Tourism and Cultural Change

Industrial Heritage Tourism

Philip Feifan Xie

TOURISM AND CULTURAL CHANGE: 43

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CHANNEL VIEW PUBLICATIONS
Bristol • Buffalo • Toronto

Library of Congress Cataloging in Publication Data
A catalog record for this book is available from the Library of Congress.
Xie, Philip Feifan.
Industrial Heritage Tourism/Philip Feifan Xie.
Tourism and Cultural Change: 43
Includes bibliographical references and index.
1. Heritage tourism. 2. Historic industrial sites. 3. Tourism–Economic aspects.
4. Tourism–Social aspects. I. Title.
G156.5.H47X53 2015
338.4’791–dc23 2015001686

British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data
A catalogue entry for this book is available from the British Library.

ISBN-13: 978-1-84541-513-6 (hbk)

Channel View Publications
UK: St Nicholas House, 31-34 High Street, Bristol BS1 2AW, UK.
USA: UTP, 2250 Military Road, Tonawanda, NY 14150, USA.
Canada: UTP, 5201 Dufferin Street, North York, Ontario M3H 5T8, Canada.

Website: www.channelviewpublications.com
Twitter: Channel_View
Facebook: https://www.facebook.com/channelviewpublications
Blog: www.channelviewpublications.wordpress.com

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Typeset by Deanta Global Publishing Services Limited.
Printed and bound in Great Britain by the CPI Books Group

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Introduction

On January 10, 2014, the *Financial Times* interviewed American film director, David Lynch, for his 2014 factory photography exhibition in London, the UK. Lynch reminisced that in the mid-1980s, he visited northern England to see 'real smoke and fire and industry', only to discover that many locales were tearing down a smokestack every week and putting up prefab factories in its place. What remains of these broken-down industrial buildings, chimneys and stairwells and empty machine halls, with their rusting levers and pulleys and dials, and even dark, desolate spaces, has inspired Lynch, who documents and photographs derelict industrial spaces in his films to craft 'an imagined factory world'. He comments that 'the real factories that I love, they're black-and-white experiences. Color putrefies them' (Jobey, 2014).

In the meantime, the Kreis 5 District of Zürich-West, Switzerland, has gone from an industrial wasteland to the city's most exciting artistic quarter. The city's first skyscraper, which resides in the district, was not created by the commercial banks, but by Freitag, a company that recycles truck tarps in order to create its iconic messenger bags. According to Freitag, the 26-meter-high tower, which harbors the company's flagship store, was 'completely built from rusty, recycled freight-containers. Lovingly they were gutted, reinforced, piled up and secured'. Freitag thus developed Zürich's first skyscraper by using industrial materials to erect a structure 'low enough not to violate the city's restriction on high-rise buildings. High enough to send shivers down everyone's spine' (www.freitag.ch). As tourists pour in, this industrial building represents the hyper-modern pulverization of time and space, the transformation of everyday life and the accelerating commodification of industrial heritage.

Both David Lynch and Freitag are among a large and growing number of enthusiasts who are passionate about industrial products and sites and appreciate the stark contrast of the derelict buildings. These old industrial complexes become spatial landmarks of affective and collective memory in contemporary society. There has been a remarkable growth of interest in the value of industrial heritage that has led to widening concerns about the development of tourism. In reality, industrial heritage is facing two different scenarios: on the one hand, these sites retain a general atmosphere of abandonment and decay where bricks are falling off and pigeons are coming in to roost. They represent vulnerable fixtures barely holding industrial history together with baling wire and nostalgic memories. On the other hand, industrial heritage has increasingly become a domain of activity and a receptacle for postindustrial communities' desires to construct new identities and/or creative industries. Industrial space is composed of tactile and multilayered spatiality that denotes a continuous cycle of redevelopment. Although the prospect of industrial heritage tourism is often invested with much hope on the part of the communities, that kind of hope can be fickle. Harris and Williams (2011: 13) suggest that any type of industrial heritage conservation and regeneration serves to 'construct an unstable, slippery metaphoric field of references and inferences whose meanings and implications continually threaten to invade and corrupt the new territory in potentially disruptive and unpredictable ways'.

Dickinson (2001: 34) describes four possible results for old industrial structures in the contemporary era: (1) demolition and disappearance; (2) recycling into new primary commercial uses; (3) transformation into historical monuments; or (4) persistence in the landscape as conventional ruins. However, the description ignores a key issue in understanding the nature of industrial heritage: it is a 'timely asset' (Ferry & Limbert, 2008) in which resources are embedded in particular temporalities, which are in turn grounded in political relations through which local futures are imagined. The conventional wisdom that industrial heritage entails the promotion of a culture that is backward-looking rather than future oriented, fearful of the present and therefore incapable of innovation (Hewison, 1987), is proved wrong. Industrial heritage can be visualized as a source of economic and cultural capital (Graham *et al.*, 2004) and a 'metacultural production of discourses' (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, 2004), which continuously reinterprets and refashions itself into a new economic means and cultural identity. Kirshenblatt-Gimblett (2004: 59) comments that industrial heritage represents 'the asynchrony of historical, heritage, and habitus clocks and differential temporalities of things, persons, and events', which 'produce a tension between the contemporary and the contemporaneous…a confusion of evanescence with disappearance, and a paradox – namely, the possession of heritage as a mark of modernity – that is the condition of possibility for the world heritage enterprise'.

The thesis of this book explores the power of narrative as structured experiences unfolding in space and time as well as the use of industrial sites by various stakeholders to generate meaningful and, it is argued here, effective and affective tourism attractions. The marriage of industrial heritage and tourism is a product of postmodernism, which often mixes with a blurring of ideas, an uncertainty about the future and is heavily influenced by public and business investments. The exposed brick and ductwork have their charm and old varnished beauty in which industrial heritage can be understood as both a resource and an opportunity to revalue collective memories and identities. Postmodernism is associated with postindustrial cities that have undergone a shift from secondary industries (manufacturing and production) to tertiary (service sector) and arguably, quaternary industries (finance and economics). Therefore, industrial vestiges and expressions of collective memory have become increasingly important from both locals and governments alike. Edensor (2005: 123) suggests that industrial heritage ought to be viewed in transparent polyvisuality where tourism is an imaginative, sensual, conjectural and playful fashion free from the 'constraining effects of norms surrounding its value or function'.

