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MASTER THESIS

Paying Your Way In – An Exploration of Inclusive Heritage Through the Boundary of Entry Fees in Winchester Cathedral.

Anastasia Pels | S5732212

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First Supervisor: Dr. Andrew Irving | Second Supervisor: Dr. Elena Mucciarelli

Abstract

As one in four cathedrals in the United Kingdom now implement a form of entry charge, questions about the effects of these charges are timely. This thesis examines the impact of such fees on inclusion within the cathedral setting. It focuses particularly on insider/outsider dynamics and the notion of inclusion within the broader 'cathedral community'. Through the course of the thesis, we will examine how entrance fees affect both access and belonging in spaces that function simultaneously as religious institutions and heritage sites.

The investigation begins by briefly examining the dual identity of cathedrals as both sacred and heritage spaces, arguing that entrance fees serve as a key marker of heritagisation. Core concepts such as the Cathedral's own vision of inclusion, the Faro Convention on the Value of Cultural Heritage for Society, inclusive heritage practices, and the nature of cathedral communities are central to this analysis as both a religious and heritage site.

Drawing on secondary literature as well as original data collected through interviews and participant observation at the entrance to Winchester Cathedral, this thesis investigates the practical application and consequences of entrance fees within this setting and the lived experience of visitors and volunteers who interact with them. The aim of this investigation is to understand how entrance fees shape these everyday interactions within the Cathedral and affect a sense of belonging.

The thesis concludes by assessing potential alternative models that may better support both financial sustainability and open access. The findings contribute to current debates in heritage studies, ecclesiastical policy, and cultural inclusion and further research can be taken to expand this study.

Keywords: inclusion, cathedrals, entrance fees, heritage, community, Faro Convention

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1.1 Cathedrals

For hundreds of years, cathedrals have stood tall over British skylines. Although fundamentally, a cathedral is the principal church of the diocese and the 'seat' of a bishop, these magnificent spaces transcend their primary function, becoming places with multiple meanings, varied uses and rich histories.[1] These other functions include, as a place of worship for the city, a destination for community events, a music venue, an object of pilgrimage, or a place of heritage. Simon Coleman uses the notion of 'multivalency' to describe this phenomenon. This refers to the capacity of the cathedral to contain 'many values, meanings or appeals,' which coexist together as a result of their often long and varied histories as cornerstones of communities since the early Middle Ages.[2]

These spaces also encompass an entanglement of both tangible and intangible heritage, from intangible heritage such as choral music and congregational worship to the built heritage of the cathedral, including the stained glass and chancery chapels, resulting in a space that has many meanings for many different people.[3] This multivalency, often resulting in a more complex modern multifaceted type of spirituality, is arguably one of the draws that keeps

[1] Coleman, Simon, and Marion Bowman. "Religion in Cathedrals: Pilgrimage, Heritage, Adjacency, and the Politics of Replication in Northern Europe." *Religion* 49, no. 1 (2019): 2.
[2] Coleman, Simon, and John Jenkins. "The Multivalent Cathedral." In *Pilgrimage and England's Cathedrals: Past, Present, and Future*, edited by Dee Dyas and John Jenkins, (London: Palgrave-Macmillan, 2020): 149.
[3] Apostu, Alina. "In and Out of Sync: Temporality and Togetherness in the Church of England." *In The Future of Religious Heritage: Entangled Temporalities of the Sacred and the Secular*, edited by F. de Jong and J. Mapril, (London: Routledge, 2023): 149.

cathedrals popular in the context of otherwise falling church attendance and what has been described as the broader secularisation of society. [4]

Statistics from the Church of England, provided by the Archbishops' Council in 2015, demonstrate that overall church attendance has been declining at a rate of 1% per year.[5] Many have noted, however, a differing trend among cathedrals, with their weekly service attendance increasing by 18% between 2005 and 2015.[6] It is not just the case that there is growing service attendance, but there is also a growing number who visit as tourists, with an estimated 8.25 million tourists visiting cathedrals in 2013, and around 25% of adults saying they had entered a cathedral at some point in the last year.[7] For the tourist, cathedrals act as locations of heritage as well as places of religion, where tourism, religious practice and heritage can coexist in one space.[8]

Silvia Aulet & Dolors Vidal helpfully identify how cathedrals, "can act as a transmitter of the age-old values linked to the identity of a territory, while reflecting on the relationship between the religious value and the monumental value of a place."[9] Cathedrals boast a long history of pilgrimage to the shrines associated with these spaces, perhaps representing one of the oldest forms of tourism. Now, a wide range of visitors are attracted to these buildings by the unique offer of thousands of years' worth of history and community, along with magnificent architecture and profound spirituality.

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[4] Curtis, Simon. "English Cathedrals: Events and Spiritual Capital." *International Journal of Religious Tourism and Pilgrimage* 4, no. 2 (2016): 1.
[5] Archbishops' Council, Research and Statistics. *Cathedral Statistics 2014*. London: Archbishops' Council, 2015.
[6] Coleman and Jenkins. "The Multivalent Cathedral.": 148.
[7] Ecorys. *The Economic and Social Impacts of England's Cathedrals*. London: Association of English Cathedrals, 2014: 10.
[8] Coleman, Simon. "On Praying in an Old Country: Ritual, Replication, Heritage, and Powers of Adjacency in English Cathedrals." *Religion* 49, no. 1 (2019): p.1.
[9] Aulet, Silvia, and Dolors Vidal. "Tourism and Religion: Sacred Spaces as Transmitters of Heritage Values*." Church, Communication and Culture* 3 (3) 2018: 237.

Today, many of the major cathedrals in the UK are “fully fledged tourist attractions,”[10] with signs, tours, gift shops and cafes, and most significantly for my investigation, admission fees. We see here a significant example of the ‘heritagisation’ of the religious space, a term which emerged in the late twentieth century to refer to the transformative process by which historical places and artefacts turn into objects of exhibition and display, all of which have an effect in the present.[11] This process can take many forms, from the removal of objects from their natural surrounding and putting them in an exhibition, to opening up sites for visitors. The question is how much this changes the object, or in the case of a cathedral, the building itself. Much has been written on this question, as highlighted by Alexis Thouki,[12] but the most persuasive voice on this is Cyril Isnart and Nathalie Cerezales, who react and critique earlier scholarship which outlines the migration of the sacred to the heritage realm and fails to recognise the blurred boundary between secular heritage sites and sacred sites. They argue that while heritagisation adds another layer of meaning to religious sites, it does not take away any of their spiritual value.[13]

While this ambiguity of the heritagised religious sites may render them instead hyper-meaningful, as Oscar Salemink has observed, it is not an easy task to maintain both of these aspects simultaneously.[14] Alexis Thouki notes that problems surrounding the heritagisation of religious sites can include:

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[10] Curtis. "English Cathedrals: Events and Spiritual Capital.": 238.
[11] Thouki, Alexis. "Heritagization of Religious Sites: In Search of Visitor Agency and the Dialectics Underlying Heritage Planning Assemblages." *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 28, no. 1 (2022):1036.
[12] Ibid: 1037.
[13] Isnart, Cyril, and Nathalie Cerezales. “The Religious Heritage Complex in Context: Concluding Thoughts.” In *The Religious Heritage Complex: Legacy, Conservation, and Christianity*, edited by Cyril Isnart and Nathalie Cerezales, (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2020): 212.
[14] Salemink, Oscar. “Afterword. Heritage as Management of Sacralities.” In *Managing Sacralities: Competing and Converging Claims of Religious Heritag*e, edited by Ernst van den Hemel, Oscar Salemink, and Irene Stengs, (New York and Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2022): 256.

> "Unconventional behaviours and unbalanced sacredness, disturbance and nuisance caused by non-worshiping tourists, ecological concerns resulting from the environmental impact of mass religious tourism, changes to the temple's ecosystem and climate due to human presence, exploitation of local communities, increasing maintenance costs, the use of religious tourism for proselytization purposes as well as the lack of tourism-related management training."[15]

Nevertheless, cathedrals in the UK remain both active places of worship and heritage sites, with the managers of these places attempting to navigate these and a range of other issues that arise while trying to toe this boundary. This leads us to the main guiding research question for this thesis, which explores one aspect of the management of this boundary: How do entry fees to cathedrals in the UK shape the divide between insider and outsider? This question was selected as it explores the effects of entrance fees on the visitor experience. This was my intended focus, aiming to centre their experiences, rather than only addressing heritagisation or the impact of entrance fees on the built environment. It also addresses the issue of inclusion, with a specific focus on the insider/outsider divide, without becoming too general.

