of seeing shipping travelling to and from Liverpool. From the perspective of this research, though, these non-visitors represent a missed opportunity and a market the Copper Kingdom project could easily tap into but is failing to do so. Many might be locals well aware of the mountains views and historic structures and with no interest in seeing it at the time they visit, but they should still be reached out to. More seriously, during the observations it was fairly common to see groups park up and investigate the information signage in the car park, observe the warden's cabin closed, get back in their vehicles and leave. Such cases represent the failure of the project to welcome and encourage those curious about the site but not yet committed to exploring it. The report Interpretation plan for replacing the Parys

¹ Based on first visitor number estimate (including dog walkers) divided by average group size.

Mountain car park sign included in Appendix 2 outlines further the need to improve the welcome on offer at this key site in the Copper Kingdom landscape, while the data here testifies to the size of the potential audience that might be reached by some low cost improvements.

4.2.5. Visit duration

Given the layout of the mountain trail and the location of the viewing platform near its start it was possible to estimate how long visitors typically spent on the mountain. Using the photographic records an example of which is given below each vehicle was checked across successive photographs to determine how long each stayed. From this it was possible to infer what proportion of visitors only went to the viewing platform over the great opencast and then came back and what proportion completed all or most of the trail. This would have implications for where the need to develop and improve the trail was greatest.

Photographic records that did not record the arrival and/or departure of the vehicle (because the vehicle was present at the start of a sampling session or at the end of one) were excluded as incomplete. Also cars appearing in one photo only were discounted as being present for less than 15 minutes they could not reasonably have “viewed” the site. Table 4.10 shows how many cases were included and excluded.

Example Photographic records from 23/7/2007:



1. 10.00am. Five vehicles are present.



2: 10.15 am. 2 new vehicles have arrived (a white van and a red car) while one from the previous photograph is leaving. Another car that can be seen is on the road driving past, not using the car park.



3: 10.30am. One new vehicle (a silver car) has arrived.

Table 4.10: Data set for visit durations based on length of stay of vehicles.

Quarter	July-September 07	October-December 07	January-March 08	April-June 08	Total
Incomplete records	102	39	29	44	214
Vehicles in 1 photo only	27	9	17	30	83
Valid records	62	34	23	31	150
Total vehicles counted	191	82	69	105	447

Chart 4.3: Visit durations

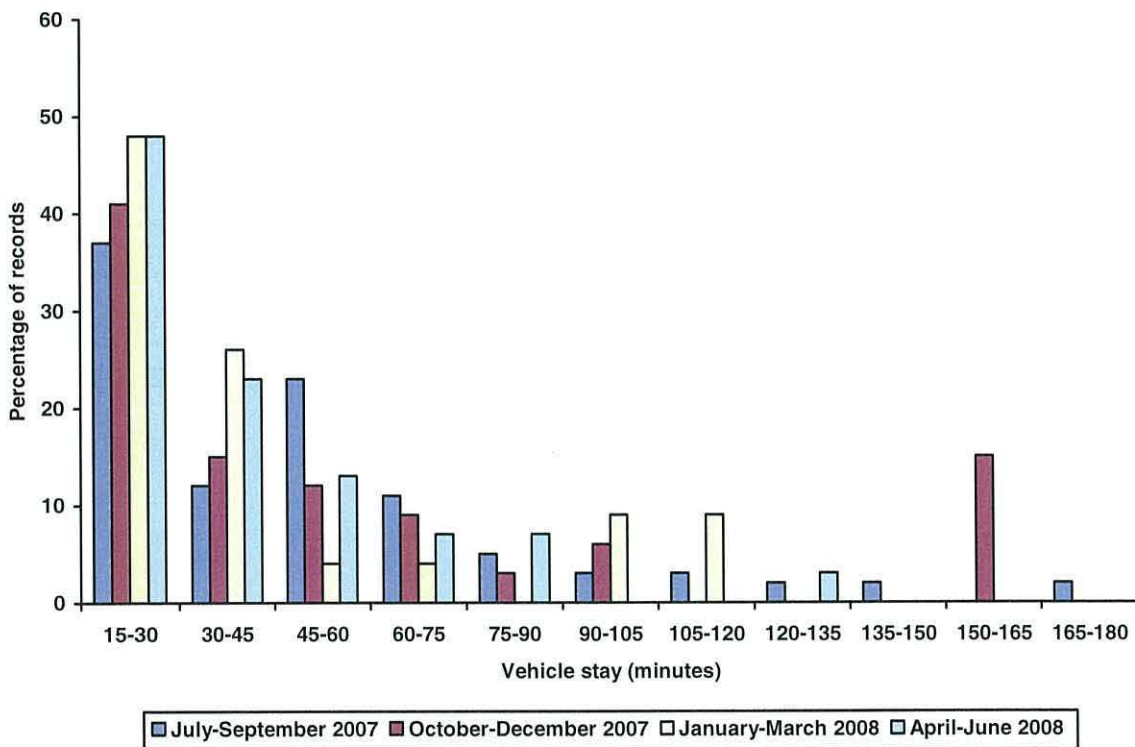


Chart 4.3 shows that visitors present for over an hour are in the minority so it is possible that more visitors walk to the viewing platform and then return than follow the whole circular trail around the mountain which would take at least an hour at normal walking speed. However, due

to lack of resources it was not possible to link specific vehicles to groups recorded on the trail and the lack of this data unfortunately means that these results must be treated with caution. Many of the vehicles not containing any real visitors are included in these results though some would have been eliminated by excluding those only present in one photo. A further problem is that as the sampling windows were generally only 3 hours long there is a bias against long visits as these are more likely to fall partly outside the observation session and be excluded, and no strong explanation can be offered for the long stays of 150-165 minutes observed in October-December but not in other quarters. In summary the data gathered has limited value in answering questions about how long visitors spend on the mountain and how much of the trail they typically use.

4.2.6. Misuse of the car park

Finally it should be noted that the researcher's regular presence on the mountain created many opportunities to meet with local people, tourists and the mountain wardens providing qualitative insights into activities and events on the mountain. As well as hearing a lot of interesting comments on what drew people to the mountain it was also made apparent by the wardens that a certain amount of illegal activity occurs on the mountain, which in spite of considerable efforts they can only reduce and cannot stop. The mountain wardens are part time volunteers with other jobs and businesses and, being few in number, they can only intervene on occasion. In spite of their efforts fly tipping still occurs on the mountain. The presence of used condoms in the car park is a nuisance that may offend some visitors particularly those with children. Much more serious but also much rarer is the occasional discovery by wardens of used needles in the car park. This kind of activity is thus a danger to the appearance of the site and hence to the quality of the visitor experience, and in some cases is a real danger to the visitor's well being. CCTV is an obvious practical option to help deter such activities, in the car park, but more generally, it should be noted that the aims of the Copper Kingdom Project, if met, will lead to better support from the local community, more members and support for the volunteer wardens organisations and a generally busier site therefore reducing illegal activity at Parys mountain.

4.2.7. Conclusions

The results are highly significant as they overturn the assumption made since the earliest days of the Copper Kingdom Project that the port where the Sail Loft is located is more popular and has more potential as a tourist attraction than Parys Mountain. Parkin's draft business plan recorded an estimate of 5000 visitors per annum in 2005 and this has gone unchallenged so that during the assessment of the lottery bid withdrawn in 2008 the reported balance of 13,000 visitors to the Sail Loft and 5000 to Mynydd Parys was treated as fact and it was stated "there are considerably less visitors to the area with a most dramatic landscape, on which the whole industrial heritage of the area depends", before discussing how the project needs to address this under use of the mountain through transport links and interpretation (Marjoram 2008). These observations show that it is more true to say that interest is greater in the dramatic landscape and more needs to be done to persuade people to make use of the indoor museum experience on offer in the port which lottery bids have focussed on expanding. Visitor numbers are seasonal as would be expected of an outdoor experience in North Wales but do not drop off entirely during the winter and there was not one observation session when in three hours fewer than four visitors were recorded, even though sampling often occurred during weather that could be expected to dissuade anyone from walking up the mountain. Dog walkers were found to form a minority of visitors that consistently delivers about a quarter of all visits whatever the season. Winter visitor numbers were lower after Christmas when the Sail Loft visitor centre closed until Easter suggesting a supportive relationship between the museum experience and the outdoor trail experience which is explored more fully in the next section.

4.3. Survey results 2007

This section presents the results of the visitor surveys conducted from July to September in 2007.

The objectives of the dual surveys were to:

- a) Determine to what extent the Sail Loft and Parys Mountain share an audience or attract separate audiences and how the two audiences differ.
- b) Provide a basis for segmenting the current audience and characterising the key blocks of visitors.
- c) Provide feedback and guidance for interpretive activity within the Copper Kingdom project.

4.3.1. Sharing of visitors between the two sites.

Table 4.11: Respondents who have previously visited the other site

Been to other site	Sail Loft (have been to Parys Mountain)		Parys Mountain (have been to the Sail Loft)		Chi Square Value(with Continuity correction)	P-Value (with Continuity correction)
	N	Percentage (of valid)	N	Percentage (of valid)		
Yes	62	53.4	38	35.5	6.531	.011
No	54	46.6	69	64.5		

Note: 4 cases with missing data (all from the Sail Loft) have been excluded to allow for a chi square test (a chi square test will not be valid if more than 20% of cells have expected counts below 5).

Tables 4.11 and 4.12 both indicate that the proportion of Sail Loft visitors who also visit the Mountain is higher than the proportion of visitors to the Mountain who also visit the Sail Loft. In both cases the Chi Square test gives a P value below 0.05 indicating the results are statistically significant. In other words, the rate of referral from the mountain to the Port is significantly lower than the rate of referral in the opposite direction.

Table 4.12: Respondents intention to visit the other site

Intend to visit other site	Sail Loft(intend to visit Parys Mountain)		Parys Mountain (intend to visit the Sail Loft)		Chi Squared (with continuity correction)	P value (with continuity correction)
	N	Percentage (of valid)	N	Percentage (of valid)		
Yes	81	78.6	38	52.8	111.128	0.001
No	22	21.4	34	47.2		

Note: 9 respondents (all at Parys Mountain) who responded “Maybe” have been excluded to allow for a Chi-Square test (a chi square test will not be valid if more than 20% of cells have expected counts below 5). 42 Other cases with missing data have been excluded.

From the data in tables 4.13 and 4.14 it is possible to work out the degree of audience overlap and also the relative sizes of the two audiences, though this calculation will be based on the assumption that the pattern of audience sharing during the period when the surveys were carried out is reflective of the overall picture throughout the year. In support of this assumption is the evidence from the previous section which showed that July-September is the busiest quarter of the year on Parys Mountain, seeing 43% of annual visits. Against the assumption though is that the fact that Sail Loft was closed from January to Easter in 2008 meaning that for one whole quarter only one of the twinned sites was receiving visitors.

Table 4.13: Sail Loft visitors’ usage of Parys Mountain (cases: 103)

	Have been to Parys Mountain Previously		Have not been Previously	
	N	Percentage	N	Percentage
Intend to visit Parys Mountain in the near future	48	40%	33	27.5%
Do not intend to visit Parys Mountain in the near future	9	7.5%	13	10.8%

Table 4.14: Parys Mountain Visitors usage of the Sail Loft (cases:72)

	Have been to the Sail Loft Previously		Have not been Previously	
	N	Percentage	N	Percentage
Intend to visit the Sail Loft in the near future	12	11.2%	26	24.3%
Do not intend to visit the Sail Loft in the near future	1	0.9%	33	30.8%

To calculate the overlap it was necessary to determine what proportion of visitors to the Sail Loft also visited the mountain and vice versa. The only problematic figures from tables 4.13 and 4.14 are those for visitors who have been to the alternate site previously but do not intend to visit again. It is impossible to determine from the survey responses whether these respondents visited the other site recently or years earlier, although it is possible to determine if they were repeat visitors at the site where they were surveyed. If they were first time visitors it is assumed that their visit to the other location was recent whereas if they are repeat visitors they are disregarded as their visit to the other site may not be closely related to their visits to the site where they were surveyed. Of the 9 such cases at the Sail Loft, 5 were first time visitors while the 1 case at Parys Mountain was a recent repeat visitor living locally and so is disregarded.

Of 103 Sail Loft visitors, the number that also used the mountain = $33+48+5 = 86$

Hence 83.5% of Sail Loft visitors are also visitors to Parys Mountain.

Of 72 Parys Mountain visitors, the number that also used the Sail Loft = $26+12 = 38$

Hence 52.7% of Parys Mountain visitors are also visitors to the Sail Loft.

Applying Sail Loft's visitor numbers to Parys Mountain's audience composition to obtain Parys Mountain's annual visitor numbers:

In 2007 the Sail Loft had 13853 visitors. If it is assumed (on the basis of the above) that 83.5% were also Parys Mountain visitors, then the calculated number of Sail Loft visitors to the mountain is $0.835 \times 13853 = 11567$ (nearest whole person)

This leaves 2286 Sail Loft visitors who did not visit Parys Mountain.

Assuming this figure to be correct, the 11567 from the Sail Loft represent 52.7% of overall visitors to Parys Mountain that year, as this is the proportion of survey respondents at the Mountain who were also Sail Loft users.

Let $X = 100\%$ of Parys Mountain visitors.

$$11567 = 0.527 \times X$$

$$\text{Therefore } 11567 / 0.527 = X$$

$$\text{Total Parys Mountain Visitors} = 21949 \text{ (nearest whole person)}$$

$$\text{The number of persons who visited the Mountain but not the Sail Loft} = 21949 - 11567 = 10382$$

Overall Visitor figures for 2007 from survey data:

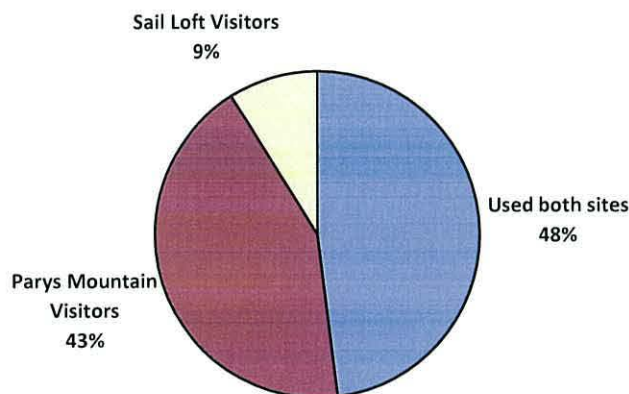
24235 total visitors to Copper Kingdom in 2007.

2286 Sail Loft Visitors (Sail Loft only) (9% of Copper Kingdom Visitors)

10382 Parys Mountain Visitors (Parys Mountain only) (43% of Copper Kingdom Visitors)

11567 visitors who used both sites (48% of Copper Kingdom Visitors)

Chart 4.4: Usage of Copper Kingdom sites



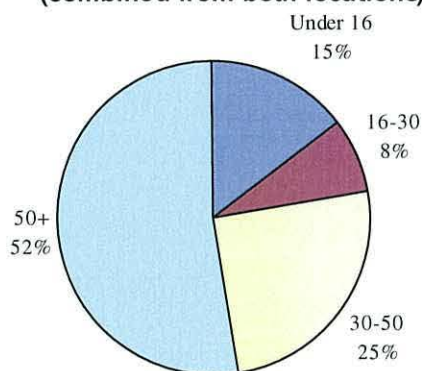
This provides a picture of visitor activity very different to that which has been assumed in the AIHT's planning, most conspicuously in the visitor numbers on the mountain which are well beyond the 5000 per annum estimated in Parkin. There is a large shared audience using both sites, and then another almost equal cohort that visits Parys Mountain only, while in the tourist season at least relatively few people visit the Sail Loft but do not also go and see the mountain. One possible explanation is that the mountain landscape has greater appeal than the gallery experience offered at the Sail Loft, especially during the summer. Another is the inequality of information available at the two sites. While the Sail Loft was full of photographs of the mountain and information that would encourage visitors to go there, there was no advertising for the Port or the Sail Loft on the mountain except on days when the cabin was manned. When this was the case leaflets were available and the Mountain guides could give directions to the Sail Loft, though selling their own guided tour service would have been a higher priority. In fact it should be noted that in some interviews on Parys Mountain when the participants were asked if they had been or intended to visit the Sail Loft it became apparent they were unaware of the existence of the Sail loft Visitor centre or, less commonly, aware of it without realising it contained an exhibition related to Parys Mountain. This was an instance of the survey impacting on results as it was necessary to explain what the Sail Loft was, and in some cases provide directions on visiting it, so that amongst Parys Mountain visitors not participating in the survey usage of the Sail Loft may be less than is reported here.

The large number of visitors to Parys Mountain who did not visit the Sail Loft represent a lot of missed revenue for the AIHT, however current development plans include no possibility of providing retail or catering on the mountain. The Interpretation plan for replacing the Parys Mountain car park sign included in Appendix 2 has as its main objective the improvement of the rate of referral of visitors from mountain to port. It may be the case however that rather than a lack of awareness of the Sail Loft inhibiting visiting to it, there are fundamental differences between those who visit the local museum and are motivated by it to go to the mountain and those who go directly to the mountain. The analysis turns therefore to the demographic profile of visitors and comparison of the types of visitors present at each site.

4.3.2. Visitor demographics

When conducting the surveys it soon became clear that children on the mountain were unlikely to contradict the answers given by their parents or guardians to the interview questions or want to participate in a survey in the first place. It was decided therefore to exclude this age group from the exercise, though there was 1 case of an under 16 participant at the mountain which came from the self completion questionnaires in the cabin. Data from the mountain observation project for the quarter July-September 2007 was used instead to give a percentage of under 16s amongst mountain visitors.

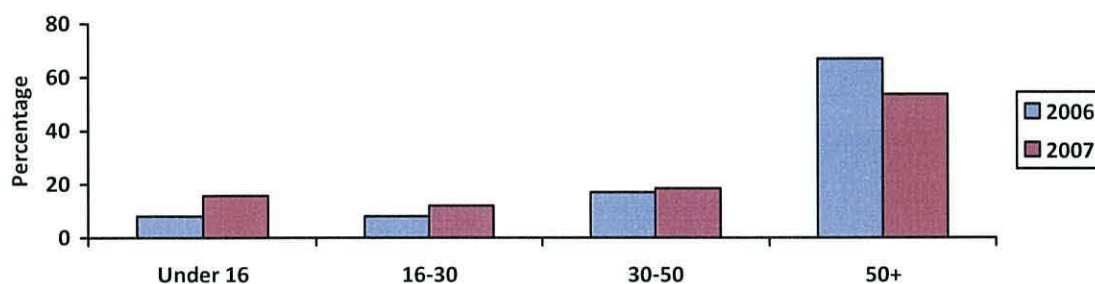
**Chart 4.5: Age groups of Copper Kingdom Visitors
(combined from both locations)**



The demographic data from the 2007 surveys at the Sail Loft was compared to data from the 2006 surveys at the Sail Loft (see report in Appendix 2) to see if there had been any change.

While the gender balance (see commentary on gender) and the proportion of Welsh speakers (about 5% both times) both remained basically static from 2006 to 2007 there was a slight shift towards younger age groups, indicating a greater number of family groups at the visitor centre, possibly as a result of marketing efforts under the Interreg programme. Note that roughly the same proportion of children were observed at Parys Mountain (chart 4.1 in 4.2.1) suggesting that both sites are about equally family friendly though the age groups on Parys Mountain in 2006 are unknown.

Chart 4.6: Change in age balance at Sail Loft 2006-2007



It remains the case that most visitors are over 50 at both sites. Tables 4.15 and 4.16 show there is a statistically significant difference in the spread of age groups between the two sites that becomes more pronounced when comparing the group that only visits the mountain to that which visits both sites.

Table 4.15: Age groups of adult visitors to the two sites

Age Group	Sail Loft respondents		Parys Mountain respondents		Chi squared	P Value
	N	Percentage	N	Percentage		
16-30	14	12.7%	5	3.4%	8.986	0.011
30-50	21	19.1%	39	31.8%		
50+	58	52.7%	62	50.7%		

Table 4.16 : Age groups of adult visitors to both sites or just mountain

Age Group	Visited both sites		Parys Mountain only		Chi squared	P Value
	N	Percentage	N	Percentage		
16-30	10	10%	1	3%	11.898	0.003
30-50	30	29%	21	62%		
50+	63	61%	12	35%		

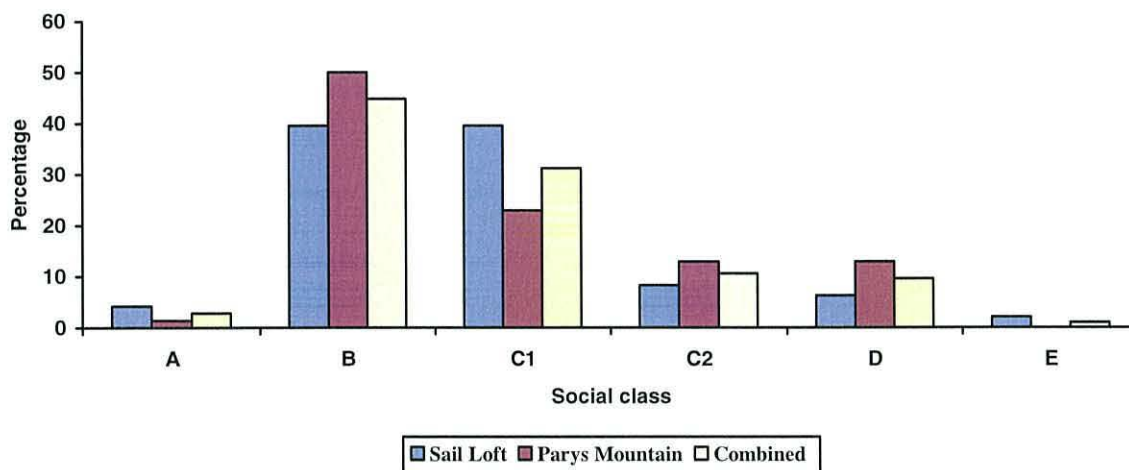
The 16-30 age group is more common at the Sail Loft but remains a minority throughout the Copper Kingdom, though this is by no means unusual for a heritage attraction. At least one heritage consultancy has come to advocate ignoring 16-30 year olds on the grounds that even marketing programmes catering specifically to them rarely attract enough interest to justify the resources used (Red Kite Environment 2007). The real difference is the greater prevalence of over 50s using both sites compared to the Parys Mountain only visitors. The age groups used in this survey are very broad, and were inherited from the 2006 survey for the sake of consistency and comparison where a more detailed breakdown particularly of the over 50s might be more useful. For those well over 50 the Sail Loft is a much more hospitable site as elderly people may view Parys Mountain as physically challenging in its current state (see report on access improvements in Appendix 2).

There is a slight imbalance in favour of female visitors at the Sail Loft (Table 4.17) which has not altered markedly from 2006 when surveys measured an audience that was 37% male and 63% female. On the mountain the imbalance was less pronounced but the slight difference shown in the surveys is not statistically significant. The separate project to monitor visitor numbers and group composition on the mountain (4.2) showed an imbalance in favour of men amongst visitors to the Mountain with a much larger sample size than this survey, showing 57% of adult visitors to the mountain were men during the period July to September 2007.

Table 4.17: Comparison of Gender Balance at Copper Kingdom sites

Gender	Sail Loft		Parys Mountain		Chi Square	P value	Combined	
	N	Percentage (of valid)	N	Percentage (of valid)			N	Percentage (of valid)
Male	35	38.6	48	45.9	0.923	0.337	83	42.25
Female	55	61.4	57	54.1			112	57.75
No data	30		2				32	

Chart 4.7: NRS social classes of respondents



As is normally the case with heritage visitor attractions the vast majority of visitors come from the top half of the social scale (Chart 4.7). 45% of adults of working age in Amlwch are long term unemployed in social class E and according to this survey evidence these people are not accessing their local heritage resources at all. Lower car ownership amongst this class may be a factor as public transport directly to and from the Mountain is poor. Wealthier social classes can more easily afford to take holidays and so we might expect a greater incidence of Bs and C1s

amongst respondents on holiday in the area than amongst those who live in the area, so that these classes are less dominant outside of the holiday season when the surveys were carried out.

Because only 118 of the respondents could be categorized into an NRS class with any confidence and the number of non-holiday makers within this group is fairly small, we cannot be too precise about the gradations of social class and must draw a binary distinction between the upper class ABC1s and the lower class C2Des (Table 4.18).

Table 4.18: Comparison of social class (upper or lower) to whether visitors travelled from home or from holiday accommodation.

NRS class	Travelled from home		Travelled from holiday accommodation		Chi Square (with continuity correction)	P value (with continuity correction)
	N	Percentage	N	Percentage		
ABC1	18	67%	71	82%	1.885	0.170
C2DE	9	33%	16	18%		

Table 4.18 shows that while the balance of classes is slightly closer to parity amongst local visitors than holiday makers the difference is not significant. Table 4.19 shows that there is also no major difference in class between visitors at the Mountain and at the Sail Loft.

Table 4.19: Comparison of social class (upper or lower) and visiting to either site.

NRS class	Sail Loft		Parys Mountain		Chi Square (with continuity correction)	P value (with continuity correction)
	N	Percentage	N	Percentage		
ABC1	40	83%	52	74%	0.881	0.348
C2DE	8	17%	18	26%		

Retired people made up 33% of the Copper Kingdom's visitors and though slightly more common at the Sail Loft there was no significant difference between the two sites in this regard as shown in table 4.20.

Table 4.20: Numbers of retired visitors at Copper Kingdom sites

Retirement	Sail Loft		Parys Mountain		Chi squared (with continuity correction)	P Value (with continuity correction)	Combined	
	N	Percentage	N	Percentage			N	Percentage
Retired	36	36.4	31	29.8	0.710	0.399	67	33
Pre-retirement	63	63.6	73	70.2			13	67
No data	21		3				24	

From this demographic data it can be concluded that the Copper Kingdom audience is middle class and beyond middle aged with a slightly higher ratio of female to male visitors during the tourist season. This picture is true across both sites with the only significant difference being that the block of visitors that only uses the mountain is younger than the average Copper Kingdom Visitor. The next section considers where visits originate from, whether they are made by local people or by holiday makers and if this is also uniform across the two sites.

4.3.3. Local and tourist usage

Chart 4.8: Origin of visits- home or holiday accomodation?

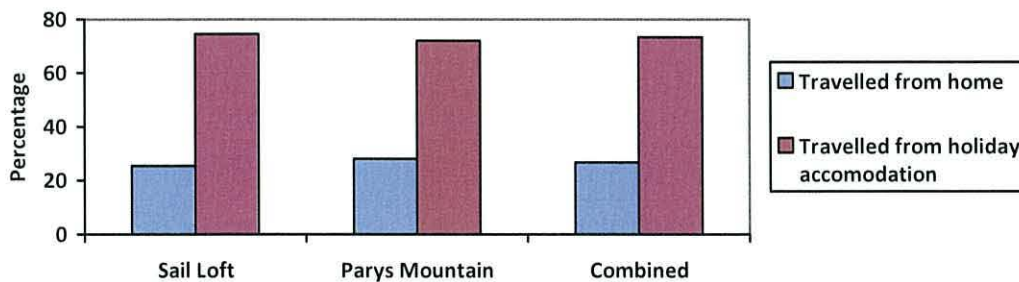


Chart 4.9: Visitor drive time

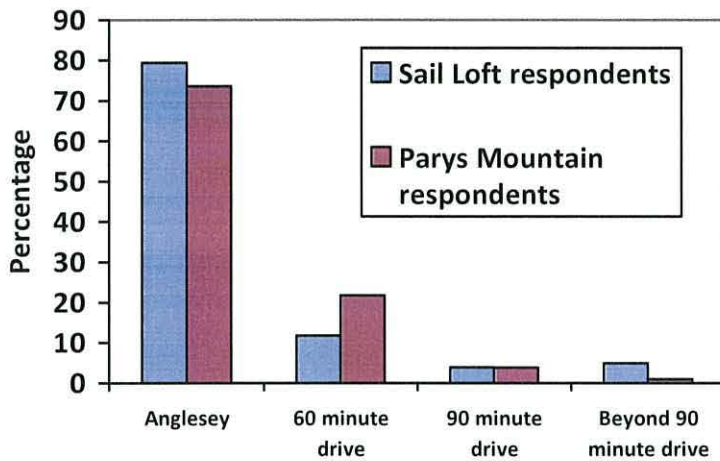


Chart 4.8 shows that at both sites a substantial majority of respondents were staying in holiday accommodation, while Chart 4.9 shows that most visitors had travelled from a location on Anglesey on the day of their visit, though there were more who had driven from the mainland on the Mountain than there were in the port. Taken together the two tables demonstrate that most visitors are sourced from holiday accommodation on Anglesey during the peak season. Visitor responses to the question “Where have you travelled from to visit [the Sail Loft/ Parys Mountain] today?” confirm this impression. Of 118 holidaymakers staying on Anglesey (drawn from both surveys):

19% are staying in the immediate area of the Copper Kingdom Landscape (Amlwch, Bull Bay, Llaneilian and the Point Lynas caravan park, Pen y Sarn and Dulas.)

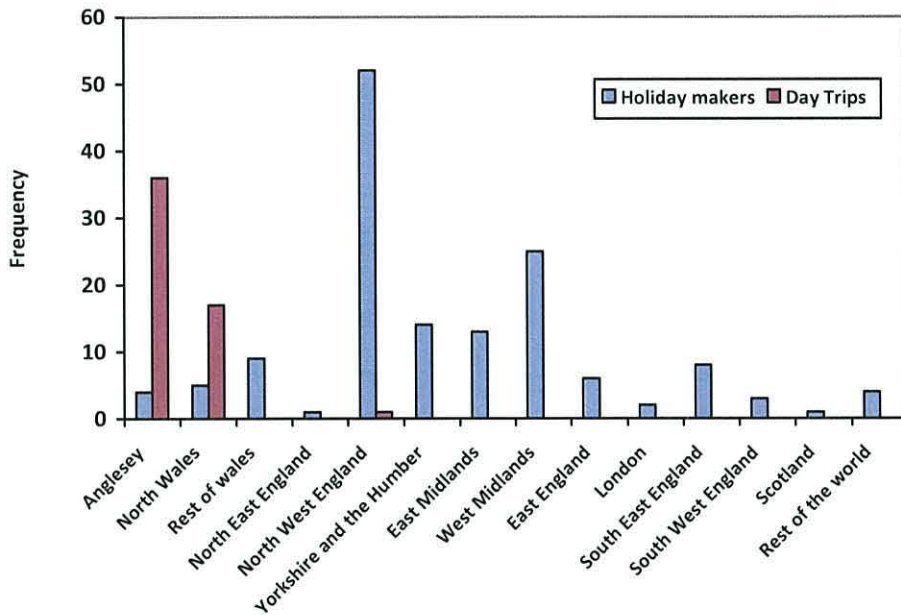
33% are staying in and around Benllech, where much of the Island’s caravan accommodation is concentrated (Benllech, Marian Glas, Red Wharf Bay, Bryn Teg and Traeth Bychan.)

59% are in North East Anglesey, either in the two areas listed above or in the intervening area around Moelfre which adds another 7%. They are therefore typically within less than 20 minutes drive time of either key site.

The other major concentration was on Holy Island, another hub of caravanning and camping, and nearby parts of West Anglesey (such as Bodedern and Valley) accounting for 24% of visitors, most of whom would have travelled across the north of the Island along the A5025.

Chart 4.10 shows where visitors live and separates holiday makers from “day trippers” who travelled from their home address on the day they visited. Unsurprisingly North West England is shown to be the main supplier of tourists to Anglesey’s B&Bs and caravan parks, as well as the most distant point anyone drove from home to see the sites.

Chart 4.10: Home regions of holiday makers and day trips



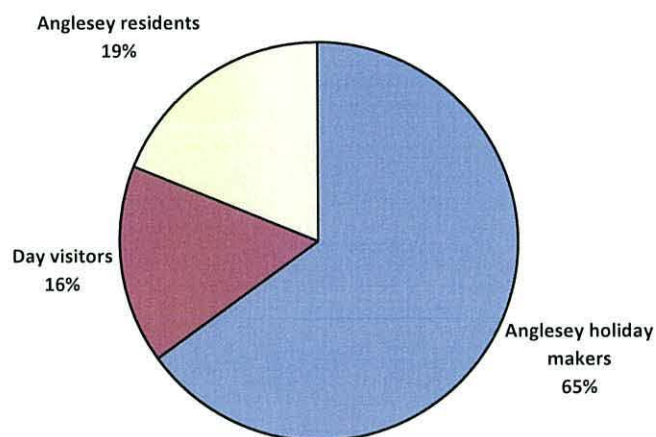
The minority who were on a day trip starting from home rather than in holiday accommodation may represent the local community using the facilities of the Sail Loft and Mountain, but there is a notable difference between the two sites as shown in table 4.21 that these “day trippers” are drawn from a wider area at the Mountain than at the Sail Loft, with more people travelling from mainland North Wales.

Table 4.21: Comparison of 'day trip' visitors- living on or off Anglesey.