Historical and industrial characteristics are perhaps best observed as a combination of reused industrial buildings, such as warehouses, with modern architecture, visitor centers, heritage experiences and interpretations (Robinson *et al.*, 2013). Governments experienced a major turnaround that saw billions in economic development as well as the transformation of areas of blighted industrial properties. Many projects are housed in former industrial complexes, but gradually converted them to new sites. Industrial heritage has been used as a tool for tourism and urban regeneration, in which a shift occurred from policies aimed at organizing events for spectacular consumption, to the creation of spaces for cultural production and creativity. These changes inevitably generate questions about whether reinvention and rebranding are sufficient or, whether society should move to a state where a new development solution is needed. Nonetheless, industrial heritage tourism is a type of special interest tourism, or niche tourism to contextualize place regeneration and lead to a form of tourist consumption that is based upon former industrial identity and perceived economic values.

There are four factors that influence the nature and pace of the advance of industrial heritage tourism (Cossons, 2011): a sound foundation of scholarly knowledge; determined and evidence-based advocacy; the public's willingness to embrace novel notions of what matters to them and to do something about it; and the political will to support innovative and often challenging ideas. Due to the complexity of industrial heritage tourism and its relatively recent development in the field of academic research, Cameron and Mengler (2013: 47) suggest that heritage institutions can no longer limit or determine in advance the shape, heterogeneity and combination of associations, values and meaning that cluster around industrial sites. Since many influencing factors and stakeholders are involved in the process of heritagization, their expertise and resultant heritage exchanges, both intended and unintended, can be conceptualized through a multidisciplinary practice framework, which enables tourism scholars to find links between bodies of knowledge and research goals.

Revisiting the Conceptual Framework

This book presents a conceptual framework derived from the vast amount of extant literature. Within the emerging field of research on industrial heritage tourism, an early and continuing concern has been to establish an appropriate and useful conceptual framework for guiding principles. Whether railroads, coal mines, automobiles, steel or agriculture, industrial heritage tourism plays a key role in protecting, interpreting and, when appropriate, imaginatively adapting landscapes linked to the history of work. As noted in Chapter 2, the proposed framework is shown in a circular pattern including four motives and six attributes, in order to measure the likelihood of success and the sustainability of industrial heritage tourism. It is not a collection of concepts, but rather a construct in which each motive and attribute plays an integral role. A conceptual framework lays out the key factors, constructs and variables, and presumes relationships among them so that it can be applied to various situations (Miles & Huberman, 1994). This proposed framework aims to better understand the interrelationships between these identified motives and attributes and integrate tourism projects into a broader academic landscape. The four key motives identified in the current framework, illustrated by the arcs of a circle, are: (1) conservation; (2) space; (3) community; and (4) image. The circle was chosen because the motives may influence each other in ways that are non-linear and changeable. Six sets of attributes related to the listed motives are presented in rectangular form, these being *potentials* and *stakeholders* related to conservation; *adaptive reuse* associated with space; *economics* and *authenticity* linked with community; and *perceptions* following image. The following summarizes the significance of the proposed framework and each attribute and motive applied in the model.

Industrial heritage tourism's potential power and the involvement of stakeholders are closely associated with conservation, as industrial heritage is regarded as a modern way of maintaining living contact with cultural works of the past. Graham *et al.* (2004: 35) propose that all heritage resources are renewable because they can be continuously reinterpreted. Their physical fabric, however, is a finite resource dependent on the degree of conservation and preservation undertaken, as well as on the participation of various stakeholders. Industrial heritage has generated different and sometimes conflicting views during the development process. The conversion of industrial heritage is not completed by individual planners, but by a cadre of cultural intermediaries in governments, tourism businesses, local communities, mass media and other institutions. Otgaar (2012) advocates using the term 'industrial tourism potential' to analyze the ability of an industrial site and a region to attract tourists. Not all former factories and industrial buildings can be saved, but some should be after a careful assessment of their potential for generating tourist interest and new local identities. An evaluation of conservation potential should include a structure's role in local stories of historical development and of working-class people. Without physical reminders of previous ways of living and being, the ability to read the past is impoverished (Strangleman, 2013). In other words, interpretation assistance programs are necessary during the conservation stage to help tourists better understand the significance and potential of a given conservation plan.

Tourism originates from the land use of industrial sites. Spatial relations, such as cultural, political and economic practices, have featured in discussions of industrial heritage tourism (Rofel, 1997). The dialectical relationship between tourism and adaptive reuse is a dynamic process of reconfiguring spatial relations. Lefebvre (1991: 26) suggests that space is both 'a means of production' and 'a means of control, and hence of domination, of power'. Adaptive reuse is prioritized at the beginning of planning as it helps to extend the life of industrial buildings and prevents them from being abandoned and left derelict. As the concept of repurposing an industrial structure for a new objective becomes more popular, businesses are breathing new life into factory buildings as restaurants, cafes and art galleries emerge. Spatiotemporally, the adaptive reuse expands from a specific industrial site to a whole precinct. New examples include Yaletown in Vancouver, Canada, a former industrial precinct now dotted with entertainment and high-price lofts; and the so-called Latin Quarter of Amsterdam in the Netherlands, De Pijp, which has polished up some of its rough edges and has emerged as a trendy 'it' neighborhood. In particular, the neighborhood adjacent to the Heineken Brewery retains its multicultural atmosphere and industrial charm.

Adaptive reuse of industrial buildings and sites for tourism purposes can have a transformative impact on local communities blighted by economic decline, and revitalize local cultures whose identities have been weakened by depopulation. The deterritorialization of industrial space often proves to be successful at attracting tourists when much of a site's character-defining features are preserved, e.g. the interior of the site is removed, leaving the basic industrial form intact, and a new structural system is inserted into the remaining space. There is something about the interior spaces and elaborate façades that many developers find hard to resist. The resolution of adaptive reuse is to infuse old structures with new functions to meet contemporary demand. These renovations often create an entirely new sense of spatial organization while emphasizing the essence of industrial heritage.

