Navigating World and National Heritage: Tourism and Belonging in New Lanark

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Abstract

This Thesis explores discourses of nationalism and tourism generated around the town of New Lanark, a UNESCO World Heritage Site in the Scottish Lowlands. The study aims to explore the ambiguous/shared governance of the heritage site by analyzing three datasets- New Lanark's official website, TikTok videos posted from New Lanark, and interviews with tourists who had visited New Lanark in the past month. Discourses of the nation are de-emphasized on the New Lanark website, but are much more salient in the comment sections of TikTok videos featuring New Lanark. Belonging and spatiality play an important role in influencing how and when tourists nationalize their consumption and reproductions of New Lanark

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My father Andy Toothman for holding our family together. From you I take my patience and ambition.

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I. Introduction

In 1988 a conference was held in a small village on the River Clyde- a stone's throw away from Edinburgh. Participants from 19 countries gathered academics and 'practitioners' alike to discuss the social theory and applications of living in a communal society. Of the 91 papers presented at this conference 36 were related to landscape, settlement, place. Most papers discussed communal societies that had failed, yet the attendees left the conference with a feeling of hope and goodwill (Royle 1989)

Today, New Lanark is a tourist town in the Scottish Lowlands with less than 200 inhabitants, and 300,000 to 400,000 annual visitors. New Lanark has been designated as a UNESCO World Heritage Site due to its historical significance as a model industrial town, as well as for the innovative urban planning and social policies implemented by the town's former owner- utopian socialist Robert Owens. As a "World Heritage property" there are dozens of stakeholders and landowners invested in New Lanark, however, the town has three prime managers- New Lanark Trust, South Lanarkshire Council, and Historic Environment Scotland. Of the three, New Lanark Trust has the most direct ownership within the village, including a majority of New Lanark's businesses and residential properties. A World Heritage Officer is employed by the trust to ensure that management remains on track. This management arrangement between the Trust, local and national governments suggests that the heritage site operates as a space of ambiguous/shared governance. Investigating how individuals and institutions navigate this ambiguity is at the core of this thesis' research.

There is a growing literature on critical research into the operations of UNESCO World Heritage Sites

II. Theoretical Framework

The understanding of nationalism this research applies follow the trajectory first set out by Billig's Banal Nationalism (1995), along with the study of everyday nationalism that emerged from it. Rather than viewing banal and everyday nationalism as a binary, I will instead follow the two analytical levels as set out by Michael Skey- the first which acknowledges both the mindful and unmindful range of national practices and habits; and a second which investigates the ways in which these practices and habits contribute to reinforcing and maintaining the institutionalized structures of nation-states (2018). To compliment this first level of analysis, I will pull from the research agenda established by Fox and Miller-Idriss of talking, choosing, preforming and consuming the nation (2008).

The Discursive Historical Approach (DHA) encourages the triangulation of methodology, data, and theories, so that a holistic understanding of discourses can emerge from multiple perspectives (Wodack & Meyer, 2016). The theoretical triangulation for this research will be composed of three theoretical frameworks, each with two sub-frameworks. [1] Nationalism Studies- everyday nationalism & national belonging; [2] Tourism Studies- tourist gaze& tourist utopias; [3] Discourse Analysis- DHA& multimodal analysis. For the purposes of this research, each of these sub-frameworks is cross aligned by either theoretical breadth or theoretical depth.

Everyday nationalism, the tourist gaze, and DHA are aligned in their theoretical breadth. Everyday nationalism is employed here following the theoretical schema set out by Michael Skey (2018) which implores researchers to connect national habits and practices with the reinforcement and maintenance of nation-states. The tourist gaze as described by John Urry (1990) tracks the processes by which tourists tastes and expectations become institutionalized. The breadth of analysis provided by everyday nationalism and the tourist gaze can be

reconceptualized as a concern with the dialectics of 'externalization,' 'objectification,' and 'internalization' as described by Berger and Luckmann (1967). This opens the topics of nationalism and tourism to an analysis of power hierarchies and the legitimation of power (Dreher 2016). In this sense, DHA- with its emphasis on intertextuality, interdiscursivity, and power, serves as a good binding agent for enmeshing these two frameworks. Taken together Everyday nationalism, the tourist gaze, and DHA will be incredibly useful in analyzing *across* data sets. But to fully flesh out analysis *within* these data sets, I will be relying on national identity, tourist utopias, and multimodal analysis.

What each of these sub-frameworks offers are different angles to examine the semiotics of spatiality within the topics of tourism and nationalism. The understanding of national identity I'll be using here is informed by the concept ofbelonging as developed by Floya Anthias (2008, 2018). Belonging here works as a term that is both similar and distinct from identity, as it focuses on experiences that inform human connections to social locations- experiences that stabilize a person's sense of self. navigate the analytical problems of identity as laid out by Rogers Brubaker (2000). I argue that Anthias' hermeneutic of belonging ise not only useful in understanding national identity but can contribute to an emergent understanding of *tourist identities* as well. (Gillespie, 2006, Wearing, Stevenson & Young 2010) To better understand this relationship I will employ an understanding of spatiality developed via 'tourist utopias' (Simpson, 2017) which provides several paths to understanding tourists' pedagogical encounters with tourist spaces- which are contextualized as enclaves of utopic spatial play. These 'tourist enclaves' share characteristics with Foucault's concept of Heterotopia insofar as they serve to: [1] maintain social order, [2] juxtapose incompatible spaces within a single space, [3] maintain distinct temporalities, [4] create extraordinary spaces that disrupt or critique the spaces of our

everyday lives, and [5] maintain a boundary between those extraordinary and ordinary spaces. Other notable features of tourist utopias include some form of extra-territoriality or shared governance; susceptibility to neoliberal dogma; transient labor forces and consumers; an economy of fascination; a distinct architectural grammar which reproduces capital relations; all culminating in a utopic spatial play, an "ideological critique of ideology" (Simpson 2016, 31).By considering the grammar of architecture, ambiguous ownership, and transient populations, tourist utopias offer a way to understand how people navigate belonging in spaces that create tension between fiction and reality.

heritage sites had been recognized as places where domestic tourists can witness "archeological" foundations of national identity (Pretes, 2003). More recently, investigations have been held into the management and display of religious and cultural heritage sites (Hughes, Bond, & Ballantyne, 2013), as well as how tourists interpret these heritage sites through narratives of national identity (Tinson & Saren, 2022). Elsewhere it has been demonstrated that the commercialization of the nation for the purposes of state-sponsored tourism can lead to contested discourses and negotiations over national symbols (Bhandari, 2022)

III. Methodology

1. Data Collection

The overarching method of analysis for this research will be done through the Discursive Historical Approach (DHA). One of the oft stated benefits of employing DHA is its capacity for accommodating a multidisciplinary approach to research through triangulation. This not only applies to theory (which I have discussed above), but to data collection as well. By examining the discourses surrounding New Lanark from multiple angles, an encompassing understanding of the village can emerge. For this study I will be relying on both generated and found data. There

are three branches to my research strategy. First, I analyze the New Lanark Trust's tourism website to explore how the tourist gaze is mediated to legitimate ownership over the village. Second, I examine TikTok videos of New Lanark created by visitors, alongside comments reacting to these videos. These videos and comments explore and play with the boundaries of ownership established by the website. Finally, I interviewed three tourists who have visited New Lanark in the past few months, and one New Lanark Trust employee to get a sense of how people *encounter* and *reproduce* New Lanark as space of travel and work. This is a deviation from my initial data gathering plan- I had intended to visit New Lanark in person to conduct interviews with hospitality workers and residents, but time and financial resources did not allow for this.