1.2 Entrance Fees for Cathedrals

Despite growing numbers of visitors, cathedrals are still suffering in an increasingly "post-secular" society, with rising prices and increasingly difficult spaces to maintain and conserve. One of the perceived results of this, and a clear marker of the heritagisation of a site, is the introduction of entrance fees for nine of the forty-two Anglican cathedrals in England. Anglican Cathedrals in the UK receive only limited funds from the UK government and the wider Church and

[15] Thouki. "Heritagization of Religious Sites.": 1036.

therefore must cover the majority of their day-to-day expenses, as well as any conservation and restoration of the church fabric themselves. It is estimated that specific cathedrals, such as Ely Cathedral, cost as much as £10,000 a day to run,[16] with the large cathedral of Canterbury costing around £30,000 daily.[17] Cathedrals raise funds through their Friends membership scheme, fundraising campaigns, as well as commercial activities such as events, catering and retail; however, in some cases, this does not meet all of the needs of the cathedral, and this is when the controversial conversations around entrance fees arise.[18]

This is not a new debate in the Church of England: it has been around for over a hundred years. It was the Dean of Chester, Frank Bennett, who was at the forefront of these initial discussions in 1925 and is often cited as the leading figure in arguments against entrance fees, as Dee Dyas and John Jenkins recognises, "Bennett's language, if not his wider recommendations, became a common currency in cathedrals in the twentieth century."[19] Previously, there had been a distinction made between a 'visitor' — shorthand for a 'spiritually unengaged laity', who may have to pay an entry fee — and a 'pilgrim', who was there for a religious experience and gave an offering. However, Bennett wanted to make it "easy and natural for those who come to it [the cathedral] to listen and to talk to God, and [so] every visitor becomes a potential pilgrim." Therefore, for Bennett, a lack of entrance fees was vital for the creation of pilgrims and strongly taught against their introduction.[20]

This then led to discussions in 1979, echoing Bennett's statement that every visitor was a possible pilgrim, but arguing that entry fees should be reintroduced as "a method of improving the quality of the visitor experience."[21]

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[16] Ely Cathedral. "Visitor Tickets and Tours."
[17] English Cathedrals. "How Are Our Cathedrals Funded?"
[18] Curtis. "English Cathedrals: Events and Spiritual Capital.": 242.
[19] Dyas, Dee, and John Jenkins. "Introduction." In *Pilgrimage and England's Cathedrals: Past, Present, and Future*, edited by Dee Dyas and John Jenkins, (London: Palgrave-Macmillan, 2020): 12-13.
[20] Ibid: 12-13.
[21] Ibid: 12-13.

These questions are at the heart of what is still at stake in the debate today. Entrance fees are a much discussed and contested topic within wider society, with recent articles found in many of the major UK newspaper publications, such as *The Telegraph* and *The Guardian*.[22]

Current prices range from around £5 at Exeter for an adult entry to £14 at Ely, with St Paul's Cathedral in London charging visitors £26. However, we must note that there are many different concessions and qualifications which may change this price at most of the cathedrals across the country that charge: these are all slightly different. There are differences in the access or benefits the visitors receive along with their ticket, with some cathedrals including free returns for a year, complimentary tours, or changing exhibitions. The one common aspect is that entry to liturgical services is free. Most cathedrals say on their website that if the visitor is coming in to pray, then they can enter for free, while others have a designated side chapel, accessible free of charge, for private prayer. Other than this, a lot of the concessions differ, with most offering different or discounted rates for children, some for students and over 65, some offering different rates for families or other groups, or for local residents or local students and the larger London cathedrals charge only £1 for those claiming Universal Credit (a social security payment in the UK).[23]

The distinctions demonstrated in many of the practices of cathedrals today raise questions about their impact on the spaces, particularly the nature of the spaces as inclusive. It is these questions that lie at the centre of this thesis, as I aim to explore entrance fees and their effects on the insider/outsider dynamic within the cathedral setting. Some of these questions include, who is granted access to the building, either for free or for a charge? And who is excluded as a result of these charges? This thesis examines how entrance fees operate in UK

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[22] Jenkins, Simon. "Declining Congregations Lead Councils to Question the Church of England's Role." *The Guardian.* Wright, Joe, and Gabriella Swerling. "Clergy Up in Arms as One in Four Cathedrals Charges Entry Fee." *The Telegraph*. Wright, Joe "'Exorbitant' ticket fees turn England's cathedrals into cash cows." *The Telegraph.*

[23] Information found on multiple cathedral websites, including, Canterbury, Ely, Salisbury, St Paul's, Wells and York.

cathedrals, with a particular focus on Winchester Cathedral, asking how entrance fees shape the nature of the Cathedral community, and who feels like an insider?

To structure this thesis and help to answer my central research question, I will address several guiding sub-questions across the chapters. Chapter II will answer: how does Winchester see itself as an inclusive space, and what is the nature of an inclusive heritage site? Chapters III and IV will then look at a practical example of entrance fees, using Winchester Cathedral as a case study to answer: how do entrance fees function in reality and how people responded to them? Finally, Chapter V looks at the results of this fieldwork and answers: how do entrance fees construct or reinforce the distinction between insiders and outsiders, and who is included in the Cathedral community?

Viewed in a broader context, this study contributes to wider debates in heritage and religious studies. For heritage studies, it raises questions concerning the possibility of sacred spaces' access, authenticity and public engagement being limited by commercialisation. This investigation can also be applied to examples of secular heritage spaces and their discussions concerning how entrance fees can affect a sense of belonging. Furthermore, there are also possible applications of this thesis to policy and management, particularly as cathedrals confront the challenge of continuing rising prices while attempting to maintain their role in the Church and wider community. I hope that this thesis will deepen our understanding of how religious heritage sites are experienced and how this is affected by management, with the aim of moving towards greater inclusion.

1.3 Method: A Multimodal Case Study Approach

In order to establish how entry fees to cathedrals shape the divide between insider and outsider, and how this affects a cathedral as an inclusionary space, I focus in this study on Winchester Cathedral, as a prominent case study in

the south of England. The research begins by analysing Winchester Cathedral's perspectives on inclusion, before turning to consider inclusion through the lens of heritage policy and the Cathedral's role as a heritage site, focusing on the Convention on the Value of Cultural Heritage for Society (Faro Convention, 2005).[24] An examination of what the Faro Convention defines as 'heritage communities' will lead to a discussion of the nature of the Cathedral community, particularly focusing on Winchester Cathedral and how entrance fees may have the potential to shape the insider/outsider dynamics of the Cathedral, and who is and feels included in the space.

A contextual framework is established by reviewing existing scholarship concerning the effects of entrance fees at other heritage sites, such as museums, before turning to research on these effects, the case study of Winchester. The present research is not exclusively based on textual analysis; in order to explore the effects of cathedral entrance fees on inclusivity, I conducted fieldwork research, observing and analysing how entrance fees work in practice and how individuals, both volunteers and visitors, feel about entrance fees. The fieldwork included participant observation in the Cathedral's welcome area, focusing on how visitors, volunteers, staff and the built environment interacted, and observing how the entrance fees worked within this interaction and if they affected the insider/outsider dynamics of the space. Along with the participant observation, I also conducted informal interviews with individuals to capture the range of perspectives of both the visitors and those who volunteered in the space. I aimed to centre the voice of the visitor and their experience, including both religious and non-faith visitors, the locals and those who had travelled far, and of a variety of different levels of heritage engagement.

Winchester Cathedral forms a particularly rich case study. Not only was it a space with which I was already familiar, allowing me to gain access and develop a connection with volunteers, but it also exhibited variance in their pricing

[24] Council of Europe. *Council of Europe Framework Convention on the Value of Cultural Heritage for Society (Faro Convention*). Faro, 27 October 2005.

structure, providing some concessions in entry fees, such as there are different prices for children and students, but not for locals. It also offers yearlong admission with the ticket, albeit at quite a high price. Perhaps more significantly, Winchester is one of what has been coined “The Big Six” cathedrals in the UK, known particularly for its rich and varied history and numerous historical and art-historical points of interest, such as the housing of the ‘Winchester Bible’, the bones of medieval English Kings, and the grave of author Jane Austen. This lends the Cathedral exceptional interest for tourists. At the same time, the building continues to function as a working cathedral and the seat of one of the most powerful bishops in the Church of England.