Tourism is an inherently expansive economy, constantly appropriating and constructing experiences and places (Coleman & Crang, 2002). Linking economics and authenticity to the community is instrumental in developing industrial heritage tourism. Perhaps the most compelling benefit of tourism is the range of positive economic effects made possible by utilizing local history and heritage. Industrial heritage tourism comes in different forms, ranging from special events, to salt heritage tourism, to factory tourism, to company tours. This development can add economic value to communities while helping meet key goals such as job creation and population growth. Although industrial heritage tourism is somewhat elusive and cannot easily compensate for high unemployment, the loss of a manufacture-based economy and negative local reputations, preserving industrial heritage in an authentic way has proven effective in anchoring community economic development efforts, thus acting as a catalyst and stimulating further redevelopment (Kidd, 2011). Frew (2000) suggests that some factory tours generate jobs in the tourism industry via the multiplier effect: tourists specifically seek out industrial sites, downtowns and communities for their travel destinations. They may be encouraged by an attractive supply of industrial heritage tourism to extend their stay and spend more on local hotels, restaurants and retail, thus further bolstering the local economy.

The development of industrial heritage tourism tends to focus upon authenticity as a growing number of tourists value original aspects of historic and industrial products. The process of heritagization tends to aestheticize reproduced spaces, whereby the past is transformed by a process of 'ahistoric aestheticization' in order to invent fantasy spaces (Walsh, 1992). Many industrial sites have becomes too sanitized in their attempts to clean up and beautify their physical appearance, at the expense of a more complex historical and cultural preservation. Mooney-Melvin (1991) explicates that modified authenticity favors reworking the past to enhance its appeal to modern audiences. Heritage for tourism is a form of resurrection accepting the use of fake or faux features in order to reconstruct historic structures. Nonetheless, Hughes (1998) cautions that care must be taken not to overwrite the original significance of heritage spaces when developing tourism. Martin Heidegger's (2008) seminal work *Sein und Zeit* (*Being and Time*), compares the conditions of 'home' and 'homelessness'. Heidegger states that 'non-authentic' being is a falsely reassuring sense of living 'in one's own home', while true 'authentic' being is totally estranged from 'average everydayness'. To apply Heidegger's theory to the experience of industrial heritage tourists, authenticity can only be found outside of one's usual environment. Thus, local communities and tourists may hold and pursue divergent views on what renders an industrial heritage site authentic or desirable. Smith (2009) argues that while the reuse of industrial buildings for modern purposes is a common regeneration strategy, this can paradoxically be problematic as the original workers may feel no affiliation with the repurposed structure. Industrial heritage tourism represents typical 'authentic' being since it presupposes a 'historic' environment where tourists and the industrial past meet for a given period of time.

Furthermore, tourism can be seen as an instrument to improve the image of existing industries and their home regions. It is an effective tool of co-branding places, products and producers all together (Kavaratzis & Ashworth, 2005; Otgaar, 2012). Mitchell and Orwig (2002) review the growing use of manufacturing plant tours, company museums and company visitor centers as strategic tools available to strengthen the bond between tourists and industrial brands. As tourists experience the production process and learn its historical significance, their subjective perceptions and objective characteristics change. Brand recognition and loyalty follow tourists' perceptual changes. Correspondingly, such attractions can strengthen the connection between companies and the communities in which they operate, encouraging residents to seek employment at industrial sites and existing employees to take pride in their industrial output. More comprehensive studies evaluating the effects of industrial heritage tourism on local and tourist perceptions are needed to better understand the significance of tourism as a means of economic development.

Revisiting the Case Studies

One of the central assertions of this book is that discussing approaches to industrial heritage tourism is inherently to draw connections, comparisons, articulations and overlaps with other destinations, because industrial heritage tourism is by its very nature a socioeconomic activity that involves various stakeholders, each with competing goals and desires for redevelopment. While this book uses four specific industrial destinations worldwide as its analytical focus, it would be misleading to say that it is a case study per se, or a work about industrial heritage to the exclusion of other considerations. In fact, these case studies, both practical and ideological, cover a wider scope of research topics ranging from a proposed Jeep museum in the US, salt heritage in Taiwan, waterfront redevelopment in New Zealand and a comparative study of the LX Factory in Portugal and the Westergasfabriek in the Netherlands. The proposed conceptual framework plays out in these case studies, though not always explicitly. They serve as a model for other communities seeking to use tourism to preserve and interpret the history of work and industry. The following summarizes the findings from these specific destinations.

The conceptual framework of this book has been adapted to evaluate a proposal for a National Historic Jeep Museum by the city of Toledo, Ohio. The investigation reveals that although the museum's potential for conserving and interpreting Toledo's Jeep manufacturing history is highly valued, there exist conflicting views by various stakeholders. Problems are attributed to inadequate community perceptions, a lack of strong support from the Jeep industry, the controversial reuse of existing facilities, ill-informed economic benefits and the issue of authenticity. At a deeper level, the proposed project was a late starter when the city of Toledo was in economic recession. Tourism was not propelled by political patronage, or propped up by sponsored financial incentives from the automobile company. The low awareness about the potential benefits of a Jeep museum on the part of the public was detrimental to the promotion of industrial heritage. In some respects, the proposal exemplifies the situation for an industrial heritage museum that failed to get off the ground. It holds lessons for other faltering developments centered on the provision of industrial sites for travel and leisure.

Salt heritage tourism includes tours in the salt fields, participation in the salt production process and the purchase of salt-related products. It encompasses not only architectural but also landscape elements related to geology and topography. The necessity of developing tourism opportunities has resulted in a cultural revival in the salt fields. The chapter identifies theme, product and design as the three most important attributes that contribute to the attractiveness of a salt destination and affect tourists' decision-making processes. A survey was administered on the southwest coast of Taiwan, a region once dominated by the salt industry. The findings showed that tourists preferred to visit salt tourism destinations that offer participatory experiences and interpretation assistance programs. A combination of theme and design was viewed as the most significant attribute for attractiveness. Tourists expressed a desire to visit salt heritage sites that present traditional themes, but offer modern exhibition designs and souvenir products. The interactive elements were highly regarded by tourists as key sources of learning and entertainment. Participatory experience influences tourist perception of, and satisfaction with, their experience in salt tourism. In particular, interpretation assistance programs offer tourists not only a way of understanding how the industrial past continues to influence the present, but they also foster a climate of conservation awareness for salt heritage in Taiwan.

