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'Where do heritage trails go to die?' Stepping out at the British seaside

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Introduction

Heritage trails are an established feature of the British tourism and leisure landscape.[1] Whilst there is an expanding literature on the variety of urban and rural trails that are packaged for the modern tourist, less is explicitly known about trails in coastal and seaside locations.[2] This chapter suggests that trails are a dimension of coastal life. A mushrooming assemblage of interpretive materials awaits the visitor to the British coast. Such trails have recorded information at specific locations that can be used for embodied engagements with the natural and built environment, and as such they organise points of interest by sealing memories, narratives and histories into route maps that provide knowledge about a place. Yet, trails also present imaginative possibilities that transcend the cartographic, becoming structures for doing things together; part of the lived experiences of authenticity and connection being performed in coastal space through heritage and walking practices.[3]

When I presented an earlier version of this chapter at a conference on the leisure history of coasts, ports and waterways, one of the delegates was taken aback with the growth in heritage trail products at the British seaside and asked me, 'Where do heritage trails go to die?'[4] This intriguing question immediately focused discussion on the shelf-life of heritage trails and the imaginative possibilities of the cartographic plotting of historic and cultural coordinates. It spoke to the multiple spatialities that communities could employ as they told stories about their past; the types of place identity being articulated and the material forms in which they are expressed; and the ephemerality of the heritage trail as a low hanging fruit of the funded project deliverable. The discussion raised an important question about whether there is an essential story of the British seaside that is being told through heritage trails. Or is it a dynamic form that can only reflect, at best, a partial and parochial knowledge? This chapter proceeds as a response to these questions. It provides an exploratory account of the

types of heritage trail that can be found at the British seaside. It is not an exhaustive survey. It follows a selective analysis of empirical cases based upon an opportunistic sampling technique. Between 2011 and 2015 I made visits to 35 seaside resorts around the British mainland, participating in both guided and self-guided heritage trails. These experiences have helped me to develop an understanding of heritage trails as a process and product. Heritage trail materials – leaflets, brochures, photo documentation of signage – were assembled during these visits, supplemented later with a systematic trawl of available digital trails obtained via web searches. Through these experiences and a close reading of the texts I provide a typology of coastal and seaside heritage trails which helps to account for different social and economic objectives inherent in the trails as well as different forms of collaboration and participation in the making and delivery of the trail experience. As will become apparent, the chapter reflects an interest in the epistemology of heritage products, viewing the trail as a cultural practice and cultural form; a manifestation of culturally-specific meanings and values, economically driven forces, and political processes. Whilst this approach does not account for the visitor experience per se it does open up important questions regarding the cultural politics of routes within the context of the contemporary British seaside and its communities. The following section provides an overview of the defining features and evolution of heritage trails, before the core empirical material is presented.

Heritage trails and the evolution of geotours

Heritage trails are a pervasive tourism and leisure product. Although trails have an older genealogy – witnessed through a variety of anthropological practices where humans have marked the surface of the earth – heritage scholars have observed important modern antecedents in ancient trade routes, pilgrimage trails, Grand Tours, and the peripatetic roving

of the Romantic poet.[5] Nicola Macleod defines the heritage trail as involving a 'sense of a historic journey accompanied by an attractive landscape and built heritage' which provides 'a satisfying sense of achievement for the traveller'.[6] A range of transport types – walking, riding, cycling, and driving - may be adopted by the traveller as they are guided by maps, signs and other interpretative materials to reach deliberate points of destination at sites of natural or cultural significance. Timothy and Boyd distinguish 'organically-evolved routes' from 'purposive routes'.[7] The former cover original tracks of trails and migration routes and can follow linear natural heritage corridors such as rivers, escarpments and coastlines, but which have been developed into cultural routes with nodes of opportunity for the traveller. 'Purposive routes', on the other hand, are intentionally fabricated for a cultured traveller, and included here are sites with high literary and cultural value. It is important to note, too, that the consumption of trails tends to be made by a middle class public eager to develop their cultural tastes or to feel connected to the landscape in ways that emphasise their levels of education and cultural capital.[8]

Heritage trails come in a variety of formats. Plaques and markers inserted into the built environment are used, though more common are leaflets, brochures and signboards bearing maps that indicate linear or circuitous trails around a given area. Cartographic representations of place, as Dennis Cosgrove observes, carry a dual function. Maps are positioned 'between creating and recording the city'. They are both scientific instruments and artistic products that contain information about specific locations which permits us to enter space on the basis of shared and repeated empirical truths.[9] But cartographic materials also possess an 'imaginative energy' that responds to new periods of time, new contexts, histories, and practices of everyday life.[10] Different visions of what is significant and valued come to the fore at particular moments.