On the New Lanark website, I use Multimodal Discourse Analysis (MDA) to analyze how spatiality is employed to legitimate the village's tripartite management. On the website, I examine multimodal semiotic expressions from the home page (https://www.newlanark.org/) and 23 page-paths (for example: https://www.newlanark.org/your-visit/what-to-see). The website is managed by the New Lanark Trust and is one of the first search results that will return when googling "New Lanark", which suggests that the webpage has a high likelihood of being visited by interested tourists. This makes it an ideal pilot study for exploring how the owners of heritage sites try to mediate the gaze of potential tourists.

In terms of research design and methodology Vojnović's study on national tourist websites (2020) will serve as the foundation for this dataset. Vojnović's research involves a multimodal approach alongside corpus analysis to compare three case studies- state sponsored tourist websites from North Macedonia, Serbia and Slovenia. In lieu of corpus analysis, I rely on the method triangulation of DHA to allow for comparable analysis between datasets.

The second dataset is composed of TikTok videos featuring New Lanark. The camera typifies the tourist gaze, and it has been argued that the social dynamics of photography create spaces rife with identity formation and boundary work (Gillespie, 2006). TikTok as a social platform is rife with data for bottom-up digital ethnography when analyzing short videos as cultural artifacts. Recent ethnographic research into TikTok suggests that overinterpretation of the content of individual videos should be avoided. Instead, it is recommended that researchers should focus on how these videos are embedded in broader social backgrounds (Schellewald 2021). While I will be taking cues from ethnographic research into TikTok, the data I collect will not necessarily take the form of ethnography. While I will be taking cues from ethnographic research into TikTok, the data I collect will not necessarily take the form of ethnography. Instead, I explore videos and their subsequent comments through a single shared hashtag- #newlanark. This approach to research is closer to archival research, wherein I explore TikTok's functionality as a public archive structured around overlapping user communities.

At the time of writing, the hashtag #newlanark has nearly 300,000 views total with around 270 videos. I narrowed down the videos I analyzed based on several factors. I excluded videos published by business owners from New Lanark, as here I want to exclusively focus on how tourists recreate their experience of the heritage site. Finally, I excluded videos where the setting clearly was not New Lanark. These were mainly educational videos from history hobbyists who discussed New Lanark in a lecture format- and though interesting did not provide insight into the reproduction of tourist experiences. From these parameters, the dataset was narrowed down to 60 videos. The focus of these videos tended to be similar- nearly all of them emphasize the spectacle and natural beauty of the heritage site, particularly the Clyde, through point-of-view video clips. Of these 60 I analyzed 20 of the most liked videos through content

analysis- how many cuts are made in the video, what subjects are portrayed, what audio is used, and other misc. editing like the use of text. I also do content analysis on the comments of these TikTok videos which explore instances of national flagging through emojis, expressions of everyday nationalism, and other expressions of belonging. Following this analysis, I selected 1 exemplary video and comment section for in-depth analysis. Here I use MDA for the video, and DHA for selected comments.

For the final dataset I interviewed four people- three visitors to New Lanark in the past month, and one employee of the New Lanark Trust. As stated before, my original intent was to interview residents and workers in New Lanark, but due to resource constraints I opted to interview people over Zoom. For the sake of anonymity I refer to the interviewees through pseudonyms- The Wanderer, The Weaver, and The Local,. Each of the individuals I interviewed reproduced New Lanark in some way, and their pseudonyms are references to the contexts of these reproductions.

Interviewee	Relation to New Lanark
The Wanderer	Discovered New Lanark accidentally while looking for the Falls of Clyde. Visits heritage and natural sites all throughout the United Kingdoms. Reproduces New Lanark through social media photos.
The Weaver	Sources wool from New Lanark for their small business. Visited with children. Knew of New Lanark from childhood school trips.
The Local	Has been visiting New Lanark frequently all their life. Reproduces New Lanark through social media photos.

Table 1. Each interviewee encounters and reproduces New Lanark in different contexts.

Interviews with The Wanderer, The Weaver, and The Local each followed a similar format. First, they were asked to recount their most recent visit to New Lanark- how they first heard of New Lanark, how they arrived, did they meet anyone or purchase anything, and what signs or flags did they encounter. Next, they were each asked questions about their process of reproducing New Lanark- when did they take photos, how did they select which photos to upload, and who are these reproductions (wool and textiles in The Weaver's case) for. Finally they were asked to give their personal opinions on specific spaces at New Lanark- what impact did the architecture leave on them, what was it like to see the Falls of Clyde, who do they think visits these spaces, and why are they important to people.

2. Multimodal Discourse Analysis and the Discourse Historical Approach

My use of MDA on the New Lanark website and TikTok is informed by Kress and van Leeuwen's 'Systemic Functional Grammar' which in turn relies on the use of metafunctions as identified from the work of Michael Halliday- the ideational, the interpersonal, and the textual. The ideational metafunction refers to what a semiotic mode represents and what that representation is in relation to. This representational meaning can either take the form of narrative (involving people actions etc.) or conceptual (general characteristics, semiotic or analytic classifications, etc). The interpersonal metafunction refers to the social relation between the producer of a sign, the viewer of a sign, and the object which the sign represents. Both the ideational and interpersonal metafunctions can be interpreted as an "array of choices" (Kress & Van Leeuwen, 20xx, 42) that represent relations. The textual metafunction refers to the complexes of signs which culminate into a single text i.e., how those signs are composed and positioned. This includes considering what elements are salient, how symbols are related to verbal text, and what frames of separation are used.