New Zealand's Auckland waterfront, once a grimy and faded industrial port, has undergone regeneration in recent decades. The result shows that the institutionalized commercialization of leisure spaces attracts spectacles such as the America's Cup and the Rugby World Cup, and becomes an impetus for the remodeling of Auckland's waterfront. The regeneration was highly regarded because morphological changes and event tourism produce a positive and high-quality image of the place; however, physical and social transformation continues to operate on the contested industrial heritage in the vicinity of the Wynyard Quarter. Brown (2006) suggests that the two variables of landscape values and development preferences serve as predictors of place-specific regeneration. Auckland's waterfront redevelopment is the result of an aggressive, top-down process driven by politicians and real estate developers, marked by a lack of cooperation and consensus building between government, business and the general public. The findings show that capital, bureaucratic and political intervention is embodied in the forms of tourist space found along the waterfront. Hall and Selwood (1995: 114) commiserate about the waterfront redevelopment as 'in the creation of a city of fun, only a historic façade of the port remains'. Auckland's less than successful waterfront redevelopment in the late stage echoes Trigg's (2006) argument that the remnants from the fallout of postindustrialism and postmodernism should be assessed in a spatiotemporal context. Derelict industrial sites, such as ports and waterfronts, are not fixed but fluid in terms of temporality and progress. The aesthetics of industrial heritage lies in Walter Benjamin's idea of *Jetztzeit* (here and now) to converge time and space in a non-linear setting. From this perspective, industrial heritage is situated at a conceptual impasse and contentious intellectual debates on the impacts of tourism.

The trajectories of the LX Factory in Lisbon, Portugal and the Westergasfabriek in Amsterdam, the Netherlands, show a space of industrial reuse from its industrial beginning to contemporary refashioning. Both sites commemorate the cultural and economic contributions of the working classes, and there is a strong relation between industrial repurposing and the arts sector (Park, 2014). The chapter proposes a life-cycle model of industrial heritage development that goes through a process of territorialization, deterritorialization and reterritorialization. At the outset of territorialization, both former factory plants were given new life as cultural centers, leading to the broader development of an industrial park, arts-led regeneration and cultural precincts. Small galleries at risk of expulsion from the inner city were offered space in the LX Factory and the Westergasfabriek. Old factory spaces emerged as prime real estate for the artists, deriving their appeal from open spaces, lowered rent and authentic aesthetics. Local authorities, taking advantage of vacant industrial premises and the rise of small businesses, led initiatives in further regeneration. Territorialization thus draws historical experiences and postindustrial imagery into sites of urban redevelopment, transforming them into consumption strategies.

However, place differentiation operates during the stages of deterritorialization and reterritorialization. Heritage preservation has become a project to ensure economic viability in the Westergasfabriek while unplanned tourism projects are omnipresent in the LX Factory, characterizing the originality of industrial patina *in situ*. The narratives of the industrial histories of both sites are largely absent within the district beyond heritage plaques, machines and general-use objects placed throughout the interior and exterior spaces. While both sites were able to retain their arts communities under the pressure of gentrification and rising rents, a growing number of artists have fallen victim to the familiar story of arts displacement (Mathews, 2008). Zukin (1989) describes an emergent 'artistic mode of production' where young professionals are attracted to regenerated industrial environments because the new locations effectively reduce the cost of labor, while the prospect of proximity to 'stylish living' in the broader sense compensates for a relative lack of remuneration. However, the outcome of the economic valorization of both the LX Factory and the Westergasfabriek is an increase in property prices that leads, ironically, to the displacement of these artists, those very people whose aesthetic dispositions helped to initiate the influx of tourists and professionals. Through gentrification, places and people once deemed authentic, trendy and subversive may become appropriated, manufactured and mass-produced kitsch for higher earning groups (Lees *et al.*, 2007).

This book has attempted to illustrate many of the complexities and contradictions inherent in the development of industrial heritage tourism, as well as offering case studies on four different continents. While the phenomenon of industrial heritage tourism is a new focus for academic research, many decades of urban planning and revitalization have demonstrated that certain approaches are more successful than others. Recent accomplishments in industrial heritage tourism have arguably provided a new impetus for stakeholders to discover and achieve the next level of regeneration. By contrast, the wisdom of learning from failure is incontrovertible. Case studies, such as the abortive proposal to build the Jeep museum in Toledo, help us learn from failures to improve future performance, while the study of salt heritage tourism in Taiwan profiles the tourists interested in experiencing industrial heritage. The purpose of the book is thus to help close the gap between rhetoric and reality, and evidence suggests that industrial heritage tourism is one of the most promising fields for policymaking, urban planning and economic development.

In the meantime, the case studies in this book are fraught with controversies and tensions. On the surface, the transformation of industrial spaces has been successfully reimagined and reused for tourism. However, the transformative process often faces serious objections on the part of stakeholders including local communities, revealing the problems that often accompany stylistic restoration and façadism. The popularity of industrial heritage tourism projects among local residents could diminish in the face of growing tourists and the changes they bring: congestion, higher prices and persistent unemployment. Tourism today largely represents a qualitative and quantitative transformation of preexisting structures in old industrial cities and districts. The critical issues of 'style selectivity' and 'authentic restoration' have become contentious in the process of tourism development. Many projects succeed on one level, but can fail on another. Even as prosperous tourist precincts, they are not deemed meaningful by the community in which they are located and goodwill from local residents can be short lived (Smith, 2009).

On the basis of the observations and discussions presented, it is possible to make recommendations to increase the likelihood of success in industrial heritage tourism. The following sections outline these recommendations for future research, which center on the cultivation of living industrial heritage, forging public–private partnerships, the production of mixed-use spaces, tourist segmentation and the growth of industrial heritage tourism as an academic discipline.