Recent research in cultural geography and media studies has thrown light on the use and impact of new technologies in refashioning our knowledge of place. While digital cartographic technologies such as Street View or Google Earth tend to obliterate place, providing functional images where context is overlooked, new geospatial technologies for managing and promoting cultural heritage are being adopted which can provide residents, tourists and visitors with a deeper understanding of place. Layers of detail, stories, oral histories, sound data, photographic and visual resources are being added to locative media and augmented reality applications, including digital heritage trails.[11] In a recent article Kerski posits that we are heading towards an era of 'geo-enablement' where every material object can be located on a map. We are saturated with digital information which aids our everyday lives, from obtaining weather reports to monitoring our fitness regimes. Yet, citizens are not just passive recipients but are actively contributing geo-spatial data through the creation of new content about locations, and geo-enabled trails position the individual user as prime architect of their route.[12] Location-aware mobile media allow users to find their position on a map through their mobile phone screens and to retrieve information about objects through QR codes or other applications.[13] Personalised itineraries can be created so that the heritage enthusiast can find sites that map onto their historical interests, whilst the more health-conscious visitor can download routes that have been calorie mapped. Tourists can also connect with friends and other visitors to document their routes, share their location, and to receive recommendations on places to visit. Objects can be tagged by historians and heritage professionals to communicate specific information, thus maintaining the place of an 'official' heritage narrative, though importantly interactive media permit users to tag artefacts, objects and sites themselves, providing new narrative layers or simply adding their own recommendations or reviews. Digital applications promise to democratise heritage as new interpretations emerge that recontextualise the meanings of a site, consequently blurring

the boundaries between official and unofficial heritage discourses.[14] Digital mapping and storytelling through smartphone applications and interactive websites are thus remediating our knowledges, conceptions and experience of space and place, with the upshot that heritage trails can no longer simply be considered as a form of passive tourist consumption, but just one form of a plethora of geotours that emerge through our everyday screen culture and 'prosumer' behaviours.[15] Thus, whilst the transitory nature of cartographic materials can pose serious challenges for any systematic review of maps and trails as tourist products it is important to keep in view the sense of creativity, innovation and inventiveness in the shaping of new routes. These changing forms of the heritage trail can be witnessed along the British coast.

Heritage trails at the British coast

Determining the nature of coastal heritage trails is as ambiguous as identifying the 'coast'. Many scholars have argued that the 'coast' is a nebulous and multifaceted entity.[16] Historian Isaac Land has argued that the 'coast' lacks a geographical specificity and as such it conjures an array of spatial imaginaries where a range of competing metonyms can be used to identify coastal space. He writes:

> ...the waterfront...as the intersection of maritime and urban space – is obviously a meeting place rather than a self-contained "world" unto itself. The beach suggests an unstructured environment, or rather one which is restructured daily by competing forces. The ebb and flow of the tide implies exchange, rather than unilateral imposition. An island, which unlike the waterfront or the beach does not even face in a single direction, invites the historian to tell stories from multiple perspectives.[17]

Heritage trails bear these complexities of place, in part reflecting locational contexts. Over the centuries coastal space has been rewritten, re-imagined and redeveloped by the needs of capital; its material environment transformed through socio-economic and cultural processes that have shaped the nature of the locality and impacted the urban form. The coast is home to a number of different sites: engineering and industrial (docks, quays, canals); civic buildings (town halls; customs houses; marketplaces; churches; prisons; castles; fortresses; lighthouses); urban areas away from maritime or recreational spaces (sailortowns and sailorhoods; residential waterfront districts; fishermen's cottages); and sites linked to cultural achievement (buildings and beaches that have featured in artistic and literary works; residences of artists, musicians, performers). There is an enormous variety of intra-coastal and seaside spaces and different blends of maritime, littoral and terrestrial histories feature in heritage trails.