Winchester Cathedral recognises this and portrays itself as a dynamic heritage site with a complicated past. In their statement on ‘contested heritage’, the Cathedral makes it clear that they view its past as "complex" and specifically promote critical thinking and respect for its cultural legacy. [25] Purposeful heritage preservation projects have been carried out since the beginning of the twentieth century, starting with the underwater work of William Walker, solidifying the foundations, to more recent initiatives like the *Kings and Scribes: The Birth of a Nation* project. This project combines the conservation of built heritage with the creation of a new exhibition space and improved learning facilities, with an aim to increase visitor numbers and income to support ongoing preservation as a heritage site. Other heritage bodies such as the National Churches Trust and Historic England reinforce this presentation of the Cathedral as a heritage site by highlighting the Cathedral’s historical and architectural significance, along with the past and ongoing conservation efforts.[26] Historic England’s official listing of Winchester Cathedral as a Grade I listed building (in place since 24th March 1950) further solidifies its national importance as a living monument.[27]

[25] Winchester Cathedral. “Contested Heritage.”
[26] Historic England. "Cathedral Church of the Holy Trinity, The Close." *National Heritage List for England*. And National Churches Trust. "Winchester Cathedral, Winchester."
[27] Historic England. “Winchester Cathedral (List Entry 1095509).”

Following a description of my fieldwork observations, I will go on to analyse them alongside theoretical perspectives on inclusion and community. The main question of my investigation, "How do entry fees to cathedrals in the UK shape the divide between insider and outsider?" is finally addressed here, and the conclusion will offer potential fixes and different strategies that could improve inclusivity in cathedral communities.

Chapter II – Inclusion and Community

As a way of examining any effect that entrance fees may have on inclusion, particularly in the case of Winchester Cathedral, we must first consider the Cathedral's own approach to inclusion within its religious context, as this lays the foundation for its role as an inclusive heritage site. It is from this perspective that we can then apply heritage frameworks like the Faro Convention to the site, to help us consider the particular nature of inclusive heritage and community. On this basis, we can then consider debates around access and membership of a community, and the impact that entrance fees have on this dynamic.

2.1 Inclusion in Winchester Cathedral

Winchester Cathedral's strong emphasis on the importance of inclusion, access and openness is reflected in its literature and broader mission. Arguably, this stems from the history of the Cathedral as a Benedictine monastery, where the focus was to treat every guest as they would treat Jesus,[28] with the interim Dean, The Reverend Canon Dr Roland Riem, suggesting this in his welcome statement:

> "Community has been at the heart of our identity since the Benedictine Monastery was established here over a thousand years ago. Today, Winchester Cathedral is home to an active Christian community, seeking to offer a warm Benedictine welcome to all our visitors and worshippers, as though they were Christ himself."[29]

[28] Calvert, Arran J. *Life with Durham Cathedral: A Laboratory of Community, Experience and Building.* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2023): 36.
[29] Winchester Cathedral. "Welcome from the Interim Dean."

These values are embedded within the Cathedral's calling and vision statements, which act as guiding principles for their actions. According to the Cathedral's website, the Cathedral's calling is "to renew, inspire and unite people in faith, hope and love,"[30] and although this does not explicitly call for inclusion, it is implied. The focus on unity and love suggests a vision where all individuals, regardless of their background, should feel welcome and encouraged to participate in the activities of the Cathedral. The commitment to inclusion is further underlined by the Cathedral's stated key values described under the heading "calling and vision" on its website. These values are "openness, excellence and kindness". In each case, the three values are applied inclusively to "all": "openness, so that all may be renewed; excellence, so that all may know God's love; kindness, so that all may find a place."[31] Similar to the vision statement, these key values emphasise the importance of everyone having access to the Cathedral, particularly the value of openness, which suggests the creation of an environment that is welcoming to all, regardless of identity or religion. This is perhaps motivated by the Cathedral's ultimate goal to embody Christian hospitality and love, driven by compassion and faith.

While the language of openness used here may appear to promote inclusion, we can also raise concerns about its abstract nature, which raises questions about whether it guarantees equality or equal treatment of all in practice. The intended audience for this sense of openness and the extent of some of the outcomes of these policies remain unclear. However, this focus on is not just a lofty ideal or vision statement but is also found in some of the Cathedral's concrete policies. This includes their equality and diversity statement, which, although referring primarily to diversity within the workforce and the avoidance of discrimination therein, demonstrates that the understanding of inclusion is of diverse groups, and that integrated in the Cathedral policy of inclusion is the value of "equality". The Cathedral reference this themselves, saying, "Winchester Cathedral is fully committed to promoting a

[30] Winchester Cathedral. "Legacy and Tribute Giving: Make a Lasting Gift."
[31] Winchester Cathedral. "Calling."

positive culture of equality and diversity in which employees, workers and volunteers are able to reach their full potential."[32]

Furthermore, we can also look at the Cathedral's access policies as a demonstration of this interest in inclusion. Both the access page on their website and the physical accessibility of the site are extensive and easily comprehensible. At the Cathedral, there are wheelchair ramps, lifts and automatic doors along with special accessible resources, implying that the Cathedral intends for the space to be inclusive and accessible to every individual regardless of their physical or mental ability.[33] Above we have seen how inclusion is a stated institutional priority, both in terms of visitor experience and staff culture, and the Cathedral recognises the multi-dimensional nature of inclusion, looking at issues of race, disability and workplace culture.

Fundamentally, all of these policies derive from the wider Church of England, which Winchester Cathedral is part of. The wider church also states the importance of inclusion in their policies and mission statements, aiming to foster what they call "barrier-free belonging,"[34] and for "everyone to feel that they belong, and are valued for who they are and what they contribute."[35] All of this sits in accordance with UK government guidelines for accessibility[36] and the 2011 Equality Act, which, as broader societal legislation, both the Cathedral and the Church as a whole must adhere to.[37]

Any inclusionary measures are not only to align with government policy but can also be linked to stipulations attached to the funding which Winchester Cathedral receives. As the Cathedral is registered as a charity, it receives certain tax exemptions, but to be classified in this way, it is stipulated that the organisation must act in the 'public benefit' as part of the UK Charities Act

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[32] Winchester Cathedral. "Equality and Diversity Statement."
[33] Winchester Cathedral. "Accessibility."
[34] Church of England. "Barrier-Free Belonging."
[35] Church of England. "Diversity and Inclusion."
[36] UK Government. "Meet the Requirements of Equality and Accessibility Regulations."
[37] Church of England. "Accessibility Guidance for Church Buildings."

2011.[38] This is also a similar stipulation for the funding that the Cathedral received for the exhibition and conservation project, *Kings & Scribes,* from the Heritage Lottery Fund (HLF). The HLF is an offshoot of the UK National Lottery, which uses revenue to fund heritage buildings, conservation, and ensure the sustainability and resilience of heritage organisations. [39] They also encourage recipients of funding to develop projects that "meet its priorities of encouraging community participation, fostering local partnership, improving accessibility and becoming more financially resilient and sustainable."[40] Consequently, issues of accessibility must be addressed by the Cathedral in order to meet these requirements.

The principles embodied by the wider church and by Winchester Cathedral's mission, such as openness and accessibility, align closely with emerging frameworks within the field of heritage, which, as we have established, is also part of the identity of the Cathedral. One of the most notable of these frameworks is the Convention on the Value of Cultural Heritage for Society (Faro Convention, 2005).[41] Although this is a framework convention, it nevertheless acts as the authoritative voice in the field of inclusive heritage. It should be acknowledged that the UK, though a member of the Council of Europe, is not (yet) a signatory to the Faro Convention.[42] Nonetheless, it can still be stated that the Convention is enormously influential in heritage policy even in countries that are not signatories or that are outside Europe.

