# A CRITICAL EVALUATION OF THE FACTORS THAT INFLUENCE VISITOR ENGAGEMENT WITH UK SLAVERY HERITAGE MUSEUMS: A BLENDED PASSIVE SYMBOLIC NETNOGRAPHIC STUDY

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A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements of Edinburgh Napier University, for the award of Doctor of Philosophy

# **Declaration**

I hereby declare that the work presented in this thesis has not been submitted for any other degree or professional qualification, and that it is the result of my own independent work.

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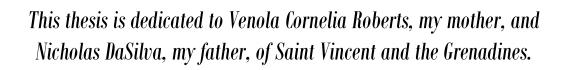
### Abstract

There is a substantial body of literature in slavery heritage tourism research that is mainly supply-driven and has focused on the management, presentation, and interpretation of slavery heritage for tourism purposes. However, the demand side in slavery heritage tourism research is under-researched and ripe for further contributions. Publications concentrated on the demand side have researched visitor motivations and experiences at slavery heritage attractions, particularly at plantation museums in the USA and slave castles in Ghana. Yet, to date, the factors that influence visitors to engage with slavery heritage attractions remain unexplored within the extant body of literature. Therefore, this thesis critically evaluates the factors that influence visitor engagement with UK slavery heritage museums. The thesis employed a blended passive symbolic netnographic methodology, combining online semi-structured interviews with content analysis of TripAdvisor reviews. Data was collected through unobtrusive internet-mediated observations of TripAdvisor reviews and online semi-structured interviews with thirteen managers and curators from eight UK slavery heritage museums, which were selected through purposive sampling. Through thematic analysis, the findings revealed that visitor engagement with UK slavery heritage museums varies and is subjective. It has been found that prior knowledge, multiple motivations, cultural capital, social capital, and the management of the visitor attraction influence visitor engagement with UK slavery heritage museums and are not mutually exclusive. Thus, this subjectivity and overlapping of factors present a challenge for museum professionals in designing these attractions for visitor consumption. These findings are unique to dark tourism research, particularly slavery heritage tourism, as this study is the first to have researched and documented the factors that influence visitor engagement with UK slavery heritage museums. The thesis contributes to an understanding of visitor engagement with UK slavery heritage museums through the development of a conceptual framework. The findings of the thesis provide insights into the factors that influence visitor engagement with UK slavery heritage museums to managers, curators, and decision-makers responsible for designing and managing these attractions. Therefore, the thesis findings enable museum professionals to develop strategies to better manage visitor engagement with slavery heritage museums.

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### **List of Abbreviations**

Al Artificial Intelligence

AR Augmented Reality

HVA Heritage Visitor Attraction

ICH Intangible Cultural Heritage

ICOMOS International Council on Monuments and Sites

ISM International Slavery Museum

ROE Registers of Engagement

TSG Trans-Atlantic Slavery Gallery

UK United Kingdom

UNESCO United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization

USA United States of America

VA Visitor Attraction

VR Virtual Reality

VoIP Voice over Internet Protocols

WWI World War One

WWII World War Two

# **Chapter 1: Introduction**

### Introduction

This chapter introduces the thesis. It begins with an overview of the research and the rationale for the study. Then, it outlines the aim and objectives, originality, significance, value and research approach employed in the study. Finally, an overall summary of the thesis structure is provided.

### 1.1 Background and Context

"Museums form a significant proportion of the cultural tourism offering in many destinations worldwide, operating as non-profit-making institutions that exhibit tangible and intangible heritage to visitors and communities alike" (Barron & Leask, 2017, p. 473). Museums act as a repository for collecting, conserving, storing, and presenting heritage for public edification. They perform the role and functions of documentation, research, exhibition, security, and the expansion of education and knowledge (Kristinsdóttir, 2017). Museums provide a cultural experience with leisure activities for visitors and social non-use values such as a sense of self, achievement, pride, existence, legacy, and prestige (Frey, 2019; Villar & Canessa, 2018). These ennobled spaces of national endowment also serve as subtle reminders that sensitize societies about preventing or repeating historically recorded inhumane transgressions and foster continuing reconciliation (Balcells et al., 2018; Roberts, 2019).

Recently, there has been an increase in academic debate with regard to the representation and presentation of difficult heritage in museums (Bull & De Angeli, 2020), particularly slavery heritage (Modlin et al., 2018). In this respect, some academics have argued that the presentation of slavery heritage for tourism purposes is becoming increasingly important in research and that there is a need for a greater understanding of the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade within a tourism context (Bright et al., 2018).

A substantial body of literature in slavery heritage tourism research is supply-driven and has concentrated on five major themes. These include: 1. Plantation museums (Alderman et al., 2016). 2. The marketing, management, politics, and governance of slavery heritage for visitor consumption (Seaton, 2001). 3. Certain geographical locations, particularly the USA (Bright & Carter, 2016) and Ghana (Reed, 2015a), while minor contributions have focused on the UK (Beech, 2001), a major participant in the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade. 4. A shared recurrent historical contextualization based on the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade (Yankholmes & McKercher, 2015a). 5. Ancestral and historical connections underpinned by ideology (Higginbotham, 2012).

However, minor works have focused on the demand side perspective and have researched the nature of visitors, including their motivations to visit slavery heritage sites (see Mensah, 2015; Yankholmes & McKercher, 2015b) and the experiences they encounter (Nelson, 2020a). This demonstrates that visitors to slavery heritage visitor attractions are poorly understood, and there is a need for a greater understanding of visitors interested in and engaging with slavery heritage tourism sites. Hence, the thesis focuses on the demand dimension and will offer a greater understanding of visitors who engage with sites associated with slavery heritage, particularly the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade.

It is clear that there is a need for further research that focuses on difficult heritage, particularly slavery heritage, in museums. In addition, the UK is under-researched in slavery heritage tourism research, a major participant in the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade. There is a need to understand what influences visitors to engage with slavery heritage tourism sites. Therefore, the study specifically focuses on the factors that influence visitors to engage with museums that market the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade in the UK.

Furthermore, a considerable number of studies in visitor engagement with museums research have used observations and experiments to understand visitors' engagement with HVAs (Falk & Storksdieck, 2005). In this respect, a reasonable body of literature in visitor engagement with museums research has focused on the length of time visitors spend with exhibits (Perez-Sanagustín et

al., 2016); how museums create and facilitate engagement through technological advances such as Augmented Reality and Quick Response Codes (Bailey-Ross et al., 2017); and visitor satisfaction, loyalty, and intentions to visit and revisit (Alrawadieh et al., 2019). Minor contributions have researched the drivers that influence visitor engagement with art and gallery museums (Bryce et al., 2014; Loureiro & Ferreira, 2018; Taheri et al., 2014). Thus, there is a need to understand what influences visitor engagement with different museums or cultural heritage venues, particularly attractions that present dark heritage, such as slavery heritage museums. Therefore, this study critically evaluates the factors that influence visitor engagement with UK slavery heritage museums.

### 1.2 Rationale

At the time of this research, there were significant developments in the UK regarding its involvement in the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade (Branscome, 2021). There were mass demonstrations in some UK cities, including Bristol and London, where monuments and statues of former enslavers were vandalised, defaced, and forcibly removed (Turunen, 2022). A notable protestation was seen in Bristol with the pulling down of philanthropist and enslaver Edward Colston's statue (BBC, 2020). As a result, some monuments and statues associated with slavery, including the Edward Colston statue, were boarded up, cordoned off, and placed in museums to avoid mob rule and anarchy (Moody, 2021). For centuries, these monuments and statues have occupied pride of place, stood as reminders of the past, and have subtly educated some citizens and visitors about the UK's history (Nasar, 2020; Cole, 2023). Thus, they are destined for a place in museums for their preservation and protection. Furthermore, these events aroused interest within the halls of the UK government to pass legislation to protect these monuments and statues, instructing museums on how they should proceed to curate these memorials. The UK Museum Association, affronted by this perceived interference, argues that it would negatively affect and stifle the awareness of Britain's imperial past and its contested heritage, particularly slavery (BBC, 2021). Nonetheless, the case in point here is that these recent developments and events emphasize the significance of the study and why it was necessary at the time it was conducted.

This thesis addresses three under-researched areas in visitor engagement with museums and slavery heritage tourism literature. They are as follows:

- 1. A considerable amount of literature in slavery heritage tourism research is mainly supply-driven. These studies focused on managing, marketing, and interpreting slavery heritage for tourism consumption (see Beech, 2001; Burnham, 2019). However, the demand side in slavery heritage tourism studies is under-researched. Publications that focused on the demand side have researched visitor motivations and experiences at slavery heritage attractions (see Yankholmes & McKercher, 2015b, 2015; Nelson, 2020a). Yet, to date, no study has been found to have researched the factors that influence visitors to engage with slavery heritage attractions, in particular museums. Therefore, there is a need for further theoretical and empirical contributions in slavery heritage tourism research from the demand side perspective and to understand the factors that influence visitor engagement with attractions associated with slavery heritage, particularly museums. This study brings literature from various disciplines, including heritage studies, heritage tourism research, Heritage Visitor Attractions research, museum studies, dark tourism studies, slavery heritage tourism research, and visitor engagement with museums research.
- 2. Social capital as a factor that influences visitor engagement with museums has been overlooked by academics in visitor engagement with museums research (see Taheri et al., 2014; Bryce et al., 2014; Loureiro & Ferreira, 2018). Previous studies have, so far, shown that prior knowledge, multiple motivations, and cultural capital influence visitor engagement with museums. However, these studies focused on art museums, capturing and measuring engagement with museum exhibits and having a unidimensional engagement perspective. Recently, researchers have shown an increased interest in researching social media within the context of museums to enhance visitor engagement. Whilst there is evidence that social media influences visitors to engage with museums, these studies have focused on what influences visitors' engagement online and how

social media influences learning during visits to art museums. Interestingly, there is evidence within the literature that shows prior knowledge (sharing of experiences), multiple motivations (planning and decision-making), and cultural capital (accumulation of knowledge and taste) are interrelated and manifest through online social capital in the context of social media. This, therefore, brings two key gaps into focus. First, as it relates to slavery heritage tourism visitation, no study has been found to have researched prior knowledge, multiple motivations, and cultural capital in the digital context of online social capital, particularly social media. Second, social capital, offline and online, as a factor that influences visitor engagement with museums have been overlooked by scholars in researching the factors that influence visitor engagement with museums. Thus, there is a need for further theoretical and empirical evidence that explores social capital as a factor that influences visitor engagement with museums and how online interactions influence offline settings and vice versa.

3. Whilst there is evidence that studies have researched engagement in the pre and on-site visitation stages, no study has been found to have researched visitor engagement with museums throughout all three stages of a museum visit, including pre, on-site, and post-visitation in the context of online social capital through social media (see Taheri et al., 2014; Arnould et al., 2004; Kempiak et al., 2017). Therefore, online social capital through social media engagement is critical to visitor engagement with museums and requires further exploration. This study considers visitor engagement throughout the three stages of a museum visit, including pre, on-site, and post-visitation.

### 1.3 Aim and Objectives

The aim of this research is to critically evaluate the factors that influence visitor engagement with UK slavery heritage museums. To address this aim, this study has four objectives:

- To search and review existing literature on the factors that influence visitor engagement with HVAs and their application to UK slavery heritage museums.
- To critically evaluate the factors that influence visitor engagement with UK slavery heritage museums.
- To contribute new knowledge in heritage tourism research, HVA research, museum studies, dark tourism research, slavery heritage tourism research, and visitor engagement with museums research that will be useful to academics in these fields.
- 4. To provide an understanding of the factors that influence visitor engagement with UK slavery heritage museums that will be relevant and useful to managers, curators, and decision-makers who are involved in the design and management of these attractions.

# 1.4 Originality, Significance, and Value of Study

The originality of the study is that it critically evaluates the factors that influence visitor engagement with UK slavery heritage museums to address this knowledge gap in the literature. Thus, the significance of the study is that it addresses this gap in knowledge by researching the factors that influence visitor engagement with UK slavery heritage museums that are unknown.

The study contributes to theory and practice. From a theoretical perspective, the study contributes to the body of literature in visitor engagement with museums research through the development of a conceptual framework. In doing so, the study considers the three dimensions of engagement that any scholar has yet to do in researching visitor engagement with museums. These include the cognitive, affective, and behavioural dimensions of engagement. In addition, the study also considers the three stages of a museum visit in researching visitor engagement

with museums that academics have overlooked in the extant body of literature. These include the pre, on-site, and post-visitation stages of a museum visit. Additionally, the study considers social capital as a factor that influences visitor engagement with museums that previous studies have left out.

Furthermore, the study contributes to the recent and ongoing debates regarding the management and representation of slavery heritage in HVAs for visitor consumption. It also contributes theory in slavery heritage tourism research by focusing on the under-researched demand side perspective. In this respect, the study sheds new light on visitors to attractions associated with and present difficult heritage, such as slavery, and what influences their engagement with these sites. Therefore, all of these theoretical contributions will be valuable to academics in museum studies, heritage tourism research, Heritage Visitor Attraction studies, dark tourism studies, slavery heritage tourism research, and visitor engagement with museums for future research.

From an operational point of view, the value of the study is that it provides insights into the factors that influence visitor engagement with UK slavery heritage museums that museum managers, curators, and decision-makers of these attractions can use to build a portrait of visitors to better design and manage these spaces to enhance visitor engagement. Therefore, the practical contribution of the findings of the study to museum practice is that it helps UK slavery heritage museum practitioners to develop strategies to enhance and manage visitor engagement with these attractions.

## 1.5 Research Approach

Although a qualitative approach is dominant in dark tourism research (Wight, 2006) and slavery heritage tourism research, the study employs a qualitative design because it aligns with the interpretive philosophical assumptions that underpin the study. In this respect, a qualitative approach is appropriate because it focuses on the subjective realities and meanings socially constructed through engagement and interaction with society and others (Queirós et al., 2017). Apart from these, there are two other important reasons for such an approach. First, the study focuses on "what" influences visitor engagement with UK slavery

heritage museums and not "how" or the "length of time" visitors spend engaging with these attractions. Second, a considerable number of studies in visitor engagement with museums research have applied a quantitative or a mixed method approach and have significantly measured visitor engagement with exhibits, including the length of time, and had little to say qualitatively.

The subjective, interpretive, qualitative, inductive, and exploratory study adopts a blended passive symbolic netnographic research strategy prepared according to the procedures set out by Kozinets (2020), combining online semi-structured interviews with content analysis of TripAdvisor reviews. A blended passive symbolic netnographic research strategy was employed because the study focuses explicitly on UK slavery heritage museums and visitors to these museums. The strategy helps to provide insights into the factors that influence visitor engagement with UK slavery heritage museums that will be of value to managers, curators, and decision-makers of these attractions to build a portrait of visitors to enhance their engagement. Additionally, the research strategy offers many benefits to the study given the sensitive nature of the topic. It is naturalistic, and it helps to reveal the experiences of visitors more candidly than traditional qualitative methods because of the anonymity it permits. It also allows access to an abundance of data and visitors who are dispersed across various geographical locations.

While netnography appears to be growing in tourism research (Tavakoli & Mura, 2018), particularly in dark tourism studies (Podoshen, 2017), it is still underutilized and under-researched. In addition, it appears that no existing study in tourism research, including dark tourism and slavery heritage tourism research has provided a detailed and rigorous methodological framework that explains its philosophical underpinnings and ethical considerations. For instance, to date, only three publications in slavery heritage tourism research have used online sources such as TripAdvisor reviews to gather data (see Boateng et al., 2018; Carter, 2016; Nelson, 2020a). However, these studies may not be considered netnographic because the researchers were not specific about their methodology. It is often left to the reader to decipher and interpret their work, which can be viewed as virtual ethnography, digital anthropology, etc. This thesis

addresses this issue by providing a detailed netnographic methodological framework that explains its philosophical underpinnings and ethical considerations.

The study triangulates data through the use of unobtrusive internet-mediated observations of TripAdvisor reviews and online semi-structured interviews with thirteen managers and curators of eight UK slavery heritage museums via Microsoft Teams to collect data for the study. The study uses a thematic analysis technique to analyse data.

### 1.6 Thesis Structure

The overall structure of this thesis takes the form of seven chapters, including this introductory chapter. An overview of each chapter is provided below:

**Chapter One** provides an introduction to this thesis. The chapter is divided into six parts. The first part provides the background and context of the research. The second part explains and justifies the rationale of the study. The third part outlines the aim and objectives of the study. The fourth part discusses the originality, significance, and value of the study. The fifth part highlights the research approach employed in the study. The final part provides an overall summary of the thesis structure.

Chapters Two, Three, and Four are literature review chapters. They provide a critical review and analysis of key studies, models, theories, and concepts that are relevant to the aim and objectives of the study and lays the theoretical dimensions of the research. The chapters highlight a number of gaps within the extant body of literature that justifies this research and where it will contribute.

Chapter Two discusses heritage studies, heritage tourism research, Heritage Visitor Attractions research, and museum studies. There are four main parts in this chapter. Part one discusses the scope of heritage, value, classifications, and the developments made in heritage research. Part two explains the concept of heritage tourism, including its role and importance, typologies, visitor motivations, visitor experiences, and current themes and trends in the field. Part three

explored the nature and classifications of HVAs, their role and function, visitors' decisions to visit, and academic contributions made in HVA research. Part four provides a discussion on the concept, role, and functions of museums, including the various types of museums, management of museums, visitor profiles, and developments made in this area of research.

Chapter Three critically reviews the extant body of literature in dark tourism and slavery heritage tourism research. The chapter is divided into three parts. Part one examines the notion of dark heritage. Part two, dark tourism research, explains the concept of dark tourism, dark tourism HVAs, visitor profiles, experiences and motivations, and the developments made in dark tourism research to date. Part three, slavery heritage tourism research, discusses the theory of slavery heritage tourism, including visitor characteristics, motivations, and experiences. This is followed by a review of the developments made in slavery heritage tourism research to date.

Chapter Four critically reviews literature and the developments made in visitor engagement with museums to identify the factors that influence visitor engagement with museums. There are four main sections in this chapter. The first section focuses on the museum experience. The second section provides a discussion on the meaning of engagement. The third section reviewed the developments made in visitor engagement with museum research. The final section discusses the factors that influence visitor engagement with museums.

Chapter Five explains and justifies the research methodology used to achieve the aim and objectives of the study. The chapter begins by discussing the interpretive philosophical and theoretical perspectives underpinning the research and its qualitative methodological framework. The chapter then discusses the research strategy, netnography including online semi-structured interviews, and the purposive sampling strategy used to recruit participants and to select the eight UK slavery heritage museums used for the study. Afterwards, the chapter explains and justifies the data collection methods of unobtrusive internet-mediated observations and online semi-structured interviews. Next, the chapter explains the data analysis technique, thematic analysis, and the process of

analysing data. Finally, the chapter discusses the ethical considerations and limitations of the research methodology employed in the study.

**Chapter Six** analyses and discusses the findings from the unobtrusive internet-mediated observations of TripAdvisor reviews and online semi-structured interviews with UK slavery heritage museums' managers and curators. The chapter discusses and critically evaluates five main factors, including prior knowledge, multiple motivations, cultural capital, social capital, and the management of the visitor attraction that influences visitor engagement with UK slavery heritage museums.

Chapter Seven concludes the thesis. The chapter draws upon the entire thesis, tying up the various theoretical and empirical strands to summarise and critique the findings. The chapter discusses the theoretical and methodological contributions and implications of the study. It also explains the managerial implications of the research's findings to practice. Additionally, the chapter outlines the limitations of the study, and a number of areas for future research are identified. This is followed by a reflection on the researcher's development throughout the PhD journey.

# **Chapter Summary**

This chapter introduced the thesis, which aims to critically evaluate the factors that influence visitor engagement with UK slavery heritage museums. The chapter provided some background and context to the research, including the rationale for the study, aim and objectives, originality, significance, value, and methodological underpinnings. It explained the overall structure of the thesis and its contribution to knowledge and practice. The following three chapters present the literature review, which lays out the theoretical dimensions of the research and are as follows:

- Chapter Two: Heritage, Heritage Tourism, Heritage Visitor Attractions, and Museums
- Chapter Three: Dark Tourism and Slavery Heritage Tourism
- Chapter Four: Factors that Influence Visitor Engagement with Museums

# Chapter 2: Heritage, Heritage Tourism, Heritage Visitor Attractions, and Museums

### Introduction

This chapter is the first of three literature review chapters. These chapters provide a critical review and analysis of key studies, models, theories, and concepts that are relevant to the aim and objectives of this study and lays the theoretical dimensions of this research. The purpose, therefore, of these chapters is to illuminate gaps in knowledge and to identify opportunities for further academic contributions. Thus, these chapters are important in justifying this research and where it will contribute.

As outlined in Chapter One, this thesis revolves around slavery heritage within museums for visitor consumption. This chapter, therefore, critically reviews literature in heritage studies, heritage tourism research, Heritage Visitor Attractions research, and museum studies. The chapter is divided into four sections. The first section focuses on heritage studies. It explains the meaning of heritage (Silberman, 2015); the role, value, and importance of heritage (Fredheim & Khalaf, 2016); and the classifications of heritage (Craith & Kockel, 2015). It also explores the evolution of heritage studies and the developments made in research in the field.

The second section discusses the convergence of heritage and tourism (Ruhanen & Whitford, 2019). It examines the importance, nature, and origins of heritage tourism (Kumar et al., 2020). It then discusses the types of visitors (Alazaizeh et al., 2016), including their motivations to visit and engage with heritage tourism sites (Liro, 2020) and the experiences that come from their engagement (Abaidoo & Takyiakwaa, 2019). Subsequently, it reviews the developments made to date in heritage tourism research to identify current themes and gaps in knowledge.

The third section reviews literature in Heritage Visitor Attractions research (Page & Connell, 2020). It examines the meaning and functions of HVAs, including the motivation of visitors to visit and engage with HVAs (Frey, 2019). Then, it discusses the classifications of HVAs. This is followed by a review of the developments made in HVA research to highlight gaps within the literature.

The final section reviews the extant body of literature in museum studies. It discusses the concept, role, and functions of museums (Qassar, 2020). It also outlines the various types of museums. Afterwards, it examines the management of museums (Papadimitriou et al., 2016). Next, it reviews the developments made in museum studies literature to identify knowledge gaps and areas for further contribution.

### 2.1 Heritage Studies

This section concentrates on literature in heritage studies. The section is divided into five parts. The first part examines the scope and meaning of heritage (Benhamou, 2020). The second part discusses the classifications of heritage, including tangible and intangible heritage (Djabarouti, 2020). The third part explains the role, value, and importance of heritage (Metair, 2019). The fourth part explores the evolution of heritage studies. The final part reviews the developments made to date in heritage studies literature with the aim of identifying knowledge gaps.

### 2.1.1 Heritage Meaning

It is well documented within the extant body of literature that heritage is something that is passed on to future generations. For instance, Nuryanti (1996) argues that heritage is the transferring of historical values from one generation to another or the inheritance of something. Likewise, Gnecco (2015), Economou (2015), and Rouhi (2017) describe heritage as the past in the present and something that is passed on to future generations. Tunbridge and Ashworth (1996, p. 10) write that heritage is not "the totality of the history of a place or even facets of that totality". They argue that contemporary societies determine which facets of the past

should be inherited for present-day use and dictate what should be passed on to future generations. Graham (2002, p. 2) notes:

"...heritage is the contemporary use of the past, and if its meanings are defined in the present, then we create the heritage that we require and manage it for a range of purposes defined by the needs and demands of our present societies".

In this sense, heritage is seen as a choice, where contemporary societies decide what to inherit and pass on. Within this context, Salazar and Zhu (2015) argue that heritage is not concerned about history or the past. Instead, it is manufactured in the present, based on individual experiences and what they choose to do with it. Indeed, rightfully so, as Wight (2009, p. 137) states, "heritage is, ultimately, a personal affair and each individual constructs heritage based on personal life experiences providing anchors of personal values and stability".

Arguably, heritage is a selective interpretation (Rowehl, 2003) or hot interpretation (Uzzell & Ballantyne, 1998) of the past in the present. Friedrich et al (2018) state that "heritage is a co-created process that is continuously recreated according to ever-changing sociocultural attitudes and political demands" (p. 266). In this context, multiple constructions of the past are created, whereby heritage is not an objective memory of the past. Instead, heritage is selectively interpreted based on how visitors, communities, and societies view themselves in the present (Schouten, 1995). As Wight (2009) contends, members of society assign meaning to the past to justify the present and how they believe things should change. Thus, heritage is personified by members of society crafting their own interpretation of heritage and how they would like to be portrayed to others. Therefore, it can be argued that heritage is a selective process and appeal (Wight & Lennon, 2007). From this viewpoint, Candau (1998, p. 162) said that "heritage is less a content than a practice of memory motivated by a project of self-affirmation".

Reed (2015a, p. 391) argues that "...memory and heritage appeal to one's personal and collective identity, emerge out of the contemporary moment and are always in process even if they claim otherwise". Timothy (2018) argues that

heritage forms the basis of personal and national identity. He asserted that heritage can either bring communities together or make them collapse in disunity. He notes:

"there is much to learn from the successes and failures of the past, and our use of yesterday and its vestiges for educational and scientific, political, artistic, cultural, and touristic purposes adds value and importance to the events, places, and people that have gone before" (p. 382).

Thus, it can be argued that heritage is a collective memory (Xiao & Deling, 2018) that facilitates the construction of identities (Foroudi et al., 2020). Within this context, heritage is seen as an identity-building tool in which visitors, destinations, and communities (Moody, 2015; Gravari-Barbas, 2018) assume meaning and identity. In this regard, heritage evokes a range of emotions, including a sense of belonging, affection, and meaning-making (Crouch, 2015; Kamel-Ahmed, 2015).

Several authors have argued that heritage is a process (Harvey, 2001), practice (Wu & Hou, 2015), metaculture (Silverman, 2015), and performance (Haldrup & Bærenholdt, 2015). Within a tourism context, Waterton and Watson (2015) describe heritage as objects, displays, memories, and events that visitors engage with and consume. In this sense, heritage is exploited for tourism purposes by which visitors make use of the past in a postmodern world (Light, 2015). For instance, Kirshenblatt-Gimblett (1998, p. 7) notes:

"... While it looks old, heritage is actually something new. Heritage is a mode of cultural production in the present that has recourse to the past. Heritage thus defined depends on display to give dying economies and dead sites a second life as exhibitions of themselves".

This, therefore, raises the question of authenticity and dissonance within the context of heritage and who should be entrusted with managing it. Wight (2009) argues that performative narratives and differentiating destinations are of greater appeal to visitors. For instance, the term "authentic" appears to be attractive to some visitors. In this respect, Friedrich et al (2018) assert that authenticity is often used as a justification and criteria for selecting and interpreting aspects of heritage. Yet, it can be argued that heritage is about telling the present cultural

conditions of contemporary society rather than presenting the actual past (Tunbridge & Ashworth, 1996).

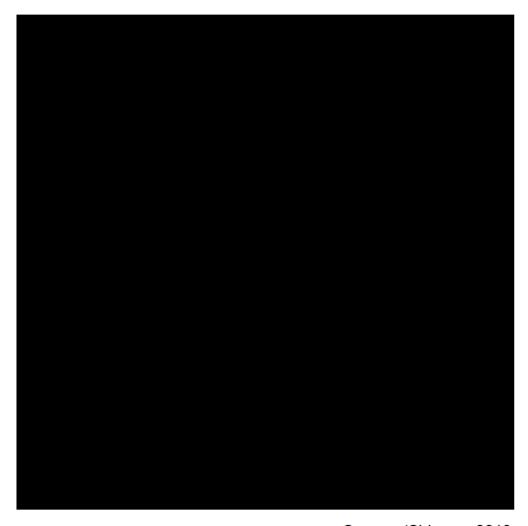
Nonetheless, it can be argued that heritage is multifaceted, malleable, and dynamic. Heritage is subjected to many variables and is open to various interpretations (Johnson, 2015), which hinge on the focus and context in which it is discussed and examined. As such, there is no single definition of heritage, as heritage and its constituents have evolved, continue to evolve, and transcend into several contexts. For the purpose of this thesis, heritage is defined as a selective process of the past for visitor consumption.

### 2.1.2 Classifications of Heritage

There are various types of heritage (Vecco, 2010). Figure 1 categorizes heritage as tangible and intangible heritage. Tangible heritage has a physical presence and can be grouped into movable and immovable heritage. Movable tangible heritage comprises of museum collections, art objects, paintings, and artefacts (Ros-Barbosa, 2015). In this regard, movable tangible heritage refers to manufactured objects that are used as accessories. They are portable and can be easily relocated. By the same token, immovable, tangible heritage comprises of archaeological sites and ruins, monuments, historical gardens, cultural landscapes, commemorative buildings, petroglyphs, and historical buildings (Shehada, 2020). This infers that immovable tangible heritage is physical remains and structures with historical value and significance that cannot be moved or relocated.

Intangible heritage, on the other hand, can be formed on the basis of traditions that have been inherited and passed on from one generation to another (Aykan, 2016). Intangible heritage manifests through language, food, social practices, religious ceremonies, rituals, storytelling, performances, and oral history (Stefano & Davis, 2017). The argument that heritage is tangible and intangible resonates with Ahmad's (2006) report on the changing concept of heritage by heritage organizations such as UNESCO and ICOMOS. Figure 1 illustrates the different types of heritage, their meaning, and examples.

Figure 1: Classifications of Heritage



Source: (Shimray, 2019, p. 5)

The model above seems limited in its application in researching visitor engagement with museums and classifying museums (see Taheri et al., 2014; Frey, 2019). Hence, the study adopts the model to understand museums, particularly UK slavery heritage museums, within a tourism context and the type of heritage they represent.

Heritage can be conserved and stored in a digital format (Gasimova & Abbasli, 2020). Within this context, digital heritage is defined as cultural heritage that is stored digitally in the form of text, stills, and animated images, and audiotapes (Kidd, 2019). Digital heritage manifests as two groups. These include information resources storage carriers such as computer databases, optical disks, disks and tapes, dissemination of heritage information through the internet, digital media

such as Virtual Reality, Augmented Reality, and preprint materials or archives held in e-prints (Wang et al., 2020). These ensure that tangible and intangible heritage is preserved for posterity and future generations. In this sense, it prevents heritage from disappearing and makes it readily accessible (Doulamis et al., 2017).

Bec et al (2019) argue that AR and VR digital heritage can be used to reconstruct artefacts and communicate personalized and non-personalized cultural stories that narrate past events. Their work indicates that heritage digitalisation can present alternate realities of past events with different outcomes. They argue that there are serious implications of digitalizing heritage and that creators of digital heritage need to strike a balance between presenting heritage itself and presenting accurate information or known facts. The implication is that digital heritage could perpetuate inaccuracies. Consequently, digital heritage creators must be acutely aware of these challenges during the process of digitalizing heritage. This, therefore, requires eternal vigilance and exploration of means and measures by which such inaccuracies are addressed and corrected. In doing so, it ensures that visitors who engage with digital heritage receive reliable, credible, and accurate accounts of the past. When such information remains in the public domain without being questioned, challenged, repudiated, and corrected, the influences of heritage digitalisation perpetually fall short of reality and the truth (Bareither, 2020). This translates into making the visitors' interpretation a falsehood masquerading as the truth. This is elaborated upon in Chapter Three of this thesis.

### 2.1.3 The Role, Value, and Importance of Heritage

Thurley (2005) conceptualized the Heritage Cycle, highlighting the importance of conserving heritage for future generations and how the past relates to and can be made relevant in the future. The cycle suggests that in valuing heritage, visitors and communities will care for it. By caring for it, visitors and communities will enjoy it, and in enjoying it, they will understand it and desire to know more. The cycle aims to develop an understanding of the significance and value of heritage and to safeguard and protect it. This implies that the cycle is critical in the decision-making process of what aspects of history should be secured for the

future. It demonstrates how communities and visitors should engage with heritage and how they may learn from it and protect it. The cycle helps to better inform communities and visitors of their heritage, from whence they came, what personifies them, their identity, sense of belonging, and linkages to the past, present, and future. This suggests that the relationship between knowledge and values is cyclical and not linear. This means that when something is of value to a community or visitor, they become anxious to know more about its significance and how to maintain and protect its value. Figure 2 illustrates how heritage can be conserved. It also emphasizes the importance and value of heritage.

Figure 2: The Heritage Cycle



Source: (Thurley, 2005, p. 26)

The dimensions of the Heritage Cycle align with Atalan's (2018) report on the importance of education in conserving heritage. His findings suggest that once visitors and communities are conscious of protecting culture and heritage, it will effectively protect the past and what happens in the world today. This argument resonates with Esfehani and Albrecht's (2018) study on the importance of heritage conservation. They contend that safeguarding heritage protects local communities' cultural identity and acts as a driver in facilitating visitors' cultural and natural sensitive behaviours. Rouhi (2017) concurs and suggests that

heritage is vital in constructing identities and giving visitors, destinations, and communities a sense of belonging.

However, the model is limited in its use in the sense that no study has been found to have applied it in researching how slavery heritage is managed from a tourism perspective (see Alderman et al., 2016; Bright et al., 2018). Therefore, the study utilises the model to understand how slavery heritage may be managed for visitor consumption and what influences visitor engagement with UK slavery heritage museums.

Furthermore, Historic England (2019) affirms that heritage brings economic, social, and environmental values such as local area benefits, enhancement of destination workers, economic security, learning, skills and development, social cohesion, and human capital development. Likewise, Petronela (2016) argues that heritage is vital to a destination's social and economic development. For instance, through the provision of infrastructure, revenue generation, and transmission of cultural knowledge. It is also tenable that heritage plays a critical role in remembering past events and commemorating the lives of those who died through inhumane circumstances (Bareither, 2020). This is elaborated upon in Chapter Three of this thesis. Notably, Roberts (2019) said heritage serves as an important reminder that the perpetration of atrocious and evil acts of times past should be pre-empted and prevented from ever occurring again. This, however, underscores the significant role of heritage in educating visitors of the past. In light of this, a reasonable number of contributions within the extant body of literature have researched the importance of heritage within a tourism context including its role in the development of a destination and the formation of identities. Table 1 summarises the role, value, importance, and functions of heritage and why heritage should be conserved.

Table 1: Summary of the Role, Value, Importance, and Functions of Heritage

Author(s) & year	Heritage role, value, importance, and function
Dix (1990)	Emotional values (wonder, identity, spiritual, symbolic)
Darvill (1995)	Use (archaeological research, scientific research, creative arts, education, recreation and tourism, social solidarity and interaction, monetary and economic gain), option (stability, mystery, and enigma), and existence (cultural identity, resistance to change)
Carver (1996)	Market Value, community value, human value
Frey (1997)	Monetary, option, existence, bequest, prestige,
Mason (2002)	educational Sociocultural values (historical, cultural/symbolic, social, spiritual /religious, aesthetic), economic values, use (market value), non-use (non-market) value (existence, bequest)
Roslan et al (2017)	Community values, aesthetic, social values, economic values, political values, maintenance of a place, community, and environment heritage
Orr (2017)	Recovery and redevelopment of a destination, readjusting lives, regeneration strategies
Rouhi (2017)	Construction of identities, sense of belonging to a place, country, and community
Petronela (2016)	Social values (transmission of cultural knowledge and tradition), economic values (revenue generation, infrastructure development)
Taçon and Baker (2019)	Sense of individual and community well-being (physical, mental, emotional, comfortable, and happiness)
Historic England (2019)	Economic values (enhancement of destination workers, economic security), social values (learning, skills development, social cohesion, and development of human capital) and environmental values (local area benefits, aesthetics)
Roberts (2019)	Reminder of atrocious events, education, helps in the prevention of the recurrence of inhumane historical events, remembrance, and commemoration.

Bareither (2020)	Remembrance, commemoration/celebration of lives and memories

Adapted from (Monteiro et al., 2015)

### 2.1.4 The Evolution of Heritage Studies

It is difficult to identify a time or period when research into heritage started (Harvey, 2001). Thus far, evidence supports that interest in heritage started as far back as ancient Greek times (Turner, 1984). The instinct to hoard and collect is an innate attribute that destinations utilise and rely upon when crafting their present and future heritage through reminiscing on a glorified past. The concept of heritage protection and preservation emerged in Europe in the early fifteenth century (Blake, 2000). This saw the development of national and international treaties, heritage policies, charters, legislations, recommendations, and agreements. Out of this emerged the conventions on the protection of heritage under the auspices of UNESCO and ICOMOS from the late nineteenth century onwards to the mid-twentieth century.

Research in heritage can also be traced to the 1950s, 1960s, 1970s, and 1980s. Notably, Tiden's (1957) study on the principles and philosophy of heritage interpretation gave rise to heritage research in museum studies, archaeology, and tourism. In this regard, tourism has been inescapable because heritage objects represent an endorsed chronicle of spaces and places developed for visitors. To this end, an inevitable propagation of museums was integral to this process. In their observations, Hewison (1987) and Wright (1985) lend credence to conserving and presenting the heritage in museums for visitor consumption. Within this context, a number of authors have also stimulated debate around the nature and essential purpose of museum collections (Lumley, 1998) and museum visitors (Vergo, 1989). During this period, debates around heritage included the usage of heritage for tourism purposes and a wide range of social observations and analyses related to heritage (Lowenthal, 1985).

The discourse about heritage gave prominence to a trove of social and political debates, particularly in relation to colonial states like Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and the USA, and the political governance of the archaeology and

heritage of first nations and indigenous peoples (Swidler et al., 1997). These dialogues accentuated a new grasp of heritage, giving closer scrutiny of power, ethics, ownership, and control, but specifically focused on who, in fact, could be in a position to define and name such provenance (Waterton & Smith, 2009). This introduced a new way of reasoning that redefined the boundaries between archaeology and heritage managers, in contrast to descendants or indigenous groups. This resulted in alternate approaches and attitudes that forged a radical recontextualization of how heritage should be recognized, practiced, and overseen. Thereon after, literature in heritage studies became replete with social theory, critical analysis, and the operational use of heritage (see Swarbrooke, 1995; Harrison, 1994).

An unfolding of the sociological, cultural, geographical, and anthropological interests in the area of heritage research became apparent (Hall, 1999). The implication is that heritage is not only a selective process but also intensifies the political debate about managing history. Scholars were further instigated to look at interpretation and museums (Uzzell & Ballantyne, 1998), which inevitably extended the heritage debate into the areas of commodification (MacCannell, 1976) and authenticity (Baudrillard, 1994). Interest in heritage research also emerged from a community-oriented background (Leone, 1995), which inspired the production of heritage TV programs. This became a launch pad for heritage research and a new thrust where heritage was looked at in several contexts. This is elaborated upon in the subsequent sections.

# 2.1.5 Developments made in Heritage Studies

Early research in heritage studies focused on heritage protection (Truscott, 1994); conservation (Teo & Huang, 1995); heritage policies and cultural heritage economics (Peacock & Rizzo, 1994); heritage films (Higson, 1996); interpretation (Hollinshead, 1994); and authenticity and commodification (Goulding, 2000). Previous studies also concentrated on archaeology (Robb, 1998); collective memory (Olick et al., 2011); historical communities (Waterton & Smith, 2009); and understanding how the past influences a sense of belonging, create identities and shapes lives (McLean, 1998). Prior studies also researched colonial and indigenous heritage. For instance, McNiven and Russell (2005) researched the

reshaping and cultural appropriation of colonized and indigenous heritage by Western ideologies of social evolution. They argue that colonial and indigenous heritage is decolonized by ideologies and concepts contrived by other nations and cultures. This makes a strong argument for a collaborative effort by the progeny of colonialization to understand the value of colonial and indigenous heritage, which are not mutually exclusive. In addition, previous research in heritage studies examined the representation of the past in contemporary societies (Wright, 1985); museology (Pearce, 1994); and heritage conservation (Harrison, 1994). For instance, Merriman (1991) researched the factors by which museums fail to connect with the broader public. He contends that for museums to remain viable and perform their functions effectively, an innovative and rigorous approach is required to attract the underserved populations to view, understand, and engage with heritage and the past. As such, there is an opportunity in the literature to research how museums can attract underserved populations to engage with these spaces.

Gao et al (2020) recently deliberated on authenticity, involvement, nostalgia, and visitor satisfaction. Silberman (2015) conceivably expands the scope of heritage, indigenous heritage, and their interpretation. Recent studies have researched the dilemmas in interpreting colonial and indigenous heritage (Finegan, 2019). She declares that interpreters of colonial and indigenous heritage need to be more critical of sources and themselves to successfully address indigeneity. Finally, Coombe and Baird (2015) adopted an anthropological perspective. They discussed the politics that govern indigenous heritage and how indigenous heritage is influenced by those who control and manage such resources. Their work intimated that emancipatory expectations limit indigenous heritage. Thus, there is a need for a new approach to governing indigenous heritage. Nevertheless, there appears to be a knowledge gap in the literature to research how other types of contested heritages are interpreted, governed and managed and how they influence visitor engagement with heritage sites.

Recent literature in heritage studies has researched the collection of heritage information (Prodan, 2015); landscapes of memory (Montgomery, 2019); the geography of heritage (van der Merwe, 2019); social practice, heritage policy

(Pendlebury, 2015); and socio-economic development of heritage (Alghafri et al., 2020). Recent contributions in heritage studies literature have also focused on diasporic groups (Reed, 2015a); identity, affiliation and nationalism (Winter, 2015); recasting heritage (Daly & Chan, 2015); holistic and inclusive heritage (Craith & Kockel, 2015); and the ethics of heritage (Huang, 2017). A number of authors have recently researched contested heritage and emerging issues such as war and civil unrest (Le Devehat, 2020; Viejo-Rose & Sørensen, 2015) and colonial heritage like Giblin's (2015) critical appraisal of the approaches to postcolonial heritage. His work suggests that approaches to post-colonial heritage demonstrate a colonial pervasiveness of cultural dispossession and a postcolonial fixation in presenting colonial heritage in modern times. He maintains that the presentation of colonial heritage in a postmodern society is seen as something new and better that comes from something ancient, antiquated, and in some cases tainted. This observation provides a fertile literary treasure for further research. As such, there is a knowledge gap in the literature to research the approaches to the presentation of colonial heritage at different heritage sites and how they influences the way in which visitors engages with those places.

Several authors in heritage studies have recently examined the use and abuse of heritage in marketing campaigns to promote destinations and attractions (Silverman & Richard, 2015); cultural experience (Staiff, 2015); performance (Haldrup & Bærenholdt, 2015); and digital heritage. For instance, McCleery and Bowers (2017) researched ways to promote the safeguarding, recording, and recognition of intangible cultural heritage in Scotland. They declared age in schools and elsewhere, and enhanced familiarity and facility with new technologies by successive generations of older people, will ensure that the problem of adequately documenting and safeguarding ICH diminishes" (p. 199). They further maintained that facilitating a "two-way generational ICH and technological capacity building, with school students meeting senior citizens in a structured and facilitated environment would help to provide a compromise in closing the ICH generation gap" (p. 199).

Controversially, Purkis (2017) argues that the digitalization of heritage museum exhibitions could be conflicting when they present unofficial and personal

narratives together because this can disrupt official narratives, visitor learning, experiences, and interpretation of history. She maintains that digitalizing museum exhibitions should be carefully designed and managed to ensure that history is not distorted, conflicted, and interpreted otherwise by those who engage with it and consume it. This is coupled with Savenije and de Bruijn's (2017) study on the examination of the interplay between the cognitive and affective dimensions of history learning in museums. Their findings indicate that museums are important in developing visitors' cognitive and affective skills. Even so, these works demonstrate a need for further research into how tourism resources are used to conserve heritage and how tourists engage and consume heritage. The next section examines heritage within a tourism context.

# 2.2 Heritage Tourism

This section focuses on Heritage Tourism and has been organized in the following way. First, the section discusses the meaning, role and types of heritage tourism (Timothy, 2017). Second, the section explores the evolution of heritage tourism. Third, the section examines the types of visitors (Chercoles et al., 2020), including their motivations for engaging with heritage tourism attractions (Shi et al., 2019) and experiences (Zheng et al., 2020). Finally, the section reviews the debates and developments made in heritage tourism research to identify knowledge gaps within the current body of literature.

# 2.2.1 The Meaning, Role, and Types of Heritage Tourism

Heritage tourism plays a vital role in the holistic development of a destination through revenue generation (Little et al., 2020), job creation, tourism product development and destination marketing (Shiran et al., 2020). It also promotes the fortification of culture and heritage, social cohesion, education, the formulation of identities, and nationhood (Ahmad, 2014) and acts as a heritage conservation tool (Qian, 2020). Richards (2001) describes heritage tourism as the "movement of persons to cultural attractions away from their normal place of residence, with the intention to gather new information and experiences to satisfy their cultural needs" (p.37). To this extent, it can be argued that heritage tourism is the act of

visiting historical and archaeological sites to acquire knowledge and entrainment (Hasan & Jobaid, 2014).

Poria and Ashworth (2009) defined heritage tourism as the experience of spaces presenting tangible and intangible heritage elements perceived by visitors as part of their own heritage. In this light, heritage tourism is viewed as an experience based on tourists' perception of their personal heritage, which connects them to a place and claims their identity. This concept of heritage as perception and experience is supported by Ali (2015), who views heritage tourism as a process of experiential consumption of heritage by which visitors develop their perceived quality of heritage. However, these views are limited in the sense that heritage itself may not be the primary motivating factor for participating in heritage tourism (Kempiak et al., 2017) as the industry attracts a diverse range of visitors who may perceive heritage tourism sites differently, thereby influencing their level of engagement, satisfaction and experience outcomes (Lund et al., 2022).

On the other hand, Timothy and Boyd (2003) view heritage tourism as an overlapping concept. Figure 3 suggests that heritage traverses a mix of landscapes and settings. In so doing, tourism differentiates into many sub-types of tourism, such as cultural tourism, eco-tourism, and urban tourism, which all overlap. The heritage spectrum also includes places that are associated with dark and macabre past events - many are colonial heritage attractions and are classified as heritage tourism. This is elaborated upon in Chapter Three of this thesis. Yet, heritage tourism can be classified into many things based on the context in which heritage is viewed and portrayed.

A critique of the Heritage Spectrum is that it lacks the clarity and details required to understand the makeup and components of heritage tourism. Instead of addressing this chasm in the model, the Heritage Spectrum appears to be biased towards the visitation and experience of heritage tourism. This suggests that the model lacks a holistic understanding of the various types of heritage tourism and their constituents. Figure 3 illustrates the complex interrelationship between heritage and its ubiquitous activities.

Figure 3: Heritage Spectrum – An Overlapping Concept



Source: (Timothy & Boyd, 2003, p. 9)

Critically, cultural tourism and heritage tourism are often treated as two separate but related phenomena. In this sense, Timothy (2011) defines cultural tourism as the visitation and participation in living cultures, contemporary art and music or other elements of modern culture. He explains the relationship between cultural tourism and heritage tourism. He said that heritage tourism is "based on antiquated relics. It tends to occur in rural areas and is more place-bound, while cultural tourism is dominant in urban areas and less place-bound so that the content is the same while the context is different" (p. 4-5). He maintains that these elements are not significantly different from the meaning of heritage tourism. Therefore, it can be argued that the differences between cultural tourism and heritage tourism are subtle, and both terms can be used interchangeably (Richards, 2001) despite limited agreement on whether or not visitors are engaging with the same thing.

Figure 4 below offers a more straightforward and succinct representation of this complexity of the heritage tourism spectrum. It divides the heritage tourism industry into three main components that are intimately connected. The first is

selecting resources to construct heritage products, including raw materials such as archaeological sites, collections, artefacts, buildings, and objects. The second overlaps with the selection of heritage resources, interpreting them and packaging them for tourist consumption. This interconnects with the result of the heritage product, which is the third stage of the heritage tourism industry. The model suggests that heritage tourism products vary based on the market or audience it intends to attract. The model identifies user industries as visitors who consume and engage with heritage products and conservation agencies as those responsible for creating heritage products and preserving heritage. Figure 4 illustrates the heritage tourism product development process.

Figure 4: The Heritage Tourism Industry



Source: (Christou, 2005, p. 9)

However, the model is limited in its use in the sense that no study has been found to have applied it in researching visitor engagement with museums (see Taheri et al., 2014), particularly slavery heritage museums (see Beech, 2001; Carter, 2016; Modlin et al., 2018). As such, the study adopts the model to understand how UK slavery heritage museums develop and design museum displays for visitor engagement.

### 2.2.2 The Evolution of Heritage Tourism

Heritage tourism is an established phenomenon and has been part of civilization for centuries (Timothy, 2011). In the seventeenth century, the era of the grand tour saw the increased popularity of heritage tourism (Towner, 1985). During this period, European aristocrats travelled to southern Europe to visit the ruins and remnants of classical antiquity (Richards, 1996). By the eighteenth century, the visitation to natural landscapes and ruins emerged and were recognized as places to be celebrated, venerated, and consumed (Findlen et al., 2009).

In the nineteenth century, heritage tourism transformed into a universal concept where the expanding middle class could afford to travel and engage with heritage (Timothy, 2011). This stimulated the growth and development of reputable travel companies such as Thomas Cook, who provided travel and holiday packages that facilitated the participation of tourists in heritage tourism activities (Bonet, 2013). This suggests that prior to the nineteenth century, such activities were limited to the social elite whose circumstances allowed this liberty. As social circumstances improved, museums increased and dramatic growth, granting visitors greater access to the past (Young, 2003). People were actively encouraged to visit and engage with a heritage that promotes nation-building and enrichment of knowledge about places and landscapes of significance (Franklin, 2003). This was inextricably tied to elite and expert judgments on the preservation and design of buildings and objects of historical significance that were suitable for visitor consumption.

The heritage tourism industry was well established at the dawn of the twentieth century. It was now one of the most popular and globally widespread forms of special interest tourism. Significantly, the post-war decades of WWI and WWII led to the expansion and growth of the heritage tourism sector in the early to midtwentieth century (Richards, 1996). This led to the further proliferation of museums that represented collective identities that were mainly based on post-war narratives (Hewison, 1987), thus giving succour to an atmosphere of pessimism and nostalgia (Lowenthal, 1985). This rapid expansion and boom in heritage tourism in the latter part of the twentieth century led to an over-supply of heritage attractions (Middleton, 1990), which became difficult to manage.

Interestingly, this was at a time when the nature of tourism was changing, and the concept of heritage tourism was on the decline and became less popular (Light, 2015).

Furthermore, a global shift in heritage tourism occurred, which required destinations to create avenues to control mass tourism by incorporating other experiences or niche markets for tourist consumption (Munt, 1994). This was consequential because several new types of tourists were beginning to emerge. This nouveau clientele was enthused to learn more about the destination they visited. However, they desired different, unique, personalised experiences (Meethan, 2001). As a result, there was a seismic shift from the typical or conventional tourist. Thus, the prominence of heritage tourism started subsiding in the twilight of the twentieth century as the new demands of tourists and forms of heritage tourism emerged, transforming the entire industry (Urry & Larsen, 2011). These new intrigues of heritage tourism took the shape of dark, troubling, and painful heritage, such as ethnocentrism and jingoism in South Africa, communism in Europe, the Cold War in the United Kingdom, and colonized and post-colonial civilizations (Light, 2015). Such changes also involved incorporating live interpretation techniques to appeal to tourists, such as loudspeakers and audiovisuals (Wight, 2009). Additionally, these changes, in this sense, postmodernism is also driven by globalisation and media technologies such as digital media and the internet, including social media. Within this context, for instance, the Internet is used in various ways to access and promote heritage tourism (Wight, 2021). For example, allowing visitors to envision the past tied to their identity or creating memes about heritage on social media platforms (Reed, 2015a). These areas are further elaborated upon in Chapter Three of this thesis.

# 2.2.3 Understanding Heritage Tourism Tourists

Silberberg (1995) describes heritage tourists as tourists who earn more money, spend more money, are more highly educated than the general public and include more women than men who also tend to be older. In contrast, Adie and Hall (2017) contend that heritage tourists are usually employed and travel in groups of two to five people. These descriptions of heritage tourists are in synchrony with the views of Asmelash and Kumar (2019). However, these findings are

juxtaposed with Kempiak et al (2017), who noted a paradigm shift in the characteristics of heritage tourists who visit Heritage Visitor Attractions, which now includes a blend of old and young tourists irrespective of whether they are employed or unemployed.

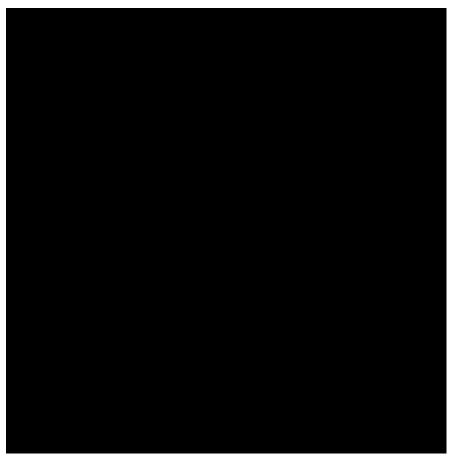
Stebbins (1996) identifies three types of heritage tourists. The general cultural tourist or hobbyist is generally interested and enthusiastic about visiting HVAs for pleasure and acquiring knowledge and experience. Specialized cultural tourists focus on visiting fewer heritage sites than general cultural tourists. These two groups of cultural tourists share similar attributes. The final category of heritage tourists is the *cultural dabblers*, who are casual leisure participants. Timothy (2011, p. 9) argues that "both ends of the continuum, and those who fall in between, are an important part of the long-established and fast-growing phenomenon of heritage tourism". Chercoles et al (2020) distinguished heritage tourists into five categories. These include passive nature seekers, enthusiastic novelty seekers, mature cultural observers, fun seekers and cultural learning tourists. Nyaupane and Andereck (2014) categorised heritage tourists into true cultural heritage tourists and spurious cultural heritage tourists. Navarrete (2019) distinguishes some heritage tourists as digital heritage tourists. These digital heritage tourists are tourists who consume heritage within museum social media website algorithms and through joint collaborations using platforms and portals such as European and the Google Art Project.

McKercher (2002) provides a model that segments the heritage tourism market into two dimensions. He argues that visitor engagement with heritage tourism sites varies and can be influenced by several factors, such as the visitors' perception of the site, awareness of the site before visitation, educational level, interest, time, competing activities and meaning to the visitor. The perception that the model is outdated can be refuted as it is still relevant today, as observed in studies by Chen and Huang (2018), Cruz et al (2020), and Light (2015). Yet, the model seems limited in its application to museums and slavery heritage tourism attractions (see Yankholmes & McKercher, 2015b). Therefore, the study adopts the model to understand visitors who engage with UK slavery heritage museums and what influences their engagement with these attractions. Figure 5 illustrates

visitor typologies in heritage tourism and their level of experience. The model crystallizes the motives for the decision to visit a destination and the depth of heritage tourists' experience. The model identifies five types of heritage tourists, which are as follows:

- Purposeful heritage tourists These tourists possess a high centrality.
   They are motivated to learn about other cultures and heritage with profound experience.
- Sightseeing heritage tourists These tourists are motivated for the same reasons as purposeful heritage tourists and have a high centrality. However, sightseeing tourists' experience is shallow and primarily entertainment-oriented.
- Casual heritage tourists These tourists have a modest centrality and a shallow experience. Heritage tourism plays a limited role in the decisionmaking process of casual heritage tourists visiting a destination.
- Incidental tourist The incidental tourist participates in heritage tourism activities but has a causal role in the decision-making process of visiting a destination. Their experience is usually shallow with a low centrality.
- Serendipitous heritage tourists These tourists have a low centrality and deep experience. Heritage tourism plays little or no role in the decision-making of these tourists when visiting a destination. However, they will engage and participate in heritage tourism activities.

**Figure 5:** Typologies of Heritage Tourists based on their Motivation to Visit a Destination and Depth of Experience at Heritage Tourism Sites



Source: (McKercher, 2002, p. 32)

Critically, Alazaizeh et al (2016) said that the model has limitations because it was developed by focusing on visitors in Hong Kong. They criticised the typology for using one question to measure each dimension. Thus, they have called for future research to use more items to measure visitor motivation for visiting and the depth of experience they encounter. Croes and Semrad (2015) criticised the model for not considering the direct queries of tourists' purpose of visiting a visitor attraction. They argue that the typology "does not allow one to conclude whether tourists entertain a perception of themselves as cultural tourists" (p. 486). In this sense, they argue that some tourists can be involved in various cultural activities and may not consider themselves cultural tourists. Rightfully so, as Timothy (2011, p. 4) argues that "heritage tourists are somewhat more difficult to define because he or she may have very little interest in cultural heritage or, conversely, a great deal of interest".

Continuing the observations of what motivates visitors, Poria et al (2006a) explored the motivations of potential visitors to Anne Frank House in Amsterdam. Their findings showed that heritage tourists are motivated to visit heritage sites for five main reasons. These include connecting with their own heritage, learning, leisure, bequeathing heritage, and emotional involvement. Liro (2020) researched visitor motivations for visiting pilgrimage centres in Poland. Her study revealed that heritage tourists are motivated mainly for recreational purposes, social/family life, and non-spiritual factors, while Mehtiyeva and Prince (2020) contend that heritage tourists are motivated to connect with their ancestral heritage, personal genealogies and to claim a sense of belonging.

Wu and Wall (2017) explored the motivations of parents for visiting heritage museums in China. They found that visitors are motivated by push factors (the desire to learn, relax, relationship enhancement, and extended family obligations) and pull factors (free admission, innovative displays, personal interaction, and environment quality). Similarly, Kempiak et al (2017) found that heritage tourists are motivated by recreation and advice from friends and family. Indeed, Seaton (2018) contends that visitor experiences are defined based on the social settings and realities that surround each visitor. Thus, Sharpley and Stone (2009, p. 2) state that "you can escape from those around you, but you cannot escape yourself". Nevertheless, the literature indicates that visitors are motivated to visit heritage tourism sites for various reasons, and these reasons vary based on the features of a particular or individual site. Wight (2021, p. 17) writes:

"...all tourists, regardless of their motives or interests, consume the same products and services at the level of the transaction, and also create very similar impacts".

Some scholars have also researched visitor motivations for visiting and engaging with attractions associated with death, disaster, and tragedy. For instance, Tang (2014) investigated the motivations of Chinese domestic tourists for visiting and engaging with memorial sites related to the Wenchuan earthquake in 2008. His research reveals that some visitors are motivated to visit and engage with these attractions to fulfil an obligation of commemoration and are interested in destruction. Timothy (1997) offers another example that relates to personal and

familial heritage. Within this context, some tourists visit and engage with heritage tourism sites to attend family reunions, consume traditional foods, and discover their roots, ancestry, genealogy, and personal connection. Therefore, it can be argued that while heritage tourists are diverse, the arguments present in this section that heritage tourists can be classified based on their motivations and the experiences they seek can be challenged. In this sense, it is difficult to identify a common set of motivations and experiences for all tourists engaging in and participating in heritage tourism. This is because they are motivated to visit heritage places for different reasons with various experience outcomes (Seaton, 2018). Nonetheless, these motivations form part of the wider context of understanding visitors to heritage tourism sites. This is elaborated upon in the next chapter. Table 2 lists and summarises some key motivational factors for visiting heritage tourism sites.

Table 2: Summary of Visitor Motivations for Visiting Heritage Tourism Sites

Author(s) year	Motivational factor(s)	
Thomas (1989)	Interest in history and heritage places	
Light (1995)	Informal learning	
Chen (1998)	Personal benefit and knowledge pursuit	
Franklin (2003)	Curiosity, idleness, and boredom	
Poria et al (2006a)	Education, connection with one's own heritage, leisure, bequeathing heritage, and emotional involvement.	
Poria et al (2004a)	Perception of a site and willingness to be exposed to an emotional experience.	
Breathnach (2006)	Authenticity	
Higginbotham (2012)	Genealogy and desire to connect with ancestors and personal roots.	
Kempiak et al (2017)	Recreation and advice from friends and family	
Allan and Altal (2016)	Exploration	

Wu and Wall (2017)	Desire to learn, relax, relationship enhancement, extended family, free admission, innovative displays, personal interaction, and the quality of the environment.	
Shi et al (2019)	Relaxation and spending time with friends and family	
Mehtiyeva and Prince (2020)	Sense of belonging, ancestry, and personal genealogies	
Luo and Ren (2020)	Desire for transmission and immortality, identity and pride, sustainable tourism resources, posterity concerns, and community development concerns.	
Liro (2020)	Recreation, social/family life, and non-spiritual factors	

Source: Author's own

Undeniably, academics have extensively researched visitor experiences at heritage tourism sites such as Poria et al (2003a, 2003b, 2004b), Buonincontri et al (2017), and Little et al (2020). Seyfi et al (2020) revealed six key factors that affect visitors' experiences at heritage tourism sites. They argue that the intimate visitor experience is affected by the absence of authenticity and the level of engagement a visitor has with the site. This complements Park et al's (2019) research, which found that authenticity affects the visitor experience. Within this context, there appears to be a debate regarding whether authenticity matters to "alternative tourists." For instance, some academics have argued that authenticity matters to "alternative tourists" as it is understood that they are in search of authentic experiences (Wight, 2009). Silver (1993, p. 303) contextualizes authenticity as it relates to tourism. They state:

"...for tourists, authenticity is not necessarily determined by gaining a genuine appreciation for another culture, but rather by verifying a marketed representation of it)".

Thus, it can be argued that post-tourists are not solely interested in authenticity (Urry, 1990). Instead, some post-tourists may not have a problem engaging with inauthentic experiences such as theme parks and shopping malls. This, however, demonstrates that post-tourists recognise the developments in heritage tourism regarding the alternative forms of mass tourism and special interest and

customized tourism experiences (Wight, 2021). Such shifts within visitor practices, tastes and consumption have presented new challenges and approaches to heritage tourism research.

Furthermore, Christou (2020) examined how heritage tourism comforts some visitors who are left longing for the bygone dissatisfied. Her findings suggest that some visitors have nostalgic experiences. This resonates with the works of Ali (2015), who affirms that nostalgia impacts the visitor experience. She contends that nostalgia influences some visitors' decision to revisit and recommend to friends and family to visit and engage with heritage tourism sites.

Reed (2012, p. 97) writes:

"What is included, excluded, emphasized and obscured at heritage tourism destinations corresponds with how individuals and groups make sense of the past and how identifications with places are made meaningful through the act of visitation".

Park (2010) found that some visitors have a deep reflection of heritage and a sense of connection, belonging and attachment to a place. He argues that some visitors to heritage sites experience strong emotions when encountering their own heritage. Evidently, not all experiences at heritage sites are glorious. Instead, some visitors can experience shame and pain (Kiriama, 2018); shock (Podoshen et al., 2018); trauma (Leshem, 2018); and disgust and sadness (Zheng et al., 2020) at dark heritage tourism sites. These are further discussed in Chapter Three of this thesis. Nonetheless, the literature demonstrates that visitors encounter varying levels of experiences based on the nature and characteristics of a site and the heritage they engage with.

# 2.2.4 Developments made in Heritage Tourism Research

Previous studies in heritage tourism literature concentrated on managing heritage tourism (du Cros, 2008) and managing Heritage Visitor Attractions (Fyall & Garrod, 1998). Garrod and Fyall (2000) researched the sustainability of HVAs and how HVA managers can satisfy visitor expectations without compromising the authenticity of the visitor experience. Their findings show that charging

tourists an entry fee to HVAs generates revenue for maintaining and conserving heritage assets that visitors and the public enjoy. This reconciles with Leask and Goulding's (1996) study on the commercialization of heritage at HVAs. These studies are the forerunner to Henderson's (2001) study, which considers the conservation of colonial heritage. Her evidence suggests that, to some extent, the economic imperatives of colonial heritage sites to generate revenue present a barrier to the conservation of these places as they require maintenance, but by so doing, modifications and reconstruction of colonial heritage sites are made. Prior studies also focused on the perception of the site and perceived authenticity (Poria et al., 2006); authenticity (Halewood & Hannam, 2001); identity (González, 2008); and the supply and demand of heritage tourism (Apostolakis, 2003).

Recent and ongoing debates in heritage tourism have examined the commercialization of heritage for tourism purposes (Tang et al., 2019); the preservation of cultural heritage (Alony et al., 2020); and the demand (Wang & Leou, 2015), and supply of heritage tourism (Enseñat-Soberanis et al., 2019). Recent research also concentrated on authenticity within the context of visitor satisfaction and loyalty. For instance, Park et al (2019) investigated the impact of authenticity on visitor satisfaction and loyalty to an HVA and heritage value. Their work suggests that visitor satisfaction with HVAs depends on constructive and existential authenticity factors. However, these works are limited in their scope and the attractions they researched. As such, there is a knowledge gap in literature to research authenticity as a factor that influences visitor engagement with other heritage tourism attractions.

Recently, some academics have been preoccupied with researching areas that are well documented within the extant body of literature in heritage tourism research. Some typical examples include Vong's (2015) study on personal attachment to a place; Timoney's (2020) inquisition of HVAs' role in the creation of personal and national identities; and Stitt's (2018) commentary on the relationship and genealogy of African slave descendants in the diaspora. Her report was rather enlightening about persons with slavery heritage living in the diaspora travelling to Africa to connect with their heritage and reaffirm their identity. Nonetheless, these works suggest identities may be re-imagined and

reconstructed through the experiences that visitors have with HVAs (Poria et al., 2004b; 2006b). However, these publications are limited to the HVA they researched and their geographical location. Thus, there is a knowledge gap in the literature to research how visitors assume attachment and identity with different HVAs within different geographical locations and how these factors might influence their engagement with those places.

Within the context of heritage tourism, a number of authors have researched visitation to sites that present death and tragedy. For instance, Sharma (2020) researched the morally transgressive behaviour of visitors at sensitive sites associated with death and suffering. Her findings suggest that visitor behaviour at dark tourism sites is sullied and results in moral disengagement that is inappropriate from what is expected. In addition to this, Nelson (2020a) asserts that difficult heritage is a liminal experience within tourism, as she analysed TripAdvisor reviews of visitors' experiences at slavery heritage attractions. Her report indicates some visitors feel out of place and out of time at slavery heritage attractions. In this sense, passions are aroused, and emotional responses of sadness and revulsion become evident and run high when faced with slavery heritage as some visitors imagine, reminisce, and reflect on the travesties and treatment of enslaved people. These studies are further discussed in the next chapter. Nonetheless, there is an apparent knowledge gap in the literature to research how those liminal experiences visitors have with slavery heritage attractions influence their engagement and the way they engage with those places.

There is a growing interest among some academics in researching the politics of heritage within heritage tourism literature (Bright et al., 2020). Notably, Lennon and Tiberghien (2020) researched selective interpretation at dark heritage tourism sites. Their findings suggest that selectivity in interpretation is linked to societal amnesia and collective trauma experienced by society. Similarly, Bright et al (2018) examined the politics and governance of plantation heritage tourism sites and the historical accounts of treatment meted out in the slave trade and African enslavement. Their findings suggest that visitors who possess and have had stewardship over African enslavement heritage perpetuate

misrepresentations and fallacies related to slavery. These accounts exhorted the need for further exploration and elucidation of the chronicles of African slavery through a tourism lens. They said that contested heritage studies seem to be increasing in heritage tourism research literature.

Wight (2020), in his social media analysis of visitors' perceptions of European Holocaust heritage, demonstrated the increasing use of social media in heritage tourism experiences. He acknowledges that this area is ripe for further academic contributions. Some scholars have also immersed themselves in systematic investigations into children and families in HVAs (Wu & Wall, 2017); co-creation at heritage sites (Alexiou, 2020); visitor outcomes and expectations (Alrawadieh et al., 2019); measuring visitor behaviour (Khairi et al., 2019); and the visitor experience (Di Pietro et al., 2018). For example, Tan et al (2020) examined the effect of communication factors such as multisensory media and visitor factors such as a high level of interest in visitors' mindfulness. Their research suggests that incorporating communication tools and visitor factors in the design of heritage tourism attractions enhances the visitor experience. However, there appears to be a knowledge gap in the literature to research social media and the incorporation of multisensory media in influencing visitor engagement with different heritage tourism sites.

Later works examined heritage tourism and globalization (Ndoro & Wijesuriya, 2015); trends in heritage tourism (Kumar et al., 2020); and technological advancements in enhancing the visitor experience (Alabau-Montoya & Ruiz-Molina 2020). Little et al (2020) investigated the utilisation of 3D scanning technologies in the virtual presentation of heritage. They found that 3D scanning technologies produce only a modicum of accuracy in virtual heritage presentations. This is in keeping with Han et al's (2018) research that considered the visitor experience in designing AR applications at heritage tourism sites. Their findings suggest that what is portrayed using AR technology is designed based on visitors' perceptions and the features of AR technologies, which may produce inauthentic history for consumption. An expansion of this is provided by Njerekai's (2020) study, which looks at how virtual reality has made heritage accessible to some visitors who are constrained by finances, distance, time, and mental and

physical challenges. This resonates with Navarrete's (2019) study on the remote access of museum collections to visitors in a digital context. Her findings indicate that digital technologies preclude physical presence in museums by allowing remote access to heritage collections across the globe. Nonetheless, there appears to be an opportunity in the literature to research the use of technological advancements in other museums to enhance the visitor experience and how they influence visitor engagement within those spaces.

There appears to be a growing interest amongst some scholars in researching visitor engagement with museums in heritage tourism research. For instance, Hughes (2018) researched interactive Holocaust museum installations in the USA. His research explains how interactive museum installations act as a repertoire of memory that is produced, enacted, and reproduced and whose lives extend beyond the confines of a museum. Recent publications in heritage tourism research suggest that slavery heritage and technology in tourism are becoming prominent areas of interest for some scholars. Additionally, there is a proliferation of studies in heritage tourism research that have focused on the visitor experience, behaviour, and engagement with HVAs. However, there is a need for further academic contributions in this area within the context of different HVAs. Thus, the nexus of this thesis is to critically evaluate the factors that influence visitor engagement with slavery heritage museums. Therefore, exploring the nature of HVAs is worthwhile as it is relevant and integral to the discussion. This is explained in the next section.