Recommendations

Living industrial heritage for tourism

The research on industrial heritage tourism has traditionally been regarded as contested by tourism scholars and practitioners. The prevailing assumption is that any attempt to use heritage elements to accommodate tourists will cheapen or trivialize the presentation and interpretation of industrial history. The marketing of industrial heritage tourism often emphasizes the fossilized aspects of industries, buildings and sites. Tourism practice may distort or calcify a culture into a 'frozen' picture of the past. This practice of distortion leads to the creation of stereotyped and clichéd tourist experiences, in which tourists seek, and the host society provides, little more than access to a prefabricated repertoire of expected symbols. The touristification of industrial heritage, albeit rare, remains a concern in reference to situations where tourism is so pervasive that it has become a way of everyday life.

Differences in the perceptions of industrial heritage tourism can cause problems for the recognition, funding and administration of tourist sites. The combination of industrial heritage and tourism remains a burgeoning field of research and development. For example, Europe has occupied the forefront of research and discussion about the transformation of industrial sites into tourist attractions; even so, the European Commission Communications did not contain any reference to industrial heritage tourism until 2010 (Handszuh, 2011), under the concept of cultural itineraries (European Commission Communication, 2010: 352). The official acknowledgment of industrial heritage tourism commenced in 2011 when designations, such as 'tourism and regeneration of physical sites', 'European heritage label', 'European Union Prize for Cultural Heritage', were approved and implemented in the European Union. Despite the fact that industrial heritage tourism has been active for many decades, its lagging recognition reveals the perceptual gap between central governments and local businesses.

On the other end of the spectrum, urban regeneration stresses pleasure over utility when tourism dominates the redevelopment scheme. Industrial heritage is used as a tool to evoke past eras and somewhat idealized versions of the past. It provides a focal point for a tourist gaze and an opportunity to reminisce about the industrial past. However, commodification changes the meaning of industrial heritage and practices to such a degree that they eventually become culturally meaningless, e.g. the former slaughterhouse is converted into a swanky Michelin-starred restaurant; or the warehouse is transformed into a romantic boutique hotel. Invented authenticity emerges when faux features or materials are used to reconstruct industrial properties in order to make them appear 'authentic' for the purpose of attracting tourists. Adaptive reuse for tourism may lead to loss of architectural identity and integrity: while it indicates a fundamental shift in the commercial use of a given industrial space, tourism can cause the emergence of a culture different from that which originally occupied a given structure. Changing from a purpose-built past to contemporary functions has the potential to create conflict between competing values as to how an industrial heritage destination should 'look' and 'feel' (Hayllar *et al.*, 2008).

Additionally, the social, economic and political effects of urban gentrification come under scrutiny by local communities. In several cities worldwide, the aestheticization of the formerly industrial and the creation of cultural enclaves are all the rage. One sees that the aestheticization often means the reclamation by the middle class, and the subsequent disempowerment of the working class. Working-class people are disempowered, not only because the new jobs that are made available by these refurbished sites are rarely jobs for which they would be hired, but also because in the process of aestheticizing former industrial spaces, the history of the working-class struggle is unintentionally erased. At the same time, the romanticization of former industrial spaces as sites of cultural production promotes increasing numbers of the creative class to reoccupy these areas. The economic position of the working class is increasingly precarious, but the growing connections between the creative class and the postindustrial landscape may help to alleviate income disparity in the long run.

Nonetheless, industrial heritage tourism might be conceived of in different ways for different purposes. My argument is that the advantages of tourism outweigh its potential pitfalls and industrial heritage should be viewed as 'living heritage', which maintains a continuous link to modern industry and plays a significant role in mediating the past, present and future. Tourism is a new way of supporting living contact with industrial works of the past including efforts to revitalize various types of industrial properties, both tangible and intangible. Industrial heritage is the opposite of museumification and provides an experiential space for tourism. It increases our understanding of what tourism can be by giving tourists ways to directly experience the industrial past. The scope of industrial heritage tourism considers expanding the genre to include living industry. What is needed is a more explicit recognition of tourism as a distinctive land use and a more proactive rather than a reactive stance taken with regard to this sector. Tourism fosters the conservation of industrial heritage, revitalizes skills, fosters creativity and provides a platform for communities to present themselves confidently. Industrial heritage tourism not only consists of museums, but it is also a living landscape where it needs to be promoted. Otgaar *et al.* (2010) suggest that this type of tourism has a significant advantage over conventional types: tourists establish contact with locally made products in a living environment, and by encouraging tourists to consume these products during their visits, the company and the local economy will benefit in the end. Living industrial heritage provides a highly effective learning experience without the formal constraints. The function of tourism in industrial facilities is to maintain and continue production, reuse or conversion as a means of economic development.

The notion of living industrial heritage has attracted critiques from tourism scholars who believe that repurposing derelict industrial structures serves to destabilize dominant cultural identities rather than expanding understanding of industrial history (Wall, 2011). There is a need for industrial heritage to be grounded within the local community in order to contain tourism's destabilizing potential and achieve substantial authentic tourist experiences (Firth, 2011). Elements of nostalgia bind memory, places and experiences, and influence communities' attitudes toward tourism development. Living industrial heritage emphasizes the elements of industrial sites and products that are living, still in use and retain relevance in the present day. The positive portrayal of industrial history and heritage, such as the reconstruction and restoration of industrial sites to their former glory, is necessary to ensure tourism development. Recreating sites and features in a manner that is authentic and historically accurate is also important to offer an informative experience for tourists and local communities alike. The use of industrial heritage is one of the strategies adopted by historical industrial cities and towns as a means of reconstructing local identity and accommodating tourism in the process of restructuring physical sites. The success in relation to interpreting industrial heritage lies between authenticity and historical accuracy. Tourism has proved to be an evocative window for examining industrial heritage as well as a powerful cultural force for identity reconfigurations.

Furthermore, the creation of living industrial heritage offers the prospect of sustainable development to enrich present and future generations. Through education, innovation, social integration and community-building, industrial heritage tourism improves the socioeconomic circumstances of former industrial centers and implements policies ensuring that experiences of the past and present can find continued use. Otgaar *et al.* (2010: 10–12) summarize from a supply side that the benefits of turning functional industrial sites into a tourist experience go beyond the number of tourists. In fact, these sites have at least six advantages: (1) industrial heritage tourism can make a substantial contribution to the marketing of products and the enhancement of brands and industrial image; (2) its factory and company tours promote positive feelings about the existing production processthe; (3) it might create opportunities to generate new sources of revenue, such as the sale of industrial products or souvenirs; (4) it responds to the need for corporate social responsibility and civic engagement; (5) it helps attract employees interested in industry and the production process; and (6) tourism can be a way to get in touch with customers.