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[38] United Kingdom. *Charities Act 2011*, c. 25.
[39] Curtis, Simon. "English Cathedrals: Events and Spiritual Capital.": 9.
[40] Curtis, Simon. "Reaching Out – Engagement Through Events and Festivals – The Cathedrals of England." In *Tourism and Religion: Issues and Implications*, edited by Richard Butler and Wantanee Suntikul, (Bristol: Multilingual Matters & Channel View Publications, 2018): 246.
[41] Council of Europe. *Council of Europe Framework Convention on the Value of Cultural Heritage for Society (Faro Convention*).
[42] Council of Europe. "Chart of signatures and ratifications of Treaty 199)." *Council of Europe*.

2.2 The Faro Convention and Inclusive Heritage

In its emphasis on “the value of cultural heritage for society”, the Faro Convention draws on principles articulated in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) and puts them within a heritage context. This indicates a shift from heritage as an object of protection to heritage as a resource for all. Article 27 of the UDHR states that: “Everyone has the right freely to participate in the cultural life of the community, to enjoy the arts and to share in scientific advancement and its benefits.”[43] The 2005 Faro Convention develops this idea: "Everyone, alone or collectively, has the right to benefit from the cultural heritage and to contribute towards its enrichment."[44]

The Convention is a framework convention established by the Council of Europe, to which countries can sign up, agreeing to protect and promote access to cultural heritage. Today, it serves as one of the guiding documents in the heritage field. A framework convention is an international agreement that seeks to establish general objectives and principles but leaves the specific means of implementation up to individual states. It provides a flexible structure within which countries can develop their approaches in their contexts, rather than imposing detailed obligations.[45]

Concerning inclusion and accessibility, the Convention specifically recognises in Article 1 that “rights relating to cultural heritage are inherent in the right to participate in cultural life.” It is not only participation that the Convention discusses, but also how “Everyone, alone or collectively, has the right to benefit from cultural heritage and to contribute towards its enrichment,” in

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[43] Bonnici, Ugo Mifsud. "The Human Right to the Cultural Heritage: The Faro Convention’s Contribution to the Recognition and Safeguarding of this Human Right." In *Heritage and Beyond*, edited by Council of Europe, (Strasbourg: Council of Europe, 2009): 54.

[44] Council of Europe. *Council of Europe Framework Convention on the Value of Cultural Heritage for Society (Faro Convention*).

[45] Alosi, Alessandra. "Council of Europe Framework Convention on the Value of Cultural Heritage for Society [Faro Convention]." (Cardiff EDC. March 2018).

Article 4. Furthermore, the Convention states that this contribution and participation should be in all parts of the heritage process. Article 12 reads, "The parties undertake to encourage everyone to participate in the process of identification, study, interpretation, protection, conservation and presentation of the cultural heritage." What's more, Article 14 of the Convention also adds to this sense of active inclusion, stating that signatories should "promote access to cultural heritage, including digital means, and encourage removing barriers to participation." What is being stressed here is not just that everyone is "allowed" to participate in heritage, but that there should be proactive promotion and encouragement.

John Scholefield recognises that at its core, the Faro Convention emphasises that "everyone in society has the right to participate in heritage."[46] The principle affirms that cultural heritage, including religious sites such as cathedrals, should not be accessible only to the few but must be open to all. The Convention goes beyond mere access, stressing the importance of being able to engage with and contribute to the narrative of heritage spaces, recognising that heritage is a shared and living process. He states the importance of inclusive heritage: "Heritage matters. Places define our lives, and in these places, stories are generated that become embedded in the landscape as memories … All of this is heritage, and as heritage it belongs to everyone."[47]

Furthermore, Scholefield demonstrates how the Convention is not merely a symbolic document but has an impact on how academics and professionals approach heritage, irrespective of whether their countries have signed the Convention. He recognises how Faro encourages a move away from expert-driven models to more community-focused practices, which have been echoed in the increasing adoption of the participation of local "heritage communities" in heritage projects. Scholefield's perspective highlights the idea that heritage is

[46] Schofield, John. "Forget about 'Heritage': Place, Ethics, and the Faro Convention." In *The Ethics of Cultural Heritage*, edited by Tracy Ireland and John Schofield, (New York: Springer Verlag, 2015):199-200.
[47] Ibid: 208.

not static but is instead a dynamic and collective experience. This means that if heritage is to be truly inclusive, it must also be fundamentally communal, and it is here with this in mind that the Faro Convention introduces the key concept of the 'heritage community'.

2.3 Heritage Community: Definition and complexity

The Faro Convention introduces the concept of the 'heritage community' as a defining characteristic of heritage and now serves as a key model within the heritage field. The Convention defines a heritage community in Article 2b as a group that "consists of people who value specific aspects of cultural heritage which they wish, within the framework of public action, to sustain and transmit to future generations."[48] It is not a legal entity, but instead is a flexible, open group united by a shared interest in heritage. Importantly, heritage communities are not linked to any other groups marked by identity politics and so are not reserved for a particular established community.[49] Although a heritage community may overlap with other forms of community, it is important to note that heritage communities are voluntary, and that members of the community have an 'interest' in the heritage. Heritage communities are therefore "a group of interested people," [50] or a "community of interest,"[51] for a particular form of tangible or intangible heritage, and it is this which sets these communities apart from other existing communities.

This notion of a heritage community can be used as a useful conceptual tool, as it widens the traditional geographical or genealogical ideas of

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[48] Council of Europe. *Council of Europe Framework Convention on the Value of Cultural Heritage for Society (Faro Convention*).
[49] Colomer, Laia. "Exploring Participatory Heritage Governance after the EU Faro Convention." *Journal of Cultural Heritage Management and Sustainable Development* Vol. 13, Issue 4, (2021): 859.
[50] Ibid: 859.
[51] Fairclough, Graham. "The Value of Heritage for the Future." In *Heritage in Society. Cultural Policy and Management (KPY) Yearbook* 3 (2011): 35.

community that might be traditionally associated with a form of heritage and instead encompasses everyone who has an interest in the heritage discussed. [52] However, there are also many limitations of the use of heritage communities that are important to note. One of these limitations is the risk of oversimplification. As with anything related to community, there is always the risk of essentialising communities and assuming that they speak with a single voice; this is something we must still be aware of when discussing heritage communities. This risk is something which Martin Mulligan identifies, making clear that we must be careful in making overarching or definitive statements about communities. Mulligan argues that "the very notion of 'community' seemed to have ossified into a set of assumptions and practices that were now rarely examined." He suggests instead that "'community' should be seen as an open-ended, never complete process rather than end-product."[53]

Another issue with the notion of "community" is the potential for encouraging ethnic/localist links. An oversimplification of notions of community may, in turn, result in racist and xenophobic undertones. [54] Mulligan writes that "the romantic appeal of community can mask efforts to legitimate hierarchies of power and forms of social exclusion so it can be far from being the common good that many imagine."[55] Furthermore, adopting a limited or overly simplified perspective on heritage communities associated with "culturally defined

[52] Colomer. "Exploring Participatory Heritage Governance after the EU Faro Convention.": 864.
[53] Mulligan, Martin. "On the Need for a Nuanced Understanding of 'Community' in Heritage Policy and Practice." In *The Oxford Handbook of Public Heritage Theory and Practice,* edited by Angela M. Labrador and Neil Asher Silberman (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018): 209-210.
[54] Zagato, Lauso. "The Notion of 'Heritage Community' in the Council of Europe's Faro Convention. Its Impact on the European Legal Framework." In *Between Imagined Communities of Practice: Participation, Territory and the Making of Heritage*, edited by Nicolas Adell et al., (Göttingen: Göttingen University Press, 2015): 158-9.
[55] Mulligan. "On the Need for a Nuanced Understanding of 'Community' in Heritage Policy and Practice.": 211.

practices of associationism" may exclude various kinds of groups that develop differently across diverse cultural societies.[56]

Another limitation of the concept of heritage communities is that it can mask the power dynamics between different existing communities within the heritage community. Heritage is not something where unilateral consensus is a given: issues of contested heritage arising within one heritage community are not the exception, but the rule. The risk of amalgamating these voices (or assuming that they are one) is not only that a resolution to such tensions is not found, but that the culturally more 'powerful' faction of the heritage community will tend to overwhelm others and that this voice will be taken as the 'voice of the community'. Lauso Zagato claims that because these heritage communities "did not pre-exist the process, and cease to exist with the interruption of it," we can avoid "the reach of the populists and ethicists."[57] However, this is only possible with due awareness of the potential power dynamics within any heritage community.