# 2.3 Heritage Visitor Attractions

This section draws on literature in Heritage Visitor Attractions (HVAs) research. The section is separated into three parts. The section begins with a discussion on the meaning and role of HVAs (Weidenfeld et al., 2016), including visitor motivations for visiting and engaging with HVAs (Choi et al., 2020). Afterwards, the section discusses the classifications of HVAs (Leask, 2018). Finally, the section explores the developments made to date in HVAs research to identify knowledge gaps within the extant body of literature.

### 2.3.1 HVAs Meaning, Role, and Visitor Motivations

Heritage tourism refers to "travellers seeing or experiencing built heritage, living culture or contemporary art. It encompasses all elements of the human past and the visitor experiences and desires associated with them" (Timothy, 2011, p. 4-8). Within the wider context of heritage and tourism research, a number of authors have provided broad definitions of visitor attractions. For instance, Middleton (1998, p. 229) describes visitor attractions as "a designed permanent resource controlled and managed for the enjoyment, amusement, entertainment and education of the visiting public". Likewise, Hu and Wall (2005, p. 619) define visitor attractions as "a permanent resource, either natural or man-made, which is developed and managed for the primary purpose of attracting visitors". Arguably, these are general definitions of a visitor attraction (Leask, 2016). Thus, it is arguable that these definitions are limited in scope and have failed to consider the use of heritage or cultural assets at visitor attractions. Therefore, HVAs can be defined as "natural, cultural and built assets that have been created or converted into a permanent visitor experience, where visitor interpretation and engagement with the asset is a core purpose of the development and management of the site" (Leask, 2018, p. 301). Thus, for the purposes of this thesis, HVAs are sites that are related to aspects of human history that offer different experiences for visitors.

Debatably, HVAs can be distinguished and defined according to their type and features, whether big or small. In this sense, Leask et al (2002, p. 249) note that "Heritage Visitor Attractions vary enormously in type and form, ranging from small scale, locally based properties to large key attractions that form the basis of a country's tourism product". For instance, Drummond (2001) said that large and small-scale HVAs, such as indoor fixed sites like museums and cultural events, typically provide enjoyable leisure experiences. Within this context, her work suggests that the management of HVAs varies depending on the type, features, functions, and financial resources of an HVA. This is elaborated upon in subsequent sections in this chapter.

It is well observed that visitors are motivated to visit HVAs for various reasons, such as entertainment, leisure (Wu & Wall, 2017), nostalgia, memory, and

education (Isaac et al., 2019). These are discussed in more detail in the subsequent sections of this chapter. In addition, HVAs play a vital role in the development of a destination. For example, Sharpley (2009) states:

"It is recognized that a wide variety of factors underpin the successful development of tourism destinations, an essential ingredient remains the provision of what are collectively referred to as visitor attractions. As an integral element of the tourism product and experience, visitor attractions are the focus of tourism activity, not only as reasons for tourists to travel and stay in destinations but also as generators of income, employment, and wider destination or regional development" (p. 145).

There is consensus within the extant body of literature that HVAs play an essential role in creating jobs, advancing a destination's tourism product, and fuelling local economies. Yang et al (2010) demonstrate this by using China as a case study to analyze the role of World Heritage Sites. Their study revealed that HVAs employ thousands of people and attract a reasonably large group of visitors, which boosts the economic and social development of a destination. This is particularly so because visitors to HVAs visit for leisure and recreational purposes. Consequently, this results in some visitors spending lavishly on admission fees to access these spaces. In this respect, some visitors have a penchant for spending generously on catering, retailing, and memorabilia during an HVA visit – all of which come with the experience and consumption of the attraction. For instance, Fullerton et al (2010) examined the integration of management and management practices employed at heritage sites in Ireland. They found that charging an admission or entrance fee generates revenue that can go towards the maintenance of HVAs.

Leask (2008) said that HVAs are used as a marketing tool in marketing destinations such as Uluru in Australia and argued that the success of HVAs requires the input of the local population in the decision-making process. After all, HVAs significantly depend on the local population to provide staffing and participation, which is critical in visitors' decision to return and recommend their friends and family to visit. She asserts that HVAs are key motivators for attracting business to a destination, encouraging repeat visitation, and helping in the revitalization of a destination such as the Guggenheim in Bilbao. HVAs also play

an important role in the urban and rural economic regeneration and development of places (Lak et al., 2020). For example, the Eden Project in Cornwall and the Royal Armouries in Leeds, UK.

In addition to the aforementioned, HVAs facilitate visitors' engagement with and education about the past. In a related aspect, Woodard (2020) researched migration themes and transnational identities of enslaved people who were held captive at Ghana's Elmina castles and Senegal's House of Slaves located on Gorée Island who were waiting to be auctioned off and sold to European slave traders before they were transported to the Americas. Her work shows that HVAs play a vital role in forming identities and a sense of belonging to a place through collective memories and landscapes. This affirms that HVAs are not only seen as touristic attractions but also valuable sites by which visitors connect with their ancestral roots and see them as part of their identity. This is discussed in Chapter Three of this thesis.

### 2.3.2 Classifications of HVAs

Heritage Visitor Attractions can be categorized and distinguished according to market segments and visitor types. In this respect, Kotler (1994) suggests the following in analysing HVAs:

- The core product (what the customer is actually buying)
- The tangible product (an entity that customers buy to meet their needs)
- The augmented product (the total product package including all the tangible and intangible additional services and benefits that the customer receives)

Swarbrooke (2001) notes that HVAs can be divided into four categories: manmade attractions; events and festivals; natural attractions; and man-made attractions that were not built for tourism but are considered tourist attractions, such as the Notre Dame Cathedral in France. His work focused on man-made attractions and the management of those attractions. His work suggests manmade attractions comprise of retail attractions, industry base attractions, and wildlife attractions. This view that HVAs can be categorized into man-made attractions, natural attractions, and events is supported by Drummond (2001). However, she extended the categories to include nodal and linear attractions such as the Whisky Heritage Trail in Scotland.

Additionally, as Figure 6 illustrates, Leask (2018) said that HVAs can be classified according to five key factors, including:

- Stakeholders comprises of owners, visitors, funders, interest groups, managers, staff, community DMOs, government, conservation agencies, landowners, and residents.
- **Ownership** that is, either public, private, third sector or partnership.
- Visitors segmentation of visitors based on geographical location, whether local, regional, national, or international, that provides insights into motivation, type, generation, and market.
- **Experiences** paid and free; catering, retail, events, tour, education, interpretation, exhibitions.
- Assets includes tangible and intangible resources such as built, cultural, and natural assets that have been created or converted.

Figure 6: Classifications of HVAs



Source:(Leask, 2018, p. 301)

The model sits alongside Christou's (2005) dimensions of the heritage tourism industry discussed in section 2.2 of this chapter, which emphasizes how heritage tourism products are designed, developed, and used. The difference between both models is that Figure 6 extends outside the walls or scope of the managerial aspect of heritage tourism products to include various types of HVAs. In this respect, Figure 6 suggests that HVAs may be categorized according to the type of ownership, such as public, private, third sector, or partnership. It also suggests that HVAs can be individualized based on their access, whether it is paid or free. This is elaborated upon in the subsequent sections.

However, the model is limited in its use in the sense that no study has been found to have applied it in researching visitor engagement with museums (see Taheri et al., 2014) and how museums can be classified based on their assets, visitors, stakeholders, ownership, and the experiences they offer (see Frey, 2019). Therefore, the study adopts the model as it offers insights into how UK slavery heritage museums can be classified and how those five key factors might influence visitor engagement with those places. The following section reviews the developments made in HVAs research to date.

### 2.3.3 Developments made in HVA Research

Leask (2018) reviews the historical development of research in HVA studies. She explains that early contributions in HVA studies focused on the broader scope of attractions (Leiper, 1990), the role they played within destinations (Gunn, 1972) and the composition of an attraction (MacCannell, 1976). Previous studies in HVA research have concentrated on visitor typologies (Lew, 1987); segmentation (Tchetchik et al., 2009); visitor characteristics (Obua & Harding, 1996); visitor behaviour with HVAs (Ryan & Sterling, 2001); visitor motivations (Slater, 2007); and experiences at HVAs (Nowacki, 2009). For example, Austin (2002) examined the emotional state of visitors and their motivation for visiting dark heritage sites. Their study suggests that marketing professionals for dark heritage sites should be cognizant of the different emotional states of visitors when marketing and communicating sensitive heritage to tourists.

A considerable number of authors have previously researched HVAs from the supply side perspective. These studies focused on managing HVAs (Leask & Yeoman, 1999; Fyall et al., 2008); management techniques (Hu & Wall, 2005); organizational characteristics and planning of attractions (Benckendorff & Pearce, 2003); revenue management (Leask et al., 2002); visitor management and resources (Shackley, 1999); making attractions successful (Swarbrooke, 1995; Prideaux, 2002); and human resource management in HVAs (Watson et al., 2004). The latter revealed a wide range of issues and gaps that exist in managing human resources in large and medium-sized HVAs, such as the levels of training pertaining to age, size, and location. Additionally, some previous contributions in HVA research are services (Hall & Piggin, 2002) and consumer-

oriented (Hemmington et al., 2005). Some academics also have preoccupied themselves with dividing HVAs into sub-sectors (Turley, 2001); understanding children and families in HVAs (Sterry, 2004); HVA theories (Richards, 2002); and the importance and role of HVAs in sustainable destination development (Henderson, 2010).

Recent works in HVA research focused on competitive strategies to create revenue generation (Chapman et al., 2020); revenue management (Ko & Park, 2019); and conservation, impact monitoring, and strategic planning (Job et al., 2017). Bąkiewicz et al (2017) discussed film-induced tourism and how it challenges the conservation of some HVAs. Their study reveals that film-induced tourism increases visitor numbers and influences visitor engagement with HVAs, albeit this presents a significant challenge in the management and upkeep of HVAs. Ram et al (2016) explored the relationship between place attachment and perceived authenticity at HVAs. They conclude that the authenticity of HVAs is critical to one's identification and connection to a place. Therefore, the absence of authenticity in HVAs can result in the lack of recognition of personas, heritage, and belonging. Moreover, Araujo (2018) explored the role of the Atlantic Slave Trade presented at slavery HVAs in West Africa and the Americas. Her findings suggest that the promotion of the Atlantic Slave Trade contributed to the economic development of countries affected by the inhumane commerce.

Recent publications in HVA research also focused on accurate representation (Sheskin et al., 2017); dividing HVAs into sub-sectors (Carr, 2016); visitor typologies (Baker et al., 2020); visitor segmentation (López-Guzmán et al., 2019); visitor behaviour (Balzotti et al., 2018); visitor experience (Kempiak et al., 2017); visitor motivations (McGrath et al., 2017); and hosting events at HVAs (Weidenfeld et al., 2016). In contrast, Choi et al (2020) explored visitors' motivations to attend events at Museums. Their findings suggest that visitors are motivated to participate in events held at museums for personal, physical, and socio-cultural reasons. This is comparable to Barron and Leask's (2017) evaluation of Gen Y visitor engagement with museum collections during an event. Their findings suggest that the design of museum exhibitions should incorporate

innovative socially and entertainment-oriented methods to attract and engage visitors.

Leask (2018) said that the higher education sector has led to research into some previously unexplored aspects of HVA research, such as visitor behaviour and engagement (Taheri et al., 2014). However, it is important to note that these studies are limited in their scope and that such knowledge and understanding of visitor engagement is needed within different HVA settings and is critical to the effective management practice of HVAs (Neuhofer et al., 2012). This thesis addresses this knowledge gap and contributes to a greater understanding of visitor engagement with HVAs. Nonetheless, recent contributions in HVA literature researched consumer orientation (Lam, 2020); children and families (Fountain et al., 2015); co-creation and personalized experiences (Jung & tom Dieck, 2017); 3D printing technologies (Anastasiadou & Vettese, 2019); social media (Romolini et al., 2020); and interactive technologies to increase visitor engagement (Loureiro & Sarmento, 2019) with museum exhibitions and displays (Roberts et al., 2018); designing effective themes (Botha, 2016); and marketing, disability, and inclusivity (Cloquet et al., 2018).

As shown throughout this chapter so far, it is clear that there is a growing interest amongst some scholars in researching social media and ICT regarding HVAs (Mijnheer & Gamble, 2019). In this respect, a number of scholars have called for future research into understanding visitor engagement with HVAs throughout all three stages of a visit, including pre, during and post-visitation (Stylianou-Lambert et al., 2014). For instance, Lugosi and Walls (2013) explain that the visitor experience begins in the pre-visitation stage of a visit, whereby they engage others regarding their visit and expectations. Thus, Munar and Jacobsen (2014) argue that engagement with HVAs can take place during the actual visit of an HVA, where a visitor may share their experience via social media. Such engagement may continue after a visit where visitors reconstruct their experiences through stories and photographs (Moscardo, 2010). To this end, Leask (2018, p. 309) said that future research should consider both the "actual and the virtual" experience and "how they can best be combined". This thesis addresses these gaps in knowledge.

The next section reviews literature and developments made in museum studies research to date.

#### 2.4 Museum Studies

This section critically reviews literature in museum studies. The section is divided into three parts. The first part explains the meaning, role and functions of museums (Nielsen, 2015). It also explores the factors and determinants of museum visits (Al-Ali, 2020) to gain insights into the factors that influence visitor engagement with UK slavery heritage museums. The second part discusses the classifications of museums. The final part reviews the developments made in museum studies to date to illuminate some knowledge gaps within the extant body of literature.

### 2.4.1 The Meaning, Role, and Functions of Museums

"Museums form a significant proportion of the cultural tourism offering in many destinations worldwide, operating as non-profit-making institutions that exhibit tangible and intangible heritage to visitors and communities alike" (Barron & Leask, 2017, p. 473). The significance is that the purpose of museums is not to stimulate economies or make money. Instead, their primary function is to act as a repository for collecting, conserving, storing, and presenting heritage for public edification. In addition, museums perform the role and functions of documentation, research, exhibition, security, and the expansion of education and knowledge (Kristinsdóttir, 2017).

Museums provide visitors with a cultural experience with leisure activities and social non-use values such as a sense of self, achievement, pride, existence, legacy, and prestige (Frey, 2019; Villar & Canessa, 2018). These ennobled spaces of national endowment also serve as subtle reminders that sensitize societies about preventing or repeating historically recorded inhumane transgressions and foster continuing reconciliation (Balcells et al., 2018; Roberts, 2019). This is further elaborated upon in Chapter Three. Another inseparable role of museums is the creation of employment and the generation of revenue for businesses (Goulaptsi et al., 2020) in the tourism industry. This is because they include additional on-site services such as cafes, bars, restaurants, and

entertainment arcades. These services create a multiplier effect when museums purchase food and other items from other businesses and sectors. Critics, however, counter these positive attributes of museums with observations that museums can also produce adverse effects in particular aspects relating to congestion and noise pollution (Murzyn-Kupisz & Holuj, 2020). This is evident at the British Museum, which expanded its entrance and charged entrance and membership fees at the Tutankhamun Saatchi Gallery in London to control visitor numbers and maintain these attractions.

Nevertheless, the motivation to visit museums is multifactorial. Determinants to visit may include research, education, leisure, and family (Cicero & Teichert, 2018). Similarly, Ryan and Hsu (2011) said that some museum visitors also visit and engage with museums to seek knowledge, information, acquisition, and learning. However, some visitors inadvertently do so by chance and not by choice. Reflecting on the supply side of museums, observation is made of several pull factors driving visitors to visit museums. Within this allure lies the quality of exhibitions, aesthetic features of a museum, and the museum's amenities, including but not limited to the location, ambience, general atmosphere, cafes, restaurants, and museum shops (Mulcahy, 2020). In addition, the museum marketing efforts, activities, entry fees, price of activities plus the opportunity cost, the cost of time, and income are all contributors that influence some visitors' decision to visit and engage with a museum (Frey, 2019). Within the context of art museums, Falk (2008) classifies visitors to museums into five categories based on their motivations for visiting and identity-related needs and, therefore, engagement. These include visitors' roles, attitudes, traits, and group memberships that are associated with self-identification. The visitors are as follows (p.30-31):

Explorers: Visitors who are curiosity-driven with a generic interest in the
content of the museum. They expect to find something that will grab their
attention and fuel their learning. They are focused on what they see and
find interesting and act out this me-cantered agenda regardless of whether
they are part of a social group or not.

- Facilitators: Visitors who are socially motivated. Their visits are focused
  on primarily enabling the experience and learning of others in their
  accompanying social group. They are focused on what their significant
  others see and find interesting. For example, they act out this agenda by
  allowing their significant others to direct the visit and worrying about
  whether the other person is seeing what they find interesting rather than
  focusing on their interests.
- Professional/Hobbyists: Visitors who feel a close tie between the
  museum content and their professional or hobbyist passions. Their visits
  are typically motivated by a desire to satisfy a specific content-related
  objective. They tend to enter with very specific, content-oriented interests
  and use the museum to facilitate those interests (e.g., a personal collection
  or taking photographs).
- Experience Seekers: Visitors who are motivated to visit because they
  perceive the museum as an important destination. Their satisfaction
  primarily derives from the mere fact of having "been there and done that."
  They are prone to reflect upon the gestalt of the day, particularly how
  enjoyable the visit is.
- Spiritual Pilgrims: Visitors who are primarily seeking to have a
  contemplative, spiritual or restorative experience. They see the museum
  as a refuge from the work-a-day world or a confirmation of their religious
  beliefs. They are more focused on the gestalt of the day. They are not as
  interested in having fun as they are in having a peaceful or inspiring
  experience.

Falk's framework of museum visitors is not without its limitations. For instance, his framework of museum visitors was developed from visitation to science centres, zoos and aquariums in the USA. He has acknowledged this limitation by stating that the framework does not consider museums related explicitly to identity needs and issues, such as African-American museums and national and ethnicity-focused museums. Therefore, it can be argued that museum visitors are

not always motivated to visit and engage with museums based on identity-related needs (Cicero & Teichert, 2018; Frey, 2019). Nonetheless, his work has not been found to have been applied in researching visitors to slavery heritage museums (see Beech, 2001). As such, the study adopts the framework to understand visitors to UK slavery heritage museums and what influences their engagement with these attractions.

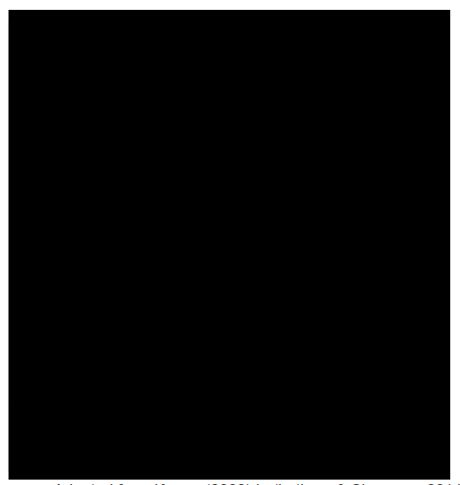
Undeniably, a number of visitors visit museums with preconceived notions and expectations. Poria (2004a) explains how museum visits are personal and are deeply connected to a visitor's sense of identity. In this sense, Falk (2008, p.28) defines identity as "malleable which may be continuously contrasted through the physical and social-cultural realities that exist within society such as a visitors' family, culture and personal history". Therefore, Simon (2004) argues that through self-interpretation, visitors shape their identity, which in turn influences their expectations and engagement. In this sense, each visitor sets the parameters of their visit and how they engage with a museum. This is elaborated upon in the subsequent chapters.

Falk (2008) posits that there is a social aspect to visiting and engaging with museums. He said that each visitor's experience is unique but is constructed within social and cultural boundaries. Within this context, museums are more than just socialising with friends and family and the individual meaning generated by the visit. Instead, it signifies the overall meaning for society depending on the number of visitors visiting certain sites (Smith, 2020). Yet, there is evidence within the extant body of literature that the concept of social inclusion in relation to HVAs, particularly museums, has been debated for some time. For instance, the desire for museums to engage and encourage diversity is evidenced in Mason's (2013) work. In relation to ethnic minorities and black visitor groups' museum visitation, Hooper-Greenhill (1999a) noted that black and ethnic minority groups do not often visit and engage with museums. In this regard, she said that there is a notion that museums are typically viewed as white middle-class elitist institutions. Thus, she asserts that some visitors, particularly younger ones, feel inadequate when the atmosphere is quiet and unwelcoming. Within the context of slavery heritage museums, Otele (2012, p. 163) maintains that museum

artefacts are commonly displayed using ethnographic techniques and that "their authenticity as objects implies they cannot distort reality". In this sense, she argues that such an approach is an effective way to engage younger museum visitors, such as school children, as they may find it difficult to understand museum content. To address this, she recommends that museums work with younger visitors prior to their visit. However, for adult visitors, she claims that the meaning of a museum object goes beyond its physical presence.

Museums are institutions that produce and represent culture. In this context, Otele (2012, p. 157) said that visitors must examine how culture is produced and represented in museums. In this sense, visitors must examine the "relationships between language, power and culture within museums." This is elaborated upon in the subsequent chapters of this thesis. Figure 7 illustrates the museum system developed by Keene (2002). The museum system resembles Christou's (2005) heritage tourism industry model and Leask's (2018) HVAs framework discussed earlier in this chapter. Figure 7 indicates that apart from the role of museums in making places and objects accessible to visitors, they are also invaluable sources or resources of external influences, inputs (research information and objects), and outputs (exhibits and events) that involve particular processes. As such, they are extremely susceptible to the buffering and battering of global external pressures. Museums, therefore, represent a microcosm of a composite of societal assumptions. Thus, according to Keene, it can be argued that assumptions are influenced and plagued by past traditions and entangled intricacies. Figure 7 illustrates the museum system and functions.

Figure 7: The Museum System



Adapted from Keene (2002) in (Latham & Simmons, 2014, p. 10)

The model seems limited in its application in researching museums. The model has been found not to have been applied in researching visitor engagement with museums (see Taheri et al., 2014). As such, the study adopts the model to understand how UK slavery heritage museums operate and are managed. Thus, the model can also offer insights into the processes of how UK slavery heritage museums develop and design museum displays for visitor engagement.

### 2.4.2 Classifications of Museums

Museums can be classified based on their content, size, age, and institutional form (Frey, 2019). They can also be categorized based on the type of ownership, whether public or private organizations, as argued by Leask (2018), discussed in section 2.3 of this chapter. Public museums are organizations that do not sell or concern themselves with the notion of making a profit. Instead, they obtain funds

or revenue through grants and sponsorships from governments and institutions interested in collecting and protecting the heritage of great significance (Kolbe et al., 2022). On the other hand, private museums rely on generating their own revenue to maintain their resources (Frey & Meier, 2002). They do so by charging entrance fees, selling memorabilia, parking lots, tours, and on-site restaurants and shops (Dickenson, 2005). They may also obtain additional financial support from sponsors and donors (Davidsson & Sørensen, 2010).

Added to the discourse is the effort of some academics to classify museums according to their features, offerings, and exhibits displayed, such as military and war museums (Pauls & Walby, 2020); slavery heritage museums (Munroe, 2017); industrial museums (Gazi, 2018); maritime museums (Scholl, 2020); science and natural history museums (Oliveira et al., 2020); historical and archaeological museums (Málaga & Brown, 2019); open-air and living history museums (Gordon, 2016); art galleries (Clover, 2015); sports museums (Magalhães et al., 2017); postal museums (Flegel et al., 2018); mobile museums (Rocha & Marandino, 2017); pop-up museums (Peacock, 2018); and digital museums (Gran et al., 2019). A brief description and examples of these museums are provided in Table 3 below.

Table 3: Types of Museums

Type of museum	Description	Example(s)
Military and war museums	Celebrate the contribution of veterans or war heroes and present objects such as weapons, decorations, uniforms, and war technology.	Imperial War Museum, London, UK Museum of the Great Patriotic War, Moscow Les Invalides, Paris, France Dutch Resistance Museum, Amsterdam, The Netherlands
Slavery museums	enslaved Africans and the legacy of the Atlantic slave trade and its impact on	International Slavery Museum, Liverpool, UK The National Museum of Slavery, Angola Slave Lodge, Cape Town, South Africa Whitney Plantation Historic District, Louisiana, USA
Holocaust museums	Preserves the memory of the Holocaust by showcasing Jewish life before the atrocious event and the havoc caused by Nazis on Jewish communities during the Holocaust. These museums mainly display photographs, writings, artworks, and testimonies of survivors centred on the theme of resistance and remembrance.	Yad Vashem, Israel Auschwitz-Birkenau State Museum, Poland Jewish Museum, Berlin, Germany Anne Frank House, Amsterdam, The Netherlands Simon Wiesenthal Center, Los Angeles, California, USA The Holocaust and Tolerance Museum, Chandler, Arizona, USA
Industrial museums	Showcases goods extracted or produced in industrial and manufacturing factories.	National Museum of Scotland, Edinburgh, UK Kelham Island Museum, Sheffield, UK Le Bourget, Paris, France

Maritime museums	Dedicated to presenting objects, exhibitions, and information on maritime history relating to ships and travel on large bodies of water	The National Maritime Museum, Greenwich, UK Sydney Maritime Museum, Australia Vancouver Maritime Museum, Canada Voyager New Zealand Maritime Museum, Auckland Maine Maritime Museum, USA
Stamp/coin/postcard museums	Collects and supplies stamps, coins, and postcards of value and periodic times	The British Postal Museum & Archive, London, UK Smithsonian National Postal Museum, Washington, USA The Museum of Stamps and Coins, Monaco, France
Science museums and natural history museums	Displays objects and collections relating to the natural world, geology, climate and weather, animals, planetology, chemistry, vegetation, man-made tools, technology, transportation, and industrial machinery.	The Natural History Museum, London, UK Exploratorium, San Francisco, USA Universeum, Sweden Deutsches' Museum, Germany Miraikan, Tokyo, Japan
Historical and archaeological museums	Presents historical and archaeological artefacts of importance, such as maps, weapons, rocks, stones, agricultural tools, jewellery, clothing, and building materials	The Petrie Museum of Egyptian Archaeology, London, UK The National Archaeological Museum, Athens, Greece Qin Shi Huang Terracotta Warriors and Horses Museum, China Penn Museum, Philadelphia, USA
Sports museums	Exhibits objects and collections of sports heritage and sports memorabilia	Wimbledon Lawn Tennis Museum, London, UK Kongsberg Skiing Museum, Norway Japanese Baseball Hall of Fame, Tokyo, Japan
Art museums	Display a biennial of art collections and objects such as drawings, paintings, sculptures, decorative arts, photography, ceramics, and illustrations.	Tate Modern, London, UK Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, USA Museo del Prado, Madrid, Spain Vatican Museums, Rome

Open-air and living history museums	Open-air museums produce outdoor exhibitions, while living history museums recreate historical events through the performance and dramaturgy of actors to immerse visitors and show what it was like in the past.	Atlantic Wall Open Air Museum, Belgium North of England Open Air Museum, Beamish, Durham, UK Highland Folk Museum, Newtonmore, Scotland, UK
Mobile museums and pop-up museums	history from a vehicle or moving from one	Van of Enchantment, New Mexico Shark in a Bus, Australia The Museum of Ice Cream, San Francisco, USA
Online/virtual/digital museums	Display collections, exhibits, and heritage in a digital form through the internet, such as websites and social media platforms	Guggenheim, Bilbao, Spain Natural Museum of Modern and Contemporary Art, South Korea The Louvre, Paris, France

Source: Author's own

Undeniably, some museums face significant management challenges. During the early twenty-first century, the economic downturn spawned competition for museum funding (Levine, 2013). Frey (2019) affirms that museums depend highly on donations and government support to manage their collections. She explains that some museums are vulnerable and subjected to government austerity measures that lead to budget cuts for museums. These financial constraints force some museums to seek alternative financing and support and become more financially self-reliant in generating revenue (Janes, 2013). Therefore, museum stakeholders must emphasise fiscal management in their preparation and long-term plans to ensure they are not exposed in times of economic hardship (Lindqvist, 2012).

Arguably, resources are never infinite and are often scarce. Therefore, museums must make critical decisions on how resources are utilized to achieve maximum benefit for fiscal expenditure (Silberberg & Lord, 2013). To cover financial shortfalls and sustain themselves, some museums generate revenue from onsite shops, cafes, restaurants, and the sale of iconography and memorabilia (Dickenson, 2005). It is arguable that this process by which museums generate sufficient revenue to maintain themselves through commercialization, commodification and sponsorship translates into a reduction and limitation in government support (Rex, 2020). Thus, this economic vice can result in some museums embarking on greater commercialization efforts and venturing to produce blockbuster exhibitions, charging entry and membership fees, renting out museum spaces for social/cultural and entertainment events, and hosting activities of significant national and international importance (Mulcahy, 2020).

Nevertheless, the emphasis on the commercialization and development of museums has severe implications on the authenticity, governance, and interpretation of museums, as well as their significance, collections, and heritage. Therefore, inherent consequences and stakeholder management issues exist within museums that affect and determine their sustainability. Added to this, research points to challenges that some museums may encounter in managing visitor numbers (Centorrino et al., 2020); attracting visitors (Easson & Leask, 2020); finding strategies to increase visitor engagement (Barron & Leask, 2017);

and protecting their resources. Some of these monumental challenges museums face in the twenty-first century are further elaborated upon in Chapters Three and Four of this thesis.

#### 2.4.3 Developments made in Museum Studies

The development and emergence of museums are immemorial. The literature shows that some scholars have credited Vergo's (1989) study on the phenomenon of museums as being the first observation or study to be made in museum studies. His work is seminal to many academics' contributions to the field. The author of this thesis argues that this assumption of when the academic debate of museology was initiated is inaccurate. The author of this thesis argues that museum studies academic literature can be identified before the 1980s and may have its origins in the works of Taylor (1945), who examined the history of museums and their role in society, and Hudson (1977), who evaluated the changes in the scope and meaning of museology, management, and conservation of museum resources.

Previous literature in museum studies continued this trend in research by researching the origins, history, and scope of museums (Preziosi & Farago, 2004); the changing nature of museums (Anderson, 2004; Hooper-Greenhill, 1992); the development of museums and attitudes to collecting, storing and documenting artefacts, objects and heritage (Pearce, 1994); the philosophy and phenomenon of museums (Hein, 2000); the uses of museums (Murray, 2000); the role of museums (Witcomb, 2003); and how museum collections and exhibits were organized during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries (Bennett, 1995).

Other forerunners in museum studies concentrated on postmodernism (Crimp, 1993); understanding museum visitors and their experience (Falk & Dierking, 1992); the impact of technology on museums (Anderson, 1999); the power of museum exhibits (MacDonald, 1998); museum management and curatorship (Lowenthal, 1999); museological policies (Bennett, 1992); and the inclusion, marketing and targeting of museum audiences (Hooper-Greenhill, 1994). Merriman (1991) researched the factors by which museums fail to connect with the broader public. He said that for museums to remain viable and perform their

functions effectively, an innovative and rigorous approach is required to attract the underserved populations to view, understand, and engage with heritage and the past. Leask (2016) found that there is limited research on the cultural diversity of visitors and their varying needs. She explains that there is a need to further research how museums can engage with a broader range of audiences.

Previous research also investigated wars and dark heritage in museums. For example, Kohn's (1996) and Bird and Lifschultz's (1996) compilation of essays and memoirs of Enola Gay and the destruction of Hiroshima, Japan, occurred in 1945. Some scholars have also researched identity-making in museums; how new cultural forms emerge; and the understanding of other individuals' heritage from different ethnic backgrounds and races (Brah & Coombes, 2000). In contrast, Miles and Zavala (1994) investigated the political, economic, and cultural realities that affect museums. Additionally, previous research in the field also researched the contradictory character and ethical dilemmas in museums (Maleuvre, 1999) and the politics and power of museums (Luke, 2002). For example, Williams (2004) discussed the political correctness of museums and the distortion of the truth of museum exhibits. He identifies two virtues of truth. These include (1) accuracy, which aims to find the truth, and (2) sincerity, which is telling the truth. His work suggests that when the truth is not told, there are significant political, social, and personal losses to society, which demeans heritage and may also result in loss of heritage. This is further elaborated upon in Chapter Three. Nonetheless, there is a knowledge gap in the literature to research how these factors including the ethical dilemmas as it relates to the politics and power of museums which can or might influence visitor engagement with dark heritage within a museum context.

In addition to the aforementioned, Mihesuah (2000) researched the presentation of indigenous heritage in museums and the politics and governance of aboriginal heritage. Within this context, Simpson (1996) argues that indigenous communities should assume control of their heritage and challenge the traditional role of museums. Her work emphasizes that museums that display indigenous heritage should focus on reconciliation and reparation. However, she contends that indigenous heritage is subjected to cultural misappropriation and being

politically correct. This argument appears to be consistent with Phillips' (2002) work that examined African artefacts and collections in the age of globalization and Flynn and Barringer's (1998) contribution that researched the inclusion of artefacts, objects, exhibitions, and collections of colonialism in museums. Their publications highlighted the issues of radical identity across cultural barriers and hybrid styles of objects that can emerge when different cultures meet. These arguments are further elaborated upon in Chapter Three. Yet, further research is needed to understand these issues within different museum contexts, such as those that present difficult heritage.

Recent research focused on reparations (Lleras et al., 2019); indigenous curation (McCarthy, 2016); construction of contested identities (Zhang et al., 2018); and the representation of difficult history in museums continue to dominate the literature in museum studies. For example, Rose (2016) and Zabi (2020) researched how some museums are dedicated to exhibiting difficult and traumatic heritage, such as conflict, war, and genocide. They argue that this helps in the construction of narratives, knowledge, and identities of some visitors who engage with these museums. These studies accord well with Bull and De Angeli (2020), who examined how dark, difficult, and contested heritages are displayed and communicated in museums and some visitors' emotional reactions to permanent exhibitions. Their work suggests that portraying difficult history in museums promotes critical thinking, self-reflection, and cross-national dialogue. However, these studies are limited in their approach and the museums they researched. As such, there is a gap in knowledge to research visitors to other museums that present difficult and traumatic heritage, such as slavery and how they assign meaning and assume their identity, which may influence their engagement with these places.

Some academics have researched the inclusivity of museums in portraying post-colonial legacies and identities (Tolia-Kelly, 2016). Her work shows that some museums act as sites of transpiring pain of epistemic violence, rent of genocide, and suppression of artefacts. Focusing on visitors' experiences at the Māori art museum, where aspects of colonial heritage are displayed, she argues that such sites should be designed and formed through affective politics and post-colonial

sensibilities that resonate within their affective atmospheres. Similarly, Modlin et al (2018) researched slavery and its absence and presence at tourism plantation museums in the USA. Their work demonstrates how slavery heritage is whitewashed and placated for visitor consumption. They argue that the whitewashing and placation of slavery heritage are evident and written on the confines of plantation museums. Their work challenges the accuracy of the representation of slavery heritage within museums and the unconscious biases of those who manage it. In this regard, the literature supports the recent growth in debate about the representation and presentation of difficult heritage, specifically related to slavery heritage within museums. This is further elaborated upon in Chapter Three. Yet, there appears to be a knowledge gap in the literature as it relates to these factors and how they might influence visitor engagement with slavery heritage museums.

Recent debates in museum studies have moved away from understanding the nature of museums to investigating the growing trend of collecting and presenting artefacts and exhibits online (Mateos-Rusillo & Gifreu-Castells, 2017) through virtual museums (Biedermann, 2017). These studies suggest that online provisions by museums cannot compete with real-time on-site exhibitions as they offer audiences different levels or degrees of experience. Additionally, some scholars have recently commented on how museums can increase visitor involvement (Tayara & Yilmaz, 2018) by including interactive technologies (Shehade & Stylianou-Lambert, 2019), such as gamification, VR, AR, and 3D scanning technologies which Alsford and Parry (1991) describes as "live interpretation". This is consistent with Komarac et al's (2020) exploration of how technology is used to educate visitors through entertainment, which in turn enhances the visitor experience. However, their work seems to suggest that such incorporation has advantages and disadvantages with respect to the impact on visitors' perceived authenticity of history. Nevertheless, there appears to be a knowledge gap in the literature to research visitor engagement with museums that present difficult heritage, such as slavery heritage, and to understand how visitor engagement is facilitated within these spaces.

Recent research also concentrated on the economics of museums and attracting commercial sponsorship (Proteau, 2018); ethical implications (Monza et al., 2019); museological practices (Nielsen, 2015); museum policies and management of collections and objects (Harris, 2015); and attracting, engaging and retaining museum audiences (Easson & Leask, 2020). Likewise, the use of social media in museums (Gerrard et al., 2017) to increase visitor engagement (Romolini et al., 2020) has emerged in museum studies literature and has recently received much attention. Interestingly, there appears to be a preeminence of literature on visitor engagement in science and natural history museums (DeWitt et al., 2019; Emerson et al., 2020; Mujtaba et al., 2018). This, therefore, suggests there is a need for further contributions in understanding visitor engagement with other museums, such as those that portray difficult history, which remains unexplored within museum studies literature. Yet, there is a knowledge gap in the literature to research social media within the context of museums that present difficult heritage, particularly slavery heritage (see Reed, 2012). Still, there appears to be a pre-eminence of literature on visitor engagement with science and natural history museums (DeWitt et al., 2019; Emerson et al., 2020; Mujtaba et al., 2018). This, therefore, suggests that there is a need for further contributions in understanding visitor engagement with other museums, such as those that portray difficult history, which remains unexplored within museum studies literature.

# **Chapter Summary**

This chapter critically reviewed the literature and developments made in heritage studies, heritage tourism research, Heritage Visitor Attractions research, and museum studies to date. In doing so, the chapter examined how heritage is used within a tourism context and how it is collated, collected, stored, and documented within museum spaces. The chapter revealed that there is a growing debate within the body of literature with regard to the representation and presentation of difficult heritage in museums (Bull & De Angeli, 2020), in particular post-colonial (Tolia-Kelly, 2016) and slavery heritage (Modlin et al., 2018), which is ripe for further contributions. The chapter highlighted two key knowledge gaps within the existing body of literature. First, there is a need to understand visitor engagement within different HVA settings, particularly museums. Second, there is a need for

further contributions in relation to slavery heritage within museums that are underresearched. The next chapter, therefore, discusses dark and difficult heritage, particularly slavery heritage, within a tourism context.

# Chapter 3: Dark Tourism and Slavery Heritage Tourism

#### Introduction

Chapter Two revealed that the concepts of dark and difficult heritage are gaining traction and becoming more prominent in heritage, tourism, and museum studies in recent times (see Coombe & Baird, 2015; Finegan, 2019; Giblin, 2015; Le Devehat, 2020; Viejo-Rose & Sørensen, 2015). The chapter showed that there is a growing debate within the existing body of literature on the representation and presentation of difficult heritage in museums (Bull & De Angeli, 2020), particularly slavery heritage (Modlin et al., 2018). This chapter explores slavery heritage in tourism discourses. In doing so, this chapter critically reviews the extant body of literature on dark tourism and slavery heritage tourism research. The justification for focusing on dark tourism is to gain an understanding of the concept of difficult heritage and to situate slavery heritage within tourism literature. Thus, the purpose of this chapter is to, therefore, highlight gaps in knowledge and identify opportunities for further contributions to dark tourism and slavery heritage tourism research.

The chapter is divided into three sections. The first section examines the debates and concepts of heritage associated with death, suffering, tragedy, and atrocity through a tourism lens. The second section focuses on dark tourism. It explains the meaning and scope of dark tourism (Foley & Lennon, 1996). It also explores the evolution of dark tourism by illustrating some early evidence of historical events and travel related to death and tragedy (MacCannell, 1989). The section then analyses the types of visitors, including their motivations for visiting and engaging with dark HVAs (Seaton, 1996) and their experiences that come from their engagement (Nawijn et al., 2016). Additionally, it discusses the classifications of dark HVAs (Stone, 2006). This is followed by a review of the developments made in dark tourism research to date. The third section concentrates on slavery heritage tourism. It examines the meaning and scope of slavery heritage tourism (Lelo & Jamal, 2013). It also analyses the types of

visitors (Yankholmes & McKercher., 2015b), including their motivations for visiting slavery heritage attractions (Bright & Carter, 2016) and the experiences that come from their engagement (Mowatt & Chancellor, 2011). Afterwards, it discusses the development and management of slavery heritage tourism attractions (Seaton, 2001). Next, a review of the developments made in slavery heritage tourism research so far.

## 3.1 Dark Heritage

As explained earlier in Chapter One, this thesis revolves around slavery heritage in museums. This section, therefore, sets the context of this chapter and seeks to understand the nature and scope of slavery heritage within tourism discourses. In doing so, this section examines the debates and concepts concerning heritage associated with death, suffering, tragedy, and atrocity through a tourism lens.

The notion that certain aspects of heritage can be considered as "dark" is closely associated with negative connotations of pain, hurt, grief, suffering, and shame. Thomas et al (2019) describes dark heritage as a legacy that hurts. Within this context, they contend that dark heritage is negative and unpleasant things inherited from the past that influence the present. Therefore, it can be argued that dark heritage focuses on the significance of painful and shameful past epochs that constitute heritage, which impacts the present in one form or another (Sather-Wagstaff, 2011).

As discussed in Chapter Two, heritage is fluid and multifaceted. This fluidity and multifaceted characteristics are as integral to dark heritage as it is to all forms of heritage. Dark heritage, however, is an umbrella and all-embracing concept that is differentiated into "contested heritage" (Corsale & Krakover, 2019); "difficult heritage" (Macdonald, 2009); "negative heritage" (Meskell, 2002); "unwanted heritage" (Light, 2000); and "dissonant heritage" (Tunbridge & Ashworth, 1996). However, these terms give a more precise and distinct meaning and individualism to the broad scope of dark heritage. For example, contested heritage engages controversy as it poses the question of who manages, governs, and owns dark heritage. On the other hand, difficult heritage is contested and creates difficulties for the public to reconcile. Some academics have argued that the development

of these terms was an attempt to broaden the scope and meaning of heritage (Thomas et al., 2019). Some critics counter this argument with a proposition that dark heritage is not sufficiently nuanced to allow for other meanings to be derived from it (Dimitrovski et al., 2017). Thus, it can be argued that the subcategorization of dark heritage is homogeneous and bears little difference in their perception and context. Table 4 summarises the various types of dark heritage.

Table 4: Types of Dark Heritage and Their Meaning

Type of dark heritage	Meaning and context	Author & year
Contested heritage	Refers to the politics, governance, and management of dark heritage.	Corsale and Krakover (2019)
Undesirable heritage	Heritage that the majority of the population would prefer not to have.	MacDonald (2006)
Negative heritage	Heritage that may be interpreted by a group as commemorating conflict, trauma, and disaster.	Meskell (2002)
Dissonant heritage	Heritage that hurts or recalls past events that are not easy to reconcile with visitors' values and everyday experiences.	Ashworth
Difficult heritage	A past that is recognized as meaningful in the present but that is also contested and awkward for public reconciliation with a positive, self-affirming contemporary identity.	

Source: Author's own

For the purpose of this thesis, the working definition is dissonant heritage. This accords well with the discussion on the consumption of slavery heritage within a tourism context. Dissonant heritage implies heritage resources have differing significance for different groups, so heritage itself is dissonant. In this sense, presenting dark heritage for visitor consumption in a "politically charged environment may pose challenges and, if not, extremely problematic" (Friedrich et al., 2018, p. 262). For instance, Young and Kaczmarek (2008) identifies three strategies for dealing with and coping with a difficult past. These include (1) erasing the past, such as removing cultural landscapes related to the past; (2)

glorifying the past; and (3) connecting a destination through globalization and post-modernism. Within the context of museums, Hanna et al (2018) argue that dissonance may occur when visitors ask museum guides and curators about the enslaved. In this sense, they argue that museum curators and guides sometimes trivialize and try to erase the enslaved and focus on presenting the wealth of the enslaver that was accumulated through enslaved labour. Indeed, as Seaton (2001, p. 122) writes, "heritage attractions, through their design, exhibits, scripting, and performative features, offer a preferred view of history that suppresses, marginalises or minimizes alternative versions".

This, therefore, raises the issue of who is responsible for managing dark heritage and their relationship with it. Thus, he further states:

"just because something is a historical event does not mean that contemporary communities, who had played no part in it, want to see it celebrated or memorialized. Nor does it imply that the audiences, to whom any heritage development must appeal in order to substantiate, will be attracted" (p. 122).

From this viewpoint, it is contestable that the commonplace selection and promotion of particular heritage resources for tourism inevitably disinherits groups within society who do not identify with that heritage. These arguments were put forward by Tunbridge and Ashworth (1996) "heritage of atrocity" (p.94). They examined the dilemmas of managing and interpreting slavery heritage and its dissonance to satisfy competing demands for both remembering and forgetting. However, they had little to say about why tourists visit such heritage and what drives their engagement with it.

Hanna et al (2018) argue that such dissonance may exist because the public may lack consciousness and that some managers may view them as politically irrelevant because they evoke a sense of shame, pain, or controversy. It is contestable that some sites associated with death and tragedy "might be considered politically detrimental to complex peace-building processes and thus viewed as best forgotten" (Friedrich et al., 2018, p. 267). Therefore, it can be argued that "history is to a greater or lesser extent hijacked by one group or another for one purpose or another" (Tunbridge & Ashworth, 1996, p. 30).

Seaton (2001, p. 127) argues that dark heritage is an "elusive and contested concept". In this sense, Friedrich (2018, p. 262) argues that the "production of post-conflict and difficult heritage visitor sites suffer from a selective amnesia of memories". From this viewpoint, Logan and Reeves (2009, p. 2) explain that difficult heritage sites often subjectively present narratives to appeal to visitors and "enhance cultural and political cohesion". For instance, Reed (2015a) notes that heritage at castles in Ghana is continuously contested. Her work reveals that some Ghanaian tour guides are reinterpreting the narratives of enslavement to align more with the tastes and views of the diasporic African visitors. In this sense, she argues that the heritage of the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade remains contested and that Ghanaian tour guides are changing "their interpretations to align more with popular diasporic African discourse of enslavement" (p. 385-386). She said that the tour guides preferred to use the term "captive" instead of "slave" when referring to Africans who were held at the castle.

Thus, Ashworth and Hartmann (2005) may be right to have argued that dissonance includes the re-presenting and reinterpretation of difficult heritage. Yet, according to Tunbridge and Ashworth (1996), the distortion of narratives and authenticity results in visitors viewing HVAs as worthless. Thus, accusations regarding interpretation, triviality, distortion, and elitism are levelled against the management of HVAs (Wight, 2009). Therefore, it can be argued that dark and difficult heritage is renegotiated and reconstructed into places of meaning for visitor consumption (Stone, 2018). Hence, Friedrich et al (2018) have called on HVA producers to continuously research and identify ways to reduce the tensions surrounding the narratives and interpretation of sites that present dark and difficult heritage.

Debatably, the term "dark heritage" may have its origins in the field of dark tourism research (Wight, 2006). An interesting academic, albeit nuanced, debate is taking place about which term is more nuanced. For instance, some scholars prefer to use the term "dark heritage" as opposed to "dark tourism" because they are of the view that it goes beyond touristic value (Koskinen-Koivisto & Thomas, 2016). Light (2017), however, argues that there is a conflation between the meaning and use of "dark heritage" and "dark tourism", as exemplified by Logan and Reeves

(2009) and Ashworth and Isaac (2015). As outlined in Chapter Two, the researcher's view is more consistent with Light's argument. In this sense, "dark heritage" is not merely seen as a form. Instead, it includes raw materials, whether tangible or intangible, used to design and develop tourism products and experiences, as explained by Christou (2005). Whereas "dark tourism" is a practice defined by travelling to places associated with death, suffering, and other aspects of dark heritage. This is further explained in the next section.

One view put forward by some academics is that both "dark heritage" and "dark tourism" are ambiguous terms in their current use (Thomas et al., 2019). They inevitably revolve around locations of death, suffering, and tragedy, whether slave sites or concentration camps. Another argument by some scholars is that dark tourism studies revolve around a central theme (Light, 2017). That is, an attraction to death and suffering and is merely an attempt to expand the spectrum of heritage. In essence, these arguments indicate that dark heritage is used to promote the phenomenon of dark tourism and are not mutually exclusive. This inspiration to travel to places associated with dark heritage is discussed in the following section.

#### 3.2 Dark Tourism

This section critically reviews literature in dark tourism research. The section is divided into five parts. Part one examines the scope and meaning of dark tourism (Foley & Lennon, 1996). Part two explores the history and evolution of dark tourism (MacCannell, 1989). Part three analyses the types of visitors (Raine, 2013) that visit and engage with dark tourism sites. It discusses visitors' motivations for visiting and engaging with HVAs associated with death and tragedy (Seaton, 1996) and the experiences that come from their engagement (Nawijn et al., 2016). Part four discusses the classifications of dark HVAs (Stone, 2006). The final part reviews the developments made in dark tourism research to date to illuminate gaps in knowledge and identify opportunities for further contribution.

#### 3.2.1 The Scope and Meaning of Dark Tourism

Foley and Lennon (1996) coined the term dark tourism and described the phenomenon as death-related tourism. It features behaviours where tourists visit sites and locations associated with historical tragedies, death, and suffering that have taken place within living memory. Due to the spectacle and materialization of dark tourism, they argued that dark tourism is a post-modern phenomenon and discussed the issues related to the presentation and interpretation of death at tourist attractions through a case study of the death of President Kennedy, which is increasingly commodified and commercialized by the tourism industry. In this sense, it is how death and tragedy become commodified, "packaged up and touristified" (Stone, 2018, p. 193-194).

Bird et al (2018) argue that marketing death and tragedy as niche tourism products can be viewed as commodified products for visitor consumption to generate profits by HVAs. That is, death and tragedy are exploited for economic benefits (Van Broeck, 2018). Hence, Stone (2009) argues that this brings to the fore the issue of broader secular moral dilemmas as it relates to the presentation of death for visitor consumption. The notion that dark tourism is a postmodern phenomenon is controversial and has led to much debate and scrutiny. For instance, Casbeard and Booth (2012) said that anxiety and uncertainty are not unique to postmodernism in contemporary society. Instead, they have had their time and place in history for a prescribed period. Bowman and Pezzullo (2010) contend that anxiety about modernity, whether as a motive for visiting or a consequence of such visits, is yet to be interrogated, investigated, and substantiated with evidence. As such, it is contestable that postmodernism does not emphasise the understanding of tourists interested in visiting places associated with death and suffering (Dunkley, 2007). Yet, Seaton (2022) said that dark tourism is a relatively new concept in the world of tourism but has been experienced by millions of travellers. He explains that the "dark" encounters have been around for a long time and can be recognised in contemporary life. This is further elaborated upon in section 3.2.2, highlighting earlier kinds of travel encounters with death and tragedy.

It is important to note that dark tourism is not always about heritage. That is, not all visitors who visit dark tourism sites necessarily have an interest or personal connection to a particular site, as some are fluid visitors who visit dark heritage sites out of boredom or are just interested in something to do (Stone, 2018). This is elaborated upon in section 3.2.3. Seaton (2017) contends that the process of remembering historical events is often engineered by visitors, interest groups or organisations governmental through the creation of narratives and representations. He explains that this can take many forms, from personal acts of grief to institutional agencies seeking to perpetuate the memory of exemplary others. He further explains that the choice and number of events and people nominated for remembrance, as well as the permissible volume of representations and narratives told about them, are always controlled by "backstage" agents. Thus, he argues that dark tourism is not a static concept and may change over time. Therefore, for the purposes of this thesis, dark tourism is "engineered and orchestrated remembrance of fatality and mortality associated with a particular place, promoted by private individuals, groups, or powerful public agencies (p. 47).

Other academics debated that the term dark tourism is blurred and lacks consensus on the constituents of the phenomenon and proposed alternative terms, including "negative sightseeing" (MacCannell, 1989); death tourism (Sion, 2014); "black spot tourism" (Rojek, 1993); "milking the macabre" (Dann, 1994); "thanatourism" (Seaton, 1996); "tragic tourism" (Lippard, 1999); "morbid tourism" (Bloom, 2000); "grief tourism" (Lewis, 2008); "atrocity tourism" (Ashworth, 2004); "thanatological tourism" (Yan et al., 2016) and "phoenix tourism" (Miller et al., 2017). Popular amongst these proposed alternative descriptors for dark tourism is thanatourism. Seaton (1996) defines thanatourism as "travel to a location wholly, or partially, motivated by the desire for actual or symbolic encounters with death, particularly, but not exclusively, violent death" (p.240). He recognized that thanatourism was not a complete form but varied in intensity depending on whether it was a tourist's single motivation or coexistence with other motivations. He later explained that thanatourism is not just travel to view atrocities and disasters that have happened in living memory but is derived from older traditions of pilgrimage and thanatopsis (Seaton, 2022).

The difference between Foley and Lennon's (1996) notion of dark tourism is that their work focused on the perspective of supply, presenting, and interpreting death for visitors. While Seaton (1996) focused on the demand dimensions of thanatourism. His work concentrated on understanding visitors, why they are motivated to visit places associated with death, and how they have come to value and appreciate these experiences. Thus, it can be argued that these terms are quite distinct, albeit not mutually exclusive or void of similarity.

Yet, some academics have criticised the phenomenon of dark tourism for its shortcomings and loose conceptualization (Stone & Sharpley, 2008). Similarly, Bowman and Pezzullo (2010, p. 199) argue that it may be "time to even abandon the term 'dark tourism' insofar as it may present an impediment to detailed and circumstantial analyses of tourist sites and performances in all their mundane or spectacular particularity and ambiguity". Controversially, Isaac and Çakmak (2014) argue that dark tourism does not exist. Instead, it is the experience that exists. Likewise, Wight (2009) argues that dark tourism is a term or label in which some heritage sites present dark and difficult heritage to appeal to the alternative visitor. He further said that the terms "dark tourism" and "thanatourism" appear to be accepted within academia but are not embraced by the tourism sector. In this sense, he contends that while literature within the field of dark tourism is increasing, academic outputs often lack the voice and input from the tourism industry.

Nevertheless, given the lack of agreement over what constitutes dark tourism, some academics have sought to identify and or classify dark tourism into various sub-forms. Table 4 provides a brief description and examples of some of these sub-forms of dark tourism. These include but are not limited to "battlefield tourism" (Vanneste & Winter, 2018); "war tourism" (Ghorbanzadeh et al., 2021); "Holocaust tourism" (Reynolds, 2020); "slavery tourism" (Yankholmes & Timothy, 2017); "genocide tourism" (Friedrich et al., 2018); "ghost tourism" (Bucior, 2020); "cemetery tourism" (Mionel, 2020); "suicide tourism" (Yu et al., 2020); "ghetto tourism" (Farsani, 2020); "disaster tourism" (Sharpley & Wright, 2018); "dystopian tourism" (Podoshen et al., 2015); and "prison tourism" (Barber, 2020). These sub-

forms of dark tourism were formulated based on their unique characteristics and features. Table 5 describes some types of dark tourism with examples.

Table 5: Types of Dark Tourism

Туре	Description	Example(s)	Author(s)
War tourism/ Battlefield tourism	Recreational travel to active or former war zones for purposes of sightseeing or historical study or places that commemorate war	Normandy, France Pearl Harbor, Hawaii Vietnam Veterans Memorial, Washington D.C. Dunkirk, France	Clarke and Eastgate (2011); Ghorbanzadeh et al (2021); Le and Pearce (2011); Lee (2016); Miles (2014); Rivera (2008); Seaton (2000); Winter (2010); Dunkley et al (2011)
Holocaust tourism	Travel to destinations connected with the extermination of Jews during the Holocaust in WWII	Yad Vashem, Jerusalem, Isarel Anne Frank's House, Amsterdam, Netherlands Auschwitz Concentration Camp, Poland	Ashworth (2002); Buntman (2008); Lennon and Foley (1999); Liyanage et al (2015); Nawijn et al (2018); Oren & Shani (2012); Podoshen (2017); Podoshen & Hunt (2011); Reynolds (2016); Wight (2020)
Genocide tourism/ Mass murder tourism	Travel to places associated with genocide and mass murder	Killing Fields, Cambodia The Genocide Memorial, Rwanda Auschwitz, Poland	Becker (2019); Beech (2009); Friedrich et al (2018); Friedrich and Johnston (2013); Isaac and Çakmak (2016); Lischer (2019); Moffat (2010); Sharpley (2012); Sion (2011); Wight (2016)
Disaster tourism	The practice of visiting locations where an environmental disaster, either natural or man-made, has occurred	Chernobyl power plant, Ukraine Mount Vesuvius, Pompeii, Italy Soufriere Hills, Monsterrat Mount Merapi, Indonesia	Gotham (2015); Kelman and Dodds (2009); Martini and Buda (2020); Sharpley and Wright (2018); Miller (2008); Tucker et al (2017); Wright and Sharpley (2018a; 2018b)

Slavery heritage tourism	Travel to places connected with the enslavement of Africans, the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade, colonialism, and ancient and modern-day slavery	Cape Coast Castle, Ghana The Whitney Plantation, Wallace, Louisianna Benguela, Angola Goree Island, Senegal	Beech (2001); Carter (2016); Dann and Seaton (2001); Essah (2001); Nelson (2020a); Reed (2015a; 2015b); Yankholmes and McKercher (2015a; 2015b); Yankholmes and Timothy (2017)
Prison tourism	Travel is undertaken to current and or former sites of incarceration or places where intentional statesanctioned infliction of punishment, pain, and privation took place.	Alcatraz Island, San Francisco, California Bodmin Jail, Cornwall The Eastern State Penitentiary, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania	Barton and Brown (2015); Dalton (2017); Hibberd and Stasiuk (2017); McCorkel and DalCortivo (2018); Montford (2016); Neill (2017); Ross (2012); Slade (2017); Strelkova (2017); Urquhart (2022)
Ghost tourism	Travel to places where the appearance or perception of ghosts has been attributed and may include participation in ghost tours and ghost hunting	Mary King's Close, Edinburgh, Scotland The London Dungeon, London, UK Aokigahara Forest, Japan	Dancausa et al (2023); Gentry (2007); Holmes and Inglis (2004); Inglis and Holmes (2003); Lee (2021); Palleiro and Peltzer (2023); Pedreño-Peñalver et al (2023); Pharino et al (2018); Sobaih and Naguib (2022)
Ghetto tourism/ Slum tourism/ Poverty tourism	Involves visiting run-down inner-city neighbourhoods, ethnic enclaves, or impoverished areas	The Favelas, Brazil Dharavi slum, Mumbai, India Townships, Johannesburg, South Africa	Conforti 1996; Dürr & Jaffe (2012); Dyson (2012); Farsani (2020); Frenzel et al (2015); Frenzel and Koens (2015); Hernandez-Garcia (2013); Mekawy (2012); Rolfes (2010)
Suicide tourism/	The practice of suicide candidates travelling to a jurisdiction to commit assisted suicide or suicide	Mount Mihara, Japan Turisalu Pank, Estonia Aokigahara Forest, Japan	Christou (2021); Gross et al (2007); Higginbotham (2011);

Euthanasia tourism			Pratt et al (2019); Wen et al (2019); Yang et al (2023); Yu et al (2020); Zhi et al (2019)
Black metal tourism	Travel to black metal festivals and concerts that are associated with paganism, satanism, blasphemy, historical violence and violent imagery	, ,	Podoshen (2013); Podoshen et al (2014; 2015; 2018)
Cemetery tourism	Travel to cemeteries/burial sites.	Pere Lachaise Cemetery, Paris, France Highgate Cemetery, London, UK Thiepval Memorial, France	Koskinen-koivisto (2016); Matečić et al (2021); Millán et al (2019); Venbrux (2010); Young & Light (2016)

Source: Author's own

#### 3.2.2 The Evolution of Dark Tourism

This section explores the history and evolution of dark tourism. In doing so, it discusses the early periods of travel and visitation to sites associated with death and tragedy.

Dark tourism is a long-established repertoire of travel activities, including pilgrimage, that goes back well before the eleventh century (Seaton, 2022). For instance, Séraphin (2017) records the events of pilgrimages from the Middle East to the cradle of Christianity, where Jesus Christ was born and crucified in Jerusalem. In addition, films and stage dramatization have popularised the Roman gladiatorial games at the Coliseum in Rome. Large audiences have been drawn to these venues to witness gladiatorial games and humans being pitted to fight with other humans and often beasts of burden. These events were commonplace and a means of recreation and entertainment for the populace and rulers during the Roman Empire (Sharpley, 2008). Seaton (1999) affirms that these events have been tourist attractions for centuries, particularly wars and battlefields. These activities have been researched and documented as the first form of thanatoptic related tourism activity.

Travel associated with the macabre grew during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. In Cromwell's time, the mega-event was the public execution by the Parliamentary forces of the King of England, which turned his execution into a sacred martyr for many (Seaton & Dann, 2018). In the two centuries afterwards, public executions changed and multiplied in England as more than 100 new offences were made punishable in English law by public executions. Tyburn in London is renowned for the public theatres where pavilions were erected to witness capital punishment and the execution of prisoners for the crimes they had committed (Millán et al., 2019). The horrors of state-orchestrated activities have also been seen in Barcelona, where public executions took place at venues with live audiences. This gravitation to and amity for public executions and hangings of criminals and murderers was synonymous with justice being done and was a staple perpetrated by the British justice system well into the nineteenth century. As Boorstin (1987) recounts, witnessing public executions in England became very popular. There are accounts of visitors embarking on rail excursions to

Cornwall to observe the hanging of two murderers in 1838. MacCannell (1989) noted the attraction and growing custom for visitation to the "city of Morgues", which became popular and one of the must-see features when visiting and touring Paris during the nineteenth century. Walchester (2018) further observed tourists travelling throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries to Scandinavian countries, particularly Iceland, to visit sites of death, tombs and memorials of Scandinavian Monarch Charles XII, and other dark aspects of Norse and Viking legacy.

Dark tourism became a specific generic form in academic tourism discourse in the late twentieth century (Foley & Lennon, 1996). During this period, visitors also gathered at the homes of well-known personalities and celebrities. The gathering outside Kensington Palace following the death of Princess Diana after her tragic death in a traffic accident in Paris in 1997 is a typical example. This mass outpouring and coming together satiates the grief of those at these communal gatherings. With her iconic Royal and public eminence, it is said that the death of Diana, Princess of Wales, was pivotal in catapulting the growth of dark tourism in the twentieth century and led to vast improvements in transportation networks compared to what existed centuries ago (Bowman & Pezzullo, 2010). This interest and attraction to tragic circumstances and the urge to witness their grotesque and cataclysmic nature are attributed to a burning desire and appetite for new and different experiences to gain knowledge about a phenomenon or event that hitherto has not been known to tourists (Stone, 2009). The next section examines visitors to sites associated with dark heritage.

## 3.2.3 Understanding Dark Tourism Visitors

This section analyses the types of visitors (Raine, 2013), including their motivations for engaging with HVAs associated with death and tragedy (Seaton, 1996) and the experiences that come from their engagement (Nawijn et al., 2016).

#### 3.2.3.1 Dark Tourism Visitor Types

Lennon and Foley (1999; 2000) identified two types of visitors to dark tourism sites. These include visitors with a specialist interest or personal connection to a

particular site (or the events that took place there) and visitors (the majority) without such a connection who visit for other reasons. However, research has shown that not all visitors to HVAs associated with death and tragedy may not be aware of the dark features of the attractions they are visiting and that they are participating in dark tourism. For instance, Seaton (2018, p.10) provides a typical example. He notes:

"...as was the case with those staying in the eccentric writer William Beckford's hilltop folly in Bath who did not know of Beckford or that, on arrival, they would find that his home had a cemetery in the garden".

Thus, it can be argued that not all visitors who visit dark tourism sites are necessarily visitors who have a specialist interest or personal connection to a particular site, as some are fluid visitors who visit dark heritage sites out of boredom or are just interested in something to do (Biran et al., 2014). This is elaborated upon in the next section.

While a considerable amount of literature in dark tourism research has researched motivations for visiting dark HVAs and has sought to classify visitor groups based on motivations, Seaton (2018) argue that some visitors do not consider themselves part of dark tourism visitor groups. In this sense, he affirms that "dark" may not necessarily be a motivational factor for visiting dark HVAs and how some visitors relate and engage with the attraction. Instead, factors such as history, national pride, pilgrimage, and identity are some examples of motivations for visiting dark tourism sites. Thus, he argues that research has failed to situate visitors to dark tourism attractions as a distinctive group within tourism literature who accept death as a key motivation for visiting. Indeed, rightfully so, as Wight (2009) argues, it is difficult to classify visitors to dark tourism sites as they are motivated to visit and engage for various reasons that are unique to each visitor.

Despite the above arguments, several authors have sought to classify visitors to dark tourism sites. For instance, Raine (2013) attempts to classify visitors to dark tourism sites. She identifies nine types of visitors to dark tourism sites, which can be grouped into four categories based on their motivation for visiting. These include:

- **Mourners and pilgrims** the motive to visit is devotion. These visitors have a personal connection with sites associated with death.
- Morbidity curious and thrill-seekers visit dark tourism sites for the experience. These visitors confront death.
- Information seekers and hobbyists visitation is driven by discovery.
   These visitors explore and investigate sites associated with death.
- Sightseers, retreaters, and passive recreationists visitation to dark tourism sites is incidental. These visitors do not engage deeply with sites associated with death.

Within the context of visitation to Holocaust HVAs, Beech (2000) attempts to segment visitors to those attractions. He identifies two types of visitors. These include visitors with a personal connection with the site (e.g., relatives and survivors) and visitors with no direct or indirect connection (e.g., general leisure tourists buying distinctive tourism products and experiences).

While some scholars have argued that the label "dark tourism" is often overused (Jamal & Lelo, 2011), there appear to be debates within the extant body of literature with regard to the use of the term "dark" within a tourism context. For instance, it has been argued that negative connotations (Bowman & Pezzullo, 2010) are attached to the word "dark". Critiques of the proposal for the term "dark" tourists" are that it carries a specific connotation that its use denotes negative and "evil" heritage that parallels ethnic and racial discrimination or indifference. Goldenberg (2009), for example, has highlighted the use of black and white as metaphors for good and evil as having their roots in racist thinking. Seaton (2009, p. 525) argues that the use of the term 'dark' is underpinned by an implicit contrast with a form of tourism that is light so that dark tourism is constructed as something "transgressive, morally suspect, and pathological". Yet, Friedrich et al (2018) contend that the term "dark" in the context of dark tourism may involve a voyeuristic and morbid interest in the macabre. In this sense, it merely perpetuates long-standing stereotypes of visitors as driven by shallow and superficial motives (Bowman & Pezzullo, 2010).

There appears to be a debate with regard to tourists who engage with dark tourism attractions. For instance, Hartmann (2014) argues that dark tourism sites do not exist. Instead, there are only dark tourists. Some scholars refute and challenge this and have argued that dark tourists do not exist. Instead, it is visitors who are interested in their own social reality and world. Indeed, as Stone (2018, p. 510) argues, there is no such thing as a "dark tourist". He opined that categorising visitors to sites associated with death and tragedy is "misleading and is a fruitless typological exercise". Sharpley (2012), on the other hand, said that the consumption of dark tourism sites is about consuming experiences rather than fitting tourists into a defined taxonomy. Yet, Hanna et al (2018) countered these arguments by arguing that no dark sites or tourists exist. Instead, they argue that there are only "dark touristic practices" (p. 404).

The following section examines visitor motivations for visiting dark tourism sites.

#### 3.2.3.2 Dark Tourism Motivations

Wight (2009, p. 142) posited that contested narratives are seen as a pull factor in which some visitors seek novelty and experience to judge "truth and authenticity subjectively". He further stated that the "subjective morality for visiting dark tourism sites depends on how far people are willing to go as tourists to accept that truth is accessible by consuming heritage" (p. 16). For Black (1999, p. 301), some visitors tend to "buy experience which no books can give". Thus, Friedrich et al. (2018, p. 263-264) may be right to argue that dark tourism is the "exploitation of death and tragedy by marketing and commercialising the pain and suffering of others".

Debatably, visitation to HVAs associated with dark heritage is not purely driven by negative reasons, nor do visitors produce negative responses (Biran & Poria, 2012). With reference to cemetery and churchyard visitors, Raine (2013) observed that several different motivations may influence visitor engagement with dark HVAs. Stone (2018) argues that the motivation to visit dark tourism sites is driven by the social realities surrounding a visitor and, therefore, engagement. Seaton (2018) said that motivations for visiting dark tourism may not always exist before the encounter. Instead, it may emerge during the encounter or upon

reflection of the visit. In this sense, he argues that dark tourism motivations depend on "varying levels of intensity and awareness of different encounters" (p. 17).

Within the existing body of literature, several authors have documented a wide range of motivations for visiting dark tourism sites and, therefore, engagement. Some of these motivations include but are not limited to inner purification (Bloom, 2000); sensation seeking and deriving pleasure from the misery and suffering of others (Seaton & Lennon, 2004); nostalgia (Tarlow, 2005); childlike curiosity about mortality (Dann, 2005); interest in personal genealogy and family history (Buntman, 2008); ghoulish titillation (Wilson, 2008); search for the otherness of death (Seaton, 2009); morbid fascination (Lennon, 2010); authenticity (Johnston, 2011); the desire to encounter the pure/impure sacred (Osbaldiston & Petray, 2011); education (Yan et al., 2016) and duty or moral obligation (Dalton, 2014). Therefore, motivations to visit and engage with dark tourism sites are multifaceted.

There appears to be consensus within the literature that some visitors accidentally or incidentally visit and engage with dark tourism sites (Stone, 2018). Foley and Lennon (1997) contend that some visitors are motivated to visit dark tourism sites for "remembrance, education or entertainment" (p. 155). However, they later argue that such visits could be purposeful or incidental, mainly resulting from serendipity, mere curiosity, or the inclusion of such places (Lennon & Foley, 2000). Similarly, Ashworth and Hartmann (2005) identified three main motives for visiting dark tourism sites. These include curiosity about the unusual, voyeurism, and a desire for empathy or identification with the victims of the dark event. Conversely, Seaton (1996) argues that motives for thanatourism were more specifically about encountering (and engaging) with death. However, he said that these motives could vary considerably in intensity.