	Sail Loft visitors		Parys Mountain Visitors		Chi Square (with continuity correction)	P value (with continuity correction)
	N	Percentage	N	Percentage		
Live on Anglesey	20	83%	15	50%	5.117	0.024
Live on Mainland	4	17%	15	50%		

The survey respondents from summer 2007 can be divided into 3 categories in order to assess how the Copper Kingdom fits in with the overall picture of tourism on Anglesey. These are Anglesey holiday makers, day trippers and Anglesey residents. Anglesey holiday makers are the minority of visitor to the island who stay overnight in holiday accommodation while day visitors are those who travel to the island from homes elsewhere or from holiday accommodation in mainland North Wales. STEAM data (see table 1.4 in 1.3.2) gives an average of 1078000 visitors per year to the island of whom 4% stay overnight while the rest are day visitors.

Chart 4.11: 2007 Copper Kingdom audience characterised by holiday type



These findings can be compared to the overall pattern of tourism to Anglesey. The respondents to the 2007 surveys show that the Copper Kingdom audience is largely derived from the holiday accommodation on the island. This group contributed 15753 visitors in 2007 when an estimated 43120 people stayed overnight on the island (IACC website). Penetration of this market therefore stands at 37%, so there is still room for growth in visitors to the Copper Kingdom from the B&Bs and caravan parks. On the less positive side this is a market considered to be in long term decline (see 1.3) and so the current reliance on it may become a weakness of the project.

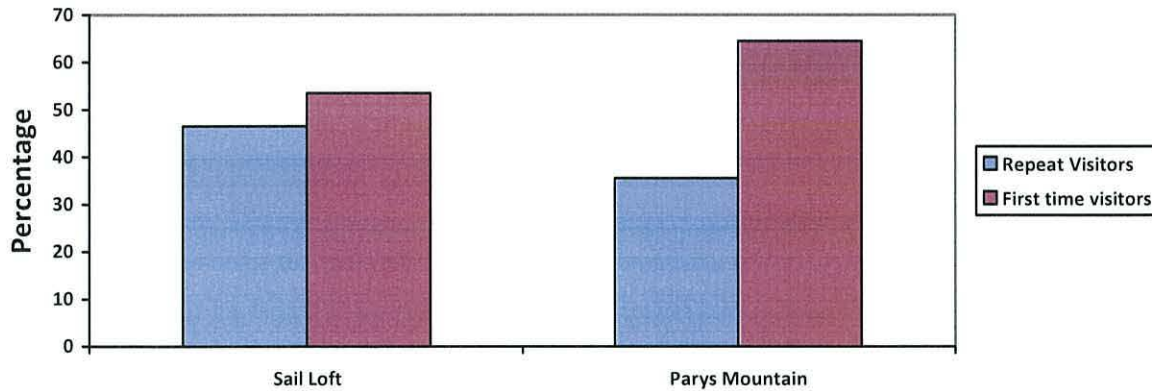
Audience penetration is considerably lower when looking at the much larger number of tourists who visit the island for the day only. These make up 16% of Copper Kingdom visitors or 3878 of the year's 24235 visitors. This forms a meagre 0.4% of the 1034880 day trips to the island. Given Amlwch's position on the north east of the island, a long drive from the concentration of tourism along the Menai Straits, the offer to visitors would need to be strengthened considerably to attract more of this large market.

The Sail Loft visitor figures from which these estimates are calculated are based on number of visits rather than number of visitors and so it is not necessarily the case that 4605 Anglesey residents (19% of estimated visits), visit each year as multiple visits by the same person will be counted each time. The next section considers the level of repeat visiting in the Copper Kingdom.

4.3.4. Repeat visiting.

At both sites respondents were asked if they had ever visited the site before and as chart 4.12 shows repeat visits made a substantial contribution at both sites. Repeat visitors were more common at the sail Loft though the difference between the two sites is not great enough to be statistically significant.

Chart 4.12: Percentage of first time and repeat visiting at the two sites.
Chi-squared = 2.311, P-Value = 0.128



Both sites have their own clientele of local regulars, with the café customers at the Sail Loft and the dog walkers at the mountain. Locals do not account for all repeat visiting though and the destination lifecycle model would lead us to expect many holiday makers on Anglesey, a decades old tourist destination, to be annual regulars who given the age profile and occupation data recorded may own caravans and second homes on the island. Table 4.22 shows that first time visitors are more likely to be holiday makers, though these are not necessarily new to the island just to Amlwch and Parys Mountain, as suggested by some of the answers visitors gave when asked what had motivated them to visit such as:

“Have been to Anglesey frequently but never come here before so something new.”

“Been to Anglesey before but only looked at the coast so now exploring in land.”

Table 4.22: Cross tabulation of repeat visiting and holiday making

Visit type	Repeat visitor		First time visitor		Chi Squared (with continuity correction)	P Value (with continuity correction)
	N	Percentage	N	Percentage		
Travelled from home	39	45%	17	14%	23.823	0.000
Travelled from holiday accommodation	48	55%	107	86%		

First time visitors are less likely to visit both sites than repeat visitors who have more experience of the area, as shown in table 4.23, while repeat visitors last previous visit tends to be more recent at the Sail Loft as shown in chart 4.13, though the difference is not statistically significant. This suggests that here it is regular café customers making up the repeat visits while a visit to Parys Mountain is a much less regular event perhaps more likely to be made while visiting Anglesey rather than living on it. Chart 4.14 confirms that the repeat visitors from more than a year past are usually holiday makers and the difference is statistically significant.

Table 4.23: Cross tabulation of repeat visiting and sites visited

Visit type	Repeat visitor		First time visitor		Chi Squared	P Value
	N	Percentage	N	Percentage		
Visited both sites	62	82%	61	63%	8.108	0.017
Visited Parys Mountain only	8	11%	26	27%		
Visited Sail Loft only	6	8%	10	10%		

Chart 4.13: Times of Repeat visitors' Last previous visits by location.
 Chi Squared = 3.143, P-Value = 0.543

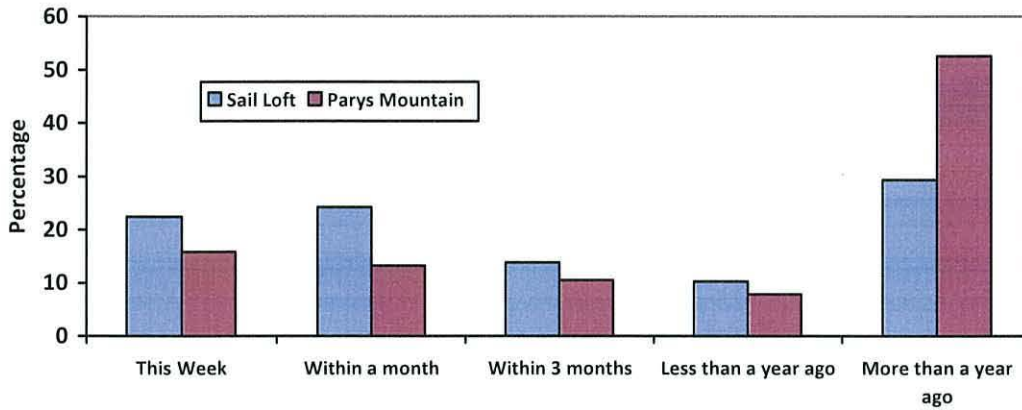
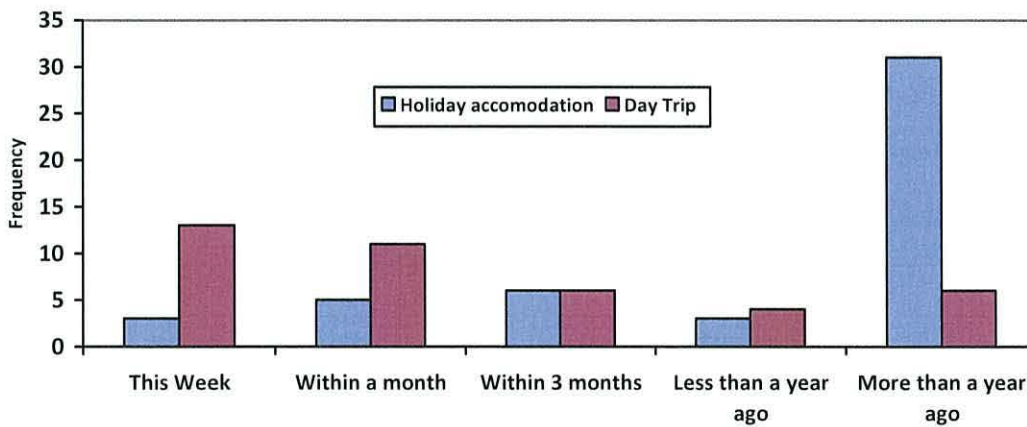


Chart 4.14: Last previous visit of holiday makers and day trips. Chi Squared = 25.014, P-value = 0.000



Finally Table 4.24 examines the link between age group and repeat visiting, and shows no statistically significant relationship but recording a higher ratio of repeat visitors in the oldest age band.

Table 4.24: Repeat visiting by adult age group

Age group	Repeat visitor		First time visitor		Chi Squared	P Value
	N	Percentage	N	Percentage		
16-30	10	12%	9	8%	3.759	0.153
30-50	19	23%	40	35%		
50+	54	65%	65	57%		

Anglesey is an ‘old’ tourist destination in terms of the destination lifecycle with many of what Plog would term “psychocentric” visitors who return year after year. What the repeat visiting information, taken with the demographic data, suggests is that Parys Mountain and the Sail Loft receive a large portion of their visitor numbers from these psychocentrics while also being newly discovered by visitors with a slightly younger age profile. These new visitors, who could be the ‘early adopters’ or ‘allocentric explorers’ for a new tourist destination to be developed through the Copper Kingdom project, are however significantly less likely to visit both the sites and are particularly prevalent amongst those who only visit Parys Mountain. Development plans that have so far neglected the mountain therefore miss a large latent market group that could hold the key to making the project viable without an ongoing subsidy.

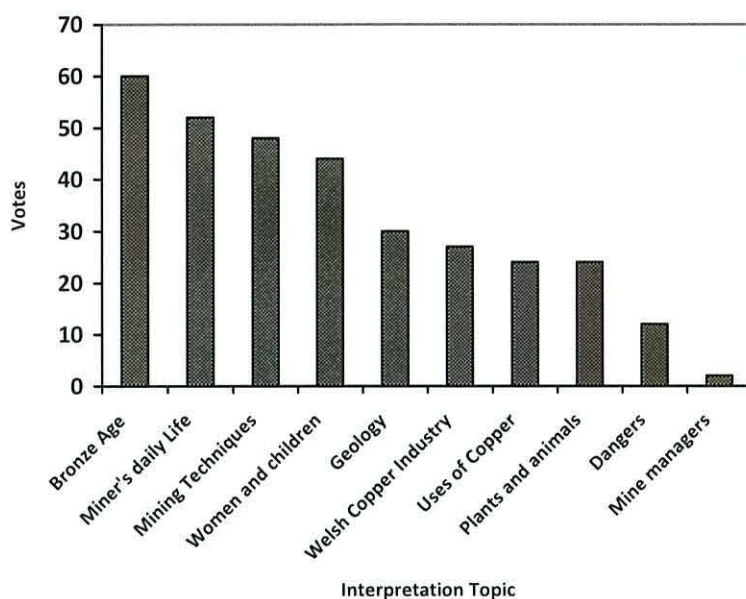
To determine how to appeal to and develop this audience we turn now to questions relating to interpretive provision at the two sites.

4.3.5. Interpretation

4.3.5.1. Topic Selection.

Respondents on Parys Mountain were asked to select 3 topics of interest to them from a list of possibilities and the overall results are shown in chart 4.15.

Chart 4.15: Topic selection



The most popular topic was “Ancient Miners in Bronze Age and Roman Times”. It is an interpretive challenge to exploit this interest in the Bronze Age period, the evidence for which is mostly underground and inaccessible to most visitors, to attract visitors and satisfy their curiosity, while maintaining a focus on the much larger period from which most of the area’s heritage collection stems. The ordinary mine workers, male and female, proved of greater interest than their employers, Williams and Treweek, who were the least selected topic. This shows that the public identifies more readily with the community based working class perspective on history than with the industrialists who tend to take centre stage in the historic literature and in older interpretation at the Copper Kingdom. There is a contention discussed in 5.3 that people are naturally interested in people and human stories, and are easily bored by technical information and accounts of industrial history without this personal element. The results here partially bear this out but with qualifiers. Table 4.25 shows how the topic chosen varied by gender, the only significant difference being men’s greater interest in “mining techniques and technology”. The argument that personal stories should be emphasised over the technological aspects of industrial

Table 4.25: Levels of interest in Topics by gender.

Topic	Male		Female		Chi square(with continuity correction)	P(with continuity correction)
	Interested %	Not Interested %	Interested %	Not Interested %		
Ancient miners in Bronze age and Roman Times	52.1	47.9	59.6	40.4	0.606	0.561
An Average Miner's daily life	47.9	52.1	47.4	52.6	0.003	1
Mining techniques and technology	58.3	47.1	33.3	66.7	6.587	0.018
Women and Children employed in mining	35.4	64.6	45.6	54.4	1.121	0.390
How the mountain was formed	31.3	68.8	24.6	75.4	0.583	0.586
The copper Industry in Wales and the World	29.2	70.8	22.8	77.2	0.552	0.604
Where the Copper went and what it was used for	14.6	85.4	29.8	70.2	3.433	0.105
Plants and animals on Parys Mountain	16.7	83.3	28.1	71.9	1.922	0.249
Dangers of mining	12.5	87.5	10.5	89.5	0.1	0.993
The mine managers, Thomas Williams and James Treweek	2.1	97.9	1.8	98.2	0.015	1*

*In this instance the expected counts were below five and so the Chi Square test is not reliable.

history is truer of the female audience than men, and so the gender balance of the tourists shown in these surveys is an argument for it if higher visitor numbers are to be achieved. It might also be said that given the mostly male membership of AIHT and organisations like it, it is unsurprising that there is so much dry, technical interpretation around and sites like Big Pit that take the countervailing approach do well. The point about individual stories though must be qualified that people are interested in people they can identify with and this means the working class masses rather than the wealthy captains of industry, which is unfortunate as biographical information on the latter is so much easier to find. The “big picture” topic of the “the Copper Industry” was selected less often than the story of the workforce but could still be interpreted through these working class character perspectives.

Significant portions of the audience are interested in the scientific stories of the geology and the plant and animal life of the mountain and 8% picked both the scientific topics, namely “how the mountain was formed” and “Plants and animals on Parys Mountain”, leaving only one remaining selection for the area’s history. Women were more interested in the ecology than men though the difference is not statistically significant, while the geologists were gender balanced. These special interests are evidently common enough to be worth developing specialized interpretive projects for but not large enough that they should displace the industrial revolution era history as the main thrust of the interpretation for mainstream visitors. Subject tailored leaflets and tours on these specialized interests could be offered as an alternative or supplement to the core visitor experience that focuses on the history.

There are also differences in topic choice between the block of visitors who went to the Sail Loft as well as to the mountain and those whose only contact with the Copper Kingdom Landscape has been at Parys Mountain as shown in table 4.26.

Those who only attended the mountain were significantly more likely to be interested in archaeological topics and also in the unpleasant topic of dangers faced by workers. Although these are the only topics where the Chi squared was statistically significant it is still worth noting that the ranking of topics is different amongst the ‘Copper Kingdom’ visitors who use both sites. For this group the top three positions are taken by “An average miner’s daily life”, “Women and children employed in mining” and “mining techniques and technology”, with the bronze age

Table 4.26: Levels of interest in topics by visit type

Topic	Visited both sites		Visited Parys Mountain only		X square(with continuity correction)	P(with continuity correction)
	Interested %	Not Interested %	Interested %	Not Interested %		
Ancient miners in Bronze age and Roman Times	42	58	71	29	4.799	0.028
An Average Miner's daily life	50	50	47	53	0.000	0.990
Mining techniques and technology	45	55	41	59	0.004	0.947
Women and Children employed in mining	47	53	24	77	3.447	0.063
How the mountain was formed	37	63	24	77	0.937	0.333
The copper Industry in Wales and the World	32	68	24	77	0.248	0.619
Where the Copper went and what it was used for	24	76	15	85	0.439	0.507
Plants and animals on parys Mountain	26	74	29	71	0.001	0.977.
Dangers of mining	5	95	27	74	4.704	0.03
The mine managers, Thomas Williams and James Treweek	3	97	0	100	0.000	1.000*

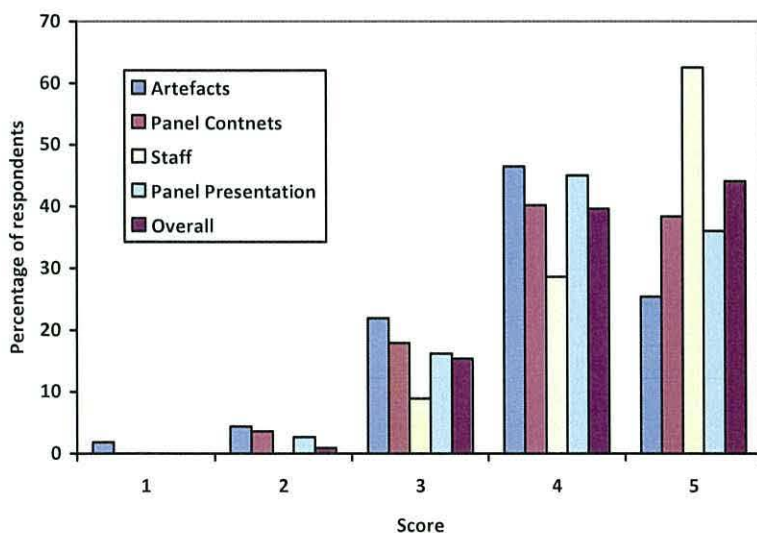
*In this instance the expected counts were below five and so the Chi Square test is not reliable.

topic the fourth most selected. Those who only visited the mountain rank the topics more in line with the overall picture seen in chart 4.13. It appears from this that the visitors using both sites are more focussed on the industrial revolution period in Amlwch possibly as a result of their interests and expectations having been shaped by prior contact with the Copper Kingdom Project, through marketing material or visiting the Sail Loft. Visitors to both sites may be more aware of the link between the Port and the Mountain which stems from the 18th century and more inclined to pick topics from this period.

4.3.5.2. Feedback on the Sail Loft displays

Visitors to the Sail Loft were asked to rate the visitor centre on a number of areas, giving scores from 1 to 5, 1 meaning ‘very bad’, 3 meaning ‘average’ and 5 meaning ‘very good’. The survey was conducted during the period of transition between the old set up of the Sail Loft and what it is like now post refurbishment. When the first surveys were distributed the upper floor had been updated with the provision of new information panels, some accompanied by artefacts, while the longstanding display downstairs had just been removed pending its replacement by exhibits designed by Headland. The work to install the new exhibitions downstairs was completed several weeks into the survey exercise.

Chart 4.16: Sail Loft scores



The respondents were very positive about every aspect of the Sail Loft in the scores they gave. The number of artefacts on display had been reduced but 72% still gave scores of 4 or 5, though this was the lowest scoring area. The most positive results those given to the staff of the Sail loft with 62.5% giving the maximum score while none gave a score below 3. Respondents were asked to rate the new panels separately on their design and appearance and on their contents. Reaction was good on both elements with both receiving a mean score of 4.1.

Although the methodologies and question phrasing of this survey differs from that carried out in 2006 it is possible to make some comparisons. Comparing the results for overall experience to the 2006 question “Have you enjoyed your visit?” reveals a static picture of high levels of customer satisfaction:

Table 4.27: Comparison of overall visitor satisfaction 2006-7

Year	2006	2007
Question	“Have you enjoyed your visit?”	“rate the Sail Loft Overall from 1 (‘very bad’) to 5 (‘very good’)
High satisfaction answers	Very much	4-5
	85%	84.2%
Medium satisfaction answers	Moderately	3
	14%	15.9%
Low satisfaction answers	Not much	1-2
	1%	0.9%

2006 visitors were also asked “how do you rate the information provided here?” to which the nearest analogue in 2007 was the question on panel contents.

Table 4.28: Comparison of visitor satisfaction with interpretive contents 2006-2007

Year	2006	2007
Question	“How would you rate the information provided?”	“rate the content of panels from 1 (‘very bad’) to 5 (‘very good’)
High satisfaction answers	Very good	4-5
	80%	78.7%
Medium satisfaction answers	OK	3
	20%	18.5%
Low satisfaction answers	Poor	1-2
	>1%	2.8%

Again the picture is fairly unchanging with visitors about equally satisfied by the Headland panels and the Trust’s old home made materials.

The picture presented by the scores is corroborated by the extra comments, most of which are positive though the picture is more mixed. Several repeat visitors bemoaned the absence of the old exhibits downstairs, as yet with no replacement, and the removal of many artefacts, one complaining that the revamp had taken away the character of the centre:

“Liked it better before, more informal and friendly, now it’s just like everywhere else.”

“Excellent display on a most interesting area. Some mention of the Pickle (albeit temporarily) might be of help.”

“Unfortunatly incomplete. ‘Downstairs’ panels lack contrast between background and lettering.”

“Very disappointed that the downstairs display has not been set up for this summer season.”

“Very interesting.”

The comments indicate that carrying out the refurbishment works in the middle of the main tourist season showed a lack of concern for customers. A serious problem encountered by some was the unavailability of toilets while these were being overhauled to try to meet VAQAS standards, which one respondent complained about at length:

“I was shocked and upset when after ordering our meal to find the toilets were closed. This caused us considerable distress as there are no alternative toilets close by. Had we known that as we entered the café we would have gone elsewhere for our meal- in fact there is a misleading notice on the door toilets are for customer use only!!! I feel the least you could do if you are unable to provide temporary facilities is to warn customers in advance. (Name supplied)”

“No toilets and no sign to tell you so.”

The poor timetabling of works may have been damaging to the experience of many more customers than responded to the survey creating negative word of mouth publicity. Implementing these works during the peak period for the heritage centre implies a lack of concern for visitors on whom further ‘development’ ultimately rests.

4.3.5.3. Landscape appreciation.

Survey respondents were asked to describe the relationship between Parys Mountain and Anlwh Port to see how well they understood the links that make the two sites part of a single landscape. Their answers were assessed and given grades of A for a Good understanding, B for a Basic understanding, C for a Weak understanding of the links between the two sites and Fail for those who demonstrated no understanding.

Chart 4.17: Understanding of landscape links

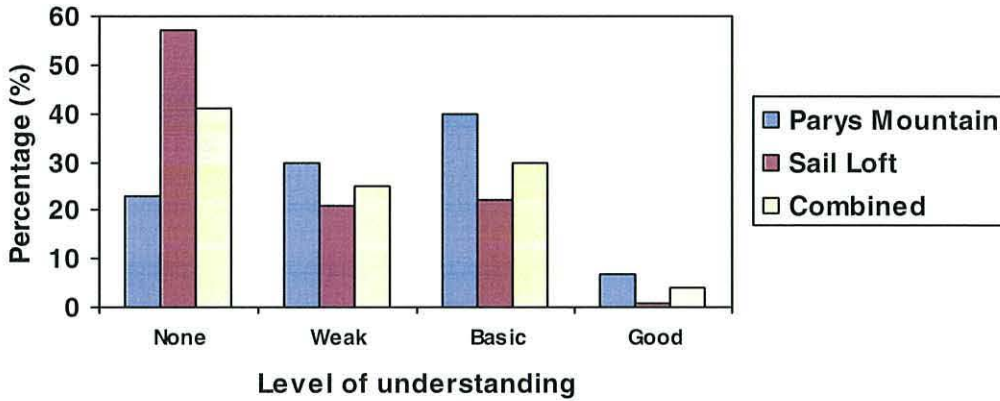
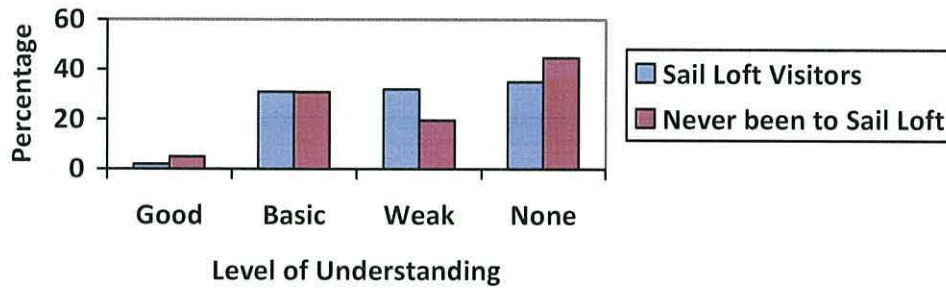


Chart 4.17 shows the results from each site and seems to indicate higher scores on the Mountain where there is little information available to explain the linkages between the town and the port than at the Sail Loft where there is information on every wall, but many may be there just for the refreshments. The different methodologies of the two surveys should be borne in mind though, with interview participants on the mountain arguably receiving more of a prompt to attempt an answer than those filling in the form privately in the Sail Loft, and also receiving clues from the suggested interpretive topics in the previous question. It should also be borne in mind that this was the only question where respondents completing the survey leaving the space blank would be treated as a result rather than as missing data.

Chart 4.18 divides up the results from Parys Mountain into those who have been to the Sail Loft and those who haven't and compare their scores to see how much a visit to the AIHT's visitor centre increases understanding of the Copper Kingdom landscape.

Chart 4.18: Landscape appreciation amongst Sail Loft visitors and non-Sail Loft visitors. Chi-Squared = 8.525, P value = 0.202.



*Note that “Good” answers were excluded from the Chi Squared test due to expected cell counts below five to ensure accuracy.

This is rather a mixed picture. The positive side is that those who have been to the Sail Loft are less likely to have no understanding of the Copper Kingdom landscape, but on the other hand most of the high scorers had never been there and had gained their knowledge from other sources. If there were objectives for the Sail Loft displays one might have been to equip people with enough knowledge to show basic understanding on this simple test, but this objective would not have been met 55% of the time. Statistical testing shows that it makes no significant difference to people’s ability to understand the link between the Port and the Mountain whether they have been to the Trust’s gallery or not.

It is possible to compare the level of landscape understanding amongst the different visit types, but for a Chi square test to be valid the results had to be simplified and expressed only as a ‘Pass’ or a ‘fail’ with any score above one point treated as a ‘pass’. Table 4.29 shows that the group only visiting the mountain was the most likely to demonstrate some understanding of landscape links while those only visiting the Sail Loft were the least likely. This may however be more reflective of the different methodologies of the surveys at each site than of actual levels of understanding.

Table 4.29: Level of landscape understanding compared by sites visited

Level of Understanding	Visited both sites		Parys Mountain Only		Sail Loft Only		Chi Squared	P Value
	N	Percentage	N	Percentage	N	Percentage		
Some	73	59%	24	71%	5	29%	7.963	0.019
None	51	41%	10	29%	12	71%		

Overall more than half of the respondents were able to express some understanding of how the Port and Parys Mountain are connected to each other, and so understand why they are being developed together as a heritage tourism project. Given the amounts invested in interpretation for the Copper Kingdom Project though these results are not impressive and the limited impact of visiting the Sail Loft on visitors' confidence and ability to explain the landscape links mitigates the generally very positive feedback on the new gallery displays.

4.3.6. Open Questions

Visitors were asked "What made you want to visit the Sail Loft/ Parys Mountain today?" As was the case in 2006 visitors gave a variety of reasons for visiting. 34 visitors to the Sail Loft (28%) gave answers such as "needed refreshments after long coastal walk", "lunch" and "Came with a friend for a cup of coffee and a chat" that indicated they were just there to use the café and not overly interested in any artefacts or interpretation they might see. Similarly 8% of visitors on the mountain answered they were mainly there to walk their dogs with answers such as "saw it while driving, looked good for walking dog" and "walk the dog, who comes up once a week." 21 visitors, or 20% of respondents on Parys Mountain specifically mentioned walking in their reason for visiting and references to the "scenery and colours" and "lunar landscape" were common.

Ten visitors or 4% of respondents stated that they had a link to area's history in their own family tree and that this was their reason to visit (for example: "Seeing where our ancestor's worked". At sites like Big Pit that deal with a more recently expired industry such visitor motivations are

more common but it is interesting to note that the industrial history in Amlwch is not entirely forgotten and some people can still recall personal links to the mine and the port.

First time visitors reported they had found the sites (more often Parys Mountain than the Port) randomly while driving around in 7% of cases while the same number had learnt of the attraction through leaflets and guidebooks. Word of mouth recommendations were reported to prompt 5% of first time visits while 3% learnt of the landscape's existence through TV coverage.

The complete responses are included in Appendix 1.

Visitors were asked if they had any further comments on Amlwch port, Parys Mountain or the work of AIHT. The comments touched on a huge range of issues and are included in full in Appendix 1.

4.3.7. Conclusions:

The results of the dual surveys give a detailed picture of the audience for the Copper Kingdom project as it is currently set up. It shows that there is a pre-existing audience for a visitor experience based on visiting both sites and that the audience has some grasp of the concept of an industrial landscape based on the Copper Industry embracing both locations. Much of the audience however only visits Parys Mountain which from an interpretive viewpoint is essentially undeveloped and commercially does not contribute to funding the conservation, research and educational aims of the project. Carrying out the tasks of interpretation and retailing to fund the project at the Sail loft does nothing for new visitors to the area who discover the mountain landscape but are unaware of the Sail Loft centre's existence or purpose. The results illustrate that heritage landscapes can be appreciated by tourists and form a coherent visitor experience but interpretation is needed to help visitors see the landscape for what it is and this interpretation needs to be placed where visitors will encounter it rather than where the project managers would like the visitors to be.

Chapter 5: Case Studies

This chapter turns the focus outward from north east Anglesey to discuss what lessons can be learnt from other attractions and heritage projects elsewhere in the UK and Europe that apply to the understanding of the original case developed in the previous chapter. The discussion is based on case studies of comparison sites and divided into thematic sections arising from the conceptual framework developed through chapter 2 and chapter 4. The chapter aims to meet objective 2 of the project **“Establish principles of best practice in developing the tourist appeal of heritage landscapes”**.

Chapter 5: Case Studies

A number of other comparable heritage and tourist projects were studied in varying levels of detail in order to establish principles of best practice in developing the tourist appeal of heritage landscapes. The discussion of these other cases is organised by subject according to the research areas and the experience and problem areas of the Copper Kingdom project as it has developed thus far.

5.1. Packaging landscapes for tourist consumption

The Amlwch landscape represents an ensemble of heritage items greater than the sum of its parts in its historic value but translating this into tourism value is problematic. The study looked at three world heritage landscapes of an industrial nature to determine how these sought to market their landscape to tourism.

The town of Blaenafon owes its entire existence to industry as it was a largely uninhabited area in S. Wales before the construction of its Iron Works in 1788 (Image 5.1). The industrialists chose the site of the world's largest iron works to date because of the availability of raw materials of iron ore and coal in the surrounding landscape so that the work force was the only thing that needed to be imported, with much of the housing purpose built for workers by the managers of the mines and iron works. The remaining landscape is very cohesive with a townscape built up around the Iron works and surrounding rural area much scarred by mining activities and with transport corridors originally associated with iron and coal.

The county of Cornwall predates the industrial revolution as a centre for large scale organised mining of metals in the UK and was a centre for new inventions and innovations developed there and exported worldwide that helped industrialise the world. This global influence was recognised by the 2000 inscription of the mining landscape of Cornwall and West Devon as a world heritage site. The landscape is very large compared to Falun and Blaenafon and is non continuous with 10 areas throughout two counties designated as a single landscape. These areas of course contain mines and also worker's housing, transport and communications linked to



Image 5.1: Blaenafon Ironworks

mining, miner's townscapes and countryside areas where farming practice was strongly impacted by industry. Because mining was a way of life for many centuries throughout mountainous Cornwall there is no obvious centrepiece though the tin mine at Geevor and the museum at Morwellham Quay are major visitor attractions within the designated areas, with 37000 visitors to Geevor and 59,645 to Morwellham in 2005.

The Copper ore of Falun in Dalarna, Sweden was apocryphally discovered by a goat in the 11th century and was mined continuously by the same company from 1347 to the 1970s when the mountain was finally exhausted. In its heyday in the seventeenth century the Falun mines were the world's largest and a major component in the heyday of Sweden itself as an imperial power due to the revenue raised by exporting Falun's ore to the rest of Europe. The landscape designated in 2001 incorporates the mountain and former mine itself, the town of Falun and areas of the surrounding countryside that contain ore heaps and smelting sites, industrialist's manicured estates and a pattern of agriculture influenced by landowning families working as miners and farmers at the same time.

On the evidence of these three examples of the industrial landscape genre there are three distinct ways to present such landscapes for consumption by the public, trails,

townscapes and nodes or interpretive centres. A trail is a planned route through some of the landscape area with way marking, possibly panels along the route and normally an accompanying leaflet or guidebook that takes in several of the historic features as well as areas of “natural” heritage, though there is no real distinction in the cultural landscape concept. Trails are most often intended for walkers but may also be designed for cycling or driving tours of the landscape. Trails are usually circular so that the visitor is returned to their starting point and linear, though there may be some optional lengthening or foreshortening of a walk.