A number of trails aim for historical breadth by utilising available material remnants in the urban environment. This is more common of longstanding urban settlements where there are complex historical narratives of urban change to tell. The Sutton Harbour Heritage Trail in Plymouth, for instance, reflects the port as an urban settlement, noting its naval heritage and its place in international history as the launch site for the Pilgrim Fathers as they set sail for America in the Mayflower. Ecclesiastical histories are covered alongside records of a changing waterfront as buildings were erected and then converted to suit the contemporary priorities of trade. The slave trade, smuggling and piracy reveal a darker heritage of Sutton Harbour; and, for the art connoisseur, unusual installations and sculptures are noted.[18]

Nevertheless, it is also common to find one element in the heritage mosaic is emphasised through themed routes. For instance, the Portobello Architecture Heritage Trail, a self-guided tour, provides information on notable dwellings developed in the Regency and

Victorian periods for Edinburgh's spa resort. The visitor is guided to pottery kilns, a Baronial-style police station, elegant Georgian villas, public baths and a neo-classical church. Coastal space or the seaside does not feature as a significant conceptual category for understanding these buildings; it is subordinate to an understanding of the changing urban form. This is also the case with the Great Yarmouth Tram Trail, developed by the Great Yarmouth Preservation Trust with support from the HLF, which details the town's transport heritage, with a trail based on the route of the old tram tracks.[19]

Coastal heritage trails are not just anthropocentric. Nature and wildlife-based opportunities are integrated into the visitor experience in a number of locations. The Solway Coast Heritage Trail is a way marked driving route between Annan and Stranraer on the south coast of Dumfries and Galloway. It connects sites of specific scientific interest and nature-based tourists are minded to spot unique species as well as scenic views.[20] The Weymouth and Portland Legacy Trail links several nature reserves and wildlife sites, telling a story of people, geology and wildlife along the Jurassic Coast. The Flamborough Head Storyboard Trail on the North East coast of England, led by the Yorkshire Wildlife Trust, 'aims to widen participation in the conservation of Flamborough Heads' natural and cultural heritage'.[21] Interpretation boards and self-guided trails are provided in order to tell stories about Flamborough's significant natural, marine and wildlife resources as well as its geomorphological and geological histories and human geographies. A supporting website offers further information in the form of photo stories, podcasts and video clips.

Heritage trails can inform us how the consumption of nature has evolved too. Brighton is one of the world's earliest modern seaside resorts, once famed for the therapeutic benefits of consuming seawater.[22] Its heritage as a health resort is reflected in the Floating Memories trail which charts the evolution of sea swimming as a social activity in Brighton that over the decades has continued to offer cures to the degenerating effects of urban life.[23]

Further along the coast, the Worthing Heritage Trail encourages visitors to consider the relationship between the town and the sea and presents a variety of seafront architecture designed to serve the needs of genteel visitors as they enjoyed the sunshine and bathing waters.[24]

To explain the diversity of seaside heritage trails we can look at the impact of cultural strategies.[25] As is the case with heritage trails more generally, purposive routes reflect an assortment of aims and objectives. This creates a very fragmented and ad hoc landscape, where different policy priorities are being served, including: destination marketing (Dover's Bluebird Heritage Trail); the promotion of active, social and healthy lifestyles (North Ayrshire Heritage Trails); visitor management and distributed economic benefit (Hastings Maritime Heritage Trail); regeneration and development (Sandown Heritage Trail); community participation (Capture Burnham heritage project); rural diversification (The Coleridge Way[26]); protection of coastal habitats and biodiversity (The Ravenmols Heritage Trails project); and, connectivity to other recreational paths and routes (Sutton Harbour Heritage Trail). Furthermore, some trails are developed on the basis of fulfilling multiple strategic benefits through joined-up policy delivery (e.g. North West Coastal Trail), exploiting synergies with other pieces of legislation impacting coastal tourism opportunities (e.g. UK Marine and Coastal Access Act 2009; Localism Act 2011; National Planning Policy Framework, 2012). Whilst this list is not exhaustive it indicates the promiscuous utility of the heritage trail.

However, a thematic approach can only tell part of the picture. Heritage trails also reflect forms of social expertise, situated knowledges, socio-economic contexts and cultural conditions. These shape how they are materialised and their varying forms of employment to the local economies and cultures of seaside communities. As such, a general typology is offered of distinct forms of coastal heritage trail, which have been classified according to

their local knowledge-work, social and economic contribution to local tourism economies, and participatory potential. Core categories include: vernacular, horizontal, vertical and collaborative.