DHA focuses on texts which are always in relation to discourses and situated within genres (Wodak & Forchtner, 2010). A text is a linguistic action made objective via the production and reception of speech. A text can be visual or oral and is assigned to a 'genre'- "a socially ratified way of using language in connection with particular types of social activity" (Wodak, 2015, 5). and constitute discourses- the boundaries of which are dynamic and may be subject to reinterpretation. Discourses refer to structured bodies of knowledge or "context-dependent semiotic practices", (Wodak, 2015, 5) which are clustered around a macrotopic, and involves arguments from multiple social actors with multiple perspectives.

DHA also places emphasis on intertextuality and interdiscursivity. Intertextuality can take the form of an explicit reference, an allusion, a shared event, or the transfer of main

arguments. Intertextually involves one or both of the processes of recontextualization (text-to-text transfer of elements) and decontextualization (text-to-text removal of elements from context). Interdiscursivity refers to the relatedness between the macrotopics and microtopics of different discourses.

Analysis with DHA begins with identifying a topic of discourse, after which the use of discursive strategies is investigated. Discursive strategies include: nomination, or how social actions, objects, events and processes are referred; predication, or what characteristics are attributed to the aforementioned; argumentation, how arguments are employed; perspectivization, or from what perspective are these strategies being applied from; and finally intensification and mitigation, or how the performance of a linguistic action is modified to create a sense of distance or closeness between the producer of the act, and the act itself. After the investigation of discursive strategies, the coherence of the text is analyzed through the identification of macrotopics related subtopics within the text. This must be accompanied by an understanding of the text producer's aims, which are often informed by the particular genre the text belongs to.

IV. Structural and Historical Contexts

1. Tourism and Scottish Identity

An important concept that serves to better elucidate the relationship between Scottish Romanticism and Scotland's double colonialism are the discourses or 'dialectics of improvement'. Improvement in the context of 18th and 19th century Scotland has often been studied as the practice to the Enlightenment's theory. The redistribution of Jacobite chieftains' land in the Highlands to Lowland agricultural entrepreneurs for example, would be described as

'improvement'- progress and economic development through the displacement of 'primitive' social orderings.

Recent scholarship complicates this understanding of improvement, notable the research of Gerard McKeever which challenges the binary between a modernizing Scotland and it's vernacular cultures. This interpretation of improvement as an unresolved dialectic pushes the term away from Enlightenment praxis and into the orbit of Romanticism. McKeever's reading of Walter Scott's short fiction exemplifies this-

> "McKeever finds Scott in *Chronicles of the Canongate*, especially its preambles and intertexts, its nested narrators and protagonists, and its concern for roads, journeys, marginalized communities, historical change, and imperial expansion, turning the comprehensiveness of improvement inside out to reveal its inherent inconsistencies." (Dick, 2021, 475)

In 1810, Walter Scott published *The Lady of the Lake*, a narrative poem set in picturesque depiction of the Trossachs of Scotland. *The Lady of the Lake* and Scott's later narrative works are often been said to have contributed to the development of Scotland's early tourism industry (Hubbard, 2007). Scott's vivid depiction of Scottish scenery led to an increased interest in Scottish landscapes and identity in Europe as well as Britain. Travelers would flock to locations depicted by Scott, such as Loch Katrine. The Romantic writings of William Gilpin and the Wordsworths accompanied Scott's in developing an early template for Highland tourism. When the Wordsworths made a return trip to the Highlands in the 1820's they bemoaned its transformation into "Scott-land".

Nigel Leask's *Stepping Westward: Writing the Highland Tour c. 1720-1830* navigates the development of Scotland's tourism industry through the literary works of Romantic writers who,

> "…may be called to account for having generating cultural stereotypes of the Gaels and romantic notions of "wilderness" but [they] also connected the Highlands to the outside world, creating economic opportunities and appreciation of the region's cultural and

environmental endowments at a time of historical crisis." (Leask, 2020, 22 as cited in Dick, 2021)

Leask notes that Scott himself was critical of the Highland tourism that was encouraged by his writings. Scott's pictural depictions of the Highlands was often accompanied by his martial portrayal of Highlanders themselves, a notion that Leask argues "contained a radical potential for representing the plight of the Gàidhealtachd and its people, even if Scott was himself cautious about articulating it" (Leask, 2020, 220 as cited in Dick, 2021). Some tourists that went searching for Scott's fantastic depictions of the Highlands, instead discovered a jarring disparity between fiction and reality. The dispossessions and forced migrations of the Highland clearances was a stark contrast to the Romantic depictions travelers expected. Dick remarks that "Scottish Romanticism, especially in regard to the Highlands, embodies rather than resolves a crisis of modernity." (Dick, 2021, 480). Three generations later, the development of a different kind of tour would play a role in the identity formation of outward looking Scots including resettled Highlanders who had no choice *but to* look outwards.

The 19th century could be considered an age of mass-migration by wind and sail, and the advent of the steam ship in the 1880s led to new social constructions of the space these travelers inhabited. It has been suggested that the steam ship's constant need for refueling from port to port gave these migrants an opportunity to sight see, which led some to begin viewing themselves as tourists (Haines, 2006). One such traveler was Scottish medical student T.J. Wilson who regularly sent letters home to his parents over the course of four voyages. One of Wilson's earliest reactions to life on the seas was to begin nationalizing himself as Scottish, particularly in contrast with his fellow travelers who were English. However, through increased interactions with British ports across several cultures, Wilson began to fold his Scottish identity into an encompassing British one. Throughout his travels the cultural distinction Wilson was

concerned with would shift from Scotts and Englishmen to British foreigner and native (Pietsch, 2010). These letters from nearly a hundred and fifty years ago provide us with an interesting insight into the relationship between liminal spaces and the salience of national identity formation. They also begin to illustrate the complicated relationship between Scottish identity and empire during this period of history.

2. UNESCO World Heritage Sites

In 1999 the Historic Center of Brazil's first capitol- Salvador de Bahia, began a process of restoration and ruination. It was going to become a UNESCO World Heritage Site. I lift this observation from John Collins, who was conducting an ethnography of Bahian squatters at the outset of this transformation. Collins' role as a researcher is contrasted with Salvador's resident ethnographic organization- IPAC a government body which documented and archived the domestic habits of Bahian residents only to displace them from neighborhoods like Pelourinho. Through documentation these residents' cultural expressions were codified as benchmark of the Brazilian national imaginary while simultaneously being expelled to slums. When Pelourinho was accepted to UNESCO's World Heritage List in 1985, the nation developed a vested interest in possessing the "tradition of the oppressed" (Collins, 2013, 168). The universalism of cultural heritage enables a process of entification which transmutes these traditions into a form of property, the 'secular sacred', cultural products to which both humankind and the nation can lay claim to.