The Blaenafon world heritage site has developed a set of seven circular walks that weave in and out of the actual designated landscape area and are supported by a Blaenafon walks pack containing a leaflet for each walk. The pack is given away for free at all Tourist Information Centres and is available for free download. The full colour leaflets are written with a varying mix of directions to follow and information about the many historic sites and features the trails take in, the challenge clearly being to provide a text that is informative about the landscape’s cultural significance but also helpful for finding one’s way along the trail. Some leaflets could be improved if the text was broken up into paragraphs that alternated between directions to follow and historic information. The walks themselves offer a variety of settings taking in woodlands, open mountains, farmed areas and the Blaenafon townscape and are of varying lengths and difficulty with some for dedicated walkers requiring boots and recommending the use of a map and compass while others are shorter and more intensely sign posted to be suitable for a more casual walker.

Table 5.1: Trail walks in Blaenafon World heritage Landscape

Name	Length	Estimated time
The Whistle Stop tour	5km	1.5 hours
The Mynydd y Garn-Farw circular walk	9km	3 hours
Blaeanfon Industrial Landscape	17km	4-4.5 hours
The Iron Mountain Trail –Part one	11.5km	4.5 hours
The Iron Mountain Trail –Part two	8km	3.5 hours
Carn y Gorfydd	4km	1.5 hours
Goytre Wharf to Blaenafon landscape	22km	8 hours

Note: the two Iron Mountain trails can be combined into an 18 km, 12 mile circuit or treated as separate circular walks.

The walks begin and end from car parks, town or village centres, picnic sites and heritage attractions and while a specific start point is assumed in the leaflet texts, the texts also observe alternative convenient start points along the way. The inside cover of the walks pack includes an admonition: “Support local businesses! Every purchase you make during your visit to the town and its surrounding area helps local services in the countryside.”

Similarly at Falun circular walks have been set up in villages and rural areas surrounding the town of Falun in what is designated as “the master miner’s district”, with the historic country mansions of the upper management of the mine as key features on these trails. The trails are supported by leaflets containing maps and text broken up into numbered stops at key locations, each of which also has an interpretation panel (Image 5.2). In between these points are some other directional aids that are unobtrusive such as small red lines painted on trees, referred to in the leaflets and texts so that walkers know to look out for them.



Image 5.2: Trail panel on the outskirts of Falun.

Trails may start and end from a town but the majority of the area they cover is usually rural and this is the context the interpreted trail is best suited for, linking scattered features by the most walker friendly paths available (ie. short, aesthetically pleasing, safe). If the heritage collection becomes more concentrated though, a trail with set

directions is likely to be over prescriptive and so in townscapes it is often better to provide maps marking out and explaining the historic features and enabling visitors to create their own route amongst them. The components of the townscape area may be interpreted by panels, information in a guide book or leaflet or both. Falun is a well developed example with 25 key buildings listed in a free guide and marked on a map of the town with a paragraph of information accompanying each and many having interpretation panels at the site also. It should be noted how many of these historic buildings are private residences (Image 5.3) or business premises, but add to the visitor product of Falun without all being turned into museums and visitor attractions, highlighting a strength of the heritage landscapes concept.



Image 5.3: Part of the Falun historic townscape.

Both trails and townscapes are outdoor experiences of the landscape, vulnerable to the weather and limited to certain media for interpretation due to their vulnerability to the elements and the public. A third way of presenting the landscape is through a visitor centre and this is normally an indoor experience. Historic landscapes are likely to contain discrete visitor attractions such as museums and preserved industrial sites and it appears to be a commonplace, where designation as a world heritage landscape has been gained, to add a centre specifically geared towards commemorating this and explaining it. The world heritage centre at Falun incorporates displays on the three key components of the mine, the town and the countryside while also explaining the

world heritage charter itself through a slideshow of World heritage sites around the world and a large globe with the collection marked on it.

At Blaenafon the planned world heritage site centre was not yet opened at the time of visiting in 2007 having been postponed due to discovery of rare bats in the St.Peter's school building chosen to house the centre (Pers.com. Peter Walker). Plans for the centre though were for it to not be a museum and to have no artefacts but for the emphasis to be on making information available in digital format (Ambrose and Young 2001). The purpose of this centre in a town that already has several museums and industrial heritage attractions is to orientate visitors and help them to 'see the landscape (Ibid. p. 57). It should not act as just a tourist information centre providing guidance on the trails and other museums available but also serve to provide a cognitive framework for appreciating the landscape by illustrating how its component pieces came about and interrelate with each other. This is a sensible goal for a centre that might seem an oxymoron at first glance as it takes people out of the landscape it is devoted to and puts them indoors with computerised representations of the landscape outside. The value of a framework for building understanding and attributing meaning to different places and artefacts is contingent on at what stage in the overall visit the framework is gained. Ideally people staying a weekend in Blaenafon would attend the centre first, since orientation is most useful at the beginning and so benefit throughout the rest of the visit as they explored the townscape and trails and other attractions from having an overall grasp of the landscape. It is questionable though whether many are likely to make this centre their first port of call rather than Big Pit National Coal mining museum which currently receives over 150,000 visitors a year (ERIH 2006), the nearest other attraction being the steelworks which in 2008 a year after the introduction of free entry received 16267 visits (WAG 2009).

Because of its large extent a single node in Cornwall and West Devon could not be placed anywhere that the majority of current visitors could conveniently reach it (Cornish Mining 2005) so a strategy has been adopted to develop not one but three key sites as 'centres of excellence for orientation, interpretation and education' (Morwellham Quay 2009). The first of these is Morwellham Quay in the east of the landscape area, a second is being developed at Geevor Tin Mine to serve the west of

Cornwall and it is planned to create a third somewhere in the centre of Cornwall. No specific heritage attraction has been chosen yet to host this centre but with 54 heritage based attractions located in the world heritage landscape there is likely to be some competition for the redevelopment project (Cornish Mining 2005). The function of the key sites is “to interpret the range of cultural values and significances represented by the site and to act as a signpost to other attractions and facilities within the Cornwall and West Devon mining landscape” (Ibid.). The sites selected for the first two key sites were both established attractions which at the time of the application for World Heritage Status were planning applications for redevelopment funding to improve accessibility and their visitor experience.

Orientation of visitors is a necessary task within heritage landscapes and so there is a need for nodal visitor centres alongside the mix of trails and townscapes. Such a centre is useful not just to provide a cognitive framework for better interpretation of the whole landscape, it can also encourage the use of trails and exploration by providing information and also confidence to undertake these activities, assuring visitors that seeking the landscape in this time consuming way will be worthwhile. Such centres therefore can serve a behavioural objective of promoting the fuller use of the landscape and this promotes longer stays in the area. Given this propagandising role as the purpose of such centres it seems logical to situate them where they will have the largest audience to have a chance to persuade. It is therefore more logical to incorporate the mission of explaining what landscape status means into an existing popular attraction likely to be the first and only port of call for most of the landscape’s visitors, such as Big Pit in Blaenafon, the Copper Mountain in Dalarna and Morwellham in Cornwall. These natural ‘honey pots’ should be used as a platform to promote fuller appreciation of the landscapes they exist in. The experience of heritage landscapes is primarily through rural trails and urban townscapes but to appreciate these a cognitive framework should be delivered via a museum experience sited at the point with the greatest visitor appeal.

Landscapes are mainly experienced by visitors through walking, either on a set trail in rural areas or according to the visitor’s preferences and whims within a townscape. That it takes time and effort to take in a landscape may be a disadvantage compared to more geographically discrete heritage items but it may also be beneficial for

regeneration as it inclines tourist visiting towards the use of ancillary services such as hotels and restaurants, rather than day visits which put less into the host economy. For this to be successful though the public needs to be convinced of the cumulative value of the landscape and it is for this sort of task that the techniques of interpretation exist, establishing an overarching narrative for the landscape and presenting the interrelationships of its components to the public. The case study landscapes have all adopted an approach of creating a centre where this interpretive task can be carried out, or in the case of Cornwall a set of three 'gateways'.

There is a risk of such centres becoming a day visitor attraction that tries to fit the whole landscape experience under one roof and so does not serve the purpose of promoting exploration of 'the thing itself'. Assuming the centre 'works' as a piece of interpretation and communicates the message that the landscape should be seen and experienced a whole (an assumption that would need to be tested through assessment) the more people pass through its doors the more people there will later be on the landscape's trails and in its hotels. The function of centres like the world heritage centre in Falun is to establish a cognitive framework as Sam Ham described as an introduction into the landscape, enriching the experience of the visitors own exploration and discoveries. To reach the most people with its message such a centre should be located at the point that currently receives the largest number of tourists. At Falun the centre lies alongside the great open cast and is the box office for entry to the underground mines, guaranteeing that anyone with an interest in the mines themselves will be informed about the rest of the landscape while Cornwall has incorporated its landscape nodes into the existing visitor attractions with the largest throughput. Blaenafon though has elected to create a new centre in a town that already has several heritage centres, providing a use for one historic building but not doing much to reach the huge numbers who visit Big Pit but not the rest of the landscape. This would be a better location for the main effort to interpret the idea of the Blaenafon world heritage landscape to the public, though if it were housed at the less popular Iron works there would at least be a striking iconic structure tied into the interpretive displays, not just interpretation divorced from any immediate subject which will always be harder to attract an audience for.

The survey results for the Copper Kingdom probing current visitors understanding of the links between port and mountain, indicate that while some impression is being made by the Sail Loft gallery much more needs to be done to make clear the interconnectedness of the landscape. The place that sees the largest and most receptive audience for this message is Parys Mountain and so the Copper Kingdom project needs to prioritise providing an interpretation of the whole landscape at Parys Mountain.

5.2. Interpretive media: man versus machine

Every site and attraction visited in the course of the study made extensive use of interpretive panels. Text and flat images mounted on walls or stands are the most prevalent way to communicate messages to visitors. Using Veverka's (1994) scheme for categorising exhibits they are inert and put the visitor in a passive mode. As Sam Ham has documented there is a world of options for a creative interpreter to deliver some interactivity and motion in low-tech and cheap ways, such as panels with questions next to little doors that can be opened to reveal the answers for example. These kinds of shoestring options can greatly enhance the experience of sites with staff or volunteers willing to produce them. There are two more expensive broad options to go beyond making panels available and engage the audience more and they will tend to compete with each other whenever there is a budget available for interpretation and developing the visitor experience. One is the employment of guides or live interpreters to conduct tours, give talks and field the visitors' questions. The other is the provision of interactivity through the use of new media, the most common application of which is the interactive touch screen computer. The latter option may be expanded to include purely passive film presentations shown at regular intervals to visitors, which like computers represent a significant one off expenditure on something that will be shown for years as a largely unchanging part of the visitor experience, while the tour guides are initially cheaper but of course require an ongoing spend.

The National Waterfront museum in Swansea represents the epitome of the latter approach. Costing £33.5 million to redevelop, the museum was reopened in 2005 and houses dozens of computer installations (BBC 2009). In the 'Frontiers' are a set of

large monitors with an attached bench for 2-3 visitors to sit where they can select and play from a collection of short films about areas where technological advances were being made in Wales in the year when the films were produced (Image 5.4). In another area the technology is harnessed more closely to a set of artefacts with similar monitor and bench set ups next to cabinets of historic artefacts collected according to a particular theme (such as religion in Wales, and adult education in Wales). Visitors elect one of the artefacts to read written information about it. Many displays are like this where the interactivity is based on helping visitors browse through a much larger collection of the same sort of written material that goes on interpretation panels. In some cases the technology is used in a more interesting manner as in one installation that shows people debating about the technological disparity before inviting visitors to vote via a touch screen on whether more advanced nations should give their technological secrets away for free to poorer countries. Once the viewer has voted the overall results are displayed for all visitors.



Image 5.4: Computer installations, National Waterfront Museum

Computer installations are also used at the world heritage centre in Falun where again much of the material in the computer is text to scroll through reached via animated menus. The computers in Falun do give access to an interactive game aimed at children called 'the 1000 years game' which plays like a cross between Monopoly and Trivial Pursuit, as players move around a board trying to purchase mines, smelters,

farms and so on using money won by reading short pieces of text and remembering them well enough to answer quiz questions on the landscapes history later on. The game can be completed by buying all the available properties at which point a certificate is printed out as a prize. This is an interesting way to try to keep people reading and encourage them to remember key information but it is again just a way to have visitors browse a catalogue of mini essays too large to hang on the walls, and so these uses of modern information technology remain rooted in the most basic form of interpretation curators are used to employing rather than doing anything more radical allowed by the technology.

A further use of computers at Falun has been the production of computer generated films of the mine workings and of the great collapse of the mines in 1687. These films shown in the mining museum on site at visitor request may have been impressive at the time they were produced to coincide with inscription as a World Heritage Site, but already look dated due to the rapidity with which this area advances, and this is likely to remain an ongoing problem. An alternative use of computer generated animations can be seen in the films of Sean Harris shown at the national gallery in Cardiff (Amgueddfa Cymru 2009) where paintings and images of real artefacts are used as components of the animation, rather than focussing on being cutting edge and using as many polygons as possible as in the Falun mines. A more artistic approach is likely to age better. Much of the IT currently favoured by heritage projects quickly loses its sheen and maintenance can also be a problem. On the day the researcher attended the National Waterfront Museum there were nine exhibits out of order, the majority of which were marked by laminated cards apologising for the problem (Image 5.5), while a couple lacked such cards and had presumably broken down that day or since last inspected by a member of staff. In the words of Tilden (1957) any mechanical device that is put before visitors but is inoperable due to a fault is “a source of shame and chagrin, as well as an imposition on the public”. To have nine exhibits broken and no signs of repair work imminent at any of them therefore gives a very bad impression.



Image 5.5: Out of order sign, National Waterfront Museum

Guided tours are a component of many visitor attractions, particularly at historic locations where it would not be safe or practical to let visitors explore freely but having a guide accompany them ensures they are supervised and their route and length of visit is predictable. Live guides walk groups of visitors through underground mine tunnels at Big Pit, Falun, Geevor and through the faux mine at Rhondda Heritage Park. Famously Big Pit only employs former workers at the mine as its guides. They describe some of the history of the mines from first hand experience therefore. At Geevor as well many of the guides are former mine workers and this authenticity holds great appeal to visitors. When Big Pit visitors were asked to list the best aspects of their visit in an exit survey 65% said “the guides” making this by far the most popular answer and overshadowing “going underground” which 28% mentioned (Red Kite Environment p 97). It was noted that most interviewees remembered their guide’s name an hour or more after the tour (Ibid.). A similar survey at Geevor asked “what did you like most about your visit?” and garnered these responses:

“Underground tour	79%
The guide	15%

Anything else 6%”

(PCH 2005)

Commenting on these results a HLF bid document for Geevor remarks: “people respond well to other people, far better than to inanimate interpretation panels.”

At Big Pit, Rhondda Heritage Park (Image 5.6) and Geevor the tour guides are in a sense both interpreters and “artefacts” due to their firsthand experience but with the long history of mining at these sites it should be noted their talks are often not on the modern period but on a much older history which no one alive witnessed. As important as their first hand experience is the unpretentious and personable approach to dealing with visitors, which is in contrast to a more rigid style based on memorising a script full of names and dates as can be seen at Falun and wherever a blue badge guide operates in the UK. During the visit to Big Pit one of the guides conducted a group mostly made up of children, the guide peppering his talk with appropriate types of humour and frequently picking out a child to assist with something and then getting the rest to applaud. The guide frequently invited questions and if none were forthcoming would ask the group questions, all aimed at “breaking the ice” and engaging the visitors more fully. At most sites, Amlwch included, employing the historic miners as guides is of course not an option but a similarly direct personal contact can be achieved by putting the visitor in contact with experts and researchers. The Great Orme copper mines at Llandudno are both a visitor attraction and a site of ongoing archaeological research and the research team is on hand to field visitors’ queries in the site’s main building. At the Roman Baths in Bath staff are given paid time for their own private researches into the history of the site to increase and refresh their knowledge and also their enthusiasm. The value of the live interpreter then so clearly expressed in visitor feedback at Big Pit is not inseparable from first hand knowledge, and guides from any background can offer an equally high quality experience on sites where the history is more remote.



Image 5.6: Former miner Graham Williams demonstrating use of explosives in mining at RHP.

In a funding model where a heritage attraction will have a large, possibly multi million pound , budget to spent on its launch or relaunch and will then be expected to finance its own maintenance out of visitor spend, it is easy to see why information technology holds such appeal. Using cutting edge technology a new or redeveloped attraction can make a splash when it opens and once paid for the machinery promises to be cheap to keep running. But Tilden warns that such technology should only be used if it can be maintained and repaired swiftly whenever needed, and this implies there must always be someone on staff or at least near to hand who understands the technology and is equipped to affect repairs. Planning at the National Waterfront museum has failed to provide this. Although reliably popular with visitors live interpreters represent a substantial ongoing expense for a new attraction which a budget designated purely for the development phase cannot help with. But heritage attractions need a staff even if the live interpreter has no place in them and a guide can serve other roles both menial and creative and is capable of adapting in response to feedback to improve the visitor experience. This is well evident at the Roman Baths where task rotation is used and customer satisfaction stands at 98%. Of course information technology could be just as adaptable if there is a staff member able to amend and update the software. The live guide should be the mainstay of interpretive planning as the most popular and reliable media available and the best possible source

of other interpretive media, as by working in other media they can reach more visitors while ensuring all receive the same messages whichever media they make use of. The primacy of live interpreters over alternative media is rooted in the origins of interpretive practice and is evidenced toady by the experience of Big Pit, where interaction with the guides is shown by surveys to be the best component of the visitor experience. Big Pit receives more in visitor donations than any of its fellow national Museums in Wales, winning out over the National Waterfront Museum in Swansea, where human interaction is entirely replaced by interactive technology, in this as well as in visitor numbers. Tour guides are particularly well suited to dealing with large sites and so in any heritage landscape we should expect to see accompanied tours offered. Establishing such a service for the Copper Kingdom landscape has proven difficult though.

On the one hand the limited feedback gathered from guided tour audiences has been very positive, praising the enthusiasm and level of knowledge on display, while on the other uptake of the tours has been insufficient to retain the majority of the guides who have been trained by the project. Marketing problems related to pricing and scheduling certainly have played their part but it may also be the case that as with the Sail Loft galleries negative reaction is generally hidden. Reports from the 2008 Anglesey walking festival indicate that the guided walk around Parys Mountain is “too long” which the guides have always acknowledged but also that there was “information overload”, with the guides laying on their knowledge too thick and losing the audience’s interest (pers.com. Neil Johnstone). The guides were warned about this sort of thing during training but since then have been operation irregularly and with no form of quality control or assessment and so there has been little to stop bad habits creeping in to the guiding. So far the guides used by the project have received little training in the practice of interpretation, apart from a single morning session with John Veverka shortly after their ITG training course, and while “interpretive experts” have been employed by the Trust to work on the sail Loft gallery there has been no effort to design the tours on offer using interpretation techniques. This could be redressed in future efforts to establish tour guiding more firmly within the Copper Kingdom and the opportunity taken to offer training in interpretation that could then be used for activities other than guiding. The Roman Baths, Bath show the possibilities for enriched employment as a means of cycling

employees through different positions and would allow for the retention of workers well skilled at guiding even if there was not enough demand for them to earn a worthwhile income from guiding alone. Having the guides also designing panels and materials to accompany artefact displays would sharpen their ability to be concise, and so would be good training for live guiding as well as beneficial to the visitor experience of those not on guided tours.

5.3. Interpretive contents.

The industrial heritage based visitor attractions studied each have their own unique histories but are also all part of the same historic phenomenon of the industrialisation of western society. As a result there are global commonalities and local differences in the stories of the facilities and collections presented to the public. Regions with different industries developing any different times bear recurrent hall marks such as the social change wrought by urbanising new workforces and the creation and destruction of livelihoods through technological advances. In any industrial heritage project there will be many different stories to tell and ways to tell them.

Industrial heritage attractions are typically homes of big pieces of machinery and a good deal of interpretation is solely concerned with explaining what this machinery once did and how it worked. Geevor is an example of a site where in both the interpretive panels and in the information given by guides, the machinery takes centre stage and the main concern is explaining how the tin was extracted from the earth and made ready for sale, not why this was done or who did the work and how they were affected by it. The exception at Geevor is when visitors are shown the miners locker rooms, where the talk shifts to the employees and the guides are free to talk about their experience of working in the tin mines rather than just explaining the above ground processing facilities. The shower block has been preserved as it was at the end of the mine's active history with graffiti and miner's stickers on the lockers, and photos of former employees hung up to put human faces to the workforce. This was the part of the tour that elicited the most positive reaction from the large group of geography students seen taking the tour of the facility.

According to Peter Walker the manager of the Big Pit National Coal Mining Museum such a reaction is to be expected as the characters of the industrial past hold much greater interest for most people than the machines or the industrial processes. People are interested in people, hence why gossip is so popular and the human characters should be the emphasis of whatever topic is being interpreted. This is the philosophy which he states informs all of the interpretation at the National Coal mining museum and to which he attributes its recent success and popularity. Since its 2004 relaunch as a National Museum with free entry visitor numbers have been over 150,000 every year, having previously declined to less than half this. In addition to popularity with the public the Big Pit has received critical plaudits since its relaunch, winning the prestigious Gulbenkian Prize for museums. I had the opportunity to interview Peter Walker who headed the small team that designed the new interpretation on site in 2004 and who like the guides worked at the Blaenafon New Mine as it was known in the 1970s. His perspective on industrial heritage was that to most people an “industrial museum” sounds boring, and usually it is boring because such museums tend to concentrate on technology and historic processes and ignore people. An example of how interpretation at Big Pit is built around human characters is the locker room at the Pit head baths each of which is attributed to a real person and contains artefacts associated with them (Images 5.7 and 5.8). Note that the biographical details of these figures are laid out in bullet points.



Image 5.7: Lockers at the Pithead baths, Big Pit.

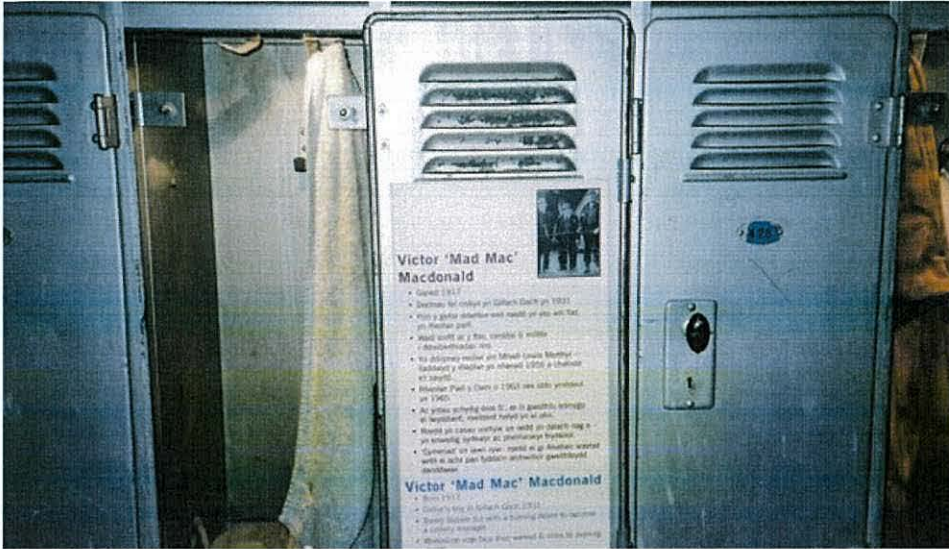


Image 5.8: Victor 'Mad Mac' Macdonald

The designers at Big Pit were scrupulous in avoiding the large blocks of unbroken text that characterise so much interpretation and the maximum word count per panel is 80 words, though the designers were initially aiming for a cap of 70 words to ensure information was concise and to the point. These short texts are broken up into smaller paragraphs in a journalistic fashion inspired by tabloid newspaper layouts with headlines, a sub heading opening and then the main body of the text. Another way in which the Big Pit uses real people as a medium to interpret its subject matter of the coal industry in Wales is through the use of quotations to provide a less mediated perspective on the history, a strategy also used at Rhondda Heritage Park where many of the panels are entirely composed from literary and other quotations on topics like miner's strikes and poverty and unemployment in the Rhondda.

Using quotes from real people allows an immediate connection with the history and most such quotes contain personal opinion, which is another point Walker was keen to emphasise as important to the interpretive philosophy of Big Pit. The history of the coal industry is full of controversy and this is seen as an advantage by Big Pit who seek to generate interest by airing both sides of an argument. The "on the other hand" display (Image 5.9) consists of short quotes from cartoon renderings of an industrialist, a miner, Margaret Thatcher and Arthur Scargill taking contrary positions on the right of workers to protest their conditions through strikes. Another display entitled 'Heroes and Villains' shows different media quotes praising or condemning miners

under different circumstances, lauding them as heroes when disasters occurred and claimed lives and condemning them as lazy and greedy when they went on strike. Another panel quotes different reactions to mine closures (Image 5.10).



Image 5.9: “On the other hand” exhibit, Big Pit national Coal Mining Museum

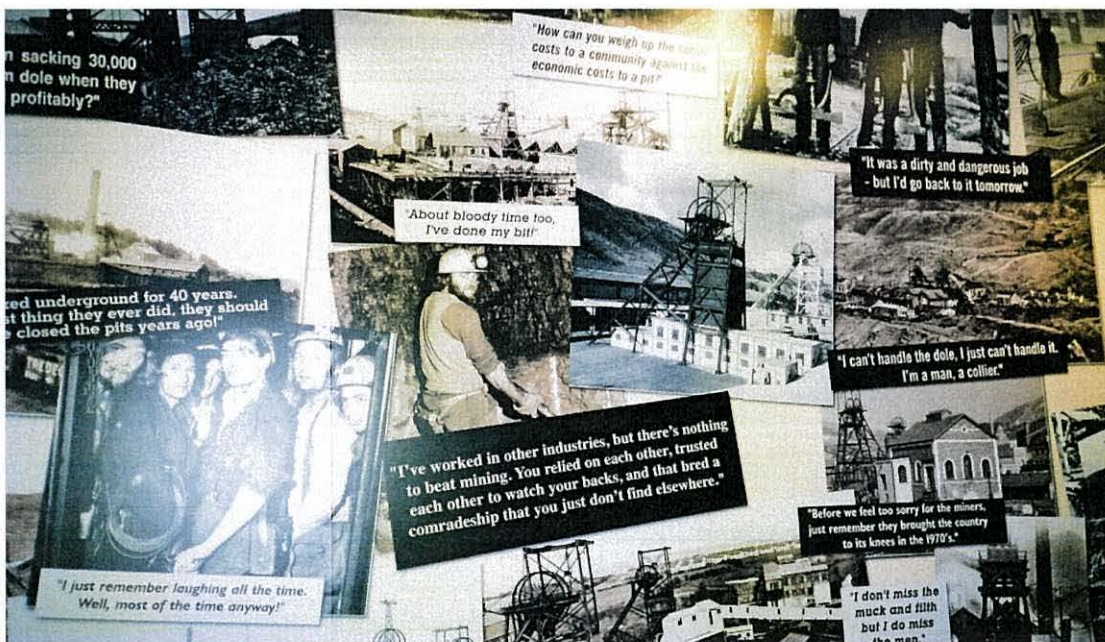


Image 5.10: Use of quotations, Big Pit national Coal Mining Museum

Uzzel (1998) recommends the use of ‘hot’ interpretation that has an emotive element and at an industrial heritage attraction the greatest scope for this lies in addressing the

inequalities of the industrial revolution where a few became extremely rich while many more faced difficult and dangerous conditions everyday merely to avoid starvation. At Geevor the question of exploitation of workers is avoided in favour of technological detail while as discussed Big Pit presents multiple viewpoints. At Rhondda Heritage Park 'the price of coal display' based on the book 'Disaster at Ty Newydd' by Ken Llewelyn consists of 8 quite panels with high word counts intended to be read in sequence surrounded by a large mural painting showing several scenes from the story of the Ty Newydd Colliery disaster in April 1877 (Image 5.11). The mural grimly depicts trapped miners up to their necks in water in a small air pocket and the funeral of a father and son killed in the disaster where the coffin of an infant from the same family who had died the previous year had to be exhumed from the family plot. The text is unambiguous in attributing the blame for these hardships to the mine owners and managers, stating they put money well ahead of human safety and generalising from the Ty Newydd incident to say that the same held true throughout the coal industry in Wales, that lives were lost everywhere for the sake of a quick profit.



Image 5.11: Price of Coal mural, Rhondda Heritage Park

This is in contrast to many heritage sites where individual capitalists and entrepreneurs are lauded rather than demonised, as at Ironbridge or the China Clay country park in Cornwall. Here the exploitation of workers is divorced from a celebration of inventiveness in technology and in business organisation. Perhaps the

best example of this though is current interpretation at the Copper Kingdom when it talks about Thomas Williams, using the ‘Twm Chwarae Teg’ reputation without irony. Chronologically and geographically the story of Falun is removed from the idea of the British Industrial revolution that binds together most of the case study sites. The main message that comes through the interpretation at Falun is to emphasise and reemphasise the importance of Falun Copper to the Swedish nation as a key driving force in national history. This is emphasised when visitors are shown a wall deep in the mines where every Swedish monarch for several centuries has signed their name and had the signature engraved in gold (Image 5.12). A sense of national identity is also paramount at the National Waterfront Museum in Swansea, which emphasises Wales being the “First Industrial nation” (Keen 2005). At both sites we can see examples of the use of people to get across information and messages. The famous tale of Maats Israelson (Image 5.13), who died in an accident in the Falun mine and whose body was discovered perfectly preserved decades after death due to the chemicals in the water in which he drowned staving off decomposition, and the quotes of Carl Linnaeus, who visited the mines and wrote extensive eye witness accounts, are both used to enliven the tour of the mines. The National Waterfront Museum includes a gallery of ‘acheivers’, famous individuals who range from industrialists like Richard Trethick to national sporting heroes like Gareth Edwards.

A final point made by Peter Walker in terms of advice for the development of the Copper Kingdom project was to take an expansive approach to the subject and show fully how events in Amlwch impacted the wider world. There might seem to be a danger that this would lead away from the personal stories based approach in looking at global changes but he was keen to reemphasise that any subject matter can and should be illustrated using personal histories as the medium, and that this includes the technology of industrial change and the market forces and historic trends that shaped events. Whatever the issues to be expound are that make the heritage significant, the experience at Big Pit indicates that human characters are the best way to engage visitors interest in these issues.

Engaging the Public’s interest in the story of the Copper Kingdom could be made much easier through the use of personal stories of named individuals, preferably real

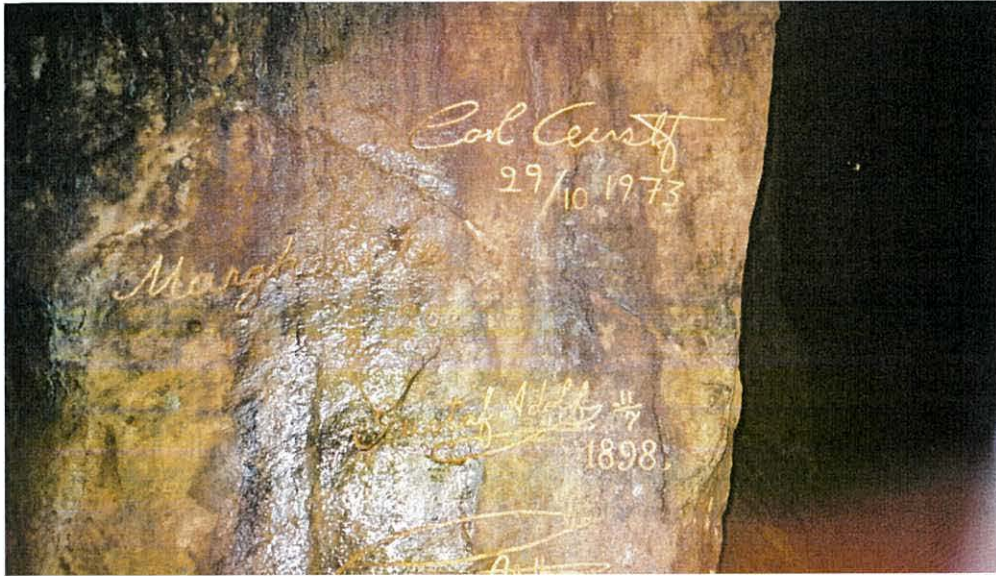


Image 5.12: Royal signatures engraved in gold at Falun.



Image 5.13: Grave of Maats Israelson, Falun.

but if necessary concocted. Such an approach is generally lacking in the current interpretation and where there are traces of it the individuals are characters like Thomas Williams with whom people have trouble identifying. The survey responses show it is the ordinary workers who automatically have the audience's sympathy and interest rather than their employers. These perspectives are difficult to find in the current canon of historic texts on Amlwch's industrial history, with the exception of Owen Griffith's *Mynydd Parys*, which the Trust plans to publish in English translation. Archival resources such as court records, census data and newspapers will need to be used and an oral history project could also help source these valuable narratives. The proposed interpretation for Mona Mill in Appendix 2 gives an example of the approach being advocated.

Producing interpretation in this fashion is time consuming but worthwhile and requires interpretive writing and design be a curatorial function rather than be farmed out to contractors.