Vernacular

Under this banner sit a variety of heritage awareness projects where the heritage trail is an expression of community pride, local identities and senses of belonging. Trails help to identify and mark places of significance, acknowledging local 'claims to fame' through signposting connections to famous people and events and distinctive buildings, landmarks and natural features. The prime motivation is often consciousness-raising of the history of the local community, with local historical societies and conservation groups discharging an explicit educational remit. Self-guided trails can be obtained from local tourist information centres, museums and heritage sites. Quality can vary. Frequently vernacular heritage trails are low-tech offerings, utilising desktop publishing and photocopying with the inclusion of the authors' own photographs and they amount to little more than a dry account of locally significant buildings and natural features. Routes are plotted and objects in the landscape are accorded significance, but vernacular trails have a tendency to be text-heavy and uninspiring.

Nevertheless, they do take seriously the material culture of place, profiling distinctive cultural artefacts and vernacular building styles. Whilst this may be critiqued as a celebration of the parochial and bizarre, more complex contexts, networks and interconnections can be presented from the selected local assets in ways that transcend locality. As Markwell et al note: 'The benefits of place-making and place-marketing projects can go beyond the development of community pride in a particular area, raising awareness of almost forgotten histories, encouraging a meaningful sense of place, and marking localities as different in the face of homogenising trends'.[27] This can be witnessed through The Whitby Dracula Trail, prepared by a member of the London-based Dracula Society and published by Scarborough

Borough Council. It guides the visitor around Whitby and sites mentioned in three chapters of Bram Stoker's famous novel which form, according to the guide, 'one of the most powerful evocations of a Victorian resort anywhere in literature'. The guide is written to appeal to a wider international audience that can combine a literary pilgrimage with an appreciation of the history of Whitby.

Horizontal

Horizontal heritage trails provide enhanced consumer experiences through connection to other heritage and tourism sites. They are a consequence of coordinated tourism planning, with trails enrolled into supply chains that work for the benefit of private enterprise and public sector service delivery. Partnerships are seen as deriving a number of benefits, including enhanced site interpretation and visitor management and are a resource-efficient and outcome-effective way of promoting heritage assets in times of public sector austerity.[28] Partnerships can involve a range of organisations - local history groups, civic preservation societies, museums, heritage trusts, hotels, tourism marketing companies, municipal authorities, and environmental conservation and management agencies – each playing an essential part in the design, promotion and sustainable delivery of the trail. Although some heritage trails derive from cross-border cultural tourism programmes and therefore require a networked, coordinated approach involving a range of actors (e.g. European Cultural Routes programme), the attributes of partnership working in the development of heritage trails can be witnessed within UK seaside communities.

Two prominent examples emerged from my travels. The Agatha Christie Literary Trail has been developed in the English Riviera of South Devon. The trail is designed to be a focal point for literary pilgrimage and is supported by HarperCollins, the current publishers of her work. Agatha Christie was born in Torquay in 1890. Twenty special places related to

Christie's life and works are included in the trail brochure, including locations where prominent scenes from the novels and film adaptations have been set. Also included are references to key publications and the trail is also combined with other Agatha Christie-inspired tourism opportunities, including visits to National Trust properties in the wider region, themed weekend breaks and an Agatha Christie festival for true devotees. It is a trail that offers a 'staged authenticity'[29] as visitors make for 'real' sites, seeking connections to the material and imagined worlds of the mystery and crime writer.[30] Through the place-marketing of Torbay's seaside resorts around such an iconic literary figure it may be possible to speak both of the Christieisation of the English Riviera and the Riveiraisation of Christie.

A second example comes from Norfolk's east coast. The National Trust coordinates the Great Yarmouth Heritage Trail; a one-mile self-guided route that connects a critical mass of museums and historic buildings on Yarmouth's South Quay. The route links a number of listed properties owned and managed by different organisations including the Norfolk Museums and Archaeology Service, English Heritage, and local charitable trusts. It augments Great Yarmouth's image as rich in maritime history - and its associations with Admiral Nelson - with a carefully selected route that tells a coherent story about the town, whilst also diversifying the tourist offer for visitors at each of the sites listed on the trail.[31]