It has been argued that the dichotomy between UNESCO's cosmopolitan universalism and the cultural relativism so common to nation building projects is in fact overstated- particularly in Laos where the state government strategically employs the resources of international

organizations (including UNESCO) for the development and maintenance of a distinct Laotian national identity. The UNESCO distinction of World Heritage status also promises several other benefits to state parties including international prestige, the promise of economic development through tourism, and the potential for financial funding from UNESCO itself. This last point has shown to be a key factor in the behavior of Laotian government officials who depend on this funding for the management of these heritage sites. In other words, UNESCO projects can develop into a state dependency on international support, especially in the case of less developed nations. Losing the international expertise, prestige, and funding needed to support these heritage sites is an embarrassment that state builders are likely to avoid. What emerges is a space of mutual accommodation, where both UNESCO and national governments are encouraged to create incentives for the other. This shared or ambiguous governance is a common feature of tourist enclaves and is a topic I will expand on in a later section.

Critical research into the political and economic functioning of UNESCO has demonstrated that the organization's World Heritage agenda is increasingly influenced by the interests of particular states through voting blocs. One notable example can be found in the BRICS nations- Brazil, Russia, India, China, and South Africa who have used their rotating positions on the World Heritage Committee to prevent "threatened sites from being transferred to the List of World Heritage in Danger" (Meskell, 2015, 224). These blocs can also align votes to ensure which national sites receive the world heritage inscription, and even shield other nations from independent investigations into endangered heritage sites. All of this suggests that- on the international field at least- heritage sites function chiefly as "transactional devices" (Meskell, 2015, 223) for negotiations between states. The recommendations of ICOMOS, one of the

primary international bodies for the protection of heritage sites, have been increasingly sidelined by the political jockeying of nation-states.

One persistent question that emerges across several case studies of UNESCO world heritage sites is the impact these sites have on local populations. In the case of Kinabalu National Park in Malaysia locals were polled in their perception of the positive and negative social effects tourism had in their lives. While some respondents associated certain negative effects with tourism- such as traffic congestion and anti-social behavior, people surveyed in Kinabalu generally believed that their quality of life improved because of the growth of tourism. Moreover, respondents also indicated that tourism contributed to an increasing sense of national pride (Jaafar, Ismail & Rasoolimanesh, 2015).

Elsewhere the distinctions UNESCO makes between 'natural' and 'cultural' heritage has come under scrutiny. Sites that UNESCO determines to have universal natural importance are not always deemed to have universal cultural importance. Though these sites fail to meet UNESCO's criteria for universal cultural importance, they often continue to have longstanding cultural significance for local communities- such is the case with the Three Parallel Rivers in Tibet.

V. New Lanark Website

1. Heterotopia: Digital and Digitized Architectures

Here I am concerned with two kinds of architecture. There is a digital architecture that encompasses the website and its page-paths, employing interactivity to invite exploration. There is also an element of digitized architecture, where buildings are reconstructed on the website through photos and text. Taken together these architectures compose a kind of heterotopia, an

enclosed space of exception, where multiple ideologies and social locations are juxtaposed to enable experimentation with new forms of social ordering. I will be examining multimodal semiotic expressions on the New Lanark website from this frame, starting with an analysis of the site's logo, then working through the website's interactive elements. Finally, I will examine how physical architecture is represented in this digitized space.

Image 1. New Lanark Logo

The logo is composed of a dark grey background and a white foreground. The structure of the image above the text is composed predominantly of horizontal and vertical straight lines. It also uses two circles and two semi-circles and slanted lines to add dimensionality to the image. The logo appears to be a representation of the New Lanark visitor center's entrance building- simple elements culminating into a more complex design. The words at the bottom of the image appear to serve as the building's foundation- "NEW LANARK" in all caps, then "World Heritage Site" in slightly smaller print.

There are two permanent features across all the website's page-paths. The first is a complex heading containing two rows of hyperlinked buttons affixed around New Lanark's logo at the top-center of the webpage. There are 4 buttons in the first row, each composed of white

text on a distinct hue. Each button has a muted luminosity and saturation, but the colors are distinct enough to pop, giving the impression of dyed textiles. Buttons on the second row are double the height with dark grey text on a white background. When a cursor hovers over the button the text changes to a violet highlight and a dropdown menu appears with even more hyperlinks. These buttons make up a foreground that is present across all page-paths and is always accompanied by a video slideshow which varies from page-path to page-path. To the left and center of each video, there are two lines of text using Tiempos Headline Light font. The first line has a JavaScript font size of 3.8, while the second line is 1.8.

The second permanent feature is an ever-present "BOOK NOW" button, in white text on a light brown background. This button can not only be found on every page-path, but it also remains fixed in one place- on the right side of the screen equidistant to the top and the center of the webpage- no matter where the site visitor might scroll. Clicking it reveals hyperlinks to new page-paths that all offer something to sell including admission tickets, a digital shop, and group bookings. This button serves as a persistent and accessible route to materialize the digital reality they had been experiencing. The hyperlinked button at the top-left of the website serves a similar purpose.

Image 2. New Lanark Website tabs.

The very first hyperlink leads to an entirely new domain- newlanarkhotel.co.uk. This new website has a similar layout to the New Lanark homepage including horizontal headings and a promotional video in the backdrop. Other hyperlinks to the left of the logo contain topics that would be of interest to tourists- including information on where to stay overnight, how to plan a

visit, and information about the village. These hyperlinks are thus structured in the form of an interactive invitation to the tourist, as exploring the website's architecture is one of the first encounters the tourist will have with New Lanark: here the tourist enclave is reproduced digitally.

Hyperlinks to the right of the logo lead to information that would be useful to individuals, organizations, and institutions that would be interested in working with or contributing to New Lanark. Both the *Get Involved* and *Donate* button leads to the same page-path, albeit at different positions. The *Learning* button leads to information for schools and colleges, while the *What's On* button leads to no unique information, save for a header video that can't be found anywhere else on the site. I will be focusing on multimodal communicative acts found on the home page, and the page-paths accessed through the *Group-Visits, Your Visit,* and *About New Lanark* buttons. Beneath the header, each page-path follows a similar pattern- an emboldenws sentence or phrase that either introduces the subject matter of the webpage- "New Lanark's Lost Buildings", or a call to action- "Experience New Lanark Your Way!"

The logo is featured prominently at the center of the other hyperlinks- and the abrupt ending of the structure in the logo gives the impression that the two rows' hyperlinks are extensions of the New Lanark visitor center. Clicking on the logo returns the user to the homepage.