5.4. Competition and the lifecycle in South Wales

The Big Pit and Rhondda Heritage Park are two attractions that first arose in the 1980s from a similar context and between whom there has always been a certain rivalry, as they offer very similar visitor experiences to the same market of tourism in the South Wales Valleys. As a case study, charting the history of these two attractions over the last three decades may usefully illustrate the challenges of sustaining such attractions in the long term. Helpfully it was possible to interview the manager of Big Pit, Peter Walker and the manager of Rhondda Heritage Park, John Harrison. Both men have been involved with their respective sites since before their initial development and opening to the public. Also useful is the extensive study of the development of Rhondda Heritage Park by Dicks (2000).

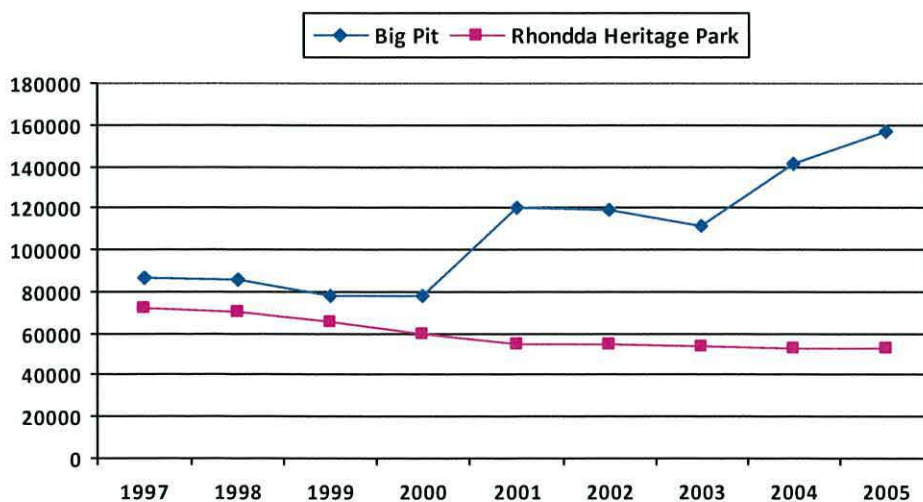
As a coal mine Big Pit ceased production in 1980 while the Lewis Merthyr Colliery which would become Rhondda Heritage Park closed in 1983. This was all part of the ongoing demise of the coal industry in the South Wales Valley in which most of the colliery complexes disappeared entirely with machinery sold off and buildings

demolished. At Big Pit however an independent charitable trust was established with the mine's closure that with the financial backing of the Welsh Development Agency purchased the complex in order to conserve it as an example of a dying species and reopen it as a museum in 1983. This move was inspired by the success of Llechwedd Slate Caverns in North Wales as a tourist attraction, but according to Walker there was considerable scepticism about the viability of a mine as a tourist attraction in the valleys, an area with few other visitor attractions and as yet no real tourist industry. In fact Big Pit proved quite viable receiving more than enough visitor spend to pay its running costs. The experience offered by Big Pit was to be shown around the overground and underground facilities by guides who had worked there previously. In Walker's view the success of Big Pit inspired imitators such as the Cefn Coed Colliery museum opened in 1986 and Rhondda Heritage Park in 1989 while Dicks describes the proliferation of new heritage attractions in South Wales in the late eighties as a result of political change. During the Thatcher era local government in South Wales came to see tourism and the leisure and service industries as the route to regenerating the valleys after the demise of their extractive industries. In the case of the Rhondda, once the site of more than 50 large collieries (Keen 2005), the hope of local enthusiasts to preserve one of these quickly disappearing sites as a memorial to the industry became embroiled with local governments new enthusiasm for leisure developments (Dicks 2000). The initial plan for a local museum for community use snowballed to such an extent that at one stage the proposed Rhondda Heritage Park was to cover a much larger area than just the former colliery, including a reconstructed mining village, a choral centre and a steam train. In this plan authored by William Gillespie and partners the RHP was to cost £15.49 million to develop and was predicted to draw 4000,000 visitors per year. After failed funding applications and the withdrawal of some project partners the final result was something beyond the local museum originally conceived but well short of the "transformation of the valley environment" conceived by Gillespie (Ibid. p.137). The attraction includes audio visual shows housed in the above ground facilities and an artificial underground experience in the basement which includes a simulator ride of a mine cart speeding along underground tracks. As at Big Pit groups are lead around by former miners as guides, and the two attractions were now competitors in a much more saturated market of visitor attractions in South Wales. RHP though had an advantage in that much of its operating costs came from a subsidy from the local council, which proved

essential as initially visitor numbers were very disappointing, only 11000 in the first year when 40000 were anticipated (Ibid). Big Pit continues to have to meet all its costs through visitor spend and donations.

Visitor numbers at Big Pit declined to a low of 74,000 a year in the early nineties posing financial difficulties for the attraction which needed to maintain the extensive colliery site and its prized workforce of guides. The Big Pit management saw that most of its competition like RHP benefited from public subsidy and began to seek national museum status in 1994. Big Pit enjoyed a good reputation and even in its decline was still Wales' most visited coal mining site, RHP's all time high of 72,000 visitors still not eclipsing Big Pit. An agreement was reached in 1997 that saw the attraction become part of the National Museum and cease charging for entry in 2000, followed by a part lottery funded programme of renewal costing £6,830,000 including the creation of the Pit Head baths galleries that lead to Big Pit being relaunched as the National Coal Mining Museum in 2004. As can be seen in chart19 both events caused dramatic rises in visitor attendance. Manager Peter Walker remarks that though there is greater bureaucracy now that Big Pit is part of Amguedfa Cymru it has brought financial security and the redevelopment has been a great success. The story of Big Pit's revival though is troubling for the Copper Kingdom project though in its implication that independent heritage attractions will ultimately be forced to find public sector support to stay in business however popular with the public they may be.

**Chart 5.1: Comparative visitor numbers for Big Pit and RHP
1997-2005**



Rhondda Heritage Park without the Welsh government to rescue it meanwhile has declined steadily since 1997 having always relied on subsidy and never broken even on sales and entry fees. Rhondda Cynnon Taf, the local council, provides a subsidy of half a million pounds per year while the running costs of RHP are around £600,000 a year, the most expensive part of which is the staff (Pers. Com. John Harrison). The number of guides has in recent years been reduced from 9 to 6 (Pers. Com. Graham Williams), and the Heritage Park has increasingly sought to cater to the local audience to make up for shortfall in tourist attendance, with local people making up roughly 40% of visitor numbers. The events programme is key to bringing back guests who have already seen the audio visual shows installed back in 1993, as is the “energy centre” children’s playground for which it is possible to pay a discrete admission fee to just use this part of the heritage park. Though closed for much of the winter RHP is open in December in the run up to Christmas, for which the replica underground mine is redecorated to act as Santa’s grotto (Images 5.14 and 5.15). This popular family event, which couldn’t have less to do with industrial heritage has made December the busiest month of the year for RHP, and similar events involving the Easter Bunny and Halloween monsters also help top up visitor numbers. Nonetheless RHP faces increasing pressure from a council that would like to reduce its contribution to an inessential service. Even though only a small portion of the running costs for RHP come from visitors the pressure to achieve adequate visitor numbers has clearly lead to compromise of the attractions purpose of commemorating the coal mining heritage of the Rhondda, and this is a good example of the “commercial debasement” of history that inspires the “anti-heritage animus” catalogued by Lowenthal (1998).



Image 5.14: The fake underground mine at RHP, decorated for use as “Santa’s grotto.”

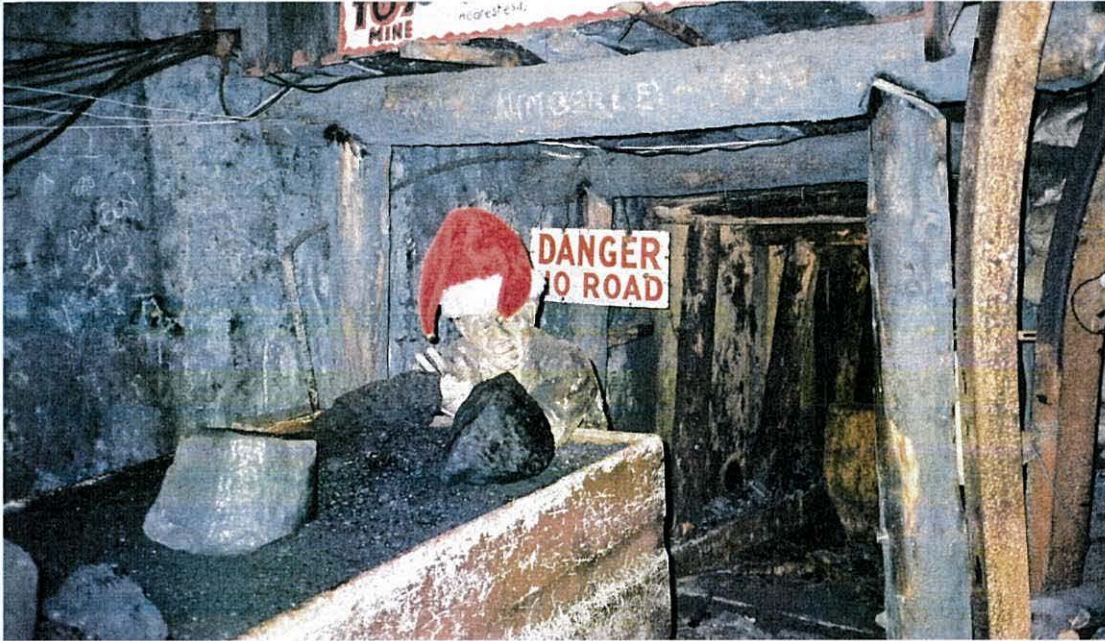


Image 5.15: Mannequin miner at RHP with Santa Claus hat.

It is easy to see how RHP's problems could be fuelled by competition from Big Pit, especially since it now has the advantage of free entry. The comparison of visitor numbers though does not prove a connection as both sites experience roughly parallel decline up to 2000 and rather than getting worse RHP's decline appears to have slowed as Big Pit has grown more popular, though RHP's visitor figures are only estimates. John Harrison certainly does not see the existence of a refreshed competitor as helpful and warns that period at "the crest of a wave" such as Big Pit is currently enjoying are inevitably followed by decline. He remarked in relation to Amlwch that winning development funding and setting up a new attraction was relatively easy compared to keeping one going five, ten or fifteen years down the line since funding for overhauling an old attraction is much harder to find. The creation of RHP involved large spends on audio visual shows that offer the exact same experience now as they did to visitors in 1993 and there is no current prospect of ever being able to overhaul RHP to the extent Big Pit enjoyed in 2004. This would seem to be a hazard of the heritage industry in the UK, as huge development grants are quickly spent in the set up stage and almost immediately the multi million pound development begins to struggle to pay for maintenance while the big funders and the consultant designers move on to create new fresher competitors, forcing older sites to either beg for subsidies or close. As Harrison points out attractions need to overhaul their visitor experience regularly and this is in line with Butler's predicted trajectories

of growth and decline in tourism. Heritage attractions need to internalise the capacity to rejuvenate their visitor experience to be viable in the long term.

Heritage projects in the UK exist in a competitive marketplace in which newness is a major source of advantage. Funding mechanisms like the Heritage Lottery Fund benefit newcomers while long established attractions struggle to find the money to update themselves, and so their galleries and interpretation remain in place indefinitely, regardless of whether the interpretation on offer ever “worked” in the first place. Being the newest attraction of its type is one of the only advantages available in this marketplace because of the influences towards homogeneity that projects are subjected to in the funding process. In particular the use of interpretive designers on short term contracts tends to smooth out the differences between different heritage sites.

The HLF could do more to demystify the practice of interpretation and should encourage projects to use interpretive consultancies as sources of training for those with a more lasting commitment to the project rather than having projects abandon the presentation of their heritage asset to an external agency. The appeal of cutting edge technology and shiny new displays wears off quickly but new interpretive materials need not be expensive, the only costly component is the designer. Once projects have the ability to apply interpretive principles they will be far better placed to develop the unique selling points of their attraction and regularly update their visitor experience, thereby having considerable advantages in the marketplace that are not temporary and short term.

5.5. Community Impact

One consequence of deindustrialisation is that the major relics of past industries normally exist in areas with significant economic problems. Blaenafon, Pendden and Trehafod, the host communities of Big Pit, Geevor and the RHP are all like Amlwch communities affected by high levels of deprivation. Big Pit and the RHP are both to be found within Communities First wards, designated due to their poor conditions as recorded along with Amlwch Port in the Welsh Index of Multiple deprivation

(WIMD) while the communities on the tip of Cornwall share many economic problems with north east Anglesey due to their geographic isolation and a lack of economic opportunity and employment. As established in the WIMD there are many different but interconnected disadvantages to living in communities like these. Unemployment is perhaps the greatest problem not just because of financial hardship but also because of its social consequences and the demoralising effect of long term joblessness. This has knock on effects on levels of crime and levels of ill health and a lack of economic activity leads to reduced access to services. Regeneration of such economies has since the heritage boom of the 1980s been trumpeted as a reason to fund industrial heritage projects, which naturally tend to come about in areas where key employers have disappeared leaving an economic vacuum. Since AIHT has indicated great hopes for the effect its Copper Kingdom Project may have on the local economy it is worth looking at how other longer established projects have served to combat the various aspects of deprivation.

Firstly it is important to note that even the largest and most well known industrial heritage tourism attractions do not usually employ more than a hundred people and even at sites where live interpretation is a major part of the experience, which will tend to be more labour intensive than sites using more mechanised interpretation like the National Waterfront Museum, it is uncommon for an attraction to create more than two dozen jobs.

Clearly these memorialisations of employers once central to their communities can never be expected to support as large a workforce as the industries they replace in and of themselves. They can however contribute to the development of a tourist industry composed of many other small businesses that may accumulatively provide as much work as the relict industry they are founded on. Peter Walker observes that the real money in tourism and hence the real regenerative impact lies with accommodation and catering businesses not with attractions (pers.com. Peter Walker.) The creation of new heritage attractions in the valleys in the 1980s such as RHP, Big Pit and Llancaiach Fawr continues only to attract day visitors without stimulating these ancillary businesses and so the hoped for regeneration through tourism fails to manifest itself. (Dicks 2000). These failures give credence to the idea of trying to

Table 5.2: Comparison of visitor numbers and size of workforce at case study attractions

Attraction	Annual visitor numbers	Workforce
RHP	50,000	24 (17fte)
Big Pit	150,000	70
Ironbridge Gorge	802958 (avg.1997-2005, ERIH)	160 year round, 80 seasonal
China Clay Country Park, Cornwall	15-20,000	<10
Geevor	36,000	21 fte
The Eden Project	1.2 million	400 year round, 200 seasonal
The Sail Loft, Amlwch	12,196 (average 2001-2005, ERIH)	2 part time

create “destinations”, which has been the mantra of the Copper Kingdom Project (Parkin 2005). Like the aborted Gillespie plan for RHP, the Parkin plan sought to deliver regeneration by delivering an extremely large project, both of them calling for over £10 million of investment. With projects this large it is hoped to provide much more than just a single attraction offering a 3-4 hour visitor experience in an area with little else to offer.

An inspiration for ‘mega projects’ on this scale, many more of which have been planned than implemented, is the Eden project in Cornwall. This horticultural attraction was opened in 2001 having been developed through Lottery funding. Initially costing £80 million, subsequent developments have seen the total amount invested rise to £121.5 million. The Eden project has proved extremely popular especially in its first few years when visitor numbers greatly exceeded the business plan’s projections. The project employs a sizeable workforce directly and is regarded as a great asset to the economy of Cornwall as it is of sufficient appeal and distinctiveness to draw visitors from such distances that many must stay overnight in the county to see it, and because of the economic multiplier it creates. It is important

to understand that Eden has had a strong effect on its host economy not simply because of the scale of the Eden development or its popularity with tourists but as a result of Eden's purchasing policies tying the site into the local economy and passing on the money within Cornwall, not outside it. Eden has a policy of sourcing as many of its required goods as possible from Cornish companies which serves to maximise the multiplier effect of visitor spending within Cornwall. In 2001 the Eden project sourced 61% of goods it purchased from within Cornwall (Hodges 2002). The Eden project goes beyond a simple policy of purchasing what it can from within Cornwall and what it can't from further afield, seeking to help small local businesses to grow and develop the ability to supply it. In the words of managing director Gaynor Coley:

“We wanted to develop partners that could grow and develop with us, to do our bit for the wider Cornish economy.”

The Eden projects preference for Cornish suppliers extends to its development of interpretation. Large installations in both the original visitor centre and the Core were designed and built by Cornish based Engineered Arts Limited. The project commissions most of its art projects from artists based in Cornwall although most of these artists have enjoyed success independent of Eden having work exhibited nationally and internationally. The enormous scale of the Eden project doubtless allows it considerable influence over other much smaller regional businesses since it is possible for a company to start and develop with Eden as its only significant customer. However Eden's lesson of working with local suppliers and helping the local economy to develop capacity is one that could be widely imitated, even by attraction development projects with far smaller budgets and visitor numbers. In the many consultancy documents and project plans read in the course of this research it is the sheer scale of Eden that is noted as a trait to be emulated rather than its business practices with regards to its host economy. It seems easy for the proponents of new 'mega projects' to forget that Eden was one of a host of big budget projects commissioned as part of the millennium celebrations in which successes like Eden and the London Eye were balanced by failures such as the National Botanical Gardens of Wales which had to be rescued from financial crisis by the Welsh Assembly Government a few years after opening, and the Millennium Dome, which after a short and troubled life as an attraction eventually became the O2 arena.

A multi million pound project may be able to create a tourist destination quite suddenly in an area in need of regeneration, and it is a pattern that deprived areas often possess industrial heritage assets that may be championed as key attractions of such a new destination. But how appropriate is industrial heritage as the basis for a major new attraction in terms of consumer demand? The European route of Industrial heritage is an EU project to create a network of key industrial heritage and has 23 “anchor points” in the UK including the Copper Kingdom landscape, Big Pit, Geevor tin mine and Ironbridge Gorge. In addition to these attractions ERIH monitors visitor numbers to 98 other industrial history based attractions in the UK. The industrial revolution in the UK is of course a broad subject, but with 121 museums or heritage attractions it is a subject already well covered by the attractions industry, and so it would be a challenge for major projects to find unique selling points as new entrants into a saturated market for industrial heritage experiences. For its full list of industrial museums ERIH records combined visitor numbers of 10,825,915 in 1997 and 12,428,411 in 2005, a modest increase or around 15% achieved over 8 years with only 2 new attractions added to the list during this time, namely Waltham Abbey Royal Gunpowder Mills and the Sail Loft in Amlwch, both in 2001. The 121 sites may be said to be in scattered positions on the product lifecycle and so the overall rise in visitors to industrial heritage centres contains many dramatic leaps in visitor numbers and a few stark declines.

Overall discounting the two new members of the sector there were 45 gainers with more visitors in 2005 than in 1997 and 40 losers with fewer annual visitors. There are certain recurring traits amongst the largest gainers. National Museum status for England or Wales is clearly a big help in terms of funding availability and visitor appeal, and the advent of free entry put most of Wales’ national museums in the top ten gainers. The real connection amongst all the gainers though is the receipt of major HLF grants for redevelopment and expansion of visitor facilities, for example £4.5 million for the English National Coal Mining Museum and £1.6 million for the Welsh Slate Museum. The problems of those languishing in the table of biggest losers are more varied but age and a lack of recent investment are common factors. A key reason for the success of the Eden Project was its novelty in appearing to be something new and unusual and so worth travelling to see. Clearly thanks to the HLF

Table 5.3: ERIH attractions experiencing the greatest gains and losses in visitor numbers 1997-2005

Top 5 Gainers (percentage increase of visitor numbers 1997- 2005)	Increase (2005 visitors – 1997 visitors)	Top 5 Losers (percentage decrease of visitor numbers 1997- 2005)	Decrease (2005 visitors – 1997 visitors)
1. National Coal Mining Museum, Wakefield	83246	1. Didcot railway centre	-60000
2. National Slate Museum, Llanberis	81054	2. Birkenhead Tramwys	-16009
3. National Railway Museum, York	765434	3. Verdant Works, Dundee	-16489
4. Steam- Great Western Railway Museum	50439	4. Boat Musuem, Ellesmere Port	-29000
5. Abbey Pumping station, Leicester	23800	5. Quarry Bank Mill, Styal	-78000

(ERIH 2006)

there is already a collection of state of the art industrial heritage attractions scattered throughout the UK and so the number of niches to be tapped into and unique selling points to be found is small. In any event HLF funding is now greatly curtailed making it less likely that heritage of any kind will be the basis for ten million pound plus tourist developments, and new or redeveloping sites will need to find ways to do more with less.

Pearce (1989) has remarked how although the economic multiplier effect exists in all industries it is often trumpeted as though it were a distinctive trait of tourism. The employment multiplier is often emphasised in proposed projects in areas suffering from under employment, as it can be used to translate one number, the budget requirement of the project, into another number, the number of full time equivalent or FTE jobs created. However comparing projects to each other in terms of how many

FTE jobs are created may not show which projects are of the most benefit. A notable weakness in the Parkin scheme was that it emphasised the work created during the development phase over the less impressive number that would be employed once the project was up and running and losing money year on year. To deliver any lasting benefit to a deprived community requires less of a short sighted emphasis on the development phase. Based on the example of Geevor tin mine it can also be argued that project planners need to spend more time designing jobs to maximise their benefit to the community rather than assuming that the bigger the development budget the more FTE positions spending it will create and so the greater benefit.

Geevor received a 3.4 million pound funding package at the end of 2006 and discussing how this would be spent stated:

“Trustees at Pendeen Community Heritage, the charity that manages Geevor recognise the need for properly paid year round employment and the need for career structures that will help stop young people leaving the area, breaking the pattern of low wage seasonal employment in tourism and agriculture.”

(PCH 2007)

This recognises that much of the employment created by tourism is of a low quality being seasonal, part time and not very well paid. The employment tourism projects create can often be divided into two tiers, the well paid and skilled work of designers and other contractors employed during the development phase who are likely to be brought in from outside the regeneration area and the menial work of the established attraction which offers locals some work but without much stability or prospect of advancement.

Projects of a smaller scale cannot make as grandiose claims about the number of new jobs created or the multiplier effects of new construction. As such they are often found to be seeking to harness less tangible benefits of heritage to ameliorate aspects of deprivation besides simple unemployment. In communities with poor access to services and a lack of recreational facilities or educational opportunity, heritage

projects may serve as a focus for community activity and reach out to the socially deprived. This can be observed in the recent prevalence of 'audience development' as a key activity of heritage projects. Broadly speaking audience development is concerned with heritage sites attracting visitors from outside the traditional demographics of heritage sites, generally white middle class families and retirees. Audience development plans are now a requirement for large HLF projects and outline what barriers prevent certain groups and demographics from visiting a site and how these barriers can be lifted. A typical example of audience development can be seen at Geevor where visitor surveys showed that local people with low incomes rarely visited the museum (PCH 2005). To attract more people from the local vicinity whose heritage the museum is there to conserve, a number of initiatives were undertaken. Free entry was given to ex-employees of the mine and events arranged for reunions of former workers on site, while discounted entry prices and special offers were made available through local papers. An oral history project and an exhibition of local people's photographs served to engage the local community with the heritage project. These measures have reportedly succeeded in increasing the number of local residents amongst visitors with a 100% increase in the uptake of reduced price concessions for locals between 2005 and 2008. There are a variety of possible reasons for seeking to attract more local visitors. An exclusive emphasis on tourists as visitors to heritage may be criticised by the likes of Walsh as disbaring locals from their own history and if a project becomes disconnected it can become very unpopular with the local community, as was the case with Ironbridge Gorge which the current management admits has in the past been extremely unpopular due to a lack of community consultation in its pursuit of tourists (Pers.com. Maureen McGregor). There is also the pragmatic consideration that local visitors may visit regularly and help keep a borderline attraction afloat financially. In modern heritage projects there has been a shift from a simple understanding of experts creating heritage attractions which draw in tourists allowing the community members to benefit economically, to a more complex situation in which projects are expected to appeal to tourists and locals as users and for the locals to be heavily involved in developing the heritage attraction as more than mere employees.

After the experience of heritage boom in South Wales in the 1980s, which birthed sites like RHP that have good qualities as memorials but fall far short of the

regenerative pay off expected of them, Walker remarked that the politicians and planners of that era were over enthusiastic about the potential of heritage tourism. It is plain to see that memorialising past industries is no Midas touch for deprived communities. Yet the thinking behind RHP still recurs in places like the Parkin plan for Amlwch. Today heritage projects are more modest and expectations of them proportionally more sensible, but there is still a great deal of good to be done through heritage projects in areas like Amlwch, Pendeen and Blaenafon. Scale of investment is important but two projects of the same ultimate budget may have vastly different levels of impact depending on how they are implemented. The regenerative impact of heritage developments is best achieved through local sourcing of labour and other requirements as it feeds both the economic and social needs of the community.

The Eden project is an exemplar of how to bring wider economic benefits to a host community out of a tourist attraction, not because of its size in terms of investment and popularity, though these certainly help, but because of its commitment to using local suppliers. This extends to helping set up local businesses where one does not exist to provide a needed good or service. The benefits to project viability of incorporating training rather than importing skills from outside have been noted, but such an approach also of course promotes the multiplier effect of projects as it eliminates a source of leakage. Heritage projects have great potential to bring training to deprived communities with a lack of skills and qualifications and could be designed to provide jobs of a higher quality than those tourism is usually associated with.

From these studies of the broader environment of heritage projects we can induct a number of important lessons for the Copper Kingdom which will be developed in the following discussion chapter. To conclude here it should be noted that a vast amount of material has been encountered through delving into the process of development of various attractions and there is doubtless much more to be learned through this type of research. Heritage cannot any longer be treated as a new phenomenon, if this was ever tenable. Managers have a responsibility to be mindful not just of what other, “competitor”, projects are doing right now but of the course of projects over time. Decades into the “heritage boom” and after years with the HLF as a dominant influence in the heritage sector, an awareness of the recent history of “heritage” should be an obligatory tool for making management decisions.

Chapter 6: Discussion

The discussion chapter brings together the results of the detailed local study in chapter 4 and the comparative cases explored in chapter 5 to develop an understanding of heritage tourism projects in general from the perspective of the conceptual framework in chapter 2. It then goes on to use this understanding to meet objective 4 of the research to **“Provide recommendations for how to develop the Copper Kingdom project in order to maximise its regenerative effect on the Amlwch community and the regional economy.”**

Chapter 6: Discussion

The landscape of Amlwch and Parys Mountain is a resource to which cultural value can be ascribed, which can be treated as a single massive artefact with a complex and largely forgotten history that provides evidence about the origins of industrial society. The CMP (2005) describes this landscape as being of world importance and its national significance is recognised in the register of landscapes of outstanding historic interest (Cadw, ICOMOS and CCW 1998). The importance of the resource is explicitly acknowledged by advisors to the HLF even as they make arguments against funding projects intended to conserve the resource and improve access to it (Gregory 2007). The developmental history of the Copper Kingdom Project shows that unique heritage value is no guarantee of finding support for conservation and opening access. The potential of the landscape to contribute more to the economy and community life on Anglesey is considerable but there are clearly impediments to realising this potential.

The study has built on the conceptual framework established in Chapter 2 by studying the development history of a number of heritage based attractions and finding that the concept of product of destination lifecycles is highly pertinent to heritage management. Such attractions do follow a definite trajectory characteristic of products in a private sector marketplace, regardless of the level of public sector support and involvement. Public sector involvement is characterised by one-time grants rather than reliable support since subsidies are always under political threat and do not therefore offer protection against low visitor numbers. The overall effect of public sector involvement contributes to rather than mitigating the problems of sustainability the lifecycle describes.

What has also emerged as a key problem in current practice is the separation of interpretation from planning decisions, and the inability of manager's to coordinate the crucial element of interpretation with other aspects of projects due to a lack of proper oversight. This is a problem suggested by Uzzel's (1998) theoretical framework and identified in practice by Dicks (2000) which the present study gives a clear example of and suggests may be a widespread problem in the current heritage sector.

The first part of this discussion seeks to describe the environment for heritage projects in Britain today based on what has been witnessed both in Amlwch and at the case study sites to illustrate what these impediments are. After this assessment of the pitfalls that threaten all heritage projects operating today, it is proposed that the solution lies in reorganising the staffing of projects in order to make interpretation skills internal to the workings of projects rather than a skill set that is mainly hired in on a temporary basis.

This concept is illustrated in the second part of the discussion which addresses the objective of providing recommendations for the future development of the Copper Kingdom Project. The recommendations made are based on an application of the principles of best practice developed in chapter 5 to the Copper Kingdom Landscape and its nascent audience as reported in chapter 4.

6.1: Heritage visitor attractions

As the cradle of the industrial revolution the UK has a lot of industrial heritage, most of which is considered important by someone, and accordingly many heritage projects are developed. In the tourist lifecycle model the process described is stimulated initially by a trickle of tourists taking an interest in an undeveloped area or resource (Cooper 1997). This is not found to be the case however in the initiation of heritage based visitor attractions, though most follow the processes described once development begins. As seen at Amlwch, RHP and Big Pit the spur to development is generated internally by local enthusiasts wanting to memorialise sites and industries that were once crucial to the local community rather than by wealthy allocentric tourists appearing at forgotten and abandoned sites. Because deindustrialisation in the UK means economic disadvantage and relics of expired industries are usually neighbours, the urge to commemorate the past frequently collides with political aspiration to regenerate local economies. This can cause the inflation of projects and aspirations for a heritage resource to run far ahead of what funding is realistically available and what can practically be achieved on the ground. Rhondda Heritage Park is a classic example of this as seen in Dicks' (2000) study as perhaps the Copper Kingdom project will ultimately prove to be, given the similar arc of developmental history seen in 4.1.1. Obviously there is demand for direct contact with history and for tourist products that deliver this, but the decision to supply in this market is made on a basis of hope that

the heritage will 'sell' to tourism if developed rather than because tourism demand is already present. In Amlwch as in many areas with few opportunities for economic development due to their geographic isolation tourism seems the best of severely limited options.

Having decided to develop their heritage resources into a tourist attraction a project enters into competition with the myriad other heritage projects for a grant from the HLF or other funders. The inflation of project goals towards accomplishing economic regeneration through tourism from the humbler aims of conservation and memorialisation encourages project proposals in the multi million pound price range, where competition for grants is significantly fiercer and the chances of success much less. To even enter into this fray requires a significant investment in project planning as for the HLF especially extensive documentation is required to secure a grant of this size (see section 4.1.1). Cognizant that producing detailed plans is often beyond the abilities of the conservation groups originating the projects the HLF in the past provided the project planning grant and now provides the stage 1 grant, both being injections of funding to be spent preparing bid documentation. This has fostered a development industry of consultancy services on which projects can spend their planning money, the majority of which must of necessity go to waste as most projects will never receive grants on the scale they are planning for. The consultants used may of course be working for multiple grant applicants at once and are likely to have been hired on the basis of past involvement with HLF projects. There is therefore an influence towards homogenisation of heritage projects inherent in the funding process, making the planned attraction more similar to what already exists on the market. Projects attempt to emulate projects the HLF has already financed while the consultants seek to repeat the same formula for success with every project they work on.

Some projects successfully secure a large development grant and having perhaps existed so far as a modest enterprise are able to relaunch themselves into the heritage attractions market after a flurry of development work. The new visitor experience will most likely be developed by professional interpreters and designers on temporary contracts which the projects can only afford while in the development phase. Once the grant is gone the attraction must pay its overheads out of income from visitors, in some cases with subsidy support from local government if they are backing the project. Grants are awarded for development on the basis that an attraction will be

created that can meet its overheads indefinitely, but the lifecycle of tourist attractions and indeed the lifecycle of all consumer products means that this idea, on which funding agencies like HLF operate in these cases, is a fallacy. However high visitor numbers may rise in the years immediately following development, they will eventually decline to the point that the attraction struggles to remain solvent, as can currently be seen at RHP and the ERIH sites losing large numbers of visitors in 5.4.

The large number of heritage projects in the UK exist in a competitive marketplace in which newness is a major source of advantage. Funding mechanisms like the HLF benefit newcomers while long established attractions struggle to find the money to update themselves, and so their galleries and interpretation remain in place indefinitely, regardless of whether the interpretation on offer ever “worked” in the first place, as at most case study sites interpretation on offer dated back several years and the detailed example of the Sail Loft refurbishment (4.1.3) shows how this situation arises. Being the newest attraction of its type is one of the only advantages available in this marketplace because of the influences towards homogeneity that projects are subjected to in the funding process. In particular the use of interpretive designers on short term contracts tends to smooth out the differences between different heritage sites. As English Heritage’s Director of Museums and Collections puts it:

“We all know the key to success in marketing is to identify the ‘USP’, the Unique Selling

Proposition of a place, and then to promote it in our advertising. But when visitors reach the place, too often they find its uniqueness buried beneath the standard interpretation formula, of didactic text panels, plus scale models, videos, replica objects, replica people, costumed interpreters and the heritage shop. If the medium is the message, our media are getting monotonous and they are selling a standard set of current Western social values.”

- Bryant (2003)

If all industrial heritage attractions conform to the same template the only other source of advantage as they compete with each other, apart from newness, is location. Attractions that are

placed near pre-existing concentrations of tourists will last longer than attractions built in the hope of attracting tourists into a new destination. If every mining museum offers broadly the same experience to the general visitor with only dedicated enthusiasts able to discern differences as has been the case at most attractions visited people have no reason to travel further than the nearest one which, for most, will not be in a peripheral region in need of more economic input.