For industrial sites that have not been transformed and functional, one can borrow French philosopher Jacques Derrida's (1992: 14) description of the 'ruin' – 'I do not see the ruin as a negative thing. First of all, it is clearly not a thing'. According to Derrida, the ruin has an intermediary status between fiction and reality, memory and delusion, past and present. Ruins bear an undeniable ontological status and a strong transitional character. Due to the interventions of industrial heritage tourism, industrial ruins are increasingly viewed positively (Edensor, 2005) and reused for a new purpose. The Council of Europe (2011) proposes that the preservation of industrial heritage should focus on two broad goals: promoting diversity and dialogue through access to heritage in order to foster a sense of identity, collective memory and mutual understanding within and between communities; and contributing to development that is linked to territorial cohesion, lifestyles and relationships through the notion of heritage and landscape as community resources. Therefore, industrial heritage is fluid, mutable and indicative of various time periods, while its tourism marks the advent of a vibrant process of transforming tradition and 'fixed modernity' into a kind of 'liquid modernity' (Bauman, 2000: 1).

Partnership toward a common goal

Developing industrial heritage tourism faces headwinds as changes in the ownership of companies, internationalization and reorganization have undermined traditional community links (Wager, 2000). There are no longer any local industrial communities or a patriarchal industrial culture in a postmodern society. Technological revolutions and the relocation of production abroad pose new questions for stakeholders involved in developing resources for tourist consumption. Similarly, industrial heritage advocacy cannot limit itself to the conservation and restoration of factory buildings and monuments. It is critical to treat industrial heritage units as a whole connected to the landscape around them. Regional development needs cohesive agendas and programs for industrial heritage and marketing for tourism. Long-term planning for industrial heritage tourism with an integral, continuing conservation policy is essential in ensuring a quality experience for the visitor (Millar, 1989). This means that more than one articulation of industrial heritage is required for the public to understand the significance of integration with other fields. A multifaceted approach to tourism is the best way to increase awareness about the value of industrial heritage, to nurture local pride and to create a sustainable base for new economic growth.

Tourism as part of an economic strategy is generally executed in coalition with commercial interests. Such interests often discount or are unaware of tourism's positive socioeconomic impacts upon local communities. Tensions between tourism businesses and residents can be fully expected as heritage commerce concentrates on recognizable and reproducible associations with the past. The importance of residents' involvement has been widely recognized since their quality of life is directly affected by land use and economic development and they function as a vital part of the heritage places and the determiners of historic values (Gunn & Var, 2002). Therefore, there is a demand to incorporate agendas and programs into the industrial heritage conservation and tourism development to promote cultural and economic sustainability and acknowledge complex local histories. Specific regions need to improve on the practical ways of implementing holistic industrial heritage policies. Handszuh (2011) argues that it is essential to create networks, share best practices and avoid using the same economic models in different locations. The integrated documentation and preservation of the built environment, technology and interpretation of industrial culture need a concerted effort. Otgaar (2012) elucidates that during the development of industrial heritage tourism, the interests of the public and private sectors are fundamentally different. It is appropriate to implement a common agenda in which both interests can collaborate and address their concerns through a variety of means, such as the organization of a joint event to promote industrial heritage and locally produced products, the creation of a special organization that encourages the development of industrial heritage tourism or the integration of tourism into the development of business locations. On a micro level, this implies that manufacturing plants should consider their attractiveness to visitors in the design of their buildings. On a macro level, regions should develop multifunctional zones and business parks to facilitate the marketing of tourism.

Industrial heritage is supported by a diverse and varied array of stakeholders, all of whom need to cooperate and coordinate on tourism projects. Tourism projects have also been utilized by different governments to showcase a country's industrial might, in its past and present forms, and to link it to the triumph of a specific national ideology. In the case of Taiwan, industrial heritage tourism, such as touring the salt fields, is meant to connect 'landscapes of power' (Zukin, 1993) to a historical legacy, stretching from the early colonial period to the present era of postmodernity and cultural revival. During the process of transformation, there is a need to create synergy between key sectors involved in developing tourism as well as to stimulate public–private partnerships. Given limited budgets for tourism marketing and promotion, it is necessary to pool resources to create compelling, visible and economically sustainable tourist attractions. Mixed investment in industrial heritage tourism is recommended because public–private partnerships inspire community participation and build sites with a foreseeable future. For example, tourist destinations need to promote themselves not only as artistic venues, but also as economically viable enterprises, educational institutions and enjoyable destinations (Smith, 2007). The primary goal of tourism is to improve the image of old industrial towns and to encourage more informed types of economic activities through establishments such as convention centers and visitors bureaus, maps and informational publications, guided visits and events and promotional materials.

The production of mixed-use spaces

One very important perspective, often elided in discussions of industrial heritage tourism, is the issue of mixed-use spaces. Industrial heritage tourism cannot be fully developed unless it clusters with other socioeconomic activities. Terms, such as 'cultural districts', 'tourism corridors', 'tourism business district' and 'tourism precincts', refer to areas with a high concentration of cultural, heritage and entertainment facilities. While some industrial sites and destinations form part of the everyday urban fabric where tourists and locals share communal space for transportation, shopping and dining, others purposely stand apart from daily experience where industries are clustered outside of residential zones. Smith (2009) points out that a heritage destination must include entertainment, retailing, food and dining to form a cluster of creative industries. Both cultural and creative developments are integrated into mixed-use districts designated for office space, residential areas, hotels and recreational sites. These may be explained in terms of such factors as accessibility, land rent, planning restrictions, comparative shopping and proximity to other tourism-related phenomena.