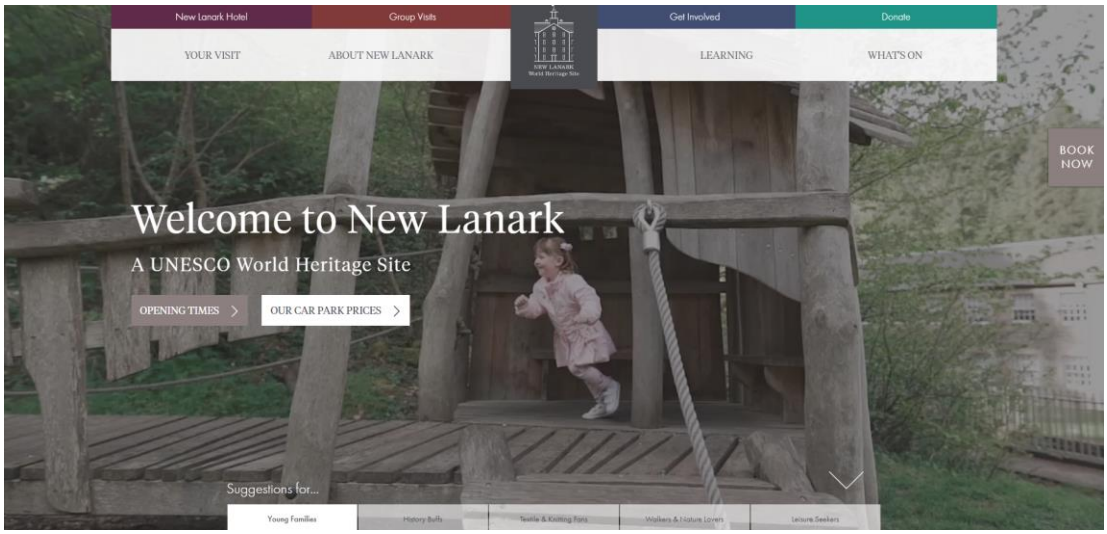

Image 3. New Lanark homepage

The website has two page-paths devoted specifically to the town's architecture- "Buildings", and "Lost Buildings". The "Buildings" page-path is introduced through a story, "Building a Village at New Lanark", with a problem (workers can't travel to work), a protagonist (David Dale, the enlightened founder), and a solution (build housing for the workers). By juxtaposing the historical context of the buildings with colored photographs, the distance between the viewer and the historic past is reduced.

While restored buildings are put in conversation with a narrativized past, on the "Lost Buildings" page-path, buildings that could not be restored are contextualized through a narrativized present. The protagonist here is not an individual but an organization, the New Lanark Trust. Even though this story takes place in the present, the problem (some buildings cannot be restored) and proposed solution are couched in strategies of discursive mitigation. Thinking verbs such as "decision", or "interpret" are used to describe the New Lanark Trust's solution, rather than the more decisive verbs that could be found on the other page-path, like "built" or "restored". Here too photographs are juxtaposed with context-laden paragraphs, but all the photos are in black in white. Taken together they too express a grammar of mitigation,

casting the buildings away to the past, outside of the New Lanark Trust's reach and responsibility.

Digitized architecture on the New Lanark website speaks in a grammar of historicity and restoration, that the past exists in a physical space, and that the New Lanark Trust tends to that past as a gardener would. This preservation of a utopian vision for the industrializing past speaks to and is juxtaposed with a post-Fordist vision which emphasizes an economy of spectacle and play. Through this ideological juxtaposition, a heterotopia takes shape, and within this heterotopia, new social constructions of belonging can emerge and be reinforced.

2. Making Tourists: Belonging Through Pedagogy

Belonging as Anthias explores it is a useful multidimensional heuristic, in that it investigates many of the same problems as identity, without necessarily enabling the essentialization of groups and categories. "Belonging is always in relation to something outside of the self" (Anthias, 2018. 145) which makes it a useful avenue for exploring the social construction of places. Identity is often used as something individuals possess, but by analyzing a space through the context of belonging, we can examine how feelings of acceptance and membership are invoked to encourage individuals to believe that they belong with certain people and to certain places. I have already discussed how the New Lanark website's architecture contributes to the creation of a digital heterotopia through multimodal semiotic expressions. I will now explore how these semiotic expressions work to construct boundaries and expectations around tourist belonging and a tourist place.

Videos are among the first thing users encounter upon entering the website, a portal into a utopic world, and the entrance to this digital heterotopia. One of the features of this heterotopia is that as site users explore the digital architecture, the utopic visions shift. Of the page-paths I

analyzed, four distinct videos are displayed, though there is a fifth video on the otherwise empty "What's On" page-path. The videos are each around the same length, ranging from 24 to 32 seconds, and lack audio. Each video is composed of short 1-2 second clips where the camera's perspective is constantly shifting- either slow pans to the left or right, or slowly zooming in or out of a shot. Around half of the clips are devoid of people. These display aerial shots of the village and the visitors' center, as well as clips that appear to be from a first-person perspective, where the slow panning shots provide various impressions- from walking into an exhibit to focusing in on the river from behind a windowpane.

When people are featured in the video clips, they either appear in groups or medium shots which focus on an individual's face. In all but one of these individual shots, the focus is on children- either a young girl or an older boy. The children are often the sole subject of these clips, while adults are nearly always portrayed in groups, never facing the camera. Throughout the videos, there are two emergent characters- a young girl, and an older boy. Workers are never the subject of these clips, and when a worker is revealed, their faces are always obscured- a stark contrast to the patrons they serve. In this world, if the tourist isn't present, the worker does not exist.

Each of the 23 page-paths I analyzed employed the plural first-person pronouns "we" and "our". On page-paths that could be accessed through the "Group Visits" and "Your Visit" tabs, "we" and "our" pronouns are used to present places and activities as experiences to be consumed. Moreover, in using these pronouns in connection to these places and activities, there is an implicit element of ownership at play- "Visit *our* Roof Garden", "*We* offer an express meal stop". By establishing this ownership, these expressions become an invitation to an unspoken

membership. The impression is that New Lanark (whatever, or whoever this may mean) is inviting the user to *share* these places and experiences.

Throughout the page-paths, short paragraphs are typically paired with photographs. In the page-paths that deal with visitors, these paragraphs often begin with action words, inviting the user into the world portrayed by the photographs. Sometimes this is quite literal with a point-of-view shots as seen in image 4.

MEAL STOP NEW LANARK

On a tight schedule? You can still eat, drink and enjoy a UNESCO World Heritage Site - much better than your average motorway service station!

If you're heading along the M74 between England and Scotland and are looking for a refreshment stop with a difference, book a meal stop with us. Designed to appeal to group travel organisers, coach operators and tour planners on a tight schedule, we're about 20 minutes from junction 12 on the M74, offering an alternative to the usual refreshment and meal stop-offs. Choose from an 'Express' one-hour meal option or a longer 90-minute option. You can choose any of or group dining packages, and your 'Meal Stop' can be taken in the Mill One restaurant at the 4-star New Lanark Mill Hotel.