Finally, the major criticism of the notion of heritage community is how it works in reality. As Marco Rossitti, Annunziata Maria Oteri, and Francesca Torrieri note, "the idea of 'heritage communities' proposed by the Faro Convention has not yet become a reality,"[58] and this reality is not easily created. They claim that this is because the social value of heritage sites is "viewed as less notable than other values that have been recognised as 'essential' with respect to conservation," meaning that the participation of local communities in heritage practices is often marginalised and work towards the creation of heritage communities are not prioritised.[59]

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[56] Colomer. "Exploring Participatory Heritage Governance after the EU Faro Convention.": p.864.
[57] Zagato. "The Notion of 'Heritage Community' in the Council of Europe's Faro Convention.":158-9.
[58] Rossitti, Marco, Annunziata Maria Oteri, and Francesca Torrieri. "The Social Value of Built Heritage: An Interdisciplinary Discourse." *Built Heritage* 9, 5 (2025): 1.
[59] Ibid: 1.

As we have seen above, questions remain concerning how multiple different voices are managed and counted equally, and, even if a consensus were to emerge, how it may be difficult for an informal group of citizens to be incorporated into the structures of heritage management.[60] What's more, even if heritage communities were able to emerge, one of the major criticisms of Faro is that, as a framework convention, it is not enforceable and only has limited legal power.

Nevertheless, from our examination of the Faro Convention's ideas concerning the importance of the right to participation in cultural heritage, we can conclude that the Convention sees inclusion within heritage spaces as fundamentally tied to the concept of community. This is particularly relevant in a space which is simultaneously a religious and spiritual building and a heritage site, as both of these different identities bring with them different communities. Within the context set out by Faro, we are discussing inclusion not only in terms of accessibility as set out by the Cathedral in regard to access, but also participation in a community that sustains and defines the heritage of the site and is fundamental to religious practice. Additionally, the nature of the heritage community consisting of individuals 'interested' in the Cathedral could add to a greater sense of ownership than what is created by simply the right of access.

This raises a critical question: what constitutes the community of the Cathedral? Does it only include worshippers and clergy, or does it encompass tourists and residents of the city or diocese? Or does it include those who engage with the Cathedral in a cultural sense? Only once we have examined the scope and character of the Cathedral community can we begin to examine how entrance fees affect inclusion.

[60] Colomer. "Exploring Participatory Heritage Governance after the EU Faro Convention.": 864.

2.4 The Cathedral Community

Cathedrals occupy a unique and interesting space within contemporary British society, and within the Church of England, since, as Judith Muskett has noted, they can, "perch on the border of the religious and secular worlds, in a way that many parish churches no longer do," and are therefore significant for believers and non-believers alike.[61] The very nature of the cathedral is that it (usually) does not have its own parish community. John Jenkins and Tiina Sepp helpfully describe this as follows: "Cathedrals have a weak natural constituency and thus have to draw people to them by providing a service, experience, or meaningfulness that is otherwise unobtainable (having not been fulfilled by their own parish church)."[62] In short, cathedrals often lack a naturally fixed community compared to parish churches which have traditionally served as the foundation of English ecclesiastical life. Consequently, cathedrals must offer a unique experience or play a different role that cannot be found elsewhere to attract worshipers and visitors.

Historically, the term 'cathedral community' has been used in the narrow sense to apply to only the monastic community attached to a cathedral, or to include the clerical and lay staff, and the residents of the cathedral precinct. In writing about cathedrals from the medieval period until the nineteenth century, the 'cathedral community' could also be used to refer to the 'in-group' resident community who were physically bounded by the walls of the cathedral close, and it was reasonably distinguishable by modern standards who were seen as distinct from the cathedral community.

In contrast to previous historical ideas of members of the community being, in general, easily identifiable and part of an 'in-group', today the

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[61] Muskett, Judith. "Reflections on the Shop Windows of the Church of England: Anglican Cathedrals and Vicarious Religion." *Journal of Contemporary Religion* 30, no. 2 (2015): 274.

[62] Jenkins, John, and Tiina Sepp. "Cathedrals, Community, and Identity." In *Pilgrimage and England's Cathedrals: Past, Present, and Future*, edited by Dee Dyas and John Jenkins, (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2020): 170-3.

community of the cathedral can cover a range of hundreds of different members, who may live far from the cathedral and visit irregularly. In 2006, Graham James, Bishop of Norwich, recognised that this wider cathedral community even extended to those who have little interaction with the space or spiritual belief, claiming "that cathedrals inspired a sense of ownership 'for many who rarely enter them … For each of them it is 'our' cathedral'." [63] A range of factors can be behind this, including the cathedral's role in local history, it's place in civic/secular events and commemorations, the heritage value of the building, the size, centrality and prominence of the building which often makes it "iconic" for the city, and the music tradition, all pointing towards its prominence in the city consciousness.

The modern cathedral community is therefore something that cannot be easily defined. This is best explained by an anonymous cathedral Dean quoted by Holmes and Kautzer, who opined:

> "A cathedral… is not so much a community as a collection of communities; and has not so much a congregation as a multiplicity of congregations. For example, is the 'Cathedral Congregation' those who attend the main Sunday services? Or the very different groups of people who come to matins on a weekday before work, but worship in their parishes on Sunday? Or the 2,000+ members of the congregation on Remembrance Sunday? Or the two dozen chorister parents at a Monday evensong?" [64]

These debates begin to raise interesting questions of who an insider is and who is an outsider to the space. Christian visitors, although insiders concerning the faith tradition, may be geographical (or cultural and political) outsiders in comparison to a non-Christian visitor who lives in the city. Let us

[63] Coleman and Bowman. "Religion in Cathedrals": 12.
[64] Ibid: 12.

take Winchester as an example and imagine an individual who is visiting from outside the Diocese of Winchester. If this person is a practising member of the Anglican church who attends church services regularly, we could say she is an insider to the faith and may feel relatively comfortable in a cathedral, knowing the etiquette and language of the space. However, geographically this person is an outsider, as they are not part of the geographical (political, social, and cultural) community of the city and Diocese of Winchester and are not familiar with the individuals who normally are associated with the Cathedral in its daily, weekly, and yearly activities.

On the other hand, there may be an individual who lives close to the Cathedral, is not a practising Christian, and so is an outsider when it comes to faith. However, this same individual may regularly walk past the Cathedral on their way to work, meet friends in the café attached, they may have children who have their school performances or Christmas services in the Cathedral, or neighbours who volunteer their time working as guides. Geographically and perhaps culturally, this individual could consider themselves an insider to the Cathedral community, engaging with the wider activities of the Cathedral. Thus, it is not just that there are degrees of proximity in the Cathedral community, like rings around a central core, or that membership of the community is limited to religious belief. Rather, different individuals and groups may have, in differing respects, a strong sense of ownership and/or belonging, which may not align.

This can also stretch to the ideas of the heritage community as well. For Winchester, perhaps the best example of this complex phenomenon, is the 'community' associated with the grave of Jane Austen found in the Cathedral. For this particular aspect of the Cathedral's heritage, the Jane Austen North American Society would likely be considered part of the heritage community of the space. They have a marked interest in the space, stemming from their interest in the writer, and even contribute to the space by funding a bouquet of flowers that is always placed by her grave. Here, parts of the heritage

community can be both non-religious and geographically distant yet would still be identified or feel part of the Winchester Cathedral community.

There are also formal groups that could stand as examples of where these community lines are drawn. For Winchester, this includes the Friends membership scheme, which, for a yearly fee, provides access to the Cathedral, events and newsletters.[65] In addition, there is the Cathedral's "Community Roll": by signing up, members receive a number of invitations:

> "You will receive the monthly Dean's message and regular newsletters. You will be invited to the annual meeting of the Community Roll, which receives the annual report and audited accounts, and at which you will be able to ask questions on any matter concerning the Cathedral. You will also be invited to informal meetings with Chapter (Open Chapter) at which you will also be able to ask questions, and express ideas and concerns."[66]

We can question whether these more formal groups serve as the parameters for the Cathedral community, but what can be established is that the community is not simple or easy to define. This is something also recognised by Arran Calvert in his investigation into Durham Cathedral:

> "Trying to articulate an overarching understanding of 'the community' during my fieldwork always felt like too difficult a task and …, I quickly realised that it was possibly a fruitless one. For those I spoke to, the community was an unquestionable fact of Durham Cathedral; there is a strong and vibrant community, and there was nothing more to say about it. Therefore, it is not what the community is, but how people make sense of it,

[65] Winchester Cathedral. "Become a Friend of Winchester Cathedral."
[66] Winchester Cathedral. "Join the Community Roll."

expressing and locating themselves within it, that is important."[67]

For this investigation, as previously stated, I aim to observe the effect of entrance fees on the insider/outsider dynamics of the Cathedral and inclusion within this community.