Light (2017) argues that there is little evidence that an interest in death is an important motive for visiting places and attractions that are labelled dark. His work suggests this may be because researchers may not have specifically asked visitors about the importance of death and suffering among their reasons for

visiting. He observes that the most common motives for visiting places of death and suffering are interests in learning and understanding past events; a sense of duty and obligation; a desire for commemoration; incidental or generally out of mere curiosity; and purposes of leisure. Conspicuously, some of these motivations to visit and engage with dark heritage sites are common and consistent with the literature in heritage tourism research discussed in Chapter Two. In other words, the motives for visiting dark tourism sites appear to be consistent with those of visitors to heritage tourism sites (Roberts & Stone, 2014). Nevertheless, the diverse range of experiences from dark tourism encounters makes it difficult to distinguish a common set of motivations applicable to all visitors (Seaton, 2018).

The next section examines dark tourism encounters and experiences.

#### 3.2.3.3 Dark Tourism Experiences

According to Hede and Thyne (2010), dark tourism experiences provide opportunities for visitors to explore and discover themselves "on an intrapersonal and, potentially, an interpersonal level" (p. 690). Stone and Sharpley (2008) argue that dark tourism experiences depend on the site's presentation and attributes and how it meets the visitor's needs, expectations, and perceptions. They further opine that dark tourism encounters encourage the social neutralization of death, in which some visitors contemplate and confront mortality. This leads to the re-conceptualization and de-sequestration of events surrounding death and mortality where absent death is portrayed in real-time, giving a sense of being current. In this sense, they argue that this is where dark tourism becomes a manipulative label as it relates to the supply and production of touristic experiences and attractions. Therefore, Wight (2009) may be right, as discussed in Chapter Two and this chapter, that such action is performed to appeal to the "alternative tourist" (p. 143).

The visitor experience is unique to each individual because they respond and engage differently to the type of dark visitor attraction depending on their motives (Yankholmes & McKercher, 2015b); their cultural origins and or ethnicity (Lelo & Jamal, 2013); ancestry or genealogy (Ashworth & Hartmann, 2005); and social

influences (MacCarthy & Willson, 2015). Thus, it can be argued that visitors' experience in dark tourism literature varies such that no generalizations or single experience can be applied to all visitors who visit dark tourism sites (MacCarthy, 2017). This may be so because visitors are motivated to visit dark tourism sites for various reasons and this can affect, choose, or shape their individual experience (Zhang et al., 2016).

Notably, Nawijn et al (2016) describe visiting dark tourism sites as an emotional experience. This is usually characterized by a simultaneous experience of a wide range of emotions whereby some visitors deeply engage with the sites they encounter. From this viewpoint, Packer and Ballantyne (2016) contend that some visitors to dark tourism sites encounter sensitive, transformative, hedonic, restorative, introspective, emotional, rational, spiritual, and cognitive experiences. Thus, it can be argued that visits to dark tourism sites lead to cognitive and affective experiences. For instance, Tang (2014) puts this into perspective by stating that some visitors may self-reflect and express themselves by sympathizing with victims while feeling a strong sense of sorrow or satisfaction.

There appears to be consensus within the extant body of literature that the visitation and engagement with dark tourism sites generate a set of common emotions. These include but are not limited to sorrow, sadness, horror, and grief (Zhang et al., 2016); repulsion (Podoshen et al., 2015); shock or fear (Buda, 2015; Zheng et al., 2017); anger (Mowatt & Chancellor, 2011); anxiety (Macdonald, 2015) and, in some cases, disappointment (Podoshen, 2013) and shame (Nelson, 2020a). This suggests that dark heritage is problematic within tourism settings, which are usually perceived and classified as activities focused on fun and relaxation. Arguably, such representation may vary. This is because some visitors to dark tourism sites perceive and interpret places and the past differently based on their individual experiences (Zembylas, 2014). For instance, what may appear difficult and troubling for one visitor may be the opposite for another. This is because some visitors have a relationship or attachment to a particular place or heritage, and others have preconceived notions in the pre-visit stage of visiting dark tourism sites. This, therefore, sparks emotions in visitors'

minds due to their expectations (Nawijn et al., 2016). Thus, their experience, interpretation, and engagement with dark tourism sites may differ from other visitors (Nelson, 2020a). Yet, Seaton (2018, p. 193) argues that dark tourism experiences can also create a range of "emotional tensions at varying degrees between stakeholders". This is elaborated upon in the subsequent sections of this chapter.

From the affective dimension, Buda (2015) observes that minor contributions have been made in understanding visitor experiences at dark tourism sites. For instance, Yan et al (2016) found that some visitors to dark tourism sites seek to connect with the place they visit by showing empathy with victims and reflecting on the events that took place there (Tinson et al., 2015). Indeed, rightfully so, as Kang et al (2012) said, visits to dark tourism sites provide an opportunity for healing. In this sense, they argue that some visitors can reflect on their morality and behaviour. Thus, such encounters can provide unusual and outlandish experiences for some visitors (Light, 2017). Therefore, it is arguable that visits to sites associated with death and suffering evoke a reflective process whereby some visitors become immersed in the experience of death and generate intense and strong emotions. As such, the phenomena of death present new and interesting notions outside a visitor's usual environment (Podoshen, 2013).

The following section discusses the classification of dark tourism sites.

# 3.2.4 Shades of Dark Tourism: From Dark to Light Tourist Attractions

Lennon and Foley (2000) classified dark tourism sites into two groups. First, primary sites such as holocaust camps to sites of celebrity deaths. Second, secondary sites that commemorate tragedy and death, such as museums. Within the context of secondary sites, Seaton (1996) identifies five motivations for engaging with these attractions. These include witnessing public enactments of death; seeing sites of mass or individual deaths after they have occurred; seeing internment sites of, and memorials to, the dead; viewing material evidence/symbolic representations of particular deaths; and viewing reenactments or simulation of death.

Stone (2006) defines dark heritage visitor attractions as "sites, attractions, or exhibitions that interpret or recreate events or acts associated with death and the macabre" (p. 148). Moreover, some academic contributions in dark tourism have sought to distinguish dark HVAs based on their degree or shade of darkness. This notion that there are different shades of dark tourism attractions may have its origins in the works of Strange and Kempa (2003). Focusing on former sites of punishment and incarceration, they argue that various shades of penal heritage marketing and interpretation exist. In this regard, their work has been seminal in providing a platform for further debate by some academics in dark tourism research. For instance, Miles (2002) divides dark tourism sites into three categories based on their level of darkness. These include dark, darker, and darkest. He insists on the distinction between 'dark' and 'darker' tourism based on the levels of macabre and morose features at these sites. His work suggests that there is a temporal dimension in which dark tourism sites vary. That is, those sites that are associated with death and suffering and sites that are of death and suffering. Thus, according to Miles, the product and experience at the death campsite at Auschwitz-Birkenau are conceivably darker than the one at the US Holocaust Memorial Museum in Washington DC. The main contention is that the US Holocaust Memorial Museum is merely associated with death, whilst Auschwitz-Birkenau is of death and possesses a crucial locational authenticity within its product design. Consequently, he suggests that dark touristic sites must engender a degree of empathy between the sightseer and the past victims or products. This empathy, as Miles maintains, is amplified through the spatial affinity in the dark tourism product design.

Simply put, Miles's view is that the temporal dimension of dark sites adds to the empathy of visitors and is critical to how the product is perceived, produced, and ultimately consumed. Furthermore, this temporal dimension of dark tourism is also referred to by Lennon and Foley (2000), who identify the importance of "chronological distance" (referring to the time of tragedy and the consumption of it) and, somewhat controversially, claim that dark tourism is a chronologically modern phenomenon as discussed in the previous sections of this chapter. They contend that sites or attractions that commemorate events that did not take place

"within the memories of those still alive to validate them" (Lennon & Foley, 2000, p. 12) cannot be considered dark sites, contradicting the claim of others such as Seaton (1996; 1999) that dark tourism has been an observable form of touristic behaviour throughout history. From these arguments, Miles suggests that recent deaths and tragic events that may be transported in live memory through survivors or witnesses are perhaps 'darker' than other events that have descended into the distant past. Thus, those dark events that possess a shorter timeframe to the present and, therefore, can be validated by the living and evoke a greater sense of empathy are perhaps products that may be described as 'darker'.

Sharpley (2005) contends that the 'purest' form of dark tourism is a function of an intense fascination with death on the part of the tourist and an attempt to exploit or profit from this fascination on the part of the supplier. However, within these extremes, his work suggests it is possible to suggest a wide range of cultural, political, historical, or commercial purposes that underpin the development of dark tourism attractions and, to a lesser or greater extent, they are more powerful than simply representing or interpreting the death of one or more people. For instance, he argues that combining the consumption or supply continuums makes it possible to place different types or intensities of dark tourism in a matrix (see Figure 8). Within this matrix, dark tourism attractions or experiences are measured by the extent to which both a fascination with death is a dominant consumption factor and the supply is purposefully directed towards satisfying this fascination. Based on this rationale, he identified four 'shades' of dark tourism (p. 20):

"Pale tourism – minimal or limited interest in death when visiting sites unintended to be tourist attractions.

**Grey tourism demand** – tourists with a fascination with death visiting unintended dark tourism sites.

**Grey tourism supply** – sites intentionally established to exploit death but attract visitors with some, but not a dominant, interest in death.

**Black tourism** – in effect, 'pure' dark tourism, where a fascination with death is satisfied by the purposeful supply of experiences intended to satisfy this fascination".

Figure 8: Dark Tourism Quadrant Matrix



Source: Sharpley (2005, p. 19)

Within these shades, it is possible to locate specific attractions or experiences. For example, the experience of a live autopsy would be more appropriately placed in the 'black' quadrant, whilst visits to the graves of well-known people (motivated by an interest in their lives rather than their death) would be categorized as pale tourism. In essence, his work suggests that different 'shades' of dark tourism may be identified based upon differing intensities of purpose with respect to both supply and demand. Depending on the degree of interest or fascination in death on the visitor's part and the extent to which an attraction is developed to exploit that interest or fascination, different sites/experiences may be either 'paler' or 'darker'. Thus, darkest or black tourism occurs where a fascination with death is provided for by the purposeful supply of experiences intended to satisfy this fascination. Arguably, the tourism industry, particularly heritage sites of death and suffering, has yet to embrace dark tourism. Thus, this assumption that there is a fascination with dark tourism attractions is not proven. For instance, Wight (2009, p. 129) notes:

"Tourism and heritage sites associated with tragedy and human suffering as a core theme ('dark tourism', 'thanatourism' and so on) remain perfunctory discourses of academia that seem to exist without the consent or collaboration of the tourism sector".

This is further evidenced by Hanna et al's (2018) work on slavery and plantation museums in Southern America. They observe:

"Plantation museums have tended not to be characterized in the same dark terms, recognising that these sites have historically ignored its history of brutal enslavement and forced labor. Yet, the problem of characterizing plantations as dark sites is partly due to how we have traditionally studied dark tourism" (p.404).

In addition, Van Broeck (2018) confirms that this fascination is not welcome by some destinations and the tourism industry, albeit they benefit economically from exploiting the unwanted past. Indeed, Heidelberg (2015, p. 84-85) writes:

"Cities may want to disassociate themselves with dark tourism to protect professional integrity. For a city admitting that there might be an economic benefit in being involved in interpretative programming for dark tourism might make the city look opportunistic and exploitative".

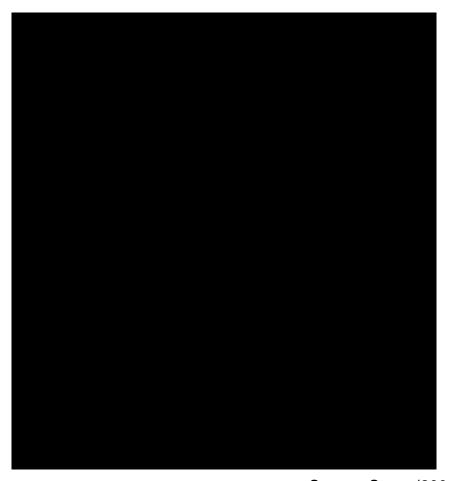
Drawing on the theoretical frameworks of Miles (2002) and Sharpley (2005), Stone (2006) conceptualized the dark tourism spectrum to better understand the placement of supply of dark tourism locations according to their levels of darkness. He highlights seven broad categories of 'suppliers' characterized by various spatial, temporal, political, and ideological factors, which, in turn, determine a perceived intensity of 'darkness' within any given dark tourism product. These suppliers include:

- Dark fun factories those visitor sites, attractions and tours which predominately have an entertainment focus and commercial ethic, and which present real or fictional death and macabre events.
- **Dark exhibitions** those exhibitions and sites that essentially blend the product design to reflect education and potential learning opportunities.
- **Dark dungeons** those sites and attractions that present bygone penal and justice codes to the present-day consumer and revolve around (former) prisons and courthouses.
- Dark resting places focuses on the cemetery or grave markers as potential products for dark tourism.

- **Dark shrines** are sites that essentially 'trade' on the act of remembrance and respect for the recently deceased.
- Dark conflict sites revolve around war and battlefields and their commodification as potential tourism products.
- Dark camps of genocide those sites and places with genocide, atrocity, and catastrophe as the main thanatological theme and thus occupy the darkest edges of the 'dark tourism spectrum.

Within this context, Stone (2006) developed a dark tourism spectrum with six levels of darkness ranging from darkest, darker, dark, light, lighter, and lightest. On the darkest end are attractions where actual death and suffering took place. On the opposite, the lightest end are attractions associated with death and suffering. From this viewpoint, he argues that the rationale for producing the dark tourism spectrum model is that it is necessary to understand the structure and availability of dark tourism products before it is possible to discern the motivations of visitors who consume these attractions. Figure 9 illustrates the levels of darkness within a dark tourism spectrum.

Figure 9: A Dark Tourism Spectrum



Source: Stone (2006, p. 12)

It is arguable that the labelling of dark tourism as "light" is more concerned with touristic encounters in the form of traditional leisure pursuits, while the use of the term "dark" is perceived to have negative connotations and racial stereotypes attached to it (Bowman and Pezzullo 2010). This argument was amplified in the previous sections of this chapter. Arguably, these classifications of darkness within dark tourism are theoretically fragile and lack empirical evidence to better understand the phenomenon. Moreover, it is arguable that the dark tourism spectrum developed by Stone (2006) over-simplifies the complex and multilayered character of dark tourism sites. Indeed, Stone himself acknowledges its limitations. For instance, he recognizes that not only would it be unwise to argue that all dark tourism sites or attractions possess all the defining traits that allow them to be plotted precisely on the "spectrum of supply", but also, given the potential diversity of stakeholders, that the degree of darkness of a site is likely to be perceived differently by different stakeholders. This is elaborated upon in

the following sections of this chapter. Nevertheless, as his work suggests, the dark tourism spectrum does provide a set of parameters within which the almost infinite diversity of dark tourism sites can be defined and categorized.

Nonetheless, the debates presented by Miles (2002), Sharpley (2005), and Stone (2006) are relevant to this thesis. The focus of this research is to critically evaluate the factors that influence visitor engagement with UK slavery heritage museums. Therefore, it is essential to clarify which category of dark heritage visitor attractions they belong to. The role of slavery heritage museums is to commemorate, entertain, and educate visitors about the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade and African enslavement legacy. Thus, in this context, slavery heritage museums find themselves on the "light" side of the dark tourism spectrum as they are sites associated with death and suffering. Therefore, for the purposes of this thesis, slavery heritage museums are light-dark heritage visitor attractions.

#### 3.2.5 Developments made in Dark Tourism Research

Debatably, Wight (2006) argues that research into dark tourism may have its origins in the works of Tunbridge and Ashworth (1996) and Lennon and Foley (2000). These works have researched the importance of dissonance and ethical dilemmas in presenting death and tragedy for visitor consumption at dark heritage sites. However, there is evidence within the extant body of literature that suggests that early research into dark tourism researched the popularity of tourist visits to graves and places associated with the death of celebrities, such as Rojek's (1993) theory on "black-spots" tourism. From a postmodernist perspective, he observes how such spectacles blur the distinctions between the real and the imaginary. This resulted in his proposition of 'sensation sights' (sites of violent death). He argues that they were social spaces for reaffirming individual and collective identities in the face of events that disrupted everyday life routines. Other earlier works in dark tourism literature also concentrated on managing dark tourism; ethical debates in dark tourism; understanding visitor motivations and attraction to places associated with death and suffering (Foley & Lennon, 1997); typologies of dark tourism (Dann, 1998); visitor experiences when encountering sites and heritage of tragedy (Seaton, 2002); and identifying sub-forms such as "fright tourism" (Bristow & Newman, 2004).

Moreover, several authors in dark tourism research have maintained the trend of identifying new typologies like Freeman (2014) "atomic tourism"; Podoshen et al (2015) "dystopian dark tourism"; and McEvoy (2016) "gothic tourism" as new subforms of dark tourism. Recent contributions have researched the emotional experiences and nature of visitors to dark tourism attractions (Nawijn et al., 2018); visitor motivations for visiting dark tourism sites (Isaac & Çakmak, 2016); ethical issues with the presentation of places associated with death and suffering (Powell & Iankova, 2016); politics and ideologies (Pendleton, 2014); managing places linked to death and suffering (Shirt, 2016); designing dark HVAs (Wyatt, 2020); technology in enhancing the visitor experience (Roberts, 2019); social media content (Wight, 2020) and methods used in dark tourism research (Podoshen et al., 2015).

Sigala and Steriopoulous (2022) examined the role of emotional engagement in visitors' dark tourism experiences. The study focused on three dark tourism sites in the USA, namely Ground Zero, Gettysburg, and Ellis Island. The authors found that emotional engagement is integral in helping visitors assign meaning and interpret their experiences at these sites. The study's findings highlight the importance of understanding visitors' emotional responses in designing and managing dark tourism sites. Wyatt et al (2022) explored the influences on the design of edutainment interpretation at three light-dark visitor attractions, namely The Real Mary King's Close in Edinburgh, the Sick to Death Museum in Chester, and the Gravedigger Ghost Tour in Dublin. The study found that these attractions design their interpretation in a way that educates audiences with historically accurate and academically grounded information. Dresler (2024) used photoelicitation to examine children's perspectives on exhibitions at the War Remnants Museum in Ho Chi Minh City, Vietnam. The study focused on how children use photographs to visualise, describe and interpret the causes of suffering. The study found that children tend to identify with their ingroup and differentiate themselves from the outgroup in their photographic narratives. Interestingly, the study also revealed that children tend to de-individualise the suffering bodies, creating a singular Vietnamese experience of suffering and collective identity. Thus, the study provides insights into how children make sense of complex historical events and highlights the importance of visual aids in facilitating their understanding.

Utilising the Framing Theory of Social Action, Soulard et al (2023) investigated whether visitors to the Illinois Holocaust Museum & Education Center employ framing in their discourse to reveal social mobilisation outcomes. The study employed photo-elicitation and in-depth interviews to examine visitors' postexperience of visiting exhibits. The findings indicate that visitors engage in social mobilisation outcomes. which include feeling empowered, remembrance and education, and identifying societal issues that warrant mobilisation. Lacanienta et al (2019) examined the relationship between the level of "darkness" at dark tourism sites, provocation, and visitors' subjective experiences. The researchers measured the provocation and quality of experience of 101 visitors at three different dark tourism sites, which included Auschwitz and Schindler's Factory in Krakow, Execution Square in Paris, and an Edinburgh ghost tour. The study found that the level of "darkness" of the site is a determining factor in visitors' experiences. Specifically, lighter dark sites were found to be more affectively pleasing and yield a stronger sense of agency, whereas darker sites provided more provocative, valued, and meaningful experiences. Wyatt et al (2023) explored the perspectives of re-enactor tour guides in relation to their role in re-enacting dark histories at tourist attractions. The researchers employed focus groups and rich picture-building to gather data. The study's findings indicate that re-enactor tour guides who are passionate about history and committed to providing visitors with memorable experiences can offer valuable feedback to management on how to enhance the visitor experience. The study's results provide a unique insight into the role of re-enactor tour guides and how their expertise can be utilised to improve the overall visitor experience.

Dresler (2023) conducted a thematic analysis of children's field trip narratives at the War Remnants Museum in Ho Chi Minh City, Vietnam, to examine moral emotions in educational dark tourism. The study found a multiplicity of moral emotions in the positioning of 'self' and 'other'. Dresler argues that moral emotions violate or uphold the moral standards of victims and transgressors. The study

highlights that visiting the site can trigger emotional responses, influence moral judgments, and persuade moral actions, which have important implications for understanding group relations in educational dark tourism experiences. Wight and Stanley (2022) critiqued the practice of digilantism and the morally transgressive behaviour that occurs at Holocaust tourism sites. They argued that visitors' attitudes towards respectful consumption can be influenced by the quality of interpretation provided to them, as well as their cultural and social capital. They also stressed the importance of effectively communicating expected behaviour to visitors while acknowledging the challenges of enforcing these expectations in a culture that places a high value on self-image and social media.

There appears to be a reasonable number of academic contributions in dark tourism research that have attempted to understand visitors at dark tourism sites. In this respect, a considerable amount of scholars have widely researched visitor motivations for visiting sites associated with death and suffering. For instance, academic contributions in this area have been examined from multiple perspectives and approaches, such as correlating fatal attractions and motivations (Seaton, 1999); expanding the understanding of what motivates visitors to visit dark tourism sites (Yuill, 2003); determining motivational factors in the supply of dark tourism locations and experiences (Stone, 2006); socio-cultural perspectives (Gillen, 2018); identifying motivational determinants of potential visitors (Weaver et al., 2018); and understanding visitors' motivations for visiting various shades of dark tourism attractions (Ivanova & Light, 2018).

A substantial body of literature in dark tourism studies has researched visitor experiences at dark tourism sites. For instance, Stone (2011) researched the contemporary perspectives and approaches to mortality and dark tourism as a mediating institution. While Biran et al (2011) sought to clarify the relationship between the symbolic meanings assigned to a site by visitors. However, this is not what this study is about. This study focuses on what drives visitor engagement with UK slavery heritage museums. Interestingly, very little has been produced on visitor engagement with dark tourism attractions. Although some scholars in the discipline of dark tourism research continue to view visitor experience as visitor engagement, this thesis maintains that they are distinct,

albeit not mutually exclusive. This is further explained in Chapter Four. To date, only two researchers have explicitly used and commented on the concept of visitor engagement in dark tourism literature. For instance, Israfilova and Khoo-Lattimore (2019) researched how children engage with dark tourism sites as a means to expand their knowledge gap. While Krisjanous (2016) evaluated the role of dark tourism websites in creating engagement with the visitor in the previsitation stage. They explained how websites are used to motivate some visitors to visit a particular dark tourism site. Though these works explicitly utilize the term "engagement", they have failed to clarify or distinguish what is "engagement" as opposed to "experience". Simply put, they have always conflated this by referring to experiences in furthering their discussions or exploration.

Furthermore, there appears not to be a shortage in the dark tourism literature as it relates to war tourism, battlefield tourism, and Holocaust tourism (see Ghorbanzadeh et al., 2021; Hartmann, 2018; Lennon & Wight, 2004; Podoshen, 2017; Reynolds, 2020; Rivera, 2008; Ryan, 2007; Wight, 2007; Wight & Lennon, 2007; Wight, 2020). Interestingly, there seems to be a growing interest amongst some scholars in researching slavery heritage within dark tourism literature (see Alderman & Modlin, 2016; Best, 2017; Boateng et al., 2018; Carter, 2016; Holsey, 2017; McKay, 2020; Modlin et al., 2018; Nelson, 2020b; Yankholmes & McKercher, 2015b; Yankholmes & Timothy, 2017). However, this research area is under-researched and ripe for academic contributions. Thus, further debate and research are required to understand the presentation of slavery heritage within a tourism context for visitor consumption. The following section examines the presentation of slavery heritage within a tourism context for visitor consumption.

## 3.3 Slavery Heritage Tourism

This section critically reviews literature in slavery heritage tourism research. The section is divided into three parts. The first part examines the scope and meaning of slavery heritage tourism (Lelo & Jamal, 2013). It also analyses the types of visitors (Yankholmes & McKercher., 2015b), including their motivations for visiting and engaging with slavery heritage attractions (Bright & Carter, 2016) and the experiences that come from their engagement (Mowatt & Chancellor, 2011). The second part discusses the development and management of slavery heritage attractions (Seaton, 2001). The final part reviews the developments made in slavery heritage tourism research with the intention of highlighting some gaps in knowledge and identify opportunities for further contributions.

### 3.3.1 The Scope and Meaning of Slavery Heritage Tourism

From the demand side perspective of the heritage tourism spectrum, this research is geared towards understanding visitors and what influences their engagement with UK slavery heritage museums. As such, this section is centred around the visitor to gain a better understanding of visitors to slavery heritage sites. In doing so, the section examines the characteristics of visitors and the motivations to visit slavery heritage tourism sites. In addition, it also discusses the experiences that some visitors encounter when engaging with slavery heritage sites.

Justifiably, the researcher of this thesis thought it was appropriate to avoid a debate about the nature of slavery heritage visitor attractions since this has been discussed earlier in this chapter. Instead, the researcher offers a description of the UK slavery heritage museums selected for this study in Chapter Five. As explained earlier in this chapter, it has been established that slavery heritage tourism is a sub-category of dark tourism that is increasing in dark tourism literature. Nonetheless, for the purposes of this thesis, slavery heritage tourism is defined as "visits to places such as plantations, slave castles and forts, burial grounds, and museums that are related to the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade and the renowned triangle of the Americas North and South including the Caribbean, Europe, and Africa" (Lelo & Jamal, 2013, p. 29). This notion of slavery heritage tourism is otherwise sometimes referred to as plantation tourism (Alderman &

Modlin, 2016); roots tourism (Mensah, 2015); pilgrimage tourism (Reed, 2015b); and post-colonial tourism (Forsdick, 2014).

A minor contribution has been made in slavery heritage tourism research that has concentrated on the demand side of understanding visitors who visit and engage with slavery heritage tourism sites. To date, merely five studies have attempted to understand what motivates visitors to visit slavery heritage sites (see Bright & Carter, 2016; Butler et al., 2008; Higginbotham, 2012; Lelo & Jamal, 2013; Yankholmes & McKercher, 2015b). Yankholmes and McKercher (2015b) appear to be the only researchers who have offered a comprehensive understanding of visitors who engage with slavery heritage tourism sites. They identified several motivations for visitation to slavery heritage sites, particularly Elmina Castle in Ghana. They found that some visitors are motivated to visit Elmina Castle for various reasons. These include a personal desire to remember, connect and be reverent to their ancestors; a burning passion and desire to learn and know the historical past; a desire to reconcile with one's heritage and the history of slavery; interest in history; morbid curiosity; genealogy; pleasure; incidental; boredom; and the recommendation of others. However, there seem to be two common motives amongst some visitors that visit slavery heritage tourism sites – namely, an ancestral connection and seeking roots (Higginbotham, 2012; Lelo & Jamal, 2013). Although most of these motives are consistent with the general heritage tourists and visitors to dark tourism sites discussed in Chapter Two and Section 3.2 of this chapter, these contributions demonstrate how poorly visitor motivations for visiting slavery heritage tourism sites are understood.

Drawing on McKercher's (2002) segmentation of visitors to heritage tourism sites discussed in Chapter Two, Yankholmes and McKercher (2015b) argue that their work has been rarely tested in slavery heritage tourism research and that visitors to slavery heritage sites are racially, geographically, and experientially different. This argument that visitors to slavery heritage tourism sites can be classified based on their race or ethnicity supports the claim by Goldenberg (2009) discussed earlier in this chapter. That is, according to them, dark tourism literature on understanding visitors to dark tourism sites is rooted in racial

stereotypes and connotations. They identified four types of visitors that visit and engage with slavery heritage tourism attractions as follows:

- Connected slavery heritage tourists descendants of enslaved people from the United States, largely middle class, well-educated with a prior interest in the past. They are mainly driven to explore slavery heritage mainly for genealogy to re-establish a connection to their progenitors.
- Connected vacationers descendants of enslavers who have a strong personal connection to slavery but no desire to seek their roots. Their primary purpose for their trip is vacation and recreation.
- Not connected bicultural consists of black or biracial visitors with no personal connection to slavery. Their experience encompasses seeking pleasure with varied reasons for visiting slavery sites.
- Not connected Caucasian comprises mainly of young people from European extraction with perceivably no connection to slavery whose curiosity and purpose for visiting slavery heritage sites are varied.

The researcher of this study observes two key aspects of their work. First, their work narrowly concentrates on visitors to slavery heritage tourism sites in Ghana. Secondly, while their work emphasized the term "engagement" with slavery heritage sites, they researched visitors' motivations, experiences and characteristics. This demonstrates how poorly visitors to slavery heritage tourism attractions are understood. Hence, further contributions are needed in these research areas within different geographical settings. In addition, it demonstrates a need for a more significant distinction and understanding of the term "engagement". Yankholmes and McKercher (2015b, p. 31) acknowledge this limitation, stating that "research is needed to explore the nature of visitors' engagement at slavery heritage sites" in greater detail. This, therefore, explains the significance of this research, which is to critically evaluate the factors that influence visitor engagement with UK slavery heritage museums.

Additionally, Beech (2001, p. 102) distinguishes between two types of visitors to slavery heritage sites in the UK. The first group includes white Britons "who are in unconscious denial and in a state of ignorance". The second group includes

black Britons "who were born and brought up in Britain and with the slaves and see them as part of their heritage". He argues that white Britons "rarely identify with slave traders". However, this argument is limited in scope as he did not consider all visitor types that engage with slavery heritage sites. Instead, his work has its limitations as it narrowly focuses on a particular group of visitors based on their race and geographical location. Yet, Smith (2020) raises the issue of museums' lack of diversity and inclusiveness. For instance, she argues that the low representation of ethnic minority visitor groups that visit and engage with museums that display slavery heritage demonstrates the lack of inclusiveness within museums. Thus, she argues that visitors' decision to visit and engage with museums has a "political consequence", which either demonstrates their support or not for the way heritage is portrayed within these spaces (p. 283).

Buzinde and Santos (2009) examined how nationality and race influence visitors' interpretations of slave plantations in the USA. They found that some foreign visitors tend to criticize management for the lack of information about slavery. In contrast, American visitors are likely to support the stories being told that enslavers treated enslaved people in their best interests. However, there appear to be debates within the existing body of literature that challenge the arguments discussed in this section. Arguably, the idea that one particular racial group holds a singular perspective on how slavery heritage tourism sites should present slavery heritage can be challenged. For instance, Reed (2012) said that some Caucasian visitors are uncomfortable with the stories told about how enslaved people were treated as opposed to the narratives that portray enslavers in a way that they were interested in the care of the enslaved people. She, therefore, cautions against the assumption that one racial group holds a single view on how slavery heritage tourism sites should be designed. Yet, Dann and Seaton (2001) contend that Caucasian visitors are predominantly interested in visiting and engaging with slavery heritage tourism sites. Therefore, this debate about presenting the stories about the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade to Caucasian visitors will result in lower attendance, which requires further evidence to substantiate this claim.

There appears to be consensus within the body of literature that the history of the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade provokes a range of emotions for visitors whose heritage may be towards the enslaved or the enslaver. Research suggests that sites associated with slavery heritage generate pain and sensibilities, leading to dissonance in visitor experiences, transgressive behaviours, and preconceptions of the past (Austin, 2002; Teye & Timothy, 2004). The perception of visitors' perceived legitimacy to ascribe to the sacredness of Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade related sites depends on their ethnic or racial orientation and their own personal and national heritage linked to the site (Bruner, 1996; Yankholmes & Akyeampong, 2010). Austin (2002) adds that some visitors' prior expectations may be related to their emotional disposition towards slavery, creating the potential for thinly veiled and delicate inter-group relations. This may be because some scholars often label visitors visiting Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade related sites as perpetrators, victims, or observers (Ashworth, 2002). Within this context, Van Broeck (2018, p. 293) explains that the commemoration of victims of slavery often "provokes feelings of sadness and revenge" amongst some visitors who engage with slavery heritage. Conversely, she said that tension typically arises when some visitors encounter the perpetrator's heritage.

A reasonable body of literature in slavery heritage tourism research has researched African Americans visiting Africa on pilgrimages to seek their ancestral roots. For example, Mensah (2015) surveyed 264 Africans in the diaspora and examined the factors underlying their experience with the Cape Coast and Elmina Castles in Ghana. He identifies four factors that underlie diaspora heritage visitors' experience. These include host-guest relationships, authenticity, emotion, and the aesthetics of slave castles. Based on his findings, he recommends enhancing the visitor experience on-site at the Cape Coast and Elmina Castles by including welcoming ceremonies, community visits, reenacting the slave trade, and initiating ceremonies. Yet, it can be argued that practices and performance can reproduce the whitewashing of the history of the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade that is seen as celebratory (Reed, 2015a). This is elaborated upon in the subsequent sections.

Other research explains how African-Americans are hostile towards other visitors from non-African ethnic backgrounds (Timothy & Teye, 2004). Research suggests this reaction may be because visits by African-Americans to slavery heritage tourism sites represent their ancestry and the chance to experience their presumed "homeland" even in the absence of any genealogical connection (Holsey, 2004). In addition, perhaps, it can be because reactions to slave dungeons, shackles, and reproductions of hulls of slave ships remind some visitors of the trauma and humiliation their ancestors endured (Kemp, 2000; Richards, 2002). Timothy and Teye (2004) and Amaquandoh and Brown (2008) added that although these experiences are nostalgic to some African-Americans who visit slavery heritage tourism sites, there is a sense of sadness and grief. They further explain that those of a different ethnic background, particularly Caucasian Americans, express feelings of shame, regret, sadness, and disgust.

Using TripAdvisor reviews, Nelson (2020a) researched visitors' experiences of Bonaire's slave huts and how they represent a liminal visitor experience. Her findings suggest that there is confusion and uncertainty with regard to the visitor experience. She argues that some visitors to slavery heritage tourism sites receive a liminal out-of-time and out-of-place experience as they seek to immerse themselves in the experience and become empathetic by imagining how the enslaved would have felt and the pain they endured, which they often describe to be harsh, brutal, cruel, and horrific. She said that most visitors find their experiences hard to believe, comprehend, and unimaginable. These findings demonstrate that visitors to slavery sites encounter a multitude of experiences. It is important to note that her work also demonstrates that what constitutes visitor engagement is poorly understood, poorly studied, and requires further exploration.

The next section discusses the management of slavery heritage for visitor consumption.

### 3.3.2 Managing Slavery Heritage Tourism

This section discusses the management of slavery heritage for visitor consumption. It examines various stakeholders responsible for managing slavery heritage tourism sites. This is to gain an understanding of visitors and stakeholders who engage with slavery heritage sites and to identify what may have influenced their engagement.

Dark heritage sites present different collective interests that may be convergent, divergent, or a combination of both (Tunbridge & Ashworth, 1996). Langer (1993, p. 39) may be right to have asked the following questions as it relates to the management of difficult heritage:

"To whom shall we entrust the custody of the public memory of the Slavery? To the historian? To the survivor? To the critic? To the poet, novelist, dramatist? All of them recreate the details and images of the event through written texts, and in so doing remind us that we are dealing with the represented rather than unmediated reality" (modified).

From this viewpoint, Seaton (2001) argues that these concerns may not be equally weighted since some groups may have more power to influence events than others. As such, he proposes the Heritage Force Field, which looks at how slavery heritage is represented as a product. He identifies four distinct groups that operate within a milieu of power over time in managing slavery heritage in museums. These include the subjects of slavery heritage or their representatives; the owners and controllers of slavery heritage; the spatial host communities of slavery heritage development; and audiences. He explains that the Heritage Force Field model shows how social actors and stakeholders "involved in the development of slavery heritage and the political and temporal environments in which they interact produce a complex configuration of influences than the assumption of the two-cornered fight between truth and falsehood" (p. 126). Figure 10 illustrates the Heritage Force Field in managing slavery heritage.

Figure 10: Heritage Force Field



Source: (Seaton, 2001, p. 123)

The model suggests that conflict may arise from the discrepancy between subjects and controllers and between communities and controllers. Seaton (2001) contends that the interests and goals of the four groups may produce a wide permutation of different relations and alignments, ranging from harmony through common interests to hostility through unresolved conflicts of interest that may lead to contestation or opposition to a heritage development, or even spoliation, once it is in place. Rightfully so, as Yankholmes and McKercher (2015a, p. 233) write that there are contesting stakeholders "involved in the interpretation of slavery heritage, each with its own agenda, desire to remember or forget slave memories, and desire to compose different narratives". For example, Hanna et al (2018) explained this disharmony within the context of southern plantation museums. They highlighted that stakeholders have varying "comfort levels, personal identifications with the past, and ideological and political dispositions toward the victims and perpetrators of enslavement" (p.405). Therefore, within the context of museums, Otele (2012) argues that it is

"difficult for curators to attempt to present a history that is not theirs, let alone to find a balance between a static, atemporal representation of Africa, enslaved Africans and ways of conveying the slaves' sense of loss and suffering".

Seaton (2001) identifies a dichotomy of how slavery heritage can be the least and most contentious. He argues that slavery heritage is the least contentious where the allocative or operational controlling group behind the development of slavery heritage is itself the sole subject of the narrative, stages it within its own spatial community, and expects its main visitors to be from the surrounding area. For example, a small local museum, established through voluntary efforts within a village. On the other hand, he said that slavery heritage is most contentious when the allocative or operational controllers unilaterally represent subordinated groups in localities, not their own, and frame narratives that do not reflect the subjects' views of themselves. There is, however, an "infinite number of permutations of interaction between these two extremes within the Heritage Force Field" (p.125).

He further explains that the location of a slavery museum might be acceptable in some places but resisted in other locations. He said that this is evident in Washington, where the idea of a Holocaust Museum was supported by both Jewish audiences and backers. However, other groups questioned why it should be part of the Smithsonian complex in the US capital. Ashworth (1996) also reported objections to Holocaust sites in Poland where the current nearby residents are post-war immigrants who had played no part in the wartime persecution of Jews and resent having it memorialized in their neighbourhoods. In Liverpool, the location of the Slavery Exhibition was not contentious because the site was in the renovated Albert Dock, which has no surrounding community, and an existing museum, the Maritime Museum, which was already well-established.

Furthermore, Kowaleski-Wallace (2006, p. 3839) observes:

"Although the curators worked hard to counter the essentializing and dehumanizing notion of the African "slave," in the end, they were hampered by a Western ethnographic temporalizing practice that

persistently sees African history as out of time. At the same time, the necessity of representing life under slavery requires curators to walk a delicate line between depicting slavery's dehumanizing effects and preserving the human agents who somehow persisted through their ordeal".

Within this context, Seaton (2001) argues that the nexus of power and interests between the four main groups is dynamic, not static. Therefore, its configuration may change over time. For example, he said that subject groups who have been excluded, marginalized, or subordinated in previous narratives might increase in social power to change the way that they are represented; audiences may alter their tastes, rejecting what they formerly liked (e.g., waxwork galleries of historical celebrities or glass case museums) and demand more dynamic displays; owners and controllers may modify their goals and intentions (e.g., within many military museums and battlefield sites in western Europe; heritage groups are now tending to downplay nationalistic themes, and to emphasize European unity and reconciliation). Thus, he said that "the result of all these impacts over time is that heritage can never be a stable, finally completed process, but a constantly evolving process of accommodation, adjustment, and contestation" (p. 126).

Poria (2001) offers an important contribution to the framework by highlighting that the reinterpretation of any dark site should be based upon the formation of a new narrative or conceptual framework that links a particular event or occurrence to all stakeholders, thoughts associated with the event (shame or pride) and the degree of involvement (good or bad). The point here is that bad active histories are usually not included in heritage interpretation (Poria, 2007). Instead, such events might be formally managed through authorized collective amnesia (Timothy & Boyd, 2003) or obliteration (Foote, 2003). Beech (2001, p. 103) argues that slavery is not defined from a "black perspective". For example, Potts (2012) explains that the story of the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade within museums is told from a Eurocentric perspective. For instance, she explains that some stakeholders do not emphasize the role played by African traders, the modification of African economies and forms of social organisations and culture in museum exhibits. Instead, she argues that museum displays are about Europeans and their involvement in the slave trade and not so much about African history. Sharpley (2009, p. 163) argues that new history should be created by "embracing all four histories within a more cooperative approach to interpretation" to address such potential dissonance or moderate political influence. This was further emphasized by Bar-Tal and Bennink (2004), who explain that the creation of new narratives involves a shared perception of the past, significant societal transformation and the unfolding of a new reality.

Drawing on Seaton's model and Poria's concept of stakeholder accounts, Sharpley (2009) conceptualizes a model of governance for dark heritage sites. In this respect, he notes: "continual, sequential process of stakeholder identification, the determination of the histories of each stakeholder, and the negotiated or cooperative writing or re-writing of the heritage narrative for the site" (p. 163). In this sense, he argues that sites that are dynamic and exposed to change as political and cultural contexts, and since narratives are developed or redeveloped, they should always be under continuous evaluation or reevaluation. This, therefore, suggests that all narratives are not of equal significance. Instead, it proposes that recognition should be given to all relevant histories of the stakeholders involved as a basis for a more cooperative and inclusive approach to heritage clarification, whether good or bad.

While the extent to which this is possible in the field, it is highly dependent on the nature of the site or event it is commemorating and the power or political ideology of the controller's group. In this respect, the model offers some aspects of reconciliation and learning through interpreting and commemorating dark heritage. In this sense, education is often mentioned among the most central purposes of heritage designs. Thus, slavery heritage museums are expected to fulfil "a socialization function in reproducing the dominant or currently favoured ideas of the community" (Tunbridge & Ashworth, 1996, p. 27), as the dissemination of a consistent political ideology, or the identification with certain spatial-political or ethnic entities (Grebenar, 2018). This, however, does not mean that government officials deliberately produce all heritage only for political purposes. It can also be motivated by "non-political, technical approaches searching for historical accuracy, aesthetic beauty, or even just entertainment" (Tunbridge & Ashworth, 1996, p. 28). Therefore, it is inescapable that slavery heritage will be interpreted from a different historical perspective by different

visitor groups and stakeholders depending on their stakeholding and varied interests. Thus, this may have an impact on how strategies are formulated regarding slavery heritage for visitor consumption.

The next section reviews the contributions made in slavery heritage tourism research to date.

# 3.3.3 Developments made in Slavery Heritage Tourism Research

Table 6 summarises the developments made in slavery heritage research to date. The table indicates slavery heritage tourism research may have its origins in Bruner's (1996) work on African American visitors who have returned from the diaspora to Elmina Castle in Ghana and the issues that exist between African Americans and Ghanaians over how and who is responsible for managing, governing and interpreting slave castles in Ghana. Other early contributions to slavery heritage tourism research maintained this trend. Within this context, these works concentrated on managing and marketing slavery heritage for visitor consumption. Debatably, Dann and Potter (2001, p. 20) write:

"...as an issue of black versus white, with the latter wishing to manipulate narratives of slavery for ideological and commercial reasons, with the former keen to foreground it".

They examined the history and plantation hotels propagated by slavery in Barbados for tourism purposes. They argue that the packaging of slavery heritage by the tourism industry results in historical diversion by selecting some aspects of slavery heritage that visitors will enjoy. For instance, Butler (2001) investigates the whitewashing and commodification of slavery plantation heritage in Southern USA. In his work, he explains the typologies of plantation heritage tourism and how plantation tourism in New Orleans and South Carolina in the USA suppresses slavery heritage. He argues that plantation owners and their operations under-emphasize slavery and its meaning for contemporary visitors. Thus, it is arguable that the fragmentation of memory means that some visitors may reject this history and claim it is not theirs (Otele, 2012).

Seaton (2001) explains the differences in commemorating slavery heritage within a geographical context, particularly in the USA and the UK. While Beech (2001) examines the development and promotion of slavery heritage museums in the UK. He explains the strengths and weaknesses of exhibitions at slavery heritage visitor attractions across the UK. He argues that slavery heritage exhibitions significantly omit important events and aspects of slavery in their displays. Such omissions include the economic and social impact of the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade on Britain and those who were the victims of slavery. His work suggests that the UK and those who are responsible for packaging Britain's slavery heritage are in denial and are yet to confront this difficult past, which resulted in these omissions and lack of reflection. Otele (2012, p. 156-157) argues that such omissions "provoke reactions such as loss, anger, or accusation of inadequacy, which also give Black visitors a space in which to grieve, to seek reconciliation or to start working on more empowering initiatives" (modified). Yet, Richter (1989, p. 187) said that some visitors "may well be enough informed to distinguish the accurate from inaccurate, which leads to the selling of "staged authenticity".

Other research scrutinizes the cultural politics of the UK and the USA with regard to their involvement in slavery and the implications this may have on the growth of tourism in those areas (Rice, 2009). Eskew (2001) researched the political dimensions of civil rights at heritage sites in the USA. Roushanzamir and Kreshel (2001) discussed how slavery heritage at Creole sites in New Orleans, USA, is placated. Goings (2001) examines black collectables as a racist ideology in relation to political change in the USA since the late nineteenth century. While Alderman (2010) evaluates visitors' perceptions with regard to the representation of slavery in Southern USA.

Later contributions to slavery heritage tourism research further researched the management, politics, and governance of slavery heritage within a tourism context (Modlin et al., 2018). For instance, Bright et al (2018) examined the owners of plantation tourism sites and how they treat and package African enslavement history in South Louisiana, USA. Within this context, Hanna et al (2018, p. 418) state that these attractions have become places that celebrate the lives of enslavers "rather than spaces where visitors can engage in the

meaningful dark tourism practices of acknowledging, empathizing with, and coming to terms with the brutal history of enslavement".

Some academics have researched the commodification of slavery heritage in the UK and how it impacts the visitor experience (Grebenar, 2018); the complexities of edutainment and authenticity of museological representations of African American history in the UK and USA (Burnham, 2019); and the contemporary cultural practice of Jazz festivals that are closely tied to Atlantic slave music, namely Edinburgh, Glasgow, Hull, London, Liverpool, Cheltenham, Manchester and Bristol (McKay, 2020). Thus, Dann and Potter (2001, p. 65) may be right to have argued that "visitor experience amounts to little more than passing entertainment".

Recent research contrasted the relationship between place and public memory of slavery in South Carolina, USA (Poirot & Watson, 2015); understanding visitors to plantation museums and how they respond to slavery narratives on guided tours in the USA (Alderman & Modlin, 2016); factors that shape and constrain the remembrance of slavery plantation museums in San Francisco and the Louisiana River Road Project in the USA (Alderman et al., 2016); developing slavery heritage tourism in Ghana (Holsey, 2017); representations of slavery of UK port cities associated with the Trans-Atlantic slave trade (Amundson et al., 2017); and the social distance between locals and African Americans who reside in Ghana since the 1960s (Yankholmes & Timothy, 2017).

Recent publications also researched visitors' pre and post-travel to Cape Coast Castle in Ghana. These works focused on visitors' reflections, interactions, and interpretation of the site and the challenges in providing authentic experiences for visitor consumption (Mowatt & Chancellor, 2011). Lelo and Jamal (2013) examined African Americans' experiences and motivations when travelling to the African diaspora to explore their ancestral homeland and cultural heritage. While Forsdick (2014) researched the connections of slavery at two port locations in the French Atlantic, Bordeaux and Nantes. Yankholmes and McKercher (2015a) explained the forces of power and various contestations that impact the presentation and consumption of slave sites in Ghana. They further identified

several visitor types that engage with slavery heritage tourism sites in Ghana and their motives, knowledge, and attitudes towards those attractions (Yankholmes & McKercher, 2015b). Yet, there appears to be a knowledge gap in the literature to research the factors that influence visitor engagement with slavery heritage tourism attractions. Table 6 describes and summarises these developments and contributions made in slavery heritage research to date.

Table 6: Summary of Slavery Heritage Tourism Studies

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		Holsey (2017)	Examined the development of slavery heritage tourism in	Ghana
		110100 (2017)	Ghana	Cilalia
Supply Side		Modlin et al (2018)	Investigated how slavery is absent and present at tourism plantation museums in the USA	USA
	Management/ Marketing	Dann and Potter (2001)	Examined plantation-as-hotel model, which looked at the conversion of plantation slavery into entertainment on the Caribbean Island of Barbados	Barbados
		Beech (2001)	Examined the promotion of slavery heritage sites in the United Kingdom	UK
		Seaton (2001)	Explored the differences between the UK and USA black slavery sites as part of their heritage tourism and museum agenda.	UK and USA
		Roushanzamir and Kreshel (2001)	Examined the promotion and marketing of Louisiana 19 <sup>th</sup> century plantation "Laura: A Creole Plantation" and how it can be commodified and marketed effectively as a tourist destination.	USA
		Eskew (2001)	Examined the marketing and commodification of African American heritage and sites of civil rights in Alabama, USA	USA
		Austin (2002)	Examined the nature of visitation at sensitive historical sites, particularly Cape Coast Ghana, and the implications for marketing such sites	Ghana
	Management/ Interpretation	Buzinde and Santos (2008)	Critically explored the construction of dominant narratives offered at a former slave plantation – Hampton Plantation in South Carolina – by questioning the textual articulation of the collective in the portrayal of a contentious past as heritage.	USA
		Modlin et al (2011)	Examined affective inequality at Destrehan Plantation, Louisiana and how it contributes to the marginalization of the history of the enslaved community and how it becomes reproduced within the practices of tour guides at plantation house museums in Southern USA	USA

Supply Side		Forsdick (2014)	Examined sites in the French Atlantic and how dark tourism leads to a subjective interpretation of slavery heritage	Senegal, France, Guadeloupe and Haiti
		Yankholmes and McKercher (2015a)	Analysed collective slave memories that demonstrate tourism to Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade sites is complex and nuanced and argued dark tourism fails to appreciate the subtleties of slavery heritage, its power, relationships, and contestations within its framework.	Ghana
		Alderman and Arnold Modlin (2016)	Considered the agency of visitors at plantation museums, paying particular attention to the verbal expressions as they respond to the depiction of slavery on guided tours.	USA
		Hanna (2016)	Examined Slavery at Oak Alley Exhibit at plantation museums and commented on the commemorative surrogates that exist in the spatial narratives at the museum and the history of slavery	USA
	Management/ Interpretation/ Marketing	McKay (2020)	Explored contemporary cultural practice of jazz festivals, a key transatlantic music form, and questioned the contestation and silence of the legacy of slavery in contemporary jazz festival packages.	UK
	Interpretation	Buzinde and Santos (2009)	Explored the way tourists endow at Hampton plantation, a former slave plantation, with meaning by promoting or demoting its cultural authority and specifically how slavery tourism is interpreted	USA
		Mowatt and Chancellor (2011)	Explored tourists' interaction with and interpretation of a West African Slave Castle. Tourist interviews (pre-and post-travel) challenged the conceptions and interpretations of dark tourism.	Ghana
		Potter (2016)	Examined the nuances of plantation tours and challenged the assumption that all tours within a single plantation site are the same	USA

Side		Best (2017)	Investigated how slavery heritage is used for tourism purposes in the Caribbean. The larger study analyses resident and visitor perspectives on the silence of slave voices at tourist sites.	Barbado	
Supply S		Burnham (2019)	Examined black history museums and their representations of African American history, culture, and experiences by comparing museum narratives in the USA and UK and how they present and interpret black history differently	USA :	and
	Place and memory narratives	Poirot and Watson (2015)	Examined the relationship between place and public memory through the memories of urban slavery and rebellion in Charleston, South Carolina	USA	
Demand Side	Identity/ Ancestry/ Genealogy	Macgonagle (2006)	Examined the contemporary uses of Ghana's slave forts, such as dance parties and how issues of memory and cultural heritage influence views about those sites from locals and Africans in the diaspora	Ghana	
		Reed (2008)	Considered African American visitors at Cape Coast Castle Museum and how they assign meaning and claim their identity	Ghana	
	Motivations	Butler et al (2008)	Examined the responses of over 1000 tourists at the Laura Plantation Museum, Louisiana, in evaluating visitor interest in slavery compared to narratives used in promoting plantation history	USA	
Den		Bright and Carter (2016)	Examined the responses of 48 tourists at four (4) Louisiana River Road tourist plantations and investigated the relationship between the demographics of the tourists and their interests as they relate to tourist plantations.	USA	
	Experience	Osei-Tutu (2004)	Evaluated African Americans' reactions to the restoration of Ghana's slave castles and how those sites shaped the experience and meaning to the visitor	Ghana	

Demand Side		Dwyer et al (2013)	Used commemorative surrogation to interpret visitor reactions in the changing landscape of southern heritage tourism	USA
		Mensah (2015)	Examined the factors that underlie the roots tourism experience of diaspora Africans in Cape Coast and Elmina in Ghana	Ghana
		Yankholmes and Timothy (2017)	Explored the social distance between local residents and African Americans who have settled in Ghana since the 1960s	Ghana
		Boateng et al (2018)	Investigated tourists' experience of the Cape Coast Castle in Ghana.	Ghana
		Nelson (2020a)	Analysed tourist trip advisor reviews of Bonaire's slave huts and argued that difficult heritage could be a liminal experience within tourism.	Bonaire
	Experience/ Motivations	Lelo and Jamal (2013)	Examined African Americans' experiences and motivations who travel to the African diaspora seeking to explore their ancestral homeland and their cultural heritage	Ghana
		Yankholmes and McKercher (2015b)	Examined visitors' motivation, knowledge, attitude, and sensitivity towards other visitors at Elmina Castle in Ghana	Ghana
	Identity/ Genealogy/ Motivations/ Experience	Higginbotham (2012)	Reviewed sociological and psychological literature concerning identity and belongingness to better understand the concept of travelling, seeking roots and tracing ancestry.	Ghana

Source: Author's own

Table 6 highlights five major themes in slavery heritage tourism research. First, there is a substantial body of literature that has focused on plantation museums (see Alderman et al., 2016; Bright et al., 2018; Butler et al., 2008; Buzinde & Santos, 2008; Carter, 2016; Modlin et al., 2018; Potter, 2016). Second, a significant amount of publications focused on the supply side perspective and have researched the marketing, management, politics, and governance of slavery heritage for visitor consumption (see Beech, 2001; Best, 2017; Burnham, 2019; Butler, 2001; Essah, 2001; Forsdick, 2014; Goings, 2001; McKay, 2020; Seaton, 2001). Third, the literature mostly concentrates on certain geographical locations, in particular, the USA (see Bright et al., 2018; Bright & Carter, 2016; Mowatt & Chancellor, 2011; Poirot & Watson, 2015) and Ghana (see Boateng et al., 2018; Holsey, 2017; Reed, 2015a). While minor contributions have focused on the UK (see Beech, 2001; McKay, 2020), a major participant in the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade. Fourth, there is a shared recurrent historical contextualization based on the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade (see Boateng et al., 2018; Yankholmes & McKercher, 2015a). Fifth, publications have focused on ancestral and historical connections and are underpinned by ideology (see Higginbotham, 2012; Lelo & Jamal, 2013; Macgonagle, 2006; Reed, 2008, 2015a).

Table 6 also highlights few contributions in slavery heritage tourism research have focused on the demand side perspective and have researched the nature of visitors who visit slavery heritage sites (see Dwyer et al., 2013; Mensah, 2015; Osei-Tutu, 2004; Yankholmes & Akyeampong, 2010; Yankholmes & McKercher, 2015b). This demonstrates that visitors to slavery heritage tourism sites are poorly understood, and there is a need for a greater understanding of visitors who are fascinated and interested in slavery heritage. Therefore, this thesis focuses on the demand dimension and will offer a greater understanding of visitors who engage with slavery heritage tourism sites. Furthermore, the table suggests that there is a shift in the methodological approach to slavery heritage tourism research. Recently, some academics have sought to employ a netnographic approach by reviewing TripAdvisor reviews to better understand the nature of visits to slavery heritage sites (see Boateng et al., 2018; Carter, 2016; Nelson, 2020a). These studies consider visitors' narratives of their experiences in their

own words as well as how they reflect on those experiences after their visit. These are further elaborated upon in Chapter Five of this thesis.

Austin (2002) examined the nature of visitation at Cape Coast Ghana and the implications of marketing the site. He identifies eight factors that influence visitor behaviour with the site. These include visitor prior expectations; site presentation; interpretation; non-leisure orientation; access issues; racial relations; visitor emotional state, and relevant intergroup relations. He argues that these factors have significant implications for designing and marketing sensitive historical sites. However, it is important to note that his work is not about understanding these factors. Instead, his work mainly focused on identifying the challenges in marketing sensitive historical sites, particularly slavery heritage sites, to visitors and how such sites can formulate and implement an appropriate marketing strategy. This research, therefore, critically evaluates the factors that influence visitor engagement with slavery heritage in the context of museums.

Nonetheless, it is clear that no study has been found to have researched the factors that influence visitor engagement with slavery heritage sites. Therefore, this thesis addresses this knowledge gap by critically evaluating the factors that influence visitor engagement with UK slavery heritage museums.

# **Chapter Summary**

This chapter critically reviewed literature and developments made in dark tourism research and slavery heritage tourism research. The chapter revealed that slavery heritage tourism is a sub-category of dark tourism. The chapter discussed the concepts of dark heritage, dark tourism and slavery heritage tourism, including visitor types, motivations and experiences. It also explained the nature of dark tourism attractions and the management of sites that present a difficult past, particularly slavery heritage.

The chapter demonstrated that there appears to be a conflation and lack of understanding or distinction between the terms "visitor engagement" and "visitor experience" in dark tourism research and slavery heritage tourism research (see Nelson, 2020a; Yankholmes & McKercher, 2015b). Furthermore, the chapter

showed that visitors to slavery heritage tourism sites are poorly understood and under-researched. The chapter revealed that a substantial body of literature in slavery heritage tourism research is supply-driven and has focused on managing, marketing, and interpreting slavery heritage for visitor consumption (see Best, 2017; Hanna, 2016; Modlin et al., 2018). While the demand side is underresearched, with minor contributions to date that have focused on visitor motivations and experiences at slavery heritage tourism attractions, mainly plantation museums in the USA and slave castles in Ghana (see Bright & Carter, 2016; Boateng et al., 2018; Yankholmes & McKercher, 2015b). The chapter also revealed that no study had been found to have researched the factors that influence visitor engagement with slavery heritage tourism attractions. Therefore, this thesis addresses this gap in the literature and contributes knowledge that will be useful to academics and the museum sector in understanding the factors that influence visitor engagement with slavery heritage tourism attractions. The next chapter discusses the factors that influence visitor engagement with museums and how they may be applied within the context of UK slavery heritage museums.

# Chapter 4: Factors that Influence Visitor Engagement with Museums

### Introduction

Chapter Two explored the developments made in heritage studies, heritage tourism research, HVA research, and museum studies. The chapter revealed a growing interest amongst scholars in researching contested and difficult heritage in museums (McCarthy, 2016; Tolia-Kelly, 2016; Munroe, 2017; Bull & De Angeli, 2020) and the context of social media.

Chapter Three revealed a lack of empirical studies and theoretical works in slavery heritage tourism literature from a demand side perspective. Instead, there is a reasonable body of literature in slavery heritage tourism research that focuses on the supply side perspective (Best, 2017; Hanna, 2016; Alderman & Modlin, 2016; McKay, 2020; Potter, 2016; Burnham, 2019; Carter, 2016; Alderman et al., 2016; Carter, 2016; Bright et al., 2018; Modlin et al., 2018). Within the body of literature, there appears to be a fixation on plantation museums in the USA. Thus, there is a need for different cultural heritage venues and geographical locations associated with slavery heritage to be explored.

Few authors have explored the demand side and have commented on visitor experiences (e.g., shame, trauma, shock) and motivations (e.g., genealogy, ancestral connection, education) for visiting slavery heritage attractions (Bright & Carter, 2016; Boateng et al., 2018; Nelson, 2020a; Yankholmes & McKercher, 2015b; Mensah, 2015; Yankholmes & Timothy, 2017). To date, no study has been found to have researched on visitor engagement with attractions associated with slavery heritage. This thesis endeavours to fill this gap in the literature.

This chapter provides an understanding of the factors that influence visitor engagement with museums. Firstly, to the author's knowledge, no study exists within the extant body of literature that has researched the factors that influence visitor engagement with slavery heritage attractions, in particular, UK slavery

heritage museums. Secondly, this chapter qualitatively discusses the factors that influence visitor engagement with museums that are unexplored in the literature. Instead, research to date has, so far, quantitatively captured and measured visitor engagement with museums (Taheri et al., 2014; Bryce et al., 2014; Loureiro & Ferreira, 2018).

The purpose of this chapter is to critically review the literature and the developments made in visitor engagement with museums research to identify those factors that influence visitors to engage with museums. The author seeks to gain an understanding of visitor engagement with UK slavery heritage museums and, therefore, to extend knowledge in the field of slavery heritage tourism research and museum studies. This will enhance the academic and sector understanding of the factors that influence visitor engagement with museums.

In order to determine the factors that influence visitor engagement with UK slavery heritage museums, this chapter considers the three dimensions of engagement (cognitive, behavioural and affective) (Ben-Eliyahu et al., 2018) and the three stages of a museum visit (pre, during and post visitation) (Arnould et al., 2004; Kempiak et al., 2017) with a particular focus on social media. The chapter explores the factors that influence visitor engagement with museums, both in the physical and online context of social media, in pursuit of developing the theoretical framework for this study.

The chapter begins with a discussion of the museum experience. Attention is given to Falk and Dierking's (1992) Interactive Experience Model, which describes three overlapping contexts of visitor interaction and experience that influence engagement with museums (physical context, social context, and personal context). In addition, Pine and Gilmore's (1998) Experience Economy is explored within a museum context.

Following this, the notion of engagement is discussed. The working definition of engagement for this study is the interaction, involvement, and commitment a visitor has with a museum's physical space and the online context of social media

(modified from Budge & Burness, 2018). Next, from a demand side perspective, a critical review of the developments made in the literature in relation to visitors' engagement with museums is provided, and key gaps are identified. Subsequently, the factors that influence visitor engagement with museums are discussed. The factors that influence visitor engagement with museums are divided into four sections and presented in this chronological order: prior knowledge, multiple motivations, cultural capital, and social capital. Finally, a summary of the chapter and the theoretical framework for this study is presented.

### 4.1 The Museum Experience

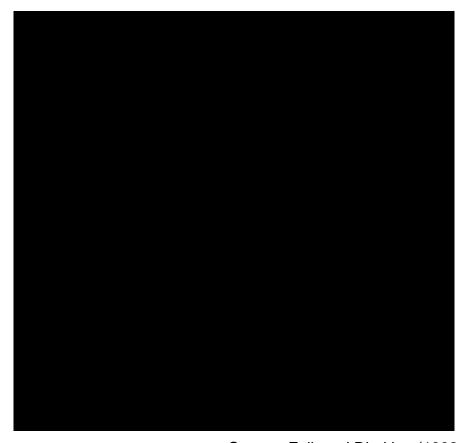
This section introduces the interactive experience model and the experience economy model in relation to visitor engagement with museums. These models outline the differences between experience and engagement, which is germane to this thesis. In Chapter Two, the researcher discussed the role of museums (Kristinsdóttir, 2017; Frey, 2019) and the motivations for visiting these attractions (Cicero & Teichert, 2018). The chapter revealed that visitors encounter a wide range of experiences during a museum visit. In addition, this study has, so far, shown that museums are operating in a highly competitive environment and a rapidly evolving market (Lindqvist, 2012; Rex, 2020; Mulcahy, 2020). Thus, museums are undertaking significant changes to ensure sustainability and relevance (Barron & Leask, 2017). One such way is by using social media (Romolini et al., 2020) and incorporating advanced technologies such as VR and AR to engage audiences (Komarac et al., 2020).

Insight may be gained from literature that has used observational techniques and experiments to capture and measure engagement with museums (see Falk & Storksdieck, 2005; Black, 2012; Taheri et al., 2014; Bryce et al., 2014 Loureiro & Ferreira, 2018), to understand the factors that influence visitor engagement with museums of dissonant heritage, particularly slavery heritage museums which remains unexplored within the extant body of literature. Therefore, from a demand side perspective, this study qualitatively identifies and evaluates the factors that influence visitor engagement with UK slavery heritage museums. This section explains the interactive experience model and the experience economy with regard to influencing visitor engagement with museums.

Figure 11, the Interactive Experience Model, encompasses the actions of a visitor during a museum visit. The visitor constructs each context within the model and collectively makes up the total visitor experience. The model illustrates three interacting spheres:

- "The **personal context** that the visitor brings to the visit that is, their psychological make-up, including prior knowledge, experience, attitudes, motivation and interests;
- The **physical context** they encounter, which includes the objects and artefacts, as well as the architecture, "feel", and ambience of the building; and
- The **social context** of the experience, including those with whom the visitor attends, as well as those encountered during the experience, such as museum staff and other visitors." (Falk & Dierking, 1992, p. 173)

Figure 11: The Interactive Experience Model



Source: Falk and Dierking (1992, p. 176)

The model suggests that the physical, social, and personal contexts impact the museum experience and influence visitor engagement with museums (Smith, 2020). At the centre of the model is the interaction with the three contexts, which

creates the interactive experience. The model suggests that the museum experience occurs within the physical context, which is the museum. Within the museum space, visitors perceive the world through their own personal context. When they share this experience with other visitors, it is regarded as the social context. The model indicates that the way in which a visitor engages with a museum is determined by one of these three contexts. In this regard, experience is understood as a continually shifting interchange between all three contexts. In other words, given the time and thoughtful analysis of these critical intersections of the three contexts, the interactive experience model reveals insights into how a visitor's experience can be understood. For instance, Falk and Dierking (1992) note that when a group of visitors visits a museum, the predominant activity is social interaction. Concomitantly, a visitor could be attending to an exhibit demonstrating their heritage, in this case, slavery heritage (physical context); they reminisce about the life of their ancestors (personal context). They may share this and their emotions with another visitor (social context). It is, therefore, the dynamism and fluidity of these influences and the interactions a visitor has that create a unique museum experience. Thus, all three contexts have been considered for the purposes of this thesis.

The model has been cited in many studies that focused on science museums and zoos (Falk, 2006; 2009; 2011; Falk & Storksdieck, 2005). Throughout these studies, the emphasis has been on what visitors should be doing in museums, particularly learning. Interestingly, these premises have been applied to museums with complex and contested heritage (Smith, 2020). Moreover, the interactive experience model has been applied to Falk's (2009) work on museum identities, discussed in Chapter Two of this thesis. Hooper-Greenhill (2007, p. 40) writes that the model "enables individuals to fit into the pre-existing social arrangements". She argues that this restricts the model's ability to assimilate cultural variations that influence engagement. Critics highlighted the model's limitations, which excluded class, ethnicity, and other forms of social and cultural characteristics that influence visitor engagement with museums (Bickford, 2010; McCray, 2010; Dawson and Jensen, 2011). Furthermore, the author of this study observes that the interactive experience model is yet to be explored within the

settings of slavery heritage museums. Instead, the model has been extensively researched in art museums and galleries.

Figure 12 below illustrates the experience economy, which is relevant to the current discussion since it offers insights into what drives visitors to engage with museums. Within the physical context, Pine and Gilmore (1998) offer some insights into the design of museum experiences. They view experiences as museum visits "that engage visitors in a personal way" (p.12). In this sense, they argue that the visitor experience can be sorted into four categories along two dimensions (*visitor participation*, i.e., passive or active; and *connection*, i.e., absorption or immersion). These four categories of experience include:

- **Entertainment** refers to watching audiovisuals and interacting with AR, VR and touchscreens. In this context, visitors passively participate in the museum experience. Their connection to the site is mostly absorption.
- Educational involves attending a class, reading guidebooks and magazines, gathering information and acquiring knowledge. Visitors tend to participate actively in the museum experience. However, this can vary.
- **Escapist** refers to actively immersed visitors in dramaturgy and re-enactments of past events.
- **Esthetic** visitors are immersed in the museum experience but passively participate during the visit.

Figure 12: The Experience Economy



Source: Pine and Gilmore (1998, p. 102)

The model suggests that a visitor's level of engagement with museums varies according to their level of participation, either passive or active. In this respect, the model suggests that visitors' level of engagement with museums is determined by four key factors: esthetic, escapism, entertainment, and education. Although the model has been widely researched within a tourism context (Hwang & Lyu, 2015; Song et al., 2015; Sotiriadis, 2017), the experience economy has been criticised for its lack of measurement challenges (Hosany & Witham, 2010). For instance, Pine and Gilmore (1998) note that participation and connection are required to generate the four categories of experiences. In contrast, Loureiro (2014) argues that each realm can stand alone as its own dimension. In this regard, tom Dieck et al (2018) contend that the four realms are not independent of each other. Within the context of esthetics, Wight (2009) criticised the experience economy for staging multi-sensory, inauthentic experiences. As did Hewitt and Osbourne (1995, p. 28) noting that:

"...one in which the image-reality-representation problematic is no longer in operation, as we know reality is now hyper-real.... Image and reality are somehow as one .... A one-dimensional universe which is image-saturated and simultaneously free-floating and authentically unreal".

It can be argued that the experience economy is rooted in postmodernity to meet the expectations of the 'alternative tourist' (Foley & Lennon, 1997). Nonetheless, it is arguable that esthetics is the dominant construct that drives the other four categories of the museum experience (tom Dieck et al., 2018). In this sense, esthetics, education, entertainment, and escapism are not on the same level. Instead, esthetics determines the magnitude or level of education, entertainment and escapism. Thus, it can be argued that although all four constructs are relevant to the visitor experience, they depend on each other for the whole experience outcome. The following section explains the meaning of engagement.

# 4.2 Definition of Engagement

The term engagement and what it constitutes underpins the importance of this thesis. This section introduces the concept of engagement, which is taken from a wide range of disciplines, including heritage studies, museum studies, and tourism research. This action was taken to understand the meaning of the term engagement. At the time of this study, the author was not aware of any definition of engagement that exists within the extant body of literature in slavery heritage tourism research. This section demonstrates that definitions of engagement vary in their interpretations and conceptualisation. These variations exist within and outside the climate of slavery heritage museums. It is also inherent that whilst engagement and experience are separate and distinct, they are not mutually exclusive.

Engagement has been studied in different bodies of academic literature, including marketing (Moliner et al., 2018); management; education; psychology; sociology; and tourism (Chen & Rahman, 2018). In addition, scholars have defined engagement as co-creation, interactions, and exchange (Alabau-Montoya & Ruiz-Molina, 2020); interaction (Harrigan et al., 2017) or interactive process (Roberts et al., 2018); level of participation (Jung et al., 2016); and involvement

and commitment to a tourism experience and visitor attraction (Taheri et al., 2014). Thus, engagement is multifaceted, fluid, and conceptualised in various ways (Brodie et al, 2013).