Transforming industrial sites for new functions and connecting them with the surrounding urban tissue is one of the main tasks of urban design and planning. The study of the waterfront redevelopment in Auckland, New Zealand, demonstrates that the sheer existence of government plans involving tourism can point to issues of functionality or of potential conflict between multiple uses in a given area. A heritage waterfront planned solely by estate developers who do not seek input from residents will fail to integrate into the larger city and will not reflect the value of industrial heritage. The redevelopment has been parallel to local economic transitions toward a creative economy, promoted via the creation of distinct geographical areas containing high concentrations of new cultural and entertainment facilities. As demonstrated in the comparative study of the LX Factory and the Westergasfabriek, while brownfields and derelict industrial complexes have been reused for commercial purposes, the processes of transforming these complexes into mixed-use neighborhoods and incorporating them into the urban structure proves to be much more complicated. The creation of mixed-use spaces at industrial and historical sites that function as viable tourist attractions requires substantial financial support and coordination. For example, designing an extensive itinerary for industrial heritage tourism may include industrial zones, railway infrastructure, engineering works, workers' housing and other features. Tourists can participate in factory tours in the morning and attend wine and olive production tours in the afternoon. They will be able to understand the process of industrialization and agriculture, and their impact on local communities. The spatiotemporal changes that accompany industrial heritage tourism often come with financial support or subsidies provided by the region, municipalities, regional associations, state heritage institutions and civil society organizations, in order to meet the costs of renovation and maintenance. Most importantly, mixed-use spaces build tourism products capable of generating employment and wealth in former industrial areas.

Stangel (2011), in his study of industrial cities in Poland, suggests that successful regeneration happens in places where the most favorable spatial and cultural conditions exist. These conditions include a strategic location, good transport infrastructure with surrounding areas, existing site amenities, as well as external factors such as a growing local economy and demand for housing and commercial space. For example, Paine Field Airport in Everett, Washington, is a typical mixed-use tourist destination for aviation and industrial heritage enthusiasts. It is located 30 miles north of Seattle, an easily accessible city with strong transportation systems. The airport boasts four major aviation collections and a diverse range of aircrafts that are being restored, collected and flown by its many tenants. It also functions as one of Boeing's largest production facilities where tourists can view 777 jets being assembled on the production line. In addition, through organizing multiple events annually, such as Aviation Day and Vintage Aircraft Weekends, the airport attracts many tourists, which in turn raises awareness about the history and heritage of the aeronautics industry. The planes within the Flying Heritage Collection offer a museum-like environment for tourists to learn about historic flight experiences.

Understanding tourist segmentations

Industrial heritage tourism draws a distinctive group of tourists, whose activities vary from factory to ruin tours. This tourist demographic tends to be motivated by the industrial properties and products' original use, rather than by contemporary functional tourism linkages. A more general tourist approach is to appreciate industrial displays and the beauty of heritage settings. Cleere (1989) indicates that the formation of attitudes toward the past is so ill-formulated in the minds of individual tourists that it is difficult to draw any valid analytical conclusions. The one element that seems to be common to tourists involves the issue of identity or a sense of belonging to a place or a tradition. Current studies (Nyaupane & Timothy, 2010; Skjaeveland *et al.*, 1996; Willis, 2009) show that older generations tend to be more physically and emotionally attached to their communities and value the deep meanings associated with industrial heritage environments. People live in multigenerational households are more likely to have developed a strong sense of place and a high level of social cohesion than these newcomers (Lund, 2002). The study of tourists visiting the salt heritage fields in Taiwan also demonstrates that learning and education are important motivations. The growing interest in interactive guides, experiential authenticity and novelty objects for souvenirs plays a vital role in emphasizing fun and modern forms of entertainment, which makes industrial heritage sites suitable for the family market (Chapman & Light, 2011).

Industrial heritage tourism is tantamount to what might be called a bourgeoisification of working-class history. However, recruiting current and former craftsmen to work or volunteer at industrial tourism sites, sharing and imparting their local knowledge and practical skills, has grown popular in recent years. The presence of these workers is indicative of a broader pattern of developing interactive tourist experiences in order to facilitate deeper understandings of industrial histories. For instance, the underground coal mine in Eastern Europe allows tourists to take tours of mining pits and gives them a valuable insight into the types of conditions that workers faced (Conlin & Jolliffe, 2011). Many tourists actually live in the same region as the sites they visit; for these tourists, industrial heritage sites represent an opportunity to form a stronger bond with local history and to better understand their own heritage (Poria *et al.*, 2006). The study of industrial heritage tourism should explore how tourists perceive industrial preservation, and how their perceptions and other social factors influence their decision to visit certain sites.

Industrial heritage tourists' experiences are distinctively individual and highly contextual (Rickly-Boyd, 2009). Presenting an intensely visual experience that tourists perceive as authentic is instrumental to the success of the site, as memory processes are driven by access to and contact with past histories and induced images (Hodge, 2011). However, one of the greatest challenges of effectively applying these guidelines is avoiding standardization: the application of preconceived standards is omnipresent in tourism-related business and provides easily understandable and uniform information to tourists on sites (Diekmann *et al.*, 2006). The implication of standardization is that quality standards secure the attractiveness and accessibility of tourism. The use of standardization has been prevalent in the last decades. It is so dominant in tourism development that industrial heritage runs the risk of becoming a generic product that is indistinguishable from location to location.

Thus, the argument here is that industrial heritage tourism ought to focus on diversity, rather than standardization. Its attractions are perceived as being noticeably different from other types of attractions. Tourism should maximize major differences in a marked degree of selectivity conditioned by the short length of stay by most tourists. Developers need to promote the diversity of industrial heritage as an economic asset and stimulate tourism entrepreneurship. Otgaar *et al.* (2011) document the factory tours for the Autostadt, Wolfsburg in the Volkswagen Group. Its philosophy advocates not providing a standard tour for every visitor, but bringing in some variations. This approach is reflected in the training of the professional guides: they are coached to be specialists in one area of the factory, so that interpretations will not overlap. The tours focus on the exciting moments of the production process and provide information about the social conditions of the workers. The visitor trains stop for a while at each highlight in order to provide opportunities for tourists to ask questions. In addition, there are many special tours tailored to certain types of tourists, such as members of the board of management, journalists and politicians.

Willis (2009) stresses that heritage attractions need to have an awareness of tourists' demands on site and of best practices for attracting new tourists and retaining existing ones. Both the Volkswagen factory tours and the salt fields in Taiwan reiterate that tourists are strongly interested in participatory activities and in contemporary designs, allowing for more informal and highly immersive types of experiences.