Once new gallery materials, often based on what was cutting edge technology at the time, lose their appeal and visitor numbers fall there is no prospect of being able to hire the interpretive consultants that could be called on during the development phase; they are too expensive. That attractions will need to rejuvenate themselves and update and improve their visitor experience is inevitable but the only ways to achieve this are to seek another development grant, to retreat into public subsidisation so that revenue is not dependent on visitor numbers, or to do both. The Copper Kingdom project was criticised for seeking to use multiple grants to have renewed development phases every few years (Gregory 2007) as the HLF supposedly funds projects on a “once and for all” basis and so while it may help new attractions start up it will not give grants to prop up older ones. But established attractions can get around this through multiple projects all contributing to a single attraction, as can be seen at Ironbridge Gorge. This is an attraction that is long established and with steady high visitor numbers but, nonetheless, it reportedly makes a large application to the HLF every two years and continually seeks development grants to keep updating its visitor experience (pers.com Maureen McGregor). Where an attraction is failing, local or national government may step in to provide an operating subsidy if they were not doing so from the beginning, but the attraction will still face pressure to make as much money as possible from visitors as local government is pressed to cut funding for the heritage to reduce taxes or spend the money on other services, a problem currently faced by Rhondda Heritage Park (Pers.Com. John Harrison). A good option but one that will rarely be available is for a major attraction facing decline to become a national museum, as seen at the coal mines of Big Pit and Wakefield, now national coal mining museums for Wales and England respectively. In cases like this the government can match fund an expensive redevelopment that the HLF will be confident in supporting knowing that in the years after there is little risk of the attraction closing as it is supported by taxes.

The economic value of cultural landscapes as a concept lies in creating a summative resource for tourist consumption out of a collection of features with less appeal individually than they possess when packaged together. Once identified heritage landscapes are likely to kindle hopes for tourist-led regeneration and the scale of work needed to develop and manage a landscape will inevitably lead to an inflated project as has occurred in Amlwch. Comprehensive development will be an expensive option and to even contemplate it is likely to require some form of planning grant, but the nature of a landscape lends itself to having multiple component projects supported by separate development grants. For these projects to succeed in contributing to a larger whole, an overall plan would be required for the operation of the completed landscape as tourist destination. Visitor appreciation of a landscape cannot develop by producing one centre after another all conforming to the same set up and offering the same visitor experience; they will simply cannibalise each others' businesses. Heritage landscapes may require an initial orientation from some centre but are then best experienced gradually through outdoor activities over several days. In this lies their great potential strength to have genuine regenerative impact, by contributing to the growth of accommodation and ancillary businesses. To work this requires gradual phased development and a long term commitment of funding to develop the heritage landscape over time. This does not seem feasible to achieve under the current funding paradigm for heritage development and with management practices that are heavily oriented to that paradigm.

It is proposed that the problems in this system stem from the inability of heritage attractions to produce interpretation outside their development phases. As attractions are meant to be born in a flurry of spending and then run for as little cost as possible forever after, making any alterations to the visitor experience created will be beyond the capabilities of the minimal workforce employed. In the case of more technological installations even maintenance may be beyond the purview of regular staff and volunteers. The funding paradigm also favours mechanical interpretation over the live interpreter as in all things it favours one time purchases, however expensive, over continuous costs like staff members. The professionalization of interpretation has made it something that can only be contemplated during the development phase due to the high cost of hiring in consultants with experience in interpretation. Just as Alfrey and Putnam (1992) suggest, hiring in these services for the brief development phase encourages homogeneity

and hastens the product lifecycle towards the stages of decline. Interpretation, the act of communicating about the heritage to visitors, is so externalised that it may be carried on without the project ever setting clear objectives to its consultant designers as they imagine the professionals will better understand what the objectives should be. Internalising the ability to produce interpretation would allow projects to update their visitor experience as a continual activity rather than as part of a periodic recurring crisis of redevelopment and relaunch. It would also eliminate a major source of 'leakage' from such projects, namely the hiring in of interpretive services, and so improve their credentials as drivers of regeneration causing a multiplier effect.

Although calculating the multiplier effect of a project like this is complicated and the variety of different methodologies used makes the outcome of questionable value, the principles of maximising the economic benefit are subject to greater consensus and are fairly straightforward:

- The project should create as many jobs as it can and pay its employees as much as it can. Year round jobs should be preferred to creating seasonal jobs, and the creation of full time jobs should be favoured over the creation of part time jobs.
- The project should aim to attract as many tourists as it sustainably can, to create work and provide a greater stimulus to entrepreneurial activity.
- In sourcing the needs of the project (labour including management and consultancy services, machinery and information technology, retail goods and food, printing, cleaning services and so on) local sources should always be favoured over external providers of these requirements. If one of the project's needs cannot be met locally it is worth asking how essential the product or service really is and what near equivalents can be found locally.

These principles are found to be highly compatible with heritage projects investing more in developing their own capacity to interpret their resources and so operate sustainably. The lesson heritage projects should draw from the lifecycle model is, in a sense, to be more inward looking and less concerned with what other sites are telling visitors, to concentrate on finding what is different about their heritage rather than what elements of its history will conform to tourists expectations of the industrial past. It is not advocated that privately run projects employ

unnecessary staff, but a workforce beyond minimal requirements and the unskilled and low paid jobs that often characterise tourism is necessary for heritage projects. Investing more money into the human resources of the project is essential to enable it to bring out the unique selling points of the heritage resource and maintain its distinctiveness so that it can operate sustainably outside of the destructive pattern described by the tourism lifecycle. There are four key characteristics heritage projects of the kind covered by this thesis should ideally possess: some interpretation skills training for all employees, job enrichment, continual replacement of exhibition materials and finally year round openings.

It is not unreasonable to expect that all staff at a heritage site have some knowledge of the site and its history and some ability to communicate the significance of the site to visitors. Therefore staff need to be educated about the site and taught ways to express their knowledge in ways that are appropriate to informal learning by visitors in a leisure context. The importance of being able to interact with knowledgeable staff to a heritage visitor experience is illustrated in 5.2. The basic concepts that recur in all interpretive literature of brevity, clarity of message and adapting to the visitor's own interests are not difficult to grasp or to teach, and are applicable to any media from live guiding to web design. While veteran experts and academics are often steeped in knowledge of a site but have difficulty with the encoding process of interpretation that strips away so much detail, freelance interpreters have only limited time to familiarise themselves with a site's history and fall back on the same interpretive gimmicks they have applied elsewhere. What is needed of course is people equally strong in both local historic knowledge and the skill set of interpretation to give the public a genuine insight into the heritage. A better role for interpretation consultants than designing galleries during the development phase would be providing training courses to instil interpretive skills and techniques in local people in areas like Amlwch. The training course delivered to Walk Amlwch guides (see 4.1.2) was well structured in its split between historic information and guiding methods and practical experience, but it also illustrated the problem that people can always drift out of a project and take their skills with them after funds have been invested, particularly if there is not work available at the end of the course. Training whilst on the job is to be preferred as a longer term commitment. This is an area where the one off grant funding paradigm is not overly helpful but can potentially be worked around.

The job enrichment practices employed at the Roman baths, Bath can be developed further into a system that addresses many key weaknesses in the current assumed model of heritage attraction development. Although implementing these practices in Bath created some initial resentment from employees asked to take on new tasks many saw as either above or beneath them (pers.com. Robert Morris), the scheme has proven successful in terms of visitor satisfaction and a low employee turnover (pers. Com. Otto Hauser) and for projects still in more formative stages without much of an existing workforce applying this multi-skilling approach should be less controversial. It is proposed that projects like the Copper Kingdom should move towards employing local people in enriched jobs, whereby in the course of a typical working week they are cycled around different tasks from the mundane and menial, to the curatorial and investigative, and to the creative and interpretive. To illustrate how this system could work imagine an employee who one morning leads a group of visitors around Parys Mountain as a tour guide, then in the afternoon he or she performs the less glamorous task of manning the till at the Sail Loft visitor centre. While serving food and clearing tables, the worker is well capable of fielding customers questions about the artefacts and exhibits on display. Since the exhibits are changed regularly to allow more artefacts to be shown and interpreted, the next day the employee is away from Amlwch at the county archives researching information for a new piece of interpretation. There is of course too much interesting information to go into the short text being drafted and redrafted but what is left out can be incorporated into guided tours to keep them from being the same thing every time for every group. So the individual worker is involved in every aspect of the production of the visitor experience as a tour guide, a caterer, a curator, and an interpretive writer and designer. Past Copper Kingdom development proposals have always imagined the workforce as being composed mainly of unskilled seasonal workers with one or two managers responsible for tasks such as interpretation, events planning and community outreach, with paying the salary of the latter group problematic given the revenues predicted. The proposition here is that the two tiers of employee be merged into one, responsible for both the menial and the technical aspects of providing for visitors. Payroll costs will make up the majority of the total running costs in this model but it is suggested salaries be set at a level that reflects the current average produced when management's pay cheque is balanced against that of

the caterers and cleaners. This seems the most affordable way for privately run projects to develop capacity to rejuvenate their visitor experience.

Most sites try to do too much at once in their interpretation and so achieve very little, as with the excess of objectives contained in the Copper Kingdom Interpretation plan (see 4.1). Presenting a piece of history with an appropriate artefact requires the selection of a narrow enough focus that the information can be encoded in ways designed to engage and hold casual visitors' interest in a necessarily brief duration or word count. Using interpretive communication techniques the complex history of a place like industrial Amlwch cannot be condensed into a single exhibition and the attempt to do so only results in a set of amorphous snapshots of different strands that fail both to introduce all the key aspects and to cohere into an overall rough understanding of the landscape. Key parts of the place's history must inevitably be left out and ignored, but only with a fixed gallery exhibition do they need to be ignored permanently. Regularly changing gallery displays gives the opportunity to showcase more artefacts and address more themes in the area's history, and to respond to audience feedback. While technological advance has produced interpretive gimmickry which this thesis has been critical of, it has also made computing and printing cheaper so that projects can afford to set up their own capability to produce panels and exhibition materials with the same "professional" appearance as the current Sail Loft displays, and more importantly be able to discard and replace these materials cheaply so that the attraction is not tied to an unchanging interpretation and can conduct evaluations to gradually improve the visitor experience. Changing displays allows the heritage to be explored fully rather than over simplified and it encourages repeat visiting and use by local people as well as tourists.

Finally a crucial prerequisite for this set up to function properly over time is that the attraction does not shut down during the off season. While opening hours may be reduced to save some money, the staff must be retained. Employees drawn from the local area need to be willing to undertake training and to stay with the project long enough for their knowledge and experience to grow as an asset to the project. In exchange for such a commitment local people must be offered a real job, one that exists all year round and can be relied upon. Reduced visitor numbers in the off season would entail more time dedicated to design, research, maintenance and conservation and less on guiding and customer services for employees in "enriched" jobs capable

of turning their hands to any task. The off season would be an ideal time for temporary exhibitions aimed at the local audience rather than tourists and although the local audience might be a smaller less profitable market, remaining open at a loss makes sense if it enables the build up of skills and experience over years that enhances the performance of the attraction during the peak season when the opportunity for profits is much greater. Off peak tourism is a goal of most destinations and one that can only be achieved if the visitor attractions remain open.

It is recommended that the Copper Kingdom work towards employment practices of the kind described above, which are for the most part applicable to any heritage based tourist attraction that chooses to adopt them. Building up this system is likely to prove more difficult and take longer to achieve than following the typical processes outlined above, but the outcome will be a more sustainable heritage attraction contributing far more to its host economy and appreciation of the heritage resources.

6.2: Developing the Copper Kingdom Project.

Every decision made by management in developing a heritage asset into a tourist attraction affects the final visitor experience provided. This is why it is unacceptable to delay decisions about interpretation until the final stages of development after the resources have been selected, the visitor facilities planned and the grants raised and then to outsource most of the interpretation design to a previously uninvolved third party. Interpretation, or consideration of what the project is telling visitors, should be an integral part of a heritage project from the outset, when a resource is identified as worth developing in order for the project to be able to explain why it is significant and worth developing. The communication of what is historically significant and what is the main product being sold at a heritage visitor attraction and decisions about where to place a gallery and where to sell food, which trails to develop and which buildings to preserve all convey messages to the visitor and should be considered as part of the interpretation. A developing project is already off to a bad start when its business plan and its interpretation plan are separate documents with different authors.

The development of an overall theme that encapsulates the heritage assets covered by the Copper Kingdom Project has so far not been done but is necessary to developing a consistent communication with visitors. The statement of overall theme recommended is:

“The landscape of Amlwch and Parys Mountain is a huge machine for turning men into metal”

This has obviously been drawn up according to Veverka’s (1994) model of interpretive planning where a single sentence theme is required. The statement is deliberately odd sounding until it is explained so that it can be used with the provoke-relate-reveal pattern of interpretation. It expresses the concept that the Copper Kingdom Landscape can be conceived of as a unity that developed through human interaction with the natural resources to meet a need of the external industrial society, and so forms a basis for visitor understanding of a cultural landscape. The theme is also meant to address the human element in the Copper Kingdom story, that the landscape is the life’s work of thousands upon thousands of individuals, who built up the sheer walls of the port and dug out the great opencast of Parys Mountain largely by hand over several decades. As Fowler (2004) states “A cultural landscape is a memorial to the unknown labourer” and while this is certainly true of north east Anglesey given the survey results regarding interest in ordinary mine workers (4.3.5) and Peter Walker’s recommendations about individual human stories, it should be the goal of the Copper Kingdom to make a few of these labourers known. The idea of men being turned into metal focuses the interpretation on the workforce and the community of Amlwch and makes it harder to dodge the ‘hot’ interpretation topics of exploitation and inequality than it has been for the Copper Kingdom project so far. As a final point, the decision to use “metal” rather than “copper” is not just made for alliterative value. It is suggested that the Copper Kingdom Project should lay claim in its interpretation to telling the public about the broader history of metal mining in North Wales and have a collections policy that includes gathering artefacts from other mines and mining communities, while still focussing primarily on the local story of the largest metal mine in Wales. This broader focus increases the number of visitors who will be able to connect their own family history to the story being told and gives the interpreters more to explore. More pragmatically, while there is a National Coal Mining Museum for Wales there is no National Metal Mining Museum. Staking a claim to be the primary memorial to this large part of the nation’s history creates the potential for an

eventual escape from operations being purely funded by visitor revenue into tax supported national museum status.

The success of heritage landscapes as tourist destinations is contingent on enabling visitors to recognise the landscape and see how its parts relate to the larger whole so that exploring the landscape becomes meaningful. This must begin with providing a conceptual framework through interpretation, a simple overview of the landscape entity that can be built upon steadily enriching the overall experience of the landscape. The overall theme suggested provides this conceptual framework and so the next step is to consider which specific location or possible gateway into the greater landscape has the most visitors and so is the best place to communicate this conceptual framework.

It has been shown in the current research that, however cautious one is about who does and does not count as a real tourist, the visitor numbers at Parys Mountain are significantly higher than visitor numbers at the Sail Loft (see 4.2 and 4.3.1) making the mountain, not the port, the current core attraction of AIHT's project. Based on this finding it is argued that Parys Mountain has the greatest achievable visitor numbers, and hence is the location where the majority of visitors will be welcomed and have the potential to be orientated within the landscape. Parys Mountain offers something unique in the region and easily appreciated with its alien-looking landscape and will always be the hub where visitor numbers are greatest within the Copper Kingdom landscape, and this needs to be acknowledged in the management of the project to be able to deliver the maximum amount of economic "spin off" into Amlwch itself.

The appeal to tourism of Parys Mountain is so great that the best possible way for the Copper Kingdom to be organised as a project capable of funding itself may be to erect a pay barrier around the site. Survey respondents have expressed surprise that no such barrier exists and while they would prefer it to stay that way their comments and the visitor numbers estimate show that the public would be willing to pay to see the lunar landscape of Mynydd Parys. This would necessitate investing in a large amount of fencing around the site to prevent access, as can be seen around the great open cast at Falun. Closing access might be well justified by the dangers posed by improper usage by fly tippers, quad bike riders and others to the heritage value of the location and also by the dangerous nature of parts of the mountain and the difficulty of keeping

visitors on the currently very limited safe trail. With increased visitor numbers the chance of an accident becomes more probable unless accompanied by increased safety measures such as warden activity. Ultimately though with free entry from multiple locations visitors cannot be policed to remain on the trail and not use other paths as outlined in the report on improving access in appendix 2. If a serious accident occurs on the site it should be kept in mind that closing off access to the mountain could have significant benefits for the Copper Kingdom Project and the Amlwch community. Limiting access would prevent the misuse of the site for fly tipping, drug use and other activities covered in 4.2.6. For now though any effort to end free access is likely to prove unpopular with the community, the existing base of visitors and with funding agencies and so a less direct way needs to be found to realise an economic input for the local community out of the distinctive character of the mountain.

Parys Mountain lacks any historic structures sufficiently intact for adaptive reuse as a visitor centre. The strong preference for adaptive reuse of historic buildings over building new structures by HLF has been a major influence inclining the Copper Kingdom Project towards the Port and neglecting the mountain in its previous development plans, although a small facility was proposed in the multi-million pound Parkin (2005) plan. It is not feasible to build an entire museum on the mountain but a small building in the area currently used for car parking on the mountain (replacing the current unattractive cabin and at most four or five times its size) is essential to delivering the AIHT's objectives for the landscape in its care. This small facility needs to perform two tasks, both essential to making the Copper Kingdom a workable idea:

1. To make the mountain more accessible by providing physical necessities and a welcome. The centre will include toilets, be able to sell cold food and beverages and items such as disposable rain macs. The staff present will be able to advise visitors about walking on the mountain and offer a tour guiding service and their presence will create a greater feeling of security about leaving their car behind and walking the trail. In summary, to eliminate the barriers to access of the mountain: lack of basic physical needs, lack of information and lack of confidence.
2. To orientate visitors within the landscape and refer them on to the trust's facilities in Porth Amlwch. Its goal should be that as many visitors as possible also visit the port.

An initial target would be that 75% of visitors to the “mountain lodge” will also make a visit to the port. The figure in 2007 was 61-68%, so some effort is needed to reach this higher rate of referral.

A rate of 75% referral from the more appealing mountain to the port can be achieved through interpretation on the mountain geared towards this goal and improving the offer of the port itself through developments evolved from the Trust’s earlier activities and business plans. The opportunities to derive income through catering and retail are greater in the port as is the stimulation to other local businesses, but if a good rate of referral is maintained investing in the mountain will benefit these operations two miles to the north. In developing a centre for enhancing access to the mountain and also pursuing the wide range of access improvements outlined in Appendix 2 it will be possible to greatly increase visitor numbers on the mountain and the share received by the town will grow accordingly.

The core interpretive principle from Tilden’s (1957) writing is that interpretation is based on the potential for learning that arises from direct contact between the public and the heritage resource in question, or “the thing itself”. There is a danger of this contact being lost in the case of cultural landscapes, as so much modern interpretive practice in the UK is geared towards the gallery experience and keeping visitors indoors while “the thing itself” can only be experienced by being outside in the landscape. Museum experiences may supplement enjoyment of the landscape and provide the knowledge to appreciate it but cannot form the whole experience. Guided tours have been identified as the best media for cultural landscapes both for the visitor experience and for the economic life of the host community. Tour guiding in the Copper Kingdom has so far largely been restricted to the two key locations of Parys Mountain and the Port but should range beyond this into the intervening areas of the heritage landscape. One option for doing so is to operate a shuttle bus between the port and the mountain combined with guided tours so that features of interest seen en route can be interpreted. The existence of such a transport link would also aid the referral rate between the two sites. A leaflet should also be developed along the lines of that which exists for the Falun townscape marking and giving brief information on all the buildings with historic associations in the town to encourage visitors to

explore for themselves. As well as the interpreting beyond the two locations where it holds property rights the Trust should also be supportive of other heritage projects arising in the area and form partnerships with them, such as for example the efforts to conserve and restore the architecturally unique Our Lady Star of the Sea catholic church (Image 6.1). Historic buildings in the town like this and Mona Lodge (Image 6.2) offer a lot of scope for additional projects run by the AIHT or by other community groups with AIHT's assistance, to raise grants and bring more investment into the landscape building on its total offer as a tourist destination.

Developing the totality of the landscape is essential to delivering the full economic benefits that can be derived from the local heritage by creating a package of visitor experiences large and varied enough to stimulate the accommodation sector, but this is a long term goal and in the meantime the Copper Kingdom, as conceived with a significant workforce to pay, needs to establish its financial viability, and this requires the optimal use of the three properties in the port the Trust controls. The plan for the port is not dramatically different from those proposed so far

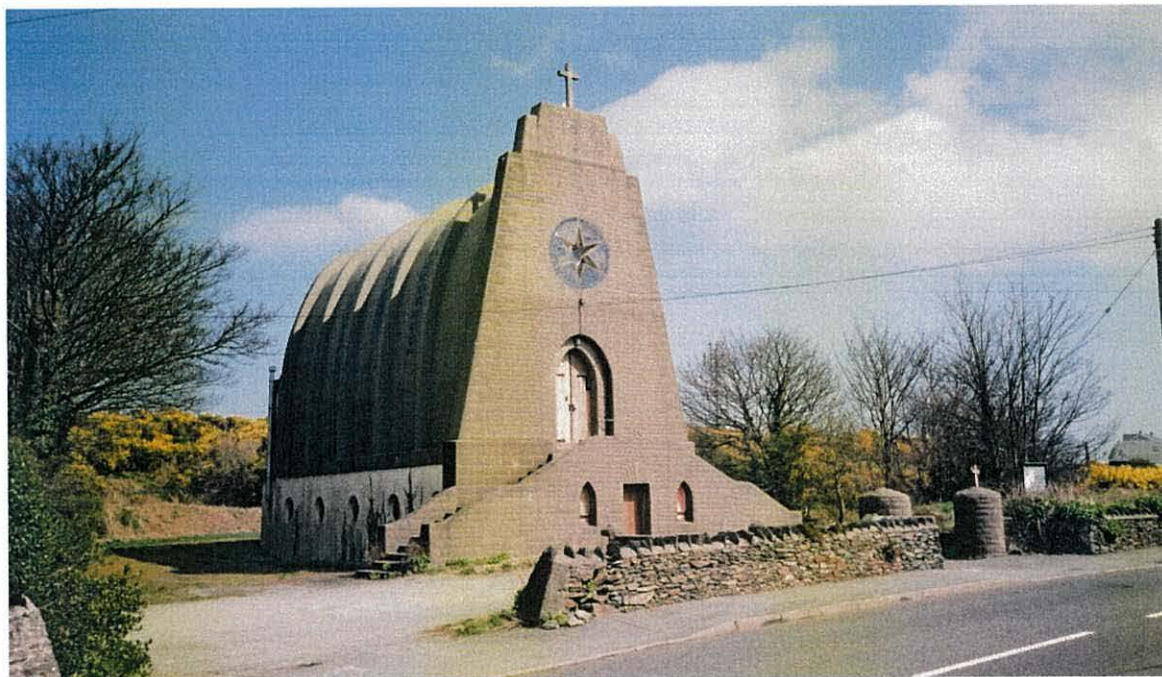


Image 6.1: Our Lady Star of the Sea Catholic Church, Amlwch.



Image 6.2: Mona Lodge, Amlwch, former home of mine manager James Treweek.

by AIHT and its consultants but takes on board criticisms contained in the expert advice to the HLF that led to the bid being withdrawn in 2008, in particular Marjoram's concern over the confused division of tasks between the Sail Loft and the Copper Bin (Marjoram 2007). The emphasis here therefore is on having a clear differentiated role for each of the three key buildings the Trust has to work with.

The Sail Loft: the Sail Loft should remain the primary gallery space and catering outlet of the AIHT, but as recommended by Donald Insoll Associates, the function of the two floors should be swapped over. The sloping upper floor is a large and novel architectural space better suited to displays of artefacts and exhibits than it is to its current use as a a café with some heritage awkwardly crammed in at the edges. The catering operation should be located downstairs with the rest room facilities, with outdoor seating appended to make up for the reduction in table space and, if possible, architectural work to allow in more natural light as in architectural plans produced by Insoll Associates for the 2007

bid. Entry to the gallery on the upper floor would remain free but a collection box prominently displayed would ask for a suggested donation of £3 for adults and £1 for children/ OAPs/students. It is recommended that the displays be changed on a quarterly basis to allow more artefacts to be interpreted and to promote repeat visiting.

The Copper Bin: This building should be developed as a lecture space where the staff can deliver talks at regular intervals throughout the day for which entry is charged. The large windowless space is ideally suited for projection equipment and public speaking. It would in the short term make commercial sense to use this space as a cinema to show films on the area's history as indicated by the 2006 surveys (in appendix 2) where 'A film about the stories of the Port and the mountains' was the most popular answer to a question on what would improve the quality of a visit. However, such films are expensive and it has been seen at the case study sites such as Falun and the SALT museum that they age badly and are hard to replace. Instead a live speaker able to show pictures and short video clips as well as pass around artefacts is preferred. Topics to be addressed should include the Bronze Age period and the underground, two elements of the landscape history where direct contact between public and heritage is more difficult to create although interest is high and so a more artificial and mediated contact must be developed.

The Watchtower: The smallest of the three spaces should take over the task of retailing on behalf of the Copper Kingdom project, freeing up space at the other two buildings. The watchtower would act as an information centre and a ticketing office for the guided tours programme and talks and events held at the Copper Bin, as well as a gift shop.

Tables 6.1 and 6.2 illustrate the main recommendations for structuring the Copper Kingdom in order to maximise its regenerative effect on the Amlwch community and the regional economy. The tables assume a permanent workforce of 14 staff for the developed landscape being rotated around the different locations and tasks that make up the overall visitor attraction. As the attraction must operate at weekends employees time off is distributed in the same way as their work responsibilities, and during normal service there will be 10 employees working and 4 having time off during any morning or afternoon. Table 6.1 details how many employees will be at each location usually and what their main duties and aims will be while there. Table 6.2 is a rota showing how the workforce can be allocated equal amounts of time at each station and so be actively involved in all aspects of the visitor experience. This is a fairly simple illustration, in practice the amount of time spent at each post would likely be adjusted seasonally (with more time for background activities like research and design in the winter due to lower visitor numbers) and it would be desirable to make some activities available in the evening particularly for the benefit of locals in full time employment.

Table 6.1: Recommended Staffing of Copper Kingdom Sites

Location	Duties	Minimum Staff	Aims
Parys Mountain (and transport link)	Guided tours, Tourist and safety information, Retail	3	Provide welcome and orientation within the landscape, enable access to the Mountain, 75% rate of referral to Port area.
Sail Loft Visitor Centre	Care of artefacts, Catering	3	Sell refreshments, encourage donations, interpret artefacts to visitors
Office/ Archives/Other	Research, Planning and designing interpretation, gathering and processing visitor and community feedback	2	Replace interpretation at Sail Loft every 3 months, continual improvement of visitor experience
Watch Tower	Retail, Tourist Information	1	Sell souvenirs, ticket sales and bookings for guided tours, talks and events
Copper Bin	Interpretive talks with use of artefacts and media	1	Interpret aspects of the landscape not readily apparent in accessible structures and areas (i.e. Bronze Age, underground tunnels)

Table 6.2: Example Staff Rota for Copper Kingdom Project

14 Employees: A,B,C,D,E,F,G,H,I,J,K,L,M,N

Location	Monday		Tuesday		Wednesday		Thursday		Friday		Saturday		Sunday	
	am	pm	am	pm	am	pm	am	pm	am	pm	am	pm	am	pm
Parys Mountain	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N
	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N	A
	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N	A	B
Sail Loft Visitor Centre	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N	A	B	C
	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N	A	B	C	D
	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N	A	B	C	D	E
Office/ Archives/Other	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N	A	B	C	D	E	F
	H	I	J	K	L	M	N	A	B	C	D	E	F	G
Watch Tower	I	J	K	L	M	N	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H
Copper Bin	J	K	L	M	N	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I
<i>Time Off</i>	<i>K</i>	<i>L</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>A</i>	<i>B</i>	<i>C</i>	<i>D</i>	<i>E</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>G</i>	<i>H</i>	<i>I</i>	<i>J</i>
	<i>L</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>A</i>	<i>B</i>	<i>C</i>	<i>D</i>	<i>E</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>G</i>	<i>H</i>	<i>I</i>	<i>J</i>	<i>K</i>
	<i>M</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>A</i>	<i>B</i>	<i>C</i>	<i>D</i>	<i>E</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>G</i>	<i>H</i>	<i>I</i>	<i>J</i>	<i>K</i>	<i>L</i>
	<i>N</i>	<i>A</i>	<i>B</i>	<i>C</i>	<i>D</i>	<i>E</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>G</i>	<i>H</i>	<i>I</i>	<i>J</i>	<i>K</i>	<i>L</i>	<i>M</i>

These plans are aimed at establishing a gradual enhancement of the visitor experience through evolving interpretation and the growth of staff experience and a gradual growth in visitor numbers from the present situation over a time frame of the next five to ten years. Beyond this there is a vast scope for further development of heritage tourism in North East Anglesey in the longer term, and a range of possible developments that are currently not useful to consider in depth due to their improbability, but with earlier phases of development and growth as “stepping stones” could become practical options. The value of heritage railways is obvious in mainland North Wales and there have been plans to re-establish the train link across Anglesey to Amlwch along these lines since services stopped. Such plans would appear more viable if Amlwch was already established as a tourist destination, and if implemented would go a long way to easing the problem of Amlwch’s isolation from the main transport corridors of Anglesey and enable further increase in visitor numbers. There may one day be the potential of offering boat tours on a replica sail ship out of the port to view the north coast of Anglesey from the sea. Another possibility that is unrealistic now but can be built towards is the development of underground access at Parys Mountain. Developing safe access to underground works is prohibitively expensive, Geevor was forced to withdraw a lottery bid focussing on underground access but Pendeen Community Heritage, which runs the site, still aspires to this goal and predicts that no other development option it could pursue would do more to increase visitor numbers (PCH 2006). Underground access at Llechwedd, Sygun and Llandudno has been seen to guarantee reasonable visitor numbers where the rest of the experience is outdated. The underground complex at Parys Mountain is still being rediscovered by PUG but appropriate areas have been identified where access could be developed such as the joint drainage adit linking the Mona and Parys Mines’ underground works. Finally the possibility of acquiring national museum status has been alluded to already. Development of a tourist destination with all these assets out of the raw potential of the heritage landscape is easier to project than to achieve in reality. Tourism in Amlwch may well never achieve this advanced stage which would entail a complete transformation of its economy. But if it can be achieved it is through thoughtful management of the earlier stages so that grant money is invested in building up the skills capacity internal to the project and enhancing the experience of the estimated 24235 visitors currently received each year, rather than on chasing these aspirations too early.

Chapter 7: Conclusions

The final chapter sums up the outcomes of the research considering each of the objectives in turn and gives a brief update on developments in Amlwch since the period of research.

Chapter 7- Conclusions

The four key aims for the research were as follows:

1. To understand the current visitor experience of the Copper Kingdom heritage landscape by gathering and comparing data on the audiences of the two key sites in order to determine their relationship in terms of shared audience and cumulative visitor experience.
2. Establish principles of best practice in developing the tourist appeal of heritage landscapes.
3. Appraise independently the planning and development of the visitor experience to be offered by the Copper Kingdom project to tourists.
4. Provide recommendations for how to develop the Copper Kingdom project in order to maximise its regenerative effect on the Amlwch community and the regional economy.

It has been established that nearly half of all visitors to the Copper Kingdom experience both the Sail Loft Visitor centre and Parys Mountain and that most of the rest visit the mountain but not the Trust's visitor centre. This group was previously unknown or at least largely unacknowledged by the AIHT and by the various experts employed to plan for the future of heritage tourism. The existence of this group means that current levels of heritage tourism are higher than previously thought. The estimated 24235 visitors received by the Copper Kingdom in 2007 show, on the one hand, that there is considerable public interest in the area's heritage, even at the current stage of development. Therefore, establishing a financially self supporting project is a very achievable aim. On the other hand the development history of the Copper Kingdom project is made to look wasteful since so much has been invested in planning that is ignorant of the latent audience to be developed at the mountain. Basic steps to make visiting the mountain easier and refer visitors to the Trust's trading organ at the Sail Loft have never been taken. The relationship seen between Parys Mountain and the Sail Loft heritage centre in Porth

Amlwch shows that it is eminently possible to package together an outdoor sight seeing experience and an indoor gallery experience, which bodes well for the further development of this and other heritage landscapes. The situation to be found in Amlwch is one that is likely to be repeated elsewhere; that of a visually spectacular landscape resource that naturally attracts the public but which is limited in terms of commercial potential and of areas suitable for the adaptive reuse of historic properties. It is important to monitor continually the rate of referral from the first area to the second. To ensure regeneration of communities in the midst of spectacular scenery further study should emphasise the barriers to access to the landscape, so that they can be removed and identify the routes of referral into the landscape's commercial centres, so that they can be developed.