Wood and Wolf (2008) attempted to define engagement with exhibitions from an institutional perspective. They noted that engagement is associated with learning, active participation, narration, co-presences, involvement, motivation, interaction, and measurement. This contrasted with their observations that academics sought to define engagement as actions around the attraction and the length of time spent at an exhibit. They argued that these definitions are broad and not sufficiently nuanced, thus allowing other meanings to emerge. They pointed out that despite the large body of work published on visitor engagement research, the term engagement and its meaning remain ambiguous and obscure. Ironically, their work still does not clarify what constitutes visitor engagement. This lack of clarity is also demonstrated in some recent studies that have commented on visitor engagement within the museum sector (Perez-Sanagustín, 2016; Pantile et al., 2016; Leister et al., 2015; tom Dieck et al., 2018).

Edmonds et al (2006, p. 307) identifies three categories for understanding engagement. 1. *Attractors* ("those things that encourage the audience to take note of the system in the first place"); 2. *Sustainers* ("those attributes that keep the audience engaged during an actual encounter"); and 3. *Relaters* ("aspects that help a continuing relationship to grow so that the audience returns to work on future occasions"). Yet, their study concentrated on interactive visual art in galleries and art museums and not dark heritage visitor attractions.

The literature on learning has been prolific in discussing the meaning of engagement and has been applied in a museum context. Ben-Eliyahu et al (2018, p.87) define engagement as the "... intensity of productive involvement with an activity". Within this context, they argued that there are three components of engagement. Despite these components being conceptualised separately, they are related. First, cognitive engagement reflects the extent to which a visitor thinks about a museum exhibit or attends and focuses on museum exhibits. Second, behavioural engagement focuses on the observable behaviour or

involvement of visitors with museums. Finally, *affective engagement* refers to the emotions that can occur as part of engagement with museums. In this regard, engagement is considered a multidimensional construct. This is in harmony with Bitgood's (2016) continuum of attention in explaining the process of engagement with museums. He states:

"Engagement involves deep sensory-perceptual, mental and/or affective involvement with exhibit content. It generally requires some type of exertion or concentration as well as a sufficient amount of time to engage (more than a few seconds). Physical interaction with exhibit elements may occur, but this is not essential as long as some time of deep processing is taking place. It may include a series of steps, such as in inquiry, critical thinking, and/or scientific reasoning. The outcome may also include a deep, emotional response (aesthetic appreciation, feeling close to nature, anger at industries responsible for polluting the air and water, etc.). Feeling of being in a specific time and place (immersion) is another type of outcome that may result from engaged attention" (p. 9).

#### Engagement as Interaction, including Co-Creation

Brodie et al (2011) argue that engagement as a multidimensional construct emerges from an interactive and co-creative process between visitors and museums. This argument is supported by several academics (Bryce et al., 2014; Cabiddu et al., 2014). From a marketing perspective, the concept of engagement has been extensively discussed (Chathoth et al., 2014; Harrigan et al., 2017). Figure 13 illustrates the key engagement facets model developed by Hollebeek (2011), which can be applied in the context of museums.

Figure 13: Key Facets of Engagement



Source: (Hollebeek, 2011 p.788)

The model suggests that engagement is a two-way interaction process between engagement subject(s), i.e., a visitor to a museum and object(s), i.e., museum exhibits. The left-hand side of the model indicates specific engagement levels and states informed by a particular museum engagement dimensionality. Further, relevant sequenced engagement states may generate the unfolding of focal engagement phases comprising the engagement process, as demonstrated by the curve in. In view of this, engagement is a dichotomous construct that involves subjective and objective engagement. The model has been criticised for being too simplistic in its approach regarding the differentiation between the levels and varying degrees of engagement (de Valck et al., 2009). This simplistic approach reveals an apparent lack of consensus with regard to the dimensionality of engagement in the literature. This intriguing perspective has given rise to debates with respect to the dimensions of engagement. There is a uni-dimensional perspective that either emphasises the affective, cognitive, or behavioural dimension (Vivek et al., 2012; Pansari & Kumar, 2017; Taheri et al., 2014; Catteeuw et al., 2007) and a bi-dimensional conceptualisation that simultaneously focuses on two dimensions of engagement (Bejerholm and Eklund, 2007; Norris et al., 2003).

For instance, from the affective dimension, Smith (2020) proposes the idea of registers of engagement to describe and measure how visitors collectively respond and engage differently to slavery and dissonant heritages in museums. RoE has a trichotomy of (1) "intensity of engagement which varies from low, shallow or platiduous to the intense, earnest, and passionate, from elaborately detailed to the terse and laconic-level of emotional and cognitive engagement. (2) valence, that is, whether the site and engagement with it were experienced as affirming positive/good feelings and thoughts or was characterised by negative/bad emotions and thoughts, or neutral or ambivalent responses. (3) intensity and valence are interwoven such that they give rise to tensions between conservative versus progressive/liberal social and political values" (p. 66). Underpinning the concept of RoE is modes of engagement, including embodiment; affect, emotion, and cognition; performing memory: remembering and forgetting; imagination and playfulness; scale and scope; and ideology.

It is important to note that the concept of RoE and modes of engagement is unexplored and under-researched. Therefore, there is a need for further exploration, analysis, and elucidation of both concepts in the literature to better understand visitor engagement with museums that portray dissonant heritage. However, as indicated in Chapter One of this thesis, this research aims to critically evaluate the factors that influence visitor engagement with UK slavery heritage museums, including prior knowledge, multiple motivations, cultural capital, and social capital. This study is not about measuring visitor engagement with museums or how visitors respond to museum exhibits. As such, the concept of RoE and modes of engagement do not align with the objectives of this study.

## Engagement as Involvement and Commitment, including Attention and Focus

Drawing on the key facets of the engagement model, Taheri et al (2014) describe engagement as the level and type of interaction and involvement visitors are willing to undertake in consuming museum content. This accords well with Higgins and Scholer's (2009, p. 102) definition of engagement as "a state of being involved, occupied, fully absorbed, or engrossed in something sustained attention". Debatably, engagement differs from involvement (Bryce et al., 2014). Research suggests engagement goes beyond involvement to a deep level of commitment, interest, and interaction. Abdul-Ghani et al (2011) describe the differences between involvement and engagement. They asserted that involvement is the interest of a visitor in participating with museums, while engagement is the commitment a visitor has to an experience, or in this case, museums.

In addition, involvement also is seen as attention or focus (Eardley et al., 2018). Accordingly, engagement is subjective, and visitors mobilise and focus their attention on museum objects (Dahlgren, 2006). In essence, engagement is required for participation with museums. Drawing on Bitgood's (2016) three-stage model of attention (capture, focus and engage), Lotina and Lepik (2015) said that attention is central to engagement. However, their work suggests that the motivation for paying attention is perceived value and that the level of attention a visitor pays museums and their exhibits varies. As a case in point, the dynamics

of visitor interaction would allow for visitors attending museums to have varying levels of attention to exhibits. The natural corollary of this is that it is possible for an exhibit to capture attention and for visitors to focus attention but for that attention to occur with minimal engagement. It is arguable that the interpretation of memory can influence such variations of engagement. In this respect, Wight and Lennon (2007, p. 522) said that visitor engagement with museums becomes "selective syncretic". Indeed, Ham and Krumpe (1996, p. 13) write:

"interpretation, by necessity, is tailored by a noncaptive audience – that is, an audience that freely chooses to attend or ignore communication content without fear of punishment, or forfeiture of reward...audiences of interpretative programs freely choose whether to attend, and they are free to decide not only how long they will pay attention to communication content but also their level of involvement with it".

As previously mentioned in Chapters Two and Three, visitors are likely to engage with museum objectives selectively depending on a range of factors such as the relevance of the exhibit to them, their level of interaction and prior knowledge or perceptions. Yet, in the context of plantation museums, Hanna et al (2018) note that despite museums adding exhibitions to acknowledge the dark past of slavery, visitor engagement varies greatly. Therefore, it is arguable that museum content must be enjoyable and relevant if they are to capture and maintain attention. In addition, museum professionals should make the museum experience meaningful and understandable for visitors. Thus, engagement and involvement are inextricably aggregated in understanding visitor behaviour with museums.

It should be noted that the above definitions have never been looked at or applied to in the context of slavery heritage museums. As indicated earlier in this section, these definitions emerged from several disciplines, including education, marketing, psychology, management and tourism. Within the area of tourism, definitions of engagement were conceptualised based on observation techniques and the length of time visitors spend at HVAs, such as art museums and galleries (Taheri et al., 2014; Bryce et al., 2014; Jung et al., 2016). Thus, there is a need for a new or re-conceptualisation of engagement (Onciul et al., 2017) in the context of slavery heritage museums. This thesis addresses this gap in the literature.

#### Online Engagement, including social media

Within the museum sector, engagement has also been conceptualised in the context of social media. Studies have shown that visitor engagement goes beyond a museum's physical space to include online or digital engagement with social media. Heldman et al (2013, p. 5) describe social media engagement as a "multi-way interaction between and among an organisation and digital communities that could take many forms, using social media channels to facilitate that interaction" Budge and Burness (2018) describe visitor engagement as digital interactions with museum objects. Fernández-Hernández et al (2021) used TripAdvisor to assess the factors that influence visitors' decisions to attend museums and their engagement level. From a social media perspective, they define engagement as the active participation of the public in creating online content. They demonstrated an association of visitor engagement vis a vis its intensity with the number of postings made by the platform user. Their findings indicate that the online reputation of museums and the level of visitor engagement are critical interrelated factors that influence visitor decision-making and expectations and, therefore, engagement.

Engagement is usually measured by the number of social media platform users' posts (Martínez-Sanz & Berrocal-Gonzalo, 2017). For example, Agostino et al (2020) investigated the reaction to the closure of the physical space of 100 Italian state museums caused by the COVID-19 pandemic. They viewed engagement from the perspective of the amount of content published by museums on their social media platforms and the level of online engagement generated by their activity. Their study revealed a doubling of online engagement with museums through social media. It is worth mentioning that these studies did not research the factors that influence visitor engagement with museums and lacked comment on UK slavery heritage museums. Instead, they concentrated on capturing and measuring the level of engagement with museums through social media platforms, the use of social media in influencing visitor decisions to visit museums and the impact of negative reviews on a museum's reputation. For the purposes of this thesis, engagement is defined as the interaction, involvement and

commitment a visitor has with both the physical space of a museum and the online context of social media.

Furthermore, the point at which engagement occurs with museums is central to this research. Arguably, some scholars contend that knowledge and motivation to visit a museum exist in the pre-visit stage, whilst engagement only occurs during the visit stage (Arnould et al., 2004). For instance, Figure 14 illustrates the different stages of visitation to HVAs and can be applied in the context of museums. The model was developed by Kempiak et al (2017) to investigate visitor experiences at six HVAs across Northern Ireland pre, during and post-visit.

Figure 14: Different Stages of Visitation to HVAs



Source: Kempiak et al (2017, p. 381)

The model highlights the factors within museum settings that influence the tourist's experience during a visit and its impact on visitor behaviour. It emphasises the role and importance of the availability of information, communication, and engagement with tourists, as well as the impact of the museum environment. The model indicates that engagement only takes place during a museum visit. Their study did not consider why visitors decided to engage during the visit. However, there is evidence in the body of literature that suggests the decision to engage during a visit is influenced by several factors,

including prior knowledge, multiple motivations, cultural capital and social capital. These are explored in the subsequent sections of this chapter.

Arguably, engagement does not only occur during a museum visit. Indeed, as explicated earlier in this section, some authors argue that engagement with museums occurs in the pre, during and post-visit stages within the context of social media. Loureiro and Ferreira (2018, p. 582) state, "the process of engagement through the use of technology includes a starting point, a period of engagement, disengagement and re-engagement". For example, in the previsitation stage, visitors use online tools, including museum websites, blogs, forums, mobile apps and online platforms such as TripAdvisor, to plan museum visits (Kim & Park, 2017; Waller & Waller, 2019). After a museum visit, visitors use these online platforms to share their experiences with museums in the postvisitation stage, thereby influencing future visitors to visit and engage with museum exhibits (Fakharyan et al., 2012). Alternatively, a visitor's interaction with social media influences their engagement with museums and their objects. This is elaborated upon in the subsequent sections. Understandably, for this study, engagement with UK slavery heritage museums takes place throughout all three stages of a visit (pre, during and post-visitation). The following section critically reviews the literature in researching visitor engagement with museums to date.

# 4.3 Developments made in Visitor Engagement with Museums Research

This section reviews the developments made in visitor engagement with museum literature to illuminate knowledge gaps and identify opportunities for further contributions. This section also seeks to identify the factors that influence visitor engagement with museums that can be applied to UK slavery heritage museums to achieve this study's aim.

Early studies in visitor engagement with museums focused on family and children. It is evident within the extensive literature that children are more actively engaged in the pre and during visitation stages of a museum visit. For example, Braswell (2012) investigated the differences in how adults and children engage

with each other and with artefacts at a children's museum. The findings from their study revealed subtle differences in the ways in which visitors interacted and engaged with exhibits. The results also indicate that interactions varied significantly according to exhibit and age gap of visitors. This difference manifested in a decline in the interaction of adults with artefacts. It is also arguable that the interaction between children and other visitors affects the level of understanding of museum content and stories. For example, Sutcliffe and Kim (2014) investigated the different interpretation techniques (visual, verbal, aural, interactive) at the South Australian Marine Museum. They examined the extent to which those modalities affected children's behaviour, engagement and understanding of displayed objects, key ideas and messages presented as cultural lessons. The results showed no difference between the various types of interpretation techniques used to engage with and understand the museum's content. Instead, the findings indicate how the children used the interpretation techniques.

The literature has been prolific in researching the motivations and intentions of visitors to revisit art museums and history and archaeology museums. For instance, Overskaug et al. (2010) examined the factors that influence visitors to visit, including prior knowledge, design and narratives of museum exhibits, education, and socio-demographic elements. These factors accord well with the literature discussed in Chapters Two and Three of this thesis. However, these studies demonstrate that the decision to visit museums is influenced by multiple motivations, which influence engagement within these spaces. These are elaborated upon in the subsequent sections.

Later studies focused on indigenous people's involvement, interaction, and participation in the design and curation of museum exhibits (Smith & Waterton, 2013; Onciul, 2015; Onciul et al., 2017). For example, Bloomfield's (2013) digest showed the level of involvement of indigenous people in museum conservation programs. Likewise, as discussed in Chapters Two and Three, he detailed how insufficient, almost non-existent, the participation of indigenous people in museum conservation programs was and exposed the challenges they faced, including resentment by colleagues. Increasingly, recent publications have

critically analysed these challenges and problems with engagement (Golding & Modest, 2013; Onciul, 2013; 2015). Arising from these works are the long-term and unexpected consequences of the various levels of indigenous peoples' involvement with museums, which require further examination and analysis. Thus, Onciul et al (2017) and Bourdieu (1989) offer further critical analysis of cultural capital and engagement with museums. This is discussed in the subsequent sections.

Recent studies focused on student engagement with museums (Mujtaba et al., 2018; Shaby et al., 2019a; 2019b). Mujtaba et al (2018) examined how natural history museums enhance learning and engagement among school-age students. They found that using digital technologies to augment traditional artefacts increases engagement and learning with museum objects and collections. Shaby et al (2019a; 2019b) examined school students' interactions with exhibits at a science museum. Rather than focus on what influenced visitors to engage, both studies concentrated on how students engage with the exhibits within the museum space. Research also examined ethnic minority students' engagement in science museums (DeWitt et al., 2019). Their study revealed that students of a minority ethnic background engage differently with museum objects and are driven by their cultural background and perception of museum exhibits. They found that students' engagement was often with the historical or social aspects of exhibits rather than the science behind them. Therefore, the cultural perspectives of visitors and their level of knowledge shape their perception and interpretation of museum exhibits, which influences engagement. However, it is important to note that their study had a narrow perspective that merely focused on ethnic minority students and not the broader population of visitors.

Engagement and cultural background are closely related to self-identification (Bosnjak et al., 2016). For example, McDonald (2011) asserted that visitors are motivated to engage with the heritage they perceive to be directly relevant to their own specific interests, culture or history. Emerging from this, Alrawadieh et al (2019) argue that there is a strong relationship between visitor engagement and self-identification. For instance, when visitors engage with museums that reflect their heritage, they are likely to experience an intense involvement and a

particular affiliation with museum objects (Waterman et al., 2003). Thus, the more visitors are involved with and committed to a consumption experience, the more they engage with museums.

Recent studies have concentrated on visitor loyalty, satisfaction, commitment and post-purchase intentions (Alrawadieh et al., 2019; Han & Hyun, 2017); monitoring and tracking visitor engagement in museums (Barron & Leask, 2017); visitor engagement with AR (tom Dieck et al., 2018); interaction and interactive displays (Roberts et al., 2018); facilitating engagement (Bailey-Ross et al., 2017); length of time spent at exhibits (Perez-Sanagustín et al., 2016); museum practices (Powell & Kokkranikal, 2014); design of museums (Skydsgaard et al., 2016); cocreation (Alabau-Montoya & Ruiz-Molina, 2020); emotional engagement and immersive experiences (Sigala & Steriopoulos, 2022); liminal space and transformative activities (Collinson & Baxter., 2022); and motivations and intentions to visit (Fernández-Hernández et al., 2021). It should be noted that these studies did not comment on the factors that influence visitors to engage with museums. Instead, they mainly focused on engaging audiences, visitor motivations and experiences.

There also appears to be a growing interest amongst scholars in researching social media and engagement with museums (Lotina, 2014; Martínez-Sanz & Berrocal-Gonzalo, 2017; Fernández-Hernández et al., 2021; Agostino et al., 2020). Budge and Burness (2018, p. 140) writes:

"There is much to understand about how visitors engage with museums, and social media provides an expanded terrain in which to explore this concept. This field of research, while under-explored at present, is important to investigate because it connects understandings of interactions and meaning-making that transpires when people interact with museum objects".

They examined how visitors engage with the Australian Museum of Contemporary Art objects through the social media platform, Instagram. They found that visitor engagement with museum objects on Instagram is influenced by agency and authority on the user's part and personal motivation to communicate shared experiences using photography. However, it should be

noted that their work looked at what drives engagement in online communities and not the factors that influence engagement with museums holistically. In other words, they did not investigate how social media influences engagement with museums. Further investigation is therefore needed to understand social media as a factor that influences visitor engagement with museums. This is elaborated upon in section 4.4 of this thesis.

From the demand side dimension, a substantial body of literature has sought to quantify and measure engagement by observing social media reactions and the number of postings made by online users. Interestingly, these studies highlighted the impact of social media in shaping visitors' knowledge and motivations to visit museums (Fernández-Hernández et al., 2021), which influences engagement. This is elaborated upon in section 4.4 of this thesis. On the other hand, from a managerial and supply side perspective, some scholars examined the factors that influence museum professionals' engagement on social media platforms. For example, Lotina (2014) explored the diversity of participatory activities applied by Latvian museums in online channels and museum professionals' attitudes towards online participation. She found that the credibility of the computermediated communication platforms biased museum professionals' level of participation on social media networks. Her study revealed five main factors that influence museum professionals' engagement on social media platforms. These include 1. the characteristics of museum target groups; 2. the use of social media by audiences; 3. the understanding of museum professionals as to how to use social media for communicating with online visitors; 4. the amount of time museum professionals committed to spending on communication; and 5. the level of scepticism of the participatory potential of visitors in online communities. It is important to note that these studies focussed on museum professionals' engagement with social media and not the factors that drive visitors to engage with museums. Although these works are critical in establishing a starting point for understanding the use of social media and engagement with museums, there is a distinct lack of qualitative, empirical, and theoretical work surrounding the use of social media in influencing visitor engagement with slavery heritage museums. Therefore, it is imperative for slavery heritage museum managers, curators, and researchers to understand social media as it relates to influencing visitor

engagement with slavery heritage museums to better manage engagement with these attractions.

The process of capturing and measuring visitor engagement with museums using observational techniques and experiments appears to be common among academics and has been exhausted in the literature (Black, 2012; Falk & Storksdieck, 2005). For example, from a psychological perspective, Taheri et al (2014) developed a scale to measure visitors' level of engagement with tourist attractions. They tested it on 625 visitors at the Kelvingrove Museum in Glasgow, UK. They identified three main drivers of visitor engagement with museums. 1. Prior knowledge is a multidimensional construct comprising familiarity with the attraction (awareness of the product through acquired information), expertise (knowledge and skill) and past experience (endurance of previous visits). 2. Multiple motivations, the push (intrinsic and extrinsic), and pull factors that influence tourists' engagement and decisions. Some motivations include selfexpression, self-actualization, self-image, group attraction, satisfaction, recreation, and person enrichment. 3. Cultural capital refers to the accumulation of cultural practices, tastes, educational capital, and social origins, which affect an individual's ability to consume cultural products. They found that these drivers positively affect visitors' level of engagement, whilst there is no significant relationship between reflective motivation and level of engagement. They had little to say about these factors qualitatively.

Some studies have researched these drivers that influence visitor engagement with museums. For example, Bryce et al (2014) surveyed 768 domestic visitors at Japanese visitor attractions and explored their perceptions of authenticity. They found that cultural motivation and perceived authenticity influence visitor engagement at those attractions and promote visitor loyalty. From another perspective, Loureiro and Ferreira (2018) analysed 461 visitor experiences at the Museum of Coaches in Lisbon, Portugal. They explored the relationship between the level of engagement and word-of-mouth in influencing visitor decisions to revisit museums. They found that serious leisure and prior knowledge are significant factors influencing visitors' engagement with museums. Although these studies identified the same factors that influence visitor engagement, the

common denominator is measuring tourists' level of engagement. Yet, previous research has not empirically examined these factors qualitatively and in different museum settings. Therefore, qualitatively, there is a need to understand what influences visitors to engage with museums in different cultural heritage venues, particularly dark tourist attractions like slavery heritage museums. The following sections explain the factors that influence visitor engagement with museums, namely prior knowledge, multiple motivations, cultural capital and social capital, both offline and online, in the context of social media.

# 4.4 Factors that Influence Visitor Engagement with Museums

This section evaluates the factors, namely prior knowledge, multiple motivations, cultural capital, and social capital, and how they influence visitor engagement with museums. The section is divided into four parts. The first part deals with prior knowledge. The second part focuses on multiple motivations. The third part concentrates on cultural capital. The final part deals with social capital. Afterwards, a summary of the literature review chapters is provided. Next, the key gaps in knowledge are outlined. This is followed by the theoretical framework of this study.

# 4.4.1 Prior Knowledge

Extensive research has found prior knowledge to influence visitor engagement with museums (Taheri et al., 2014; Bryce et al., 2014; Loureiro & Ferreira, 2018). However, these studies concentrated on art museums and galleries and have measured prior knowledge in relation to engagement with these spaces. Indeed, visitors to HVAs bring with them past experiences, familiarity, perceived authenticity and knowledge of sites (Poria et al., 2004b). Therefore, this section explains the concept of prior knowledge and how it influences visitors to engage with museums to understand those factors that influence visitors to engage with UK slavery heritage museums.

#### 4.4.1.1 Prior Knowledge and Visitor Engagement with Museums

According to Taheri et al (2014), prior knowledge is a multidimensional construct comprising familiarity with the attraction (awareness of the product through acquired information), expertise (knowledge and skill) and past experience (endurance of previous visits). Arguably, engagement with museums is rooted in visitors' "prior experiences, knowledge and preferences" (Özdemir & Çelebi, 2017, p. 106). Several works have documented how past experiences of HVAs have influenced visitor decision-making and engagement with sites (Kozak, 2001). Kelly (2007) notes that visitors take their past experiences to museums that are relevant and authentic to them, and that results in their engagement with other visitors and museum exhibits. Reed (2012) contends that past experiences form the basis of prior knowledge that is shaped through communication channels such as guidebooks, social networks and global media. A number of authors have documented familiarity and prior knowledge in influencing visitor decisions to visit and engage with museums (Falk and Storksdieck, 2005; Falk and Dierking, 1997; Hooper-Greenhill, 2007).

Several factors, including nostalgia, genealogy and identity, drive visitation to slavery heritage sites. Reed (2015a, p. 391) noted that diaspora heritage consumers, mainly African Americans, construct perceptions and prior knowledge from "narratives of home and family, television shows, films, websites and novels to create 'memory-scapes' for viewing the past through selective lenses". Indeed, Wallace (1995) notes that visitors accumulate prior knowledge through film narratives, including their life stories, which they take to museums. Research has shown that visitors gather information before visiting museums, influencing their engagement with exhibits. However, such process in gathering information can vary. In this sense, Oeldorf-Hirsch (2018) identifies two ways in which visitors gather information prior to visitation. That is, acquiring prior knowledge, which can either be incidental or visitors actively seek information by spending a lot of time navigating the internet (social media). Likewise, Kotler et al (2008) said information could be acquired through various sources, including family and friends, tourist boards, media (television, radio), websites (social media), brochures and magazines. Thus, gathering information from those sources, as mentioned above, "plays a crucial role in museum visitation and perceptions of an attraction" (Seaton & Lennon, 2004, p. 64).

Within the context of social media, visitors seek socially curated information presented by museums and their networks (Yadamsuren & Erdelez, 2010). Notably, visitors use social media to seek information and to reduce postpurchase dissonance. Such engagement with social media results in visitors learning and acquiring knowledge of museums (Oeldorf-Hirsch, 2018). For instance, through sharing experiences on social media platforms such as Facebook and TripAdvisor (Badell, 2015), some visitors might have a pre-existing relationship with museums, negating the influence social media (or any channel) could have had (Tham et al, 2020). While some authors have argued that engagement with social media exposes visitors to information about museums and their exhibits (Matsa & Mitchell, 2014) and provides a space where visitors construct an interpretation of museums and past events that may be of significance to them (Russo et al., 2009), other scholars argue knowledge may not always be an outcome of engaging with social media (Oeldorf-Hirsch, 2018). Nonetheless, it can be argued that prior knowledge is shaped by the media (Seaton & Lennon, 2004), particularly social media. These points are further elaborated upon in the subsequent sections.

It is contestable that prior knowledge includes perceived authenticity, which influences visitor engagement with museums (Taheri et al., 2019). Wight (2009, p.134) states, "authenticity in tourism marketing must be understood as a matter of perception". Within this context, he argues that visitor engagement with museums can be linked to self-image and the desire to consume the attraction that aligns with that self-image. Arguably, the accumulation of knowledge from brochures, guidebooks, and social media can result in challenges when managing slavery heritage for tourism purposes such as interpretation. Butler (2001, p. 171) writes:

"tourists visit slavery museums in order to see the items most often mentioned in the brochures: architecture, heritage, gardens, furniture, and the like. They are not there to have the seedy side of slavery shown to them, thereby destroying the very dream that formed part of their pre-trip anticipation. By presenting slavery, too much of the ugly, historical reality of daily life in the past would be brought into the picture".

Thus, Wight (2009, p. 134) observes:

"...to walk through a museum or experience a site is to gain significant exposure to contemporary narratives whereby visitors contemplate objects that are now like dead coral which has been painted".

Rightfully so, Otele (2012) pointed out that museum visitors take with them their own knowledge and assumptions. Therefore, this influences how they engage with the object they are presented with and what they perceive to know. As shown throughout this thesis, such selective practices during a museum visit "permit revision of our own prejudices towards a greater 'truth', but the truth is still relative, historical and social" (Hooper-Greenhill 1999b, p. 12). In this sense, visitors' knowledge is shaped by interpretive communities such as the media, television, movies and guidebooks, which in turn influences the way and level in which they engage with museums. Or indeed, Wight (2009, p. 143) may be right to say in the context of visitation to dark tourism attractions that "each visitor, upon encountering heritage, sets the parameters for the level of engagement with the issues, and the extent to which narrative is 'morally acceptable' is similarly personalised". As such, it is how museum exhibits are interpreted and the visitor's prior knowledge that determines whether or not they should engage with them. Thus, it can be argued that engagement with museums can also be influenced by the value and meaning a visitor assigns to museum objects. Arguably, Moscardo's (1996) work on mindfulness is relevant to the current discussion. Langer (1993, p. 44) defines mindfulness as

"...a state of mind that results from drawing novel distinctions, examining information from new perspectives, and being sensitive to context...When we are mindful, we recognize that there is not a single optimal perspective, but many possible perspectives on the same situation".

According to Moscardo, visitors are mindful when they can control and influence a situation, mainly when museum exhibits are relevant to them or when there is "variety, novelty or surprise" (p. 382). In this sense, he said that mindful visitors

actively engage with museums and interrogate exhibits. On the contrary, he argues that visitors can also be mindless. That is visitors with no prior knowledge. Such visitors dismiss and do not engage with museum objects that are not relevant to them. As explained in Chapter Two, some museum visitors are searching for new information that connects with prior knowledge and experiences to learn meaningfully. Therefore, museum professionals should make the museum experience meaningful and understandable for visitors. For the purposes of this thesis, prior knowledge is an umbrella term that includes past experiences, familiarity, perceived authenticity, interpretation, and expertise. The next section explains how the motivation for visiting museums influences visitor engagement with museums.

# 4.4.2 Multiple Motivations

The literature review has so far shown that visitors are motivated to visit HVAs for various reasons, which in turn influence their engagement with the site, including entertainment (Foley & Lennon, 1997), recreation (Liro, 2020), curiosity (Franklin, 2003); perception of a site (Poria et al., 2004a); informal learning (Light, 1995); education (Poria et al., 2006a); nostalgia (Dann & Potter, 2001, p. 76) and a sense of belonging, ancestry and personal genealogies (Higginbotham, 2012; Mehtiyeva & Prince, 2020). Hence, it is difficult to identify one set of motivations that can be applied to all visitors attending museums. Existing research has shown that multiple motivations influence visitor engagement with museums (Taheri et al., 2014; Bryce et al., 2014; Loureiro & Ferreira, 2018). These studies have measured multiple motivations and have focused on art museums and galleries. Thus, there is a need to explore multiple motivations qualitatively and in the context of different HVAs, particularly slavery heritage museums. This section explores multiple motivations as a factor that influences visitor engagement with museums.

#### 4.4.2.1 Multiple Motivations and Visitor Engagement with Museums

According to Taheri et al (2014), multiple motivations refer to push (intrinsic and extrinsic) and pull factors that influence tourists' engagement and decisions. They said that some motivational factors include self-expression, self-actualization, self-image, group attraction, enjoyment, satisfaction, recreation, and person

enrichment. Drawing on the introduction to this section and the discussion in Chapters Two and Three, the media drives visitation and influences visitor engagement with dark heritage visitor attractions, including museums. Seaton and Lennon (2004, p. 64) note that the media "have periodically constructed a meta-narrative of moral panic through sensational exposés of dubiously verified stories". Indeed, Reed (2015a) observes how the internet, particularly social media, plays a crucial role in attracting African Americans to visit slavery heritage sites in Africa. She writes:

"... The internet has allowed different constituencies to creatively envision the past tied to one's identity, thus democratizing and directing the discourse on heritage. The widespread dissemination of information about identity on the internet occurs largely without peer review or editorial censorship, as message boards and Facebook posts can promote ideas that are not necessarily widely held within the broader society" (p. 390).

A number of authors have documented that social media influences visitor decisions to visit museums and, therefore, engagement (Kidd, 2011; Ruggiero et al., 2021; Russo et al., 2009; Julien, 2015; Fernández-Hernández et al., 2021; Tham et al., 2020; Wu & Pearce, 2014; Badell, 2015; Hartley, 2017; Onciul et al., 2017; Book et al., 2018; Osei et al., 2018). These are elaborated upon in the subsequent sections.

Falk (2008) describes five types of museum visitors and their motivation to visit. These include explorers (curiosity-driven), facilitators (socially motivated), professionals (close time between museums and their professionals), experience seekers (personal satisfaction) and rechargers (used the museum as a refuge from the work). As discussed throughout the literature review, very little contribution has been made in identifying motivations for visiting slavery heritage attractions (Lelo & Jamal., 2013; Butler et al., 2008; Bright & Carter, 2016; Yankholmes & McKercher, 2015b). As demonstrated throughout this thesis, the relationship between identity and the motivation to visit and engage with museums, particularly slavery heritage attractions, is undisputable (Higinbotham. 2012; Reed, 2015a; Smith, 2020). Nevertheless, given that the literature review, Chapters Two and Three, have already outlined in great detail that multiple

motivations influence visitor engagement with HVAs such as museums, the researcher has taken the decision not to comment further. The following section explains the concept of cultural capital and how it influences visitor engagement with museums.

# 4.4.3 Cultural Capital

Cultural capital (social origins and the accumulation of cultural practices, tastes, and education) is well established in the literature as a factor that influences visitor engagement with museums. However, these studies measured engagement and focused on art museums (Taheri et al., 2014; Bryce et al., 2014; Loureiro & Ferreira, 2018). It is also important to note that these studies only focused on the psychological dimension of engagement. To date, no study has been found to have researched cultural capital in relation to visitor engagement with UK slavery heritage museums. This section discusses the concept of cultural capital in influencing visitor engagement with museums. This section comprises of two parts. First, it explains what is cultural capital. Secondly, it explains how cultural capital influences visitor engagement within museums.

### 4.4.3.1 What is Cultural Capital?

Based on surveys and interviews conducted in France in the 1960s, Bourdieu (1986) commented on how cultural choice or taste is closely related to social position. He explains how social groups, particularly the elite, consume and demonstrate their social class or power in society. His work has Marxist connotations (Shirley, 1986) and is closely related to Weber's (1958) theory on social status. In this respect, he coined and applied the theory of capital to differentiate between social structures in society. He describes capital as "accumulated labour" (p. 15). He said capital presents itself in three forms. These include (1) economic capital (money and property rights); (2) cultural capital (educational qualifications); and (3) social capital (connections). He notes, "cultural capital can be acquired, to a varying extent, depending on the period, the society, and the social class, in the absence of any deliberate inculcation and therefore quite unconsciously" (p. 18). In so doing, he distinguishes cultural capital in three ways. They are as follows: (1) objectified state (material objects and media such as writings, paintings, monuments, instruments, exhibitions, and

museums); (2) *embodied state* (long-lasting dispositions of the mind and body); (3) *institutionalized state* (academic qualifications). He points out that the different types of capital can be differentiated based on their "reproducibility or how easily they are transmitted" (p. 25).

Moreover, there appears to be much debate within the extant literature with regard to the meaning and how cultural capital is defined in the context of museums (Chan & Goldthorpe, 2007; Alderson et al., 2007). For instance, Prieur and Savage (2013) criticised Bourdieu's work for not containing any formal definition of cultural capital. They argue that the notion of cultural capital spans over a range of areas, such as formal education, knowledge about classical music, preferences for modern art and well-filled bookshelves. Based on this, they argue that the concept of cultural capital is elusive and was a "deliberate choice by Bourdieu, as it permitted to link phenomena that on the surface not seemed to have anything to do with each other, but actually, according to Bourdieu's reasoning, worked together as forces of social domination" (p. 248). In this respect, some academics have sought to categorize cultural capital to include language, modes of leisure, arts consumption, and titles such as degrees (Shirley, 1986), and social origins and accumulation of taste and education (Taheri et al., 2014).

Debatably, Tittenbrun (2016, p. 88) writes that Bourdieu's concept of capitals "does not bring anything new in the way of information on the social world; they replicate the content of other pre-existing concepts". Although some academics share these views and have criticised Bourdieu's work on social data from France in the 1960s as outdated and neglected social complexity (Holt, 1998), some scholars have argued that his theory is sufficiently robust and can be adapted to current contexts (Hanquinet, 2016; Barret, 2011; Hartley, 2017).

Arguably, Prior (2005) contends that the concept of cultural capital may have changed over time and requires updating. It is arguable that with the rise of a postmodernist cultural climate, as discussed in Chapter Three, different forms of cultural capital have emerged. For instance, Hanquinet (2016) argues that Bourdieu framed the concept of cultural capital on the basis of modernity, which

includes high and lowbrow cultures. She said that this does not empirically reflect the advancements and changes in a postmodernist cultural and social world.

This view is compatible with Prieur and Savage (2013). They criticised Bourdieu's cultural capital theory for neglecting important aspects seen in contemporary society. In this respect, they argued that class inequalities in the context of cultural consumption had changed their form. For instance, they enunciate that "for the upper classes today to exhibit the highbrow culture of yesteryear would mark them as 'out of touch' and staid. Instead, they are wider-ranging and discerning in their cultural practices, and this capacity is the contemporary marker of cultural capital" (p. 262). In light of this, they identified four types of cultural capital that have emerged: knowing mode, omnivore, cosmopolitan and informational capital. This need for reconstructing and altering cultural capital to reflect postmodern society is supported by a number of authors, including Peterson and Kern (1996), Friedman et al (2015) and DiMaggio and Mukhtar (2004). Within a museum context, this suggests that meanings assigned to cultural objects can change as new forms of culture and aesthetics are produced and new actors emerge in the field of cultural production (Hanquinet, 2016).

The combination of economic, social, and cultural capital of various social groups in society is exhibited in the form of habitus (Wacquant, 1996). Habitus is not something a visitor can bring to the forefront of the mind and verbalize (Dicks, 2017). Instead, "habitus is a set of dispositions, reflexes and forms of behaviour people acquire through acting in society" (Bourdieu, 2000, p.19). Thus, visitors to museums engage differently within these spaces. Regardless of which social group a visitor belongs to, they form part of society. However, change and conflict within society are inevitable (Bourdieu, 2017). Therefore, visitors find that their expectations, attitudes, and way of life are not in sync with reality and the new social position they find themselves in (Siisiäinen, 2000). For example, society and museums have undergone significant changes. In so doing, new forms of communication in the context of social media have altered how society functions. This requires visitors, regardless of their social group, to adapt to societal changes and demands which may influence their engagement within social spaces.

Critics have highlighted some limitations in relation to the concept of habitus. Smith (2006), for instance, argues that Bourdieu's notion of habitus fails to include the diversity of ways in which visitors from all social groups engage with museums to assign meaning. In lieu, his work downgrades the working class and tastes for only satisfying their needs. On the other hand, Dicks (2008) argues that this emphasis on social class and taste has neglected other forms of cultural consumption that are achieved through habitus. She contends that within a museum context, taste is not a significant determinant of the way in which visitors engage with museums. Instead, it is the objects that are on display in museums that evoke a sense of place, nation, community, culture, heritage, and profession. This is elaborated upon in the subsequent section.

Cultural capital is influenced by social settings in the context of aristocrats. That is, well-educated visitors with excellent cultural knowledge acquired through their profession, academic institution, and interaction with other members of the same social group (Bourdieu, 2007). Typically, research has shown that well-educated parents who visit museums with children are scientifically engaged with cultural objects. While parents with little to no formal educational background casually engage with and do not spend much time at museum exhibits. These heterogeneous experiences and social structures are shaped by the emotions and psychological attributes of the visitor (Holt, 1998).

Cultural capital is measured by the amount of time devoted to acquiring it. Bourdieu (1986) claims that the transformation of economic capital into cultural capital presupposes an expenditure of time made possible by possessing economic capital. He writes:

"cultural capital that is effectively transmitted within the family itself depends not only on the quantity of cultural capital, itself accumulated by spending, that the domestic group possess, but also on the usable time (particularly the form of the mother's free time) available to it (by virtue of its economic capital, which enables it to purchase the time of others) to ensure the transmission of this capital and to delay entry into the labour market through prolonged schooling, a credit which pays off, if at all, only in the very long term" (p. 25).

This implies that cultural capital is acquired through family settings and educational background, which influences the consumption of cultural heritage items, particularly museums (Prentice, 2003; Kaufman & Gabler, 2004). This accords well with Hanquinet (2016), who said cultural capital is not solely based on economic capital. Instead, it is cultural knowledge that is inherited from the family that influences engagement with museums. In so doing, she said that this knowledge, coupled with the level of education one obtains later in life, influences one's disposition to consume cultural products. Therefore, in this sense, the introduction of cultural capital that is bequeathed from the family in the early stages of life results in high levels of engagement with museums.

Visitors with a high level of cultural capital are understood to be more engaged with museums than visitors with a low level of cultural capital (Holt, 1998). In the context of museums, Holt found that visitors with low levels of cultural capital prefer planned and organised activities and popular attractions. Meanwhile, visitors with high levels of cultural capital seek authentic experiences and avoid mass-produced activities. Thus, engagement with museums varies based on the level of cultural capital a visitor possesses. It is also arguable that through taste, visitors with a high cultural capital have a greater social value and better position within the social space of museums (Hanquinet, 2016). In this context, cultural capital requires intellectual and aesthetic skills and knowledge to be appreciated. Within a museum context, Putnam (2000) found that visitors share their thoughts and past experiences of the place they visit with family, friends and colleagues. Ergo, visitors with a greater level of cultural capital influence visitors with lower levels cultural participation. Consequently, both groups, to an extent, complement each other.

For the purposes of this thesis, cultural capital is defined as the "social origins and accumulation of taste and education" (Taheri et al., 2014, p. 23) of a visitor that influences their engagement with museums. The following section explains the concept of cultural capital in influencing engagement with museums.

#### 4.4.3.2 Cultural Capital and Visitor Engagement with Museums

Fyfe (2006) argues that museums comprise a field of institutionalized judgements of values, such as how visitors attach and relate themselves to these places. In this regard, museums are seen as places that connect visitors and evoke a sense of identity that is crucial to engagement (Black, 2009). Thus, engagement with museums is driven by cultural capital.

Accordingly, significant levels of cultural knowledge influence engagement with museums (Hanquinet, 2016). Cultural capital is acquired through social origins, taste, educational qualifications, social settings and inheritance (Bourdieu, 1986). Indeed, several authors have demonstrated that these distinctions influence cultural participation. Bourdieu's concept of cultural capital has been widely criticised by scholars for neglecting the changes and demands of contemporary society (Prior, 2005; Smith, 2006). Several authors from various disciplines, including sociology and consumer marketing, have thus sought to make the concept of cultural capital more explicit (Prieur & Savage, 2013; Taheri et al., 2014).

It is contestable that cultural capital encompasses not only the psychological dimension of engagement but also the affective domain. Critically, academics have well documented that each visitor's experience is unique and distinct regardless of their social class (Bourdieu, 1984; 1990; Morley, 2007). For instance, Dicks (2017) posits that two visitors do not have the same experiences during a museum visit and appropriate cultural products in the same way. Instead, they may share similar habitus and lifestyles such as occupation, community, and education. Indeed, as highlighted in Chapter Three, studies have shown visitors to slavery heritage attractions to display a set of emotions. However, these emotions vary based on the connection and how visitors identify themselves with the site.

Habitus reveals how visitors engage with museums based on taste, aesthetics and social identities. In this sense, it informs the way in which visitors engage with museums. Dicks (2017) examined the relationships visitors construct during a museum visit according to their individual biographies in assigning value,

meaning and identity to cultural products. She states, "the relationship between dispositions (what visitors bring to the visit) and conditions (what they encounter) is one of adaptation, in which visitors unconsciously attend to (what they perceive as) as an exhibition's relevance to them" (p, 27). In this way, she describes cultural products as symbolic tokens that are closely related to visitors in the world they inhabit. She found that past experience, memory and social class are critical factors in influencing visitor engagement with museum objects on display. Indeed, the literature has been consistent with these views. For example, it has long been argued that the identity of visitors (Falk & Dierking, 2002) and their attachment to place and heritage influence engagement. Indeed, scholars have commented on this relationship between visiting museums and influencing engagement and learning. Yet, these studies have failed to consider the social and cultural characteristics, including the identity of visitors, in influencing engagement with museums.

Although it has been argued that cultural capital is overlooked from the visitor agenda, later works by Falk (2009) have acknowledged this limitation and have sought to include the formation of identities as part of the visitor agenda that shapes the museum experience. In so doing, he recognizes the needs and desires of visitors beyond a museum visit, which may be met by the gratification of exhibits. Indeed, visitors' social and cultural attributes form a critical part of engagement. For instance, in Chapter Three, a number of studies have shown that visitors assign value and identity to dark heritage attractions, in particular, slavery heritage cultural venues. These works have documented African Americans travelling to Africa, namely Ghana, seeking their roots, genealogy, and ancestral connection. Typically, a visitor with a strong connection to slavery heritage is found to have a greater interest in exploring slavery heritage attractions. In contrast, a visitor who is not connected to slavery heritage exhibits low levels of interest. Thus, based on the argument in this section, cultural capital should be included in the visitor's agenda in constructing value, meaning and experiences from their interaction and encounter with museum objects (Dicks, 2017).

Therefore, this research considers cultural capital as a factor that influences visitors to engage with museums. Moreover, as indicated earlier, cultural capital is intertwined with social capital. Yet, social capital is overlooked within the extant body of literature as a factor that influences visitor engagement with museums in visitor engagement with museum research. Still, to date, there are minor publications on social capital and the changes in contemporary society in relation to museums. The following section explains the concept of social capital in both offline and online settings in the context of social media.

## 4.4.4 Social Capital

Cultural capital and social capital are interrelated (Bourdieu, 1986). Indeed, social capital influences visitor engagement with museums (Falk & Dierking, 1992). However, some scholars have overlooked social capital in relation to engagement with museums (Taheri et al., 2014). To date, minor theoretical contributions have researched social capital in relation to museums. However, these studies focused on art museums and galleries. Hence, there is a need for further exploration of social capital in relation to visitor engagement with different museums, particularly slavery heritage museums.

Bourdieu (1986) defines social capital as

"the aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to a possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalised relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition — or in other words, to membership in a group which provides each of its members with the backing of the collectively owned capital, a "credential" which entitles them to credit, in the various senses of the world" (p. 21).

Understandably, social capital is acquired through the relationship of cultural and economic capital, as described in the preceding sections. In this sense, social capital that is inherited transforms relationships into lifelong and deep-rooted connections. In this respect, social capital involves social networks and connections to a particular group (Bourdieu, 1986). In contrast, Putnam (2000) said social capital derives from moral obligations and norms, social values (trust) and social networks (voluntary associations) in social institutions that lead to shared knowledge and the acquisition of skills to solve problems. Likewise,

Coleman (1988) describes social capital as a unique source that provides information and contributes to acquiring specific skills.

Notably, some academics have attempted to explain social capital by comparing and contrasting Putnam's (2000) and Bourdieu's (1986) concepts of social capital. For instance, Siisiäinen (2000) distinguishes between both concepts and how social capital may be accumulated. She writes that the difference between both concepts is that "Putnam's idea of social capital deals with collective values and societal integration, whereas Bourdieu's approach is made from the point of view of actors engaged in struggle in pursuit of their interests" (p. 9). However, the concept of social capital has been criticised for neglecting the transformations within society and the alternatives to communication (Shapiro, 1997). For instance, although the argument put forward by Bourdieu at the time of his work in the 1960s that social capital takes place in the form of face-to-face relationships, academics have argued that globalisation and the introduction of the internet and social media channels have altered the way in which visitors and museums interact (Tittenbrun, 2016).

### 4.4.4.1 Online Social Capital

Jenkins (2006) has long acknowledged this shift in the way in which social capital is understood in a postmodernism structure. She contends that new forms of social capital have emerged in the context of online interactions in the digital space of social media. This is in harmony with Julien (2015), who notes that social capital manifests in new ways online in the context of social media. For instance, he writes that "the ubiquitous accessibility of the internet, online interactions themselves contain and extend social capital" (p. 365). Drawing on Bourdieu's definition of social capital, he argues that visitors express social capital through online interactions, affecting and extending their relationships.

Arguably, the social exchanges that reinforce relationships are interactions that have mutual knowledge and recognition. For instance, Bourdieu (1986, p. 22) states that "exchange transforms the things exchanged into signs of recognition and, through the mutual recognition and the recognition of group membership which it implies, reproduces the group". Thus, some academics argue that this

creates a multiplication effect on the influence of other forms of capital (Joppke, 1986; Coleman, 1988; Siisiäinen, 2000). Moreover, the development of social networks relies on the "subjective feeling of visitors (recognition, respect, and communality) and the institutional guarantees afforded by the organisation" (Siisiäinen, 2000, p.11). Thus, in this regard, Julien (2015, p. 365) argues that the "internet has become tokens and signs of recognition of group membership through memes, photographs, comments, and badges". Furthermore, he posits that the interactions of digital inhabitants who invest themselves online and subsequently have a stock of social capital that exists and is exchanged online have been overlooked and misunderstood. In this regard, he argued that there is a need to understand social capital in the context of online social interactions.

A visitor's interaction within the digital social space, mainly social media, influences other visitors' engagement with museums and museum professionals' decisions in developing and designing museum exhibits. Julien (2015) writes:

"This is convertible to social and economic capital in physical, offline interactions if those people the agent knows in the physical world are also those who know online culture and who see the accumulation of digital social capital as a positive capability" (p. 365).

Thus, the relationship between online social capital and museums' offline or physical environment warrants some consideration (Fernández-Hernández et al., 2021). This is elaborated upon in the subsequent sections. Although some scholars have argued that social media and online interaction provide insights to museums on how visitors engage with these attractions (Prior, 2005; Barrett, 2011), Hartley (2017) criticised Bourdieu's social capital theory for not making a distinction between the operation of social space online and offline. In this respect, he highlights the social inequalities with Bourdieu's social capital in the digital space. This is consistent with Daly and Silver (2008) and Qi (2013), who said that the elements of exclusion, distinction, and restriction inherent in social capital and social interactions had been ignored and overlooked.

Yet, online social capital in the context of social media is under-researched in visitor engagement, museum and tourism studies. To date, no study has been

found to have researched the interactions that take place in the digital space in the context of social media and how this may influence visitors to engage with slavery heritage museums or any dark tourism attractions. This study addresses this gap in the literature. For the purposes of this thesis, online social capital is referred to as the interactions and connections that occur in the digital space of social media.

The following subsections explain how the concept of online social capital, namely social media, influences visitor engagement with museums. The first subsection discusses the meaning of social media. The second sub-section explains why social media. The final sub-section discusses social media in relation to visitor engagement with museums.

#### 4.4.4.2 What is Social Media?

Chapter Two of this thesis revealed a shift in museums' practice in reaching, attracting, and engaging audiences with exhibits. In so doing, museums began moving away from only presenting collections within the physical space to incorporating digital spaces such as social media (Booth et al., 2020).

According to Suzić et al (2016), social media originated in the late 1990s when the World Wide Web began to gain broader adoption. They noted that the initial generation of the World Wide Web, known as Web 1.0, had little interaction between users and publishers. This suggests that individuals on the World Wide Web then could not generate and create content but simply read and search existing resources. Transitioning from Web 1.0, Web 2.0 emerged with a range of technologies, such as asynchronous JavaScript, which enabled the social world to interact through the internet. Simply put, Web 1.0 is referred to as the "web-as-information-source". While Web 2.0 is dichotomous and is viewed as the "we-as-participation-platform" (Romolini et al., 2020). In this sense, Web 2.0 is a participative web that facilitates bidirectional communication through interactions, content sharing, and creation (Aghaei et al., 2012). Thus, social media is an extension of Web 2.0 (Beattie, 2011).

Within the extant body of literature, academics have consistently defined social media in relation to engagement with museums. Kaplan and Haenlein (2010, p. 10) define social media as "a group of internet-based applications that build on the ideological and technological foundations of Web 2.0 and that allow the creation and exchange of User-Generated Content". Similarly, Tham et al (2020) describe social media as web-based applications used to disseminate User-Generated Content. Arguably, social media is also defined in the context of communication and interaction. In this sense, social media is seen as a "communication channel between individuals which enables the creation of interactive content on the internet and cooperation and exchange by participants and the public" (Alghizzawi et al., 2018, p. 59). In a similar vein, Suzić et al (2016) and Romolini et al (2020) describe social media as networks for social and professional interaction between users, which helps to develop and enhance their interpersonal connection.

Social media appears in various forms, such as social networks (Facebook), media sharing sites (YouTube; Flickr), blogs or microblogs (Twitter), review sites (Yelp), bookmarking and voting sites (Reddit), forums and virtual worlds (Second life; Lonely Planet Thorn Tree). Within the existing literature, much debate exists around the classification and differentiation of social media sites. There appears to be some disharmony within the literature with regard to the channels that make up the various forms of social media. For instance, Ruggiero et al (2021) view Twitter as a blog, whereas Booth et al (2020) classified Twitter as a social networking site. Özdemir and Çelebi (2017) distinguish between social networks and blogs. They argued that social networks promote recognition, loyalty, buzz, research into visitor preferences, and communicate experiences through visual aids such as photographs. While blogs, on the other hand, are managed by only one person but facilitate interaction with others through the addition of comments. Indeed, not all social media platforms are the same. Instead, they can be distinguished by the social information that is processed on social media channels (Suzić et al., 2016). In this respect, Trottier and Fuchs (2015) identify three categories of social media, including sites that encourage cognition or knowledge (e.g., websites), communication (e.g., emails) and cooperation (e.g., Facebook). Arguably, social media vary based on forms of communication such

as one-to-many, many-to-many and hybrid (Tham et al., 2020). These forms of communication are elaborated upon in the subsequent sections of this chapter.

Furthermore, with regard to the facets of engagement identified in section 4.3 of this chapter, Oeldorf-Hirsch (2018) argued that the cognitive dimension is difficult to measure on social media. Instead, social media focuses on the psychological and behavioural dimensions. She said these manifest when users come across shared stories on Facebook whereby they like, comment and reshare posts. However, evidence within the literature suggests that social media also involves the cognitive dimension (Russo et al., 2009). For instance, users may enter online communities and share knowledge with others, which influences engagement. This is elaborated upon in the subsequent sections. Thus, it can be argued that social media involves all three facets of engagement, including the psychological, behavioural, and cognitive dimensions.

#### 4.4.4.3 Why Social Media?

This thesis has, so far, shown that there is a growing interest among scholars in researching social media and its relationship with museums. A significant body of the literature on social media and engagement with museums has predominantly focused on measuring engagement on social media platforms (Bonsón & Ratkai, 2013; Camarero et al.,2018); understanding museum professionals' perspectives on social media within museums; museums level of participation in social media platforms; and specific geographical regions, namely Europe such as the Prague, Berlin, Latvia, Italy (Lotina, 2014; Lotina & Lepik, 2015; Coman et al., 2020) and North America including the USA.

Despite minor publications that have explored how social media facilitates engagement with museum objects, these studies focused on teenagers' engagement and art and science museums. Therefore, there is a need to evaluate social media in relation to influencing engagement, from the demand side, with museums and within different geographical and cultural venues (Taheri et al., 2019). Thus, this section highlights the reasons for focusing on social media as a factor that influences visitor engagement with museums. As Budge and Burness (2018) state:

"There is much to understand about how visitors engage with museums, and social media provides an expanded terrain in which to explore this concept. This field of research, while under-explored at present, is important to investigate because it connects understandings of interactions and meaning-making that transpires when people interact with museum objects" (p. 139).

Indeed, social media channels influence engagement with museum collections on-site (Kim et al., 2014). Notably, Russo et al (2009, p. 160) write that "social media provide a real possibility to lead audience engagement and interaction with collections by providing the infrastructure and training to enable digitally literate cultural audiences to engage with knowledge in meaningful ways". Additionally, there appears to be consensus in the literature that social media provides many opportunities for museums. For instance, Fernández-Hernández et al (2021, p. 4) note "millions of people attend museums in-person worldwide, whereas other people make virtual visits via websites, social networks, and online communities". While Prett (2012) noted that social media is increasingly important to engage online audiences who may not physically visit museums.

According to Romolini et al (2020), museums use social media to communicate and share information about their exhibitions, projects and activities with audiences. Furthermore, recent literature has highlighted the effects of social media communication on visitors, including providing information to visitors about museums, safe channels to purchase and book visits and helping to disseminate specific information about exhibitions and what may occur during a visit (Alghizzawi et al., 2018). Plausibly, the frequency of communication or posting of information on social media platforms influences engagement. In contrast, Badell (2014) highlights that the frequency of communication or posting of content on social media can negatively impact audiences. In this way, visitors become saturated and indifferent to the content published within social media channels.

Özdemir and Çelebi (2017) point out that communication through social media contributes to visitors' museums' pre, on-site and post-experiences. This is consistent with Paris et al's (2010) view that social media enables information sharing. In this view, Lotina and Lepik (2015) stress that social media facilitates the exchange of ideas, knowledge and experiences, which is used as part of the

democratisation process of museums. In so doing, museums empower and encourage the public's participation in social media platforms (Black, 2018) to share content such as photos, videos and stories (Fletcher & Lee, 2012). In this way, social media provides a more personalised, interactive, immersive and creative form of communication and engagement (Romolini et al., 2020). Within this context, this is viewed as online social capital. That is the interaction and exchange that takes place within social media.

Yet, there appears to be much debate within the extant literature regarding museums' modes of communication. For instance, Russo et al (2009) communication with museums is either one to many (museum to user – web pages and blogs), many to many (knowledge to knowledge – wikis) or hybrid (amazon). In this respect, a number of authors have only concentrated on the unidirectional dimension (Langa, 2014; Ruggiero et al., 2021), bidirectional dimension (Fletcher & Lee, 2012; Dudareva, 2014; Badell, 2015) or hybrid dimension (Lotina & Lepik., 2015; Mangold & Faulds, 2009) which combines both traditional marketing communications and social media.

As discussed in Chapter Two, museums operate in a highly competitive and complex environment. As a result, museums have embraced social media to ensure relevance, diversity and vitality (Kidd, 2011). Arguably, social media provides commercial opportunities for museums. In this sense, social media is used in the marketing, promoting and advertising of museums' exhibitions and events (Kotler et al., 2008). Suzić et al (2016) point out that museums incorporate social media to showcase their branding activity. This, in turn, fosters a recognisable image of museums. However, the presence of museums on social media platforms may not always complement or benefit a museum's brand if it is not appropriately conceptualised and executed (Langa, 2014).

It is also arguable that social media has made museum collections accessible and attractive to wider audiences (Özdemir & Çelebi, 2017), thereby enriching the on-site museum experience. In this context, social media is used to attract and motivate visitors to visit museums (Mancini & Carreras, 2010). Agostino et al (2020, p. 362-363) said, "museums are now using social media to reach a wider

online public, posting virtual tours, interviews with their directors and descriptions of artwork, as well as setting quizzes and running treasure hunts", particularly as a result of the COVID-19 pandemic. While Dudareva (2014) stresses that social media helps strengthen relationships with existing museum audiences and develop ones with those who are not active in visiting museums.

Moreover, social media within museums encourages learning and collaboration (Oeldorf-Hirsch, 2018). For instance, when museums reach wider audiences, they "create awareness, increase participation, inspire potential museum visitors and establish rules in general" (Özdemir & Çelebi, 2017, p. 116). In this regard, museums use social media to engage visitors through dialogue via information exchange and participation in cultural debates. In this sense, social media is used to integrate visitors into the democratisation process of museums. Thus, social media provides museums with real spaces to co-create and co-curate exhibitions and activities with audiences.

Studies have repeatedly shown that social media provides a valuable source of information for museums that are used for research purposes (Gerrard et al., 2017), such as evaluating the impact of their events and exhibitions (Tasich & Villaespesa, 2013). In this respect, social media within museums enables knowledge sharing and exchange (Harrigan et al., 2017). Wong (2011) said social media is an open space to solicit visitor feedback. He contends that museums can use such information to manage collections, increase access and represent such institutions as dynamic and relevant resources. Indeed, "understanding visitor engagement can fundamentally inform all aspects of design and planning, including digital strategy, and therefore enhance the ongoing dialogue between objects and people" (Budge & Burness, p. 105). Yet, there is much debate around the ethical use of visitors' voices, that is, their interactions and experiences shared online in the designing and development of exhibitions (Kidd, 2011). Hence, the extent to which museums use visitors' experiences generated online warrants some consideration, including the disclosure of data collected (Wong, 2011). This is elaborated upon in the subsequent section.

Despite the significant number of benefits social media offers museums, Russo and Peacock (2009) found that museums exhibit low activity levels in social media channels. In addition, some scholars have documented various reasons museums may be reluctant to engage with social media. These include time, commitment, trustworthiness, perceived usefulness, the credibility of platforms, knowledge of using social media and usage of social media by audiences (Rauniar et al., 2014; Portwood-Stacer, 2013; Tasich & Villaespesa, 2013; Lotina, 2014; Lotina & Lepik, 2015). Debatably, Waters et al (2009) argue that communication through social media could be ineffective, which results in loss of time and financial loss for museums if not appropriately managed. In contrast, Ruggiero et al (2021) found social media to be cost-effective. In this view, they argued that social media offers museums five essential benefits. These include (1) cost – there are no fees involved in joining and maintaining most sites; (2) access - increased access to a global audience; (3) reach - expand communication efforts to new audiences and increase engagement with audiences; (4) speed – messages can be sent and received instantly; and (5) engagement – participation between museums and its public.

Nevertheless, the abundance of opportunities social media provides museums and the increased interest by scholars demonstrates the need for further exploration of social media as it relates to influencing visitor engagement with museums, particularly slavery heritage museums. The following section explains the concept of social media in relation to visitor engagement with museums.

### 4.4.4.4 Social Media and Visitor Engagement with Museums

The previous section revealed that museum professionals and visitors engage with social media in various ways, which in turn influences their engagement with exhibitions on-site. This section explores social media as it relates to influencing visitor engagement with museums.

Disputably, a visitor's first encounter with museums occurs through social media (Easson & Leask, 2020). This accords well with Liu et al. 's (2013) work, which found that visitors use social media in the pre-visitation stage to solicit information from museums. Several authors have documented that publicising information,

such as announcing news and introducing new artefacts and exhibitions on social media, helps build awareness and increase visitation, both new and repeat visitors (Zhang et al., 2018; Tham et al., 2020). Contestably, the communication, promotion, and marketing of museums through social media channels motivates and increases repeat visitation and encourages cultural knowledge acquisition (Zollo et al., 2021; Antón et al., 2018). For instance, Özdemir and Çelebi (2017) point out that museum attendees visit museums' official websites to compare exhibitions and learn about the history of collections. They argued that this inspires visitors to engage with artefacts within physical museum spaces while acting as a "bridge to connect between their pre and post-visit activities in learning about the museum and its collections" (p. 104-105). In this sense, they argue that museums' posting of projects and research on social media platforms allows visitors to simultaneously acquire knowledge about museum collections.

Similarly, Marty (2007) surveyed over 1,200 visitors to nine online museums. The findings from the study provided insights into the use of museum websites in the pre and post-visitation stages. They found that museum websites influence visitor engagement with physical museum objects. Meanwhile, Agostino et al (2020) examined museums' strategies during the COVID-19 pandemic lockdown. They found that museums embraced social media to spread information, share collections, conduct interviews, and stream live events during this period. In this sense, they argued that social media channels complement on-site visits that are upcoming or have previously taken place. Thus, it is argued that social media promotes the acquisition of knowledge and evokes awareness about museums and their exhibitions and events (Ruggiero et al., 2021).

There appears to be some disharmony within the extant literature with regard to the acquisition of knowledge through social media. Whilst some academics argue that knowledge is acquired through social media (Oeldorf-Hirsch, 2018; Yadamsuren & Erdelez, 2010), other authors have countered this by stating that knowledge is not always gained through engagement with social media content (Bode, 2016; Gil de Zúñiga et al., 2017). Instead, knowledge can be acquired through both online and offline settings, as described in the previous sections, including cultural capital. Yet, the literature regarding a visitor's level of cultural

capital and social media influence is not clear. For instance, Kelly (2008) argues that visitors with a high level of cultural capital are most familiar with the use of social media. In contrast, Lee et al (2011) argue that museum attendees without a strong cultural capital rely on shared experiences to make decisions due to time constraints, hesitancy in making decisions and perceived tasks.

The relationship between social media and learning is undeniable (Isacsson & Gretzel, 2011; Spiliopoulou et al., 2017). In this respect, Green and Hannon (2007) identified four components of learning, including finding information and knowledge, doing something with it, sharing it with an audience and reflecting on it. Within the context of social media, Russo et al (2009) stress that information and knowledge are two different things. In this regard, they argue that for information to be transformed into knowledge, it requires social interaction. In view of this, they contend that social media has broadened the scope of learning where visitors are seeking and sharing knowledge. Russo et al (2006) provided a strategic model for developing social media experiences that facilitate engagement with the physical museum space. They argue that a visitors' participation in cultural learning through rapid publication (how visitors respond to events and issues published by museums); personalisation (tagging of content such as photographs); content sharing (sharing and discussing experiences); content creation (the ability to develop new content related to museum collections) influences new and repeat audiences' engagement with museums. This suggests that museums provide incentives to encourage cultural participation by encouraging knowledge sharing, voice, education and acknowledgement. By the same token, Prett (2012) identifies five key categories of online interaction, including accessibility, learning, experience, sharing and creating.

There appears to be some debate around the involvement of visitors and museums on social media. A number of authors have argued that engagement in the context of social media could be either active or passive (Fletcher & Lee., 2012; Jancovich, 2015; Oeldorf-Hirsch, 2018). For instance, Romolini et al (2020) said passive visitors only browse social media for information with regard to the onsite museum experience without contributing or sharing feelings with other

visitors online. Conversely, active visitors participate in social media by creating content and messages, disseminating information, commenting and resharing stories (Martínez-Sanz & Berrocal-Gonzalo, 2017). Barthel and Shearer (2015) argue that passive involvement in social media influences engagement rather than an active process. In contrast, Holt et al (2013) and Kushin and Yamamoto (2010) said that active participation on social media influences engagement with museums. In light of this, Oeldorf-Hirsch and Sundar (2015) posit that irrespective of a visitor's involvement with social media, whether passive or active, influences their engagement with museums.

There is evidence within the extant literature that shows prior knowledge is fundamentally tied to social media. Within this context, sharing past experiences and cultural knowledge on social media channels influences engagement with museums (Book et al., 2018; Wu & Pearce, 2014; Osei et al., 2018). Several publications within tourism studies have researched the role of social media in influencing destination choices and can be applied to museums (Bakr & Ali, 2013). As mentioned in Chapters Two and Three and in the previous sections of this chapter, some visitors have past experiences or pre-existing relationships with destinations, or in this case, museums (Kang & Namkung, 2016). As discussed before, social media is used in the pre, during and post-visitation stages (Tham et al., 2020). Understandably, social media is used as an archive or repository of tourism experiences. To this end, visitors may engage with social media in the post-visitation stage to reflect and share their experiences through photographs and stories (Fakharyan et al., 2012).

Arguably, sharing experiences online determines museums' reputation and the decision to visit and engage with museums (Ferguson et al., 2015; Bouzas et al., 2018). For instance, visitors with a satisfactory museum experience tend to share positive experiences online. Whereas a visitor with an unsatisfactory museum experience usually shares negative reviews online (Xiang et al., 2017). Thus, in this sense, it can be argued that the decision to share past experiences in the digital space depends on the satisfaction a visitor has with a museum experience (Rodríguez-Díaz et al., 2018). In this way, sharing experiences and cultural

knowledge is seen as loyalty and education, attracting new audiences and, therefore, engagement (Bonet & Negrier, 2019).

Moreover, the literature review has repeatedly shown that social media motivates and increases visitation to physical museum spaces (Badell, 2015; Ruggiero et al., 2021). Several authors have found that visitors use social media to plan museum visits (Budge, 2017; De Mendívil, 2018; Fernández-Hernández et al., 2021). These studies revealed that social media plays a crucial role in the decision-making process of visiting and engaging with museums. In this regard, sharing experiences helps visitors justify, validate, and reduce post-purchase dissonance in their choice of museums and what exhibitions to engage with (Tussyadiahet al., 2018; Tham et al., 2020). Simply put, social media is used in the decision-making process to visit museums.

Undeniably, sharing experiences on social media platforms forms a critical part of engagement with museums. Evidently, the literature has been consistent regarding the interactions and exchanges that occur within the digital space of social media in enabling visitors to participate in the democratisation process of museums (Gronemann et al., 2015; Hartley, 2017). In other words, visitors' voices become part of the co-creation and co-curation process of museum exhibits through interactions and relationships online, for instance, sharing experiences and knowledge and scrutinizing exhibitions developed by museum professionals and curators (Badell, 2015). Kidd (2011) writes:

"Story-making initiatives have existed in more static forms online for some time and involve asking members of the public to offer representations of themselves, their communities, and their multiple heritages using information technology as a filter. Such projects collect a wealth of information (or "content") in the form of autobiography, video, digital stories and other personal "artefacts" that constitute a yet to be explored value in terms of source materials" (p. 71).

Indeed, it is "where audiences can actively engage in a process of meaning construction and self-identification" (Stylianou-Lambert, 2010, p. 137). In this sense, museum attendees' cultural capital (tastes and interests) becomes a critical element in developing and designing museum exhibits, ensuring visitor

loyalty, satisfaction, and engagement (Jancovich, 2015). Yet, there appears to be much debate around the ethical practices of museums and the use of data produced by visitors on social media through interactions, connections and sharing of experiences. The extent to which museums ascribe value to comments made by visitors on social media is unknown (Kidd, 2011). Zhou and Wang (2014) credit social media for its transparency, arguing that the transparency of social media enhances the cultural knowledge of visitors before a museum visit, thereby reducing risks. Wong (2011), on the other hand, raises the issue of ethics around transparency, censorship, respect for communities and privacy on social media. He questions free speech and the deleting of comments from Holocaust Museum social media sites. He proffers that such acts could be interpreted as placating and denying the atrocities of these historical events. He further questions the archiving of comments by museums if they are deleting them from the digital space. Thus, in this way, he argues that museums are ethically obligated to fully disclose such information to users and researchers by indicating what the data collected is being used for and making it searchable.

Moreover, questions surround the quality, reliability and credibility of online content or stories (O'Connor, 2008; Fernández-Hernández et al., 2021). This brings to the fore the ethical dilemmas and behaviours that exist within the digital space of social media (Wright & Hinson, 2008; Gerrard et al., 2017).

#### Boyd (2007) writes:

"When people speak online, their words are not ephemeral. Search engines make text, media, and people findable at the flick of a few keys. Hearsay is one thing, but online, you often cannot distinguish the original from the duplicate; likewise, it is difficult to tell if the author is really the author. Finally, aside from the people who sneak around your back and hide behind trees whenever you turn around, most people have a sense of who can hear or see them when they navigate everyday life; online, no one knows when a dog might be looking. These properties collapse social contexts and change the rules about how people can and do behave" (p. 100).