Vertical

Vertical trails involve circuits and routes run by tour companies that connect sites of heritage interest. According to Timothy and Boyd '[m]any of these are based on point-to-point networks of capital cities, and in most cases these link together famous sites that are known to appeal to mass tourists'.[32] Heritage materials are provided in a variety of ways. More hands-off approaches allow the customer to experience sites and the interpretive materials contained within them with little additional information provided. At the other end

of the spectrum are immersive tourism experiences where 'expert' historians accompany the trips to provide further context to the sites, to answer queries and give evening lectures. Other activities may be provided to enhance the tourist experience, for example, hands-on living history, art and craft making, production and consumption of local culinary resources; with trips coinciding with other local festivals and events and visits to award-winning restaurants.[33] Vertical heritage trails are a component of tourism supply provided by different travel agents and tour operators, generating income for the operators, the heritage sites, coach companies and accommodation providers. In some cases they are part of an attempt to improve the market power of a tour company by diversifying its available tourism products. While vertical trails increase historic awareness, the heritage aspects are embedded within a wider set of tourist experiences, including scenic tours and visits to other nodes along route. Tours can be packaged by operators in different ways from a shifting arrangement of nodes, sites, specialities and themes.

There are many tour operators that offer heritage experiences at the British coastline, but rarely are these packaged as an experience of the British seaside per se. Instead, they are embedded within tours and routes to more famous cities and World Heritage Sites. For example, those interested in ecclesiastical history can find tours of sites linked to St Bede and St Cuthbert on the Northumberland coast, taking in Lindisfarne, the Farne Islands and Alnmouth. Coast to coast tours of England are offered too, picking up from airports, to take in Liverpool's UNESCO World Heritage Site waterfront, Blackpool's golden mile, Morecambe Bay, and historic Whitehaven, before travelling to the east and Durham's Heritage Coast, Whitby and North Yorkshire fishing villages.

Smaller tour operators, too, have taken advantage of the British seaside as a space of entertainment and site of popular culture. In Barry, in South Wales, one can join the Gavin & Stacey Tour, and visit the sites of film locations related to the popular BBC sitcom. Tourists

are taken around Barry in Dave's coach and given the opportunity to sit in Nessa's chair at the amusement arcade. This enterprise has contributed to the re-imagining of Barry as a tourist destination, highlighting the importance of popular cultural heritage to smaller resorts with more limited heritage assets.[34]

Collaborative

The collaborative heritage trail emphasises wider forms of community participation in the construction of routes and interpretive materials. They possess a firm educational remit. Residents seek to develop trails to tell stories of place which they feel would be of interest to visitors.[35] The choice of sites and landscapes included in the trails fundamentally derive from the dweller's experiences and knowledge rather than being imposed by 'place managers'.[36] Unlike vernacular trails, which often rely on settled place narratives and pre-existing historical resources, collaborative trails typically seek to enhance the knowledge base of the community - and consequently the visitor experience - through collating, creating and curating new resources that communicate a heritage vision. As has been established, there is no consensus on what amounts to an official heritage narrative for the British seaside resort. Instead, multiple forms, methods and platforms have been developed and deployed for the mediation and remediation of heritage stories. Listening to local voices is paramount. Shilling suggests that, 'every town is a story, and through conversations with the entire community, not just historians and the museum crew, you're likely to uncover the narrative and determine if and how it can be shared with guests'.[37]

A good example of a collaborative heritage trail is CHART (Culture, Heritage and ART) Scarborough.[38] Developed by staff and students at University Campus Scarborough and the Electric Angel Design Studio, this is an initiative designed to encourage visitors to discover something new about Britain's first seaside resort. It is based upon 'cognitive

mapping theory', which alerts us to how knowledge of a place is acquired as the environment is navigated through spatial behaviours that traverse different routes and engage with different landmarks and landscape features.[39] In the case of CHART Scarborough a series of cultural landmarks are indicated on a specially designed map to help the visitor negotiate the seaside space. These features were chosen through workshops with local residents. One side of the map – available in print and downloadable from the CHART website – includes a map of Scarborough with key cultural, artistic and heritage spots identified. The reverse is composed of a colourful montage of photographs of Scarborough's natural and built environment, most photos cropped in close-up to emphasise features, tones and textures, designed to bewilder the visitor and entice curiosity. Images include lighthouses, boats, amusement arcade signs, railings, surfboards, a bandstand, fossils, sculptures, memorial plaques, stain glass windows, mosaics, graffiti, light installations, children's fairground rides, beach huts, monuments, and fishing boats. These are accompanied by fragments of scratch poetry. No formal trail is suggested: visitors are instead encouraged to create their own journeys around Scarborough from the range of visual clues presented.