Comparison between the Copper Kingdom project and other attractions, at more advanced stages in development, has led to the development of best practice guidelines in areas covered by the conceptual framework of landscape, interpretation and economic impact. It has been argued that heritage landscapes are mainly to be experienced via trails and exploration of townscape but that a museum experience can form a good springboard for this kind of experience if its function is to deliver a conceptual framework of the landscape as a whole. Interpretation should in its content be grounded in the personalisation of history and emphasising individual lives as a way into more esoteric subject matter in order to appeal to a mass audience. In its format interpretation should eschew using advanced technology for its own sake in favour of a group of live guides. Internalising creative capacity through the creation of a skilled and stable workforce is essential to enable landscape attractions to rejuvenate the visitor experience they offer and avoid the periodic crises of the destination lifecycle model. In building this workforce and the experience of the landscape that they offer local sourcing must be emphasised as this is essential to providing a regenerative stimulus to the community at large through heritage. Leakage of money invested in the heritage out of the owning community must be prevented. These principles interrelate but can be proven in isolation to deliver better results even if other recommendations are not followed. The development of heritage landscapes as assets to draw in tourism is seen in the present work as a fairly new task for heritage managers and heritage agencies. It is a task deserving of further study over time as landscape designations by UNESCO and other agencies progress. In the main though it is concluded that most problems for developing landscapes stem

from misapplication of old models and insisting on a museums-led approach that is inappropriate to landscapes.

As plans for the Copper Kingdom Project have been revised and scaled down over the years there has never been a sufficiently clear articulation of what about this resource can draw in visitors and which is different from any other heritage tourism attraction. Efforts to conform to idealised model based on HLF project guidance has drawn the focus away from the situation on the ground in Amlwch and has been hampered by a lack of visitor research. The decision to leave interpretation to short term contractors has left the full time custodians of the project without a clear sense of what the project is supposed to achieve for the public at large. A familiarisation with the theoretical background of interpretation makes an assessment of interpretation at the Trust's main visitor centre difficult, as it forces the conclusion that in fact there is no interpretation. Information written on the walls at the centre is not guided by any theme and contains no overarching message about the value or significance of the area's heritage resources, nor does it mediate contact between the public and these resources as its discourse rarely contacts with the building and the artefact collection around it. Materials produced by the Trust itself have been educative rather than interpretive, in their style and focus only really suitable for visitors with an academic interest in the area. Panels and leaflets written by the Trust have therefore been unsuitable to informal learning and casual visitors who may be curious about the area but have no motivation to persist in the face of this kind of writing. The material produced for the Sail Loft, on the other hand, is decorative rather than interpretive, essentially a collage of random extracts from an academic text book thrown up on the walls. It communicates nothing significant to visitors and does not instil the idea that the historic landscape of Amlwch and Parys Mountain is something worth preserving.

To reiterate, the four main points of the plan proposed for developing the Copper Kingdom further are:

1. Interpretation training for all employees.
2. Job enrichment.
3. Continual replacement of exhibition materials.

4. Year round openings.

Implementing any one of these should make a genuine difference to the level of regenerative stimulus a heritage attraction contributes to the local area by drawing in a stable flow of tourist money and reducing its leakage back out of the economy. The four points are also mutually reinforcing: they are individually harder to achieve for projects without implementing the others as well. Although inspired by various trends seen at other attractions no real world example can currently be found of these four points being implemented and applying the theory in practice may lead to unexpected results. An attempt to apply this plan would warrant close study to determine how much regenerative effect is really achieved. Current practices in the heritage attractions industry seem likely to lead eventually to a 'crash' to match the heritage 'boom' of previous decades, and so pursuing this different configuration rather than the model seen everywhere else may be a risk worth taking.

The AIHT's fundraising efforts have continued since the completion of the research presented in this thesis. Having passed the Stage One application and secured a project planning grant at the start of 2009 the Trust submitted its stage 2 bid in November and at the time of writing is awaiting the outcome. The planned programme is for a £741,000 project with £497,000 from the HLF itself and the rest from match funding. A decision on the bid is expected by March 2010 but as with previous applications there will be feed back from the HLF before this final decision on the basis of which the AIHT may again withdraw and revise its application if the outcome appears doubtful. Even without the HLF project a large sum has already been secured for the continuation of the Copper Kingdom project from the 'Mon a Menai' scheme. This is a programme organised by the Welsh Assembly Government in response to the closure of Wylfa power station and resultant loss of jobs in the area to coordinate the investment of EU Convergence funding and other grants in the economy of Anglesey, Bangor and Caernarfon. Under this scheme £1,400,000 has been budgeted for physical regeneration projects in Amlwch and within this £495,000 for works to the Trust's three buildings in the port.

In spite of the unsuccessful outcome of its lottery bid which focussed mainly on bringing the Copper Bin into use as a visitor centre the Trust has continued to pursue this development option, with much revised architectural plans now approved under the 'Mon a Menai' scheme. In

addition to refurbishing the main Copper Bin an extension will be added on the site of the adjacent bin incorporating the low walls that are all that remain of this structure, with the two together providing an auditorium as well as gallery space. While the funding for the building project is secure it is less certain at present how the building will be filled, as £90,000 of the HLF budget is for interpretation at the Copper Bins, most of which will pay for an interactive computer model of Parys Mountain to be produced by the Centre for Advanced Software Technology, a software company owned by Bangor University. If however the lottery bid does not succeed, interpretation and facilities at the Copper Bin will need to be paid for out of the Mon a Menai budget, and the cheapest possible option would be to redistribute some of the existing interpretation and exhibits from the Sail Loft to the Mountain. This has been advocated in the 2009 VAQAS assessment of the Sail Loft which described space constraints as the main reason for a lack of improvement in the visitor experience of the centre, going on to say:

“In most areas the move toward developing the overall content, presentation and general quality has not progressed and this situation can and most probably will adversely impact on repeat and referral custom in the future.”

-(Langfield 2009)

The VAQAS report also suggested staffing levels at the Sail Loft were insufficient and cited a number of fairly basic improvements recommended in earlier assessments that had still not been made; such as providing an out of hours answer phone message with basic information on services and opening times, improvements and corrections to the website and having staff wear uniforms. This is suggestive of how practical details of the existing visitor attraction continue to have a much lower management priority than the search for development funding.

No funding for development at Parys Mountain has been definitively secured at this time but major works on the mountain form the main capital costs of the proposed HLF project. The three main elements if the project is approved will be the rebuilding of the collapsed chimney stack at the Pearl Engine House, works to the Summit Windmill to turn it into a wet weather shelter and the consolidation of the land bridge dividing the two open casts for safe use by visitors, as recommended in the report on Access Improvements in Appendix 2. The bid does not however include the provision of toilet facilities on the mountain or any enhancements to the

car park area where most visitors enter the mountain site, except for replacing the information sign, using the design included in Appendix 2 (Interpretation plan for replacing the Parys Mountain car park sign). A grant for making slight internal improvements to the warden's cabin is being pursued by the remaining walk Amlwch Guides through the Rural Development Fund, but the off putting outward appearance of the cabin is still not being addressed. A community consultation exercise carried out during the lottery bid preparations identified significant demand from people within Amlwch for improvements to mountain facilities such as toilets, more regular staff presence and some calls for a café and exhibition on the mountain (Stiefvater-Thomas 2009). The project manager has stated that after the current phase of development through HLF and 'Mon a Menai' the next round of development funding wherever it may come from will do more for the mountain's visitor experience.

As well as the works on the mountain and the production of high tech interpretation for the Port, the HLF bid includes a programme of training courses and other activities to involve and benefit the Amlwch community. Bid documentation acknowledges that in the past the Trust has not had the best record of community involvement and states the Trust is "committed to resolving this deficit" (AIHT 2009). In collaboration with Hyffordiant Parys Training (see 1.3.1) the project will support Open College Network accredited courses in the history and geology of the area, web design and jewellery making, a preparation for work course in customer skills for the tourist industry, an introduction to art and design course, and training in archaeological surveying and conservation skills aimed at equipping local people to be involved with the project and gain work experience through it. The local population of NEETs, people currently Not in Employment, Education or Training are to be especially targeted by these programmes. This represents a major improvement over earlier bids in terms of planning for community impact and should serve to build up Amlwch's own internal capability to exploit its heritage resources in the future.

Developing heritage attractions is a process of enabling access to what already exists through the provision of facilities that will remove barriers of physical and mental access. In developing cultural landscapes as attractions the most important factor in realising their economic potential may be adhering to Tilden's interpretive principle of responding to the visitor's first interest. In

any landscape there will be key locations with a mutual appeal to sight seeing tourists and it is necessary to identify these and use them as gateways into seeing the cultural landscape for what it is. This should be a higher priority than identifying buildings available for adaptive reuse as tourist facilities, as heritage attractions cannot be manufactured by interpreters. If they could they could be placed anywhere and would have no value as a development option for disadvantaged peripheral regions with better heritage resources than more economically central areas. A community seeking to use its heritage to its best advantage may fall prey to the rapid inflation of project plans beyond what is possible for the community to develop and exceed the capacity of its own infrastructure and skills base. It can end up becoming the customer of a development industry that leaches away the investment put into the area's heritage as fast as it comes in. The decline in large grants available from the Heritage Lottery Fund due to money being diverted to the London Olympics in 2012 may in some ways be good for the countries' heritage if it slows the formation of inflated heritage projects and the creation of new but broadly similar heritage attractions, saturating the market place and jeopardising those attractions which its funding has already created. Communities need to retain more of the control and decision making in the development of their heritage for tourism and not assume that external expertise has all the answers. The heritage industry often fails to bring out the unique selling points that will make a project viable and without strong local input the result is a homogenised attraction destined to fail or to live on as a tax burden on local people.

Interpretation, or story telling about local history, is the area where it is most essential that the local community retains control but it is also currently the area where, currently, many projects first relinquish control to an over professionalised industry of interpretation that falls well short of what is promised in the literature of interpretation. While there is a body of theory and methodologies to help sites communicate more effectively with visitors it is not so esoteric as to be inaccessible to most people and so require its own profession, nor so effective that familiarity with these theories and methods can make up for a lack of knowledge and understanding of the history to be interpreted. Telling the story of a community's past is a task the community needs to carry out for itself in order to go beyond the built relics to the human part of the history and to create something unique and appropriate to the community. To conclude, interpretation skills are the key to releasing the potential of heritage landscapes to support community regeneration.

Bibliography

Alfrey, J. and Putnam, T. (1992) The Industrial Heritage: Managing resources and uses
London : Routledge

Ambrose, T. and Young, S (2001) The Blaenavon World Heritage Site in Locum Destination
Review 6

Locum Consulting <http://www.locumconsulting.com/LDR6.html> (accessed 5.11.2009)

Amgueddfa Cymru (2009) Mona: An animation by Sean Harris and Communities on Anglesey
http://www.museumwales.ac.uk/en/whatson/?event_id=3512 accessed 27.4.2009

Amlwch History (2008) Amlwch History www.amlwchhistory.co.uk (accessed 22.10.2008)

Amlwch Industrial Heritage Trust (2005) 'Copper Kingdom Project Background document'
Unpublished, Copy supplied by AIHT

Amlwch Industrial Heritage Trust (2006a) Minutes of the Annual General Meeting 2006
Supplied by AIHT

Amlwch Industrial Heritage Trust (2006b) Invitation to Tender: Brief to Consultants for:
Implementation of Copper Kingdom Interpretation Plan Phase 1
Unpublished, Copy supplied by AIHT

Amlwch Industrial Heritage Trust (2007) Heritage Lottery Fund Grant application form
Unpublished, Copy supplied by AIHT

Amlwch Industrial Heritage Trust (2008a) The Copper Kingdom Project Business plan
Unpublished: version used "theveryfinalversionbusinessplanhlf.doc modified 10.1.2008,
supplied by AIHT

Amlwch Industrial Heritage Trust (2008b) Heritage Lottery Fund Stage One Grant application form

Unpublished, Copy supplied by AIHT

Amlwch Industrial Heritage Trust (2009) Copper Kingdom Activity Plan

Unpublished, Copy supplied by AIHT

Amlwch Regeneration Partnership (2008) Amlwch Regeneration Partnership Communities first website www.arp-cf.co.uk (accessed 23.10.2008)

Barratt, G. (2008) E-mail Re: HLF Grant application 9 January 2008

Unpublished: Copy supplied by HLF

Baum, T. (2006) 'Revisiting the TALC: Is there an off ramp?' in

Butler, R. (ed.) The Tourism Area Life Cycle: Conceptual and theoretical issues Vol.2

Bristol : Channel View Publications

BBC (2005) Pet ownership falling, study says news.bbc.co.uk (accessed 16.1.2009)

BBC (2008a) Terror attack fears for LNG plant 9.1.2007 news.bbc.co.uk (accessed 22.10.2008)

BBC (2008b) Council's 'fight' for new Wylfa 10.1.2008 news.bbc.co.uk (accessed 22.10.2008)

BBC (2009) National Waterfront Museum Swansea

http://www.bbc.co.uk/wales/southwest/sites/inpictures/pages/nwm_swansea.shtml accessed 27.4.2009

Beck, L. and Cable, T. (2010) Interpretive Perspectives: A collection of essays on interpreting nature and culture

Fort Collins, Colorado : InterpPress

Bingley, W. (1800) A Tour round North Wales performed during the summer of 1798 (Volume 1)
Cambridge : E. Williams

The Blaenavon Partnership (1999) Management Plan for the Nominated World Heritage Site of Blaenavon Industrial Landscape
Online at <http://www.world-heritage-blaenavon.org.uk/en> (accessed 5.11.2009)

Bogdan, R.C. (1972) Participant observation in organisational settings
Syracuse, New York : Syracuse University Press

Bogdewic, S.P. (1999) “Participant observation” in
Crabtree, B.F. and Miller, W.L. (eds) Doing Qualitative Research (second edition)
London : Sage Publications Ltd.

Bruun, Magne (1993) “A study in Nordic landscape planning” in
Fladmark, J.M (editor) Heritage: Conservation, Interpretation, Enterprise
Donhead : London

Bryant, J. (2003) Heritage Trends: Can we save the sense of place from the global culture? in
Locum Destination Review 10
Locum Consulting <http://www.locumconsulting.com/pdf/LDR10HeritageTrends.pdf> (accessed 9.11.2009)

Bryman, A. and Bell, E. (2003) Business research methods
Oxford : Oxford University Press

Butler, R. ‘Modelling Tourism development: evolution, growth and decline’ in Wahab, S. and Pigram, J.J (eds.) (1997) Tourism, Development and Growth : the challenge of sustainability

London : Routledge

Cadw, CCW and ICOMOS UK (1998) Register of landscapes of outstanding Historic Interest in Wales

Cardiff : Cadw

CAG Consultants (2005) Regeneration in Wales since the 1950's: Timeline and Synopsis. A Report by CAG Consultants for the Audit Commission in Wales

Available online: www.wao.gov.uk (accessed 29.3.2006)

CCW (2010) Countryside Council for Wales website: www.ccw.gov.uk (accessed 7.4.2010)

Coghlan, D. and Brannick, T. (2001) Doing Action Research in your own Organisation

London : Sage

Coles, T. (2006) 'Enigma Variations? The TALC, marketing models and the descendants of the product lifecycle' in

Butler, R. (ed.) The Tourism Area Life Cycle: Conceptual and theoretical issues Vol.2

Bristol : Channel View Publications

Communities First (2008) Communities First Support network : www.communitiesfirst.info
(accessed 23.10.2008)

Companies House (2006) Companies House website <http://wck2.companieshouse.gov.uk>
(accessed 22.05.2006)

Connor & Co. Tourism Management Consultancy (2004) 'Copper Kingdom Market Appraisal Interim Report'

Unpublished, copy supplied by AIHT

Cooper, C. 'The Life Cycle concept and Tourism' in Johnson, P. and Thomas, B. (Eds.) (1992) Choice and demand in tourism
London :Mansell

Cooper, C. 'The contribution of Life Cycle analysis and strategic planning to sustainable tourism' in Wahab, S. and Pigram, J.J (eds.) (1997) Tourism, Development and Growth : the challenge of sustainability
London : Routledge

Cornish Mining (2005) Cornwall and West Devon Mining Landscape: World Heritage Site Management Plan 2005-2010
Online at http://www.cornish-mining.org.uk/pdf/WHS_Management_Plan_Summary.pdf
(accessed 5.11.2009)

Cornwall Calling website www.cornwall-calling.co.uk (accessed 13.10.2009)

Corporate Wales (2008) Corporate Wales 2008
Edinburgh : Johnstone media

Council of Europe (2006) Council of Europe website: European Landscape Convention
http://www.coe.int/t/e/cultural_co-operation/environment/landscape/
(accessed 21.12.2006)

Cunningham, M.K. (2004) The Interpreters Training Manual for Museums
Washington, DC : American association of Museums

Dibb, S. Simkin, L. Pride, W.M. Ferrel, O.C (2001) Marketing: Concepts and strategies (Fourth European edition)
Boston, New York : Houghton-Mifflin

Dicks, B. (2000) Heritage, place and community

Cardiff : University of Wales press

Dodd, A.H. (1971) The Industrial revolution in North Wales

Wrexham : Bridge books

ERIH (2006) ERIH Comparative Visitor Figures

Unpublished, Copy supplied by AIHT

Evans, G. (1953) Religion and politics in mid-eighteenth century Anglesey

Cardiff : university of Wales press

Fowler, Peter (2004) Landscapes for the World- conserving a global heritage

Cheshire : Windgather press

Gifford and Partners Ltd. (2005) Amlwch Copper Kingdom Conservation Mangement plan

Unpublished, Copy supplied by AIHT

Graham, B. Ashworth, G.J. and Tunbridge, J.E. (2000) A Geography of Heritage: Power, Culture and Economy

London : Arnold

Gregory, G. (2007) The Copper Kingdom Project: Comments on aspects of the project as detailed in the letter of appointment dated 21 November, 2007

Unpublished, Copy supplied by AIHT

Grydehoj, A. (2010) 'Uninherited heritage: tradition and heritage production in Shetland, Aland and Svalbard'

In International Journal of Heritage Studies, Volume 16, Issue 1

London : Routledge

Gwyn, D. (2006) Gwynedd: Inheriting a revolution- The archaeology of industrialisation in North-West Wales

Chichester, West Sussex ; Phillimore & co.

Hall, C.M. (2005) Tourism: Rethinking the Social Science of Mobility

Essex : Pearson Education Limited

Ham, S. (1992) Environmental interpretation: a practical guide for people with big ideas and small budgets

Golden, Colorado : North American Press

Ham, S “Cognitive psychology and interpretation: synthesis and application” in

Hooper-Greenhill, Eilean (ed.) (1999) The educational role of the museum

London : Routledge

Harris, J.R. (2003) The Copper King: Thomas Williams of Llanidan (second edition)

Ashbourne, Derbyshire : Landmark Publishing

Headland (2007) Audience development and Access Plan: Copper Kingdom at Porth Amlwch

Unpublished, Copy supplied by AIHT

Heritage Lottery Fund (2009) Heritage lottery Fund website www.hlf.org.uk (accessed

13.10.2009)

Hewison, R (1989) The Heritage Industry

London : Methuen Publishing

Hodges, T. (2002) Tim Smit - The Pied Piper of Eden in Locum Destination Review 8

Locum Consulting <http://www.locumconsulting.com/pdf/LDR8PiedPiper.pdf> (accessed

9.11.2009)

Holyhead forward (2009) Holyhead forward website

<http://www.holyheadforward.com/wisscms-en-195.aspx> (accessed 5.2.2009)

Holloway, J.C with Taylor, N. (2006) The Business of Tourism (seventh edition)

Essex : Pearson Education limited

Hope, B. (1994) A curious place: the industrial history of Amlwch (1550-1950)

Moelfre, Anglesey : Watchhouse books

Hope, B. (2005) A commodious yard: the story of William Thomas & sons shipbuilders of

Amlwch

Llanrwst : Gwasg Carreg Gwalch

Isle of Anglesey County Council (2008) Council website www.anglesey.gov.uk (accessed

23.6.2008)

Isle of Anglesey County Council (2009) Evidence base: Natural Heritage, Cultural and historic

environment www.anglesey.gov.uk/upload/public/attachments/92/environment_and_heritage.pdf

(accessed 5.10.2009)

Immonen, A. and Saaksvuori, A. (2005) Product Lifecycle Management

Berlin, Heidelberg : Springer

Jenkins, J.G. (1992) Getting yesterday right: Interpreting the heritage of Wales

Cardiff : University of Wales press

Keen, R. (2005) The National Waterfront Museum: The story of Wales' industry and innovation

Cardiff : Angueddfa Cymru

Kelly, Richard (1994) 'The Welsh Experience- compiling a register of historic landscapes' in
ICOMOS UK seminar on Cultural Landscapes
Society of Antiquaries, London

Kotler, P. and Armstrong, G. (2004) Principles of marketing
Upper Saddle River : Prentice Hall

Langfield, S. (2007) VAQAS Quality Assesment Report: The Amlwch Industrial Heritage Trust
2007
Unpublished : copy supplied by AIHT

Langfield, S. (2009) VAQAS Quality Assesment Report: The Amlwch Industrial Heritage Trust
2009
Unpublished : copy supplied by AIHT

Levy, H. (1911) Monopoly and competition: a study in English industrial organisation
London : Macmillan and co., Limited

Lowenthal, D. (1998) The Heritage Crusade and the spoils of history
Cambridge : Cambridge University Press

Lumley, R. The Museum Time Machine (1988)
London : Routledge

Lynch, F. (1991) Prehistoric Anglesey (2nd edition)
Llangefni : Anglesey Antiquarian Society

Malcolm-Davies, J. (2006) 'The TALC and Heritage Studies' in
Butler, R. (ed.) The Tourism Area Life Cycle: Applications and Modifications Vol.1
Bristol : Channel View Publications

Marjoram, J. (2007) Expert advice to the Heritage Lottery Fund: Copper Kingdom

Unpublished : copy supplied by AIHT

McBratney, F. (2006) 'Copper Kingdom, Amlwch Industrial Heritage Trust – An Independent review of the current Business Plan'

Unpublished : copy supplied by AIHT

Medlik, S. (Ed.) (1991) Managing Tourism

Oxford : Butterworth –Heinemann

Misiura, S. (2006) Heritage Marketing

Oxford : Butterworth –Heinemann

Morwellham Quay (2009) Website www.Morwellham-quay.co.uk (accessed 18.4.2009)

Munt, I. (1994) 'The 'Other' postmodern tourism: Culture, Travel and the New Middle Classes'

In Theory Culture & Society Volume 11

Nottingham : Sage

National Readership Survey (2009) Definitions of social classes

http://www.nrs.co.uk/about_nrs/data_available/definitions_of_social_grade (accessed 6.3.2009)

National Statistics (2000) Welsh Index of multiple deprivation 2000

Cardiff : Welsh Assembly Government

National Statistics (2001) 2001 Census: www.statistics.gov.uk/census2001/census2001.asp

(accessed 22.10.2008)

National Statistics (2005) Welsh Index of multiple deprivation 2005

Cardiff :Welsh Assembly Government

National Statistics (2008A) Welsh Index of multiple deprivation 2008 Available online at :
<http://wales.gov.uk/topics/statistics/theme/wimd> (accessed 23.10.2008)

National Statistics (2008B) A statistical focus on Rural Wales
Cardiff :Welsh Assembly Government

Newidiem (2002) Copper Kingdom, Ynys Mon: A report to the Heritage Lottery Fund
Unpublished, Copy supplied by AIHT

North, F.J. (1962) Mining for metals in Wales
Cardiff : National Museum of Wales

O'Brien, W (1996) Bronze Age Copper mining in Britain and Ireland
Buckinghamshire : Shire Archaeology

Papatheodoru, A. (2006) 'TALC and the spatial implications of competition' in
Butler, R. (ed.) The Tourism Area Life Cycle: Conceptual and theoretical issues Vol.2
Bristol : Channel View Publications

Parkin, Ian (2005) 'Copper Kingdom Project draft Business Plan'
Unpublished, copy supplied by AIHT

Parkin, I., Parr, C., Blockley, M., Sutherland, F., Skewis, I., TACP and Brennan & Whalley
(2003) 'Mona Antiqua: regional interpretive strategy for Anglesey. Final report Volume 2:
Executive summary and action plan'
Unpublished. Copy supplied by Menter Môn.

Parr, Carol (2005) '“Copper Kingdom” Interpretation Plan Second Draft'

Unpublished, copy supplied by AIHT

Parys Underground Group (2008) Parys underground group website www.parysmountain.co.uk
(accessed 25.8.2008)

Pascoe, W.H (1981) The history of the Cornish Copper Company
Redruth : Truran Publications

Pearce, D. (1989) Tourist Development (second edition)
Essex : Longman

Pendeen Community Heritage (2005) Heritage Lottery bid documentation
Unpublished, copy supplied by PCH

Pendeen Community Heritage (2007) Geevor website: www.geevor.com (accessed 12.2.2007)

Plog, S.C. Why destination preservation makes economic sense in Theobald W.F. (ed.) (1998)
Global Tourism (second edition)
Oxford : Butterworth-Heinemann

Rackham, O. (1986) The History of the Countryside
London : Phoenix

Rear, W.G. (1994) Scenes from the Past 21: Railways of North Wales: Anglesey Branch Lines -
Amlwch and Red Wharf Bay
Stockport : Foxline Publishing

Red Kite Environment (2007) Blaenavon Industrial Landscape World Heritage Site: Visitor
Experience and Interpretation Plan
Unpublished, Copy Supplied by Emyr Morgan, Blaenafon WHS

Richards, M. ed.(1972) An atlas of Anglesey

Llangefni : Anglesey Community Council

Ronstrom, O. (2008) 'A different land: heritage production in the island of Gotland'

In Shima : The international journal of research into island cultures, Volume 2, Issue 2

Lismore : Southern Cross University

Rothwell, N. (Translator) (2007) Parys Mountain and the Lentin Letters

Amlwch : Amlwch Industrial heritage Trust

Rowlands, J. (1960) A study of some of the social & economic changes in the town & parish of

Amlwch 1750-1850

Bangor : Bangor university thesis

Rowlands, J. (1966) Copper Mountain

Llangefni : Anglesey Antiquarian Society

Russel, R. (2006) 'The contribution of entrepreneurship theory to the TALC model' in

Butler, R. (ed.) The Tourism Area Life Cycle: Conceptual and theoretical issues Vol.2

Bristol : Channel View Publications

Saunders, M. Lewis, P. and Thornhill, A. (2003) Research Methods for Business Students (third edition)

Essex : Pearson Education Limited

Shaw, G. and Williams, A. (1994) Critical Issues in Tourism: a geographical perspective

Oxford : Blackwell

Shipley, R. Utz, S. and Parsons, M. 'Does adaptive reuse pay?' in International Journal of Heritage Studies Volume 12, Issue 6, 2006
Routledge

Shostak, F. 'The myth of the magical multiplier' 2005
Available from the Ludwig Von Mises Institute: www.mises.org (accessed 29.3.2006)

Smith, LJ (2006) The uses of heritage
Oxon : Routledge

StatsWales (2007) Employee jobs by industry
<http://www.statswales.wales.gov.uk/TableViewer/tableView.aspx?ReportId=1526> (accessed 4.2.2009)

Stebbins, R. (1997) 'Casual Leisure: a conceptual statement' in Leisure Studies 16
E&FN Spon

Stiefvater-Thomas, C. (2009) Copper Kingdom Project Community Consultation 2009
Unpublished, Copy supplied by AIHT

Thornhill, A. Lewis, P. Millmore, M. and Saunders, M.N.K. (2000) Managing Change: A Human Resource Strategy Approach
Harlow : Prentice Hall Financial Times

Tilden, F. (1957) Interpreting our Heritage
Chapel Hill : The University of North Carolina press

Trauer, B (2006) 'Conceptualizing special interest tourism- frameworks for analysis' in Tourism Management 27

Elsevier

UNESCO (2009) World Heritage online <http://whc.unesco.org/en> (accessed 27/10/2009)

UNESCO (2004) Advisory body evaluation for the Archaeological landscape of Tamgaly (Kazakhstan)

http://whc.unesco.org/archive/advisory_body_evaluation/1145.pdf

(accessed 21.12.2006)

UNESCO (2005) Operational Guidelines for the implementation of the World heritage Convention

<http://whc.unesco.org/archive/opguide05-en.pdf>

(accessed 21.12.2006)

UNESCO (2006) Advisory body evaluation for Cornwall and West Devon Mining Landscape (United Kingdom) http://whc.unesco.org/archive/advisory_body_evaluation/1215.pdf

(accessed 21.12.2006)

United Nations World Tourism Organisation (2006) www.unwto.org (accessed 29.3.2006)

Urry, J. (1995) Consuming Places

London : Routledge

Uzzel, D. (ed.) (1989) Heritage Interpretation Volumes 1 and 2

London : Bellhaven

Uzzel, D. and Ballantyne, R. (1998) Contemporary Issues in Heritage and Environmental Interpretation: Problems and Prospects

London : The Stationery Office

Veverka, J. (1994) Interpretive Master Planning

Tustin, California : Acorn Naturalists

Visit Wales (2007) Visits to Tourist attractions 2007

<http://new.wales.gov.uk/depc/publications/tourism/research/touisminwales/attractionsurvey/attractionsurvey07en.pdf?lang=en> (accessed 4.2.2009)

Wales Office (2007) Wales and Slavery: marking 200 years since the Abolition of the Slave Trade Act

London : Wales office.

Wall, G. and Mathieson, A. (2006) Toursim: Change, Impacts and Opportunities

Essex : Pearson Education Limited

Walsh, K. (1992) The representation of the past: museums and heritage in the post-modern world

London : Routledge

Waterton, E. and Smith, L.J (2010) 'The recognition and misrecognition of community heritage'

In International Journal of Heritage Studies, Volume 16, Issue 1

London : Routledge

Weiler, B. and Hall, C (eds.) (1992) Special Interest Tourism

London : Belhaven press

Welsh Assembly Government, Isle of Anglesey County Council and Anglesey Economic Regeneration Partnership (2006) 'Objective One Newsletter for Anglesey' 2006

Llangefni : Isle of Anglesey County Council

Welsh Assembly Government (2009) <http://new.wales.gov.uk> (accessed 16.4.2009)

Williams, C.J. (1980) Metal Mines of North Wales

Rhuddlan, Clywd : Charter Publications

Yates, M.J. and Longley, D. (2001) Anglesey: A guide to ancient monuments on the Isle of Anglesey (third edition)

Cardiff : Cadw

Zeppel, H and Hall, C “Review. Arts and Heritage Tourism” in

Weiler, B. and Hall, C (eds.) Special Interest Tourism 1992

Belhaven press, London

Zhong, L., Deng, J., Xiahang, B. “Tourism development and the tourism area life-cycle model: A case study of Zhangjiajie National Forest Park, China” in

Tourism Management, Volume 29, Issue 5 (1998)

Online : Elsevier Limited

Newspapers:

North Wales Gazette 1817 (from Bangor University Archives)

Bangor and Anglesey Mail 2006-2009

Archive Resources

Beaumaris Quarter sessions 1817

Anglesey County Record Office, Llangefni

Appendix 2: Research reports to Amlwch Industrial Heritage Trust

- Sail Loft Survey 2006 final results (On CD)
- Special Interest Tourism Market Report
- Access Improvements on Parys Mountain
- Interpretation plan for an external introduction panel to the Sail Loft Exhibition
- Interpretation plan for replacing the Parys Mountain car park sign
- Interpretation Process: Mona Windmill

Special Interest Tourism Market Report

As tourism has grown there has been a trend of change observed in the motivations of those buying tourism products. Once the primary goal of holiday makers was to be refreshed by their holiday using the time hedonically to “recharge their batteries” through relaxing activities and fun, care-free experiences before returning to their jobs. Increasingly now tourists want to be affected by their tourism in other more long lasting ways than simple refreshment, seeking experiences that will stay with them, precious memories that will in some way be of permanent benefit to them after the holiday is over. This is observable in how people use their time on holiday, much more actively and with less ‘sunbathing beside hotel pools’ (Weiler and Hall 1992). The shift is attributed to demographic and economic factors, a public with more leisure time and spending power is said to be better travelled and more discerning in its holiday choices and increasingly sedentary working lives are thought to encourage more active and adventurous holidays (Ibid.).

Special Interest Tourism (SIT) can be said to lead the way in this trend in holiday motivation. There are many different attempts at definition of this concept partly because as the trend described has gone on over the last decade in particular things that were once considered specialist or niche activities to undertake on holiday have exploded in both supply and demand and been absorbed into the average tourist experience, the general pattern of holiday making from which SIT is defined as distinct. For example travel for the purpose of visiting cultural sites such as museums and monuments was once the domain of the elite, seen earliest in the ‘Grand Tour’. Since the heritage boom of the 80s and 90s though such activities have become much more widespread with the number of heritage attractions increasing dramatically and visiting such attractions now playing some part in most people’s holidays. The presence of heritage features has correspondingly moved up in importance as a factor in selecting holiday destinations, a change which has benefited the UK more than any other country (Zeppel and Hall 1992).