Within this context, Kidd (2011) stresses that the norms and forms of etiquette practised within the digital space of social media warrant some consideration.

Boyd (2006) contends that the interactions between online and physical environments are different. He argues that the laws governing the interactions within both settings must be revised, modified, and reworked. As a result, it is arguable that when norms and forms of etiquette are not known in the digital environment, visitors initiate their own code of ethics and modify their behaviour based on the environment (Donath, 1999). For instance, Wong (2011, p. 105) writes: "viewers of their own accord often counter loathsome comments with reference to historical evidence although, unfortunately, these responses sometimes devolve into name-calling and ranting". In this context, he found that museums not only delete comments because of historical denial but also because of derogatory language and abuse exhibited online. Instead, visitors themselves delete their comments. They are reluctant to share their experiences because they want to prevent the spread of misinformation, hate, attacks, and inanity regarding sensitive topics such as racism, slavery, and the Holocaust.

Furthermore, whilst there is extensive research that shows social media influences engagement with museums (Ruggiero et al., 2021; Leung et al., 2019), a number of authors have argued that social media does not significantly influence engagement (Davies & Cairncross, 2013; Dickinger & Mazanec, 2015; Mehraliyev et al., 2019). Arguably, social media influence varies (Marder et al., 2019). In this regard, Tham et al (2020) explored social media's influence on destination choice, which can be applied in the context of museums. Their study revealed social media influence to be low to moderate. As a result, they proposed three dimensions that help to illuminate why social media influence may vary. These include the level of social media engagement, novelty/familiarity, and planning complexity. They found that social media is influential when the three dimensions co-exist. They argued that social media is likely influential when the museum, exhibition or experience is novel for the visitor when making complex decisions. In other words, social media becomes influential when there is a high level of social media engagement, unfamiliarity, and an intense level of planning. By contrast, social media is not influential when there is less planning and familiarity. Thus, the role of social media, in this case, becomes constrained (Lee et al., 2018).

Nevertheless, the author of this thesis argues that it is evident throughout the extensive body of literature that prior knowledge, multiple motivations, and cultural capital not only produce themselves in offline settings but also within the online context of social media through the interactions and connections a visitor has in the digital space. Therefore, it is difficult, if not possible, to separate cultural capital, prior knowledge, and multiple motivations from social capital in both the offline and online contexts of social media. Yet, no study to date has been found to have attempted to research all three factors, including prior knowledge (sharing of experiences), multiple motivations (planning visits and decision-making) and cultural capital (accumulation of knowledge and taste) in the digital context of online social capital, particularly social media. Thus, this thesis is particularly interested in exploring social capital in both offline and online contexts of social media in relation to visitor engagement with UK slavery heritage museums. The author of this thesis argues that social capital, in both the offline and the online context of social media, is unexplored in visitor engagement with museum research and is more defensible.

# **Chapter Summary**

This chapter critically reviewed literature and developments made in researching visitor engagement with museums. As shown throughout this chapter, a considerable number of authors have quantitatively measured visitor engagement with museums, such as the length of time visitors spend at exhibits. In addition, these studies mainly focused on art museums and galleries. Emerging from these studies, the chapter reveals that prior knowledge, multiple motivations, and cultural capital are well established within the extant body of literature to have influence visitor engagement with museums. The chapter demonstrated that scholars have overlooked social capital as a factor in researching the factors that influence visitor engagement with museums. Recently, there appears to be a growing interest amongst scholars in researching social media as it relates to visitor engagement with museums (e.g., sharing of experiences, planning and decision-making, and accumulation of knowledge). That is, in this sense, as discussed in this chapter, online social capital.

This chapter has shown that prior knowledge, multiple motivations, and cultural capital manifest within the digital space of social media. Yet, no study to date has attempted to research prior knowledge, multiple motivations and cultural capital in a digital context, or in this case, social media. The chapter brings into perspective some noticeable gaps that exist within the extant body of literature. For instance, there is a need for research into visitor engagement with different cultural venues, particularly attractions that present dark and difficult heritage, such as slavery heritage museums. In addition, no study to date has been found to have researched all four factors in influencing visitor engagement with museums. Thus, there is a need to research all four factors, including prior knowledge, multiple motivations, cultural capital and social capital, both offline and in the online context of social media. Table 7 provides a description and summary of these factors.

Therefore, qualitatively, this study critically evaluates the factors that influence visitor engagement with UK slavery heritage museums, namely prior knowledge, multiple motivations, cultural capital and social capital in both the offline and online context of social media. A greater understanding of these factors will be useful to museum managers, curators, and decision-makers in better managing visitor engagement with these attractions.







Source: Adopted and modified from Taheri et al (2014, p. 322)

### **Literature Review Summary**

This section summarises the literature review to develop this study's theoretical framework. As highlighted in Chapter Two, there is a growing interest amongst scholars in researching dark and difficult heritage in museums, particularly slavery heritage. Additionally, Chapter Two revealed that museums operate in a complex and competitive environment. As such, some museums have sought to incorporate social media to reach, attract and engage audiences to ensure their relevance and validity.

In Chapter Three, a review of the developments made in dark tourism research revealed that slavery heritage tourism is gaining traction in research and the interests of scholars. While the extant body of literature in slavery heritage tourism research is mainly supply-driven and has focused on the management, marketing and interpretation of slavery heritage for visitor consumption (Beech, 2001; Best, 2017; Burnham, 2019; Butler, 2001; Essah, 2001; Forsdick, 2014; Goings, 2001; McKay, 2020; Seaton, 2001), there are minor publications that have explored the demand side and have researched on visitor motivations and experiences (Mensah, 2015; Nelson, 2020a; Boateng et al., 2018; Yankholmes, 2015b; Yankholmes & Timothy, 2017; Higginbotham, 2012). Yet, the factors that influence visitors to engage with slavery heritage attractions are unknown and remain unexplored. Therefore, there is a need for further theoretical and empirical studies in slavery heritage tourism research from the demand side perspective. This study addresses these gaps in knowledge.

## **Key Gaps in the Literature**

The literature review in Chapters Two, Three and Four has brought into perspective key gaps relating to slavery heritage tourism and visitor engagement with museums. Whilst there have been theoretical and empirical contributions in measuring and capturing engagement with museums, visitor engagement with museums is still under-researched. Thus, research is needed to qualitatively explore the factors that influence visitors to engage with museums. The literature review also revealed that the publications are replete in researching engagement with art museums and galleries. Therefore, there is a need to explore visitor engagement with different types of museums, such as slavery heritage museums.

The literature review highlights three fundamental tenets that underlie the significance of this study and why it is essential. They are as follows:

- 1. A considerable amount of literature in slavery heritage tourism research is mainly supply-driven. These studies focused on managing, marketing, and interpreting slavery heritage for tourism consumption (see Beech, 2001; Burnham, 2019). However, the demand side in slavery heritage tourism studies is under-researched. Publications that focused on the demand side have researched visitor motivations and experiences at slavery heritage attractions (see Yankholmes, 2015b; Nelson, 2020a). Yet, to date, no study has been found to have researched the factors that influence visitors to engage with slavery heritage attractions, in particular museums. Thus, the factors that influence visitors to engage with slavery heritage museums are unknown.
- 2. Academics in visitor engagement with museums research have overlooked social capital as a factor that influences visitor engagement with museums (see Taheri et al., 2014; Bryce et al., 2014; Loureiro & Ferreira, 2018). Previous studies have, so far, shown that prior knowledge, multiple motivations, and cultural capital influence visitor engagement with museums. However, these studies focused on art museums, capturing and measuring engagement with museum exhibits and having a

unidimensional engagement perspective. As shown throughout the literature review, researchers have shown an increased interest in researching social media within the context of museums to enhance visitor engagement. Whilst there is evidence that social media influences visitors to engage with museums, these studies have focused on what influences visitors' engagement online and how social media influences learning during visits to art museums. Interestingly, there is evidence within the literature that shows prior knowledge (sharing of experiences), multiple motivations (planning and decision-making) and cultural capital (accumulation of knowledge and taste) are interrelated and manifest through online social capital in the context of social media. This, therefore, brings two key gaps into focus. First, as it relates to slavery heritage tourism visitation, no study has been found to have researched prior knowledge, multiple motivations, and cultural capital in the digital context of online social capital, particularly social media. Second, social capital, offline and online, as a factor that influences visitor engagement with museums have been overlooked by scholars in researching the factors that influence visitor engagement with museums. Thus, there is a need for further theoretical and empirical evidence that explores social capital as a factor that influences visitor engagement with museums and how online interactions influence offline settings and vice versa.

3. Whilst there is evidence that studies have researched engagement in the pre and on-site visitation stages, no study has been found to have researched visitor engagement with museums throughout all three stages of a museum visit, including pre, on-site and post-visitation in the context of online social capital through social media (see Taheri et al., 2014; Arnould et al., 2004; Kempiak et al., 2017). Therefore, online social capital through social media engagement is critical to visitor engagement with museums and requires further exploration.

### **Theoretical Framework**

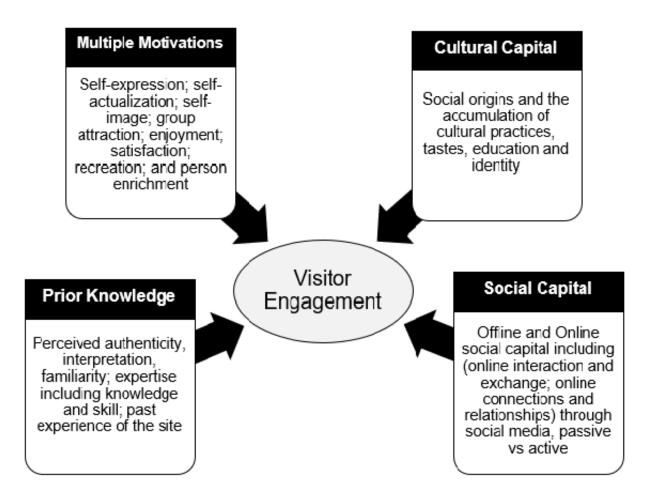
Studies have repeatedly shown that prior knowledge, multiple motivations and cultural capital influence visitor engagement with museums. However, a considerable number of these studies captured and measured engagement, including the length of time visitors spent at exhibits in art museums and galleries, and had little to say qualitatively about the factors that influence visitor engagement with museums. Thus, there is a need for qualitative theoretical and empirical contributions in this area. Furthermore, the changes and demands in society brought on by globalisation and the internet are inevitable. Thus, the way in which museums and visitors interact has been altered. Therefore, in a postmodern cultural climate, museums have embraced new ways to reach, attract and engage audiences in the context of social media (Ayala et al., 2020). This has attracted the attention of some scholars who have researched how museums use social media and how visitors use social media to engage with these institutions. These studies revealed that social media acts as a repository of experiences that can influence visitor engagement with museums during the pre, on-site and post-visitation stages.

Furthermore, visitor interactions on social media also form part of museums' democratisation process. In so doing, the relationship museums have with visitors online becomes part of the co-creation and co-curation of museum exhibits. Yet, only a few authors to date have researched how social media influences engagement with museums. However, these studies focused on learning and art museums. Thus, there is a need to explore social capital further in the context of social media as a factor that influences engagement with museums within different HVAs, particularly dark tourism attractions such as UK slavery heritage museums.

Figure 15 presents the theoretical framework for this study to determine the factors that influence visitor engagement with UK slavery heritage museums. Interestingly, the literature review has shown that the emerging concept of online social capital through social media is interrelated with prior knowledge (sharing of experiences), multiple motivations (planning visits and decision-making) and cultural capital (accumulation of knowledge and taste). Therefore, it is difficult to

treat or separate prior knowledge, multiple motivations and cultural capital from online social capital through social media. In other words, prior knowledge, multiple motivations and cultural capital can also manifest through online social capital in the context of social media. Thus, social capital, in both the offline and online context of social media, is of particular interest to this research, as well as the way in which they influence visitor engagement with museums. Yet, no study to date has been found to have researched all four factors, including prior knowledge, multiple motivations, cultural capital, and social capital, in both the offline and the online context of social media.

Figure 15: Theoretical Framework – Factors that Influence Visitor Engagement with Museums



Source: Author's own

# **Chapter 5: Research Methodology**

### Introduction

As elucidated earlier in this thesis, engagement is defined as the interaction, involvement, and commitment a visitor has both with the physical museum and the online context of social media. Drawing on the theoretical framework developed from the three previous chapters, this chapter explains and justifies the research methodology employed to achieve the aim and objectives of this study.

This chapter is important because it informs the researcher which research design is appropriate for gathering and analysing data. This is to ensure that the findings from this research are valid, reliable, and credible to address the aim and objectives of this study. The chapter explains and justifies the research philosophy, research type, research strategy, sampling strategy, data collection methods, data analysis technique, ethics, and limitations of this study and is presented in this chronological order. It is important to note that a blended passive symbolic netnographic research strategy was employed in this study, combining online semi-structured interviews with content analysis of TripAdvisor reviews.

# 5.1 Philosophical Perspectives

This section explains the philosophical perspectives applied to this study. It provides a discussion of the researcher's beliefs and assumptions about the development of knowledge. These include ontological and epistemological assumptions. Ontological assumptions are concerned with the nature of reality (Saunders et al., 2019), while epistemological assumptions refer to knowledge, including what is permissible knowledge and how knowledge is communicated (Burrell & Morgan, 2016). This section is important to this study as it determines the methods used to collect and interpret data (Crotty, 1998).

Such ontological and epistemological philosophical assumptions can be distinguished by the researcher's view of reality. These include objectivism and

subjectivism. Ontologically, objectivists embrace realism and view reality as independent of visitors' and researchers' knowledge. They assume there is only one actual social reality. Epistemologically, objectivists "seek to discover the truth about the social world, through observable and measurable facts, from which law-like generalizations can be drawn about social reality" (Saunders et al., 2019, p. 136) and are value-free, whereby they detach their values and beliefs from the research process.

Conversely, subjectivists integrate the perceptions and actions of social actors to understand social reality (Hall, 1980). In other words, subjectivists argue that reality does not exist independently of visitors' experiences and perceptions. Ontologically, subjectivists view reality as created through visitors' language, perceptions, and actions and that multiple realities exist (Burrell & Morgan, 2016). Contrasted to objectivists, who seek to establish facts that underpin reality (Johnson, 1995), subjectivists are epistemologically interested in exploring and understanding the culture, habits, opinions, narratives, and social constructs that shape these multiple realities (Lee, 2012). Thus, subjectivism emphasizes that reality is socially constructed in which visitors create shared meanings and realities (Johnson et al., 1984). Research that adapts subjectivism is value-bound and seeks to incorporate reflexivity.

Pernecky (2012) highlights the inconsistencies and differences between social constructionism and constructionism in tourism research. He observed that academics in tourism research often conflate and use social constructionism and constructionism terminologies interchangeably. Despite this, there appears to be consensus within the extant body of literature regarding the distinction between social constructionism and constructionism. Burr (2015) distinguishes between social constructionism and constructionism. She asserts that the former views reality as socially constructed through social structures and interactions. In contrast, the latter focuses on the visitor determining the construction process. This is consistent with Crotty (1998), who notes that meaning is psychologically created in constructionism. While in social constructionism, those meanings are transmitted socially.

Within the context of tourism research, reality is shaped and socially constructed through engagement with society or the world. Pernecky (2012) contends that tourism would not exist without the meaningful construction and transmission of meanings that are inherited and shared through activities such as traditions, languages, and symbols. Indeed, as previously demonstrated throughout the literature review - museums, exhibits, and other forms of attractions and destinations constitute tourism and are inextricably linked to identity, meaning, and engagement. As explained in Chapter Four, such knowledge and meanings are passed on through cultural capital and social relationships and interactions. Thus, tourism in this context is negotiated and renegotiated based on social and cultural attributes (Pritchard & Morgan, 2000). To this end, Jaworski and Pritchard (2005) said there is an increasing need to understand the construction of meanings and visitor experiences.

Butowski et al (2021) said that reality and knowledge are socially constructed rather than discovered. Likewise, Pernecky (2012) maintains that reality and meanings are created and shared by visitors. Slater (2017) outlines three fundamental tenets in which reality is subjective and socially constructed. These include: 1. subjective experiences and reality are inherently linked; 2. subjective experiences are influenced by social forces; and 3. visitor engagement is shaped, directed, and influenced through social construction.

Bourdieu (1984) explains that social capital "acts as an intermediary where visitors must possess friendships, connections and social networks in order to convert their capitals". In other words, social capital and visitor engagement with museums are dependent on and understood through the exchange of communication and symbols (Polk, 2018). Therefore, it can be argued that engagement is a recurring pattern that derives from joint or collective social interactions and actions. Mead (1934, p. 256) writes:

<sup>&</sup>quot;... the attitude of one visitor in the group, must take it in its relationship to the action of the other members of the group; and if they are to fully adjust themself, they would have to take the attitudes of all involved in the process" (modified).

#### He further states:

"...one is influenced by the attitudes of those about him, which are reflected back into the different members of the audience so that they come to respond as a whole... one communicates to the other an attitude which the other assumes towards a certain part of the environment that it is of importance to them both" (p. 256).

Blumer (1986) explains that visitors act towards each other because they possess some understanding of how they and other visitors will engage with museums. Thus, as explained throughout the literature review, it can be argued that visitors share some common and predetermined meanings of how they would engage with museums. Therefore, meanings and reality are "created, negotiated, sustained and modified" (Andrews, 2012, p. 40) through a dual process that visitors "create and enact together" (Burr, 2015, p.12).

For Burr (2015), visitors construct knowledge and reality through social interactions, which in turn influences their engagement with UK slavery heritage museums. From a psychological perspective, Mead (1934) contends that social interaction influences the mind and how it processes and reflects those encounters, which ultimately gives rise to how visitors engage with museums. Within this context, Schwandt (2003) said knowledge and truth are socially constructed instead of the mind. Thus, social interactions are essential to the subjective and multiple realities that visitors socially construct with others. Notably, Berger and Luckman (1966, p. 37) write:

"I cannot exist in everyday life without continually interacting and communicating with others. I know that my natural attitude to this world corresponds to the natural attitude of others, that they also comprehend the objectifications by which this world is ordered, that they also organize this world around the "here and now" of their being in it and have projects for working in it".

Furthermore, as explained throughout the literature review, the way in which museums and visitors interact is perpetually altered due to the changes and demands in society brought on by globalization and the internet. In this respect, Slater (2017) notes that reality can change. This is because reality is socially constructed in the pre, during, and post-visitation stages of a museum visit in both

offline and online settings. For instance, through the sharing of experiences on social media platforms such as TripAdvisor. Such sharing of experiences results in knowledge accumulation that influences visitors' decision-making process and motivation to visit museums and, therefore, engagement. Thus, reality is not independent of one visitor's reality (Slater, 2017).

Undoubtedly, the way in which a visitor engages with a museum or in any social setting, whether offline or online, is "inseparable from the ways they see and understand reality" (Slater, 2017, p.4). Burr (2015, p. 9) writes:

"... as a culture or society, visitors construct their own versions of reality between them and others... there can be no such thing as an objective fact. All knowledge is derived from looking at the world from some perspective or other and is in the service of some interests rather than others" (modified).

Wight (2009) affirms that visitors engage with museums based on their subjective interpretations of exhibits instead of what may be considered objective truth. Szklarska (2017) said that reality is based on the interpretations of visitors' narrations and their experiences of museums and society and is therefore considered to be true. In this sense, truth is a personal construct in which visitors create themselves and may be negotiated and renegotiated. This is supported by Grobler (2006, p. 274-275), who states that "the true is not that which is true, but rather that which is seen as true according to the norms of the given culture" and that "science does not discover facts but constructs them; nor does it investigate the reality, but creates it".

Berger and Luckman (1966) argue that the processes by which visitors subjectively construct meanings give rise to reality. For them, each visitor has a distinct and unique experience with museums. In this sense, they said visitors engage with museum objects differently depending on the meaning and interpretation that visitors assign to them. Similarly, Burr (2015) highlights the peculiarity of how visitors construe their world. Kelly (1955) maintains that visitors engage with museums based on their idiosyncrasies and are influenced by their social interaction with others. Therefore, visitors make subjective interpretations

of museum objects and how to engage with them. This has been extensively discussed throughout the literature review.

It is evident from the literature review and discussion presented in this section that visitor engagement with museums is subjective in nature and is shaped by multiple realities. Ontologically, the researcher maintains that reality is subjectively shaped by multiple realities that are socially constructed by various social forces and structures in society. This is because meaning is created and shared through interactions and the interpretations visitors have of museums and their objects (Polk, 2018). While epistemologically, the researcher maintains that the subjective realities that visitors socially construct are critical to this research in understanding the factors that influence visitor engagement with UK slavery heritage museums.

### 5.1.1 Theoretical Perspective – Interpretivism

The previous section explained the philosophical perspectives that underpin this study. It revealed that reality and visitor engagement with museums are subjective and shaped by multiple realities that are socially constructed by various social forces and structures. With this in mind, this section discusses the research paradigm that supports subjectivist views and provides a framework for developing theory and knowledge. This section is important to this study because it helps determine the methodological research design that is most appropriate for this study. There are five major philosophical paradigms, including positivism, critical realism, postmodernism, pragmatism, and interpretivism (Saunders et al., 2019).

Positivism is concerned with "an observable social reality to produce law-like generalizations" (Saunders et al., 2019, p. 14). It informs quantitative methodologies where existing theory is used to develop and test hypotheses (Crotty, 1998). Positivists view reality as independent of the world and are mainly objectivist (Gill & Johnson, 2010). Similarly, critical realism guides mixed methodologies and emphasises that reality is objective and independent of visitors' experiences, perceptions, and interpretations and is objective (Slater, 2017). Additionally, pragmatists incorporate both objectivism and subjectivism

philosophies by including theories and hypotheses to determine facts, values, and knowledge. Pragmatists focus on problems and finding solutions to those problems (Kelemen & Rumens, 2008). Pragmatism is a type of action research that uses quantitative and qualitative methods to gather data. Therefore, positivism, critical realism, and pragmatism are not suitable for this subjective value-bound research because they are associated with an objectivist philosophy.

Moreover, postmodernism guides qualitative research and emphasizes the "role of language and of power relations, seeking to question accepted ways of thinking and give voice to alternative marginalized views" (Saunders et al., 2019, p. 149). Thus, postmodernists challenge the ways in which knowledge is created and assume that knowledge and truth are determined by ideologies (Seidman, 1994). They concentrate on the voices and views in society that are oppressed and silenced (Collins, 1999). Therefore, postmodernism is not appropriate for this study because the researchers' role is not to advocate but rather to critically evaluate the factors that influence visitor engagement with UK slavery heritage museums.

However, Saunders et al (2019) suggest that interpretivism is most appropriate for this reflexive and value-bound research. This is because interpretivism emphasizes that multiple meanings, interpretations, and realities exist and are socially constructed (Potrac et al., 2014). Interpretivists focus on the beliefs, values, perceptions, interpretations, and meanings constructed by visitors to gain an understanding of the world and reality (Irshaidat, 2022). Therefore, interpretivism is informed explicitly by a subjectivist philosophy whereby visitors create, share and modify meanings and reality based on lived experiences (Wignall, 1998). This has been extensively discussed in the previous section, the literature review, and the theoretical framework of this study.

The following section explains the methodological research design that underpins this study.

## 5.2 Qualitative Methodological Framework

This section explains the methodological research design employed in this interpretive study. This section is important to this study because it helps to determine the research strategy and methods to achieve the aim and objectives of this study.

Saunders et al (2019) identified three main approaches to theory development. These include deduction, induction, and abduction. Deduction is associated with positivism and is used to develop and test research hypotheses(Ormston et al., 2014). Induction is rooted in interpretivism (Okoli, 2023). It involves the exploration of a phenomenon in which themes and patterns are identified to develop theory through data analysis (Kennedy & Thornberg, 2018). Abduction is linked to postmodernism (Moxley, 2002), pragmatism, and critical realism philosophies (Baert & Turner., 2004). It is used to explore a phenomenon whereby themes are identified and explained to either develop new or build or change current theories that may be tested later on through additional data collection (Kennedy & Thornberg, 2018).

From the discussion above, an inductive approach aligns with this value-bound and interpretive research. This is because induction emphasizes the multiple subjective realities and meanings that visitors create and is guided by interpretivism. In addition, induction is suitable for theory development because this study builds or contributes new theoretical knowledge towards understanding visitor engagement with museums, particularly with UK slavery heritage museums. In other words, at the time of this research, the researcher was not aware of any studies that have researched the factors that influence visitor engagement with UK slavery heritage museums. Thus, this study fills this gap in the literature.

Saunders et al (2019) identified three types of methodological approaches a study might adopt. These include qualitative, quantitative, and mixed research designs. Quantitative methodology is linked to positivism, realism, and pragmatism philosophies (Al-Ababneh, 2020). In addition, it is associated with a deductive approach to developing and testing theories and hypotheses (Walsh et

al., 2015). Quantitative research involves the examination of relationships and variables that are measured using numerical data and analysed using various statistical and graphical procedures (Phakiti, 2015).

Moreover, in qualitative research, meanings and interpretations are derived only through non-numerical data such as tests, words, and images (Khaldi, 2017). An inductive approach to theory development is used in qualitative research and is associated with an interpretive philosophy (Denzin & Lincoln, 2018). This is because qualitative methodologies study the subjective realities and meanings that are socially constructed through engagement and interaction with society and others (Queirós et al., 2017).

Choy (2014) said that qualitative research explores homogeneous views, raises more issues through broad and open-ended inquiry, and understands behaviours of values, beliefs, and assumptions. This is supported by Kozinets (2020), who maintains that qualitative research can provide insights into visitors' values, beliefs, perceptions, and experiences. From this viewpoint, Wight (2020) affirms that it is useful in exploring visitor motivations and experiences. Moreover, Guest et al (2014) said qualitative research is a naturalistic and interactive approach that makes sense of visitors' experiences in a natural setting. Additionally, qualitative research is a transparent method of inquiry that is easily understood by anyone (Crescentini & Mainardi, 2009).

Conversely, mixed methods use both qualitative and quantitative data collection procedures (Molina-Azorin et al., 2017). Mixed methods unite objectivism and subjectivism philosophies (Fulton et al., 2023) and align with the views of pragmatists and critical realists (Hall, 2013). In mixed methods, theory is developed through an abductive approach by adapting both induction and deduction techniques (Mitchell, 2018).

Within the region of dark tourism research, Wight (2006) found that a qualitative approach is dominant in the field. Likewise, Light (2017) maintains that quantitative methods are not common in dark tourism studies. These findings are consistent in slavery heritage tourism research. Although there is a reasonable

amount of qualitative studies in slavery heritage tourism research and very little quantitative and mixed methods, this study employed a qualitative methodology because it aligns with the philosophical positions that underpin this study.

Moreover, Saunders et al (2019) identified five key research purposes. These include exploratory, descriptive, explanatory, evaluative, and combined studies. Understandably, exploratory studies are qualitative in nature and are used to gain valuable insights into a phenomenon and a topic of interest. In contrast, explanatory studies are guided by objectivism and are used to explain casual relationships (Sainani, 2014). They are predominantly used in quantitative research, which is not appropriate for this interpretive study.

Furthermore, descriptive studies are simply an extension of exploratory research that uses both qualitative and quantitative approaches (Williams, 2011). Similarly, evaluative studies make use of both qualitative and quantitative methodologies to determine how effectively something works (Clarke, 1999). Likewise, combined studies utilize several methods in their design and are associated with mixed-methods research (Alexander et al., 2008). Thus, a descriptive, evaluative, or combined study is not suitable for this research because they all seek to reconcile both objectivism and subjectivism philosophies by incorporating mixed or both quantitative and qualitative methods. Therefore, it is clear that this study is exploratory in nature because it is purely guided by a qualitative methodology and aligns with this study's subjectively interpretive philosophy. The next section explains the research strategy employed in this study.

### 5.3 Research Strategy – Netnography

This section discusses the research strategy employed in this study, guided by an interpretive philosophy. This section is important to this study because it provides a sense of direction of the research, which informs the choice of methods used to collect and analyse data.

Saunders et al (2019) identified eight key research strategies. These include experiments, surveys, archival and documentary research, case studies, action research, grounded theory, narrative inquiry, and ethnography. Experiments and

surveys are associated with an objectivist philosophy and quantitative research designs (Diesing, 1966). Similarly, archival and documentary research and case studies are linked to a mixed-method research design and seek to incorporate both objectivist and subjectivist views (Rakic & Chambers, 2009). Therefore, experiments, surveys, archival and documentary research, and case studies are not appropriate for this study.

Action research is a qualitative approach used to explore and understand issues within an organization or society and find solutions to bring about change or address those issues (Comfort, 2007). Likewise, a narrative inquiry is qualitative and inductive. However, narrative inquiries focus on recording, sequencing, and chronologically preserving narratives provided by participants from an organizational and institutional level (Riessman, 2008). Therefore, action research and narrative inquiry are suitable for this research.

Grounded theory is used to analyse and interpret socially constructed meanings to understand reality (Saunders et al., 2019). While it is argued that grounded theory is inductive, Charmaz (2011) contends that it can use both inductive and deductive approaches to theory development and can be considered abductive. Thus, a grounded theory does not align with this exploratory interpretive study in which theory is developed inductively.

However, ethnography aligns with this exploratory interpretive study. This is because ethnography focuses on visitors' subjective realities and experiences and is interpretive in nature (Watson, 2011). In ethnography, theory is developed inductively (Wilson & Chaddha, 2009). Ethnography explores the various meanings and realities visitors create through social constructions and interactions with museums and other visitors (Olson, 1991). Interestingly, there is a growing trend among academics conducting ethnographic research online (Rageh et al., 2013; Holder & Ruhanen, 2017). Such an approach to conducting ethnographic studies online is called netnography (Kozinets, 2020), which at times is referred to as "virtual ethnography (Hine, 2000); "cyber ethnography" (Ward, 1999); "webnography" (Puri, 2007); "social media ethnography" (Postill &

Pink, 2012); "online ethnography" (Hart, 2017); "internet ethnography" (Sade-Beck, 2004); "and "digital ethnography" (Murthy, 2008).

Netnography is a flexible (Ahuja & Alavi, 2018) standalone qualitative research methodology (Wu, 2022) rooted in ethnographic research techniques (Vorobjovas-Pinta & Hardy, 2021). Like ethnography, netnography focuses on visitors' everyday life experiences and cultural understanding in different settings (Jong, 2017). Wight (2020) said netnography extends beyond traditional ethnography, which studies cultures and communities in virtual communication spaces. However, it is important to note that netnography is a research strategy, and part of that approach is interviews (Kozinets, 2002). For instance, netnography can be blended by incorporating online and offline traditional data collection methods such as interviews (Jong, 2017), whether face-to-face or online, to better understand the research topic under investigation (Garcia et al., 2009). This is further elaborated upon in the subsequent sections.

Netnography seeks to reveal and understand cultural experiences through digital-mediated communications such as social media platforms like TripAdvisor, Instagram, Twitter, Snap Chat, and Facebook. Kozinets (2020) points out that such cultural experiences "can be engaged with, communicated through, and then reflected upon" (p.14). In this sense, netnography allows researchers to understand the lived experiences through social interactions that manifest online in the context of social media (Roy et al., 2015). Thus, netnography is the "adaptation of ethnography" in the online context of social media to study the social interactions and experiences that manifest online from a visitor's perspective (Jong, 2017, p. 1). Therefore, netnography and ethnography are different but not exclusive to each other.

Kozinets (2010) highlights that netnography provides relevant, detailed, naturally occurring, unelicited, unobtrusive, timely, effective, and efficient raw data that is authentic, spontaneous, indigenous, unforced, unadorned, powerful, and creative. In earlier works, he argued that netnography is organic, less intrusive, less costly, and timelier than ethnography (Kozinets, 2002). This is because netnography uses archived online social interactions that are accessible and can

be collected and sorted efficiently (de Valck et al., 2009). Likewise, Jeacle (2021) said netnography has many advantages, including ease of data collection, easy downloading and transcribing material from the internet, saving time, low costs, 24-hour access to an abundance of data, and unobtrusive in gathering data.

Like face-to-face ethnography, netnography can reveal significant insights into the realities and factors that influence visitors to engage with UK slavery heritage museums. For example, Kozinets (2010) contends that visitors share their experiences through the use of language and communication on online social media platforms, which helps to reveal what may have led to their engagement with museums. In this sense, netnography provides a deep and rich understanding of cultural insights through online interactions. Similarly, Wight (2020) said that netnography is a naturalistic method that has the capacity to provide insights into the factors that influence visitors to engage with museums by sharing experiences and reflections in online communities.

Moreover, it has been argued that such an approach is more naturalistic than focus groups, personal interviews, experiments, and surveys (Kozinets, 2015b) and can enhance offline research methods (Wu, 2022). This is consistent with Podoshen (2013), who found that netnography can reveal visitors' experiences more candidly than traditional qualitative methods. For instance, he argues that it is easier to approach and access research participants and data in the online environment than in face-to-face encounters. Jeffrey et al (2021) found that when visitors share their experiences behind a screen, they reveal rich insights that can be useful to members of the online community and to this research.

In netnographic research, Wight (2020) contends that the researcher is not mandated to be physically present to conduct research. He asserted that this allows the researcher to explore the social milieu within the virtual environment. Additionally, Wu (2022) said that netnography has its strengths in relation to accessibility. In this sense, he maintains that visitors are more comfortable and freer to share their experiences in the online environment because their anonymity is guaranteed. Within this frame of reference, Jeffrey et al (2021) affirm

that netnography is suitable for sensitive research topics where visitors are difficult to recruit and can express themselves comfortably, openly, and freely.

Furthermore, netnography is gaining prominence in tourism research (Tavakoli & Mura, 2018), particularly dark tourism studies (Werdler, 2015; Podoshen, 2017). Netnography has proven useful in studying visitors in various ways, including motivations, experiences, and engagement with tourism products (Souza et al., 2019). For instance, Wight (2020) used netnography to analyse the social media content of three Holocaust heritage sites in Europe, including Ann Frank's House in Amsterdam, the Auschwitz-Birkenau Memorial and Museum in Poland, and the Jewish Museum in Berlin, Germany, while Podoshen et al (2014) used netnography to analyse black metal culture and dystopic experiences.

As shown throughout the literature review, social media is increasing in visitor engagement research with museums. As explained throughout the literature review and the theoretical framework of this study, cultural capital, multiple motivations, and prior knowledge can manifest both within an offline and online setting through social capital. Indeed, Bourdieu's (1984) theory of capital suggests that visitors' meaning and knowledge of museums are predetermined based on their cultural and social capital. Yet, social capital has been overlooked in visitor engagement with museum research that is intimately linked to engagement (see Taheri et al., 2014; Bryce et al., 2014).

Interestingly, the emerging concept of online social capital revealed that social media is interrelated with prior knowledge (sharing of experiences), multiple motivations (planning visits and decision-making), and cultural capital (accumulation of knowledge and taste). To reiterate, social capital "acts as an intermediary where visitors must possess friendships, connections and social networks in order to convert their capitals" (Thompson & Taheri, 2020, p. 6). In essence, social capital and visitor engagement with museums are dependent on and understood through the exchange of communication and symbols (Polk, 2018). Therefore, it can be argued that engagement is a recurring pattern that derives from joint or collective social interactions and actions. Mead (1934, p. 256) writes:

"...one is influenced by the attitudes of those about him, which are reflected back into the different members of the audience so that they come to respond as a whole... one communicates to the other an attitude which the other assumes towards a certain part of the environment that it is of importance to them both".

For example, visitors use social media platforms such as TripAdvisor in the pre, during, and post-visitation stages to plan museum visits (Kim & Park, 2017) and share experiences, which in turn influences future visitors to visit and engage with museum exhibits. Therefore, it is difficult to treat or separate prior knowledge, multiple motivations, and cultural capital from social media. Thus, as previously indicated, social media is of particular interest to this research, as well as the way in which it influences visitor engagement with museums.

Nevertheless, as outlined in the literature review and theoretical framework of this study, the researcher was not aware of any existing research that has attempted to research prior knowledge, multiple motivations, and cultural capital in the online context of social media. In addition, social capital in the context of social media as a factor that influences visitor engagement with museums is underresearched. Thus, there is a need for further theoretical and empirical evidence that explores online interactions and their influence on offline settings. Therefore, it is clear that a netnographic research strategy is most appropriate for this study based on the arguments presented in this section and throughout this thesis.

Furthermore, Kozinets (2015a) identifies four main types of netnography. These include 1. *auto-netnography* - an adaptation of auto-ethnography which involves autobiographical elements and personal reflections of the researcher's involvement and participation in online communities; 2. *digital netnography* - seeks to understand and confirm the general status quo of business and management; 3. *humanist netnography* - the researcher is an activist on social media advocating for social issues such as ideologies and politics; and 4. *symbolic netnography* - provides valuable insights to managers and explains cultural experiences. It is important to note that at the time of this research, the researcher was not aware of any existing debates or critiques of these types of netnography.

Nonetheless, for the purposes of this study, a blended symbolic netnographic approach, including online semi-structured interviews, was adapted because it focuses explicitly on UK slavery heritage museums and visitors to these museums. As indicated in Chapter One of this thesis, one of the main objectives of this study is to provide insights on the factors that influence visitor engagement with UK slavery heritage museums to managers, curators, and decision-makers responsible for designing and managing these spaces. Such a blended symbolic netnographic approach helps UK slavery heritage museum managers and curators build a portrait of visitors to enhance their engagement at these attractions. The next section explains the sampling technique used to select UK slavery heritage museums and participants for this study for data collection.

# 5.4 Sampling Technique - Purposive

This section explains the sampling technique used to identify online sources, interview participants and UK slavery heritage museums that are of interest to this study. This section is important to this research because it helps identify the right online sources and interview participants to acquire information, gain insights into the research topic, and achieve the research aim and objectives.

Sampling techniques used in research can be either probability sampling, which is sometimes referred to as representative sampling, or it can be non-probability sampling. Saunders et al (2019) distinguished between probability and non-probability sampling. On the one hand, they said probability sampling aligns with an objectivist philosophy and is used in quantitative methodologies. Probability sampling is associated with surveys and experiment strategies to make statistical inferences from large samples of a targeted population. There are four main branches of quantitative probability sampling, including simple random sampling, systematic random sampling, stratified random sampling, and cluster sampling, that are used to make generalizations or conclusions representative of an entire population.

On the other hand, non-probability sampling is used in qualitative research and is based on subjective interpretations and judgments (Saunders et al., 2019). Non-probability sampling engages with small samples and is not used to make

generalizations and statistical inferences (Vehovar et al., 2016). In non-probability sampling, the data collection process ends when data becomes saturated, and no new information or themes are generated or observable (Saunders et al., 2019). There are five non-probability sampling techniques. These include quota sampling, snowball sampling or volunteer sampling, haphazard sampling or convenience sampling, and purposive sampling.

Quota sampling is associated with a survey research strategy. It aims to select samples that are representative of a targeted population until a set quota has been met (Taherdoost, 2016). Therefore, quota sampling is not appropriate for this study because it does not align with a netnographic research strategy. Snowball sampling or volunteer sampling is used when participants are difficult to identify from a population or when participants volunteer to participate in research without being selected (Saunders et al., 2019). In contrast, haphazard sampling or convenience sampling involves selecting participants to participate in research without any specific criteria and is convenient to the researcher (Saunders, 2012). Therefore, snowball or volunteer sampling and haphazard sampling or convenient sampling are not suitable for this study because it has been made clear throughout this thesis that this study is about visitors to UK slavery heritage museums and the factors that influence their engagement with these attractions. Thus, it is clear that visitors to UK slavery heritage museums are of interest to this research. This is elaborated upon in the following sections.

Kozinets (2020) suggest that a purposive sampling approach is appropriate for this study. Purposive or judgment sampling is used to select meaningful, informative, and valuable samples to achieve a research project's aim and objectives (Saunders et al., 2019). In purposive sampling, it is up to the researcher to determine and select participants based on the research topic, aim, and objectives. In addition, a purposive sampling technique was also chosen because of its inclusivity of hard-to-reach groups that are geographically dispersed and provide a voice to a range of participants (Costello et al., 2017). Therefore, online sources and interview participants were purposively selected.

According to Mkono and Tribe (2017), netnography does not stipulate a set or required sample size and the amount of data that needs to be collected. Nonetheless, Kozinets (2020) suggests that a small sample size in netnographic research can provide rich and insightful data that can be useful during analysis and to gain an understanding of the topic under investigation in detail. This is also supported by the argument put forward in the previous sections that qualitative research tends to make use of small sample sizes, which does not seek to make generalized findings but rather to gain an understanding of the research topic and achieve the aim and objectives of the study. The next section explains how UK slavery heritage museums and participants were selected for this study.

### 5.4.1 UK Slavery Heritage Museums Selection

Most studies in slavery heritage tourism research concentrated on the USA and Ghana and very little on the UK (see Chapter 3). Additionally, a substantial body of literature in slavery heritage tourism research focused on slavery, specifically plantation museums in the USA. These studies focused on the management, marketing, and interpretation of these attractions. While few studies concentrated on slavery heritage museums in the USA, they have a demand-driven perspective to them that researched visitor motivations and experiences. At the time of this research, the researcher was not aware of any existing study that has researched the factors that influence visitors to engage with these attractions, particularly those in the UK.

To date, only one study has looked at UK slavery heritage museums. Beech (2001) examined cities and ports of entry in the UK during the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade, namely Hull, Liverpool, Bristol, and Lancaster. From the supply side, his work considered the developments and promotion of slavery heritage sites in the UK. His work revealed that only two cities, Hull and Liverpool, have physical museums with large permanent exhibitions dedicated to conveying the story of the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade. In contrast, Lancaster's City Museum, Bristol's Museum and Art Gallery, and Bristol's Industrial Museum provide smaller exhibitions of the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade. At the time of his study, he observed that no exhibitions or museums market slavery heritage in London.

The criteria for selecting museums for this study are twofold. This includes 1. museums that market and present slavery heritage related to the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade through small, large, temporary or permanent exhibitions; and 2. these museums must be located in the UK. In keeping with the guidelines of netnographic site selection, the author of this thesis first searched for slavery heritage museums in the UK using the Google platform (Kozinets, 2020). The search revealed that the International Slavery Museum, Liverpool; Museum of Liverpool; Merseyside Maritime Museum, Liverpool; Bristol's Museum and Art Gallery; M Shed, Bristol; The Georgian House Museum, Bristol; Wilberforce House Museum, Hull; Lancaster City Museum; Lancaster Maritime Museum; Kelvingrove Art and Gallery Museum, Glasgow; and the Museum of London Docklands are the only museums currently available in the UK that are associated with and markets slavery heritage for visitor consumption through small, large, temporary and permanent exhibitions. In addition, the search also highlighted that all these museums have free admission, are publicly accessible, and are all located in cities where the ports were used to participate in the Trans-Atlantic slave trade and have significantly profited from this event (Beech, 2001). However, only eight of these museums were selected for this study and are further explained below. The Museum of Liverpool, Lancaster City Museum and Bristol's Museum and Art Gallery were not selected because, upon further investigation, these museums present little to no information about the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade. This decision was also supported by some of the participants at Liverpool Museums and Bristol Museums.

### <u>Selected museums</u>

#### London

The Museum of London Docklands is part of the Museums of London group. It is controlled by the City of London Corporation and the Greater London Authority. The Museum of London Docklands had a total of 1412 TripAdvisor reviews at the time of this study. The museum was built by enslaver and philanthropist George Hibbert in 1802. It was initially used to store sugar from slave plantations in the Caribbean. The museum offers a permanent exhibition, "London, Sugar, and"

Slavery Gallery," which explains London's participation in the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade and how British civilization acquired much of its wealthy fortunes that were used to develop Britain's infrastructure, such as universities, charities, and art galleries. The museum displays short films and objects such as manuscripts, glass beads, prints, and a draft abolition bill. The museum also offers displays regarding the life of enslaved Africans on plantations, resistance to slavery, the abolition of the slave trade, and the presence of Africans in London after the abolition.

#### Liverpool

There are two museums in the city of Liverpool that are related to slavery heritage and are managed by Liverpool Museums. These include the **International Slavery Museum** and the **Merseyside Maritime Museum**. These museums provide free access to the public.

### International Slavery Museum

The International Slavery Museum had a total of 1280 TripAdvisor reviews at the time of this study. The museum is located at a former slave trading port, the Albert Docks. It offers permanent exhibitions of the Middle Passage, the Trans-Atlantic slave trade, West African cultures, and the legacies of slavery, including resistance and life on West Indian plantations from 1500-1865.

### Merseyside Maritime Museum

The Merseyside Maritime Museums had a total of 6229 TripAdvisor reviews at the time of this study. The museum is located at a former trading port during the Trans-Atlantic slave trade – the Albert Dock. The museum houses a permanent exhibition detailing the history of the slave trade, which covers the re-creation of the Middle Passage, the life of enslaved Africans through various representations, and the economic and political impact it had on the city.

#### **Bristol**

There are two museums in the city of Bristol that are related to slavery heritage and are managed by Bristol's Museums and Bristol's City Council. These include the **Georgian House Museum** and the **M Shed**, formerly known as Bristol's Maritime Museum. These museums provide free access to the public.

### The Georgian House Museum

The Georgian House Museum had a total of 242 TripAdvisor reviews at the time of this study. Originally a townhouse, the museum was built by enslaver and sugar trader John Pinney around 1790. John Pinney had an enslaved servant, Pero, who lived with and worked for him. The museum offers displays of the life of John Pinney and his involvement in the Trans-Atlantic slave trade.

### M Shed

The M Shed had a total of 1887 TripAdvisor reviews at the time of this study. The museum offers interactive displays, including films, photographs, objects, and personal stories of the legacies of enslaved Africans and Bristol's involvement in the Trans-Atlantic slave trade as a trading port.

#### Hull

The Wilberforce House Museum is the only museum in the city of Hull that markets slavery heritage. The museum is managed through a partnership between the Hull City Council and the Hull Culture and Leisure group. The museum provides free access to the public.

The Wilberforce House Museum had a total of 556 TripAdvisor reviews at the time of this study. The museum is the birthplace of William Wilberforce, who campaigned to abolish the Trans-Atlantic slave trade. The museum is dedicated to telling the narratives of the Trans-Atlantic slave trade leading up to its abolition. The museum offers permanent displays of William Wilberforce's journals and

costumes and the culture of enslaved Africans through a range of communication tools such as films and photographs.

#### Lancaster

The Lancaster City Council manages the **Lancaster Maritime Museum**. The Lancaster Maritime Museum had a total of 229 TripAdvisor reviews at the time of this study. Exhibits relate to how the city's port was used during the Trans-Atlantic slave trade to import and store goods produced by enslaved Africans on plantations. They also emphasize how the city and families profited from the slave trade.

#### Glasgow

Glasgow Life Museums manages the **Kelvingrove Art and Gallery Museum**. The Kelvingrove Art and Gallery Museum had a total of 15,707 TripAdvisor reviews at the time of this study. The museum offers a small exhibition of Glasgow's involvement in the Trans-Atlantic slave trade from the 17<sup>th</sup> to 19<sup>th</sup> centuries. The museum displays paintings, portraits, costumes, and textiles that explain enslaved Africans' lives during those periods on plantations and how the city benefited economically, resulting in infrastructure development. The museum also highlights how tobacco merchant Lord Provost Patrick Colquhoun accumulated his wealth through the production of goods by enslaved Africans.

# 5.4.2 Social Media Platform - Tripadvisor

The blended netnographic research strategy that guides this study involves the use of data from social media communications. After selecting the UK slavery heritage museums for this study, the researcher selected a social media platform to collect netnographic data to achieve the aim and objectives of the study.

TripAdvisor (2022) claims to be the largest travel website in the world, with 860 million reviews of 8.7 million accommodations, experiences, airlines, restaurants, and cruises from an average of 463 million reviews monthly. As previously discussed throughout the literature review and theoretical framework, visitors turn

to social media, particularly TripAdvisor, in the pre, during, and post-visitation stages. In addition, the literature review has repeatedly shown that visitors accumulate knowledge about museums through TripAdvisor, which influences the decision-making process and motivation to visit and, therefore, their engagement with these attractions. Thus, TripAdvisor is most appropriate for this study to gather netnographic data from visitors to UK slavery heritage museums.

A number of authors have sought to explain the difference between public and private sites used in netnographic research (Wang, 2018). On this note, Kozinets (2020, p. 182) distinguishes between public and private sites. According to him, a public site is defined as a site with "open access to the public and is accessible by common search engines such as Google". In contrast, private sites "are not indexed by and accessible using common search engines such as Google". Therefore, for the purposes of this thesis, TripAdvisor is a public site. This is because one can search TripAdvisor posts without membership or logging into the site (Attard & Coulson, 2012).

Within the field of tourism research, a number of authors have used TripAdvisor to collect data (Lee et al., 2011; Tamajón & Valiente, 2017) and, in particular, dark tourism research (Çakar, 2018; Wight, 2020). In this respect, Jeffrey et al (2021) found that researchers mainly use TripAdvisor to collect online archival data and have called for the use of other social media platforms, such as Snapchat. While this may be so, Boateng (2020) argues that TripAdvisor reviews provide more detailed and rich data than other social media platforms. Nevertheless, contributions to slavery heritage tourism research so far have been developed from six main data sources. These include literature searches; content analysis of brochures and promotional materials; discourse analysis of slavery heritage narratives; unobtrusive observation of site settings; festivals, and related entertainment; and interviews with key informants.

To date, only three publications in slavery heritage tourism research have used TripAdvisor reviews and concentrated on visitor motivations and experiences at slavery heritage attractions (Carter, 2016; Boateng, 2020; Nelson, 2020a). It is important to note that these studies are not considered netnographic (Tuikka et

al., 2017). For instance, Kozinets (2020) argues that this is because the researchers were not specific about their methodology. Instead, it is often left up to the reader to decipher and interpret their work, which can be viewed as virtual ethnography, digital anthropology, etc. Thus, the author of this thesis makes clear that part of this study lies within the body of the netnographic principles and research. In other words, this study offers a specific, detailed, and rigorous way of conducting online research within the academic field of dark tourism, particularly slavery heritage tourism.

It is clear that TripAdvisor reviews are underused in slavery heritage tourism research. Therefore, for the purposes of this blended netnographic study, TripAdvisor reviews were used to collect data for eight main reasons. First, TripAdvisor satisfies the eight key aspects in selecting a netnographic site for data collection. According to Kozinets (2015a), these include:

- The site must be directly relevant to the study's question, orientation, or topic;
- 2. The site must have a significant amount of data that is relevant to the study, which can be textual, visual, audiovisual, audio, graphical, or otherwise;
- 3. Offers a large number of discrete message posters;
- 4. Provides the researcher with a sense of activity and liveliness as a social place where something is happening;
- 5. Postings and other data are time-stamped more recently;
- Provides the researcher with interactions that are detailed and descriptively rich;
- 7. Offers a welcoming atmosphere and one in which interpersonal contact might be pursued;
- Exhibit interactions where one poster responds to another, and another responds to them, creating conversational threads that manifest a flow of conversation.

Second, TripAdvisor offers a sizeable range of communities and "the option to specify search criteria" (Björk & Kauppinen-Räisänen, 2012, p. 67). Third, the

platform is a "trusted intermediary" for visitors (Jeacle & Carter, 2011, p. 293). Fourth, it provides a voice to a range of members (Mkono, 2016). Fifth, it is a "comprehensive platform for investigating tourism social media communities" (Mkono & Tribe, 2017, p. 288). Sixth, TripAdvisor reviews enrich this study because visitors to UK slavery heritage museums write reviews after their visit and can share their experience better (Boateng, 2020). Seventh, these rich descriptive experiences provide a clear understanding of what influenced visitors to engage with UK slavery heritage museums (Nelson, 2020a). Finally, TripAdvisor reviews are archived and publicly accessible, making it less time-consuming, less costly, and easier to collect data (Kozinets, 2020).

### 5.4.3 Participant Selection

As indicated earlier, qualitative netnographic research involves small samples in data collection. Thus, this section explains the sample size and how participants were selected for this study. It is important to note that both TripAdvisor reviews and interview participants were purposively selected.

As explained throughout this thesis, this research is about visitors and the factors that influence their engagement with UK slavery heritage museums. Therefore, visitors to the eight UK slavery heritage museums previously identified were chosen for this study. Clarke and Braun (2013) suggest that a sample size of at least twelve visitors is required to reach data saturation. Nonetheless, the researcher has decided to include a sample size of twenty visitors' reviews from TripAdvisor, which is deemed sufficient for this study.

Moreover, as explained throughout the literature review and, in particular, the Heritage Force Field model (Seaton, 2001) as discussed in Chapter Three, museum managers and curators play an integral role in the management and design of slavery heritage museum exhibits that help shape the visitor experience and, therefore engagement. Thus, for the purposes of this study, at least one manager or curator from the eight UK slavery heritage museums previously mentioned was purposively recruited for this research (Salmons, 2012). These museum managers and curators were also selected to confirm and validate the

postings made by reviewers on TripAdvisor. Table 8 summarises the number of participants chosen for the study.

Table 8: Number of Participants and Reviews Selected by Museum

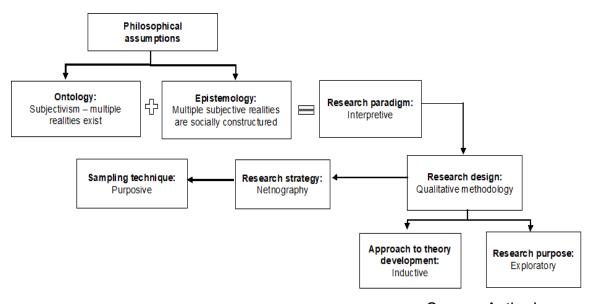
Museum	Number of museum curators and managers participated in the study	Number of TripAdvisor reviews selected
The Museum of London Docklands	4	20
International Slavery Museum	3	20
Merseyside Maritime Museum		20
M Shed	3	20
The Georgian House Museum		20
Wilberforce House Museum	1	20
Lancaster Maritime Museum	1	20
Kelvingrove Art and Gallery Museum	1	20
Total	13	160

Source: Author's own

### 5.5 Data Collection Methods

Up to this point in the chapter, the researcher has explained the philosophical assumptions, research paradigm, research design, research strategy, and sampling technique that guides this study, as reflected in Figure 16 below.

**Figure 16:** Summary of Philosophical Assumptions, Research Design, Research Strategy and Sampling Technique



Source: Author's own

According to Saunders et al (2019), the next step in the research process is to select appropriate data collection methods for this study. Therefore, this section explains the data collection methods used to gather data about the research topic and phenomenon in order to answer the research aim and objectives (Salmons, 2012). The data collection methods employed in this study were determined by the qualitative methodology that underpins this value-bound interpretive exploratory blended netnographic study. This section is important to this study because it helps to ensure that the research findings of this research are reliable and valid.

Castello et al (2017) note that netnography involves gathering and analysing text data rather than including other sources such as images, videos, or colour. On this note, Kozinets (2015b) identifies three types of data in netnographic research. These include 1. *archival data* - pre-existing data that is captured,

saved, and stored in online communities without the involvement of co-creating data; 2. co-created data - data that derives from social interactions/exchange, interviews and conservations; and 3. fieldnote data - based on traditional ethnographic field noting practices where the researcher reflects on the virtual environment's interactions and experiences. This study incorporated all three forms of data.

As established earlier, quantitative research methodologies are associated with positivism and are guided by surveys and experiment strategies. Quantitative research methodologies are deductive to theory development and use mainly questionnaires, structured interviews, and structured observations in data collection. As previously outlined, a qualitative research methodology aligns with this interpretive exploratory netnographic study. For clarity, qualitative studies involve gathering non-numerical data such as words to understand and gain insights into the topic under investigation and are inductive to theory development.

The most common methods used in qualitative research are interviews, observations, focus groups, case studies, and field research (Braun et al., 2017). However, observations and interviews are the most dominant and key data collection methods used in netnographic research (Kozinets, 2020). This is supported by Roy et al (2015), that said interviews and observations are the main methods in conducting netnographic research and are intertwined with each other. For the purposes of this research, interviews and observations were chosen to gather qualitative data. It is important to note that the reason for triangulating data was to increase the research project's findings' validity, reliability, and credibility (Kozinets, 2020). This resulted in greater consistency in the data collection and analysis processes (Wang, 2018).

The blended netnographic research strategy that informs this study involves the use of online social media data and online semi-structured interviews. The following sections explain the data collection methods used to gather data for this study, namely observations of TripAdvisor reviews and online semi-structured

interviews with thirteen museum managers and curators of the eight UK slavery heritage museums previously identified in an online context.

#### 5.5.1 Unobtrusive Internet-mediated Observations

Observations are a common and key method in netnographic research (Kozinets, 2020). This is supported by Fenton and Procter (2019), who affirm that netnography heavily relies on observations of social media data. As such, TripAdvisor reviews of the eight UK slavery heritage museums previously identified were observed for the purposes of this study. Saunders et al (2019) identified three types of observations, including participant, structured, and internet-mediated observations. As demonstrated throughout this thesis, online-mediated communication is at the heart of netnography. Thus, internet-mediated observations are the most appropriate method for this study. Further, they describe internet-mediated observations as collecting data from online communities. For them, such an approach "adapts traditional observations" (p. 380).

Sudweeks and Rafaeli (1996) compared traditional observational ethnography to internet-mediated observations. Like ethnography, online observations are a form of eavesdropping online (Wang, 2018). Dewalt and Dewalt (2002) distinguished between observations in netnography and ethnography. They said observations in ethnography rely on the researcher being physically present at the attraction, while observations in netnography involve reading and making meanings of textual data produced on social media or computer-mediated communication platforms. On this note, Saunders et al (2019, p. 411) contend that online observations "provide a complete record of observed exchanges compared to observing oral exchanges". Although they have acknowledged that it is possible to observe participants' body language, tone of voice, and facial experiences in traditional ethnographic research, members in the online community may express themselves differently through the use of emoticons and visuals such as photographs to assist in interpretation. Thus, in their view, observing online TripAdvisor reviews has the capacity to reveal rich, naturalistic, and insightful data.

In addition to the above, unobtrusive internet-mediated observations were used to gain insights into the factors that influence visitors to engage with UK slavery heritage museums. Busetto et al. (2020) found that observations are useful in gaining real-world insights into visitor engagement. They also state that observations have advantages in reducing the distance between the researcher and participants and have the potential to reveal new knowledge. Additionally, Creswell (2013, p. 90) states that observations allow researchers to be "immersed in the day-to-day lives of members." While Queirós et al (2017, p. 378) said that observations "collect data simultaneously with the event occurrence, it is unobtrusive which is not dependent upon someone's response and is flexible and oriented to knowledge discovery." Therefore, observations and posting of reviews occur in real-time (Saunders et al., 2019).

Saunders et al (2019) distinguished between overt and covert observations. In overt observations, the researcher reveals themselves to online community members. While in covert observations, the researcher hides or conceals their presence from members. Within a netnographic context, Costello et al (2017) said a researcher's involvement is either nonparticipatory (passive) to participatory (active). Jong (2017) observes that participation within the online environment is varied. For instance, she notes that a researcher may decide to take on an active or "lurker" role in the online community. On the one hand, he describes active participation as participating in the online community by posting and interacting with other members or registering "some level of presence" (p. 17). On the other hand, he said a "lurker" follows the interaction in the online community without contributing to it. In this sense, he asserted that a lurker goes unnoticed in the online community and simply observes and reads reviews.

A number of authors within the field of tourism research have applied a passive approach to their netnography (Wu & Pearce, 2014; Wight, 2020). For instance, Mkono (2016) analysed TripAdvisor reviews to identify and understand the dimensions of guest experiences and their relation to perceived authenticity, destination attachment, and destination loyalty. However, there are many reasons for using a passive approach. For instance, passive netnography is useful in researching sensitive topics (Schembri & Latimer, 2016) and allows

members to be observed in a natural context without undermining the research (Sugiura et al., 2017). Di Guardo and Castriotta (2013) support this in that passive netnography results in naturalistic data and is free from researcher bias. Indeed, the researcher can observe naturalistic data that is open and honest (Wu, 2022).

Some academics have justified their position by adopting a passive or "lurker" netnographic approach. For example, Langer and Beckman (2005) argue that when researchers reveal themselves within the online community, it can undermine the research project. Indeed, Zhang and Hitchcock (2017, p. 230) maintain that a passive approach reduces the interference and distortion of naturally occurring data that does not "contaminate" the research. Thus, passive netnography is a preferred approach to participation in this study because the introduction of "new voices would be disruptive to focal aspects of cultural scripts or detract from the quality of the data collected" (Kozinets, 2020, p. 248).

### <u>Unobtrusive Internet-Mediated Observations – Data Gathering Process</u>

Unobtrusive internet-mediated observations of TripAdvisor reviews of the eight UK slavery heritage museums previously identified were conducted from October 1st to November 30<sup>th</sup>, 2022. The researcher utilized the search function available on TripAdvisor to insert keywords to locate meaningful reviews. This helped to expedite the data collection process and saved a significant amount of time.

Reviews that provide a detailed account of visitors' experiences with the UK slavery heritage museums were selected and analysed for this study because they offer meaningful and rich insights. However, brief reviews were not selected for this study because they do not reflect the entire experiences of the visitor and may not reveal significant insights into the factors that led to their engagement with museums (Alhojailan, 2012).

Reviews were copied directly from TripAdvisor and pasted into an Excel spreadsheet for storage and analysis. It is important to note that the researcher did not take screenshots of reviews to avoid downloading reviewers' personal and identifying data, which goes against TripAdvisor's Terms and Conditions.

Observations were concluded when data became saturated, where no new information, insights, or themes were generated or observable in the dataset (Podoshen, 2013).

#### 5.5.2 Online Semi-structured Interviews

Netnography is an approach that involves the use of various types of data. It is not limited to archival data such as social media postings (Xie-Carson et al., 2023). Netnography can also involve the use of co-creative data, which includes semi-structured interviews, whether online or offline (Kozinets, 2020). This is elaborated upon in section 5.5 of this chapter. Therefore, it should not be seen as a deviation from the principles of netnography but rather a flexible methodological approach that uses a range of data collection methods, including online semi-structured interviews. To reinforce these points, Fenton and Procter (2019, p. 13) demonstrated the versatility of netnography by noting that it is "relatively common to combine participant observation and interview as part of a netnography, the addition of qualitative SNA to support a blended approach presents a new opportunity and methodological contribution". They further explained that "netnography can use online interviews only through methods such as Skype and can also use face-to-face interviews, or a combination" (p. 6). Recent contributions have further demonstrated the versatility of netnography, which has been applied in mixed-methods research using both quantitative and qualitative techniques (see Chakraborty and Bhat, 2018). Therefore, the stereotypical view that netnography is limited to online social media data can be debated and has yet to be substantiated in research.

This study adopts a blended netnographic research strategy, and part of that approach is interviews. It is important to note that for the purposes of this study, unobtrusive internet-mediated observations were triangulated with online semi-structured interviews to broaden the understanding of insights gathered from TripAdvisor reviews and to validate the research findings and the postings made by reviewers on TripAdvisor.

Saunders et al. (2019) identified three types of interviews in research. These include unstructured interviews, structured interviews, and semi-structured interviews. Structured interviews are associated with a quantitative methodology. Structured interviews involve the use of questionnaires to collect data and are comprised of a set of predetermined questions. Structured interviews are not appropriate for this study because they do not align with the qualitative research methodology that guides this study and its philosophical assumptions.

According to Kozinets (2020), interviews in netnography are either structured or unstructured. Unstructured interviews, commonly known as in-depth interviews, are used to explore a phenomenon but do not use predetermined themes or questions to guide the interview. Unstructured interviews can either be dialogic or convergent. Dialogical unstructured interviews are associated with objectivism, positivism, and realism philosophies. On the other hand, convergent unstructured interviews are associated with action research. Therefore, unstructured interviews are not suitable for this study because they do not align with the subjectivist interpretive philosophy that underpins it.

Saunders et al (2019) suggest that semi-structured interviews are most appropriate for this study because they are inductive and exploratory and are associated with the interpretive philosophy that guides this study. Additionally, semi-structured interviews are commonly used in qualitative research (Rahman, 2019). In addition to these points, semi-structured interviews were also chosen to collect data that was not possible to be directly observed (Irani, 2019). They were used to gain insights into visitors' subjective experiences, values, beliefs, opinions, and motivations (Busetto et al., 2020).

Semi-structured interviews were chosen because they are interactive in nature (Al Balushi, 2018), flexible and offer the possibility to alter responses (Hofisi et al 2014), and give participants the opportunity to elaborate further, which provides depth and rich response (Alsaawi, 2014). In addition, semi-structured interviews provided insights into visitors' subjective experiences, values, beliefs, opinions, and motivations (Busetto et al., 2020) and how they shape and inform their engagement with UK slavery heritage museums (Evans & Lewis, 2018).

Semi-structured interviews consist of predetermined themes and questions to guide interviews (Saunders et al., 2019). On this note, the interview questions were designed according to the main themes that emerged from the literature review (see Appendix 1) and from consultation with the researcher's supervisors. This allowed the flexibility to ask additional and follow-up questions, which encouraged further discussion. Thus, the interviews consisted of open-ended and sub-questions and were used as a guide for the interviews (Busetto et al., 2020). These approaches were taken to encourage museum managers and curators to speak freely about their experiences and processes involved in designing and managing slavery heritage museum exhibits for visitor consumption (Kallio et al., 2016), which in turn influences visitor engagement with these attractions. It is important to note that the interview questions were piloted from October 31<sup>st</sup>, 2022, to November 03<sup>rd</sup>, 2022, using two PhD students and two of the participants who participated in this study.

Research has shown that conducting interviews online is increasing in qualitative research (Irani, 2019). According to Braun et al (2017), advancements in information communication technologies such as Microsoft Teams have led to opportunities to conduct traditional methods like interviews online and are more inclusive. From this viewpoint, they argue that online advances have shifted the way in which interviews are conducted and produced in an offline setting. In this respect, Reavey (2011) asserted that interviews can no longer be viewed as a monomodal technique of data collection. Instead, such developments are multimodal because they incorporate visuospatial elements that allow for an indepth understanding of the research and greater engagement with participants in conveying their responses and narratives. Therefore, semi-structured interviews can either be face-to-face or online (Al Balushi, 2018). Thus, Fenton and Procter (2019) said that netnography can use online interviews through various Voice over Internet Protocols (VoIP) such as Microsoft Teams.

Salmons (2011, p. 5) defines online semi-structured interviews as "...interviews conducted using computer-mediated communications". Kozinets (2020) distinguishes synchronous interviews from asynchronous interviews. He describes the former as interviews conducted online through video

teleconferencing software such as Microsoft Teams, Skype, Google Hangouts, and Voice over Internet Protocol (VoIP) such as a mobile phone and is similar to in-person interviews. In contrast, the latter is "more like open-ended surveys" (p. 252) that take place through emails, bulletin boards, and discussion boards (Hooley et al., 2012). Moreover, Saunders et al (2019) said asynchronous interviews do not occur in real time because there is some hiatus or gap in the exchange of messages. In contrast, they said synchronous interviews are conducted in real-time through web conferencing tools. This is consistent with Irani (2019), who stated that online synchronous interviews take place in real-time and are more of a reflection of in-person interviews. Thus, for the purposes of this study, online synchronous interviews were chosen because the interviews took place in real-time, resulting in spontaneous interactions between the researcher and the participants (James & Busher, 2016).

Mann and Stewart (2000, p. 604) maintain that online semi-structured interviews have the capacity to reveal "contextual naturalness" more than traditional faceto-face interviews. In this sense, participants' exchange in communication reflects that of everyday interactions (Shuy, 2002). Research has shown that participants perceive online semi-structured interviews as a suitable option over in-person interviews (Irani, 2019). Braun et al (2017, p. 247) said online semi-structured interviews have the potential to "reach participants that traditional methods cannot and encourage those that lack social confidence to participate". Indeed, conducting interviews online is a suitable and more viable option for participants who may be uncomfortable participating in traditional face-to-face interviews, thereby putting them at ease and developing rapport (Novick, 2008). Despite there can be some difficulties in observing participants or looking into their eyes while conducting the interview due to the positioning of the camera, Lo Iacono et al (2016, p. 7) have found that this can be an advantage for "shy people to open up". Seitz (2016, p. 4) states that this is "more beneficial to participants who are shy or introverted, allowing them to feel more comfortable opening up in front of a screen". Indeed, Brabham (2012) found that participants feel less inhibited and free to express themselves in online semi-structured interviews. Thus, participants were more comfortable to speak openly and freely in online semistructured interviews.

Moreover, online semi-structured interviews have many other advantages. For instance, Horrell et al (2015) found that online semi-structured interviews are inclusive of participants who may be disinclined and or unable to take part in the research due to several reasons such as health, mobility, and time constraints. In addition, Nicholas et al (2010) found that some young people are reluctant to participate in traditional research methods, such as face-to-face interviews, because they depend on transportation from others. In this respect, they suggest that online semi-structured interviews are an easier and more viable option to get young people to participate because there is no need for travelling and the use of transportation.

Irani (2019) identifies five key advantages of online semi-structured interviews in qualitative research. These include 1. it reduces geographical constraints; 2. it saves time and money associated with travel; 3. it offers flexibility in scheduling interviews; 4. participants are more relaxed and comfortable in their familiar environments; and 5. collects both verbal and non-verbal data. James and Busher (2016) said that online semi-structured interviews have advantages in engagement, speed, venue, and access to geographically dispersed participants. Salmons (2012) said online semi-structured interviews allow spontaneity. This is supported by Al Balushi (2018), who found that online semi-structured interviews provide greater spontaneity, enabling participants to answer immediately.

Conducting interviews online via Microsoft Teams has many benefits, including faster transcribing, instant replies, and faster speed. Microsoft Teams allows the interview to be recorded and saves conversations. This saves time and eliminates note-taking (Kozinets, 2020). Microsoft Teams is efficient and accessible, enables democracy and inclusivity (Lo Iacono et al., 2016), and provides real-time interaction between the researcher and participants (Braun et al., 2017). The reciprocity between the researcher and museum managers and curators (Galletta, 2012) allowed the researcher to ask quick, easy follow-up questions (Polit & Beck, 2010) and allowed participants to express themselves verbally (Kallio et al., 2016).