SEE PACKAGES >

Image 4. Meal Stop New Lanark

These photos close the distance between the imagined space and the viewer, consistently juxtaposed with text that shifts between conversational and commanding language. Welcoming and inviting photographs modulate sentences that otherwise may appear to be pedagogical orders: "Don't stop there; take home some New Lanark Ice Cream from the Mill Café Later!" As the would-be tourist navigates the website, they are constantly given instructions that inform how they should behave in order to belong in this utopian space- a constructed tourist belonging.

Image 5. Don't stop there!

One of the many useful features of DHA is that it encourages an examination of things left unsaid. As a pilot study, the most striking observation that I have of the New Lanark website is that the nation is rarely employed to evoke feelings of belonging. Scotland is either a location (often an address), or a partner organization (such as the Scottish Environment Trust, or Historical Environment Scotland). There are two exceptions. The first is when the nation is expressed as a thematized past, such as highlighting a particular architectural style. The second is when the nation is used to create a sense of exclusivity- New Lanark is "one of Scotland's 6 UNESCO World Heritage Sites". It should be noted that these expressions of national belonging are few and far between.

What is exceedingly common is to cite national organizations as partners or collaborators. This serves to legitimate the structure of ownership as the website portrays it,

without necessarily nationalizing the space itself. Instead, as discussed above, the website encourages a kind of tourist belonging through spectacle and consumption, a belonging which is brokered by the New Lanark Trust. The website's digital architecture reinforces this, by situating the Trust's headquarters- the New Lanark Visitor Center, as both a cornerstone and an orienting symbol for navigating the website. By citing national institutions as partners, the nation in turn is legitimated in a roundabout way, as it is portrayed as inobtrusive, trustworthy and authoritative. Through this mutual legitimation, the ambiguous ownership of New Lanark becomes a space of aligned top-down interest. As I orient my research towards bottom-up case studies it will be useful to track and contrast these legitimation strategies with the experiences of belonging expressed by the visitors and residents of New Lanark.

VI. TikTok

1. Data

All but a few of the videos I analyzed featured the River Clyde or the Falls of Clyde in some way. The first is a promotional preview of a video tour that the uploader was still in the process of editing- a short clip of him walking away from the camera while wearing a kilt on New Lanark's main road. The second is of a wedding that took place in New Lanark, again with the groom in a kilt, revealing a wedding cake with a Union Jack and a football club logo. The third is a short video clip of the uploader's dog crossing a brook. Each of these videos are composed of only a single shot and only the first video utilizes additional audio.

The rest of the videos display the River Clyde or the Falls of Clyde, often as the primary focus. Many of the videos are collages and tend to be autobiographical in nature. Viewers are invited to experience New Lanark through the eyes of the video uploader via video clips of the

River and Falls of Clyde along with other video clips of the hiking trail or the village. Some of the videos are composed of only a single shot, either of the river, the falls, or a panning shot between the water and the village. The majority of the video clips are from the first-person perspective. Between the natural environment and the historic architecture, New Lanark's setting dominates most of the videos, though people are sometimes featured in them- often loved ones or pets. Occasionally national flagging is expressed in these videos through captions. At other times, the uploader might include national flagging in the video description- "New Lanark- Falls of Clyde [Blue Heart Emoji] [Saint Andrew's Cross Emoji]".

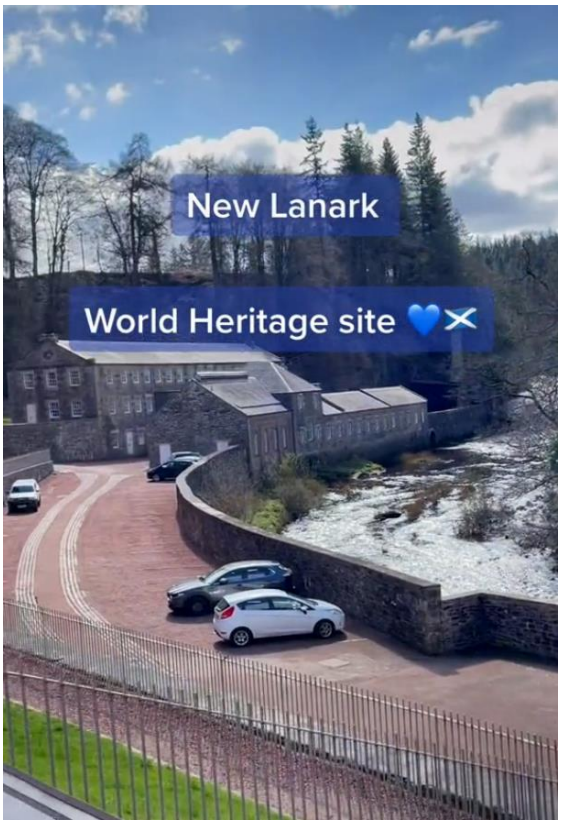

Image 6. From Video #8

Most of the videos feature "postproduction audio" though in the context of TikTok, this generally means a single audio track playing over the video, often taken from audio uploaded by other TikTok users. The videos are often accompanied by music (generally copyrighted) from a

range of different genres. Sometimes the music choice evokes Scottish-ness in some way, like choosing a selection from the Braveheart soundtrack, or a pop rock song by Amy Macdonald. Other videos use instrumental music to create an atmosphere of adventure or tranquility. Several videos don't feature music at all, and instead employ some manner of narration. This can take the form of the video uploader narrating their experience. Alternatively, the video uploader might use the audio of a monologue made by an entirely different TikTok user to compliment what they are recording.

Each of the videos I analyzed have comment sections, a kind of open forum for video viewers to share their thoughts and respond to one another. Of the videos I analyzed, the most common response from commentors is to remark on the beauty of what was being recorded. 13 of the 21 videos I analyzed had instances of national flagging in their comment sections. This is generally expressed through emojis of the Saint Andrew's Cross- often accompanied by blue or red heart emojis. Many of the comments that engage in national flagging also share a common structure, leaving their comment first, then following it with emojis- "Love a wee trip to New Lanark, Great place [Smile Heart Emoji][Saint Andrew's Cross Emoji]". Aside from this obvious form of national flagging, commentors also engage with the nation in other ways. One common expression is to associate the beauty of the video's subject with the nation- "Like every beautifl lady, she has her secrets. Alba gru brath!". Some comments don't engage with the nation directly but evoke a sense of national belonging through language distinct to Scots English- "hiya fae Dumfriesshire". On occasion, members of the Scottish Diaspora identify themselves in their comments- "Traced my family back to Craigmillar Castle in Edinburgh. I live in the US. The forests and hills are similar. So beautiful any time of year". In a similar vein, some commentators use the video's comment section as an opportunity to reflect on past visits to