2.5 Entrance Fees as Exclusionary?

Before I go on to my own research of Winchester Cathedral, it is useful to look at other previous investigations of the effect of entrance fees on inclusion. Although entrance fees have been mentioned in a few scholarly sources, and my oral research revealed that numerous cathedrals have undertaken their own internal investigations on the effects of entrance fees, there is little public data or research on this matter. For this reason, I will be looking at research on the impact of entrance fees on other spaces, primarily museums.

What is particularly interesting within the context of the UK is that most of the major museums do not charge an entry fee as a result of the 2001 government policy to increase access to culture. The government claimed in 2011 that since the introduction of free entry, "visits to those in London that previously charged have increased by 151 per cent and visits to those outside London have risen by 148 per cent."[68] It is important to note that we cannot simply transfer these findings into a cathedral context as these are very different spaces, with very different needs, histories, structures, offerings, sensibilities and funding. However, it is still useful to examine the effects of entrance fees on these spaces.

One of the more notable examples of research on the question is Volker Kirchberg's assessment of entrance fees as a subjective barrier to visiting

[67] Calvert. *Life with Durham Cathedral*: 24.
[68] UK Government. "Ten Years of Free Museums." *Department for Digital, Culture, Media & Sport*. December 1, 2011.

museums. Although this investigation is set in the German context, it nonetheless provides insight into the issue. Kirchberg concluded that entrance fees are, in fact, the biggest issue in entry. She argued that:

> "Of all 13 potential barriers tested the 'entrance fee' statement obtained by far the highest regard as an important barrier (a high score of 2.6 compared to the average score of 2.0 for all barriers). Almost one out of five Germans assess entrance fees as an individual barrier for a museum visit."[69]

Kirchberg goes on to balance the need for increasing revenues and the decreasing number of visitors when entrance fees are introduced. She reports that what is most notable is how the socioeconomic composition of the visitor group changes, as it is for people with low incomes that entrance fees act as a barrier.[70] From her data, we can conclude that the imposition of entrance fees for heritage spaces acts in an exclusionary way for particular groups.

However, a similar study from the same year, but based in the United Kingdom, reaches a slightly different conclusion. In their framework for analysing the impact on access, Stephen Bailey and Peter Falconer looked at a range of contributing factors that could limit access and concluded that if charges could be adjusted to provide concessions for specific groups (such as students, the elderly or people with disabilities), then equity concerns can be met. The authors write:

> "Although controversial, it is arguable that admission charges can promote access. First, combined with concessions, charges could facilitate the targeting of subsidy upon low income or other prioritised groups. Second, assuming net additionality, revenue from charges may finance increased access in cases

[69] Kichberg, Volker. "Entrance Fees as a Subjective Barrier to Visiting Museums." *Journal of Cultural Economics* 22 (1998): 4.
[70] Ibid: 10.

where museums no longer have to cut costs by reducing opening hours or where those revenues finance 'outreach' programmes."[71]

I will explore these differing levels of access further later in this thesis, looking at how it could be possible to counteract any potential exclusion created by entrance fees by allowing more detailed and thoughtful inclusion within the site itself.

The most recent research on the impact of entrance fees on access and inclusion in museums is the research carried out by AIM (the Association of Independent Museums), which in 2016 investigated admissions pricing policy in museums and its impact within the UK. Similar conclusions were drawn. The study aimed to understand the current and potential pricing strategies and their impact on museum visitors, but it also created outputs for museums to use in order to be "accessible and welcoming to all." [72] This investigation helpfully collates and highlights many practices in museums across the UK and gives an analysis of the effect that different pricing models have on the museums themselves. Although the study only assumes that all entrance fees have the potential to make museums exclusive to specific visitors, failing to offer a deeper insight into the nature of this exclusion. It does suggest a range of possible strategies that support both the financial needs of the heritage site and increase access, which could serve as inspiration for cathedrals, some of which include reducing fees, making it more likely that visitors donate or make secondary purchases. Furthermore, the authors report that although a drop in visitor numbers can be observed when tickets are introduced, there is no widespread dissatisfaction or uproar, and the rise of prices makes little to no difference to visitor numbers.[73] Even if it does not discuss the effect on inclusion directly, this

[71] Bailey, Stephen J., and Peter Falconer. "Charging for Admission to Museums and Galleries: A Framework for Analysing the Impact on Access." *Journal of Cultural Economics* 22, no. 2/3 (1998): 175.
[72] Association of Independent Museums. *Research into Admissions Pricing Policy in Museums and Its Impact: Executive Summary* (2023): ii.
[73] Ibid: 9.

report gives us some interesting information about what effect entrance fees can have on the behaviour and number of visitors and suggesting other possible solutions.

Nevertheless, it must be stressed that museums and cathedrals are very different sites. The living religious context of cathedrals adds a completely different dimension to understanding accessibility, inclusion and community. For this reason, it is essential to carry out fieldwork into the effects of admission fees on cathedrals specifically, rather than only applying previous studies on other heritage sites to religious spaces. One perspective on boundaries and their unique role in sacred spaces is expressed by Mircea Eliade, whose words sat with me throughout my fieldwork. Eliade highlights how vital this boundary is to the believer as it is the destination where one can pass from the "profane to the sacred world," and so we must be careful to treat it in such a way and recognise its importance for believers.

> "For a believer, the church shares in a different space from the street in which it stands. The door that opens on the interior of the church actually signifies a solution of continuity. The threshold that separates the two spaces also indicates the distance between two modes of being, the profane and the religious. The threshold is the limit, the boundary, the frontier that distinguishes and opposes two worlds – and at the same time the paradoxical place where those worlds communicate, where passage from the profane to the sacred world becomes possible."[74]

[74] Eliade, Mircea. *The Sacred and the Profane: The Nature of Religion* (Harper & Row, 1961): 25.

Chapter III – Methods: A Study of Winchester Cathedral

As I have stated above, the present study entailed conducting my own fieldwork in order to fully understand the practical implications and centre the experiences of volunteers and visitors to the site. Through this investigation, I carried out participant observation and conducted interviews at Winchester Cathedral in the South of England, as an example of a cathedral that charges entry fees. The observational work grounded my research in practical examples without my prompting or leading the participant, while the interviews revealed any underlying attitudes or rationale. In this chapter, I provide an overview of my methodology, followed by a chapter presenting the investigation's results.

3.1 Ethnographic Approach

In order to obtain a picture of the practical implications of entrance fees, I undertook an ethnographic study. As Ernst van den Hemel, Oscar Salemink, and Irene Stengs recognise, there is a need for ethnographic studies of religious heritage sites as it is "not always easy to answer the question of who manages what, whose interests are foregrounded and who might be excluded" on the basis of written documentation alone, and that this is even more the case "when speaking of sites, objects, or practices that are experienced and considered religious but that have become cultural heritage."[75] Moreover, I aimed to place the experiences of the volunteers and visitors at the centre of my study, giving them agency and considering their perspectives. The visitor experience is often excluded from similar studies of religious heritage, and for this reason, I wanted

[75] Hemel, Ernst van den, Oscar Salemink, and Irene Stengs. "Introduction." in Hemel, Ernst van den, Oscar Salemink, and Irene Stengs, eds. *Managing Sacralities: Competing and Converging Claims of Religious Heritage* (New York, Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2022): 9-10.

to incorporate it into my investigation. To achieve this, I took a phenomenological approach, considering the participants' subjective perceptions and experiences as the main focus of the inquiry. Therefore, I have attempted to provide a direct description of my participants' experiences, either through a description of their actions or their own words, before attempting to give an explanation.[76]

I was reflexive in my approach, being aware of my own position and perspective, in order to distinguish this from the beliefs of my informants.[77] I acknowledge that every investigation of experience is somewhat subjective, and that my participation, including the way I phrased my questions, my physical presence in the area and my own presumptions, influenced what I was able to see and document. I am also aware of the possibility that my presence could disrupt the natural flow of events and potentially cloud my judgment of the situation. Furthermore, I am aware that for my research to be more accurate it would have been useful for me to conduct more visits, developed a closer relationship with the participants and perhaps visited more cathedrals in order to compare, but the limitations of this thesis meant that this was not possible and my focus on Winchester, gave me the best opportunity to look deeply as this particular example in order to answer my questions.