Braun et al (2017) said that online semi-structured interviews offer participants control over the interview environment where they might be willing to disclose information that can be useful to this research. Such an approach is deemed safe (Krouwel et al., 2019) and "less threatening" (James & Busher, 2016, p. 6). In this sense, it does not interrupt and impose on the researcher's and participants' space (Hanna, 2012). Significantly, Microsoft Teams allowed the researcher to reach "inaccessible participants" (Deakin & Wakefield, 2014, p. 5). Participants were not required to travel, making it easy to recruit participants (Kallio et al., 2016) and allowing for the interviews to be conducted in the comfort of their own environment that had access to a number of artefacts and objects that were relevant to the study (Lo Iacono et al., 2016). Microsoft Teams was fluid in conducting the interviews online (Deakin & Wakefield, 2014).

Lo lacono et al (2016) said Microsoft Teams has the capacity to exchange files in real-time, including documents, photos, and videos. They highlighted that this is something that in-person interviews cannot do without the Internet being readily available. In their view, online interviews, particularly Microsoft Teams, are distinct over several methods. For instance, they explain that interviewees have the ability to set their camera in any direction and walk around the environment in which they are participating in the interview, and they can provide access to a number of artefacts and objects. Likewise, compared to other means of online interviews, such as telephone interviews, Kozinets (2015b) said online video interviews have some strengths in observing body language and facial expressions. Kozinets (2020, p. 254) states that with the "sharing of screens, participants will be able to show the researcher activities online, rather than merely relating to them verbally" (modified).

#### Online Semi-Structure Interviews - Data Gathering Process

Several emails were sent to participants a month prior to conducting the interviews to establish rapport (Seitz, 2016). The emails were sent via their professional contact, which is publicly accessible. Online semi-structured interviews with thirteen UK slavery heritage museum managers and curators were conducted via Microsoft Teams from November 07<sup>th</sup> to November 25<sup>th</sup>. They

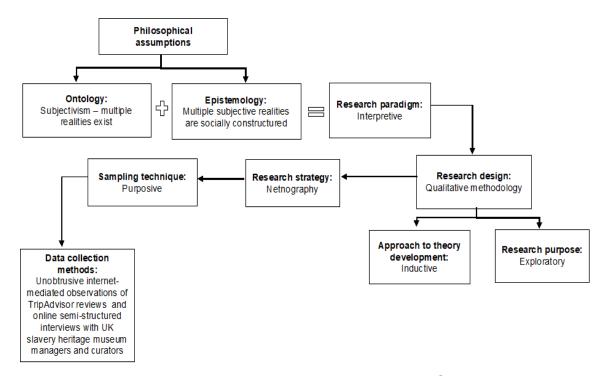
lasted approximately 1.5 hours to 3 hours. The interviews were time-stamped, recorded, and automatically transcribed within seconds using the transcription feature available on Microsoft Teams. The interviews were double-documented on both the researcher's and interviewee's devices. Transcriptions were mechanically shared with participants on the platform. This, of course, is beneficial in the event that the researcher loses internet connection and parts of the interview as they can always request a copy from the interviewee or download it straight from Microsoft Teams (Kazmer & Xie, 2008).

The decision to triangulate or combine unobtrusive internet-mediated observations with online semi-structured interviews with UK slavery heritage museum managers in data collection was to broaden the understanding of insights gathered from TripAdvisor reviews of visitors' past experiences and to increase the validity and reliability of the research project and its findings (Kozinets, 2020). Such a combination of methods is beneficial in achieving a comprehensive, reliable, and valid research outcome (Sherry, 1990). The next section discusses the data analysis technique used to analyse data.

## 5.6 Qualitative Data Analysis - Thematic Analysis

Up to this point in the chapter, the researcher has explained the philosophical assumptions, research paradigm, research design, research strategy, sampling technique, and data collection methods employed in this study, as reflected in Figure 17 below.

**Figure 17:** Summary of Philosophical Assumptions, Research Design, Research Strategy, Sampling Technique, and Data Collection Methods



Source: Author's own

As guided by Saunders et al (2019), the next step in the research process is to analyse data. Therefore, this section explains the process of analysing the data collected for this study. This section is critical to this study because it helps to provide insights into the factors that influence visitor engagement with UK slavery heritage museums and to achieve the aim and objectives of this study.

Saunders et al (2019) identified seven key techniques for analysing qualitative data. These include visual analysis, data display and analysis, discourse analysis, narrative analysis, grounded theory analysis, explanation building and testing, thematic analysis, and template analysis.

Explanation building and testing involve inductive and deductive approaches to theory development (Saunders et al., 2019). In this sense, they are used to build, test, and refine theory. Although a grounded theory analysis is inductive in nature, it is associated with a grounded theory research strategy (Corbin & Strauss, 1990). Grounded theory analysis involves separating data into units and identifying relationships within a data set around a central category to develop grounded theory (Strauss & Corbin, 1998). A narrative analysis, however, is associated with a narrative inquiry research design and is used to analyse narratives inductively and deductively (Wells, 2011). As such, an explanation-building and testing analysis, grounded theory analysis, and narrative analysis are not appropriate for this study because they do not align with its exploratory research design.

Visual analysis is inductive and is concerned with analysing photographs, videos, and drawings that are subjectively created (Saunders et al., 2019). There are two approaches to visual analysis. These include content analysis, which is used to analyse large samples of images (Bell, 2012), and semiotics analysis, which is used to study signs (Johansen & Larsen, 2002). Nonetheless, a netnographic research strategy is concerned with text or utterances made by participants and not necessarily images such as videos and photographs (Castello et al., 2017). Therefore, visual analysis is not suitable for this research.

Data Display and Analysis involve both inductive and deductive approaches to theory development (Saunders et al., 2019). In Data Display and Analysis, data is arranged and compiled into a summary, which is communicated through visual displays such as an Excel spreadsheet that consists of columns and rows (Lyons, 2000). This technique is used to identify relationships and make conclusions. However, as indicated earlier, qualitative research is not about making conclusions and generalizations. Instead, qualitative research is about gathering enough data to understand and gain insight into particular phenomena. In addition, this study is not about establishing relationships but instead evaluating the factors that influence visitors to engage with UK slavery heritage museums. Thus, a data display and analysis technique is not appropriate for this study.

Furthermore, discourse analysis is used to analyse the use of language in a social context. It is mainly associated with pragmatism (McCarthy et al., 2019). Thus, discourse analysis is not suitable for this interpretive study. Moreover, thematic analysis is qualitative and inductive to theory development. Evans and Lewis (2018, p. 3) describe thematic analysis as the "process of identifying patterns and themes within the data". Thematic analysis is a standalone analytical method in its own right (Kiger & Varpio, 2020). Additionally, template analysis is a form of thematic analysis used to achieve a level of representativeness by categorizing collected data and looking for relationships (King & Brookes, 2017). Therefore, a template analysis is not appropriate for this study because qualitative research, purposive sampling, and netnography are not concerned with representativeness and relationships. This has been extensively discussed throughout this chapter.

Within the context of tourism research, Whalen (2018) found thematic analysis to be the most common data analysis technique in the field. Understandably, netnography is an approach used to gain insights into the ways in which visitors construct and share their experiences. Kozinets (2020, P. 311) writes:

"...we use netnography to understand ourselves..... thematically, through a quest for the meanings inherent in themes. We can think of themes as unifying ideas or particular subjects of discussion".

Therefore, Kozinets (2020) affirms that a thematic analysis approach aligns with the interpretive paradigm of this study and is a dominant technique used to analyse netnographic data.

Thematic analysis is a flexible tool for identifying, analysing, and reporting themes/patterns from interviews and qualitative datasets (Esfehani & Walters, 2018). Additionally, thematic analysis is accessible (Nowell et al., 2017), adaptable (Berbekova et al., 2021), and helped with summarizing the large data sets from the interviews and TripAdvisor reviews (Kiger & Varpio, 2020). Furthermore, thematic analysis is an independent, reliable, and valid technique (Vaismoradi et al., 2013) for developing and elaborating meaningful concepts (Walters, 2016).

Additionally, a thematic analysis was chosen for several other reasons. For instance, Walters (2016) notes that thematic analysis is a process that has the potential to reveal rich and meaningful insights embodied in a text. Indeed, Braun and Clarke (2006) suggest that thematic analysis helps to provide a deeper, richer, more nuanced understanding of the factors that influence visitors to engage with UK slavery heritage museums. Hence, thematic analysis was used to examine the various perspectives from TripAdvisor reviews and that of the museum managers and curators of the eight UK slavery heritage museums previously identified (Braun & Clarke, 2006). This technique was used to highlight the similarities and differences in their responses and to reveal any unexpected insights (Nowell et al., 2017). Therefore, within these contexts, the researcher was able to reveal the meanings and factors that influence visitor engagement with UK slavery heritage museums that are socially constructed (Kiger & Varpio, 2020). It is important to note that Edinburgh Napier University's Ethics Committee recommended that TripAdvisor images not be analysed to protect participants' identities.

As Braun and Clarke (2006) suggested, the researcher had to first familiarize themselves with the data, generate codes, search for themes, review themes, define and name themes and finally produce this output. Each theme was developed in accordance with the literature review and theoretical framework of this study to gain an understanding of the factors that influence visitors to engage with UK slavery heritage museums.

Thematic analysis was applied to both online semi-structured interviews and TripAdvisor reviews (Braun & Clarke, 2006; Walters, 2016). Microsoft Teams transcription feature was used to transcribe interviews within seconds. NVivo software was used as an aid to analysis (as per recommended use), which is rigorous in analysing the data at a specific level and validating the findings (Alhojailan, 2012). The interview transcripts and TripAdvisor reviews were imported to NVivo. The data was then explored to identify themes or keywords from the documents. The keywords were then coded using the feature node. Afterwards, the keywords were searched through a query, which displayed all of the keywords in the data. During this process, the researcher also manually

analysed data by making notes of important keywords and ideas so that no crucial insights were missed. This helped to make sense of all the data collected in order to answer the research question and achieve the aim of this study (Kozinets, 2015b). The following section discusses the ethical considerations applied to this study.

### 5.7 Ethical Considerations

Ethics is defined as a set of standards that guides the conduct of a research project so that it does not affect the rights of participants (Saunders et al., 2019). Tuikka et al (2017) and Kozinets (2020) found that the majority of netnographers do not include ethics in their research. For instance, this is noticeable within the extant body of literature in dark tourism netnographies (see Wight, 2020; Podoshen, 2013). Such observations are evident within the region of slavery heritage tourism research that used online sources such as TripAdvisor to explore the motivations and experiences of visitors to slavery heritage attractions (see Carter, 2016; Boateng, 2020; Nelson, 2020a). Therefore, this section discusses the ethical considerations that guided this study and how data was accessed, particularly TripAdvisor reviews. This section is important to this study because it helps protect participants' rights and welfare. It is also important because it preserves and maintains research integrity and the reputation of Edinburgh Napier University and the researcher.

This study adheres to the code of ethics guidelines set out by Edinburgh Napier University and the GDPR Data Protection Act (1998). This project also adheres to the four core ethical principles in qualitative research. These include respect for individuals, beneficence, justice, and respect for communities (Flick, 2018). This study was ethically approved by Edinburgh Napier University's Research Ethics Committee on July 28<sup>th</sup>, 2022. A Data Management Plan (see Appendix 2) and a Privacy Impact Assessment (see Appendix 3) are appended to this thesis. These documents were reviewed and approved by the Edinburgh Napier University Research Ethics Committee.

Regarding online semi-structured interviews, museum managers and curators from the eight UK slavery heritage museums previously identified were sent a

participation information sheet (see Appendix 4) and a consent form (see Appendix 5) via their professional email that is publicly accessible. These forms stipulate that museum managers' and curators' participation was voluntary, and anonymity was guaranteed. The participation information sheet and consent forms were uploaded to the Novi survey tool, where the museum managers and curators signed the forms electronically and indicated a time and date that was convenient for them. Edinburgh Napier University recommended the Novi survey tool. Altogether, these measures benefited this study because they helped expedite data collection.

Ethics regarding the use of TripAdvisor reviews are complex. Therefore, it is pivotal to explain the dynamics and ethical dilemmas that exist within the field of netnographic research, including the use of direct quotes and anonymity, ownership of reviews, and consent. These are explained below.

### <u>Direct quotes and anonymity of TripAdvisor reviews</u>

There appear to be some disagreements within the extant body of literature regarding the use of direct quotes in published works. Several authors have argued for the alteration of direct quotes (Markham, 2012; Charlesworth, 2008). Tuikka et al (2017) said that direct quotes should not be included in published works even though participants may have consented because they might not be aware that their reviews are traceable. Similarly, Sugiura et al (2017) argue that removing reviewers' names, locations, and other identifying data does not guarantee anonymity. In their view, they argue that the use of direct quotes can be traceable through search engines such as Google. As a result, they suggest that researchers should summarize reviews "without losing meaning and reduce discoverability" (p. 194).

Interestingly, several authors have well-documented their arguments for using direct quotes available on public sites in their studies (Xun & Reynolds, 2010; Janta et al., 2012). Lehner-Mear (2020, p. 132) writes, "where online research focuses on the actual words written by subjects, ultimate assurances of anonymity are unjustifiable". For instance, within the context of tourism research,

Mkono (2016) used direct quotes from TripAdvisor in his final output. He explains that reviewers' identifying data, such as their names, were blurred and replaced with pseudonyms. He argues that there is no need to alter TripAdvisor reviews because the data is openly accessible on a public site, and meanings can be distorted, resulting in inauthentic representations. He adds that consent is not necessary to use a reviewer's direct quotes in a study. These views are supported by Trevisan and Reilly (2014), who contend that the alteration of reviews is a form of fabrication that results in distortion and inauthenticity of members' reflections. However, it is important to note that direct quotes that relate to sensitive topics should be "masked" (Cilliers & Viljoen, 2021, p. 7).

Moreover, in some instances, several netnographers have justified the use of members' personal data, such as their names (De Kostera & Houtman, 2008). From this viewpoint, they argue that there is no need to use pseudonyms because reviewers' personal data can be incorporated in publications when working with publicly available data that is traceable via search engines. For the purposes of this thesis, TripAdvisor reviewers' names, locations, and photographs were removed and replaced with pseudonyms (Jong, 2017) because this goes against TripAdvisor's Terms and Conditions. It is important to note that the Ethics Committee at Edinburgh Napier University advised not to alter direct quotes because they are traceable. They also recommended that TripAdvisor images not be analysed to protect participants' identities. As such, only direct quotes were used for this study, as shown on TripAdvisor.

#### Ownership of TripAdvisor reviews

While it is still unclear within the extant body of literature what constitutes withdrawal of TripAdvisor reviewer's comments, Lehner-Mear (2020) suggests that deleting a post or review can be considered a form of participant withdrawal in this context.

Within a public site setting, Walther (2002) argues that some members expect a level of privacy. In this respect, Jong (2017) notes that some members may not be aware that their reviews are being used for research purposes. They asserted

that although reviews are posted on public platforms, that does not mean that members have granted consent for their reviews to be used in research. Arguably, Moreno et al (2013, p. 710) countered these arguments by stating that users in online public communities "do not have a reasonable expectation of privacy". Indeed, Rosenoer (1997) contends that publicly available data is not private since privacy laws do not protect them. In fact, Lehner-Mear (2020, p. 131) maintains that members share their experiences publicly because they intend "others to read and reply". In this regard, the sharing of experiences online on public sites is considered to be public acts purposely created for public consumption (Paccagnella, 2006) with an "implied license to read, or even archive" (Mann & Stewart, 2000, p. 46).

Undoubtedly, sharing experiences, comments, and visuals on social media platforms are not individually owned by the poster. Instead, the platform shares and owns such data (Jong, 2017). In this respect, Kozinets (2020) argues that when a member makes a post on social media, they no longer have control over the content. For instance, he explains that when members upload images and comments to TripAdvisor, the "privacy selections allow them to be indexed as part of Google's public search", which indicates some level of awareness that members "had transferred and lost some rights" to the content (p. 222). In this sense, he argues that when members join TripAdvisor, they have agreed to the terms and conditions of the platform. Thereby granting the platform the right to share and use their data. This, therefore, means that ownership is a dual responsibility between the member and the platform.

#### Consent – TripAdvisor reviews

The researcher concealed his presence in the online community. TripAdvisor reviewers were not contacted because it can diminish this research and its unobtrusiveness (Langer & Beckman, 2005). This ensures that the research is not at a disadvantage and does not silence reviewers from posting and sharing their reviews. This, therefore, guarantees that experiences and views are not misrepresented by only incorporating "confident and articulate users" for analysis (Sugiura et al., 2017, p. 189).

There appear to be some inconsistencies with regard to informed consent when using open-access data available on public sites. In this respect, Hibbin et al (2018) observe that there are no specific rules on how to approach reviewers and obtain consent. In earlier works, Kozinets (2002) recommends that informed consent should be obtained when directly quoting postings in research. Since then, in his most recent publication, Kozinets (2020) has acknowledged the evolving dynamics of netnography and the debates that exist within the methodological field. Within this frame of reference, he argues that whilst consent should be obtained, it is not necessary when working with publicly open-access data such as TripAdvisor. This is supported by Roth-Cohen and Lahav (2019), who said that consent is unnecessary for the use of TripAdvisor reviews, which are publicly available.

Sugiura et al (2017) suggest that TripAdvisor reviews can be observed without reviewers being aware and granting consent because of its open access. They write:

"Online spaces such as forums can be viewed as public documents rather than ethnographic interactions, and the automatic archiving of text in such spaces makes the active presence (and disclosure) of the researcher unnecessary" (p.190).

Hine (2008, p. 317) argues that informed consent is not necessary when data is publicly available on websites or discussion forums and when there is "no foreseeable harm, and the topic is not intrusive or troubling" (p. 317). Likewise, Mkono and Tribe (2017) contend that informed consent is not required to access and use TripAdvisor reviews because it is a public website where a significant number of members remain anonymous or use pseudonyms. Additionally, they said there is no requirement to disclose research activity members before using their reviews because the research is not "personal or sensitive" (p. 290).

Eysenbach and Till (2001) argue that while members may share reviews on the public forum, this does not mean they have consented to their posts being used for research. Arguably, members of TripAdvisor have consented to their reviews being used for research purposes by agreeing to the Terms and Conditions of

the platform before joining. Obar and Oeldorf-Hirsch (2018) maintain that users have agreed to TripAdvisor's Terms and Conditions whether or not they have read all of it, which explains how their reviews can be accessed and used. On this note, Roy et al (2015) said consent is not necessary since anyone is free to join and they have accepted the Terms and Conditions of the site. Although TripAdvisor's Terms and Conditions did not prohibit the use of reviews (Langer & Beckman, 2005) and this research itself is not sensitive, the researcher created a TripAdvisor profile and posted a privacy notice to inform and protect members and reduce deception (Bruckman, 2006). Edinburgh Napier University's Ethics Committee also recommended this.

There appears to be an agreement among scholars that obtaining consent from all members of the online community of TripAdvisor is virtually impossible (Sugiura et al., 2017; Lehner-Mear, 2020) that are geographically dispersed (Saunders et al., 2019). As indicated earlier, TripAdvisor has over 8.7 million reviewers. In this case, Jong (2017) said it would not be possible to obtain consent from many users of online communities that are relevant to this research. In this respect, she notes that some members may no longer be part of the online community as they might have deleted or deactivated their accounts.

Therefore, consent to use TripAdvisor reviews was not necessary because the study is not sensitive, is low risk, and does not negatively affect the rights and well-being of members (Kraut et al., 2004). Thus, the use of TripAdvisor reviews for this study is ethically acceptable and was approved by Edinburgh Napier University's Ethics Committee. The next section discusses the challenges and limitations of the research methodology employed in this study.

## 5.8 Limitations of the Methodology

This section considers the limitations of the research methodology employed in this study.

Although some academics argue that reality and meaning do not go beyond the text (Edwards & Potter, 1992; Edwards et al., 1995), several authors have countered this by stating that there is more beyond text because reality is socially

constructed through language and interaction (Harre, 1990; Cromby & Nightingale, 1999). However, there appear to be two main criticisms against subjective realities that are socially constructed. Some academics have argued that socially constructed reality is rooted in realism (Collier, 1998; Galloway, 2000), while others have perceived the theory to have been conceptualized in the thinking of relativism (Davies, 1998; Slater, 2017).

On the one hand, realism subscribes to the notion that the world exists independently of visitors' experiences and views (Searle, 1995). On the other hand, relativism is the "view that there can be no ultimate truth, and that therefore all perspectives are equally valid" (Burr, 2015, p. 238). However, it is arguable that realists have failed to understand the subtleties of anti-realist arguments (Edwards et al., 1995) and vice versa (Nightingale & Coomby,1999). Nonetheless, reality is subjectively shaped by multiple realities that are socially constructed by various social forces and structures in society. This is because meaning is created and shared through interactions and visitors' interpretations of museums and their objects (Polk, 2018). Yet, it has been extensively argued throughout this thesis that all views, opinions, and beliefs are considered to be real, valid, and worthy of recognition. This is further explained below.

Understandably, netnography is about utterances and not necessarily about the utterer (Costello et al., 2017). Nevertheless, a key concern in netnographic research is determining the authenticity and quality of online data (Xun & Reynolds, 2010). For instance, Mkono (2013) observes that in netnography, it might be challenging to establish participants' demographics and is unsuitable for research that explores sensitive factors such as age and gender. Arguably, the authenticity and identity of posters may not be known because of the level of anonymity the online environment allows (Schembri & Latimer, 2016).

With the technological advancements of Artificial Intelligence (AI), including chatbots, it could become more and more challenging to distinguish between texts created by AI and those composed by human visitors (Xie-Carson et al., 2023). Stubblefield (2023) and Carter and Fuller (2016) observe that visitors present themselves within the online environment to conceal their true selves or

offline identities through anonymous postings, avatars, and user handle names. Thus, various online personas can exist within social media communities (Zhakin, 2023). However, Robinson (2007) countered this by arguing that visitors who exist within the online community incorporate their offline identity into their online identity. In this sense, the visitor is immersed in the online environment as a new character, where one's identity is related to and reliant on the physical body of the visitor, which appears offline (Gambetti, 2020; Li, 2023).

Yet, AI, including chatbots or non-human actors, are viewed as important as human actors (Latour, 2007). Kozinets (2010) argues that online personas are a representation of the real identity of the members and visitors in the online community. For instance, he argues that alterations of identities in the online community are a "natural consequence" (p. 202) that mirrors contemporary social conventions. Lugosi and Quinton's (2018) theory of a more-than-human netnography, a sub-type of netnography, explains how human and non-human actors equally play an essential role in netnographic research. Kozinets and Gretzel (2024, p. 11) asserted that AI algorithms can provide "helpful overviews of data, assisting netnographers in managing and organizing datasets and helping them to find the right pieces of relevant deep data amid the many social sites available". Still, they contend that netnography requires the involvement of human researchers to provide their insights.

Kozinets and Gretzel (2024) said that non-human content, such as chatbots, may be perceived as a "potential dilution of authentic, human-generated narratives" (p. 4). Xie-Carson et al (2023) said that it is difficult to establish trustworthiness in non-human actors due to their virtual identity. They noted that trustworthiness in relation to non-human actors differs from that of human actors. They argue that the reliability of non-human entities that resemble humans depends on their level of realism and functionality. They also said that the difference between human and non-human actors is the perceived authenticity of their posts. In the case of non-human actors, the authenticity of their posts is closely linked to their source credibility (Borah, 2015). Building trustworthiness can be challenging for non-human actors (Sands et al., 2022), but researchers can emphasize their perceived expertise, attractiveness, and personality (Ohanian, 1990). These

characteristics are essential in ensuring post-authenticity in the non-human context. Yet, Kim and Kim (2020) said that the authenticity of online reviews is determined by visitors' subjective evaluation of what they perceive to be trustworthy. Still, TripAdvisor uses fraud detection technology to identify fake or inauthentic reviews (TripAdvisor, 2022). It is important to reiterate here that through online semi-structured interviews, museum managers and curators were able to verify the reviews posted on TripAdvisor. In other words, the reviews selected for this study were consistent with the responses provided by museum managers and curators.

Nonetheless, netnography does not seek to authenticate posts or truth. For instance, Kozinets and Gretzel (2024, p. 10) explain:

"Regardless of origin or intent...each post represents a speech act—an utterance that, in its context, contributes to one or more ongoing digital exchanges...Unless forming part of the research question, most netnographies do not endeavour to authenticate posts or reveal the 'real' individual behind an account, pseudonym, digital avatar, or other posting entity. Searching for the tangible 'truth' of a social post is generally a futile exercise that detracts from the netnography's primary objective of knowledge building and cultural understanding...".

Indeed, Berger and Luckman (1966, p. 43) notes:

"In the face-to-face situation the other is fully real. This reality is part of the overall reality of everyday life, and as such massive and compelling. To be sure, another may be real to me without my having encountered him face to face – by reputation, say, or by having corresponded with him".

Therefore, what is considered to be true or real is relevant to the discussion. According to Polk (2018, p.4), "truth is a process; it is not the property of someone. Truth is made through everyday interactions". Kozinets (1998, p. 369) writes:

"The same freedom which inspires people to mischievously construct deliberate falsehoods about themselves and their opinions also allows them and others the freedom to express aspects of themselves, their ambitions and inner conflicts, that they would otherwise keep deeply hidden".

Gergen (2001, p. 806) states:

"...To tell the truth, on this account, is not to furnish an accurate picture of what actually happened but to participate in a set of social conventions ... To be objective is to play by the rules within a given tradition of social practices ... The major question that must be asked of scientific accounts, then, is not whether they are true to nature but what these accounts ... offer to the culture more generally".

In a similar vein, Kozinets (2020, p. 206) notes:

"...that these things are mentioned on the site are social facts – and thus trustworthy data...they are no truer or falser than any retrospective recounted interviews or any answers given to a questionnaire, and they must be treated with the same analytical care".

Indeed, rightfully so, as Ratner (2006, p. 2) notes, "there is no truth beyond what the group believes. Any attempt to judge truth is tyranny". In this sense, he argues that the subjective realities that visitors socially construct "validate" the views and opinions of visitors and members within online communities (p.5). He maintains that there is no right or wrong since there is nothing for visitors or online community members to be wrong about. Thus, for him, every view and opinion is deemed acceptable and credible. In this respect, he argues that beliefs and opinions are valuable because they offer novel and varying views and insights into what influences visitors to engage with museums. Therefore, such beliefs and opinions are considered to be truth. Yet, from a subjectivist perspective, Ratner (2006, p. 3) writes:

"...beliefs are simply opinions. They can never be wrong because they are not trying to describe anything real. Error is only defined against some reality that is misperceived. If there is no reality, or we can never perceive it, there is nothing to be mistaken about".

Similarly, Szklarska (2017) said that subjective interpretations of visitors' or members' narrations and their experiences of museums and society are considered true. In this regard, truth is a personal construct in which visitors create themselves and may be negotiated and renegotiated. This is supported by Grobler (2006, p. 274-275), who states that "the truth is not that which is truth, but rather that which is seen as truth according to the norms of the given culture"

and that "science does not discover facts but constructs them; nor does it investigate the reality, but creates it." Therefore, as Podoshen (2013) maintains, TripAdvisor reviewers belong to real social groups. He argues that this allows anonymity and inclusion whereby members can influence and inform discussions that provide insights into their lived experiences. This, of course, enables a greater understanding of the experiences and discourse shared within the online environment.

Another criticism levelled against netnography is that it lacks face-to-face interaction (Liamputtong, 2013). Mann and Stewart (2000) argue that text-only restricts the expression of members. Nevertheless, Kozinets (2010) argues that a lack of face-to-face interaction is insignificant to netnographic research. He suggests that this limitation can be overcome by utilizing a blended netnographic approach through the application of both online and offline data collection methods by incorporating interviews. To this effect, Jong (2017) highlights that combining both modalities fosters a rich and detailed understanding of the topic under investigation. Therefore, such an approach has been applied to this study. Thus, this study triangulated data through the use of online semi-structured interviews with UK slavery heritage museum managers and curators to broaden the understanding of unobtrusive internet-mediated observations of TripAdvisor reviews of visitors' encounters with these attractions. This was also necessary to strengthen the validity, reliability, and credibility of this research project and its findings.

Moreover, a number of authors have documented some limitations of passive netnography (Jong, 2017). For instance, Dwivedi (2009) claims that a passive approach does not have the capacity to explore members' lived experiences indepth, while Kozinets (2006) notes that the researcher cannot verify members' personal information. Additionally, Zhang and Hitchcock (2017) said that a passive role does not allow access to non-verbal cues. As explained earlier, observations in netnography are concerned with utterances (Kozinets, 2020), that is, the written text, and that members express themselves differently online than in-person through the use of emoticons and visual aid such as photographs to assist with interpretation (Saunders et al., 2019). To overcome these challenges,

data were triangulated to broaden the understanding of insights gathered from TripAdvisor reviews and to validate the research findings. This has been extensively discussed throughout this chapter.

Criticisms of qualitative inquiry span from several areas of research. For instance, critic Kerlinger (1986) criticized qualitative research for its inability to manipulate independent variables, the risk of improper interpretation, and the lack of power to randomize. Likewise, Lee (1989) criticizes qualitative research, particularly case studies, for its lack of controllability, deductibility, repeatability, and generalizability. While Braun et al (2017) said that qualitative research inquiry is often viewed as labour-intensive and time-consuming. These limitations or criticisms do not apply to this study, particularly qualitative research designs. Instead, they appear to be contradictions or an explanation of the differences between quantitative and qualitative methodologies. For example, qualitative research designs are associated with an inductive approach and not a deductive approach. In addition to this, as outlined in the preceding sections, qualitative research designs are not concerned with numerical data and making generalizations. Instead, qualitative research designs involve non-numerical data, such as words and images, which are used to understand and gain insights into a phenomenon.

With regard to netnography and a purposive sampling technique, Mkono (2016) said that not all visitors or members are equally represented within online communities. In this sense, he notes that the sample of reviews does not represent the views, experiences, and identities of all visitors. Nonetheless, netnography is purposive rather than representative (Kozinets, 2020). Thus, unobtrusive internet-mediated observations were triangulated with online semi-interviews to broaden the understanding of insights gathered from TripAdvisor reviews and to validate the research findings. In addition, it is important to reiterate that qualitative research does not seek to be representative of the entire population (Saunders et al., 2019).

Regarding observations, Queirós et al (2017) said that observations can be timeconsuming, dependent on the observer's impartiality, require significant preparation, and sometimes challenging to collect data in real-time. In this respect, the researcher utilized the search function available on TripAdvisor to insert keywords to locate meaningful reviews. This helped to expedite the process of observing reviews. In addition to this, detailed reviews were selected for this research as they provided a depth of information and insights into the factors that influence visitors to engage with UK slavery heritage museums. Observations were concluded when data became saturated, where no new information or themes were observable in the dataset (Podoshen, 2013).

Curasi (2001) argues that online semi-structured interviews are not representative of all experiences and the entire population because online interviews are restricted to those with access to the Internet and Microsoft Teams, while some may be uncomfortable using it (Irani, 2019). On this note, Lo Iacono et (2016) highlight that some participants may be reluctant to embrace technology, especially the elderly. For instance, Sullivan (2012) found that younger participants are comfortable using video conferencing tools such as Microsoft Teams, whereas the elderly are reluctant to use these platforms. However, a number of authors have well documented that elderly members are comfortable using VOIPs (Fokkema & Knipscheer, 2007; Shapira et al., 2007). Nonetheless, it is important to note that participants in this research were comfortable with the use of Microsoft Teams and the online environment in conducting the semi-structured interviews.

Furthermore, Krouwel et al (2019) highlighted six main challenges and limitations of online semi-structured interviews. These include 1. time lags and disconnected calls; 2. participants may not have the required software to conduct the interview; 3. lack of access to body language and other nonverbal responses; 4. loss of contextual data by poor visualization of the interviewee's environment because some cameras require participants to look directly into the device to make eye contact; 5. multiple and separate locations can result in "interruptions from colleagues, family members or pets" (p. 2); and 6. access and competency in using internet communication technologies such as Microsoft Teams. Similarly, James and Busher (2016) said that the motivations and interests of participants, problems with internet connection, language use, and verification of participants'

identity are all challenges that may arise during the conduct of online semistructured interviews. It is important to note that the researcher and participants did not experience any of the above challenges during the conduct of online semistructured interviews.

Regarding access to nonverbal cues, Kazmer and Xie (2008) counter this by stating that participants have the ability to express themselves through written communication, such as emotions and the changing of fonts. However, Irani (2019) claims that written communications cannot provide information about participants' non-verbal responses. Nonetheless, Salmons (2012) maintains that online semi-structured interviews offer both verbal and nonverbal signals. Likewise, Sullivan (2012) notes that online semi-structured interviews and the use of Microsoft Teams provide access to both verbal and non-verbal cues, which are authentic, like traditional face-to-face interviews. For instance, Lo lacono et al (2016) said that researchers can observe participants' body language by focusing on the upper part of the body, which can provide significant details of the rest of the body, or by connecting a camera with a wider lens to gain a full picture of the body. In this instance, Seitz (2016) suggests that the researcher should interpret facial expressions to develop understanding and determine emotions. Therefore, such recommendations were implemented in this study.

## **Chapter Summary**

This chapter explained and justified the research methodology employed in this study, which is reflected in Figure 18 below.

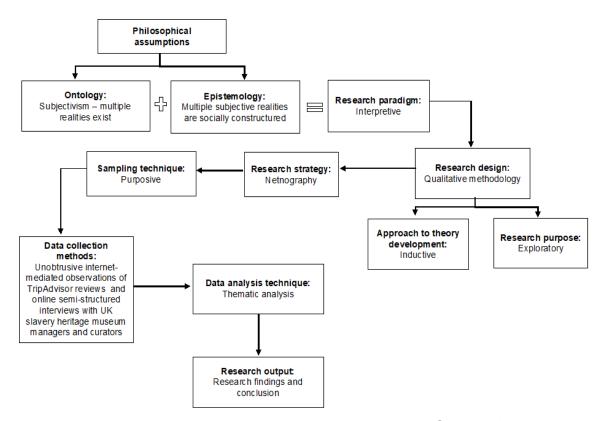


Figure 18: Research Methodology

Source: Author's own

The chapter outlined that the data collected and analysed in this study are valid, reliable, and credible. The chapter revealed that reality is subjectively shaped by multiple realities that are socially constructed by various social forces and structures in society. The discussion presented in this chapter highlighted that this interpretive study is qualitative, inductive, and exploratory in nature. An explanation for a blended passive symbolic netnographic research strategy, combining online semi-structured interviews with content analysis of TripAdvisor, was provided. The sampling technique and data collection methods were discussed. Additionally, the limitations of the research methodology and ethical procedures were considered and explained. The next chapter provides a discussion of the research findings.

# **Chapter 6: Findings and Discussion**

## Introduction

This chapter addresses the aim of this thesis, which is to critically evaluate the factors that influence visitor engagement with UK slavery heritage museums. The purpose of this chapter is to, therefore, discuss the significance of the findings from the data analysis and provide an understanding of the factors that influence visitor engagement with UK slavery heritage museums. In doing so, the chapter demonstrates where this study contributes knowledge in heritage tourism research, HVA research, museum studies, dark tourism research, slavery heritage tourism research, and visitor engagement with museums research. It also discusses the implications of the findings and illuminates some opportunities for future contributions to research.

As discussed in Chapter Five, observations of TripAdvisor reviews were triangulated with online semi-structured interviews with thirteen museum managers and curators from eight UK slavery heritage museums to confirm and validate the postings made by reviewers on the platform. Therefore, the findings of the study emanated from the online semi-structured interviews with the thirteen museum managers and curators of the eight UK slavery heritage museums and the content analysis of the TripAdvisor reviews. Data were thematically analysed using the analytical software NVivo as an aid to analysis (as per recommended use). The researcher followed the steps in thematic analysis research discussed in Chapter Five. The themes emerged from the literature review, online semistructure interviews with the museum managers and curators and the content analysis of the TripAdvisor reviews. The interview transcripts and TripAdvisor reviews were imported into NVivo. The data was then explored to identify themes or keywords from the documents. The keywords were then coded using the feature node. Afterwards, the keywords were searched through a query, which displayed all of the keywords in the data. During this process, the researcher also manually analysed data by making notes of important keywords and ideas so that no crucial insights were missed. Pseudonyms were used to protect the identity of reviewers and museum professionals. TA was used for TripAdvisor reviews, and MP for museum professionals' responses.

The analysis of the data revealed a number of factors that influence visitor engagement with UK slavery heritage museums, including:

- Prior knowledge (i.e., familiarity; past experience of the site, including similar attractions across different geographical locations; expertise; perceived authenticity);
- Multiple motivations (i.e., push factors including personal enrichment, self-expression, self-actualization, self-image, satisfaction, recreation, enjoyment, group attraction; pull factors including museum marketing efforts, quality of the environment within and surrounding the attraction, on-site activities, host-guest relationships, recommendations including media, incidental visitation);
- Cultural capital (i.e., social origins including identity, ancestry, genealogy, and cultural background; accumulation of cultural practices; taste; social class; education and expertise; age);
- 4. **Social capital** (i.e., offline interactions and relationships; online interactions and exchange; online connections and relationships via social media);
- 5. Management of the HVA (i.e., interpretation; stakeholder involvement including politics, governance, and power dynamics; accurate representation; community engagement including co-production and co-curation, trust and expertise, cultural background, and diversity of staff; design including space, lighting, sound, layout, flow, movement, access, and interactive displays; marketing including packaging and authenticity).

This chapter discusses the above factors by themes and sub-themes.

## Theme 1: Prior Knowledge

Sub-theme: Familiarity

The analysis revealed that prior knowledge is a key factor in influencing visitor engagement with UK slavery heritage museums. This finding reflects that of Taheri et al (2014), who also found that prior knowledge influences visitor engagement with museums. The analysis revealed that the level of knowledge and familiarity of the topic of slavery, the site, and similar attractions within different geographical locations influences some visitors' engagement with UK slavery heritage museums. This includes visitors who have some level of knowledge of slavery through visiting similar attractions or learning about it from books and in school; visitors with ancestral linkages and cultural capital; and visitors who may be aware of the museum's exhibits and artefacts through varying media such as the museum's website which in turn influences their engagement with UK slavery heritage museums. This finding corroborates Falk and Dierking's (1992) interactive experience model, personal context, discussed in Chapter Four, that visitors' prior knowledge, experience, attitudes, and interests influence their engagement with museums. For instance, one reviewer wrote:

"International Slavery exhibition - not as good as Hull or London on the slave trade, although there was things about runaway slaves and rebellion which had not seen before. Also very good on the enduring legacy of slavery in Africa, Caribbean, US, and worldwide" (TA3, 2017).

Interestingly, the level of familiarity a visitor has determines their emotional and intellectual engagement with the UK slavery heritage museums selected for this study and their objects. This supports Savenije and de Bruijn's (2017) findings, which were discussed in Chapter Two, that the cognitive and affective dimensions of engagement interplay within museum spaces. For instance, one museum professional explained the difference between emotional and intellectual engagement:

"I think they engage emotionally, and they engage intellectually with it, and different visitors come with different baggage and knowledge, and different visitors come with different needs and expectations...there is an intimate connection between the building and the content of the gallery...and not many visitors make that connection. They accept the gallery because they understand that it is a maritime story. However, they do not necessarily make the connection that this building was the London end of that story. However, it does explicitly say that in the gallery space, so in terms of engagement, some people will come out thoughtful, and others will come out feeling they have learned something. Some people come out angry" (MP7, 2022).

The analysis revealed that the level of familiarity influences the degree of engagement a visitor has with UK slavery heritage museums. In this sense, the analysis suggests that visitors who are not familiar with the museum may not have the same level of engagement with museum exhibits as visitors who have a high level of familiarity but may acquire some knowledge through their engagement. For instance, visitors who are familiar with the museum and the story of slavery may acquire additional information, while some may not learn anything new through their engagement. This is explained in the excerpts below. Yet, the data analysis revealed that some visitors tend to learn and accumulate knowledge through their engagement with UK slavery heritage museums even if they were not familiar with the museum and the story of the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade. Therefore, this challenges Moscardo's (1996) theory of mindfulness discussed in Chapter Four, that visitors with no prior knowledge dismiss and do not engage with museum objects that are not relevant to them. For example, one reviewer wrote:

"Before we arrived in Lancaster, we had no idea of its maritime history. After visiting this excellent museum, we are no longer ignorant. Lancaster was once one of the biggest ports in England, so there is a huge amount of information to be gleaned" (TA1, 2014).

#### While an interviewee said

"...it is also what the visitor brings with them, in terms of knowledge, in terms of their experience, in terms of the lives that they have led, in terms of family relationships, all those sorts of issues because some people will react more, well, emotionally, they will react differently. They will be more interested in some item, in some aspects, some subject areas, some items than others...Somebody with a deep

experience or deep knowledge of something may gain more from it because of that connection. They may also feel, well, actually, I know as much as you know they are telling me. I am not learning anything new, whereas somebody who knows very little actually feels, oh, I am learning a lot...." (MP3, 2022).

Interestingly, the analysis revealed that not all visitors who engage with museums and the story of slavery engage with displays in this way. Instead, some unfamiliar visitors may rapidly engage with the exhibits or not engage at all. Arguably, such findings can be applied to those visitors who have a greater level of familiarity. Yet, this requires further exploration.

<u>Sub-theme: Past experiences of the site, including similar attractions across</u> different geographical locations

Undeniably, past experiences influence some visitors to engage with UK slavery heritage museums. This accord with Kelly's (2007) finding discussed in Chapter Four that some visitors take their past experiences to museums that are relevant to them, resulting in their engagement with museum exhibits. Thus, it also supports Kozak's (2001) argument discussed in Chapter Four that past experiences of HVAs influence some visitors' decision-making and engagement with sites. The analysis revealed that some visitors have previous experiences visiting UK slavery heritage museums and past experiences and pre-existing relationships with similar HVAs centred around the theme of slavery across various geographical locations. This supports Kang and Namkung's (2016) findings discussed in Chapter Four that some visitors have past experiences or pre-existing relationships with museums. Furthermore, past experiences can evoke a sense of nostalgia, resulting in repeat visitation and familiarity for some visitors. For instance, one reviewer wrote:

"Many years ago, Wilberforce House was my first museum experience. As children, we wandered around this dark, slightly spooky house and wallowed in the period atmosphere. Even at a relatively young age, we could appreciate the horrors of the slave trade and cringe at the sight of the cruel implements used against our fellow men and women. At the same time, we were transported back in time by the "untouched" feel of the house. It was a horrific yet magical place. A recent return visit was a huge disappointment..." (TA5, 2011)

#### Another reviewer commented

"having fairly recently visited Haiti and learned all about the Slaves and their revolts and fights against the Europeans. It was interesting to see this from the English point of view. The story was told well with freestanding panels which did not damage the old house" (TA5, 2017).

## Sub-theme: Expertise

The analysis revealed that some visitors bring their own experiences, relationships, knowledge, and expertise to UK slavery heritage museums that they have accumulated through books, films, websites, social media, guidebooks, brochures, leaflets, friends, family, ancestry, and schools which in turn shapes their understanding and interpretation of slavery and therefore engagement with museums exhibits. For example, one reviewer wrote:

"We visited the museum the day after we had seen '12 Years a Slave' at the cinema. As a result, we were already thinking about the evil of slavery and its continuing impact. The museum fed the sense of disgust we already felt...But surely the tragedy of the Atlantic slave trade was more complicated than British merchants bad and African villagers good? This is the International Slavery Museum, but it somehow neglects the full extent of the issue internationally and plays down the part the UK played in starting to dismantle the trade..." (TA2, 2014).

The above is consistent with Krisjanous's (2016) finding discussed in Chapter Three that engagement with dark tourism attractions starts in the pre-visitation stage when visitors visit websites and, therefore, physically engage with dark HVAs. Similarly, the analysis supports Kotler et al's (2008) and Oeldorf-Hirsch's (2018) findings discussed in Chapter Four that visitors gather information prior to visitation through various sources, including tourist boards, brochures, magazines, websites, social media, television, and radio. Still, the analysis suggests that the knowledge and expertise that visitors accumulate through the various sources mentioned above influences their level of engagement and the way in which they choose to engage with UK slavery heritage museums and their objects. This is further explained in the following sections. Yet, some visitors will

engage with museum displays to varying degrees depending on their level of interest.

Interestingly, the level of knowledge some visitors bring to UK slavery heritage museums may interpret displays as disempowering. For example, a museum professional explains:

"...slavery being something that's imposed upon black people by white Europeans; that abolition is something that was bestowed upon enslaved people by white Europeans with no sense of resistance or campaigning or any of those sorts of things on the part of black people. So that is one way black visitors feel disempowered" (MP7, 2022).

Within this context, the analysis showed that some UK slavery heritage museums are presenting victims of slavery in a humanizing way and diversifying staff to appeal to specific visitor groups of particular cultural backgrounds. This is further elaborated upon in the following sections. Thus, the analysis indicated that when visitors see themselves reflected in the museum and its displays, it results in emotional engagement such that it evokes a range of emotions, such as a sense of pride, a sense of belonging, sadness, and pain. In contrast, some visitors may express a sense of shame. This is further elaborated upon in the subsequent sections.

#### Sub-theme: Perceived authenticity

Still, the analysis revealed that visitors' level of knowledge and expertise acquired through books, films, websites, social media, guidebooks, brochures, leaflets, friends, family, ancestry, and schools shapes their perceptions of slavery and museums and what they consider to be authentic, which in turn influences the way in which they engage with museum displays. This accords well with Seaton and Lennon's (2004, p. 64) argument discussed in Chapter Four that the accumulation of knowledge through books, films, websites, social media, guidebooks, brochures, leaflets, friends, family, ancestry, and schools "plays a crucial role in museum visitation and perceptions of an attraction." Thus, the analysis showed that visitor engagement is influenced by perceived authenticity, which is shaped by visitors' perceptions and personal stories, histories, and self-

images. Thus, Dicks (2017) is right to have argued in Chapter Four that two visitors do not have the same experience during a museum visit and appropriate cultural products in the same way. That is, visitors unconsciously engage with exhibitions they perceive to be relevant to them. Therefore, this results in visitors' selective interpretation and engagement based on their personally constructed perceptions. Thus, Wight (2009, p. 137) is right to have argued in Chapter Two that "heritage is, ultimately, a personal affair and each individual constructs heritage based on personal life experiences providing anchors of personal values and stability." Likewise, Simon (2004) is right to have argued in Chapter Two that each visitor sets the parameters of their visit and how they engage with a museum. Yet, some visitors view UK slavery heritage museum displays as politically correct, whitewashed, and sanitized, which are derived from their perceptions and selective interpretation of slavery. This, in turn, influences the level and way in which they engage with UK slavery heritage museums and their displays. Thus, Salazar and Zhu (2015) are right to have argued in Chapter Two that heritage is not concerned about history or the past. Instead, it is manufactured in the present, based on the experiences of the visitor and what they choose to do with it. This is elaborated upon in the subsequent sections.

Interestingly, UK slavery heritage museums are constrained by the number of words to convey the story of slavery on object labels to visitors. Thus, museum professionals have to make a conscious choice in conveying the story of slavery, which may result in some key details about slavery being omitted from exhibits. This is further explained and supported in the subsequent sections. Nevertheless, some visitors bring their own knowledge to museums, which shapes their perceptions of the events surrounding slavery and what they consider to be the truth. Thus, these perceptions and what is considered to be truth influence how visitors engage with UK slavery heritage museums and their displays. For example, a reviewer wrote:

"Not 1 slave was ever landed in Liverpool, so why label it a 'slaving port'? I was told by an 'expert' that the 'slaves' were tethered to the dockside in chains when they were taken off the ships. What a load of rubbish. The triangular trade was raw cotton being brought from America and cotton goods returned to America. Slave ships operated

between America and Africa, where black slavers sold black slaves to the ship operators. Get your facts right..." (TA2, 2019).

Yet, the analysis indicated that this translates into visitors sharing their own views on what the narratives should be regarding displays, ultimately shaped by the knowledge and perceptions they take to museums. For example, some reviewers wrote:

- "...Until we can be honest about such things as slavery and admit that it was not just the big bad Brits who were involved, but the Africans themselves selling their own people into slavery, then such things as this "museum" are a waste of time. We need to tell it as it was, or not at all..." (TA2, 2018).
- "...We need a more balanced view about the slave trade, though. Slavery was illegal in Britain after the 12th century, and we did not have slaves here. Also, we need more about The West African Squad, William Wilberforce, The Quakers and how Great Britain used its influence around the world to abolish the slave trade..." (TA8, 2017).

This strengthens Wight and Lennon's (2007, p. 522) argument discussed in Chapter Four, where engagement becomes a "selective syncretic." Therefore, visitors bring with them a wide range of expectations that influence their engagement with UK slavery heritage museums and their displays. This accords well with Nawijn et al's (2015) argument discussed in Chapter Three that visitors' prior expectations influence the way in which visitors engage with dark HVAs. Thus, an implication of this range of visitors' expectations, needs, and desires presents a challenge for museum practitioners to find ways to satisfy those expectations, needs, and desires of the visitor. A museum professional said:

"...visitors often come with high expectations for how the museum will engage with the topic and needs that they want the museum to meet, which can make it challenging for curators...and it is a difficult one to get right in terms of meeting the needs of the various audience members and visitors" (MP13, 2022).

**Theme 2: Multiple Motivations** 

The data analysis revealed multiple push and pull factors that motivate visitors to

visit and engage with UK slavery heritage museums. These are discussed below

according to sub-themes.

**Push Factors** 

Sub-theme: personal enrichment

The analysis revealed that some visitors are motivated to visit and engage with

UK slavery heritage museums for personal enrichment. Within this context, some

visitors are motivated to visit UK slavery heritage museums for educational

purposes and to learn about the museum and slavery, thereby accumulating

knowledge. One reviewer wrote:

"We first visited this museum to spend time learning of the slave trade

with regards to the slave ships, their owners, the plantations and the terrible conditions endured by the poor souls forced into slavery..."

(TA3, 2018).

The above is consistent with Ryan and Hsu's (2011) findings discussed in

Chapter Two that some museum visitors also visit and engage with museums to

seek knowledge, information, acquisition, and learning. The motivation to learn

and accumulate knowledge of UK slavery heritage museums and slavery is

driven by several factors, including age, research, university or school curriculum,

cultural capital, and particular interests. This is elaborated upon in the next

section.

An interviewee said

"...people are coming specifically to learn something. One of the main motivations for the Maritime Museum is that they visit to learn

something or to find out something new...people are looking specifically for ways to improve their knowledge and understanding of

things..." (MP1, 2022).

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In relation to the excerpt above, the analysis also showed that visitors with cultural capital and a particular interest are not only motivated to learn but to learn more or something new. This accords well with Richards' (2001) argument in Chapter Two that visitors participate in heritage tourism to gather new information and experiences to satisfy their cultural needs. The analysis indicated that visitors who are motivated to learn more or something new are influenced by prior knowledge, including past experiences and accumulated knowledge acquired through relationships, interactions, media, books, films, visitor centres, and museum marketing. This has been discussed in the previous section and is further elaborated upon in the following sections. Yet, the analysis revealed that visitors who are motivated to learn and engage with UK slavery heritage museums intellectually and at varying degrees. For example, an interviewee said, "...but something I have noticed is that it varies between people, kind of the weight they put on those different ways of thinking about and engaging with the subject" (MP13, 2022). This supports McKercher's (2005) argument discussed in Chapter Two that the motivation to visit a site determines the depth of the visitor experience, or in this case, engagement. This is elaborated upon in the subsequent sections.

#### Sub-theme: self-expression

The analysis revealed that some visitors are motivated to visit and engage with UK slavery heritage museums to *express themselves emotionally*. This supports Poria et al's (2006a) findings discussed in Chapter Two that visitors are motivated to visit and engage with HVAs for emotional reasons. An interviewee said:

"...people who trace their heritage to have a connection with enslavement and the emotionally charged nature of engaging with that topic" (MP13, 2022)

#### A reviewer wrote:

"...I went through a range of emotions from happy, sad, anger and close to tears" (TA2, 2015).

The analysis revealed that intellectual engagement influences emotional engagement with exhibits. This supports Savenije and de Bruijn's (2017) argument discussed in Chapter Two that the cognitive and affective dimensions of engagement interplay with each other. One participant said, "...intellectual engagement, you go into a gallery, you read a text panel, and you learn about the active union in 1707 and the circumstances that brought about, then that might also make it seem very arbitrarily separate because that might make you feel a certain way as well and that is emotional engagement. So the two kinds of overlap" (MP5, 2022). In this sense, some museum professionals said that when some visitors intellectually engage and learn about the history of slavery within the museum space, it evokes a mixed range of emotions, including sadness, empathy, disgust, pain, and shame. This finding is consistent with the literature discussed in Chapters Two and Three. Thus, this supports Miles' (2002) temporal dimension of dark tourism sites discussed in Chapter Three. That is, UK slavery heritage museums, in this sense, engender a degree of empathy between the visitor and the tourism product and past victims. Yet, visitors' emotional responses can vary according to their personal connection to slavery. Thus, some museum professionals said that the emotionally charged nature of the topic of slavery makes it difficult to curate exhibits for visitor engagement.

## Sub-theme: Self-actualisation

#### One museum professional said

"...seeing parts of your own history and heritage represented and reflected, and you probably do want to feel a sense of pride about that history as well...it is an element of nostalgia because people are nostalgic about shipbuilding and the work and the camaraderie and stuff..." (MP5, 2022).

In relation to the quote above, *self-actualisation* is another pull factor that motivates some visitors to visit and engage with UK slavery heritage museums. The analysis showed that some visitors visit and engage with UK slavery heritage museums to reflect and reminisce on their experiences, such as working in the docks or maritime occupation, to feel nostalgic and to transport them back to those times, as explained in the excerpt above. This supports Christou's (2020)

argument discussed in Chapter Two that heritage tourism comforts some visitors who are left longing for sentimental experiences. Likewise, it accords well with Ali's (2015) finding discussed in Chapter Two that nostalgia influences some visitors to visit and engage with HVAs. This finding is also consistent with the literature discussed in Chapters Three and Four that some visitors visit and engage with UK slavery heritage museums to reflect on the past events of slavery. This allows them to acquire a sense of origin, identity, belonging, and self and to reward themselves with a sense of achievement and pride, which comes through the realisation and crystallization of the impact, travesties, and resistance to slavery. For example, an interviewee said, "...parts of your own history and heritage represented and reflected...you probably do want to feel a sense of pride about that history as well" (MP5, 2022). This is consistent with Nelson's (2020) findings discussed in Chapter Three that some visitors seek a liminal out-of-time, and out-of-place experience in which they immerse themselves.

#### Sub-theme: Self-image

Another pull factor that motivates some visitors' decision to visit and engage with UK slavery heritage museums is *self-image*. This aligns with Falk's (2009) argument discussed in Chapter Two that museum visitors are motivated to visit and engage with museums based on identity-related needs. The analysis revealed that visitors' cultural background, personal connection, identity, genealogy, and ancestral connection influence their decision to visit and engage with museums and to learn and reflect about their ancestry, cultural roots, and slavery. For example, one reviewer wrote, "I was drawn to this museum because my ancestors lived and worked in the Victorian docklands area and wanted to learn about their lives" (TA6, 2012).

The above is consistent with Timothy's (1997) and Higginbotham's (2012) findings discussed in Chapter Two that some visitors visit and engage with heritage tourism sites to discover their roots, ancestry, genealogy, and personal connection. Nonetheless, this finding is well-documented within the extant body

of literature in slavery heritage tourism research, as shown throughout the literature review chapters of this thesis.

## Sub-theme: Satisfaction

Satisfaction is also a pull factor that influences some visitors' decision to visit and engage with UK slavery heritage museums. The analysis revealed that some visitors visit and engage with UK slavery heritage museums because they are curious to compare the approach some slavery heritage museums take to tell the story of the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade. Intriguingly, trust underpins satisfaction.

## A museum professional explains:

"...there is not a lot of trust in large swathes of the black community, certainly the black community in London, for museums generally. They are seen as organizations that white people predominantly run for white people. They are seen as mouthpieces of official history sanctioned by the government.... So then they are seen as not being trustworthy organizations on the whole" (MP7, 2022).

In this sense, prior knowledge, as described earlier, shapes visitor perceptions about slavery. In this way, some visitors do not trust museums to accurately tell the story of slavery because they think it will be whitewashed and sanitized. A reviewer wrote:

"...the true history of the African slave trade, the roles Liverpool, Europe, and the rest of the world played, and the treatment of the black race during and after slavery would always be downplayed and heavily whitewashed to hide the hidden truth of the millions of black people who suffered unspeakable, unimaginable life through the hands of their slave masters and owners..." (TA2, 2016).

Further discussion and examples are provided in the subsequent sections. Thus, trust in museum managers and curators plays a pivotal role in the decision-making process of some visitors about whether to visit and engage with UK slavery heritage museums. This is elaborated upon in the subsequent sections. Nonetheless, these findings suggest that there are emerging motivational factors. Thus, museum managers, curators, and decision-makers must be mindful of the

changing nature and shift in visitor motivation for engaging with museums. In doing so, museum professionals should bear this in mind when developing marketing strategies and finding ways to meet the expectations of the visitor.

Sub-theme: Recreation

Some visitors are also motivated to visit and engage with UK slavery heritage museums for *recreational purposes* such as leisure, entertainment, and a dayout. This supports Wu and Wall's (2017) findings discussed in Chapter Two that visitors are motivated to visit HVAs for entertainment and leisure. An interviewee said

"....and a larger group of a large proportion of families. We get tourists because we are on the docks at M shed, so there is a lot of passing trade of people going to the harbour side for recreational purposes" (MP12, 2022).

A reviewer wrote:

"Our family of 2+2 (5.5 & 2.5-year-olds) went here on a lazy Sunday in Jan" (TA6, 2016).

Sub-theme: Enjoyment

The analysis showed that some visitors are motivated to visit and engage with UK slavery heritage museums for *enjoyment*—that is, to have fun, to have a great time, to enjoy themselves, or to adore the architecture and aesthetics of some museums. The analysis also revealed that some visitors are motivated by pleasure, which is sometimes driven by voyeurism, as Ashworth and Hartmann (2005) discussed in Chapter Three and highlighted in the excerpt below. Interestingly, the analysis challenges Sharpley's (2005) argument that visitors are fascinated with death, discussed in Chapter Three. Thus, this finding strengthens Light's (2017) argument discussed in Chapter Three that death is not necessarily a motivating factor for visiting and engaging with UK slavery heritage museums, and this, therefore, challenges Raine's (2013) classification of visitors to dark heritage visitor attractions, particularly morbidity curious and thrill seekers.

"I have no doubt that there is an element of voyeurism...In the Transatlantic Slavery Gallery, a physical space was developed to look like the bowels of the slave ship...a comment came back that people missed the physical representation in the TSG. They also said, "well, you have taken away the smell of like sick and in the ship, and it is sanitized"... (MP2, 2022).

### Sub-theme: Group attraction

The analysis showed that group visitations such as families, friends, and school groups influence engagement with UK slavery heritage museums. This accords well with Adie and Hall's (2017) argument discussed in Chapter Two that heritage tourists are usually employed and travel in groups of two to five people. For example, some family groups may take children or grandchildren to UK slavery heritage museums to enhance relationships and to teach them about slavery and their ancestry. This sometimes forms part of the routine of some visitors as extended family obligations. This aligns with Wu and Wall's (2017) statement that some visitors are motivated to visit and engage with museums to enhance relationships and fulfil extended family obligations. In addition, the analysis also indicated that social interactions within group settings during museum visits with friends and family influence engagement and the way in which they engage with museum exhibits. Therefore, Seaton (2018) is right to have argued in Chapter Two that visitor experiences are defined based on the social settings and realities that surround each visitor. Thus, Sharpley and Stone (2009, p. 2) are right to have pointed out that "you can escape from those around you, but you cannot escape yourself. This is elaborated upon in the subsequent sections.

## **Pull Factors**

## Sub-theme: Museum marketing efforts

The analysis showed that diversity of staff, time, inclusive tickets, and free admission are push factors that motivate some visitors to visit and engage with UK slavery heritage museums. This is consistent with Frey's (2019) findings discussed in Chapter Two that museums' marketing effort, activities, entry fees,

price of activities plus the opportunity cost, the cost of time, and income are all contributors that influence some visitors' decision to visit and engage with a museum.

## A museum professional explains:

"... it is free; I think fundamentally that is what people appreciate most more than anything... There are increasingly few sites in Bristol or any city where you do not have to pay to go. So I think that is what they appreciate and seeing the diversity of the displays at M shared, seeing that we are trying to bring different people's stories from the disability community to Black Lives Matter, talks and events to the local history of working-class histories" (MP12, 2022).

The analysis revealed that museum marketing and promotion of events and exhibitions motivate some visitors to visit and engage with UK slavery heritage museums, such as special temporary exhibitions developed by curators or annual events, including Black History Month and Slavery Remembrance Day. One participant explains:

"...We had a special event on Daughters of Ebo Woman: three films showing on different floors of the house done by [name], a local writer and filmmaker. It was looking at the life of Frances Coker...There was an obvious increase in diaspora visitors for that." (MP11, 2022).

#### Sub-theme: Quality of the environment within and surrounding the attraction

Another push factor that motivates some visitors to visit and engage with UK slavery heritage museums is the quality of the environment both within and surrounding the museum, including disabled access, diversity or innovative displays, on-site cafes, and nearby attractions. This is compatible with Mulcahy's (2020) argument discussed in Chapter Two that the quality of exhibitions, aesthetic features of a museum, and the museum's amenities, including but not limited to the location, ambience, general atmosphere, cafes, restaurants, and museum shops influence some visitors to visit and engage with museums. Therefore, as the analysis suggests, ease of access, location, and distance also motivate some visitors to visit and engage with UK slavery heritage museums.

#### A reviewer wrote:

"Since our hotel was in the Docklands, we wanted to check this out and try something a little more "London"...There is an open-air food market outside and a café inside. Nice place which we walked to from Canary Wharf" (TA6. 2018).

## Sub-theme: On-site activities

The analysis revealed that on-site activities for children, such as dressing up in costumes and games, motivate some visitors to visit and engage with UK slavery heritage museums. Furthermore, on-site activities such as tours and resource areas influence some visitors' engagement, as reflected in figures 19, 20, 21, 22, and 23 and highlighted in the quote below.

".... The museum suited the adults, as we are interested in history, but it also had a lot for the younger ones too. They spent about half an hour in one area, climbing on a barge, running around and getting into a 'carriage'. The older children were encouraged to join this game and had great fun doing so. The staff were happy to let the children explore, and there were a few things to dress up in. Pop into the 'Wagon' for lunch too, or 'The George' for a pint to round off the morning" (TA1, 2015).

Figure 19: On-Site Activity 1



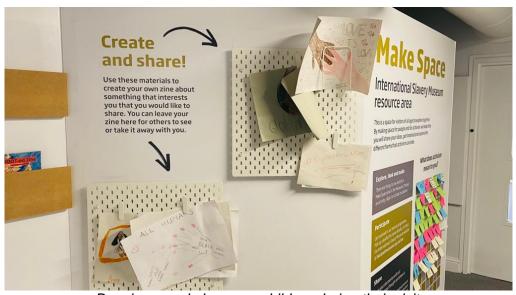
An activity for visitors to guess which goods were exported and imported into the UK in the 1800s, 1900s, and 2000s

Figure 20: On-Site Activity 2



Flip-up panels to reveal answers and information about exhibits.

Figure 21: Resource Area 1



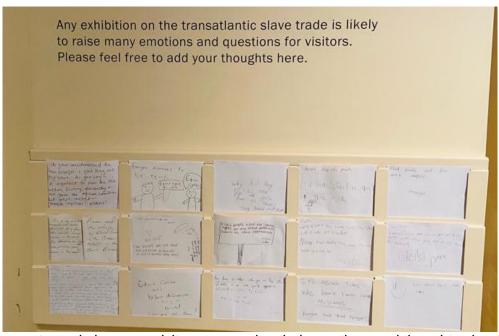
Drawings made by some children during their visit.

Figure 22: Resource Area 2



Sticky notes posted by some visitors sharing their views on activism.

Figure 23: Resource Area 3



Comments made by some visitors expressing their emotions and thoughts about the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade and their visit Sub-theme: Recommendations, including media

The analysis indicated that some visitors are motivated to visit and engage with

UK slavery heritage museums based on the media, films, and recommendations

by friends, community members, tourist boards, and visitor centres. This is

consistent with the discussion in the previous sections and the discussion

presented throughout the literature review.

A reviewer wrote:

"Went for the slavery exhibit as recommended by a lecturer but also

saw the 'Seized' exhibit and part of the maritime museum" (TA3, 2017).

Sub-theme: Host-guest relationship

The analysis showed that host-guest relationships, including the museum's

interaction with visitors outside the museum, motivate some visitors to visit and

engage with UK slavery heritage museums. This is consistent with Mensah's

(2015) findings discussed in Chapter Three that some visitors are motivated to

visit slavery heritage tourism sites. A participant said:

"...there was a local [name], she put together an exhibition called the daughters of Igbo women, and that was very much kind of grassroots

community activist kind of perspective....that diversified our audience because that community had been connected to through [name] and through her connections and her networks so people wanted to come

in to see her work and then saw the Georgian house has become the

backdrop to that, almost as like a secondary thing" (MP12, 2022).

Sub-theme: Incidental visitation

The analysis showed that some visitors had no specific agenda linked to finding

information about slavery. This is consistent with Stone's (2018) finding

discussed in Chapter Three that some visitors accidentally or incidentally visit

and engage with dark tourism sites. For instance, some visitors visit and engage

with UK slavery heritage museums because of idleness, boredom, or to shelter

the rain. This is well-documented by a number of authors, as discussed

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throughout the literature review chapters of this thesis. For example, one reviewer wrote, "to be honest, we only visited this museum to get out of the rain, but we were pleased that we did. It shows the history of Lancaster and, in particular, the maritime influence that played a major part in Lancaster's origins. We found the whole museum very interesting, and as visitors, we learnt a lot about the area that we otherwise would have remained ignorant of" (TA1, 2019).

#### An interviewee said

"...because of the way our museums are laid out currently, in that on for the building itself, we have two floors of the Maritime Museum content, The International Slavery Museum is Level 3, and then another level on top. Sometimes, people enter the International Slavery Museum without realizing they are entering a different museum content...positives that you may not have come in to engage with that story, but it is here, you found yourself immersed in it" (MP4, 2022).

In relation to the excerpt above, some visitors incidentally engage with UK slavery heritage museums because of the way in which the museum is designed and set up, or perhaps because more than one museum is located in the same building, or because they were passing by the area. They may end up engaging with the museum and its objects. Therefore, this strengthens Biran et al's (2014) arguments discussed in Chapter Three that not all visitors to dark heritage sites are considered thanatourists. Instead, some visitors visit for the reasons mentioned above.

## **Theme 3: Cultural Capital**

The analysis revealed that cultural capital influences visitor engagement with UK slavery heritage museums and is consistent with the discussion presented in Chapter Four of this thesis. An interviewee said:

"...there is an element of the desire to accumulate cultural capital. What I mean by that is that you are doing something of cultural value by visiting a museum, which might mean something for your standing within society, friendship groups, and family. Notice that some people want to go and learn some information, I think particularly for, I suppose tourists who want to get a sense of place when they visiting Glasgow

and looking at top places to visit in Glasgow, then places like Kelvingrove, it is going to be right up there....there is a range of motivations I would not say any are more valid than the other; people visit for why they visit" (MP5, 2022).

Sub-theme: Social origins, including identity, ancestry, genealogy, and cultural background

The analysis revealed that some visitors' social origins, identity, ancestry, genealogy, and cultural background shape their interpretation of slavery and their engagement with UK slavery heritage museums. This is consistent with Taheri et al's (2014) research discussed in Chapter Four, which found that visitors' social origins influence their engagement with museums. A reviewer wrote:

"..maybe because I am of slave decent, I was looking for something with more depth. Since the initial shock of slavery and racism has been played out since the day I was born (racism and the enslavement of my people is not a new concept), I hoped for a more informative, hard-hitting experience. Instead... like much of Liverpool culture (I have been to Liverpool numerous times to visit my Scouscer friends), slavery is acknowledged but not discussed in depth..." (TA2, 2009).

Similarly, a museum professional explains:

"... If you are an African, Caribbean, black visitor to the displays, I think the London Sugar and Slavery gives you something you can engage with. It gives you a powerful subject and explores part of your history in terms of where you came from...so visitors from an African or Indian background can say, well, yeah, this explains London. It is global situation in terms of the port of Empire, this is where all the products came into London ...but if you are white working class, say you come to the museum, you are thinking about, well, the docs, how they have changed, the everyday life of dock workers, people involved with the river Thames that is very much sort of London story and might not be of much interest to someone from an African or an Indian background, they might be more interested in more the global story. In contrast, a white working-class family might be more interested in their roots, seeing their roots in the sort of working-class life of the docs and the river Thames" (MP8, 2022).

Thus, the level of engagement some visitors have with UK slavery heritage museums varies based on these factors, including social origins, identity, ancestry, genealogy, and cultural background. This is consistent with Ashworth

and Hartmann's (2005) and Lelo and Jamal's (2013) findings discussed in Chapter Three that the cultural origins, ancestry, and genealogy influence how some visitors respond and engage with slavery heritage attractions. For instance, the analysis showed that some visitors might be proud or ashamed of their ancestry. The analysis suggests that the level of pride or shame determines and influences the way in which visitors engage with museum displays but may share common emotions such as sadness and deep reflection. This adds to Smith's (2020) theory of Registers of Engagement which describes and measures how some visitors collectively respond and engage differently with slavery and dissonant heritages in museums discussed in Chapter Four. This finding demonstrates how the dimensions of intensity and valence of the RoE are interwoven and interplay with each other. That is, the level of emotions, whether positive or negative emotions, influences the way in which visitors engage with UK slavery heritage museums.