Trails relating to Scarborough's famous literary residents, maritime history, and ice-cream shops, amongst others, are available to download from the CHART website. These trails have been co-produced by a range of residents, community groups and associations, including the maritime history centre, a primary school, and a local mental health charity. Interactive mapping software on the CHART website enables users to create their own routes, crafting content that does not necessarily require academic or expert mediation. Trails are developed on the basis of skills and expertise residing in the host community in ways that articulate senses of place that are meaningful to the people living there. New media technologies and content platforms, such as CHART, enable interpretive flexibility about a shared project – a coastal community's heritage – with people working together on raising

historical awareness and the unique attributes of the place, without necessarily reaching consensus about the heritage presented.[40] As such, CHART Scarborough is an excellent example of how the principles of co-production, creativity and interactivity can be applied to heritage tourism products in ways that empower communities, whilst at the same not presupposing or foreclosing historical and cultural learning from its diverse populations.

Discussion and conclusions

Concurrent with the academic literature on the British seaside, it is apparent that different types of seaside are being produced through heritage trails; ones that emphasise contact with nature and more-than-human histories, others that reflect changing economic fortunes, still others that illustrate evolving architectures of leisure and pleasure. The Heritage Lottery Fund (HLF) has been a key player here in supporting communities to come forward with their own visions that promote 'local distinctiveness' and a 'sense of place', distributing resources to community groups and partnerships keen to explore, preserve and promote the heritage of their local area. Recent policy interventions such as the Government's £90m Coastal Communities Fund[41], has earmarked funding for coastal towns and several (e.g. Ayr, Redcar, Sunderland) have come forward with plans to design and launch heritage trails as a means to attract cultural tourists and to tell their own unique histories.[42] We are led to conclude, following Jarratt, that the seaside is 'a place which has hosted, and indeed still hosts, a wide variety of meanings'.[43] There is no essential(ised) story of the British seaside that is being produced. Each trail conveys knowledge about coastal communities that are specific to those places and which are shaped by the spatialities and histories thereof. Indeed these funding arrangements exacerbate the seeming proliferation of distinct place memories, narrative and histories. In some coastal towns it is less a case of finding the heritage trail,

than finding a means to avoid them as the public realm becomes marked, tagged and coded with layers of historical information.

Heritage trails may be inflected with a distinctly parochial flavour, full of enthusiasm for the subject, and 'a worthy and educational style in communicating their stories', but there can also be a tendency to tell the same old stories about communities from a limited collection of available local resources.[44] This can risk stabilising and reifying particular narratives. If heritage studies have taught us anything, it is that heritage is both contested and contestable. Questions remain about what seaside past is being selected. In the language of Raymond Williams[45], we might ask what knowledges are dominant, residual or emergent in the generation, mediation and remediation of heritage materials? It is easy enough to acknowledge variance, but a concern with the epistemological underpinnings of heritage content necessarily directs us to absences, silences, erasures, deceits, myths and injustices. As Shar notes, '[t]oo many community projects interpret only one individual or group's experience and other narratives, sometimes the key to understanding the interpretation, are not considered'.[46] Meanwhile Markwell et al. despair at the 'ultimately reactionary foreground of sites and monuments' covered in heritage trails at the expense of more multi-layered social histories.[47] Memory, as Raphael Samuel noted, is historically conditioned according to the needs of the present.[48] So, what needs to be done at this present moment? There is certainly scope for heritage products to more actively contribute to a cultural politics of the British seaside that is more reflexive of the messy, multifaceted and tangled lines of our island story. Such a project will require sensitive design and theming as part of a strategy to better understand regions, landscapes, places, and peoples.[49] But questions remain as to how this can be achieved in the digital age. As is the case with vernacular and collaborative trails, there is scope for individuals to determine their own directions based upon their tastes, ability and interests; to invent their own routes and share it with others. Mobile media are

only just starting to facilitate a further growth in this heritage product. Geo-enablement

positions citizens as prime agents in the production of the next generation of seaside heritage

trails. It remains to be seen whether new 'lines' are drawn that connect to more complex and

challenging histories.

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[1] The conceptual development of the heritage trail typology presented in this chapter has emerged as a result of conversations with colleagues involved in the AHRC-funded Eu.Wat.Her project. *European Waterways Heritage: Re-evaluating European Minor Rivers and Canals as Cultural Landscapes*. Reference: AH/N504397/1.

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