3.2 The Site: Winchester

3.2.1 History of the building

Winchester, as the capital of Saxon England, was home to one of the important cathedrals in the country. The site has a complex building history. A church on the site can be traced back to ca. 648. This building, known as the Old

[76] Andriotis, Konstantinos. "Sacred Site Experience: A Phenomenological Study." *Annals of Tourism Research* 36, no. 1 (2009): 70.
[77] Hufford, David J. "The Scholarly Voice and the Personal Voice." *Western Folklore* 54 (1) (1995): 57-58.

Minster, served as the cathedral of the vast Diocese of Winchester and was significantly expanded in the late tenth century. A second monastic complex, the New Minster, was constructed next to the former, in the late ninth century (completed 901). Construction of a new cathedral began under the first Norman Bishop of Winchester, Walkelin, in 1079, and when this building was completed and consecrated in 1093, both Old and New Minsters were demolished. The Norman Cathedral underwent significant expansions in the early thirteenth century, and especially in the mid-fourteenth century; further additions occurred with the construction of chantry chapels and the replacement of the original Norman east end with a Perpendicular Gothic presbytery in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. In 1539, the Benedictine priory that had been the heart of the Cathedral was dissolved under Henry VIII, and the important shrine of St Swithun was demolished; later, the monastic buildings were also demolished. In the mid-seventeenth century, Indigo Jones was responsible for the construction of the notable choir screen.[78] However, in the early twentieth century, the Cathedral faced serious threats to its foundations. From 1906 to 1912, diver William Walker placed over 25,000 bags of concrete underwater to solidify the waterlogged foundations. Further restoration projects have continued since then, including the '*Kings and Scribes*' project, which included restoration along with the installation of the exhibition.[79]

3.2.2 The history of the Cathedral as an institution

The Cathedral has a vast and varied social history, holding the bones of ancient kings, relics of the Reformation, commemoration of the Civil War and World Wars, and the grave of one of England's most celebrated authors, Jane Austen. It has been the attraction of pilgrims since the death of St Swithun in

[78] Winchester Cathedral. "Architecture.", Winchester Cathedral Learning Team. *Cathedral Timeline*. (2015)., Jenkins, Simon. *England's Cathedrals*. (London: Little, Brown, 2016): 293-300. and Wells, Emma. *Heaven on Earth*. London: Apollo, 2024. 163-184.

[79] Historic England. "Winchester Cathedral: Kings and Scribes."

863, the Bishop of Winchester, "better known for his activities as a miracle-working saint than for his tenure of episcopal office" and the superstition that if it rains on the 15th July, St Swithun's day, it will rain for the following forty days.[80] Although his bones are no longer in the Cathedral, the shrine along with the Cathedrals long nave and exquisite examples of architecture and craftsmanship continue to attract pilgrims. Simon Jenkins describes it as, "Well away from affairs of state and the orbit of great powerbrokers in the realm, Winchester is now a rather quiet city. But its cathedral, still one of the largest in Europe, remains a storehouse of treasures whose layers form a palimpsest of the lives, ambitions and egos of its bishops and masons, and of the architectural styles that formed through its nearly 500 years of medieval and early Tudor construction and accretion."[81]

3.2.3 The living role of the Cathedral

Currently, Winchester still operates as a working cathedral with sixteen services in the average week and more at significant times in the liturgical calendar, but it also serves other purposes beyond this. It is open to visitors for a fee seven days a week (£14 for an adult, £8 for a student, £6 for a child aged twelve to sixteen, and free under eleven), unless you are there to worship, pray or light a candle. The entrance ticket includes unlimited entry for a year, a guided tour around the Cathedral as part of a small group, often lasting an hour or longer and entry to their permanent museum style exhibition, *Kings & Scribes* and the temporary exhibition, *Celebrating Jane – 250 years of Jane Austen*, running from 23rd May - 19th October 2025. There is also a cathedral shop and café in a separate building, which is run and promoted by the Cathedral management. Furthermore, a range of non-religious affiliated events are held in

[80] Yorke, Barbara. "Swithun [St Swithun] (d. 863), Bishop of Winchester." *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. October 4, 2007.
[81] Jenkins. *England's Cathedrals*: 300.

the Cathedral throughout the year, including concerts, art installations, and public talks.

3.2.4 Why Winchester?

I chose to conduct my research in Winchester because of its outstanding religious, historical, architectural, and heritage qualities. Furthermore, it qualified for my investigation as a cathedral that charged entry at different price points and provided concessions, an important aspect of the present study. Winchester is a particularly good example of a cathedral that has embraced the touristic and visitor elements, promoting its history in a secular sense, and, at the same time, its own continued relevance as an object of pilgrimage.

Significant research has been undertaken on cathedrals in the UK with attention to heritage dynamics. For example, the special issue of *Theology* in 2015, which focused upon the public role of Anglican cathedrals, featuring articles on Blackburn, Canterbury, Coventry and Truro Cathedrals, but Winchester was not included in this research.[82] Furthermore, while Simon Coleman and Marion Bowman (2019) conducted interviews with visitors and volunteers to gain insight into cathedrals, this investigation does not focus on Winchester.[83] Other similar investigations include Ferdinand de Jong's evaluation of Bury St Edmunds and Calvert's investigation of Durham Cathedral, which again take a comparable approach.[84] This provides an opportunity to add to this research by including Winchester as an example. This is a particularly interesting case, as it illuminates a different context, particularly in regard to its

[82] Candea, Matei, and Giovanni Da Col. "The Return to Hospitality: Strangers, Guests, and Ambiguous Encounters." *The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* 18 (2012): 84.
[83] Coleman and Bowman. "Religion in Cathedrals."
[84] Calvert, Arran J. *Life with Durham Cathedral.* And Ferninand de Jong, "A Sense of Presence: The Significance of Spirituality in an English Heritage Regime," in *Managing Sacralities: Competing and Converging Claims of Religious Heritage*, ed. Ernst van den Hemel, Oscar Salemink, and Irene Stengs (New York and Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2022): 44–68.

position as a heritage site, linked to the funding it received from the Heritage Lottery Fund, and so it is a more marked example of a site with a heritage focus that is missing from the earlier accounts.

Finally, my own experience of the site lends me something of an insider's perspective. I grew up and live on the south coast of England, in the Diocese of Winchester, and so it is my local cathedral. I also attended school in Winchester and so regularly took part in school services and events held in the Cathedral, meaning that I was already familiar with the space and elements of the community. This afforded me already established connections with the volunteers, staff and local visitors, making it more likely that people would confide in me, and grant me important access for my research. Although I would not identify as being part of the Cathedral community, I do feel a sense of ownership and familiarity with the space, making me, to some extent, an insider to the space, but unfamiliar with the management of the space. The ambiguity of my own relationship with the Cathedral further highlights the complex nature of the Cathedral community.

3.2.5 The welcome area

I chose to focus my research on the welcome area inside the Cathedral and outside the main entrance, as this is where the effects of entrance fees are most clearly displayed, both on the space and the people within it. I decided to examine both the entrance from outside the building and the entrance once having entered the Cathedral to provide a comprehensive overview of the space. From the inside of the Cathedral, you are not able to see visitors first reactions to finding out there is an entrance fee, as they first encounter this on a sign outside, and so it is only by looking at both the welcome area and the outside that one can fully appreciate the effect that the entrance fees are having on potential visitors.

3.2.6 Gaining access

In order to gain access to the space, I communicated through email with the Cathedral management, eventually reaching the head of visitor engagement. They then asked to review the questions that I wanted to ask and requested that I use 'annual pass' instead of 'entrance fee' or 'ticket'. The nature of the ticket, being an annual pass, will be a notable part of my discussion later, and I will explore why it is interesting that this is how the Cathedral management prefers me to refer to their tickets. They also asked me to stand away from the door/direct welcome area, which meant that I ended up only talking to visitors who had paid, but I was still able to observe the whole welcome area. Besides this, the Cathedral was very accommodating and allowed me to conduct my observations and discussions with little interference.