### <u>Sub-theme: Accumulation of cultural practices</u>

#### A reviewer wrote:

"I took my 17-year-old son here for a look into the minds of our ancestors' past...I am incredibly impressed that the people of Liverpool are prepared to stand up and acknowledge their part in this appalling business. That they so openly name and shame those key players is incredibly admirable. The interesting aside from all this is that when I visited the ANZAC exhibition at Te Papa in Wellington (NZ), I finally understood the (then) British mindset which led to so many of our soldiers dying, needlessly in WW1..." (TA2, 2015).

In relation to the excerpt above, this study's findings are consistent with Prentice's (2003), Kaufman and Gabler's (2004), and Hanquinet's (2016) arguments discussed in Chapter Four in the sense that cultural capital and knowledge are passed on through family. Within this context, the analysis showed that some parents bring their children to UK slavery heritage museums to learn about their ancestry and the legacy of slavery, resulting in an accumulation of knowledge and cultural practices. This is in line with Nuryanti's (1996) argument discussed in Chapter Two that heritage, in this sense, is the transferring of historical values from one generation to another or the inheritance of something. Additionally, the

findings showed that some visitors engage with UK slavery heritage museums because they can make a personal connection to the history of slavery and see their ancestry reflected in the displays, which evokes a sense of identity and sense of belonging. This was explained in the previous sections of this chapter and the literature review, particularly Chapters Two and Four, and are highlighted in the quote below.

"for visitors that they are able to engage with people in some instances like them and able to sort of engage in see the stories of people like them...when you can get people to see commonalities and linking with people on the personal level, I think that is a good way to engage people, and ...it is maybe more authentic and less processed if the stories are reflective of and use this sort of language and words of the people in those stories and maybe it is going to be a lot more sort of personal engagement for visitors" (MP2, 2022).

#### Sub-theme: Taste

The analysis revealed that some visitors have different tastes and expectations when visiting UK slavery heritage museums. This is consistent with Taheri et al's (2014) findings discussed in Chapter Four that visitors' taste influences their engagement with museums. As explained in the previous sections, some visitors bring their own knowledge and expectations to UK slavery heritage museums, which influences their engagement with these attractions. However, interestingly, the analysis showed that some visitors criticize the way in which some aspects of the story of slavery are presented and packaged for visitor consumption. Within this context, some visitors argue that some displays regarding the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade are too deep, rich, disturbing, and of bad taste. Thus, this influences their decision on whether or not they should engage with those displays. An interviewee explains:

"...there was quite a lot of debate about whether shackles should be on display, whether some visitors would find them too disturbing or would have liked an area where you could touch shackles. You could get the feel of the metal, and those are quite a difficult decision to make because some visitors might like that; other visitors may think that it is bad taste. We do not want that sort of focus to be put on the subject. And the history of the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade and slavery and the abolition movement, there was this concern that we did not want the

old story, the Wilberforce story, the white men that brought about the change" (MP8, 2022).

Thus, some visitors have expectations as to how the story should be told, which challenges Dicks' (2008) arguments discussed in Chapter Four that taste has neglected all other forms of cultural consumption. Instead, how museum displays are designed and packaged for consumption, whether in poor or good taste, evokes emotions and influences visitors to engage. Yet, such tastes may result in museum professionals modifying and changing their goals and intentions to accommodate and adjust to visitors' tastes, as Seaton (2001) argued in Chapter Three. These findings are elaborated upon in the subsequent sections of this chapter.

## Sub-theme: Social class

The analysis revealed that social class is a factor that influences some visitors to engage with UK slavery heritage museums. In this sense, visitors' economic capital, educational level, ethnicity, and cultural background influence their engagement with UK slavery heritage museums and also their level of engagement with exhibits. This is consistent with Bourdieu's (1986) theory of capital discussed in Chapter Four that economic and cultural capital are interwoven. That is, how visitors from different social groups demonstrate their social class through economic capital, educational level, ethnicity, and cultural background. A museum professional said:

"the majority of visitors are probably white middle class, but the museum does work very hard to attract people from all the areas of Bristol - all the different low, middle income, upper income, educated, not so university educated, A level educated. Not leaving school with one GCSE or whatever. We try to do something for everyone and attract everyone. That does not always work because you know people living out in some of these sorts of suburbs cannot afford to get into the centre of Bristol and the museums are all in the centre, so you sort of lose some of your possible visitors simply because they cannot afford or do not have the time to get there because it is a long way out" (MP11, 2022).

#### Sub-theme: Education and expertise

The analysis revealed that UK slavery heritage museums are often patronized by group visitations such as parents visiting with their children or school groups visiting as a learning-based activity that is part of their curriculum. This is consistent with Israfilova and Khoo-Lattimore's (2019) finding discussed in Chapter Three that children engage with dark tourism sites as a means to expand their knowledge gap. A reviewer wrote:

"I led a school trip here for a group of year 8 students to prepare for their upcoming unit and as a push to encourage them to take History at GCSE. The education room booking was free, and we split into two groups, with one touring around the museum (including the maritime museum and the customs museum) and the other in the education room...Brilliant for setting a basic understanding for the America unit at AQA GCSE." (TA2, 2018).

The analysis also revealed that some visitors with education qualifications, such as university degrees, visit and engage with UK slavery heritage museums. Some reviewers commented:

"...visiting the slavery museum seemed a natural extension of my knowledge of the slave trade. I have also started studying for an International Studies degree, so it would also be good for developing my knowledge..." (TA2, 2014).

"Our daughter is studying "Public History" at the University of York and researched the subject presented in this museum for a paper towards her Master's..." (TA2, 2015).

"...I studied West Indian plantation/slave history many years ago at University, and as the former home of a plantation owner, the house has long been on my list of "must visits"...(TA7, 2017).

"Having studied this at university, I felt this subject was dumbed down for the general public's palate. The horrendous treatment of slaves on the ships was hardly touched upon..." (TA2, 2015).

"...As a Caribbean History degree holder, this museum put the whole process of slavery together in the one large floor it occupies at the Merseyside Maritime Museum..." (TA2, 2013).

The above is compatible with Shirley's (1986) argument discussed in Chapter Four that academic qualifications such as degrees form part of cultural capital. Within this context, the analysis revealed that some visitors bring with them prior knowledge, expertise, and knowledge that shapes their engagement with UK slavery heritage museums and their exhibits. This accords well with Overskaug et al's (2010) research discussed in Chapter Four that visitors' level of education and socio-demographic elements influence their engagement with museums. According to the analysis, these visitors engage with UK slavery heritage museums methodologically and academically compared to some visitors who may have a lower level of knowledge or unfamiliarity with the history of slavery. Therefore, this supports Holt's (1997) argument discussed in Chapter Four that visitors with a high level of cultural capital are understood to be more engaged with museums than visitors with a low level of cultural capital. A reviewer wrote:

"...It would be especially interesting for people with little historical knowledge of the subject. As a history teacher, there was not much new information here for me, but it was still worth a visit for the videos and artefacts. This exhibit is part of the Maritime Museum- the entire complex makes for a perfect rainy afternoon activity" (TA2, 2016).

Interestingly, expertise also extends to the museum staff. In this sense, the analysis showed that the interaction and expertise of museum staff members influence some visitors' engagement with UK slavery heritage museums. For instance, a reviewer commented:

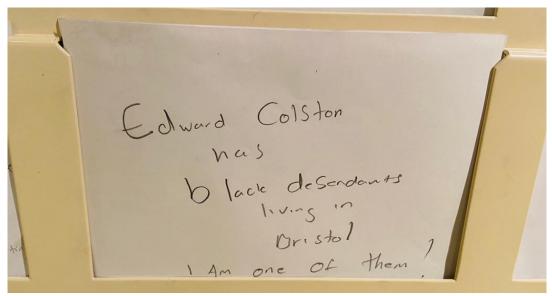
"...Parts can be upsetting. There are guides who take groups of tourists and tell you more in-depth details of how the slaves were captured and treated and their day-to-day lives. The rest of the museum was based on seafarers and the history of Liverpool's docks" (TA3, 2016).

#### Sub-theme: Age

The analysis showed that the age of visitors can be an influential factor when it comes to engagement. For instance, the analysis showed that some adult visitors engage with UK slavery heritage museums in a methodological, purposeful, and academic way. This is explained in the following quotes in this section. In contrast, some child visitors tend to rapidly engage with exhibits and share their reflections through comment cards that speak to their identity, ancestry, genealogy, and personal connection, as reflected in Figure 24, or sometimes dress up in costumes. However, some child visitors, in particular school groups, at times disrupt the experience of some visitors, which in turn influences the way in which they engage with the museum and its exhibits. These findings mirror Braswell's (2012) study discussed in Chapter Four, that engagement varies significantly by the age gap of visitors. They argued that this difference manifests with a decline in adult visitors' engagement with artefacts and that the interaction between children and adult visitors affects the level of understanding of museum content and stories. As such, UK slavery heritage museums can incorporate ethnographic techniques and involve children and young visitors prior to their visit to encourage them to engage with the museum and reduce the chances of disrupting the experience of other visitors (Otele, 2012). One reviewer commented:

<sup>&</sup>quot;...Not the museum's fault, but it was packed with screeching, out-ofcontrol toddlers and young children (no wonder things were broken (20)). As I am unfortunately hypersensitive to high-pitched noise, it was not good for me. Some parents think it is ok just to let them run feral without a thought for others...I would like to return on a quieter day to experience more" (TA8, 2022).

Figure 24: Comment Card



A comment made by a visitor claiming that they are a descendant of former slave trader Edward Colston.

Interestingly, the analysis revealed that some UK slavery heritage museums are not child-friendly, which may deter some parents from visiting. The analysis also showed that the content presented in UK slavery heritage museums might be beyond the comprehension of some age groups, particularly children, which may discourage parents from engaging with displays. Therefore, parents with small children may not engage with UK slavery heritage museums and their displays purposefully and meaningfully. Thus, UK slavery heritage museums that are not child-friendly can incorporate on-site activities for families and children, such as quizzes, interactive games, and animated films that tell the stories of the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade so that they engage and achieve desired learning outcomes as demonstrated in the previous sections of this chapter. This, therefore, can be used as a marketing and attraction tool for this group of visitors. However, it should be carefully managed so that it does not disrupt the museum experience of other visitors and take away from the sensitive nature of the topic. One reviewer wrote:

<sup>&</sup>quot;...We were with our 4-year-old, so we moved around it much quicker than we would have liked as you could spend a lot of time reading different accounts. However good for all ages as our son loved being in the area that recreated traditional housing..." (TA2, 2015).

"We have the two main audiences that we tend to get more of are older people who tend to be quite sort of take their time, they read everything, they pay a lot of attention, that type of visitor and we also get a lot of, as I say, parents with small children. Now, parents with small children do not do much. They will just move through" (MP10, 2022).

Yet, the analysis showed that children who visit with teachers in school groups as a learning-based activity engage more academically and purposefully and may have some prior knowledge of slavery and the museum before visiting, as demonstrated in the excerpt below. Thus, arguably, age is a key factor in determining the level of engagement with UK slavery heritage museums, as different age groups have varying levels of attention and focus. One museum professional said:

"So primary schools might go on a general visit round the museum, and they might have had some pre-advanced warning that they were going to this exhibition, so those kinds of groups do a lot with sort of, they have light sheets of paper where they have to go and find things on display, so that is more about exploring the gallery, whereas secondary schools might have to be much more critical about what they are looking at and find they will be probably looking more at what I have been talking about making a connection between past and the present...but they would use those displays in a way that could be used within the classroom when they get back so that this subject is personal for the secondary schools" (MP8, 2022).

Interestingly, the ways in which young and adult visitors engage with UK slavery heritage museums also translate into the social media environment. Within this context, the analysis showed that adult visitors who have a particular interest in history tend to engage with UK slavery heritage museums' online content posted on social media. Another interesting finding from the analysis of this study regarding age and children, particularly school groups, is the way in which they engage with UK slavery heritage museums through mobile technologies (e.g., mobile phones) and social media (e.g., Instagram, Facebook, Snap Chat, TikTok). In this sense, the analysis revealed that some school children tend to engage with UK slavery heritage museums in a morally transgressive way. This is compatible with Sharma's (2020) findings discussed in Chapter Two, that is, in

this case, visitor engagement with UK slavery heritage museums can be viewed as sullied, resulting in moral disengagement that is inappropriate from what is expected. For example, the analysis showed that some school children engage with UK slavery heritage museums by taking selfies in front of displays that speak to a horrific and dark history of slavery, as explained in the quote below. Thus, Bowman and Pezzullo (2010) may be right to have argued in Chapter Three that such morally transgressive engagement perpetrates shallow and superficial motives. Yet, this requires further exploration within the field of slavery heritage tourism research. Within this context, future research could be undertaken to explore the motivations behind morally transgressive behaviours with slavery heritage and to fully understand the implications of such behaviours on the visitor, experience, and HVA. At the same time, greater clarity is needed on the meaning and perceptions of morally transgressive behaviours within dark tourism literature.

"...you sometimes see sort of behaviour that is odd, it is not changed, they are not properly connecting with what is going on in there...I have seen a group of school children - the very first section is a graphic with the names of ships, the captains, and the names of how many people were transported across the Atlantic on them. It is quite grim, yet I will see groups of school children happily having their photographs taken in front of it. It is a bit weird, and that is for us not necessarily connecting, but then they are not expecting that sort of thing all the time" (MP10, 2022).

## Theme 4: Social Capital

Sub-theme: Offline interactions and relationships

In relation to physical and offline visits, the analysis revealed that the interaction visitors have with staff and other visitors, including random visitors, friends, and family, influences their engagement and the way in which they engage with UK slavery heritage museums. This accords well with Falk and Dierking's (1992, p. 173) argument discussed in Chapter Four that visitor engagement with museums can be influenced by the social context of the experience "including those with whom the visitor attends, as well as those encountered during the experience,

such as museum staff and other visitors." Yet, again, Seaton (2018) is right to have argued in Chapter Two that visitor experiences are defined based on the social settings and realities surrounding each visitor. An interviewee said

"...one of the big things that were most successful was a massive map of Bristol that was put on the floors in one of the galleries, and you physically walk across it, and you can see people standing in the places they come from and talking to each other oh you live in Bedminster I live in Fulton and just that physicality of like, the people of Bristol are using it because they want that feeling of belonging to Bristol is like, just standing on a map on the floor is interactive to some degree, but it is also engaging with sense of place and who you are, your identity" (MP12, 2022).

## Sub-theme: Online interaction and exchange

## Research and marketing

The analysis showed that social media is used as a research tool by some UK slavery heritage museums to analyse the engagement on their social media platforms to find out visitors' wants and needs and to find strategies to satisfy visitor expectations. The analysis indicates that this data is used as part of some UK slavery heritage museums' marketing strategy in the education and promotion of museums and their exhibitions on social media, which influences visitors to visit and engage with these attractions. A participant said:

"...the people who look at our collections online service, but also the people who engage us through social media, through Instagram, through Twitter, Facebook, we will put a lot of effort into engaging with those people and see that is extremely valuable to find out what people are wanting, what they are interested in, whether they have ever been to the museums or not...." (MP12, 2022).

The analysis revealed that UK slavery heritage museums use social media to educate, market, and promote objects, exhibitions, and events, which is highlighted in the excerpt below. This is consistent with Romolini et al's (2020) finding discussed in Chapter Four that museums use social media to communicate and share information about their exhibitions, projects, and activities with audiences. The analysis showed that the marketing and promotion

of museums on social media platforms motivate and attract visitors to visit and physically engage with UK slavery heritage museums' displays. This is consistent with Antón et al's (2018) and Zollo et al's (2021) findings discussed in Chapter Four that the communication, promotion, and marketing of museums through social media channels motivate visitors to visit and engage with museums.

"...and we find that people come into our exhibitions and museums because of something they have seen on social media that they wanted to bring someone else to see. So it is a really important promotional tool, but also a conversation tool for us. We find that once people start to talk about us, they will start to come in and physically want to see that object, but also, there are trollers. We have trolls on social media who also like to come in and talk to us face-to-face, which we are perfectly happy to do...Social media gets us into people's homes and into their everyday lives, which we could. Without social media, we could not do that" (MP1, 2022).

Furthermore, one interviewee said, "we have digital visitors as well who physically are not there but can access us and by different online methods" (MP1, 2022). This shows that some visitors engage with UK slavery heritage museums' online content on websites and social media because they cannot physically access the museum. For instance, some visitors engage with UK slavery heritage museums through virtual tours and the museum website, which helps bridge that gap between time and space, particularly for those who may not be able to visit and, so visitors may become familiar with the museum and its displays. This strengthens Prett's (2012) argument discussed in Chapter Four that social media is used to engage online audiences who may not be able to visit museums physically. In addition, this finding accords well with Özdemir & Çelebi's (2017) argument discussed in Chapter Four that museum attendees visit museums' official websites to compare exhibitions and learn about the history of collections.

#### Soliciting information

The analysis showed that the choice of social media platform used for marketing and promotion is influenced by word limitations and budget. For instance, some UK slavery heritage museums use free social media platforms like Facebook. This supports Ruggiero et al's (2021) argument discussed in Chapter Four that

social media is cost-effective for museums to market museum displays and to reach and attract audiences. Nevertheless, some visitors interact with UK slavery heritage museums through social media to solicit information before their visit, such as asking questions about accessibility, opening times, ticketing, or specific questions about exhibitions, which in turn influences their decision to visit and engage with displays. For example, a participant said, "...it could be questions around access to sites or bathrooms or opening times, ticket prices. It can be anything and everything because we are dealing with a lot of comments, queries, every day" (MP9, 2022). This accords well with Liu et al's (2013) finding discussed in Chapter Four that visitors use social media in the pre-visitation stage to solicit information from museums.

## • Sharing of experiences

The analysis revealed that some visitors might engage with social media content either passively or actively. This strengthens Martínez-Sanz and Berrocal-Gonzalo's (2017) and Romolini et al's (2020) arguments discussed in Chapter Four that passive visitors only browse social media for information with regards to the onsite museum experience without contributing or sharing feelings with other visitors online. Whereas active visitors participate in social media by creating content and messages, disseminating information, commenting, and resharing stories. This is also applicable to museums and the way in which they engage online with social media users.

The analysis revealed that some visitors reflect on their experiences engaging with UK slavery heritage museums, which they share with museum staff and networks on social media platforms such as TripAdvisor and Google in the post-visitation stage. This accords well with Tham et al's (2020) argument discussed in Chapter Four that social media is used as an archive or repository of tourism experiences. It further strengthens Fakharyan et al's (2012) finding discussed in Chapter Four that visitors engage with social media in the post-visitation stage to reflect and share their experiences in the form of photographs and stories. The analysis showed that sharing experiences in the post-visitation stage shapes visitors' expectations and perceptions in the pre-visitation stage, influencing

some visitors' engagement with UK slavery heritage museums during the on-site visit. This supports Loureiro and Ferreira's (2018) and Agostino et al's (2020) findings discussed in Chapter Four that social media compliments the on-site visit. A reviewer wrote:

"Having read the reviews on here, we planned our trip to the museum on a Sunday. We took the train, the tube and then the DLR. DLR was fantastic, lovely and quiet, and we got the much coveted front seat. Think we enjoyed it almost as much as the children!..." (TA6, 2013)

## Accumulation of knowledge

The analysis also revealed that the information shared on social media by museums and visitors results in the accumulation of knowledge for some visitors about the displays and the topic of slavery, which in turn influences their engagement with UK slavery heritage museums. This is consistent with Fernández-Hernández et al's (2021) and Ruggiero et al's (2021) findings discussed in Chapter Two that social media promotes knowledge acquisition and evokes awareness about museums and their exhibitions and events. A participant said:

"...there are visitors that have come to the museum because they have engaged with content that has come through social media channels, both organic and promoted...the way in which we are using social media is for many different reasons like we want to focus really on like content that kind of deepens or enhances the experience of learning more and engaging further with the [museum]. So when doing that, I think we are giving potential visitors opportunities to learn more about what they will see on-site or learn additional information about what they will see on-site" (MP9, 2022).

Sub-theme: Online connections and relationships

According to an interviewee:

"We have people who engage with us digitally. We have followers and a good level of digital engagement on social media, so very much about stories and objects from our collection. So, sparking nostalgia or influencing questions. They also help us to understand objects within our collection as well. Visitors engage with us. It is not just always us giving information to them. They are also giving information to us and identifying someone in a photograph or a particular object" (MP1, 2022).

In relation to the excerpt above, the analysis also showed that some visitors create relationships with museums through social media by sharing information such as stories and photographs to understand displays better. Thus, Julien (2015) may be right to have argued in Chapter Four that the "internet has become tokens and signs of recognition of group membership through memes, photographs, comments, and badges." Yet, interestingly, the analysis challenges Lotina and Lepik's (2015) and Badell's (2015) arguments discussed in Chapter Four that the exchange of knowledge and experiences on social media are used as part of the democratisation process of museums and the curation of displays for visitor consumption.

Still, the analysis revealed that the online networks and relationships some museum professionals have with online users influence visitors (e.g., online friends) to visit and engage with UK slavery heritage museums. This supports Heldman et al's (2013) argument discussed in Chapter Four that social media engagement acts as a multi-way interaction between museums and visitors and is demonstrated in the quote below. A participant said:

"I think that was marketing by the poets themselves, all their friends and relatives, and they got it out to a very wide audience through their social networks, people who follow them and people came, whether it was the excitement of a black event in the Georgian house or whether they were very keen followers of particular poets. But it was probably our visitors that day were something like 75% black, 25% white, whereas normally it would be, you know, 80-90 white" (MP11, 2022).

#### Another interviewee said:

"...criticisms are laid there as well, so with Colston Display, there were a lot of right-wing followers who were followers, they became followers, criticizing what we were doing for their own political agendas, so there is a political dimension to it, but mostly it is genuine people who want to engage with the service and want to ask questions" (MP12, 2022). The above quote highlights some ethical concerns regarding the comments posted on social media. In this sense, some museum professionals said that some visitors might voice their opinions and criticize museums' work, which may shape the interpretation and engagement of some visitors during their visit to UK slavery heritage museums. However, this study did not find UK slavery heritage museums unethical within this context. So, in other words, it challenges or refutes Wong's (2011) arguments discussed in Chapter Four as UK slavery heritage museums do not censor, filter or turn off comments.

Regarding the ethical dilemmas that surround social media and museums, the analysis revealed that some visitors engage with UK slavery heritage museums in a morally transgressive way by filming and taking selfies of themselves with displays, which are then shared and uploaded on social media platforms. This reinforces Sharma's (2020) finding discussed in Chapter Two that visitor engagement with dark tourism sites is sullied and results in moral disengagement that is inappropriate from what is expected. Within this context, the analysis indicated that museum professionals do not have control over how visitors behave, react, and engage with museum displays. However, they agree that such a way of engaging with displays is inappropriate for the topic of slavery presented for visitor consumption. A museum professional said:

"Social media is used often when school group comes to the gallery. They then say we were here, and the gallery also allows for comments for you to leave what you felt about it that is important. I think, especially for these subjects that have resonances today and have impacted on the people who have come to the gallery, the ability to say that...social media allows you to do that. It allows you to film or photograph yourself in the display and leave a comment about what you felt and how you experienced it. There is no control there, in terms of, the museum does not have control, but it allows the visitor to take control and comment on what they have experienced and liked about the display" (MP8, 2022).

According to Carr (2015) and Acocella (2014), selfies can be seen as a product of a culture fixated on media and self-absorption. Canavan (2017) describes the act of taking selfies with exhibits as a form of digital narcissism. Hodalska (2017) argued that selfies are ghoulish souvenirs providing emotional detachment and are seen merely as a performance. Yet, Laaksonen and Varga's (2023) findings

suggest that selfies create a sense of discomfort, annoyance, and subversion of dark tourism sites. Indeed, Fukui (2015) and Lawther (2017) suggested that dark tourism sites can pose moral challenges to visitors who may not be fully aware of the consequences of their actions. This can lead to behaviours that may be unwelcome by hosts. Sharma (2020) has described this as selective moral disengagement to justify transgressive behaviours.

In tourism, moral agency involves a visitor's ability to process social information across different cultural settings, construct their own social environment and experiences, and find ways to justify their actions when faced with moral dilemmas (Taylor, 2003). Sharma (2020) explained that moral agency pertains to visitors' ability to make moral judgments based on their understanding of right and wrong and to be responsible for their actions. She found that moral judgements are shaped and influenced by visitors' cultural and social capital. In this sense, some visitors feel torn between their current and previously held moral beliefs due to the socio-structural influences at the HVA (Bandura, 2002). Indeed, within the context of Holocaust sites, Wight and Stanley (2022) found that transgressive behaviours are shaped and influenced by various identity factors, including age, gender, language, culture, conventional attractiveness, and cultural capital. They also argued that the location and nature of the museum influence the appropriateness of behaviour. They explained that museum managers and visitors should avoid binary views of selfie-taking with sites and consider engagement nuanced. They argued that there is no one "correct" way to engage with dark heritage sites, as the practice of consumption is complex and influenced by visitors' cultural and demographic backgrounds. Therefore, they may be right to argue that the level of a visitor's cultural capital influences the way in which they engage with dark heritage sites. For instance, they explained that some visitors engage in disrespectful behaviour towards monuments despite being knowledgeable about their significance. Yet, they noted that some visitors often criticise others who use their cultural knowledge to position themselves as morally superior to their targets.

Still, Seaton (2009) may be right to have argued that classifying dark tourism sites into shades makes the moral line considerably hazy. That is because visitor

interpretation varies in the sense that some visitors may view slavery heritage museums as purely for entertainment, while others may view the atrocities of slavery as real and evil. Therefore, the implication here for slavery heritage museum managers and curators is to communicate to visitors how they are expected to behave and conduct themselves engaging within the museum space (Wight & Stanley, 2022). However, they contend that behaviour cannot be enforced, particularly in a culture that values self-images and social media sharing. Therefore, future research can examine the level of children's cultural and social capital that influences the way in which they behave and engage with slavery heritage museums.

# **Theme 5: Management**

#### Sub-theme: Interpretation

In relation to interpretation, the analysis revealed that clear communication from museums influences some visitors' engagement with UK slavery heritage museums. Some visitors bring their expectations and perceptions of the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade when visiting UK slavery heritage museums. However, some of these visitors are sometimes disappointed because the museum's purpose may not have been clearly communicated to visitors. Thus, some visitors have a misperception of some UK slavery heritage museums, which in turn influences their engagement. A museum professional said:

"...the perception at a high level of the International Slavery Museum and when it comes to international visitors, although local visitors get what the museum is about, I think at the international level, we have had comments from people who have come from India or mainland Europe and have said, well, this is the International Slavery Museum, but there is nothing in here about slavery in India. There is nothing in here about slavery in other European countries...it is said above the door the International Slavery Museum, you are maybe going to expect to see other forms of slavery..." (MP2, 2022).

Interestingly, the analysis revealed that UK slavery heritage museums are decolonizing and demystifying slavery heritage displays. This involves the inclusion of different and multiple voices in the curation of exhibits, such as

community groups, to enhance visitor engagement and rethinking and reinterpreting narratives around slavery for visitor consumption. These are further elaborated upon in this section. In relation to rethinking and reinterpreting the narratives of slavery, UK slavery heritage museums are changing the language and terms used to describe the victims of slavery. In this sense, UK slavery heritage museums are presenting the victims of the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade in a humanizing way rather than a dehumanizing way to provide some dignity for the victims. One museum professional said:

"... we are also trying to humanize enslaved people, and so in the language that we used, we tend to refer to people as enslaved African than slaves, again, trying to show that identity as people, rather than just enslaved, and that sort of dehumanization..." (MP2, 2022).

For example, the term "enslaved" is preferred to the word "slaves," as reflected in figures 25 and 26. A reviewer also wrote:

"...They seemed overly cautious about not offending people, and some of the information provided was awkward to read because of the blatant attempts not to offend. There was a section that went to great lengths to explain why the exhibit should use the term "enslaved Africans" rather than "slaves" in order not to offend others because of negative connotations (does anybody civilised think slaves are a good idea these days?)... there is nothing wrong with trying not to offend people, but perhaps there is a way to do this which feels more organic and does not read in such a clunky way?..."(TA6, 2016).

These findings corroborate McNiven and Russell's (2005) argument discussed in Chapter Two that societal changes and evolution influence the reshaping and decolonization of colonial and indigenous heritage. They also substantiate Giblins's (2015) argument presented in Chapter Two, that is, within the context of this research, UK slavery heritage museums are trying to present something new and better to appeal to modern society, which is tainted. This is consistent with Reed's (2015a) finding discussed in Chapter Three that slavery heritage tourism attractions are reinterpreting the narratives of enslavement to align more with the tastes and views of visitors. Thus, the analysis confirms Dann and Potter's (2001) concept of historical diversion discussed in Chapter Three, where some aspects of the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade are selected and packaged that

visitors might enjoy. The analysis showed that some visitors are of the view that this takes away from the meaning of the story and that the historical terms should remain to represent the accounts of slavery accurately. Some visitors perceive this as whitewashing and being politically correct, which influences their engagement with exhibits. This, therefore, validates Butler's (2001) work discussed in Chapter Three that management and their operation of the HVA under-emphasize slavery and its meaning for contemporary visitors. Yet, it is important to note that these terms remain obscure within the literature of slavery heritage tourism research. Thus, greater clarity is needed on the meaning of decolonization, demystification, humanisation and dehumanisation, and the rethinking of slavery heritage narratives.

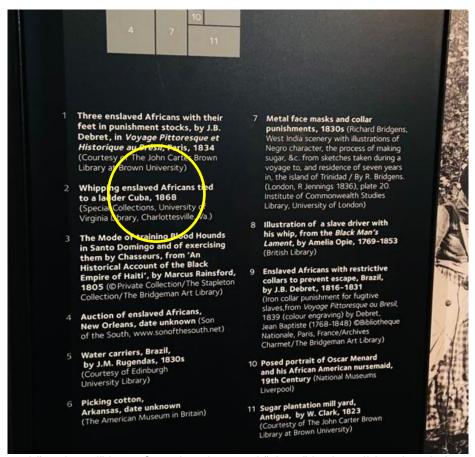
NORTH
AMERICA

Bristol and the transatlantic slave trade lated for over 400 year. It brought wealth to some and misery and death the million. It is the transatlantic slave trade in the bright wealth to some and misery and death the million. It is the transatlantic slave trade in the bright wealth to some and misery and death the million. It is the transatlantic slave trade in the bright wealth to some and misery and death the million. It is the transatlantic slave trade in some of million and the transatlantic slave trade in the bright wealth to some and misery and death the million. It is the bright wealth to some and misery and death the million. It is the bright wealth to some and misery and death the million. It is the bright wealth to some and misery and death the million. It is the bright wealth to some and misery and death the million. It is the bright wealth to some and misery and death the million. It is the bright wealth to some and misery and death the million. It is the bright wealth to some and misery and death the million. It is the bright wealth to some and misery and death the million. It is the bright wealth to some and misery and death the million. It is the bright wealth to some and misery and death the million. It is the bright wealth to some and misery and death the million. It is the bright wealth to some and misery and death the million. It is the bright wealth to some and misery and death the million. It is the bright wealth to some and misery and death the million. It is the bright wealth to some and misery and death the million. It is the bright wealth to some and misery and death the million. It is the bright wealth to some and misery and death the million. It is the bright wealth to some and misery and death the million was a bright wealth to some and misery and death the million was a bright wealth to some and misery and death the million was a bright wealth to some and misery and death the million was a bright wealth to some and misery and death the million was a bright wealth to s

Figure 25: Reinterpreting the Narratives of Slavery 1

The word "enslaved" is preferred to "slave" in describing the victims of the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade.

Figure 26: Reinterpreting the Narratives of Slavery 2



The word "enslaved" is preferred to the word "slave" in describing the victims of the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade.

The analysis also revealed that some visitors are familiar with some of the terminologies used in describing slavery, which may have had different meanings and interpretations during the period of slavery than what they are today. Thus, this presents a challenge for museum curators when designing exhibits, as they have to be careful with their language. For instance, the data analysis showed that museum curators must be aware of the offensive nature of historical terms, the sensitivities in postmodern society, and how text should be interpreted and communicated without diminishing the visitor experience. A museum professional said:

"...there was a lot of consideration given to the language that was used partly because some historical languages are deeply offensive today and...language is a subtle and powerful thing that needs to be carefully thought about. A very obvious example...is that rather than talking about slaves, the gallery talks about enslaved people. So, slavery is something that's done to you rather than a state that somehow feels natural to a person in some way. There are many

considerations around appropriate terminology and best ways of expressing things..." (MP7, 2022).

This fortifies Sharpley's (2009) governance model for dark heritage sites discussed in Chapter Three. That is, UK slavery heritage museums are dynamic and are exposed to change, politically and culturally. It also substantiates Light's (2015) argument discussed in Chapter Two that slavery heritage, in this sense, is being exploited for tourism purposes in a postmodern world. This, therefore, strengthens Seaton's (2001) argument discussed in Chapter Three that heritage is an evolving process in which UK slavery heritage museums are modifying and changing their goals to accommodate visitors' tastes. The analysis showed that these sensitivities manifest within the design of museum displays and text interpretation to avoid creating a sense of guilt for some visitors and to create a subtle tone that resonates with visitors. The analysis indicates that such an approach by museum curators can result in prejudices and selective interpretation of slavery narratives, which some visitors find politically correct. A reviewer wrote:

"...I thought they went a little bit overboard apologizing for the use of offensive words (of course, it is offensive, but in the context of that time period...I think the offence helps bring the message home, but not everyone feels that way) but that did not detract from the excellent displays, history and presenting both sides of the issue..." (TA6, 2016).

The excerpt above cements Williams' (2005) argument discussed in Chapter Two on the political correctness of museums and the distortion of the truth of museum exhibits. He argued that there are significant political, social, and personal losses to society when the truth is not told and can demean heritage and result in loss of heritage. Thus, the analysis agrees with Sharpley's (2009) recommendations outlined in Chapter Three that museum managers, curators, and decision-makers should continuously evaluate or re-evaluate narratives regarding slavery being developed or redeveloped.

Yet, the analysis showed that once the language used, such as terminologies, is carefully contextualized, explained, and justified, some visitors might engage with UK slavery heritage museums' displays, as reflected in Figure 27 and as explained by a museum professional who said:

"There is a panel early on in the gallery which talks about terminology and includes lots of these very kinds of 18th and 19th-century bizarre terms like mulatto as a terminology, which we sort of explain, and we say this is what people meant when they said this. We do not use this term for these reasons, so there is a whole thing about language, and I think people often engage quite well with that. It sort of sets the scene. It sort of says here is the past; it is different from how we think today, and when you engage with this material, you will come across some unpleasant stuff that will be shocking..." (MP7, 2022).

The above is also supported by a reviewer who wrote:

"The exhibition on London's part in the slave trade is sensitively presented, and I appreciated the board explaining why certain forms of language are used in the displays; "enslaved Africans" rather than the more impersonal "slaves" - a reminder that the millions who were tortured and died to feed the sugar trade were individual people, however faceless the traders may have considered them at the time..." (TA6, 2018).

Figure 27: Explanation for the Use of Language



An explanation for the interpretation of museum displays

Furthermore, the analysis indicates that the choice of language and interpretation is influenced and shaped by several factors, including research, budget, community engagement, academics, and ease of reading. Moreover, the analysis revealed that word limitations also influence interpretation in communicating the narratives of objects effectively and in detail. Thus, some important or key aspects of slavery may be omitted. This is highlighted in the excerpt below:

"...the challenge often with the curatorial voice in exhibitions is that we have limited words...If you are writing a caption text, you might only have 50 or 60 words to frame a theme or a subject, and you might only have 100 words in a graphic panel text, which is very challenging...It is the most difficult thing to write coherently and get a message across but not also say anything that's incorrect factually...So that is why I talked a bit about the films and other kinds of ways of actually expressing a theme through a medium that we are more comfortable with absorbing" (MP8, 2022).

However, the analysis showed that the limited texts or words influence visitor engagement with exhibits. This is because some visitors have short attention spans, or there might be too much overwhelming information that may make them not want to engage. A museum professional said:

"... a lot of people will only look at text panels for maybe 2 minutes at a time. So if you put in reams and reams of text on there, the people are not going to look at it, people are not going to read them, and so it is about using lots of different ways, images, objects, film and enactments, things like that to engage people. So I think it has changed, and the use of social media and the sort of way and attention spans all the way people engage has changed as well..." (MP2, 2022).

Nevertheless, the analysis indicated that UK slavery heritage museums incorporate interactive displays such as touchscreens and audio-visuals to communicate in-depth the narratives and stories of slavery. Therefore, Foley and Lennon (1997) may be right to argue in Chapter Four that the incorporation of interactives is rooted in postmodernity to meet the expectations of the alternative tourist. This is further supported in the subsequent sections.

# <u>Sub-theme: Stakeholder involvement, including politics, governance, and power</u> dynamics

The analysis revealed that various stakeholder groups also influence interpretation. The analysis indicated that a wide range of stakeholders are involved in managing UK slavery heritage museums, including the government, national trusts, communities, academics, institutions, charity boards, and city councils they depend on for funding and support because they are free public museums. The analysis showed that some stakeholder groups might have conflicting or different views on how the story of slavery should be represented and what they perceived as authentic and accurate, as highlighted in the excerpt below. In addition, the analysis revealed that this is where tension arises during the consultation and decision-making process, whereby some stakeholder groups may not agree on the interpretation and curation of slavery exhibits. Thus, UK slavery heritage museums present different collective interests that may be convergent, divergent, or both, as Tunbridge and Ashworth (1996) echoed in Chapter Three.

Yet, UK slavery heritage museums are decolonizing the narratives around slavery as the story is told from one perspective, and there are issues with trust amongst stakeholder groups. For instance, some stakeholder groups may agree not to use certain terminologies because they can be offensive or insensitive or because it make their side of their history look bad.

"...and even when we started making better interpretation, it was criticised because there are lots of different views across lots of different activists and community groups across Bristol about how best to tell the story, and not everybody agrees, and sometimes it is a fine line between walking that line and what our political masters in the council - how they perceive, how they wish us to tell certain stories, so that could be a bit of a balancing act politically" (MP12, 2022).

Thus, there is a struggle between power and politics in the decision-making process on how displays around slavery are interpreted and packaged for visitor consumption and, to an extent, resulting in some key aspects of slavery being omitted from the story presented to visitors. These findings are consistent with

Seaton's (2001) Heritage Force Field discussed in Chapter Three, where some stakeholder groups have more power over others, and it is where slavery heritage becomes most contentious and contested. In this respect, the analysis showed that some museum professionals selectively select and interpret certain texts or narratives for visitors to engage with – resulting in an inaccurate representation and an unbalanced story of slavery. Thus, the analysis indicated that when visitors visit with their prior knowledge of slavery, their level of engagement varies and is shaped by the knowledge they bring with them, as explained in the previous sections.

#### <u>Sub-theme: Accurate representation</u>

Surprisingly, the analysis showed that some museum professionals agree that some displays are not accurately represented and are working to resolve those issues. A museum professional said:

"...the curatorial staff who put that gallery together had to do it in a very short time. They did not have the expertise and did not have time to go and get it...there are some subject areas that people are sensitive, understandably about, and anything to do with the slave trade and with black history tends to bring all those issues to the fore because inevitably, one is dealing with issues of prejudice and discrimination and a whole range of difficult subject areas to navigate...It means that they are [visitors] not getting as accurate a picture as they might know, maybe not getting as balanced view as they might. It is a question of accuracy and authenticity but may only be slightly skewing" (MP3, 2022).

In relation to the excerpt above, the findings suggest that slavery narratives may not be accurately represented or balanced because of some museum curators' lack of expertise and those who do not want to associate themselves with the history of slavery as they do not consider it to be their heritage and are not proud of it. This corroborates Bright et al's (2018) argument discussed in Chapter Two that some groups that possess and have stewardship over slavery heritage perpetuate misrepresentations and fallacies related to slavery. Therefore, Tunbridge and Ashworth (1996) were right to have argued in Chapter Three that the selection and promotion of particular heritage resources for tourism inevitably disinherits groups within society who do not identify with that heritage. This finding

strengthens Modlin et al (2018) argument discussed in Chapter Two that managers of slavery heritage are unconsciously biased toward the representation of slavery heritage within museums. Thus, Timothy and Boyd (2003) and Poria (2007) were right to have argued in Chapter Three that "bad active histories" such as slavery are managed through authorized collective amnesia. Yet, again, the analysis indicated that the omission of key aspects of slavery encourages debate amongst some visitors and influences their engagement and the way in which they engage with UK slavery museums. This, therefore, reinforces Finegan's (2019) recommendations discussed in Chapter Two that museum stakeholders need to be more critical of themselves when interpreting museum stories and exhibits.

<u>Sub-theme: Community engagement including co-production and co-curation;</u> <u>trust and expertise; cultural background; and diversity of staff</u>

#### Co-production and co-curation

In relation to community engagement, UK slavery heritage museums involve community groups and members in the co-production and co-curation process of displays to assist with the interpretation (e.g., reviewing text/language) and the broader scope of management. This accords well with Bar-Tal and Bennink's (2004) and Sharpley's (2009) recommendations for a cooperative and co-creative approach discussed in Chapter Three. This finding is also consistent with Brodie et al's (2011) argument discussed in Chapter Four that engagement is a multidimensional construct that emerges from an interactive and co-creative process between visitors and museums. Yet, the analysis suggests that the involvement of some community groups or members can result in the selective interpretation of what they think is appropriate and acceptable and how they want to be represented in displays. Thus, Tunbridge and Ashworth (1996) were right to have argued in Chapter Three that "history is to a greater or lesser extent hijacked by one group or another for one purpose or another" (p. 30). One museum professional described the co-production and co-curation process and why it is essential to the overall management of UK slavery heritage museums:

"...co-production is much more about saying, well, we do not know everything, there are lots of different approaches that could be taken, we are handing over the power and control over decision making. So, it is about that. Releasing if you like a control. So, it is the museum. Museums do exhibitions, they do displays all the time, so there is a sort of inbuilt professionalism....so this is all about what is the kind of democratic process you can create to allow a co-production, a co-curated exhibition to be realized and the people you work with are, the selection of those people is who decides who is part of that group, so it is usually the museum identifies experts, community leaders, people who have experienced that subject" (MP8, 2022).

The analysis suggests that the benefit of including community members in the co-curation process is to give them a voice so that they feel like they are part of the museum by sharing their stories in their own words. In this sense, community groups and members are considered part of UK slavery heritage museums' democratic and decision-making processes. The analysis revealed that the decision to include community groups and members in decision-making is influenced by time and budget scales. Community groups and members are selected based on their expertise, identity, and personal connection to slavery; experiences; the ability to decolonize the narratives of slavery; members belonging to the community in which the museum is located; repeat visitation; and visitors who have a strong interest in the interpretation of displays. Thus, future research could explore these criteria for selecting members and their implications on the decision-making process. This would help to establish a greater understanding of how decisions are made regarding the management of slavery heritage for tourism purposes.

#### Trust and expertise

Trust, transparency, accountability, genuineness, honesty, and openness from stakeholders and management influences some visitors' engagement with UK slavery heritage museums. However, further research is needed to better understand these terms within a museum context. It may also be worthwhile for future research to explore how slavery heritage museums can be transparent and accountable to facilitate visitor engagement. A museum professional said:

"...there was a bit of uncertainty within the community as to why an institution that was perceived as being sort of gatekeepers of history and maybe talking more about previously in the past, the Empire and colonialism and being very much about the established history of the dominant culture and how it was going to sort of interpret and show people of African descent in the museum. ...it is again just about sort of trust and wanting to include people whose voices are not or have not been heard in the past and, again, not sort of focusing on the people who were perceived, who had the power and the people who are descendants of those people who have any sort of retained the wealth, and the sort of properties" (MP2, 2022).

#### They further said:

"it is about prioritizing the history of enslavement from a perspective which is more aligned with people of African descent and prioritizing that wider sort of view which takes it away from the history of museums being seen as sort of gatekeepers of mouthpieces for privileged and rich, rich people" (MP2, 2022).

Museum professionals agree that it must be made clear whose heritage it is and who should tell the story. Interestingly, museum professionals stated that the descendants of the enslaved should tell the story of the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade because of morality, and it is their heritage. This strengthens Simpson's (1996) argument discussed in Chapter Two as it relates to indigenous heritage and can be applied within the context of slavery heritage. That is, individuals who are associated with slavery heritage should assume control of their heritage. Yet, surprisingly, museum professionals have a shared perception that the history of the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade is not the heritage of the descendants of the enslavers and white museum staff. According to some museum professionals, this is because they should not tell the story of the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade due to a lack of trust. In this sense, according to museum professionals, the story of the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade will not be accurately represented where some aspects may be omitted and whitewashed. For example, a museum professional explained this in the excerpt below. Thus, while this may be the case, some visitors may find that the story being told is one-sided and not balanced. Therefore, according to the analysis, this influences their engagement and the way they engage with the displays.

"...it does not feel appropriate for the primarily white museum staff to make decisions about engaging with a history that is so caught up with power dynamics and racism. It just feels deeply inappropriate for the power of creating or telling that story to rest with white people fundamentally for me. I think that the only way, partly, is about a sort of morality...there is no way that people without that heritage would be able to create the most accurate and in-depth engagement with that topic because of the community memory and the emotional engagement, and the lived experience of dealing with the legacies of enslavement, around thinking about racism...if the white museum staff did it, it would be missing a whole aspect of the topic" (MP13, 2022).

#### Cultural background

There is a shared assumption by museum professionals that race and ethnicity determine whether some community members and academics are descendants of the enslaved, as explained in the excerpt below. Thus, Ashworth (2002) may be right to have argued in Chapter Three that visitors visiting Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade-related sites are often labelled as perpetrators, victims, or observers. An interviewee said:

"...if we were doing something which was specifically about slavery, then we would certainly look for people with that heritage...and as much as a lot of the people we work with have got African Caribbean roots...there is an assumption that they are the descendants of enslaved people, but I do not know to what extent those individuals know about their own heritage and we certainly, I do not think, have ever asked are you the descendant of an enslaved person? It is more a case of kind of people would people with and both an interest and a knowledge and heritage which reflects that group" (MP13, 2022).

In addition, museum professionals stated that community members with African and Caribbean backgrounds – who identify slavery as part of their heritage and have a particular interest and level of knowledge of the historical events of slavery are included in the decision-making and co-curation process of exhibits through reflection and sharing of stories because it resonates with them and the sensitivity of the topic. A participant said:

"...it means that the displays are more rigorous and accurate and indepth than they would be if fewer people had produced them, and it means that their displays resonate with a wider group of people in terms of their own background and feel relevant and authentic to people who share that heritage, who are themselves descendants of enslaved people and that it means that they are more informative and educational for the wider visiting public" (MP13, 2022).

Yet, the lack of inclusion of descendants of the enslavers in the decision-making and co-curation process can be viewed as whitewashed and unbalanced by some visitors, which in turn influences their engagement and the way in which they engage with UK slavery heritage museums. This is highlighted in the excerpt below. Therefore, this reinforces Poria's (2001) recommendation discussed in Chapter Three that the reinterpretation of any dark tourism site should be shaped by both sides of the spectrum regardless of how it makes them feel, whether good or bad. However, according to some museum professionals, this is because it is difficult to identify descendants of enslavers. Thus, an implication of this is that UK slavery heritage museums must be transparent in their decisions in relation to the curation of displays for visitor consumption.

"The displays are disjointed, lacked historical or geographical progression, and contained many quotations from black people that were neither primary sources, or sometimes even relevant to slavery. It was so desperate to ram home that the enslavement of Africans was a terrible and horrific thing (as if we do not already know that) and that the British were to blame (which I think is simplistic) that it felt preachy and at some points political" (TA2, 2017).

#### Diversity of staff

Interestingly, decolonization extends beyond interpretation to include diversity. One participant explains:

"...so, for us, decolonisation is a bit different, and decolonization applies to the stories we are telling, how we are telling them, whose voices are being prioritised, and also, importantly, the makeup of our staff. London is one of the most diverse cities in the world, but our staff does not reflect that breadth of diversity. You could argue that the museum's institutional voice reflects the makeup of its staff. If its staff does not reflect that of London, you know a mismatch exists. So, for us, decolonization is about the story being told, what stories are being prioritised, who is telling the story, and who we are as people within the organisation" (MP7, 2022).

In relation to the excerpt above, UK slavery heritage museums are particularly interested in diversifying their staff to encourage more visitors who are descendants of the enslaved to visit and engage with UK slavery heritage museums. Thus, community members and groups connected to slavery are included in the democratic process of museums as a way to empower and serve as a sense of belonging and reflection for some visitors. This demonstrates that Simpson's (1996) recommendations discussed in Chapter Two as it relates to indigenous heritage have been accepted and implemented by UK slavery heritage museums. An interviewee said:

"...the existing gallery concentrates on quite a negative, traumatic history. One that she certainly felt was disempowering to black visitors. So, she wanted this display to contrast that with a much more positive story, which is how that ended up there. It gives you a sense of how we are reflecting on and trying to respond to the content of that space" (MP7, 2022).

#### Another interviewee said:

"...to increase that representation, increase that diversity, increase that element of how different people working in front of house teams, and so that the visitors feel represented, that comfort for people feel, well you look a bit like me - I can assume that we have got similarities, so I am going to be more comfortable coming in here" (MP4, 2022).

#### They further stated:

"...is that they will see themselves, their experiences, their lived experiences, their communities, their life reflected in the museum and that will either be in direct where there is someone who works here, or there are people depicted in the curated exhibitions which look like me in however I may look, and there are narratives that resonate with me because I have ever experienced something like that..." (MP4, 2022).

Therefore, these visitors visit and engage with museums to see themselves, their experiences, and communities reflected within UK slavery heritage museums and their exhibits, which resonates with them. Yet, it is about giving a voice to the victims of slavery. This, therefore, refutes Potts' (2012) argument discussed in Chapter Three that the story of the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade within museums is told from a Eurocentric perspective. Nonetheless, this notion of diversifying

staff to attract visitor groups from a specific cultural background warrants further exploration for further research. In doing so, it may be worthwhile for future works to determine the effectiveness of diversity within museums and its implications on the museum experience, other visitor groups, and the attraction. In addition, it may be worthwhile to research the motivations, impacts, and challenges regarding diversity in museums.

<u>Sub-theme: Design including space, lighting, sound, layout, flow, movement, access, and interactive displays</u>

The analysis revealed that the design of UK slavery heritage museums influences visitor engagement with displays. This strengthens Falk and Dierking's (1992, p. 173) Interactive Experience Model discussed in Chapter Four that the physical context visitors encounter, including the "objects and artefacts, as well as the architecture, "feel", and ambience of the building influences visitor engagement with museums." Within this context, design includes the use of space, layout, flow, movement, access, lighting, sound, and theme of the museum and its exhibits. The analysis also showed that if UK slavery heritage museums are not designed chronologically and thematically, some visitors may become increasingly confused and not engage with the museum and its displays. A reviewer wrote:

"...When we looked round the rest of the museum, it was very disjointed – it did not tell a coherent story at all. There were just lots of separate bits". (TA2, 2016).

#### Another reviewer commented:

"...We also went to view the Wildlife Photographer of the Year exhibition, which was very busy and was difficult because of people walking in different directions. Surely, it would make sense to have a clearly marked one-way system to avoid leapfrogging and backtracking, which we were forced to do to see everything. It would be a simple solution when so many people are viewing" (TA8, 2018).

Interestingly, the analysis revealed that the way in which museums are designed, some visitors may accidentally encounter slavery heritage exhibits during their

visit to a particular museum who were primarily motivated to visit and engage with different histories and stories. For instance, the analysis showed that the flow of movement becomes cumbersome as some visitors may not know which routes to take from start to finish. This is because there may be various entrances and exit points, as demonstrated in the quotes below. Thus, design routes also result in visitors engaging with UK slavery heritage museums. A reviewer wrote:

"...However, the exhibition itself was difficult to follow - I was not sure where I should start (perhaps that was the point?), and the initial part of the exhibition was exceptionally poorly executed. It was incoherent and lacked direction, and the design itself seemed to be in some generic 'African style' rather than based on anything factual" (TA2, 2015).

#### An interviewee said:

"There is something of a fixed route around the museum. You arrive at that top floor, and you kind of follow a fixed route through...you are going to get funnelled through the London Sugar and Slavery gallery at some point, and it is not at the start. You will have sort of started your visit. You will see a bit of this. You will see a bit of that, and now, bang, you are in this gallery devoted to London's place in the history of transatlantic slavery. Some visitors will experience it without having necessarily directly chosen to, so they have not necessarily come to the museum to see this gallery; they have come to the museum because they are interested in learning about London's maritime history, and they then find themselves within this space" (MP7, 2022).

The analysis revealed that several factors, including budget, available resources and objects, size of space, time available, research, text limitations, interaction with visitors, and input by senior management, influence the design of UK slavery heritage museums. For instance, some museums may not have access to funds to maintain interactive displays and lighting, which in turn impacts visitor engagement with the museum and its exhibits. This is reflected in Figures 28, 29, and 30. An interviewee said:

"...there are lots of really practical factors around budget and design, restrictions, the space, the time available, the objects that we have got in the collection and how they would be relevant to telling the story, the research that we are able to do to find stories because we try to have quite a kind of person based approach where we share stories of

individual people and sometimes there are real limitations on what you can find out about individuals. There is kind of a practical side. There is the time and the limitations around the collection, the research..." (MP13, 2022).

Figure 28: Lights not working 1



The light is not working. This affects the visitor experience by not viewing museum displays and texts clearly.

Figure 29: Lights not working 2



The light is not working. This affects the visitor experience by not viewing museum displays and texts clearly.

Figure 30: Visitor Notice



Visitor notice posted by the museum explaining the issues with lighting within the TSG.

Yet, the analysis revealed that lighting, sound, and films influence some visitors to engage with UK slavery heritage museum exhibits emotionally. Thus, the analysis suggests that such emotional engagement calls into action the psychological dimensions of some visitors to reflect and emotionally engage with exhibits.

According to some museum professionals during the interviews, interactive displays and audio-visuals, such as films and touchscreens, are included for a number of reasons. Interactive displays, however, form part of the design of museums, which also influences visitor engagement with UK slavery heritage museums. This is consistent with Tan et al's (2020) finding discussed in Chapter Two, and Komarac et al's (2020) finding discussed in Chapter Four that incorporating interactive displays is used to educate and enhance visitor engagement with HVAs. For instance, some interviewees said that films are something that some visitors can relate to, which in turn influences their engagement with museum content, as explained in the previous sections in this chapter. Thus, Foley and Lennon (1997) may be right to have argued in Chapter Four that the incorporation of interactives is rooted in postmodernity to meet the expectations of the alternative tourist. One museum professional said:

"...some will look at the objects, read the labels, and go to the computer to learn more about the people. They might watch the films that we have in the center, and they might watch the film that we have of Miles Chamberlain reading one of his poems..." (MP11, 2022).

The analysis revealed that some panel texts can be overloaded with information, which affects the level of attention and focus some visitors assign to display, which in turn influences their engagement with UK slavery heritage museums. For instance, a sensory overload or too much information on a museum's object label may make some visitors not fully engaged. A reviewer wrote:

"The Museum of London Docklands adopts an encyclopaedic approach to the history of everything associated with London's river and docks...The exhibitions are very 'text heavy'. It would take a number of days to read all of the explanatory text in the galleries..." (TA6, 2013).

#### Another reviewer commented:

"My only complaint is that the museum tries to cover too much in too small a space, so it moves quickly from one theme to another, but only goes into depth on a couple of subjects so that it can be a little bewildering at times" (TA8, 2020).

Thus, UK slavery heritage museums have sought to incorporate interactive displays and various elements such as films, touchscreens, enactments, images, and social media to make use of space and to provide a depth of information to visitors that could not have been included on object labels due to constraints such as word count limitations. Some of these interactive displays are reflected in Figures 31, 32, 33, and 34. For instance, using mobile phones to scan QR codes has helped offload object-label texts and provide a detailed story of displays. This is highlighted in the excerpt below:

"..so when they come to see it display and, they could and use their phone to get information through a QR code and maybe about that object or a bit more about the history of that object and maybe using a sort of to call augmented reality and more so" (MP2, 2022).

Figure 31: Interactive Display 1



Touchscreens with headphones for visitors to listen to some of the sounds, rhythms, and music styles that enslaved Africans pioneered.

Figure 32: Interactive Display 2



Touchscreens with headphones for visitors to learn about the Trans-Atlantic Slave
Trade and the role Bristol played in the trade

Figure 33: Film/Storytelling



A video that explains plantation life in the Caribbean

Figure 34: Audio Guide



Audio guide for visitors to learn about a gallery. It is much suited for visitors with visual impairment.

Interestingly, the analysis showed that an overload of information can also be presented in interactive displays, leaving some visitors overwhelmed and, therefore, they may lose interest and not engage with the content. A reviewer commented:

"...the message was lost in the desire to be interactive using a variety of visual and auditory media to show the impact of slavery, but there was just too much of it. At times, I could hear several taped voices but none clearly, the layout was confusing, and there was poor reconstruction, where style won over substance. I am sure there was a lot of meaningful information here. However, after five minutes and a fast-developing headache, we gave up searching for it...." (TA2, 2019).

Furthermore, in some instances where visitors may be required to input and share their own stories via interactive displays, this may be of a challenge to some visitors who may not have the technical ability to do so, while some may find it time-consuming and may lose interest and not engage as highlighted in the excerpt below. Still, the analysis showed that while interactive displays provide a multisensory experience for visitors, not all interactives are necessarily designed for all age groups. Thus, an implication of this is that museum practitioners must find effective ways to tell the stories of the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade that accommodate all visitors without diminishing the visitor experience. A museum professional said:

"...it varies quite a lot, but the original digital technology, where these kiosks, which have got a kind of video screen and a keyboard, and the idea was that you can explore further information about the objects and the stories on the kiosks and also that you would be able to input your own stories. Inputting your own stories never worked because people were not keen to stand in the gallery and type. The technology that supports those screens is kind of gradually breaking down. A lot of them are struggling..." (MP13, 2022).

Yet, some interactives may be broken and not functional, which affects the overall visitor experience, which in turn deters visitors from engaging with the museum and its exhibits, as reflected in figures 35 and 36 and highlighted in the excerpt below.

"Maintain the interactive electronic devices with handsets or buttons daily, so they work. Only the map device worked on either side of the wall map. Once I had pressed the button, red arrows slowly came out of a continent showing the triangle journey; interesting but TOO slow. Just make the device instant once the button is pressed. I had to stay overnight in Liverpool to see this exhibition. I felt it was not worth it due to broken equipment, hard-to-read plaques and confusing layout..." (TA2, 2021).

Figure 35: Broken Interactive 1



Audio handset missing that is used to tell the story of Makandal, St. Domingue (Haiti), 1758

Figure 36: Broken Interactive Display 2



A broken kiosk with a video screen and a keyboard that visitors would use to explore further information about objects and input their own stories.

Yet, the analysis challenges Bec et al's (2019) argument discussed in Chapter Two that presenting heritage in a digital format creates alternate realities of past events with different outcomes. It also refutes Little et al's (2020) argument discussed in Chapter Two that interactive displays misrepresent or produce a modicum of inaccuracy. Instead, the analysis showed that interactive displays help to provide a more detailed account of exhibits around slavery that cannot fully be explored and explained through object labels on walls. Still, the analysis suggests that visitors engage with interactive displays at varying degrees, passively or actively, depending on different age groups. A museum professional said:

"...there is a passive way of interacting with your visitor. So, you stand in front of a screen and absorb a film, an immersive display...there is a story Lumière at [museum], which is an immersive one where the lights go out so you cannot continue reading the captions and the case, or you have to stop and listen to the story Lumière, the shocking elements, words get bombarded onto the different walls, and you hear words. You hear it is sort of different from a normal display, and then an interactive element would be where you can make choices. So, you can decide what you are not being told you have to do this; you can do that and explore an exhibit in a slightly different way... You would have had to have learned something to select the right answer. It is sort of a gaming-type thing, or you would have had to choose a particular thing to get you on to the next stage in the game. Those are very important, especially for the sort of younger age groups that they are so familiar with..." (MP8, 2022).

#### Sub-theme: Marketing, including packaging and authenticity

The analysis revealed that the narratives of slavery are sometimes presented in a noisy, celebratory, and joyous way, such as including mannequins and reenactments of events. This, therefore, substantiates Haldrup and Bærenholdt's (2015) argument discussed in Chapter Two, where, in this case, the presentation of slavery heritage is seen as a performance. One participant said:

"... that was supposed to look like below deck on a slave ship with some very dated mannequins and sound effects and stuff, which was not very good, is extremely dated. It is sort of a novelty, but like those chains, and I think the reasoning is you would not try and recreate something that you could not really recreate, you would not do that in the Holocaust Museum, so that was taken out in the middle passage which was treated in a different way. A lot of people, especially a lot of white people, feel we have sanitized that story by doing that, but we just have to explain our decision-making process and stand by it" (MP6, 2022).

In relation to the quote above, some museum professionals said that this distracts visitors from the main purpose of the museum and the historical events of slavery. Within this context, museum professionals agree that the stories of slavery should be presented in a subtle and quiet tone that evokes a deep sense of reflection and emotion when engaging with displays and speaking about the victims of slavery in a humanizing way. Furthermore, they agree that the story of slavery should be presented in a calm space and should not be dramatic, flamboyant, and theatrical, as this can be viewed as disrespectful to the victims of slavery. Thus, presenting slavery heritage in a celebratory way takes away from the dark and difficult nature of the topic of slavery. Yet, the analysis showed that this celebratory approach can result in some critical aspects of slavery being omitted and not included in interpreting and presenting narratives visitors engage with. Therefore, Foley and Lennon (1996, p. 11) may be right in Chapter Three to have argued that presenting heritage in this way creates "anxiety and doubt", which challenges the certainty and optimism of modernity.

Nonetheless, this celebratory approach to the curation of slavery heritage displays suggests that UK slavery heritage museums are designed for entertainment purposes and are considered to be light-dark visitor attractions, as discussed in Chapter Three. However, the analysis revealed that this can result in some visitors losing attention and focus when engaging with museum displays. An interviewee explains:

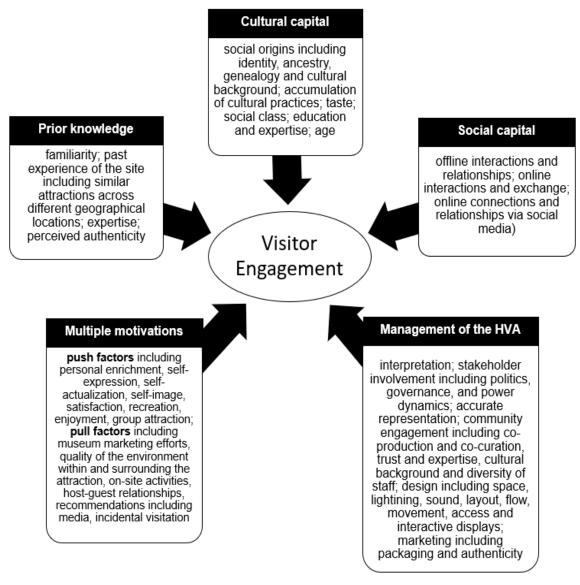
"..but the entire M Shed, I feel it is very noisy. The cases are all jumbled up. There is an awful lot going on in every case, and it is all so together, whereas the slavery display is its own little space...I find it very noisy and hard to find a story. In the slavery space, it is like going into a little sanctuary almost because it is much quieter. You can focus in that space, whereas I feel the rest of the museum is quite hard to actually focus on almost whatever you are being shown in the case – here it is much calmer and quieter" (MP11, 2022).

Still, the analysis also showed that the incorporation of contemporary events around slavery, such as racism, Black Lives Matter protests, and modern-day slavery, seems to distract some visitors from the main purpose of the museum. This may confuse some visitors and not fully engage with the museum and its displays.

## **Chapter Summary**

This chapter discussed the findings from the data analysis regarding the factors that influence visitor engagement with UK slavery heritage museums. In doing so, the chapter has also addressed the gaps in knowledge discussed in Chapter Four. From the data analysis, this study has found that five broad factors influence visitor engagement with UK slavery heritage museums. These include prior knowledge, multiple motivations, cultural capital, social capital and the management of the HVA. Figure 37 below presents the conceptual framework that has been developed from the findings of the study discussed in this chapter. It is also a refinement of the theoretical framework presented earlier in this thesis.

**Figure 37:** Factors that Influence Visitor Engagement with UK Slavery Heritage Museums Conceptual Framework



Source: Author's own

The conceptual framework suggests that prior knowledge, multiple motivations, cultural capital, social capital (offline and online via social media), and the management of the visitor attraction influence visitor engagement with UK slavery heritage museums. The conceptual framework also suggests that within each of these broad key factors, there are several sub-factors that overlap with other factors and are difficult to separate. For instance, trust is a motivational factor that influences some visitors' motivation to visit and engage with UK slavery heritage museums. Trust can also manifest from the management side, in which some museum professionals may omit certain aspects of the Trans-Atlantic Slave

Trade in the curation of displays. This is because some UK slavery heritage museum professionals do not want to associate themselves with that heritage and because it makes them look bad. Thus, some visitors find that the displays they engage with are whitewashed, and that influences their engagement with exhibits.

The conceptual framework also suggests that visitor engagement with UK slavery heritage museums varies and is subjective, which may be difficult for museum professionals to manage. That is because visitors bring with them a broad range of knowledge, perceptions, and expectations. Thus, as the conceptual framework suggests, it is difficult to identify a single factor that influences visitor engagement with UK slavery heritage museums. Instead, there are multiple factors that influences visitor engagement with UK slavery heritage museums. Therefore, UK slavery heritage museum managers, curators, and decision-makers can make use of the conceptual framework to manage visitor engagement and enhance the museum experience for visitors. In doing so, it helps museum professionals design and deliver an experience that somehow meets visitors' needs and expectations.

The next chapter provides a summary of the study. The findings, limitations, theoretical and methodological contributions, managerial implications, and areas for future research are discussed.

# **Chapter 7: Conclusion**

### Introduction

The aim of this thesis was to critically evaluate the factors that influence visitor engagement with UK slavery heritage museums. This research draws on a range of theoretical and empirical contributions in heritage studies, heritage tourism research, HVA research, museum studies, dark tourism studies, slavery heritage tourism research, and visitor engagement with museums research. The theories and concepts that underpin these areas of research provided a greater understanding of the factors that influence visitor engagement with museums, which can be applied within the context of museums associated with dark and difficult heritage, particularly slavery heritage. Therefore, they informed the theoretical dimensions of this research.

This interpretive, qualitative, exploratory study employed a blended passive symbolic netnographic research strategy, combining online semi-structured interviews with content analysis of TripAdvisor reviews. The research strategy was informed by the theoretical framework discussed in Chapter Four and the philosophical assumptions and research design that underpins this study discussed in Chapter Five. TripAdvisor reviews and thirteen museum managers and curators from eight UK slavery heritage museums were purposively selected. The museums include:

- 1. Wilberforce House Museum, Hull
- 2. Museum of London Docklands, London
- 3. Lancaster Maritime Museum, Lancaster
- 4. M Shed, Bristol
- 5. The Georgian House Museum, Bristol
- 6. Kelvingrove Art and Gallery Museum, Glasgow
- 7. International Slavery Museum, Liverpool
- 8. Merseyside Maritime Museum, Liverpool

The selected museums market and tell the stories of the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade through small, large, temporary, and permanent exhibitions. Therefore, the selection of eight museums provided greater representation and insights into the factors that influence visitor engagement with museums that display the narratives of the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade. Primary data were triangulated through the observations of TripAdvisor reviews and online semi-structured interviews with thirteen UK slavery heritage museum managers and curators of the eight museums identified above via Microsoft Teams. These methods were used to reduce bias, enhance credibility and validity, and develop a comprehensive understanding of the research. Data were thematically analysed manually and with the aid of NVivo.

The purpose of this chapter is to conclude this thesis. It is important to note that this chapter is not about replaying the findings. Instead, it is about highlighting the contributions and implications of the findings. As such, the chapter draws upon the entire thesis, tying up the various theoretical and empirical strands in order to provide a summary and critique of the findings. In doing so, the chapter discusses the theoretical and methodological contributions and implications of the study, the managerial implications of the research's findings to practice, the study's limitations, and areas for future research. This is followed by a reflection on the researcher's development throughout the PhD journey.

# 7.1 Thesis Summary

There are seven chapters in this thesis, including this conclusion chapter. Chapter One introduced the research to the reader. It explains the background and context, rationale, aim and objectives, originality, significance, value, research design, and structure of this thesis. As discussed in Chapter One, no existing study has been found to have researched the factors that influence visitor engagement with UK slavery heritage museums. Therefore, the aim of this study was to critically evaluate the factors that influence visitor engagement with UK slavery heritage museums. This aim was achieved through a set of objectives, which were to:

- Search and review existing literature on the factors that influence visitor engagement with HVAs and their application to UK slavery heritage museums.
- Critically evaluate the factors that influence visitor engagement with UK slavery heritage museums.
- Contribute new knowledge in heritage tourism research, HVA research, museum studies, dark tourism research, slavery heritage tourism research, and visitor engagement with museums research that will be useful to academics in these fields.
- 4. Provide a greater understanding of the factors that influence visitor engagement with UK slavery heritage museums that will be relevant and useful to managers, curators, and decision-makers who are involved in the design and management of these attractions.

In addressing the first objective, the literature review is divided into three chapters. Chapters Two, Three, and Four provided a critical review and analysis of key studies, models, theories, and concepts relevant to this study's aim and objectives and lay the theoretical dimensions of this research. The chapters highlighted several gaps within the existing literature, which justifies this research and where it contributes.

Chapter Two reviewed literature in heritage studies, heritage tourism research, HVA research, and museum studies. The chapter laid the foundation upon which the thesis was built and is the forerunner to the discourse of the subsequent chapters. It, therefore, provides the contextual background for the following literature review chapters. There are four main parts in this chapter. Part one discussed the scope of heritage, value, classifications, and the developments made in heritage research. Part two explained the concept of heritage tourism, including its role and importance, typologies, visitor motivations, visitor experiences, and current themes and trends in the field. Part three explored the nature and classifications of HVAs, their role and function, visitors' decisions to visit, and academic contributions made in HVA research. Part four provided a discussion on the concept, role, and functions of museums, including the various

types of museums, management of museums, visitor profiles, and developments made in this area of research.