Scotland or express their desire to visit in the future- "love nature. Sooo gotta sort that holiday out to scotland. Asap[Blue Heart Emoji][Blue Heart Emoji]"

Video #	Length in Seconds	Comments	Likes	Views	National Flagging
Video 1	15	47	1469	12.4k	Yes
Video 2	56	50	1313	7.1k	Yes
Video 3	13	12	1121	15.6k	Yes
Video 4	16	7	332	17.3k	Yes
Video 5	60	32	288	9k	No
Video 6	28	11	250	14.2k	No
Video 7	28	6	234	3.4k	Yes
Video 8	16	57	212	1.9k	Yes
Video 9	11	34	189	1.2k	Yes
Video 10	22	8	187	1.3k	Yes (conditional)
Video 11	13	18	176	0.7k	Yes
Video 12	59	7	173	4.3k	No
Video 13	20	38	165	2.5k	Yes
Video 14	13	77	153	0.8k	Yes
Video 15	45	25	146	3.5k	No
Video 16	20	8	128	1.5k	Yes
Video 17	15	5	127	1.7k	Yes
Video 18	20	12	114	0.7k	No
Video 19	25	4	114	1.3k	No
Video 20	59	4	110	1.3k	No
Video 21	21	10	108	0.5k	Yes

Table 2. List of videos sorted by likes[1]

Though not explicitly national in nature, other forms of belonging are commonly expressed in these videos comments sections. One way that belonging can be expressed is through commenting on spatial proximity to New Lanark- "That's a wee 10 min drive away from me!". Other comments reflect on this proximity by sharing memories that they made in New Lanark, ranging from weddings to school trips- "aww I remember new lanark.. Went when I was

[1] "National Flagging" here refers to Saint Andrew's Cross emojis in the video's comment sections. Video 10 is tagged as conditional as comments feature national talk without using the Saint Andrew's Cross emoji. Some videos invoke the nation without receiving national flagging in the comments, and the inverse can occur as well.

in primary". These forms of belonging do not expressly reference the nation, and instead situate the commentor in proximity to New Lanark as a space of tourism.

2. Analysis

Both the TikTok videos of New Lanark, as well as the comments in response to them provide ample space for considering how and when the nation is salient for tourists. Fox and Miller-Idress have proposed four dimensions to consider analyzing people's everyday engagement with the nation- talking, choosing, performing, and consuming the nation (2008). The dialectic relationship between video and commentor is not only rife with national talk, but also reveals an interesting dynamic between national performance and consumption.

When it comes to talking about the nation, this can be seen most prevalently in the discussion of the nation within the videos' comment sections. The nation is not only expressed through emoji's but through discourses of the nation's beauty and the pride felt by Scottish commentors when seeing that beauty on display. While these commentors talk about the nation, in another sense the users who create and upload these videos can be considered as talking *with* the nation through their interactions with commentors. This could be as simple as liking a comment that uses an emoji of the Saint Andrew's Cross, or by responding with national talk in kind. Moreover, the performance of recording and editing their gaze can be another way for these video uploaders to talk with the nation, especially when recognizable Scottish music is used. By responding in kind with national flagging through emojis the dynamic between video and comment section can readily become a space for collective national performances. Even videos that aren't clearly nationalized by the uploader can transform into a nationalized space as commenters perform and talk the nation. For some foreign commentors, this exposure to scenery placed in a nationalized context also serves to inform how they *choose* the nation for future

tourism- "I can't wait til I can visit Scotland!! My family (way back) is from Carmichael." As the prior comment demonstrates, these videos and comment sections also become a space for diaspora members to evoke feelings of national belonging. Commentors also invoke an indirect form of national belonging by sharing memories of school trips and weddings at New Lanark. These reminiscent comments are not explicitly national, however they draw on belonging derived from participation in social institutions that are endorsed by the nation.

National belonging is not the only form of belonging that emerges from these videos and their comments. A kind of tourist belonging can be found overlapping with these expressions of national belonging. Songs selected for national significance can also double as an inspirational score, imparting a sense of adventure and exploration to viewers. National belonging is infused with the would-be tourist's pedagogical encounter with tourist spaces and behaviors. Refer to image 1. New Lanark is a *world* heritage site and is advertised as such through its website. However, as tourists recreate the site through digital spaces, this world heritage site is repeatedly nationalized through song, national flagging, and national talk. Through these TikTok videos and their comments, the boundaries between world and national heritage become blurred.

Urry suggested that tourism flourished in the juxtaposition of spectacle and heritage (1991). In the case of New Lanark, it appears that the River and Falls of Clyde provide the spectacle for the tourist site's heritage. It's no wonder then that the Clyde is featured in most TikTok videos about New Lanark. Of the three videos where the Clyde is absent, only one attracts comments that evoke national belonging. The Clyde is frequently juxtaposed with semiotic expressions of the nation, like Scottish songs, or national talk in the video descriptions. When videos and commenters attribute adjectives to the nation, these frequently echo the traits attributed to the Clyde- both are frequently described as powerful, beautiful, stunning, and

feminine. New Lanark offers several indoor attractions, including a history themed ride, restored homes and a classroom from the 19th century, and an exhibition on the history of cotton production. But when tourists recreate New Lanark on TikTok, it is nearly always outside, featuring the Clyde. The Falls and the River Clyde are the only aspects of New Lanark that the New Lanark Trust has no hand in producing and maintaining. The Clyde seems to speak for itself. Video #6 demonstrates a good example of this- 28 seconds of the Falls of Clyde in a single shot without added audio. In the video's description the uploader writes "No sounds effects needed. Scotland really is beautiful".

Through the tourist gaze, tourists take up the role of semiotician when consuming and participating in tourist spaces (Urry, 1991). It would appear on TikTok at least that the River and Falls of Clyde have come to symbolize the nation via its arcadian spectacle. Through these representations of the Clyde, the spatiality of the nation appears to transcend the boundaries of 'world heritage' as denoted by New Lanark's architecture of historical restoration and consumption. The Clyde flows through New Lanark, and its energy is captured by the village's restored water mills, but the river does not stop there. The moments that tourists capture, the tourist gaze as they reproduce it, emphasizes an experience of national spectacle. On the New Lanark website, New Lanark is presented as a world heritage site that just happens to be in Scotland. On TikTok, tourists tend to present New Lanark as a national spectacle, that also happens to be a world heritage site.

VII. Interviews

Due to technical difficulties during the interviewing process, no recording was created for the first two interviews- with The Wanderer and The Weaver. Though I made notes during and

following each interview, only a handful of direct quotes are contained in my notes. This makes it difficult to examine discursive strategies under DHA, however it is still possible to connect these texts to macro-topics and argumentation. The interview with The Local successfully produced recordings which I transcribed. The bulk of the discursive strategies I identified in this branch of research are thus generated from these texts.