These, in turn, mean that tourists want to get a feel for distinctive industrial architecture, ambience, products and heritage. In the context of the LX Factory and the Westergasfabriek, many tourists were attracted by the artistic displays inside the factory sites and enjoyed the nostalgic feel of postindustrial settings. Bonink and Hitters (2001) propose to draw a broad and diverse range of tourists interested in industrial heritage and specifically experimental culture, such as a milieu of industrial innovation. The use of information technology and social media is necessary to bridge the gap between the space of flows and the space of places. Tourism planners ought to improve the provision of services to attract more tourists and encourage repeat visits.

When segmenting tourists, it is necessary to consider the variety of tourists interested in industrial heritage tourism. According to Stebbins (2007: 79), tourism cannot be considered a hobby; rather, it is 'serious leisure' dependent in part on the pursuit of systematic and enduring knowledge. A broad swathe of tourists engaged in 'serious leisure' may be drawn to industrial heritage tourism, from serious heritage tourists to dabblers for whom the primary motivation is not industrial heritage per se. In addition, the identity base of mass tourism vis-à-vis industrial heritage tourism is substantially different. The latter requires in-depth narratives and infrastructure in order to maintain interest and enjoy a satisfying tourist experience. Serious industrial heritage tourists demand attractions that foster the development of certain tastes (e.g. exterior design, industrial architecture), the acquisition of certain kinds of knowledge (e.g. industrial history, heritage and local culture) and the development of particular social skills (e.g. appreciation of industrial heritage and understanding of local community). Industrial heritage tourists are one of the most important market segments, and they require a good deal of effort and attention.

The growth of industrial heritage tourism as an academic discipline

The study of industrial heritage tourism, under various names, is cohering into a discipline in its own right. The remit of industrial heritage tourism is very broad but firmly centered in the contemporary society. Some theories of industrial heritage tourism are potentially interesting but limited by the rather skeletal discussions with which they are accompanied. Furthermore, present-day divisions in the field of tourism studies mirror taxonomies in the traditional disciplines responsible for the study of each category of phenomena. Industrial heritage tourism falls under 'heritage studies' and is largely undertaken by archaeologists, sociologists, urban planners, geographers, historians and many other disciplines. Much of the socioeconomic aspects of tourism have been undertaken by human geographers who express an interest in the ways refers to the socioeconomic aspects of tourism studies. What these modes of research share in common is a fascination with the industrial past, and a yearning for a deeper understanding of heritage values. It is assumed that the past is elusive, but has a critical effect on the present and future.

The advent of research on industrial heritage tourism enriches the context of interdisciplinary collaboration and has already achieved many substantial and structural criteria for an independent academic discipline. According to Lowenthal (1999), any heritage study is a social construction, an empty box waiting to be filled with our values, beliefs and desires. Studies thus have a functional role of providing a framework for making sense of tourist attractions and phenomena. Most importantly, industrial heritage tourism serves social, cultural and political functions that vary over time and for different stakeholders. The profile needs to be clarified by researchers interested in cultural and heritage tourism.

New academic disciplines develop continually from different circumstances and for numerous purposes. During the process of development, they face the challenge of justifying their status as independent disciplines. The academic discipline of industrial heritage and the function of tourism are twin disciplines that have developed at different rates. Wager (2000: 19–20), in his studies of industrial heritage in Nordic and Baltic countries, argues that industrial heritage tourism should be seen as a professional field for training and extensive research. The goals of this field should be to (1) raise awareness of industrial heritage and change views and attitudes about it; (2) promote and develop theoretical discussion, research ideologies and practical methods for the conservation and care of industrial heritage; (3) improve the theoretical and practical skills required to conduct rigorous research; (4) form a multidisciplinary field of study that fosters communication between professions; (5) utilize existing networks, structures and organizations; and (6) develop research on industrial heritage tourism into a full-fledged academic discipline. Wager further proposes that the study of industrial heritage exhibits a strong tendency toward an interdisciplinary exchange of opinions and results. Topical studies can address a wide variety of issues, such as inventory, documentation, evaluation and classification of industrial sites for tourism; industry and economic ties; workers' housing and social issues; and tourist consumption of industrial heritage and infrastructures. Frew (2000) comments that it is somewhat paradoxical that industrial heritage tourism is derived from a position of subordination to the non-tourism activities of organizations.

However, the magnitude of the phenomenon, both in terms of the number of current and potential operations and their socioeconomic impact, makes it imperative to turn the study of industrial heritage into a fundamental discipline.

Uzzell (2009) indicates that whether heritage is 'out there' or 'in here', there is a relationship between 'it' and 'us'. Borrowing the concepts of the taxonomic, differential and systematic from Moscovici's (1972) study of social psychology, Uzzell explicates that the 'taxonomic' is concerned with investigating the nature of the variables which might account for tourist behavior. Social stimuli are seen to affect the process of perception and the formation of attitudes. The second relationship, the 'differential', classifies the subject of research to differentiate it from other groups of research. The last relationship is called systematic, which studies the interdependence of individuals and groups to a common physical and social environment. The relationship of the individual to his or her heritage is mediated through the intervention of another person or group, such as an industrial archaeologist or an urban planner. Uzzell thus claims that industrial heritage is indeed an academic discipline, as all its methods are embedded within sets of assumptions about the relationship between people, their physical environment and their past. Industrial heritage tourism is central to contemporary conceptualizations of the multidiscipline including the polyvocality and multidimensionality meaning in the postmodern society.

Therefore, this book is ostensibly about the role of the study of industrial heritage tourism and how this academic discipline stimulates demand by capitalizing on the positive attitude of actual and potential heritage tourists. It is a practical and theoretical field of study seeking to utilize industrial heritage for travel and tourism and concentrating on the investigation of consumer behavior and destination marketing. An alliance between industrial heritage and tourism results in synergistic effects that strengthen their respective standing by enhancing contributions to planning policy formation, opening new avenues for research, increasing opportunities for research funding and improving academic offerings. It is argued that industrial heritage tourism should develop as an academic discipline to better understand the complex interplay of social, cultural, economic, environmental and psychological aspects of human behaviors. Ultimately, it is a research field filled with wonderful learning experiences for all walks of life.

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