Chapter Two revealed that publications in heritage studies, heritage tourism research, HVA research, and museum studies are homogenous and concentrated on four major themes, including the politics and governance of contested and indigenous heritage; the management and economics of heritage in the age of globalization; the role of heritage as a meaning-making and identity construction tool; and the use of technology and social media to increase visitor involvement with HVAs and to store, document, and present heritage. The chapter also revealed a growing interest among scholars in researching the representation and presentation of the difficult heritage in museums, mainly post-colonial and slavery heritage. The chapter highlighted two key knowledge gaps within the existing body of literature. First, there is a need to understand visitor engagement within different HVA settings, particularly museums. Second, there is a need for further contributions in relation to slavery heritage within museums that is under-researched

Chapter Three critically reviewed literature in dark tourism and slavery heritage tourism research. The chapter is divided into three main parts. Part one examined the notion of dark heritage. Part two focused on dark tourism research. It explains the concept of dark tourism, dark tourism HVAs, visitor profiles, experiences and motivations, and the developments made in dark tourism research to date. Part three concentrated on slavery heritage tourism research. It discussed the theories in slavery heritage tourism research, including visitor characteristics, motivations, and experiences. This was followed by a review of the developments made in slavery heritage tourism research to date.

The chapter highlighted several gaps within the existing body of literature. The chapter revealed that no existing study had been found to have researched the factors that influence visitor engagement with UK slavery heritage museums. The chapter showed three reasons for this unexplored area of knowledge. First, a substantial body of literature in slavery heritage tourism research is supply-driven and has focused on the management, representation, and interpretation of

slavery heritage for tourism purposes. While minor contributions have focused on the demand side perspective and are ripe for future research. These works concentrated on visitor motivations and experiences at slavery heritage attractions, particularly plantation museums in the USA and slave castles in Ghana. Second, visitors to slavery heritage sites are poorly understood and under-researched. Third, several publications in slavery heritage tourism have concentrated on the USA and Ghana, plantation museums, the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade, and ancestral connection. Thus, the chapter suggested that there is a need for theoretical and empirical contributions in slavery heritage tourism research from the demand side perspective, focusing on different geographical locations and cultural heritage venues.

Chapter Four critically reviewed literature in visitor engagement with museums research. The chapter provided great insight into the factors that influence visitor engagement with art museums and galleries that have been applied to this research. There are four main sections in this chapter. The first section focused on the museum experience. The second section provided a discussion on the meaning of engagement. The third section reviewed the developments made in visitor engagement with museums research. The final section discussed the factors that influence visitor engagement with museums.

The chapter revealed that a number of scholars have quantitatively captured and measured visitor engagement with museums, such as the length of time visitors spend at exhibits. These studies mainly focused on art museums and galleries. Emerging from these studies, the chapter revealed that prior knowledge, multiple motivations, and cultural capital are well established within the extant body of literature to have influence visitor engagement with museums. The chapter showed that social capital, offline and in the online context of social media, as a factor that influences visitor engagement with museums has been overlooked by scholars in researching the factors that influence visitor engagement with museums. The chapter showed that there is a growing interest among scholars in researching social media within the context of museums to enhance visitor engagement. The chapter demonstrated that prior knowledge (sharing of experiences), multiple motivations (planning and decision-making), and cultural

capital (accumulation of knowledge and taste) are interrelated and manifest through online social capital in the context of social media. Thus, the chapter brought into perspective some noticeable gaps that exist within the body of literature. First, there is a need to qualitatively research the factors that influence visitor engagement with museums. Second, there is a need to research visitor engagement with different cultural heritage venues, particularly dark HVAs such as slavery heritage museums. Third, no existing study has been found to have researched all four factors, including prior knowledge, multiple motivations, cultural capital, and social capital, both offline and in the online context of social media.

Chapter Five explained and justified the research methodology used to achieve the aim and objectives of this study. The chapter began with a discussion on the interpretive philosophical and theoretical perspectives that underpinned this research and its qualitative, inductive, exploratory methodological framework. The chapter then discussed the research strategy, a blended passive symbolic netnography including online semi-structured interviews, and the purposive sampling strategy used to recruit participants and to select the eight UK slavery heritage museums used for this study. Subsequently, the data collection methods were discussed and justified, including observations of TripAdvisor reviews and online semi-structured interviews with museum managers and curators. Afterwards, a discussion and justification for a thematic data analysis approach were provided. The ethical considerations and limitations of the research methodology were explained.

Chapter Six discussed the findings from the data analysis. The chapter thematically discussed and critically evaluated five main factors, including prior knowledge, multiple motivations, cultural capital, social capital, and the management of the HVA, which influences visitor engagement with UK slavery heritage museums. The chapter provided a greater understanding and insights into the factors that influence visitor engagement with museums through the development of a conceptual framework. The chapter, therefore, contributes to the discussion on the limitations, theoretical and methodological contributions

and implications, managerial implications, and areas for future research presented in this conclusion chapter.

### 7. 2 Key Findings

As explained in Chapter One and at the start of this conclusion chapter, the aim of this thesis was to critically evaluate the factors that influence visitor engagement with UK slavery heritage museums. As such, this section addresses the second objective of the study, which was to critically evaluate the factors that influence visitor engagement with UK slavery heritage museums. As discussed in Chapter Six, visitor engagement with UK slavery heritage museums varies and is subjective. The study found that five broad factors, including prior knowledge, multiple motivations, cultural capital, social capital, and the management of the HVA, influence visitor engagement with UK slavery heritage museums. The study also found that these factors overlap with each other and are not mutually exclusive, as shown in Figure 37, discussed in Chapter Six. Thus, it can be difficult to separate the factors that influence visitor engagement with UK slavery heritage museums. Therefore, this presents a challenge for museum professionals in managing visitor engagement with UK slavery heritage museums. Nonetheless, it is important to note that this chapter is not about replaying the findings. As such, the following sections explain the implications of the findings, including the theoretical and methodological contributions of the study.

#### 7.3 Theoretical Contributions

This research makes several contributions to the existing body of knowledge in heritage tourism research, HVA research, museum studies, dark tourism research, slavery heritage tourism research, and visitor engagement with museums research. This section, therefore, addresses the third objective of this research, which was to contribute new knowledge in heritage tourism research, HVA research, museum studies, dark tourism research, slavery heritage tourism research, and visitor engagement with museums research that will be useful to academics in these fields of research.

First, this study has confirmed the findings of Taheri et al (2014), Bryce et al (2014), and Loureiro and Ferreira (2018), which showed that prior knowledge, multiple motivations, and cultural capital influence visitor engagement with museums. The findings from this study extend knowledge in visitor engagement with museum research, which has found that social capital and the management of the visitor attraction also influence visitor engagement with museums, particularly UK slavery heritage museums. Thus, this study contributes to existing knowledge on visitor engagement with museums by providing a conceptual framework, as discussed in Chapter Six, of the factors that influence visitor engagement with museums, particularly slavery heritage museums. The conceptual framework suggests that prior knowledge, multiple motivations, cultural capital, social capital, and the management of the visitor attraction influence visitor engagement with UK slavery heritage museums and are difficult to separate. The conceptual framework also suggests that within each of these broad key factors, there are several sub-factors. It also suggests that visitor engagement varies and is subjective, which may be difficult to manage. Therefore, this thesis has provided a deeper insight into the factors that influence visitor engagement with museums and may assist managers, curators, and decision-makers responsible for designing and managing slavery heritage attractions to better manage visitor engagement.

Second, this project appears to be the first study to consider all three dimensions of engagement in visitor engagement with museum research, including the affective, cognitive, and behavioural dimensions. Previous studies have narrowly focused on either one (see Taheri et al., 2014; Pansari & Kumar, 2017) or two of these dimensions (see Bejerholm and Eklund, 2007; Norris et al., 2003), as discussed throughout the literature review. Therefore, these studies have insufficiently captured the wide range of factors that influence visitor engagement throughout the entire museum experience. Therefore, this study contributes to the existing body of knowledge by focusing on a tri-dimensional engagement construct. Thus, the findings of this study provide a holistic picture and a greater understanding of the factors that influence visitor engagement with museums that will be useful to museum professionals to enhance visitor engagement.

Third, as demonstrated throughout the literature review, a substantial body of research has focused on art museums and galleries in researching the factors that influence visitor engagement with these attractions (see Taheri et al., 2014; Black, 2012; Falk & Storksdieck, 2005). Thus, this study adds to the existing body of literature in visitor engagement with museum research, HVA research, and museum studies by focusing on UK slavery heritage museums. Therefore, the findings from this study may be applied to future research in visitor engagement and tourism studies.

Fourth, as explained throughout the literature review, the way in which museums and visitors interact is perpetually altered due to the changes and demands in society brought on by globalization and the internet. Thus, this study is the first to explore social capital and, within the context of social media, the emerging concept of online social capital as a factor that influences visitor engagement with museums. In doing so, this research has considered prior knowledge, multiple motivations, and cultural capital in the digital context of social media and how they manifest in and influence offline settings of a museum visit. Therefore, this adds to previous findings (see Taheri et al., 2014; Bryce et al., 2014 and Loureiro & Ferreira, 2018) by noting that prior knowledge, multiple motivations, and cultural capital are also tied up in social capital within both offline and online settings and, therefore, visitor engagement with museums, as reflected in Figure 37, discussed in Chapter Six.

Fifth, as reflected in the literature review chapters, a number of publications in visitor engagement with museums research have researched visitor engagement in the pre and on-site visitation stages of a museum experience (see Taheri et al., 2014; Arnould et al., 2004; Kempiak et al., 2017). Thus, this study is the first to consider all three stages of a museum visit, including the pre, during, and post-visitation stages in visitor engagement with museum research and within the context of social media. The findings of this study indicate that visitors engage with UK slavery heritage museums in the pre, during, and post-visitation stages of a museum visit. Therefore, the theoretical implications of these findings are that the stages of a museum visit complement each other, which may make it difficult for museum professionals to manage visitor engagement.

Sixth, the findings of this study add to the rapidly expanding field of dark tourism and slavery heritage tourism research. The findings of this study contribute new knowledge by focusing on the much under-researched demand side perspective in slavery heritage tourism research (see Yankholmes, 2015b; Nelson, 2020a). In doing so, the findings reported in this thesis shed new light on visitors to slavery heritage attractions and what influences their engagement with these sites, as reflected in Figure 37, discussed in Chapter Six. Thereby contributing to a greater understanding of visitors to slavery heritage attractions that will be useful to academics in dark tourism and slavery heritage tourism research and practitioners responsible for managing these attractions.

Finally, the findings of this study contribute to the recent debates and knowledge concerning the management and representation of slavery heritage in HVAs for visitor consumption, as discussed in Chapters Two and Three (see Modlin et al., 2018; Bright et al., 2018). This study is, therefore, timely since there was much debate at the time regarding engagement with slavery heritage and the role UK slavery heritage museums play in a culture of flash protests and identity politics (see Moody, 2021; Turunen, 2022; Cole, 2023). In this respect, the research findings have shown emerging concepts and issues related to managing and representing slavery heritage for tourism purposes, as reflected in Figure 37 discussed in Chapter Six, such as diversifying staff to attract visitors from specific cultural backgrounds, which warrants further research. Thus, although there is a considerable amount of publication in slavery heritage tourism research that has focused on the supply side (see Butler, 2001; Carter, 2016), these findings indicate that this area has not been fully explored. Therefore, this study lays the groundwork for future research into some emerging concepts in slavery heritage tourism research.

### 7.4 Methodological Contributions

This study makes two significant methodological contributions that can be applied to future research. The first relates to visitor engagement with museums research. The second concerns dark tourism research and slavery heritage tourism research.

First, existing studies in visitor engagement with museums have focused on capturing and measuring visitor engagement and the length of time visitors spend at exhibits in art museums and galleries (see Taheri et al., 2014; Black, 2012; Falk & Storksdieck, 2005). While there is a reasonable amount of literature in dark tourism and slavery heritage tourism research is qualitative in nature (see Seaton, 2001; Beech, 2001; Reed, 2012), this study contributes to visitor engagement with museum research by qualitatively researching the factors that influence visitor engagement with UK slavery heritage museums. In doing so, the rich, natural, and detailed data gathered for this study provided insights into what influences visitors to engage with UK slavery heritage museums.

Second, contributions in slavery heritage tourism research so far have been developed from six main data sources. These include literature searches, content analysis of brochures and promotional materials; discourse analysis of slavery heritage narratives; unobtrusive observations of site settings; festivals, and related entertainment, and interviews with key informants. To date, only three publications in slavery heritage tourism research have used online sources such as TripAdvisor reviews to gather data (see Carter, 2016; Boateng, 2020; Nelson, 2020a). However, they may not be considered netnographic because the researchers were not specific about their methodology (Tuikka et al., 2017; Kozinets, 2020). Thus, it is often left up to the reader to decipher and interpret their work, which can be viewed as virtual ethnography, digital anthropology, etc. Therefore, this thesis makes clear that part of this research lies within the body of netnographic principles and research by offering a specific, detailed, and rigorous way of conducting online research within the academic field of dark tourism and slavery heritage tourism research. As such, this study is the first to apply netnography to slavery heritage tourism research.

Netnography as a methodology offered many benefits that aided in achieving the aim of this study and was appropriate given the sensitive nature of the topic. It is naturalistic and has revealed visitors' experiences more candidly than traditional qualitative methods because of the anonymity it permits (Podoshen, 2017). It has also allowed access to an abundance of data and visitors who are dispersed across various geographical locations (Kozinets, 2020). Using a blended passive

symbolic netnographic research methodology and data triangulation through observations of TripAdvisor reviews and online semi-structured interviews with museum managers and curators via Microsoft Teams provided great insights into the factors that influence visitor engagement with UK slavery heritage museums. Thereby allowing museum managers, curators, and decision-makers to build a portrait of visitors and develop strategies to enhance visitor engagement with these attractions.

### 7.5 Managerial Implications

This section addresses the fourth objective of this study, which was to provide a greater understanding of the factors that influence visitor engagement with UK slavery heritage museums that will be relevant and useful to managers, curators, and decision-makers who are involved in the design and management of these attractions. In doing so, the findings from this study have a number of important managerial implications for future practice. These implications may be useful to museum managers, curators, and decision-makers to enhance visitor engagement with museums.

First, the findings suggest that prior knowledge, multiple motivations, cultural capital, social capital, and the management of the HVA influences visitor engagement with UK slavery heritage museums. The findings also suggest that these factors are difficult to separate and that visitor engagement with UK slavery heritage museums varies and is subjective, as reflected in Figure 37, discussed in Chapter Six. Therefore, museum managers, curators, and decision-makers can make use of the conceptual framework discussed in Chapter Six to manage visitor engagement and enhance the museum experience for visitors. In doing so, it helps museum professionals to design and deliver an experience that meets the needs and expectations of visitors.

Second, the findings suggest that some UK slavery heritage museums are child-friendly. While some museums may have on-site activities for families and children, it tends to disrupt and distract other visitors from engaging with the museum and thoroughly enjoying the museum experience. One suggestion from this research would be for UK slavery heritage museums to incorporate

ethnographic techniques and involve school children and young visitors prior to their visit to encourage them to engage with the museum and reduce the chances of disrupting the experience of other visitors (Otele, 2012).

Third, the findings indicate that due to the level of information provided by museums, it may not appeal to some visitor groups, such as families with small children. Thus, those museums that are not child-friendly could incorporate onsite activities for families and children, such as quizzes, interactive games, and animated films that tell the stories of the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade so that they engage and achieve learning outcomes which some UK slavery heritage museums are already doing and as discussed by Frey (2019) and Mulcahy (2020) in Chapter Two. This may serve as a marketing and attraction tool for these groups of visitors. However, this should be carefully managed so that it does not disrupt the museum experience of other visitors and take away from the sensitive nature of the topic. One suggestion would be to have a separate area within the museum dedicated to visitors with small children, should budget and space allow.

Fourth, this research has shown that a limited number of words restricts museum curators from consciously conveying the story of museum displays on object labels. The findings from the study have also shown that an overload of information both on panel texts and interactive displays such as touchscreens can result in some visitors not being fully engaged because of short attention spans. Additionally, museum professionals must be aware that not all visitors are tech-savvy and comfortable with the use of technology. Therefore, museum practitioners must find effective ways to tell the stories of the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade that accommodate all visitors without diminishing the visitor experience.

Fifth, interactive displays such as touchscreens, audio guides, and films play an integral role in influencing visitor engagement with museums. However, the findings have revealed several issues regarding the design of some museums, such as poor lighting, broken lights, broken interactives, poor layout, and unclear routes impacting the museum experience and visitor engagement. Understandably, some of these issues exist because of budget cuts, limited space, and management decisions. There are, however, some suitable and

practical recommendations museums can adopt to address some of these issues. These are as follows:

- Explain to visitors the issues and how they may affect their museum experience.
- Develop a fiscal management plan to manage financial resources to achieve the museum's objectives and maintain displays, as discussed in Chapter Two (Lindqvist, 2012).
- Host after-hours events on-site to generate revenue, which has been found in previous literature to help maintain and sustain public museums (Mulcahy, 2020). Consideration should be given to the nature of the event and its appropriateness regarding the sensitive and difficult heritage of slavery.
- Organize displays in chronological order and indicate where an exhibition begins and ends. This would help with flow and visitor movement and for visitors to gain a much clearer understanding of the history of the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade according to events and timelines.

Sixth, taste is a crucial sub-factor of cultural capital and management in influencing visitor engagement. The findings of this study showed that some museums present and package the history of the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade in a celebratory and joyous way. As the findings indicate, some visitors and museum professionals find this inappropriate, given the sensitive nature of the topic. Therefore, a number of important changes need to be made to ensure that the history of the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade is not lost and diminished.

Seventh, the findings showed the significance of trust as a motivational factor in engaging with UK slavery heritage museums. Although a considerable amount of literature in tourism research and visitor engagement with museums research has noted multiple motivations for visiting HVAs, trust as a motivational factor was missed (see Taheri et al., 2014; Bryce et al., 2014; Loureiro & Ferreira, 2018). This, therefore, suggests that there are emerging motivational factors. Thus, museum managers, curators, and decision-makers must be mindful of the changing nature and shift in visitor motivation for engaging with museums. In

doing so, museum professionals should bear this in mind when developing marketing strategies and finding ways to meet visitors' expectations.

Eight, previous studies, as discussed throughout the literature review, have well-documented some of the challenges in managing slavery heritage for tourism purposes, such as stakeholder involvement, accurate representation, and the omission of key events of the past (see Seaton, 2001; Dann & Potter, 2001; Otele, 2012; Hanna et al., 2018). While this study confirms those findings, this research indicates that there are a number of growing debates and arguments regarding the management of slavery heritage within museums. These mainly revolve around the issues of trust, transparency, and accountability; diversity; the inclusion of the descendants of the enslaved; community engagement; and heritage ownership. The implications of these are that UK slavery heritage museums must be transparent in their decisions in relation to the curation of displays for visitor consumption. It is, therefore, suggested that museum professionals:

- make clear whose heritage it is as it remains unclear and that there are conflicting views on this amongst museum professionals;
- outline and communicate how community groups and members are selected in the co-production and co-curation of museum exhibits;
- consider working with and including descendants of enslavers to strike a balance so that visitors do not perceive displays to be one-sided;
- consider the social and political responsibilities of diversity within museums

Ninth, the findings showed that visitors visit museums with a wide range of expectations, resulting in subjectively engaging with UK slavery heritage museums. The implication here is that the range of expectations, needs, and desires of visitors presents a challenge for museum practitioners to find ways to satisfy those expectations. A practical recommendation would be to communicate clearly to visitors the purpose of the museum and what is presented at the site. Nonetheless, the wide range of visitor expectations can be difficult for museum professionals to manage.

Tenth, this research has shown that UK slavery heritage museums modify and adjust exhibits to visitor tastes. This involves changing the language used to describe the events and victims of the Tran-Atlantic Slavery Trade and presenting the story of the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade in a celebratory way. The implication here is that some visitors view these actions as being politically correct and whitewashing the history of the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade for visitor consumption. Therefore, museum professionals must exercise caution when designing museum exhibits (Friedrich et al., 2018). A recommendation would be for museum practitioners to continuously evaluate and re-evaluate displays being developed and redeveloped (Sharpley, 2009).

Eleventh, this research has shown that changes in society and the digital context of social media influence visitor engagement and, to an extent, the design of UK slavery heritage museums. Thus, museum professionals must now monitor the changes in society and the digital world within the context of social media. Emphasis is also needed on the digital engagement of visitors. An implication of this is that digital engagement with museums manifests within offline settings. As the findings of this study suggest, visitor engagement with museums occurs in all three stages of a museum visit, including the pre, on-site and post-visitation stages. Therefore, a key policy priority should be for UK slavery heritage museums to embrace social media more by including various platforms such as Facebook, Instagram, and Twitter to grow museum audiences and educate online users about the museum and its objects, and therefore, engagement. In addition, the information gathered from these sources can be used to develop marketing strategies aimed at driving visitor engagement with the museum.

## 7.6 Limitations of the Study

There are several limitations of the study. First, the scope of the study is limited in terms of geographical location and the UK slavery heritage museums selected for the study. Second, given the study's subjective, interpretive, qualitative approach and its small sample size, the findings from the study cannot be generalised and compared to the findings of other studies that used quantitative and mixed methods. As such, the findings from the study might not be

transferable and applicable to all HVAs, including museums. Thus, caution must be applied when interpreting the findings of the study, as the factors evaluated may not apply to all UK slavery heritage museums. This is because the slavery heritage museums in the UK chosen for the study vary depending on exhibition size, availability, and target audience. This can be either small, large, temporary, or permanent exhibitions. Despite these limitations, it is important that the reader bears in mind that the aim of the study is not to produce generalisable findings. Instead, it is to provide an understanding of the topic under investigation. Additionally, the study is limited in its blended passive symbolic netnographic approach and the use of one social media platform, TripAdvisor. However, these limitations were considered, and the chosen methodology and methods for the study were most appropriate.

#### 7.7 Areas for Future Research

This section discusses a number of areas for future research.

Future research could explore visitor engagement with other types of slavery heritage attractions within different geographical locations. This may also be conducted on other types of dark heritage visitor attractions that remain unexplored within the extant body of literature. These studies would help to provide a greater understanding of visitor engagement with a range of attractions that are associated with difficult heritage. Such understanding will provide management with insights to tailor strategies specific to those attractions to enhance visitor engagement.

As explained in Chapter Four, social capital has been overlooked in previous visitor engagement with museums research (see Taheri et al., 2014; Bryce et al., 2014; Loureiro & Ferreira, 2018). This study has shown that social capital influences visitor engagement with museums and can manifest within both offline and online settings through social media. Future research might explore social capital, including online social capital, within the context of different HVAs and areas of tourism research. In addition, this study, including previous works in visitor engagement with museum research, did not explore economic capital as a factor that influences visitor engagement with museums. A key finding from this

research is that social class influences some visitors' engagement with UK slavery museums. For example, some visitors may not be able to afford to visit and engage with UK slavery heritage museums. Thus, it may be worthwhile for academics to research economic capital as a factor that influences visitor engagement with museums in the future.

The findings highlight that there is a shift and emerging reasons why visitors are motivated to visit and engage with slavery heritage, such as trust. Future research is needed to fully understand the evolving motives and their implications on the visitor experience and the management of HVAs. Such works would be of great help in understanding visitors who engage with slavery heritage that is underresearched in the existing literature. Furthermore, as it relates to trust, the findings have shown that the transparency and accountability of museums influence some visitors to engage with UK slavery heritage museums. Thus, future research could usefully explore how museums can be transparent and accountable to facilitate visitor engagement. If the debate is to be moved forward, a better understanding of transparency and accountability in museums needs to be developed.

An intriguing phenomenon that emerged from the findings is the morally transgressive behaviours that take place within museums of slavery heritage, such as taking selfies with displays. Future research should be undertaken to explore the motivations behind morally transgressive behaviours with difficult heritage and to fully understand the implications of such behaviours on the visitor, experience, and HVA. At the same time, greater clarity is needed on the meaning and perceptions of morally transgressive behaviours within dark tourism literature. Moreover, while a reasonable number of publications in visitor engagement with museums research has focused on family and children (see Braswell, 2012; Sutcliffe & Kim, 2014), there is room for further contributions. The findings of this study showed that children have an impact on the museum experience of other visitors. For instance, some children tend to disrupt some adult visitors' engagement with exhibits and the way in which some parents engage with museums. Therefore, future work is needed to fully understand the

implications of children's engagement with museums and to find ways in which museum practitioners can better manage visitor engagement in this regard.

The findings revealed that there is a growing trend among UK slavery heritage museums regarding diversity. For instance, the findings suggest that museums are diversifying staff to attract visitors from specific cultural backgrounds. The issue of diversity is an intriguing one that could be usefully explored in future research. Future works can be conducted to determine the effectiveness of diversity within museums and the implications it has on the museum experience, other visitor groups, and the attraction as a whole. It may be worthwhile to research the motivations, impacts, and challenges regarding diversity in museums. At the same time, it could be useful to research and establish the cultural diversity of the visitor profiles. In addition, another important finding from the study is the co-production and co-curation process within UK slavery heritage museums. As demonstrated in Chapter Six, there appears to be an emphasis on involving communities in the decision-making process of how museum displays should be designed and interpreted. This, therefore, would be a fruitful area for future works on community engagement with difficult heritage. Perhaps future works could explore the criteria for selecting community members and the implications on the decision-making process. It may also be worthwhile to explore the power dynamics in relation to community engagement. More information on these areas would help to establish a greater understanding of how decisions are made regarding the management of slavery heritage for tourism purposes.

While there is a substantial body of literature in slavery heritage tourism research that is supply-driven, this study has demonstrated that there is still a need for further contributions. The findings of this study have revealed some emerging concepts and growing debates regarding the interpretation of slavery heritage for visitor consumption. As shown throughout the literature review chapters, there have been publications on the presentation, representation, and interpretation of slavery heritage within a tourism context (see Beech, 2001; Burnham, 2019). Yet, several questions still remain to be answered regarding the interpretation of narratives of slavery heritage for visitor consumption. These questions are

concerned with the decolonization and demystification of language used to describe certain aspects of slavery; the humanising and dehumanising of the victims of slavery; and the rethinking of slavery heritage narratives that remain obscure within the literature of slavery heritage tourism research. Thus, greater clarity is needed on the meaning of decolonization, demystification, humanization, dehumanization, and the rethinking of slavery narratives. Future research, therefore, can examine the implications of these areas to practice and the visitor experience.

Furthermore, there is an opportunity for future research to apply netnography in different ways in tourism research. Perhaps future works can adopt an autonetnographic approach that involves the researcher passively or actively participating in online communities and documenting their events and experiences. In addition, future research can adopt a mixture of passive and active approaches to netnography throughout the different stages of the research. For instance, a researcher can adopt a passive approach to observe online communications followed by an active approach by participating in the online community by communicating or interviewing online participants to gain deeper insights into the research topic or vice versa. In doing so, future research can use other social media platforms and communities such as Facebook, Instagram, Twitter, TikTok, and SnapChat to gather online data.

## 7.8 Reflexive Summary

This section summarises the researcher's development throughout the PhD journey.

The researcher is from the multi-island Caribbean state of Saint Vincent and the Grenadines. For the researcher, the PhD journey has been instrumental in connecting him to his ancestral roots by reflecting on his mother's lineage, who was a descendant of the enslaved, and his father's Portuguese heritage, who was a descendant of the enslavers. Doing so has provided the researcher with a greater understanding of his social and cultural capital. Having grown up in the Caribbean and studied Caribbean history, the researcher realised that the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade was primarily taught from a single perspective, with a focus

on specific aspects and impacts of the slave trade. The researcher previously believed that specific groups or sections of society were reluctant to engage with the topic of the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade. However, this was due to a lack of exposure to the wider world and the diverse positions or perceptions held on the topic.

By engaging with literature, participants, and those in the researcher's network, the researcher gained insights into different positions on the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade. Thus, the PhD journey has enabled the researcher to view the subject through a wider lens. This exposure helped the researcher understand the different viewpoints and perspectives on the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade and how the topic is interpreted, presented, and consumed. This, therefore, informed the study's interpretive, explorative, qualitative methodological approach, which was rooted in subjectivity. The researcher has now come to appreciate that multiple realities exist and that there is no specific way for all visitors to engage with the narratives of the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade.

The researcher now understands the factors that influence visitor engagement with UK slavery heritage museums. The researcher also now has a greater understanding of netnography as an approach to research. The research strategy used in the study has given the researcher a clear view of how netnography can be applied in various ways and the potential it has that can benefit the academic community. The teaching experiences as part of the PhD provided the researcher a platform to share their research with students and put knowledge into practice. The researcher has attended and participated in several workshops, conferences and seminars in the UK and internationally and has won several awards. These seminars and conferences have helped the researcher to grow their network and share their research with academics across various fields. These events have also benefited the researcher by receiving constructive and valuable feedback from scholars on how to strengthen the research. These experiences have enhanced the interpersonal and intrapersonal skills of the researcher. In this respect, the researcher has developed coping mechanisms and skills to manage their emotions and criticism levelled against their research and how they can improve in future works. The researcher has gained the confidence to engage

with academics or anyone regarding their research. The researcher's verbal and non-verbal skills have been enhanced.

Therefore, for the researcher, what made the PhD experience a rewarding one was the constant and lifelong learning, learning from others, being flexible and able to adapt, transferring and sharing knowledge, having questions that need to be answered, trying to make sense of the world and environment around you, and always wanting to know more. The researcher now has an even greater appreciation for research and can share their knowledge and skills with students and academics in the near future.

#### Museum Visits

Visiting some of the museums selected for this study helped verify and better understand the data collected from TripAdvisor reviews and museum professionals. In addition, the researcher was able to engage with some of the museum curators and managers in a face-to-face setting. They volunteered to show and explain the displays to the researcher to gain an understanding of the factors that influence visitor engagement with the museum.

## **Chapter Summary**

This chapter concluded the thesis. It provided a summary of its overall structure and the research's findings. The chapter discussed the theoretical, methodological, and managerial implications of the study. The chapter explained the limitations of the study and identified areas for future research. Finally, the chapter provided a reflexive summary of the researcher's academic, personal, and professional development throughout the research process, including concluding remarks.

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### **Appendices**

# Appendix 1 – Online Semi-structured Interview Questions on Visitor Engagement with UK Slavery Heritage Museums

#### Background information about the museum

1. Describe the museum

#### Supplementary questions

- a. What is the purpose of the museum?
- b. What do you want visitors to know?
- c. Why do you want visitors to know this?

#### Questions about the curator/interviewee

- 3. What is your role at the museum?
- 4. Describe your role at the museum.

#### Background information related to the management of the museum

2. Tell me about the management of the museum.

#### Supplementary questions

- a. Tell me about the ownership structure of the museum
- b. Who are the stakeholders of the museum?
- c. Who manages the museum?

#### Questions regarding visitor's profile

- 3. Who are your visitors?
- 4. What strategies do you use to motivate visitors to visit the museum?

#### Supplementary questions

- a. Why these strategies?
- b. How have you implemented these strategies?
- Tell me about visitor feedback.

#### Supplementary questions

- a. When do you gather feedback? (e.g. pre-visitation; during museum visit; post-visitation).
- b. Why do you gather feedback at this stage of the museum visit?
- c. How do you gather visitor feedback?
- d. Why these methods?
- e. What sort of feedback do you gather from visitors?
- f. How do you make sense of this feedback?
- g. What does the visitor feedback tell you about what influenced visitors to engage with the museum and its exhibits?
- h. What do you do with your visitor feedback?
- i. How do you use this feedback in designing museum exhibits?

#### **Questions about engagement**

- 12. What does visitor engagement mean to you?
- 13. Why is engagement important to your museum?
- 14. Tell me about measuring visitor engagement with the museum.

#### Supplementary questions

- 15. How do you measure visitor engagement?
- 16. Why do you measure visitor engagement?
- 17. What do you do with this information?
- 18. What does this tell you about visitor engagement?
- 19. How do your visitors engage with the museum?
- 20. What influences visitors to engage with the museum and its exhibits?
- 21. Why do you think those reasons influence visitors to engage with the museum?
- 22. What strategies have you implemented to facilitate and encourage visitors to engage with exhibits?

#### Supplementary questions

- a. Tell me about interactive exhibits.
- Tell me about the use of technology in the museum as a way of engaging visitors.
- c. What else do you do to engage with people outside the physical setting of the museum (social media, PR)?
- 23. Tell me about how you use social media to engage with your visitors.

#### Supplementary questions

- a. What social media platforms do you use to engage with visitors? (i.e., TripAdvisor, Facebook, Twitter, Instagram, Snapchat)
- b. Why these social media platforms?
- c. Tell me about how visitors use social media to engage with the museum
- d. What does this tell you about engagement with the museum?
- 24. Describe how social media is used in the curatorial process.

#### Supplementary questions

- a. What do you do with the comments posted on the museum's social media pages?
- b. How do you use the comments posted on the museum's social media pages in curating exhibits?
- c. How do you make sense of the comments posted on the museum's social media pages?
- d. What do the comments on the museum's social media pages tell you about visitor engagement?

#### Questions related to curating museum exhibits

25. Explain the process of curating museum exhibits.

#### Supplementary questions

- a. What influences your decisions on how you interpret and design an exhibit?
- b. When planning an exhibit, what is your process for deciding what exhibitions to include?
- c. What is your process for researching an exhibit's history and origin?
- d. Describe your process for evaluating the accuracy and authenticity of an exhibit.
- e. Why is ensuring accuracy important when designing museum exhibits?
- 26. Who makes the decisions on how exhibits are managed and interpreted?

#### Supplementary questions

a. Do you involve descendants of the enslaved in the decision-making process and design of exhibits?

- b. Why do you involve descendants of the enslaved in the decision-making process and design of exhibits?
- c. How are descendants of the enslaved involved in the decision-making process and design of exhibits?
- d. What does this mean for visitors who engage with the museum?
- e. Do you involve descendants of enslavers in the decision-making process and design of exhibits?
- f. Why do you involve descendants of enslavers in the decision-making process and design of exhibits?
- g. How are descendants of enslavers involved in the decision-making process and design of exhibits?
- h. What does this mean for visitors who engage with the museum?

#### Questions in relation to management issues and challenges

27. Explain the issues you have encountered in curating exhibits.

#### Supplementary questions

- a. Have those issues been addressed?
- b. How were those issues addressed?
- c. Are there any ongoing issues?
- d. How do you intend to address them?
- 28. Describe the issues and challenges with visitor engagement.

#### Supplementary questions

- a. How have you addressed them?
- b. If ongoing, how do you intend to address them?

### 29. Any other relevant information regarding visitor engagement or people I should speak to?

#### **Appendix 2 – Data Management Plan**

PI: Shemroy Roberts

Project title: A Critical Evaluation of the Factors that Influence Visitor Engagement with UK

Slavery Heritage Museums: A Blended Passive Symbolic Netnographic Study

Project dates: March 2020 – September 2023

Project type: Student

#### 1. Lay description of the work (max 200 words):

The aim of this project is to critically evaluate the factors that influence visitor engagement with UK slavery heritage museums. This project is purely qualitative and utilizes a blended passive symbolic netnographic approach, combining online semi-structured interviews with content analysis with TripAdvisor reviews. Data will be collected through the use of unobtrusive observations of Trip Advisor reviews and online semi-structured interviews via MS Teams with museum managers and curators from eight (8) UK slavery heritage museums.

#### 2. Short description of methods used to collect and analyse the data

Method	Description of participant	How data will be analysed	
Unobtrusive observation of	Online reviews of the	Thematic analysis and NVIVO	
TripAdvisor reviews	museums listed below.	- (coding data, searching for themes and refining themes). Copying and pasting of TA reviews will be used for analysis. The copied reviews will not contain reviewers' photos or videos because this is against TA T&Cs. The PI is only interested in the comments/reviews made by reviews.	
Online semi-structured interviews via MS Teams	Museum managers and curators from eight (8) UK slavery heritage museums. These museums were selected in accordance with the principles of Netnography and is relative to the literature and aim of this project. A list of these museums is provided below.  1. Wilberforce House Museum, Hull 2. Museum of London Docklands, London 3. Lancaster Maritime Museum, Lancaster 4. M Shed, Bristol	Thematic analysis and NVIVO- (coding data, searching for themes and refining themes). Interviews will be transcribed using the MS Teams transcription function. All MP4 files will be converted to MP3.	

<ol> <li>The Georgian House Museum, Bristol</li> <li>Kelvingrove Art and Gallery Museum, Glasgow</li> <li>International Slavery Museum, Liverpool</li> <li>Merseyside Maritime</li> </ol>	
Museum, Liverpool	

#### 3. What information or data is being collected, generated and analysed in this work?:

#### a. Types, File Format, software used, and scale:

This project involves publicly available TripAdvisor reviews, which will be copied and analysed using thematic analysis. Only the reviewers' comments will be included in the copied reviews. For clarification purposes, the reviewers' location, name, photographs and or videos will not be included in this study. Only the reviews made by the author/reviewer.

I will conduct online semi-structured interviews with museum managers and curators from eight (8) UK slavery heritage museums. The video recordings will be MP4 files, which will be converted to MP3 before transcribing and analysis. All data will be analysed using thematic analysis, NVIVO and MS documents such as Excel and MS Word.

#### b. How will this be collected:

With regards to online TripAdvisor reviews, data will be captured through copying and pasting. As indicated above, only the reviewers' comments will be included in the copying and pasting of reviews. For clarification purposes, the reviewers' location, name, photographs and or videos will not be included in this study. Only the reviews made by the author/reviewer.

In relation to personal or co-created data, interviews will be recorded at the very start of the interview using the recording option available on Microsoft Teams. The recording will be stopped at the end of the interview. Participants will be notified when the interview is about to be recorded. Participants would have already consented to this once they signed the consent form. Interviews will be transcribed using the MS Teams transcription function. All MP4 files will be converted to MP3.

#### c. What is the retention period of data/information/documents:

Research data will be retained for a maximum of 10 years as stipulated by Edinburgh Napier University (September 2033). Consent forms will be kept for up to 6 years after the project is completed. Recordings of interviews will be destroyed once an audit for verification of the findings has taken place and within 12 months after the project is completed. All openly available data that are retained will be registered with the University's Research Management System.

#### 4. How will the information or data be stored or curated

Digital research data/information will be stored on the University's V: drive. **University-managed data storage** is resilient, with multiple copies stored in more than one physical location and protection against corruption. Daily backups are kept for 14 days, and monthly

backups for an additional year. All data will be stored on the V: drive. Data will be password protected.

#### 4. Summarise the main risks to the confidentiality and security of information:

Risks involved in this study are related to the processing of personal data, which will be mitigated using university-provided tools only.

#### 5. Data sharing and access

**Suitability for sharing:** Data generated by the project (identified above) will be made open once appropriate changes have been made to honour assurances of confidentiality and anonymity suitable for the project. Alterations of TA reviews are not recommended because TA is an open-access/public site, and the comments/reviews are traceable. The PI is not interested in the reviewer's personal data, such as their name, location, photographs, and videos. The PI is only interested in their comments/reviews. Interviews with museum managers and curators will be pseudonymised. For example: interview-participant 001. This data will be stored in a password-protected spreadsheet (pseudonymisation master) and will be kept for the duration of the project until any audit that requires verification of the findings has been completed. Simply put, this data will be destroyed once any audit to verify the findings has been conducted, usually within 12 months of completing the project. Pseudonymised transcripts of interviews will be stored via MS documents such as Excel and MS Word for analysis.

**Discoverability:** Datasets will be allocated a DOI and stored on our open-access Research Repository in accordance with the University research data deposit process. The DOI and the datasets will be made available to the repository within three months of the end of the grant/project.

#### 6. Governance of access to shared data

Who makes the decision on whether a new user can access the data/information?:

The principal investigator, Shemroy Roberts, will have complete control over all data. Only the principal investigator will have access.

Are there any restrictions on making data/information available? E.g. ethics, IP, and confidentiality agreements. If so, please detail here:

There are no restrictions. TA is an open-access/public site; thus, consent is not necessary (re — TA T&Cs). Alterations of TA reviews are not recommended because comments/reviews are traceable. The PI is not interested in the reviewer's personal data such as their name, location, photographs and videos. The PI is only interested in their comments/reviews. Regarding the interviews, consent will be obtained from museum managers and curators from the eight (8) UK slavery heritage museums. The participant information sheet and consent form will be uploaded to the NOVI survey tool and sent to their email, which is publicly available on the museum's website. This will ensure that museum managers are not inconvenienced by having to print and sign these forms. Interviews will be pseudonymised. For example: interview-participant 001. This data will be stored in a password-protected spreadsheet (pseudonymisation master) and will be kept for the duration of the project until any audit that requires verification of the findings has been completed. Simply put, this data will be destroyed once any audit to verify the findings

has been conducted, usually within 12 months of completing the project. The PI has consulted Governance regarding these matters.

#### 7. Responsibilities:

The first point of contact for all queries in relation to this data is the PI. Who will also have overall responsibility for the production and maintenance of metadata. Preparation and upload of the data will be carried out by the team with the support of the University's Information Services staff.

#### 8. University Policies

Data Management Policy & Procedures	http://staff.napier.ac.uk/services/research-innovation- office/Documents/Research%20Data%20Management%20Pol icy.pdf
Data Security Policy	http://staff.napier.ac.uk/services/cit/infosecurity/Pages/InformationSecurityPolicy.aspx
Data Sharing Policy	http://staff.napier.ac.uk/services/secretary/governance/Data Protection/Pages/DataSharing.aspx
Data Protection for Research	https://staff.napier.ac.uk/services/governance- compliance/governance/DataProtection/Pages/ProcessingDat aforResearch.aspx

### **Appendix 3 - Researchers' Privacy Impact Assessment Screening and Data Protection Compliance Checklist**

#### **Introduction**

Please note that this must be a **self-explanatory**, **stand-alone** document and include all the information/explanations necessary in the event that it needs to be provided to the UK Information Commissioner (ICO) if there is a Data Breach or Incident (or other Audit). Further guidance is available online here: <u>Research</u>, <u>Processing Data for (napier.ac.uk)</u>

While Governance colleagues provide advice to assist you with Data Protection legislation compliance, the responsibility for the processing and actually complying with Data Protection legislation lies with the responsible manager, e.g. Principle Investigator, Lead Researcher, Budget Holder, etc. (as appropriate), and they therefore must be party to the completion of this document, if not completing it themselves.

If, after completing this compliance check, there are residual high risks that cannot be adequately mitigated, then we are required to complete a PIA and potentially consult the ICO.

Please do your best to complete this as fully as possible - this reduces delays and multiple checks/unnecessary work for both yourself and other teams involved in checking the process/project complies with legislation. Please do not include or cut and paste information that isn't relevant to the questions.

Guidance and examples are in blue text.

Please provide your answers in the text or drop-down boxes provided.

#### **Background**

i) Compliance check pre-Privacy Impact Assessment

This compliance check is to ascertain if a Privacy Impact Assessment (PIA) is required (Article 25 "Privacy by Design" refers). A PIA is a systematic assessment of a project, processing activity or change initiative that identifies the risks that the project/processing might have on the privacy of the individuals whose personal data is being processed and enables colleagues to put measures in place for managing, minimising or eliminating that impact.

Name of researcher: Shemroy Roberts

Name of research project: A Critical Evaluation of the Factors that Influence Visitor Engagement with UK Slavery Heritage Museums: A Blended Passive Symbolic Netnographic Study

Name/s of collaborating institutions or partner organisations: N/A

#### For Staff Researchers:

Have you completed the University's Data Protection training for this year? Choose an item.

If not, here's the link: Login

#### For Student Researchers:

Have you completed the Research Student Oath of Confidentiality and discussed the protection of participant personal data with your Research Supervisor/s? Yes

If you haven't completed the Oath of Confidentiality, here's the link:: Research, Processing Data for (napier.ac.uk)

#### Student Researcher Supervisor Name: Craig Wight

#### Section 1 - Processing Activity

Data Controller	Edinburgh Napier University
Purposes for collection/processing	Provide a description of the purposes, e.g. the aims of the project (you can cut and paste from project applications, ethics forms, DMP, etc., but it must explain the purposes fully).
	The purpose of this project is to gain an understanding of the factors that influence visitor engagement with UK slavery heritage museums. This project is purely qualitative.
	Aim: The aim of this project is to critically evaluate the factors that influence visitor engagement with UK slavery heritage museums.
	<ol> <li>Research objectives:</li> <li>To search and review existing literature on the factors that influence visitor engagement with HVAs and their application to UK slavery heritage museums.</li> <li>To critically evaluate the factors that influence visitor engagement with UK slavery heritage museums.</li> <li>To contribute new knowledge in heritage tourism research, HVA research, museum studies, dark tourism research, slavery heritage tourism research, and visitor engagement with museums research that will be useful to academics in these fields.</li> <li>To provide an understanding of the factors that influence visitor engagement with UK slavery heritage museums that will be relevant and useful to managers, curators, and decision-makers who are involved in the design and management of these attractions.</li> </ol>
Whose information is being collected	e.g. student, employee, alumni, patients, participants with specific conditions or characteristics, employees of specific organisation/s, etc.
	Trip Advisor reviews. Only the direct comments/reviews of the author/reviewer. Reviewers' names, locations, photographs and videos will not be collected or used in this project.
	Museum managers and curators from eight (8) UK slavery heritage museums. These include:
	<ol> <li>Wilberforce House Museum, Hull</li> <li>Museum of London Docklands, London</li> <li>Lancaster Maritime Museum, Lancaster</li> <li>M Shed, Bristol</li> <li>The Georgian House Museum, Bristol</li> <li>Kelvingrove Art and Gallery Museum, Glasgow</li> <li>International Slavery Museum, Liverpool</li> <li>Merseyside Maritime Museum, Liverpool</li> </ol>
Cuidanas as Bassas de Dai	These museums are public spaces. I have checked TA T&Cs. Reviews are not to be used for marketing purposes as it is against TA T&Cs.
Guidance on Personal Data:	

- a. Personal data is defined as: "any information relating to an identified or identifiable living individual, who can be identified directly or indirectly from it," e.g. relating to anyone who can be identified from that data together with any other available information (e.g. information available online). This includes expressions of opinion about an individual, irrespective of whether the opinion is true.
- b. This PIA screening is primarily interested in personal data from which individuals can be identified, NOT anonymised research data from which individuals cannot be identified.
- c. For categories of information, please see Research, Processing Data for (napier.ac.uk)

What type/classes/fields of information are collected If you are using online collection methods, you are likely to be collecting IP Addresses and must include this here if that is the case.

Please consider all stages of processing, e.g.

- -recruitment
- -Research consent collection
- -collection via qualitative and quantitative research instruments.

Please remove any of the following categories which are not applicable:

☐ Education and training details, including information that relates to the education and any professional training of the data subject, including academic records, qualifications, skills, training records, professional expertise, and student and pupil records.

The PI is interested in the professional expertise of museum managers and curators and the name of the museum, e.g., International Slavery Museum, Liverpool.

The PI is not interested in TA reviewers' names, locations, photographs or videos. Only the publicly available data/reviews/comments will be used for this project.

Special category (sensitive) personal data concerns, reveals or is about:

☐ Racial or ethnic origin

Ethnic origin of museum managers and curators may be valuable to this research to achieve its aim.

#### Legal Basis

(We have partially completed this for you, but you need to answer the questions in red if processing special category personal data – please provide those answers here.)

Art 6(1)(e), the performance of a task in the public interest/exercise of official duty vested in the Controller by Statutory Instrument No. 557 (S76) of 1993 as amended, e.g. for education and research purposes.

Where special category (sensitive) personal data is being processed, the additional bases from Article 9 are: Art 9(2)(j) for archiving purposes in the public interest, scientific or historical research purposes or statistical purposes

If processing special category personal data, you must provide participants with explanations of the following:

- a) How the use of data is proportionate to the aim pursued
- What suitable and specific measures are in place to safeguard the fundamental rights and interests of the participants

If you are processing special category personal data, please provide the explanations for proportionality and safeguarding measures below:

Ethnic origin of museum managers and curators is important to this study as this can influence the curation process and,

	therefore, engagement, as highlighted in the literature. Participant data will be pseudonymised and kept separately from research data in a protected password spreadsheet on the University's V: drive.  Please note that we are not relying on consent as a basis for processing under the GDPR, and our legal basis for processing is, therefore, distinct from the research ethics-related use of consent in this study.
Who is the information being collected from	e.g. from the data subject (directly), named third party, survey distribution company, already existing in a University system, etc.  1) For participant recruitment: Directly – museum managers and curators Trip Advisor – online reviews 2) For collecting research data: Online semi-structured interviews via MS Teams Unobtrusive observations of Trip Advisor reviews
How many participants are you collecting information from?	13 museum managers and curators. Approx. 20 reviews per museum

"Processing" includes the collection of data, transfer of data, the process of anonymising this personal data, and storage of original personal data after anonymisation has taken place (e.g. where anonymised data is used for analysis, but the underlying personal data is still being securely stored), and the process of secure/thorough deletion itself. Thus, if personal data is being retained for potential re-use in future, this must be highlighted within this document.

How are you recruiting participants? Please describe the process, giving as much detail as you can, e.g. advertising online, via social media, posters, etc. or by referral, word-of-mouth, etc. How are they finding out about your research and getting information about it before they volunteer to participate?

Please delete any that are not applicable and provide details for those that are applicable:

- Directly contacting individuals using publicly available personal data see guidance here: Research, Processing Data for (napier.ac.uk). Please describe what you are doing in detail: Museum managers and curators will be approached by the PI via email that is publicly available on the museum's website. NOVI survey tool will be used for the participation information sheet and consent form so that it does not inconvenience museum managers and curators to print and sign these documents. Museum managers and curators are expected to sign these documents electronically through the survey tool. Once consent is obtained, the researcher may then proceed with the interviews. Only the PI will approach museum managers and curators.
- Other method please describe what you are doing in detail:

Trip Advisor is an open access/public website (re TA T&Cs). Consent is not necessary in this regard because it is publicly available data, and the PI is not actively engaging with reviewers. Trip Advisor reviewers of museums relative to the literature and the aim of this project were selected in keeping with the guidance and principles of netnographic site selection.

How is the <u>personal data</u> being collected/processed?

Consent collection guidance:

Please provide a description of the process in as much detail as possible, including all/any formats/systems being used, e.g. collected in person by the researcher, online form, paper form, recorded interview, survey tool, etc. Email is not secure; please consider collecting consent via a university-provided survey tool. You can use the survey tool to provide participant information, the privacy notice, consent form and, in some cases, the research survey and debrief.

1) How is participant persor the recruitment phase of description detailing how names, etc., the method personal data is transferr University.

Only museum managers eight (8) UK slavery herit contacted. Museum man contacted via email that i

- How is participant personal data being collected during the recruitment phase of the project? Please give a full description detailing how you are collecting participant names, etc., the method of collection and how the personal data is transferred to or shared with the University.
  - Only museum managers and curators employed at the eight (8) UK slavery heritage museums identified will be contacted. Museum managers and curators will be contacted via email that is publicly available on the museum's website. Personal data will not be shared with anyone. Only the PI will access this information and store it on the University's V: drive.
- 2) Please give a full description detailing how you are collecting research consent. [detail how] (Please consider using a University survey tool for the collection of consent. Further info in column to the left): The participant information sheet and consent form will be uploaded to the NOVIsurvey tool, where museum managers and curators will consent electronically. These files will be stored on the University's V: drive.
- 3) Please give a full description of how you are collecting personal data for the qualitative/ quantitative research instruments (surveys, interviews, etc.).

Online semi-structured interviews with museum managers and curators via MS Teams. Video recordings/MP4 files will be converted to MP3 for transcribing and analysis. All files will be stored on the University's V: drive, with the PI only having access.

#### Section 2 - Screening Questions

pro	Consider if the project is covered by the provisions of the legislation with regard to processing for archiving purposes in the public interest, scientific or historical research purposes.			
i	Are you using the personal data exclusively for research purposes?	Yes		
ii	Are you using the personal data to support measures relating to, or making decisions about, any identifiable living individual? If so, do the purposes for which the processing is necessary include the purposes of approved medical research, e.g. approved by a relevant Health Authority as allowed by the UK GDPR?	No		
iii	Are you using personal data in a way that will cause, or is likely to cause, damage or distress to any data subject or result in a risk to their rights and freedoms, e.g. if their data was made available (accidentally, unlawfully, in the outcomes or otherwise) to other people?	No		

iv	Will the result/s of the research, or	No
	any resulting statistics, be	
	available, disclosed or published	
	in any form that identifies the	
	research participants?	
	You must comply with the ICO's	
	Code of Practice on	
	Anonymisation.	

#### Section 3 - Initial Risk Assessment (for IG Team to complete)

	Rating	Comments
Number of participants	Choose an item.	Awaiting TA approx. number
Categories of personal data	Amber	Green/Amber – min SC data being collected.
Research topic	Green	
Quantity of different personal data fields collected	Green	
Method of participant recruitment	Green	
Method of processing	Choose an item.	TA collection TBC
Overall rating	Choose an item.	

#### Section 4 - Researchers' checklist for compliance with data protection legislation

Guidance for completing the checklist:

All statements in the second column must have a corresponding Y, N or N/A in the third column. Y = Yes, I agree that the statement (in the  $2^{nd}$  column) is correct in relation to my research project, and N = No, the statement is not correct in relation to my research project. N/A = Statement is not applicable to the project/study.

Please provide comments/further details on the 4th column where required.

Α	Principle 1 – Lawfulness, fairness and transparency			
i	Legal basis/es included in ROPA above			
ii	You have put additional safeguards in place when processing the personal data of children and vulnerable persons See the ICO guidance online here: Children   ICO	Not Applicable	Detail the additional safeguards here, if applicable: Click or tap here to enter text.	
iii	You have made provision for providing privacy notices, e.g. in/with participant information sheets, in public places, publicly online, etc., as appropriate.  Please note that we can apply for an exemption if it is impossible or would require disproportionate effort to provide a privacy notice, but you must provide the details at the bottom of the detail section in the third column>>	Yes	Note: The following information must be provided to participants with the Participant Information Sheet & Informed Consent Form:  1) Data Controller's details 2) Legal Basis/es (as provided above) 3) Categories of recipients internally and externally (whom personal data is shared with) 4) If personal data is transferred outside the UK 5) How long will data be retained, or what is the rationale for retaining data 6) If any automated decision-making or profiling is taking place 7) The following link: staff.napier.ac.uk/up statements for further information about processing and rights	

			If it is impossible or would require disproportionate effort to provide a privacy notice, you must take guidance from your Programme Leader, Supervisor or the Research Office or Governance Services and provide details relating to the decision not to provide a privacy notice here: The PI will create a TA account and post the privacy notice there
В	purposes		r specified, explicit and legitimate
	Note for Governance: Included in so		
С	be adequate, relevant and limited purposes for which the data was  ① Do not collect or keep personal or research. ② Basic (non-system applied) pseu coding or de-identification) typically spreadsheet in which participants a is recorded against their real name, identifiers, special category data. The	I to only that collected. Idata, which is idonymisation will be a pas re assigned a and contact the encrypted	not absolutely necessary for your  n (also known as codification, key sword-encrypted database or a pseudonym (name or number), which
İ	You have designed your project to only collect the personal data absolutely necessary to meet the aims and objectives of the project (the minimum necessary).	Yes	Only the name of the museum, professional expertise, and ethnic origin are necessary for this project to achieve its aim.
li	Are you pseudonymising/codifying / key coding the personal data you collect?	Yes	1) At what stage in the project are you pseudonymising personal data? (This should be as early in the processing as possible, e.g. as you are collecting personal data during the recruitment phase, before data collection for the research qualitative and quantitative instruments.)  Pseudonymising data will commence at the very beginning of processing. That is, data will be pseudonymised during the recruitment phase and will remain pseudonymised throughout the entire process, including data collection and analysis.  2) How are you pseudonymising personal data? (Usually, this is a password-protected spreadsheet where participants are assigned a "pseudonym" (number or name)  Museum managers' and curators' interviews will be pseudonymized. For example: interview-participant 001. This data will be stored in a password-protected spreadsheet

(pseudonymisation master)/Excel and will be kept for the duration of the project until any audit that requires verification of the findings has been completed. Simply put, this data will be destroyed once any audit to verify the findings has been conducted, usually within 12 months of completing the project. The PI has consulted Governance regarding these matters.

#### D Principle 4 - Accuracy

N/A for research, as the point-in-time data direct from participants

#### E Principle 5 – Storage limitation

(i) We are only interested in "raw" personal data from which individuals can be identified. Typically, the pseudonym database/spreadsheet, voice/image recordings and non-anonymised transcripts would have a shorter retention period – probably until the findings of the study have been audited/checked/reviewed for verification purposes, but the legislation allows personal data for research to be kept for longer periods than it would for other types of processing. Consent records will typically be kept for 6 years post-study or longer if it is necessary to keep the personal data collected for the research for a longer period (with appropriate rationale). Please think about what personal data actually needs to be kept in relation to the project and the practicalities of destroying it when it reaches the end of its retention period, e.g. will the data be needed for subsequent research? Externally funded projects may have retention periods dictated by funders.

i You have agreed to retention periods for the personal data and will diarise an event in future to ensure that the "raw" personal data is destroyed when the time comes or arrange for someone else to destroy the data, e.g. if you leave the University). This is not the same as the retention period for anonymised research data given in the DMP (usually 10 years).

Yes

Detail the retention period/s here: Data will be kept for the duration of the project and until any audit that requires verification of the findings has been completed, usually within 12 months.

Only direct quotes of TA reviews will be published in the final output as they are traceable. Reviewers' names, locations, and photographs/videos will not be published as this is against TA T&Cs.

Arrangements for destroying the personal data when the retention period is met:

This data will be destroyed once any audit to verify the findings has been conducted, usually within 12 months of completing the project. All personal data will be deleted by September 2024. The research supervisor will conduct checks to ensure that the University's V: drive is cleaned and all data deleted.

#### F Principle 6 – Integrity and confidentiality (SECURITY)

① You have appropriate organisational and technical measures (security) in place, including assessing the security of your work environment and the electronic and manual (e.g. paper, samples, etc.) systems you use to protect and secure personal data during processing.

The legislation requires all processing, in transit (when being sent between entities or systems) and at rest (when in storage in a data repository or system), to be secure, e.g. electronic data must be encrypted at all times. Guidance for both electronic and physical data security can be found here: Security of Personal Data (napier.ac.uk). Email is NOT a secure method of transferring /sending personal data unless encrypted see: Email Encryption (napier.ac.uk). If transferring physical documents (paper) or assets (encrypted audio recorder, etc.), please consider how you will keep those secure both outside University premises (e.g. when in use/ travelling) and on Campus. Using university-provided ICT systems and Apps will ensure processing is secure. If systems or companies/individuals/Apps that are external to the University are used, there are procurement implications, and a Data Sharing or Processing Agreement must be in place, v to vii below refer. Audiovisual recorded interviews should be stored as MP3 files unless the 'visual' aspect of the recording is necessary for the project, e.g. gesture/expression analysis. If using an external transcription service, only MP3 files should be provided. Please advise how the personal data will be securely processed for each of the steps below: You are only using Yes, data will be stored on the University's V: drive, electronic/computer systems and which is password-protected. Novi Survey. services provided and approved by the University's Information Services team. ii Collection (during participant Please detail how personal data is kept secure and collection, consent collection and all systems used: collection through research instruments): The participant information sheet and consent form will be uploaded to the NOVIsurvey tool, where museum managers and curators will consent electronically. This information will be stored on a spreadsheet/Excel and will be password protected. This file will be stored on the University's V: drive. which is also password-protected. Copied TA reviews will be stored in a spreadsheet and backed up on the University's V: drive, which is also password-protected. Storage (usually in University V Please detail how personal data is kept secure and Drives), but please detail all all systems used: systems storing/retaining personal This data will be stored in a password-protected data: spreadsheet (pseudonymisation master)/Excel on the University's V: drive and will be kept for the duration of the project until any audit that requires verification of the findings has been completed. This data will be destroyed once any audit to verify the findings has been conducted, usually within 12 months of completing the project. Sharing/transfer (between Detail how any sharing/transfer of personal data systems or between researchers will take place, if any: or external parties). Personal data should not be Not applicable. Only the PI will access it. This shared by email or other insecure information will not be shared with anyone.

means.

	Deletion/Archiving (e.g. paper in University confidential waste consoles, secure electronic	Detail <i>how</i> you will securely dispose of personal data:		
	deletion within the University network (e.g., deleted from University folder/ repository/system and the recycle	Data will be deleted from the university folder/ repository/system and the recycle bin), and full formatting/wiping of portable devices		
	bin), full formatting/wiping of portable devices, etc.)			
vi	Are you sharing any personal data with 3 <sup>rd</sup> parties external to the University? The University has Data Processing Agreements with Trusty Transcriptionists and 1 <sup>st</sup> Class Secretarial for transcription services.	No	Details about the parties and what they are doing with the personal data, including any system or app providers. Click or tap here to enter text.	
vii	If the answer to G)vi above is Y, do you have data sharing/processing agreements in place	Not Applicable		
viii	If the answer to G)vi above is Y, have security checks been completed to ensure those 3 <sup>rd</sup> party/ies comply with Principle 6	Not Applicable		
G	Principle 7 – Demonstrating com	pliance		
			the Privacy Notice above and DMP,	
	should provide adequate document considered necessary and appropri		ially, an additional risk table if that is ks.	
Н	Personal data is not to be transferred to 3 <sup>rd</sup> countries/territories (outwith the EEA and not on the ICO's 'adequate' list) without appropriate and adequate protection – GDPR Chapter V refers.			
i	You are transferring personal data	No	If yes, detail which country the data	
i	You are transferring personal data to a third country or territory	No	will be transferred to:	
i	You are transferring personal data to a third country or territory outwith the UK and not on the	No		
	You are transferring personal data to a third country or territory outwith the UK and not on the 'adequate' list?		will be transferred to:	
i	You are transferring personal data to a third country or territory outwith the UK and not on the 'adequate' list?  If the answer to J i above is Y -	Not	will be transferred to:	
	You are transferring personal data to a third country or territory outwith the UK and not on the 'adequate' list?  If the answer to J i above is Y - you have a contract or data		will be transferred to:	
	You are transferring personal data to a third country or territory outwith the UK and not on the 'adequate' list?  If the answer to J i above is Y - you have a contract or data sharing agreement in place with	Not	will be transferred to:	
	You are transferring personal data to a third country or territory outwith the UK and not on the 'adequate' list?  If the answer to J i above is Y - you have a contract or data sharing agreement in place with the recipient of the data, which	Not	will be transferred to:	
	You are transferring personal data to a third country or territory outwith the UK and not on the 'adequate' list?  If the answer to J i above is Y - you have a contract or data sharing agreement in place with	Not	will be transferred to:	
	You are transferring personal data to a third country or territory outwith the UK and not on the 'adequate' list?  If the answer to J i above is Y - you have a contract or data sharing agreement in place with the recipient of the data, which ensures appropriate safeguards are in place and enforceable data subject rights and effective legal	Not	will be transferred to:	
	You are transferring personal data to a third country or territory outwith the UK and not on the 'adequate' list?  If the answer to J i above is Y - you have a contract or data sharing agreement in place with the recipient of the data, which ensures appropriate safeguards are in place and enforceable data subject rights and effective legal remedies for data subjects are	Not	will be transferred to:	
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	You are transferring personal data to a third country or territory outwith the UK and not on the 'adequate' list?  If the answer to J i above is Y - you have a contract or data sharing agreement in place with the recipient of the data, which ensures appropriate safeguards are in place and enforceable data subject rights and effective legal remedies for data subjects are available.  You have completely anonymised the data  Data subjects are able to exercise You have made arrangements to completely anonymised the data  Data subjects are able to exercise You will stop using data if it is likely to cause unwarranted substantial damage or distress to any data subject or result in a risk to their rights and freedoms.  You will keep your data in such a way that should participants wish to receive a copy of their personal data; you will be able to provide it.  Breach notification	Not Applicable  Not Applicable  their rights  mply with the  Yes  Yes	will be transferred to: Click or tap here to enter text.	
<b>J</b>	You are transferring personal data to a third country or territory outwith the UK and not on the 'adequate' list?  If the answer to J i above is Y - you have a contract or data sharing agreement in place with the recipient of the data, which ensures appropriate safeguards are in place and enforceable data subject rights and effective legal remedies for data subjects are available.  You have completely anonymised the data  Data subjects are able to exercise You have made arrangements to concept you will stop using data if it is likely to cause unwarranted substantial damage or distress to any data subject or result in a risk to their rights and freedoms.  You will keep your data in such a way that should participants wish to receive a copy of their personal data; you will be able to provide it.	Not Applicable  Not Applicable etheir rights mply with the	will be transferred to: Click or tap here to enter text.	

breach of the legislation to your research supervisor, and they will follow University procedures.		
Definition: 'Personal data breach' means a breach of security leading to the accidental or unlawful destruction, loss, alteration, or unauthorised disclosure of, or access to, personal data transmitted, stored, or otherwise processed.		

If you would like to provide additional information, please do so here:

Section 5 – Risks and mitigations (Governance Services to complete initially: Researchers may be required to provide additional information)

Governance will complete this		
Description of the source of the risk and nature of the potential impact on the individual(s).	Mitigating measures to ensure privacy and confidentiality rights are maintained?	
Likelihood of harm to individuals (delete as appropriate):	Remote / Possible but unlikely / Probably (reasonable change that will happen)	
Severity of harm (delete as appropriate):	Minimal, significant or severe	
Residual risk (delete as appropriate):		

Updated: 20220503

#### **Appendix 4 – Participant Information Sheet**



## A Critical Evaluation of the Factors that Influence Visitor Engagement with UK Slavery Heritage Museums: A Blended Passive Symbolic Netnographic Study

#### **Participant Information Sheet**

#### Introduction

This information sheet provides details of a research study that is being undertaken by Shemroy Roberts as part of his doctoral thesis at Edinburgh Napier University, the Business School. This summary allows the guidelines suggested by Saunders et al (2019)<sup>1</sup> and provides an overview of the nature of the research, the requirements and implications of participating in the research, the rights of participants, the use, reporting and storage of data collected and further contact details. The purpose of this form is, therefore, to give potential participants information that will help them decide whether to take part in this study or not.

#### The nature of the research

The aim of this project is to critically evaluate the factors that influence visitor engagement with UK slavery heritage museums.

#### Objectives of the study:

- To search and review existing literature on the factors that influence visitor engagement with HVAs and their application to UK slavery heritage museums.
- To critically evaluate the factors that influence visitor engagement with UK slavery heritage museums.
- 3. To contribute new knowledge in heritage tourism research, HVA research, museum studies, dark tourism research, slavery heritage tourism research and visitor engagement with museums research that will be useful to academics in these fields.
- 4. To provide an understanding of the factors that influence visitor engagement with UK slavery heritage museums that will be relevant and useful to managers, curators and decision-makers who are involved in the design and management of these attractions.

#### Why have I been invited?

You have been identified as a museum professional responsible for curating and managing slavery heritage in the UK. You are invited to share insights into the management and curation of slavery heritage in museums and the factors that influence visitors to engage with these spaces and their exhibits. By taking part

in this study, you will contribute to the understanding of the factors that influence visitors to engage with UK slavery heritage museums.

#### Do I have to take part?

Participation in this study is entirely voluntary, and you are free to refuse to take part or withdraw from the study at any time without having to give a reason. You can choose not to answer any question without having to give a reason if you do not withdraw.

#### What is involved?

This study will be conducted via an online semi-structured interview that will last approximately 1 to 3 hours and will seek to evaluate the factors that influence visitor engagement with UK slavery heritage museums. Interviews will be video recorded and conducted via Microsoft Teams. You reserve the right not to have the interview video recorded if you so wish.

#### Things to note:

The results of this study will be used exclusively for my doctoral thesis. Please note, however, that anonymity will be guaranteed, and all data will be confidential and securely stored. Interviews will be video recorded, then transcribed, and then the recordings destroyed. In addition, Edinburgh Napier University's ethics processes have been completed for this project.

Interviewer:	
Interviewee:	
Date:	
Museum:	
Interview location:	Online – Microsoft Teams
Further details:	Further details are available from Mr Shemroy Roberts (email: ; telephone:

#### **Appendix 5 – Consent Form**



#### **Edinburgh Napier University Research Consent Form**

# A Critical Evaluation of the Factors that Influence Visitor Engagement with UK Slavery Heritage Museums: A Blended Passive Symbolic Netnographic

Edinburgh Napier University requires that all persons who participate in research studies give their written consent to do so. Please read the following and sign it if you agree with what it says.

- 1. I freely and voluntarily consent to be a participant in the research project on the topic of "A Critical Evaluation of the Factors that Influence Visitor Engagement with UK Slavery Heritage Museums: A Blended Pass Symbolic Netnographic Study" to be conducted by Shemroy Roberts, who is a doctoral candidate at Edinburgh Napier University.
- The broad goal of this research study is to critically evaluate the factors that influence visitor engagement with UK slavery heritage museums. Specifically, I have been asked to participate in an online recorded semi-structured interview via Microsoft Teams, which should take no longer than 1-3 hours to complete.
- 3. I have been told that my responses will be anonymised. My name will not be linked with the research materials, and I will not be identified or identifiable in any report subsequently produced by the researcher.
- 4. I also understand that if I feel unable or unwilling to continue at any time during the online interview, I am free to leave. That is, my participation in this study is completely voluntary, and I may withdraw from it without negative consequences. However, after data has been anonymised or after the publication of results, it will not be possible for my data to be removed as it would be untraceable at this point.
- 5. In addition, should I not wish to answer any particular question or questions, I am free to decline.
- 6. I have been given the opportunity to ask questions regarding the online interview, and my questions have been answered to my satisfaction.
- 7. I have read and understood the above and consent to participate in this study. My signature is not a waiver of any legal rights. Furthermore, I understand that I will be able to keep a copy of the informed consent form for my records.

Participant's Signature	Date

•	etail the research procedure in which the
respondent has consented to pa	irticipate. Furthermore, I will retain one
copy of the informed consent forn	n for my records.
Researcher's Signature	Date