Intertextuality emerges from the interviewees' references to texts and other symbols they encountered while at New Lanark. The Local took note of St. Andrew's flag and the noticeable lack of British flags. The Local also brought up plaques which "tell you a wee bit of history about each building." Upon encountering New Lanark, The Wanderer turned to their phone as a source of information, referencing the New Lanark website as a source for contextualizing the unexpected heritage site. The Weaver referenced signs for local wildlife which they used to contextualize the wilderness to their children. These references reinforce the notion that the relationship between tourist and tourist space is a pedagogical one, at least in the case of heritage sites.

These encounters with pedagogical contextualization of architecture and landscapes appear to be an important step in the process of establishing and maintaining a sense of tourist belonging. References to these encounters were often connected to the use perspectivization strategies. For The Weaver, encountering wildlife signage put them in an active position in informing their children about the trail they were on. On a similar note, The Local's familiarity with plaques enabled them to play the role of an impromptu tour guide for American tourists- "It's strange to be there and then explain to people when there is there is actual tour guides there but… being nice weather and obviously being Scottish we, we were quite friendly". Before even leaving the heritage site, both The Weaver and The Local had begun the process of reproducing

New Lanark. Through encounters with contextualization and other visitors, the tourist can take up the role of pedagogue, positioning themselves in a manner that echoes the New Lanark trusts. No longer a mere patron, the tourist is now a collaborator as well, solidifying their belonging to the heritage site. But without this contextualization the opposite can occur.

The Wanderer 'discovered' New Lanark by accident- they were searching for the Falls of Clyde and "stumbled" upon the town in the process. Over the course of The Wanderer's interview, they mentioned feeling that they weren't allowed in New Lanark on at least three separate occasions. Again, perspectivization is employed as they reenacted their reaction- "It was like 'are we allowed here?' Like 'are we going somewhere we shouldn't be?'" The Wanderer justified this feeling by noting they arrived in New Lanark at around four in the afternoon- after business hours ended. Encountering New Lanark without context led to the exact opposite of belonging. It was only after retreating to their car and encountering the New Lanark website on their phone that the Wanderer felt comfortable moving through New Lanark to get to the Falls of Clyde trail. Again, encounters with a pedagogical text served the role of evoking at least a marginal feeling of belonging.

Through multimodal analysis buildings and landscapes can also be considered as having a functional grammar (Kress & van Leeuwen, 1996). With this in mind, intertextuality could also be extended to the references interviewees made to the buildings and spaces they encountered. The Weaver often recalled and quoted what their children reacted to, particularly that New Lanark "was a pretty little town". The Weaver also compared the architecture from this recent visit to their experience visiting New Lanark on a childhood school trip- "I remember it being quite rocky and things whereas now it's quite accessible". The Wanderer emphasized New Lanark's cleanliness using the word "pristine" to describe it. Like The Weaver, The Wanderer

also used comparison to emphasize their point, comparing New Lanark to other mills and historical sites they had visited throughout the UK. Through these comparisons an argument emerges that echoes the 'dialectic of improvement' a discourse that has been situated in 19th century Scottish Romanticism- "the dialectical agency of improvement: progress encounters the primitive and reconstitutes it as romance, little more than picturesque dressing" (McKeever cited in Dick, 2021, 480)

This notion of improvement also propped up during The Local's interview, who had arrived on the topic of comparing what it must have been like to live in New Lanark in the past with how life must be for residents in the present-

"Living there now is- is probably lovely… Back in the 1780's or however far back it goes, it would not have been a nice place to live… It was a very, very brutal environment for children and ladies essentially… It wasn't a nice place. Nowadays it's quite nice.".

When discussing who each of the three visitors were reproducing New Lanark for, both photographers (The Wanderer and The Local) expressed that they were primarily intended for family and friends. The Weaver on the other hand had a commercial demographic in mind- visitors from out of Scotland that wanted to make something out of Scottish wool. The Weaver's primary supplier for wool comes from Turkey, so New Lanark wool is sold as a local specialty item. This suggests that the nation is more likely to be salient when commercial interests are intertwined with tourist reproductions. The Wanderer specifically referred to New Lanark as a world heritage site in their Instagram post, rather than a Scottish site. The Local was more concerned with sharing a novel environmental phenomenon- a dry riverbed at the Falls of Clyde. This kind of reproduction resonated more with an audience that was already fairly familiar with New Lanark, not necessarily a national one.

Though their reproduction of New Lanark was not necessarily nationalized on Instagram, The Local did invoke the nation when contextualizing the Falls of Clyde during our interview. "The Clyde is the- the heart and soul of Scotland. Essentially it goes from obviously one side of Scotland to the other side of Scotland".

VIII. Conclusion

This study explored discourses of Nationalism and Tourism around New Lanark, a UNESCO World Heritage Site. The history of Scottish tourism goes as far back as the Highland clearances and the emergence Scottish Romanticism. As such tourism has played an important and at times complicated role in the development of a Scottish national identity. By the mid-20th century, the significance of the concept of 'world heritage' grew in large part due to the role played by international organizations like UNESCO. 'World heritage' as a concept complicates- but does not necessarily disrupt the role tourism plays in making the nation salient in people's everyday lives. Due to its status as a UNESCO World Heritage Site, legal ownership of New Lanark is ambiguous, it is co-managed by half a dozen organizations, though the New Lanark Trust takes on most of the responsibilities of managing the village. To understand how this ambiguity was navigated I analyzed three data sets- New Lanark's official website, TikTok videos uploaded by visitors to New Lanark, and interviews that I conducted with people who lived and worked there.

New Lanark's website is managed by the New Lanark Trust, and from my analysis I concluded three things of note. First, that the website utilizes both a digital architecture and a digitized architecture to recreate New Lanark for visitors to the website. Second, the website uses a combination of pictures and texts to juxtapose utopic images with pedagogical commands

which constructs and maintains a kind of tourist identity or belonging oriented around consumption. Third, the website employs this architecture and tourist pedagogy to position the New Lanark trust as a legitimate arbiter of belonging and heritage. The nation is almost never employed to evoke belonging on the New Lanark website, and when mentioned, is often portrayed as a silent partner or at most, a source of authority.

On TikTok however, the nation is far more salient. Video uploaders and commentors frequently engage in national talk and national performance. The Clyde in particular is repeatedly emphasized in these tourist reconstructions of New Lanark, and portrayals of the Clyde appear to correlate with national salience. The discursive qualifications of the Clyde made by commentors also echo qualifications made about the nation. Both are described as powerful, beautiful, stunning and feminine, suggesting an implicit connection between them.

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