It is possible to say that every visitor to Copper Kingdom is a Special Interest Tourist by virtue of the heritage nature of the attraction (if indeed the visitor is treating it primarily as a heritage attraction rather than a café or a place to walk the dog.) This

would not tell us much, though it can shed light on what motivates visitors and what they are seeking. Visitors to the Copper Kingdom sites are seeking a novel experience. The motivations linked to visiting any heritage attraction are the desire to experience a different and special atmosphere or ambience. The perceived authenticity of the site and this ambience is thought to be very important. Visitors want to feel a sense of discovery, implying a process of exploration within the visit, and also desire some educational benefits to the visit (Weiler and Hall 1992).

The concept of special interest tourism becomes more useful in relation to the copper kingdom project if a distinction is drawn between those visiting as 'casual leisure' and those visiting as 'serious leisure', with only the latter seen as Special Interest Tourists (Trauer 2006). Serious leisure describes leisure activities that form an ongoing pursuit or hobby that may place great demands on the participant of time, money and effort but are seen as sufficiently rewarding to warrant the high investment involved. A serious leisure pursuit provides a career path altogether separate from the participant's work through which special skills and knowledge are acquired and an expertise built up. Casual Leisure activities provide immediate gratification and are relatively short lived and numerous in people's lives, not requiring any investment to gain the skills necessary to enjoying the activity. Casual Leisure should not necessarily be equated with mass leisure or thought of as intrinsically less "worthy". Casual leisure is used to experiment and dabble and can act as a sample experience for those contemplating taking up a serious leisure pursuit, but also because of its diversity and frequency may be just as much a source of creativity and self actualisation in people's lives as serious leisure practices (Stebbins 1997) The products on offer as part of the Copper Kingdom can clearly be experienced as either form of leisure. As casual leisure a site visit or guided tour will be a self contained experience in novelty and serve an end in itself. Casual Leisure visitors will represent the majority since casual leisure is much more widespread and is indeed universal. Many people pursue no serious leisure interest, but everyone practices casual leisure activities, including those with serious leisure pastimes (Ibid.).

For those who are pursuing serious leisure as an amateur expert and enthusiast in any of the varied subjects touched on in the Copper Kingdom the visit can add to this hobby. Both types visit the same site but with substantially different expectations.

Looking again at the motivations for visiting heritage sites given above we can take it that while all of these play a part in both the casual and serious leisure visit, the atmospherics and ambience will be more important to casuals as they form the uniqueness and novelty of the experience while for the serious leisure pursuant the educational aspect and also the need for authenticity take on greater significance as these add to their building of knowledge and immersion in their hobby.

The Copper Kingdom landscape and Parys Mountain in particular has strong potential to appeal to a wide variety of Special interest Visitors pursuing serious leisure pastimes most obviously to history enthusiasts, particularly industrial historians and archaeologists and maritime historians. There is also a strong appeal to those with an interest in local and community history such as Anglesey residents interested in the history of their own area. Within this group and extending far beyond it are the growing numbers of people researching their own family history that have a genealogical link to Amlwch's industrial past. A more niche but popular interest is Prehistoric history, so some visitors may be more interested in the Bronze Age miners of Parys Mountain than the more modern era.

The complex Copper Kingdom landscape has appeal to a wide variety of special interests outside human history. Geology is the most prominent example, Parys Mountain being a unique area within the UK for the study of geological phenomena. Anecdotal evidence from Trust members and PUG members suggests this is the Special Interest Group those involved in the Copper Kingdom Project are most aware of, although its potential has by no means been maximised. Mention is often made of the potential of Parys Mountain as part of an Anglesey Geopark designated by Unesco though at present there is nothing in place at the Mountain to interpret the sites geology, only limited information is available at the Sail Loft and the knowledge of the Walk Amlwch guides group of the area's geology bears no comparison to their knowledge of local history. As such if academic and amateur geologists are to visit the area in significant numbers more needs to be provided for them than just the site 'as is'. As well as its rocks, the plants and animals of the Copper Kingdom may be of more importance to some hobbyists than the history.

Within the serious leisure context of Special Interest Tourism there is sometimes an effort to draw a distinction between more active pursuits and more intellectual ones. (Trauer 2006) Activities such as orienteering, fishing, sailing and so on can form serious leisure interests and a basis for special interest tourism to the Copper Kingdom. Potholing is an example relevant to the Parys Underground group as some underground visitors and PUG members may see it as more of a fun physical challenge while others see the underground mine sections more like a historic building.

Many of the trustees and volunteers involved in implementing the Copper Kingdom project are doing so as a serious leisure pursuit of their own and so should have a good idea of how to provide for the SIT visitor (though they may over cater to them at the expense of the more numerous casual Leisure visitor.) Although very capable of doing so the Trust does not currently cultivate the SIT market effectively. This is unfortunate as although Special Interest Tourists are only likely to be a minority within visitor numbers, as hobbyists they tend to form communities based around their interest and so have significant word of mouth power and so can enhance a site's standing and recognition if catered for. More importantly an understanding of visitors motivated by special interests is an essential facet of the overall understanding of visitors varied needs and motivations required for the AIHT to achieve its educational goals through the Copper Kingdom Project.

Although it is known that a number of Special interest groups have visited the area in the last several years and been hosted by the AIHT and PUG who have provided underground and mountain trail tours, no records have been kept of these activities leaving only vague recollections of what kind of groups have already shown their interest in Parys Mountain. (pers.com. Alan Kelly 26/9/2006) This is unfortunate as by keeping a record of which groups have been in contact with the custodians of the landscape and most importantly keeping their contact information it would be much easier to get a picture of special interest visitors and cultivate clubs and societies as regular sources of visits, for example by establishing e-mail mailing lists to periodically remind groups of new developments at Amlwch and encourage them to visit.

A desire to attract Special Interest Visitors and make the Copper Kingdom appealing to them has strong implications for the provision of interpretation and the AIHT's educational objectives. The current interpretation plan for the Copper Kingdom includes amongst its objectives for interpretation: "to provide some form of 'enlightenment' and enjoyment to all visitors through a sense of achievement and satisfaction that they have learned something new." (Parr 2005) This is a challenge that is better tackled by some interpretive media than others. Interpretive panels will tend to be targeted at a majority of visitors with a low level of prior knowledge and provide a general overview chosen for its broad appeal and "human interest". Guided tours are more flexible as the guide can tailor his or her presentation to the group based on its knowledge and interests. As some Walk Amlwch guides have remarked though with some Special Interest Groups i.e. geologists at Parys Mountain the visitor's prior knowledge of their subject will far outstrip the knowledge of the guide. This makes it harder to raise the level of knowledge and understanding but such gains can still be achieved through direct access to the resource, so that the trust's role ceases to be to interpret but simply to encourage and provide the visitor with this access.

Trail leaflets have traditionally been inflexible like panels but on a site visit (15/9/2006) interpretive planner John Veverka recommended a way to use information technology to provide a more tailored interpretive experience where expert tour guides are unavailable or unwanted. This involves producing multiple trail leaflets addressing different levels of knowledge and different perspectives on the sites on the trail (e.g. a natural sciences perspective or a social historical one). All of these leaflets are made available online and the visitor can choose the one they think will be most interesting to them and print it off on their home computer, circumventing the printing costs and space considerations that would otherwise restrict the design of guide leaflets. As Veverka remarked this system of "mass customisation" caters to those who own computer equipment who are largely the same social group as visits heritage attractions and this is especially true of special interest visitors who can be expected to research and plan their trips in advance and so would embrace trail leaflets provided in this way.

Critiques of the AIHTs project thus far (Headland, Veverka) point to over academic writing in leaflets, particularly the current mountain trail leaflet, suggesting a tendency to treat all visitors as special interest visitors. The AIHT possesses a great asset in the depth of knowledge of its membership but a system of “interpretive pacing” that tailors messages to be comprehensible to visitors as suggested by Veverka needs to be used to utilise this resource sensibly to achieve the Trust’s educational goals and encourage growth in Visitor numbers. As a rule of thumb, interpretive text on any subject should never be authored by an expert on that subject. Rather someone skilled in writing in an interesting and engaging way with little prior knowledge of the subject should be tasked with talking to the experts and then communicating the understanding they have gained to the visitor.

The recent survey of visitors to the Sail Loft provided some data on visitors’ reasons for visiting and so gives a limited insight into visitor motivation. This data can be used to gain a very sketchy idea of how many visitors are pursuing casual leisure and how many are pursuing serious leisure. The nature of the data is problematic though as it was not meant for this purpose, appearing on the survey as an open question asking “Why did you come today?” Classifying responses into categories is therefore very subjective and in many cases impossible. Nonetheless a sample of 50 responses was taken and the answers classed where possible firstly on the basis of whether they indicated the visit was motivated by interest in the Sail Loft as a heritage based tourism attraction or whether it was being used mainly as a café for refreshment and as a social venue.

Sample size=50	Heritage Site visit	Use as café	Answers that could not be categorised
Result	39	5	6
Percentage of categorised	89%	11%	
Examples	“To Visit Museum” “Day out”	“For a cup of tea” “Coffee?”	

As can be seen although there is a small market using the Sail Loft mainly as a café the majority are more interested in the history than the refreshments.

An attempt was then made to class answers based on whether they indicated casual leisure activity or serious leisure activity. Casual leisure activities are self contained in their purpose and situational, therefore selected because of current circumstances so answers that suggested these properties were classed as casual. Serious leisure activity would see the visit to Sail Loft set in a context of an ongoing pursuit so answers with this property were categorised as serious. Once again this is all very subjective as the answers in fact say very little and so not a great deal of faith should be put in the resulting figures. Half of the answers could not be categorised either way.

Sample size=50	Probably Casual Leisure	Probably Serious Leisure	Answers that could not be categorised
Result	22	3	25
Percentage of categorised	88%	12%	
Examples	“last visit on holiday” “show relatives the sights” “On holiday” “nice place to visit”	“Interest in local heritage and geology” “family history research”	

This data suggests as assumed in Stebbins and Trauer that casual leisure is indeed a much more common motivation but there is a presence of serious leisure practitioners using the Sail Loft to add to their hobby. Further research would be needed to discover if this picture is accurate.

To provide for the Special Interest Tourism market without over catering to it trustees and project managers working on copper kingdom projects need to constantly remind themselves of the hierarchy of differing interpretation needs from young children to

specialist visitor groups and the goal of tailoring information to all of them and where this is impossible to know which groups it is most sensible to aim at. Interpretation does not have to be simple and can appeal to the Special Interest visitor and so encourage special interest visitor groups to return time and time again. A database should be created to keep a record of groups who contact the Trust for future use in developing the Copper Kingdom. More research into visitor motivations is needed to establish the degree of casual and serious leisure pursued in the Copper Kingdom and which specific serious leisure pursuits are common enough to be worth catering for.

Chris Stiefvater-Thomas

Christhomas333@hotmail.com

Access Improvements on Parys Mountain

By Chris Stiefvater-Thomas

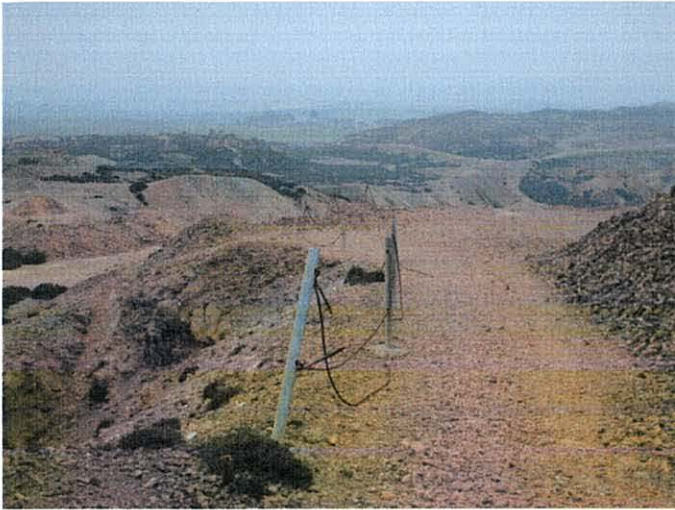
In consultation with the mountain wardens and guides I have prepared the following on areas where accessibility on the mountain could be improved.

1. Pathway between Parys and Mona opencasts.

Already frequently used, this narrow stretch provides impressive views into both opencasts and would make possible a shorter circular walk that still took in most of the mountains key surviving features. Andy Godber of Anglesey County Council is already looking at ways to consolidate this path for general public use whilst minimising visual impacts. The mound shown below would need to be removed to provide a wide enough pathway.



Assuming one is walking in the direction indicated by the numbered stops around the mountain one can reach the bridge between the two opencasts by branching off just after Mona Mine yard (marker 2). After crossing there is a path that rejoins the circular route just after the windmill (marker 6). Along this linking section are the unsightly and ineffective rope rails shown below, which should be removed.



2. Trail around the central precipitation ponds.

When the mines were in operation water was pumped from the workings, using power sources such as the windmill and steam engines, and allowed to drain down into precipitation ponds. After prolonged contact with the mountain rocks the acidic water would be heavily contaminated with copper particles which could be collected using precipitation. Scrap iron (far cheaper than copper) was dumped into the precipitation pools starting a chemical process where the copper in the water dissolved the iron objects leaving in their place a brown copper sludge. This sludge could then be dried and refined to make usable copper.

There are several remaining examples of precipitation ponds on the mountain of which the largest and best preserved are those in the central valley just east of Mona Opencast. The current trail runs along the southern edge of these ponds with designated stop 3 halfway along. A much better view of the precipitation ponds can be obtained by going a short distance off the current trail at marker 3 to stand at the eastern end of the ponds and look down their entire length as from this perspective the main damming wall can be seen properly.



Just a short distance from this point is the area shown below. There is a bank with a gap in it on the left and a slope going up to the right. Passing through the gap brings one to a dead end where one has the best views into the Mona opencast, from which one can see its shale beds which are an important geological feature.



The slope leads up onto a flat trail which runs along the north of the precipitation ponds. This path is not currently part of the footpath but would be a good addition. It passes by an impressive ruin.

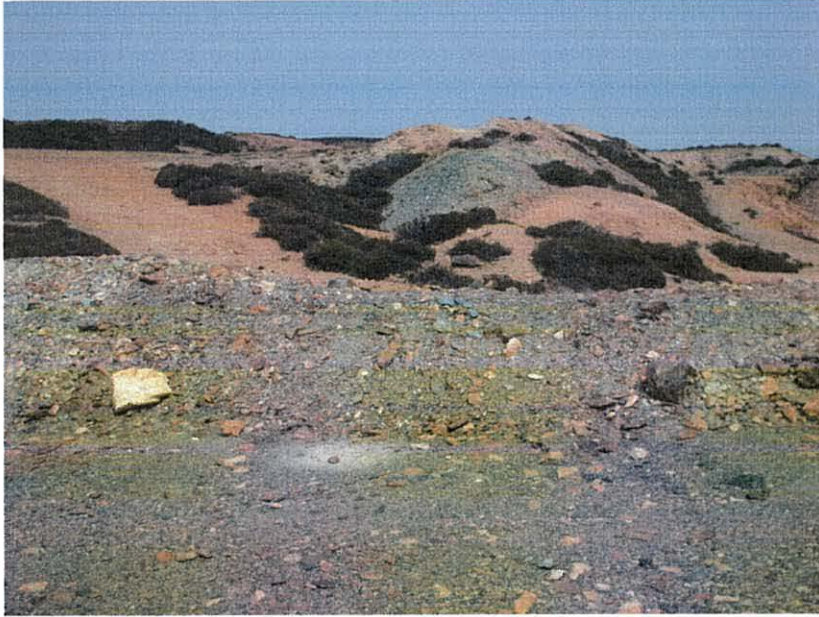


On the right of the above picture is the trail described, on the left is the ruin of the furnace house. The furnace house or calciner is one of the important archaeological features on the mountain and on the current trail can only be viewed at a distance from the opposite side of the precipitation ponds. The building is thought to be where precipitate material from the ponds was dried and so is valuable to understanding and interpreting this process. (Anna Ellis-Jones' work placement project on interpreting the precipitation ponds should cover this in more detail.)

Pictures of the existing path follow.



Close to the Calciner ruin, a small embankment (shown below) separates this area from the existing trail roughly midway between the Pearl Engine House (marker 4) and Charlotte Yard (marker 5). This could be landscaped fairly easily to create a gap and incorporate the paths described.



The improvements suggested above, development of the paths between the opencasts and around the north of the main precipitation ponds, are the main priorities of the Walk Amlwch guides. A number of other enhancements would help further to improve the visitor experience and education possibilities of visits to the Mountain.

3. Mona mine yard.

Parys Mountain was the site of two mining operations. This came about as a result of a land dispute over the mountain pre-dating the discovery of large amounts of copper. The western side of the mountain was mined by Parys Mining Company, which was responsible for the great opencast and had its offices near the modern viewing platform of which only slight and overgrown ruins remain. The eastern side of the mountain was mined by the Mona mine company, creators of the smaller but still impressive Mona opencast. The Mona mine company's offices were based in the more complete of the two ruined mine yards on the mountain.



This structure is a prominent feature on the mountain which attracts a lot of interest and has strong interpretive possibilities as the place to tell the stories of relationship between miners and their employers and the miners working lives. The mine yard consisted of a rectangle of offices, a smithy and stores around an open courtyard where auctions were held for short term mining rights. This was where miners purchased gunpowder and other tools of the trade. There is still enough structural ruins left to imagine how the yard operated though it is now heavily covered in gorse.

Currently the mine yard is a featured stop on the industrial heritage trail but can only be viewed from outside. This of course creates a strong desire to go into the ruins. There are two perforations in the north facing wall that would allow a trail to be weaved in and out of the mine yard allowing controlled access, however the steepness of the slope here is problematic as it might require steps. The Conservation Management Plan does not indicate any special status (e.g. Scheduled Ancient Monument) being assigned to the mine yard remains.



This is the most obvious way into the mine yard ruins.



Further along the same wall is this gap where the trail could lead out.

4. Access into the Great Opencast.

The Great Opencast is a Scheduled Ancient Monument and the key feature on Parys Mountain. A single sloping path roughly halfway along its south side, before one reaches Mona mine yard, allows access into the Opencast but this is not part of the existing trail. It is possible to view veins of pyrite-quartz and chalcopyrite in the large rocks at the bottom of the Opencast as well as ruined structures and a small cave. The Mountain guides occasionally take groups down here to see these features after a lengthy disclaimer and only if everyone in the group is able bodied enough, and would like to be able to do so without as many threatening warnings. Pre-existing pathways could be developed into a short circle around the central part of the opencast before leading out up the same slope.



The trail down into the Opencast.

5. Shortcut after windmill.

This is a shortcut frequently used by the guides at the end of the tour to cut across from the windmill along to the north of the Opencast back onto the path between the car park and the viewing platform. This misses out on the last section of the official trail which has no real interesting features. In trail leaflets this final section is entitled view of the modern mine, which is dubious as the only real discernible feature of the modern mine is the rusting tower at the top of Hugh Morris Shaft which can be seen just fine from the car park and for miles around anyway. It is therefore a weak conclusion to an interesting tour around the mountain. Below is the point where the current trail branches off to the right and the proposed shortcut goes left.



The shorter path would pass close to the mine entrance used by the Parys Underground Group. Guides will often bring groups to this site to let visitors see the steep stairway down into the underground workings. The structure adjoining this tunnel into the underground is currently being rebuilt by a local stone mason in a style considered appropriate to the environment.

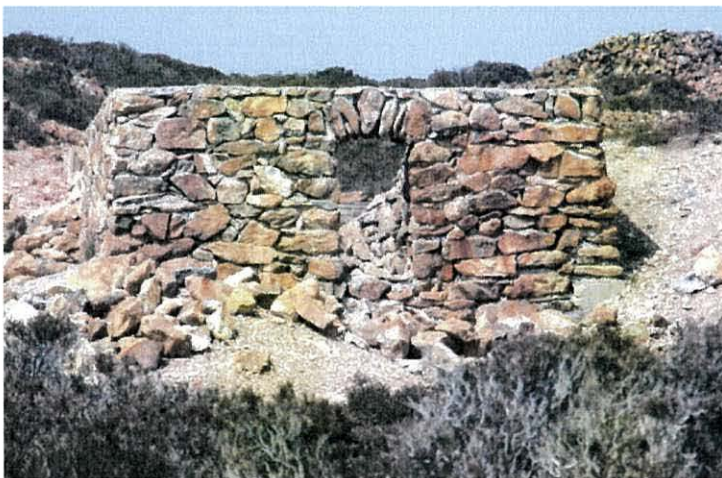
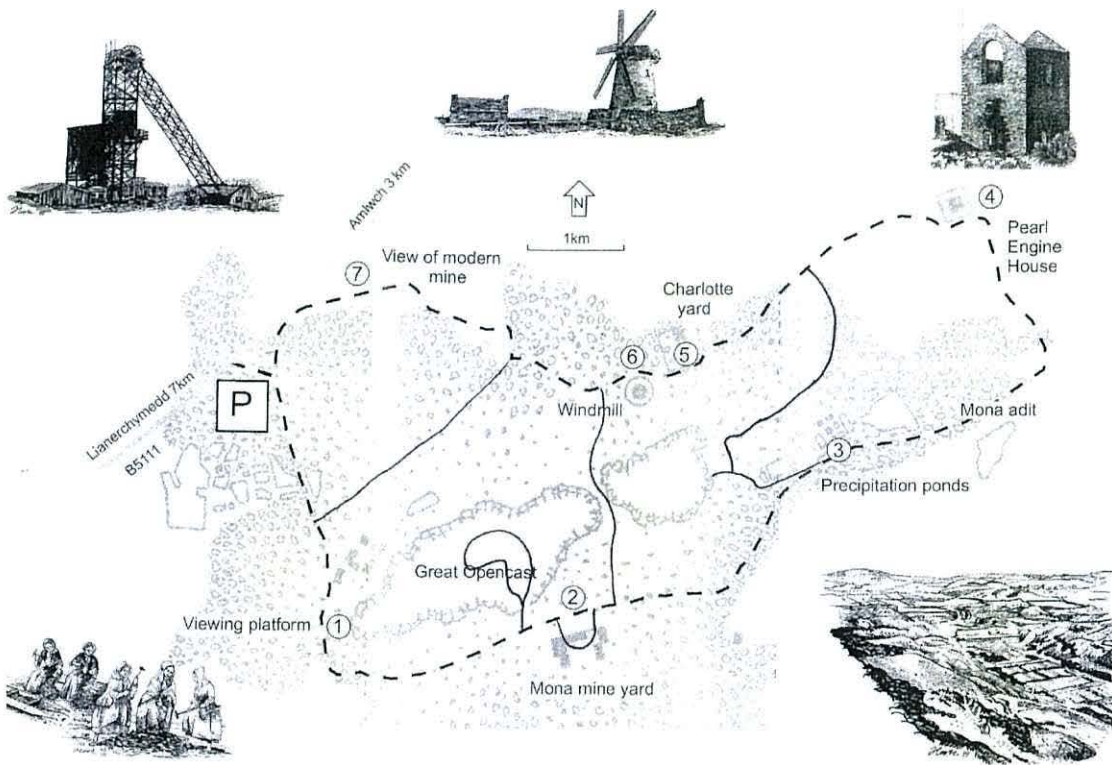


Image supplied by Bryan Hope.

This building once completed will provide an interesting feature and make the underground entrance rather easier to find than it used to be. PUG members remain uncertain though about whether it should be linked into the mountain trails due to the risks of uncontrolled access to the shelter and mine entrance (although obviously this

is kept locked). Further consultation with Parys Underground Group would be necessary before developing a path to this structure.

The improvements outlined above would provide for much greater flexibility in planning the route and the length of walks on Parys Mountain and would improve public access to the key historic features of the mountain considerably. The solid lines drawn in on the map from the trail leaflet below indicate the locations of the proposed new paths.



Note: Rock schism.

Neil Johnstone inquired about the impressive chasm located near the windmill behind a safety fence. This feature developed as an indirect result of mining through unsupported rock tipping over and splitting apart. The Guides I asked about it do not consider this a feature that it is important to show visitors.



Images taken by author except where noted.

Interpretation plan for an external introduction panel to the Sail Loft Exhibition

By Chris Stiefvater-Thomas

The new exhibition materials installed on the upper floor of the Sail Loft by Headland have greatly improved the appearance of AIHT's visitor centre. The display panels provide a good deal of information in a professional manner. However, observation of visitor reaction at the Sail Loft has been disappointing as visitors are hesitant to engage with the new displays.

It is my view that the problem lies in the lack of an introduction to the larger historic story that each of the displays tells a small part of. Psychological studies show that when subjects have a conceptual framework, an overall concept to which they can relate each new piece of information, recall and involvement is far greater than where different bits of information remain isolated from each other. (Ham 1999)

If visitors can be provided with an obvious starting point to the exhibition where they are given a conceptual framework that relates the overall story of Amlwch's Industrial history in a way that is simple and easy to grasp, they will then grasp more easily the displays inside and view more of the exhibition.

This will:

- Increase the length of visits (and hence visitor spend).
- Improve public knowledge of Amlwch's industrial heritage.
- Increase positive word of mouth publicity.

Because of the lack of space in the entrance area of the Sail Loft I propose an interpretive panel be placed immediately outside the public entrance to the Sail Loft. Here it may also help attract more potential visitors passing the centre (e.g. Coastal path walkers).

Objectives for the panel:

Educational objectives:

- Visitors will gain a conceptual framework to help build up their interest and knowledge of Amlwch Industrial Heritage.
- Visitors will be aware that the Sail Loft is a heritage centre run by a charity.
- Visitors will be able to explain and understand the close links between mining and sea faring in Amlwch.

Emotional objectives:

- To create a feeling of interest in Amlwch's industrial heritage.
- To engender sympathy for the AIHT and its goals.
- To generate a sense of local pride amongst the community of Amlwch in the rich and unique heritage resource of their surroundings. (Parr 2005)

Behavioural objectives:

- Longer visits to Sail Loft with more time spent viewing displays.
- Greater interest in Parys Mountain and guided walks.
- More donations and support for AIHT.
- Higher visitor numbers.

Suggested panel design:

Overall theme: After the Great Discovery of 1768 Amlwch sprang up from humble beginnings to become one of Wales' largest towns, connecting the copper riches of Parys Mountain to the rest of the world.

Panel title: Rediscover Amlwch's origins...

Panel text part 1:

In 1768 a great treasure was discovered near here, something that remains of enormous value to every nation on Earth.

Amlwch linked this treasure to the rest of the world. It grew from humble beginnings into one of Wales' largest towns. The treasure that was discovered was a vast supply of copper beneath Parys Mountain. Amlwch became the home of thousands of miners and the port from which ships carried the copper out to the world.

You can explore the story of Amlwch's Copper Kingdom here at the Sail Loft.

Panel text part 2:

Free Entry.

Amlwch Industrial Heritage Trust works to protect and study the town's past. All donations are appreciated.

Pictures:

Picture 1: Painting of the Eilian, one of the last ships built in Amlwch. No caption.

Picture 2: Photograph of visitors viewing one of the exhibits inside the Sail Loft. Based on studies of the existing potential and actual audience I'd suggest a couple in their thirties dressed for coastal path walking. No caption.

Picture 3: A large (about A3 size on an A1 panel) panoramic image of the Parys Mountain landscape. Caption text:

Mining at Parys Mountain has left a unique landscape and a great place for a walk or a guided tour.

Total Word Count (English only): 131

Main text word count (Excludes tile and captions): 108

Readability: The panel has a grade of 6.5 on the Flesch-Kincaid scale. This means it is appropriate for a reading age of 12, which is the average for the UK adult population.

Panel size and type: I'd recommend an A1 panel on Glass Reinforced Plastic vertically mounted on a wooden frame. This should be durable for 5 or more years (though all panels should really be replaced at the end of five years).

Suggested budget:

Robert Shelley of Shelly signs limited suggests a cost of around £1500 for a panel of this type, which breaks down as follows:

£350 for panel.

£500 for the frame.

£650 for design and installation.

The panel should use the same style (fonts, background colour etc.) as the Headland panels inside the Sail Loft for continuity's sake. Working through Headland should reduce the amount that needs to be spent on design. One photograph would need to be arranged (picture 2), the other images should already be available. Adding translation services for the bilingual text I would expect the project to be completed for under £1500.

Mock up of panel design on following page.

Rediscover Amlwch's origins...

Rediscover Amlwch's origins...

In 1768 a great treasure was discovered near here, something that remains of enormous value to every nation on Earth.

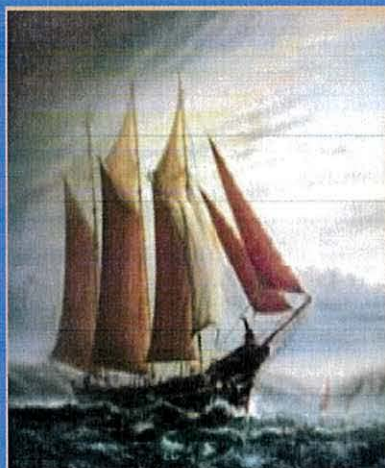
Amlwch linked this treasure to the rest of the world. It grew from humble beginnings into one of Wales' largest towns. The treasure that was discovered was a vast supply of copper beneath Parys Mountain. Amlwch became the home of thousands of miners and the port from which ships carried the copper out to the world.

You can explore the story of Amlwch's Copper Kingdom here at the Sail Loft.

In 1768 a great treasure was discovered near here, something that remains of enormous value to every nation on Earth.

Amlwch linked this treasure to the rest of the world. It grew from humble beginnings into one of Wales' largest towns. The treasure that was discovered was a vast supply of copper beneath Parys Mountain. Amlwch became the home of thousands of miners and the port from which ships carried the copper out to the world.

You can explore the story of Amlwch's Copper Kingdom here at the Sail Loft.



Free Entry Free Entry

Amlwch Industrial Heritage Trust works to protect and study the town's past. All donations are appreciated.

Amlwch Industrial Heritage Trust works to protect and study the town's past. All donations are appreciated.



Mining at Parys Mountain has left a unique landscape and a great place for a walk or a guided tour. Mining at Parys Mountain has left a unique landscape and a great place for a walk or a guided tour.

Interpretation plan for replacing the Parys Mountain car park sign

Currently Interpretation on Parys Mountain consists of:

- The monochrome sign in the car park with a 764 word text (English version) and a map of the trail.
- Monochrome trail leaflet making use of numbered stopping posts around the mountain trail.
- Illustrated colour panel by Image Makers on the Great opencast viewing Platform. This used to have an audio component powered by a winding handle but this was removed due to constant malfunctions.
- Two colour panel near Pearl Engine house with 720 word text (English version, estimated), trail map, reconstruction map of Engine house site, contemporary pumping engine diagram.
- Guided tours and access Mountain Wardens in cabin in Car park (seasonal availability, low uptake in guided tours attributed to prohibitive costs).

This report gives a plan for replacing the sign in the car park only, but the AIHT should also consider what other steps might be taken to improve interpretation on the mountain. Aside from the obviously missing machinery for the audio device the Image Makers sign is satisfactory as it is, giving accessible information and directing visitors to the Sail Loft. If possible the empty housing for the audio device should be removed from the side of the panel since it appears untidy and there are no plans to restore the audio device.

The Pearl Engine House sign has a very high word count and writing pitched at too specialised a level. It should also be replaced with something more useful to the public when possible, but it is right that this take a lower priority than the car park sign as it is not the first point of contact for many visitors and is seen by fewer visitors overall than the sign in the car park.

The current trail leaflet is many years old and was strongly criticised by interpretive consultant John Veverka when he visited the project and Headland interpretation as

well. The main problems are thought to be an over academic writing style and high word count. A problem with the trail itself that has emerged from the work of the tour guides is the low interest in the seventh numbered stop in the leaflet, the “view of the modern mine”, which needlessly prolongs the walk after its highlights in order to view the Hugh Morris Shaft, which is perfectly visible from the car park where the walk starts. The concept of a self guiding leaflet with numbered stops is a good one for the mountain as it avoids cluttering the mountain with panels and provides visitors with a souvenir they can show to others. I recommend that the leaflet be replaced and updated though with seven paragraphs of about 100 words each and some illustrations in colour. The short paragraphs will consist of an introduction and texts to accompany the numbered stops:

1. The Great Opencast.
2. The Mine Offices.
3. Precipitation ponds.
4. Pearl Engine House.
5. Charlotte Yard.
6. The windmill.

The current stop 7 should be removed. The text may, if desired, make reference to the possibility of mining resuming in the future but it should be in the vaguest possible terms as throughout the history of the trust its materials have often looked out of date very quickly due to the endless postponements of mining plans. 100 words or less at each stop should be a reasonable amount for people to skim read as they walk around the mountain and possibly look at again later on.

To increase uptake of guided tours I recommend revising the prices to be more favourable to families and groups. It would also be wise to cheaply publicise the tours with a poster and leaflet campaign targeted on the camp and caravan accommodation in Bennlech and the surrounding area, as this is where the largest segment of visitors currently travel from. There is a large supply of glossy posters for the tours currently stored in a cupboard in the mountain cabin that could be used for this purpose.

Problems with the current sign in the car park

The Current sign in the car park has some key failings that need to be addressed in producing its replacement. The text on it represents a well written and concise essay on the history of the mountain covering many aspects of its historic importance and each of its key visible features. It is however wholly inappropriate for welcoming visitors as it is far too long to read while standing up in a windy car park and its writing style is pitched too high for the general visitor. The English version of the panel text is 764 words long, consists of 48% passive sentences and has a Flesch-Kincaid grade level of 14.9. This last figure essentially means that it is appropriate only for those who have undergone over 14 years of continuous education (ie. final year university students), and this under ideal reading conditions (seated comfortably with good lighting). The average reading age of adults in the UK is thought to be around 12, or grade 7 on the Flesch-Kincaid grading scheme. This grade levels are calculated based on the lengths of sentences and the length of words used in the text. The high word count and the large number of passive sentences are additional hindrances preventing visitors from learning anything from the sign.

Arrival in the car park at the mountain will for some visitors be the first point of contact with the Copper Kingdom project (the 2006 survey showed only 19% of visitors learned about the sites through leaflets and marketing materials though this may have increased since then, the rest discovered the Copper Kingdom by exploring or word of mouth recommendations). It is therefore important that the site welcome visitors and orientate them within the Copper Kingdom project to know what they can do and what is available, instilling confidence that time they spend in the area will prove worthwhile. I have observed on a large number of occasions the current sign fail to fulfil this role as groups drive into the car park, look at the sign for far less time than would be required to wade through the whole text, get in their cars and drive away again without having seen any of the mountain. This would be acceptable if they were on the way to the sail loft centre but since the sign predates the visitor centre and gives no clue as to its existence this is almost certainly not the case. The sign includes a map of the trail and a recommendation to wear stout footwear but does not give an indication of how long the trail will take to walk or how close the viewing

platform is. This information might increase the number of casual arrivals just exploring the area who at least walk to the opencast and back.

The surveys carried out in summer 2007 showed that the rate of referral of new visitors (who had never visited any part of the Copper Kingdom previously) from Parys Mountain to the Sail Loft is much poorer than the flow of visitors in the other direction. 72.2% of first time visitors to the Sail Loft indicated they intended to visit Parys Mountain while only 36.5% of first time visitors at the mountain indicated they definitely planned to visit the Sail Loft. I have estimated that in 2007, 6491 people visited Parys Mountain who did not also visit the Sail Loft. With spend per head of £2.01 (as recorded in 2006) this represents £13046.91 of lost revenue. The panel predates both the Sail Loft visitor centre and the availability of guided tours of the mountain by guides with qualifications from the Institute of Tourist Guiding. It therefore needs to be updated to promote both of these.

Aims and objectives for the replacement panel:

Aims:

- Make visitors aware of the close links between the mountain, the town and the port and promote the Sail Loft to visitors.
- Provide a basic introduction to the mountain as a historical artefact.
- Provide a sense of welcome and orientate visitors on the mountain trail.

Learning objectives:

- Visitors will understand the links between the mountain, the town and the port of Amlwch.
- Visitors will learn that the mountain's appearance is due to the working activities of miners in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.
- Visitors will be aware of the length of the heritage trail and other services available as part of the Copper Kingdom experience (Sail Loft, guided tours).

Emotional objectives:

- Visitors will feel welcome and have confidence in exploring the Copper Kingdom sites.
- Visitors will feel a sense of wonder and respect for the achievement of the miners at Parys Mountain.
- Visitors will have their curiosity engaged and be keen to find out more about the community's history.

Behavioural objectives:

- More use of the trail and viewing platform by tourist explorers casually stopping in the car park.
- Better sales of guided tours.
- Reduce the number of visitors seeing the mountain without visiting the sail loft.

Suggested panel contents:

Interpretive themes (from Copper Kingdom Interpretation Plan pg 30-31):

Discovery of a rich lode of copper ore in 1768 resulted in Parys Mountain becoming the most productive copper mine in the world, but success was mixed with hard times.

The history of the town and port of Amlwch and its community is inextricably linked with the fortunes of copper mining.

Tile and Main text:

Welcome to Parys Mountain, the heart of the Copper Kingdom.

Generations of Amlwch people created this colourful lunar landscape. After the Great Discovery of ore here in 1768 thousands left the countryside to gather in Amlwch and work as copper miners. The small village suddenly became North Wales' largest town.

The miners made this the greatest metal mine in Wales but success was mixed with hard times. Their wages depended on how much ore they mined. When they found a rich vein they earned a good living. But when they found only rock their families faced poverty. Working twelve hours a day they dug out vast craters, creating an alien world you can see today.

A viewing platform over the massive Great Opencast is just a short distance up the path to your left. You can then carry on along the trail to see the many other sights of the mountain. The trail takes two hours to walk and returns here. We suggest you wear sturdy shoes.

Notes: Title and main text 167 words, 5.8 Flesch-Kincaid grade level, suitable for reading age 11 and up.

Map: Illustrated map of the mountain trail indicating the features and the six stops of the trail.

Image 1: "Open Working at Parys Mine" by Julius Caesar Ibbetson (1785). No caption.

Image 2: One man and one woman talking to one of the guides on the mountain. I recommend having a picture to illustrate the guided tours with only a very small group as these groups of 2-4 visitors make up the majority of visits and are currently reluctant to hire guides.

Caption: The best way to see Mynydd Parys is with one of our friendly expert guides. Ask at the cabin or call 01407 711094 for details.

Image 3: Amlwch port with the Pickle docked and people walking.

Image 4: The same two people from the guided tour photo eating in the Sail Loft at a table with a model ship in a case behind them.

Caption: Amlwch Port is a well preserved harbour from the age of sail from which sailors carried the copper to the world. Here you can find out more about the mines and get something to eat at the Sail Loft, just head into Amlwch and follow the signs for the heritage centre.

Having these two images of the Port, one outdoors and one indoors, should help encourage visits regardless of the weather. A rough mock up to give an idea of how the new sign might look follows.

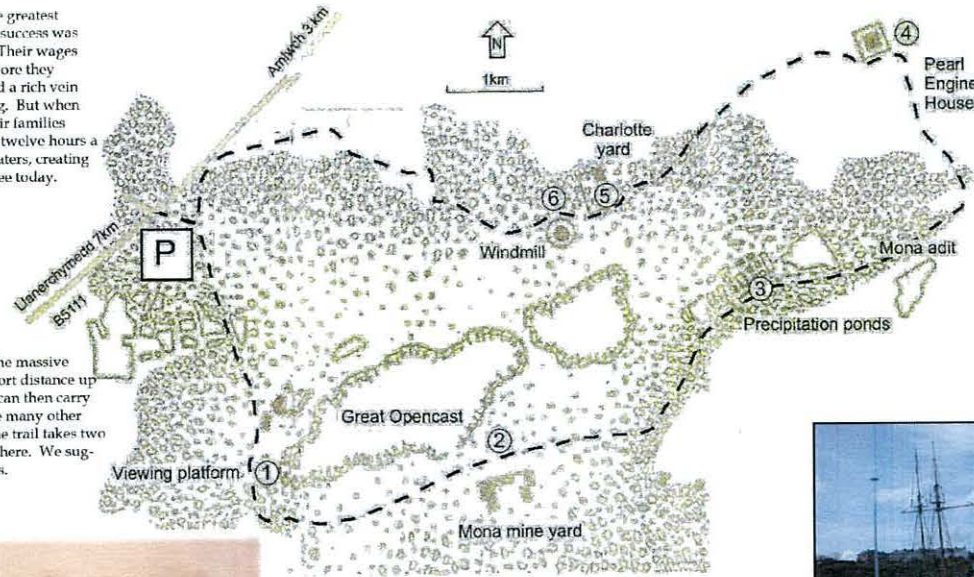
-Chris Stiefvater-Thomas 12/6/2008

Welcome to Parys Mountain, the heart of the Copper Kingdom.

Generations of Amlwch people created this colourful lunar landscape. After the Great Discovery of ore here in 1768 thousands left the countryside to gather in Amlwch and work as copper miners. The small village suddenly became North Wales' largest town.

The miners made this the greatest metal mine in Wales but success was mixed with hard times. Their wages depended on how much ore they mined. When they found a rich vein they earned a good living. But when they found only rock their families faced poverty. Working twelve hours a day they dug out vast craters, creating an alien world you can see today.

A viewing platform over the massive Great Opencast is just a short distance up the path to your left. You can then carry on along the trail to see the many other sights of the mountain. The trail takes two hours to walk and returns here. We suggest you wear sturdy shoes.



The best way to see Mynydd Parys is with one of our friendly expert guides. Ask at the cabin or call 01407 711094 for details. The best way to see Mynydd Parys is with one of our friendly expert guides. Ask at the cabin or call 01407 711094 for details.

[Cymraeg] The best way to see Mynydd Parys is with one of our friendly expert guides. Ask at the cabin or call 01407 711094 for details. The best way to see Mynydd Parys is with one of our friendly expert guides. Ask at the cabin or call 01407 711094 for details.

Croeso i Mynydd Parys, y calon o y deyrnas copr.

[Cymraeg] Generations of Amlwch people created this colourful lunar landscape. After the Great Discovery of ore here in 1768 thousands left the countryside to gather in Amlwch and work as copper miners. The small village suddenly became North Wales' largest town.

[Cymraeg] The miners made this the greatest metal mine in Wales but success was mixed with hard times. Their wages depended on how much ore they mined. When they found a rich vein they earned a good living. But when they found only rock their families faced poverty. Working twelve hours a day they dug out vast craters, creating an alien world you can see today.

[Cymraeg] A viewing platform over the massive Great Opencast is just a short distance up the path to your left. You can then carry on along the trail to see the many other sights of the mountain. The trail takes two hours to walk and returns here. We suggest you wear sturdy shoes.



Amlwch Port is a well preserved harbour from the age of sail from which sailors carried the copper to the world. Here you can find out more about the mines and get something to eat at the Sail Loft, just head into Amlwch and follow the signs for the heritage centre.

[Cymraeg] Amlwch Port is a well preserved harbour from the age of sail from which sailors carried the copper to the world. Here you can find out more about the mines and get something to eat at the Sail Loft, just head into Amlwch and follow the signs for the heritage centre.

Interpretation Process: Mona Windmill

During April 2008 a possibility arose to provide a new interpretation panel in the port to accompany the Mona Windmill. This derelict structure was once one of the tallest of the many windmill's on Anglesey and is now only an empty conical shell standing high on the west side of the harbour overlooking the port and adjacent to the entrance to the Great Lakes/ CANATAXX plant. I was asked to come up with ideas for this panel and the process was carried out largely by email and phone conversations. As such an interpretation plan document was not created during this informal process of the kind presented here for the proposed panel is at the Sail Loft and Parys Mountain car park. Instead here is presented the process by which the panel was designed in this hopes this will provide some insight as a case study of how such projects proceed.

The mill and an adjacent area of grassland are currently the property of the Isle of Anglesey Charitable Trust who some years earlier made an agreement that would allow Dwr Cymru-Welsh water to build a treatment plant in Porth Amlwch which in its small print had a provision that the water company finance an information panel to be placed near the historic structure. With this project seemingly about to proceed IACT contacted the AIHT on 17 April 2008 to request that the Trust provide some words and images to go on the panel. Note that there was no real objective in mind for the panel apart from a vague idea that historic structures should be accompanied by information boards wherever there was the opportunity to finance one. The proposed panel was being offered as a blank slate to AIHT to use in whatever way it saw fit, though the IACT had some ideas of what it expected to see on the panel:

1. A general overview of the Port's history.
2. More specific information about Mona Mill, including renovation works carried out to keep it standing in 1999 paid for by IACT and the WDA.

In addition the panel was to include health and safety information relating to acceptable use of the land and possibly some information from Dwr Cymru, but this was to remain the preserve of IACT while the AIHT dealt with the above two points.

This was the status of the panel when I was asked to produce some ideas. While the IACT's assumption there would be some overview of the history of the port was understandable I argued this needed to be dropped as such an overview already exists on the panel produced by Image makers in the port itself near the harbour master's offices, and so to have one by Mona Mill as well would be wasteful and cluttering. Leaving out this requirement would make more space available for the second point of specific information on the mill itself on what from inception threatened to be an overcrowded panel with the AIHT's contribution, a list of do's and don'ts from IACT concerning the use of their land and possibly some information on water treatments all reproduced in two languages.

The "brief" I'd been given had no specific objectives for what the panel was supposed to achieve so I was looking for information on the wind mill with an eye to furthering the general aims of AIHT of education, conservation and public access plus a more practical goal I set myself of encouraging any passers by who saw the panel to go down the hill and over to the other side of the port and enter the Sail Loft Visitor centre.

The trust's conservation management plan stated the mill was built in 1816 and operated until 1911 as a corn mill, while a web search turned up only one interesting factoid that the son of the Mill's owner was killed while working there when the mill was struck by lightning in 1876. One poster on the Amlwch Community forum stated that the mill was reputed by local's to be haunted by the electrocuted boy. The possibilities for the panel seemed to me to be a technical explanation of how a corn mill operates or a ghost story, and neither seemed likely to further the development of the Copper Kingdom Landscape as a visitor experience, providing no real opportunity to refer out to the Mountain and the Port. I had what seemed at the time to be a much better idea when I noticed that the date of construction 1816, was only one year before 1817, the year of Amlwch's food riots sparked by the price of corn in the town, ground and sold from Mona Mill, then newly built.

The food riots were precipitated not just by rising food prices due to poor harvests on Anglesey, planted as the mill was being built, but by high levels of unemployment in Amlwch due to the declining productivity of Parys Mountain combined with the homecoming of Amlwch's sailors and soldiers left out of work after the Napoleonic wars. The work of the Mona and Parys mines

ground to a halt during the riots as for one reason or another most members of the regular work force did not show up. The riots presented a way to link the mill to the miner's of the town and to the port below in interesting ways and I had it in mind that I should try to follow the advice of Peter Walker of Big Pit (see chapter 6) as well as some interpretation literature by focussing on "human stories" and trying to find specific named historic individuals who could provide a vehicle to interpret the history in an engaging manner. I contacted the project manager who approved of the basic idea of using the mill as a springboard to discuss the food riots. Before proceeding to research and write any text for the panel it seemed advisable to revisit the site with this project specifically in mind in order to know where the panel would be and what it would be possible for visitor's to see whilst they read it.

After this visit I suggested the panel would be best sited on a grass bank rising up on the east side of the mill so that reader's could stand and read the panel facing the mill, but could by turning around see straight down into Porth Amlwch and could see the Sail Loft visitor centre which the panel was urging them to visit. Unfortunately IACT responded that the panel would have to be at the base of the mill tower on its west side such that this grass bank would block any view of the port area.



Mona Mill seen from the north, to the left is the land owned by IACT overlooking the Port where I proposed the panel be sited.



View of the Port from IACT's land.

The 1817 Corn Riots:

The key text's on the town's industrial history such as Rowlands and Hope all make reference to the riots of 1817 but it was clear that to find a suitable character to be the focus of the panel text some archival research would be needed. Even very limited searching of archives held in Bangor University and the Anglesey County archives in Llangefni turned up enough information and a great many named characters caught up in the riots that I am convinced the AIHT could produce a whole exhibition on the subject. It is odd therefore that the riots get no mention at all in the sail Loft galleries, even though riots in Amlwch are included as one of the themes in Carol Parr's interpretation plan.

Local newspaper reports from the North Wales Gazette give an overview of the dramatic events that troubled in Amlwch in February 1817:

“Some serious symptoms of riot have been manifested for the last ten days, in Amlwch and the Neighbourhood; nightly assemblages of persons amounting to nearly 200, have kept the inhabitants in a continual state of alarm; with the exception, however, of detaining a vessel in the port laden with corn, alleging its scarcity in excuse for their conduct, we believe no serious injury has been sustained. However, as they threatened to destroy the property of the mine agents and corn merchants, the magistrates very properly solicited the assistance of the military, and from a letter received from the Marquis of Anglesey, written with that promptitude and zeal for the welfare of the county of Anglesey, which have invariably characterised his lordship, it appears that a body of military has been ordered over from Ireland, and in all probability that arrived there yesterday. In justice to the miners we should state that they are not implicated in this outrage; the principal offenders are some idle and disorderly characters, lately discharged from the army and navy. A ringleader is safely lodged in Beaumaris Gaol.” –North Wales Gazette February 20 1817

This initial report seemed to confirm that this was a good idea since it linked mine agents and corn merchants as two interest groups threatened by the reportedly large mobs of rioters and linked the action to the port. The last part of the report is interesting in that it blames the troubles on ex-military men and specifically denies that the work force of the mines was to blame. This statement would not be borne out by the criminal trials that were to follow. A report a week later gives an immediate reaction to the dramatic end to the disorder when Amlwch was put under martial law:

“On Wednesday a detachment of the 45th regiment, consisting of about 170 men, arrived in Holyhead and proceeded the next morning for Amlwch, whatever indications of a turbulent spirit existed previously, subsided immediately on their appearance, and the vessel laden with corn was directly set at liberty, to proceed on her voyage- a portion of the men are quartered at Llanerchymedd.” - North Wales Gazette February 27, 1817

The troops were still in Amlwch in April. It was reported that a corporal had deserted from the regiment in Amlwch on the same day as justice was being served on the ringleaders in Beaumaris court on the south side of the Island:

“The 5 persons committed to Beaumaris gaol for the riot at Amlwch, were tried at the quarter sessions for the county of Anglesey, on Tuesday last- there were three found guilty, and sentenced to 6 months imprisonment each; and 2 were acquitted. They were very properly, and very ably admonished from the bench- during the sitting of the court a man, by al accounts very inaptly named, John Grace, was sent to durance vile, for disturbing the court, and striking one of its officers.” - North Wales Gazette April 17 1817

John Grace’s unruly conduct made him a possible candidate to be the main character of the panel but it had become clear that the court records would be a much better place than the newspaper coverage to “audition” for working class character’s involved in the riots.

A day at the Llangefni archives turned up that the 5 tried in Beaumaris were involved in two different incidents. Evan Thomas, a pub landlord and his wife, Catherine were tried for riot and assault and specifically attacking a shop keeper but were found not guilty. We know thanks to the correspondence of the North Wales Gazette that there was a certain amount of drunkenness and disorder in the streets of Amlwch as a result of celebration of the Thomas’ acquittal, disturbing some residents still shaken by recent events (North Wales gazette My 1 1817). The other three tried and all found guilty were William Foulkes (miner), Edward Davis (miner) and Thomas Williams (labourer). The court records state that these three along with “divers other evil possessed persons” who seem to have been an equal mix of miners and mariners, stormed aboard the Wellington of Liverpool, a corn ship in the port on the night of 28th January. Carrying torches and armed with “sticks, staves and other offensive weapons” they stole the ships helm so that it could not be steered and so could not sail out of Amlwch, hopefully forcing the owners to sell off its cargo locally at knocked down prices. John Hughes the captain of the ship was apparently threatened and seems to have been a key prosecution witness. Foulkes, Davis and Williams all pleaded not guilty and received the same sentence of six months in Beaumaris Gaol.

The theft of the Wellington of Liverpool's steering wheel and its return marked the effective start and end of the riots and it provided a colourful anecdote to form the basis of the panel text with three names attached to choose from. There seemed to be some possibilities with Thomas Williams being a namesake of Amlwch's "Copper King" but from the opposite end of the social scale, but given the restricted space of a single panel this would only be a danger of confusing people and the other names were preferred because they were identified as miners in the court records. Ultimately between William Foulkes and Edward Davis, there was no good reason to choose one over the other, but a decision had to be made so I used a bad reason. Edward Davis sounds more stereotypically like the name of a Welsh miner and so he was chosen over Foulkes. A better way to decide would have been to try to find these names in Census returns and so gain a bit more information on each of them, before likely choosing the man with the most off spring (and so a more sympathetic rioter than the other).

Writing the panel

Whilst doing this research I had referred to the Interpretation Plan for the Copper Kingdom project and found listed as one of the possible themes: "The history of the town and Port of Amlwch and its community is inextricably linked with the fortunes of Copper Mining" (Parr 2005 p31) and at the bottom of the list of storylines to go with this theme was "hardship and riots". There was therefore already a theme around which to structure the text and focus it and with it in mind I developed some objectives using Veverka's system:

Learning objective: People will understand how the mine's fortunes impacted on people living in the town.

Emotional objective: People will identify with and understand what motivated some in the town to riot.

Behavioural objective: Visiting the Sail Loft.

Being concerned about how much other information would be on the panel and the often cluttered appearance of bilingual panels I was concerned to be as concise as possible and set an

ambitious target of just 75 words for the text. I was also aiming make the text accessible to reading age 12 and up, so scoring 6.5 or lower on the Flesch-Kincaid grade scale. It should also be free of passive sentences. With these two goals set the writing of the text went through many revisions. This was the initial attempt which at 258 words would need to be carved down a lot:

Mona windmill

This used to be a windmill grinding wheat to make flour. It was built in 1816 but nearly got burnt down by an angry mob just a few months later...

Price war

The prices for food had soared because of very bad harvests. Edward Davis found that even working 12 hours a day in the mines on Parys Mountain he was not making enough money to feed himself at the new prices.

On January 28 1817 he led a group of miners and out of work sailors that stormed aboard a ship loaded with corn in the port below. They carried flaming torches and staves to beat up the crew if necessary, and stole the ship's tiller, without which it could not steer, hoping the owner's of the stranded ships cargo would have to sell it locally at a cheap price instead of at the market in Liverpool.

Anarchy in Amlwch

This marked the start of three weeks of rioting in Amlwch with armed mobs of men and women roaming the streets, their numbers added to by many miners abandoning their work to join in. The gangs attacked shops, stole food and threatened to destroy this flour mill and the mine offices. At the request of the mine owners a force of 170 soldiers marched into town on 19th February to restore order. The rioting soon ceased but the troops remained here for a month guarding this mill and other properties. Edward Davis was found guilty of riot and assault and spent 6months in Beaumaris Gaol.

(Words 258 Grade 9.4)

Here is one quite advanced draft that still was still too long and included one passive sentence but met the readability target:

Mona Windmill tower

The price set for flour at this mill could plunge Amlwch into chaos. In 1817 miners like Edward Davis could not afford the sky high food prices. It was a recipe for riots.

Price war

One night Davis and others attacked a ship in the port loaded with corn. They stole its steering wheel hoping to force the owners to sell the corn cheaply in Amlwch. They also threatened to burn down this mill as revenge for the high prices but were stopped when soldiers marched into town. A judge sent Davis to prison for 6 months.

Image: miners and their wives rioting armed with staves and torches.

Caption: For three weeks in the winter of 1817 gangs looted Amlwch for food as law and order collapsed.

(Words 130, grade 5.4)

As the saying goes a picture tells a thousand words, so a well chosen one might take a lot of pressure of the super condensed panel text. None of my research had turned up any images relating to the Corn riots in Amlwch, and the only picture I was aware of relevant to the panel was a black and white photograph of the windmill when it still had its sails:



This would obviously be beneficial to the panel but I thought it desirable there be an illustration of rioting as well to get the text's point across and also make the panel a bit more exciting. I suggested either having an illustration commissioned or if this was not possible, to find a contemporary illustration of generic rioters, possibly from a political cartoon since events like those in Amlwch had many parallels elsewhere in this period. The IACT responded that a budget for illustrations might be arranged though so the final plan includes a suggested illustration. Ultimately the 75 word target was abandoned in favor of 100 words, with some extra words smuggled in by having a secondary block of text that should in the design be separated off:

Main text:

Mona Windmill tower

The price set for flour at this mill could plunge Amlwch into chaos. In 1817 miners like Edward Davis could not afford the sky high food prices. It was a recipe for riots.

Price war

One night Davis and others attacked a ship in the port loaded with corn. They stole its steering wheel hoping to force the owners to sell the corn cheaply in Amlwch. They also threatened to burn down this mill as revenge for the high prices but were stopped when soldiers marched into town. A judge sent Davis to prison for 6 months.

Main text is 100 words. Flesch-Kincaid grade level is 4.8, suitable for reading age 10 and up.

Image 1: miners and their wives rioting armed with staves and torches.

Caption: For three weeks in the winter of 1817 gangs looted Amlwch for food as law and order collapsed.

Image 2: Historic photo of Mona Windmill.

Secondary text:

The Isle of Anglesey Charitable Trust renovated the mill in 1999. To learn more about Amlwch's history and support its preservation please visit the **Sail Loft visitor centre** in the port. **Admission is free.**

This plan was fairly well received by AIHT but not by IACT who insisted there be more "facts and figures" and also asked that an advert for the restored working mill at Melin Llynnon, a struggling visitor attraction run by the county council and partly funded by IACT be included.

There was no way to do this without further raising the word count and the inclusion of the dates of operation is probably not answering a question on most people's lips, but this was the final version settled on:

Mona Windmill panel text

Main text:

Mona Windmill tower

This five storey windmill operated from 1816 to 1911 and the price set for flour here could plunge Amlwch into chaos. In 1817 miners like Edward Davis could not afford the sky high food prices. It was a recipe for riots.

Price war

One night Davis and others attacked a ship in the port loaded with corn. They stole its steering wheel hoping to force the owners to sell the corn cheaply in Amlwch. They also threatened to burn down this mill as revenge for the high prices but were stopped when soldiers marched into town. A judge sent Davis to prison for 6 months.

To learn more about Amlwch's history please visit the **Sail Loft visitor centre** in the port. **Admission is free.**

Main text is 127 words. Flesch-Kincaid grade level is 6.0, suitable for reading age 11 and up.

Image 1: miners and their wives rioting armed with staves and torches.

Caption: For three weeks in the winter of 1817 gangs looted Amlwch for food as law and order collapsed.

Image 2: Historic photograph of Mona Windmill.

Secondary text:

The Isle of Anglesey Charitable Trust financed work to preserve the windmill tower in 1999. You can see a working Anglesey windmill at **Llynnon Mill** near Llandeusant, just east of the A5025. Llynnon Mill is open to visitors April to September.

Commentary

The process of writing this panel text illustrates some key points about interpretive provision for this project:

- The Interpretation plan authored by Carol Parr is not an interpretation plan in the true sense- the point of which would be to have a full set of quite detailed designs already on file ready to be pulled out whenever funding became available or a minor project became feasible for any other reason. That would ensure that little projects like this that spring up occasionally are coordinated with larger interpretive projects like the sail Loft galleries to provide a visitor experience with a consistent style and message but clearly no such organisation of interpretive provision exists for the Copper Kingdom project. An interpretive plan for the whole Copper Kingdom landscape would be based on what is required for the best possible visitor experience, with an implementation plan stretching on for perhaps many years. The function of this document would be to put the needs of the visitor experience first and have funding opportunities serve to further organisational aims in a consistent way, rather than the ad hoc approach currently used.

- Partnership working of the kind widely encouraged in strategies for regional tourism of course has advantages for funding projects but we can see here how it can be an undermining influence on the visitor experience with panels put up that are supposed to serve several distinct organisational agendas but will if the word count is pushed up higher and higher often achieve none of its aims as people will not make the endeavour to read it.
- The approach of using human stories with real historic persons as the focus of writing will tend to require more research than paraphrasing historic texts that have a more overarching and generalist perspective. This should tend to promote the use of locally sourced interpreters who will have easy access to relevant archives against more remotely based companies. Of course in the case of Amlwch published books do cover some individuals: people like Thomas Williams of Llanidan and James Treweek but the survey data shows that most people are naturally more interested in the perspective of ordinary people than those who were at the top and to assign names and personalities to these figures requires time for research and the use of some imagination.

Appendix 3: Survey forms

Parys Mountain Questionnaire

Sail Loft Questionnaire

Parys Mountain Questionnaire

Please help us to protect the industrial heritage of Amlwch and present it to the public by completing this short questionnaire. This study is being carried out by a University of Wales, Bangor student working in association with the Amlwch Industrial Heritage Trust.

Have you visited Parys Mountain before? Yes No

If you answered Yes, when was your last previous visit?

This week Within a month Within three months

Less than a year ago More than a year ago

Have you ever been to the Sail Loft visitor centre in Amlwch?

Yes No

Do you plan to visit the Sail Loft visitor centre in the near future?

Yes No

Of the following list of topics related to Parys Mountain please choose up to three that you would be most interested in learning more about:

How the mountain was formed

Ancient miners in Bronze Age and Roman times

Mining techniques and technology

An average Miner's daily life

Women and children employed in mining

The mine managers, Thomas Williams and James Treweek

Dangers of mining

The copper industry in Wales and the world

Where the copper went and what it was used for

Plants and animals on Parys Mountain

P.T.O.

In your own words, what would you say is the relationship between Parys Mountain and Amlwch Port?

.....
.....
.....

What made you want to visit Parys Mountain today?

.....
.....

Where have you travelled from to visit Parys Mountain today?

.....

Is this where you live or are you on holiday?

Live On Holiday

If you are on holiday, where do you live?

.....

What is your age?

Under 16 16-30 30-50 50+

Are you: Male or Female ?

What is your occupation?

.....

If you have any further comments you would like to make concerning Parys Mountain, Amlwch Port and the work of the Amlwch Industrial Heritage Trust please write them in here:

.....
.....
.....
.....

Thank you very much.

Sail Loft Questionnaire

Please help us to protect and investigate the industrial heritage of Amlwch and present it to the public by completing this short questionnaire. This study is being carried out by a University of Wales, Bangor student working in association with the Amlwch Industrial Heritage Trust.

Please rate the Sail Loft in the following areas on a scale of 1 to 5, 1 meaning 'very bad', 3 meaning 'average' and 5 meaning 'very good'.

Artefacts on display

1 2 3 4 5

Content of panels

1 2 3 4 5

Friendliness and helpfulness of staff

1 2 3 4 5

Presentation of panels

1 2 3 4 5

Overall

1 2 3 4 5

Any comments?

.....

.....

Have you visited the Sail Loft before?

Yes No

If you answered Yes, when was your last previous visit?

This week Last week Within a month Within three months

Less than a year ago More than a year ago

Have you ever been to Parys Mountain? Yes No

P.T.O

Do you plan to visit Parys Mountain in the near future? Yes No

In your own words, what would you say is the relationship between Parys Mountain and Amlwch Port?

.....
.....
.....

What made you want to visit the Sail Loft today?

.....
.....

Where have you travelled from to visit the Sail Loft today?

.....

Is this where you live or are you on holiday? Live On Holiday

If you are on holiday, where do you live?

.....

What is your age?

Under 16 16-30 30-50 50+

Are you: Male or Female ?

What is your Occupation?

.....

If you have any further comments you would like to make concerning Amlwch Port, Parys Mountain and the work of the Amlwch Industrial Heritage Trust please write them in here:

.....
.....
.....

Thank you very much.

Parys Mountain Questionnaire

Please help us to protect the industrial heritage of Amlwch and present it to the public by completing this short questionnaire. This study is being carried out by a University of Wales, Bangor student working in association with the Amlwch Industrial Heritage Trust.

Have you visited Parys Mountain before? Yes No

If you answered Yes, when was your last previous visit?

This week Within a month Within three months

Less than a year ago More than a year ago

Have you ever been to the Sail Loft visitor centre in Amlwch?

Yes No

Do you plan to visit the Sail Loft visitor centre in the near future?

Yes No

Of the following list of topics related to Parys Mountain please choose up to three that you would be most interested in learning more about:

How the mountain was formed

Ancient miners in Bronze Age and Roman times

Mining techniques and technology

An average Miner's daily life

Women and children employed in mining

The mine managers, Thomas Williams and James Treweek

Dangers of mining

The copper industry in Wales and the world

Where the copper went and what it was used for

Plants and animals on Parys Mountain

P.T.O.

In your own words, what would you say is the relationship between Parys Mountain and Amlwch Port?

.....
.....
.....

What made you want to visit Parys Mountain today?

.....
.....

Where have you travelled from to visit Parys Mountain today?

.....

Is this where you live or are you on holiday?

Live On Holiday

If you are on holiday, where do you live?

.....

What is your age?

Under 16 16-30 30-50 50+

Are you: Male or Female ?

What is your occupation?

.....

If you have any further comments you would like to make concerning Parys Mountain, Amlwch Port and the work of the Amlwch Industrial Heritage Trust please write them in here:

.....
.....
.....
.....

Thank you very much.

Sail Loft Questionnaire

Please help us to protect and investigate the industrial heritage of Amlwch and present it to the public by completing this short questionnaire. This study is being carried out by a University of Wales, Bangor student working in association with the Amlwch Industrial Heritage Trust.

Please rate the Sail Loft in the following areas on a scale of 1 to 5, 1 meaning 'very bad', 3 meaning 'average' and 5 meaning 'very good'.

Artefacts on display

1 2 3 4 5

Content of panels

1 2 3 4 5

Friendliness and helpfulness of staff

1 2 3 4 5

Presentation of panels

1 2 3 4 5

Overall

1 2 3 4 5

Any comments?

.....

.....

Have you visited the Sail Loft before?

Yes No

If you answered Yes, when was your last previous visit?

This week Last week Within a month Within three months

Less than a year ago More than a year ago

Have you ever been to Parys Mountain? Yes No

P.T.O

Do you plan to visit Parys Mountain in the near future? Yes No

In your own words, what would you say is the relationship between Parys Mountain and Amlwch Port?

.....
.....
.....

What made you want to visit the Sail Loft today?

.....
.....

Where have you travelled from to visit the Sail Loft today?

.....

Is this where you live or are you on holiday? Live On Holiday

If you are on holiday, where do you live?

.....

What is your age?

Under 16 16-30 30-50 50+

Are you: Male or Female ?

What is your Occupation?

.....

If you have any further comments you would like to make concerning Amlwch Port, Parys Mountain and the work of the Amlwch Industrial Heritage Trust please write them in here:

.....
.....
.....

Thank you very much.