When considering gaining the consent of participants, the approach differed for the participant observation and for the interviews. For the participant observation, this was conducted without the permission of all the participants, as it took place in an open public space and no specific, person-identifying details were recorded. The volunteers and the staff were aware of what I was doing and gave their consent to being included in the study. This was different for the interviews, as before every interview, I explained to the participant the research that I was conducting and what their responses were being used for. Although I did not use consent forms, I received their oral consent to participate in my research and again made sure to anonymise responses by not making a note of any specific personal details, other than if they were a volunteer or visitors and occasionally where they were from (if they volunteered that information). As this was all written by hand, the data has not been digitised (except in the form of this thesis) and is securely physically stored.

3.3 Participant Observation

Over three different days, two weekdays and one Saturday, I conducted observations for two to three hours. Although my preparatory visits indicated that there is not a significant difference in visitor numbers or demographics on weekends and during school holidays, I still wanted to look at both weekdays and a weekend, to get an overall picture and to ensure that there was not a gap in my research. For the participant observation, I made exact handwritten notes of how visitors, staff, and volunteers acted in the welcome area of Winchester Cathedral and outside the front of the entrance. I began with a few preparatory visits to get a sense of the space and the activities that were carried out. For these visits, I entered primarily considering my major theme of examining how people acted in the space in response to the entrance fees, but kept an open mind, to see if there were any activities that I observed that surprised me. Following this, I created an observation form (Appendix 1) to help guide my observations and ensure nothing was missed.

I started my observations outside for just under an hour, seeing how individuals reacted to the signage and the entrance of the Cathedral from the outside. I then moved inside, watching the welcome area for around another two hours. I made sure to make a note of the physical nature of the space, people's actions and body language (both visitors and volunteers), any discussions that took place, how visitors were received and how the space was navigated. The aim was not a highly precise description of each visitor's movements and engagement, but rather to capture an overall idea of people's actions within the space.

Some changes to my initial plan were necessary once I carried out my first observation. My initial idea was to record the number of visitors who entered the doors, the number who came in and paid and then the number left without entering. I was able to do this roughly outside, as I gave myself some parameters, only counting those who went inside the railings (seen in Figures 3

and 4); however, this was quite a rough estimate and not exact. When I tried to do the same inside, it became increasingly difficult, since in addition to noting the number of visitors, I was also trying to make other observations, and individuals (mostly curious volunteers) came up to me to discuss what I was doing. For this reason, it was very difficult to maintain a running total of entrances, and therefore, any figures I cite are estimates rather than exact.

3.4 Interviews

During quiet moments of participant observation, when volunteers approached me, and after completing the participant observation, I conducted brief, informal interviews with visitors and with the volunteers who work as welcomers at the door or as guides giving tours of the Cathedral.

Similarly to the participant observation, my initial plan had to be adapted after being in the space. Initially, I also wanted to talk to the paid staff who work on the welcome desk and are responsible for handling the transaction of buying the tickets, but during my observations, I soon realised that they have little interaction with the effects of the entrance fee. Once the visitor had reached this point, they had already seen the signage referring to the entrance fees outside the Cathedral, and then had spoken to the welcome volunteer, with whom they discussed the ticket, what was included, and any mitigating questions. Once the visitor reached the welcome desk, it was just a case of paying for the ticket. Therefore, it was a better use of my limited time to talk to the welcome volunteers for a longer period about their views, observations and experiences, as well as asking them about how they would define the cathedral community. Along with the welcome volunteers, I also talked to a range of guides, many of whom approached me to ask about my research, and some visitors who had just bought their tickets and were coming into the Cathedral, as I was standing on the other side of the velvet rope to the door in the entrance area, marked by the arrow in Figure 1.

Figure 1: An image of the welcome area of Winchester Cathedral. To the left is the entrance door and to the right is the ticket booth. The red arrow indicates where I stood to conduct my interviews.

I aimed to ensure that my questions were neutral, neither suggesting that the entrance fees were good or bad. For all my interviews, I used a semi-structured interview approach, which allowed for both consistency in my questioning and the flexibility to be able to probe deeper into any responses.[85] Although I started with a long list of potential questions (see Appendix 2), ultimately, I found it more productive to open with a question about what they thought about the annual pass and then any follow-up questions from what they said, with the informant leading the discussion. These open-ended questions encouraged participants to steer the conversation, giving them more agency while also addressing my own investigation.[86] The interviews were brief, with most of the visitors, who did not want to stop for too long to talk to me, lasting

[85] Luhrmann, Tanya Marie. "Interview methods." In *The Routledge Handbook of Research Methods in the Study of Religion*, edited by Steven Engler and Michael Stausberg (London: Routledge, 202): 348–350.
[86] Ibid: 341.

around 2-5 minutes; the discussions were longer with the volunteers who had more time, lasting around 10-15 minutes. At the beginning of each interview, I was sure to receive oral consent for their response being included in my research, and I made written notes during these discussions, which I then expanded on shortly after the interview had concluded.

3.4.1 Informant sampling

With respect to the volunteer group, I managed to talk to everyone who was a welcomer and most of the guides; as they rotated frequently, this ended up being around twenty volunteers. For the visitors, during the period I designated as interviewing time, I asked strictly every other group entering the Cathedral to ensure that I did not have any bias regarding whom I talked to. I spoke to around 15 groups of visitors each day. Tanya Marie Luhrmann argues that researchers need to interview enough people to persuade them that they are seeing a pattern that may reflect the way things are in the world; anthropologists sometimes talk about this as 'redundancy'.[87] Only once I felt that I had reached 'redundancy' on each day, particularly with the visitor groups, did I stop conducting the interviews.

[87] Ibid: 354.

Chapter IV - Encounters at the Entrance

This chapter provides the results of the fieldwork. Here, I describe what I observed in the participant observation, the nature of the physical space, and indicate the key themes I identified from the interviews I conducted. This serves to elucidate how entrance fees operate in practice at Winchester Cathedral and serves as a basis for an analysis of their effects in Chapter V.

4.1 Entering the Cathedral

4.1.1 Description of the physical space of the visitor entrance

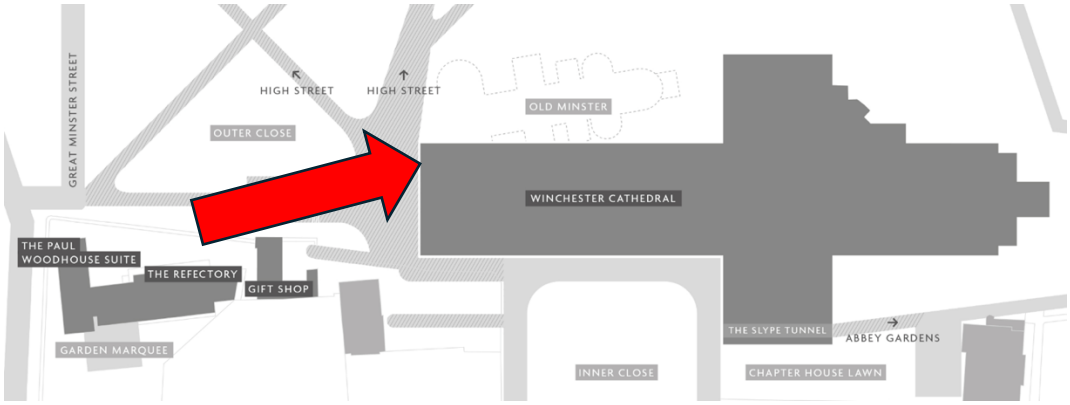

Figure 2: A map of the Cathedral and surrounding area, with a red arrow depicting the location of the main entrance. [88]

The arrow in Figure 2 points to the main entrance of the Cathedral and where this is in relation to the rest of the Cathedral and the Cathedral Close. At the site, there is a sign pointing towards the entrance to the Cathedral, which is through the left-hand door of the three principal doors at the West end of the

[88] Winchester Cathedral. "Plan of the Cathedral Close." 2022.

Cathedral, seen in Figure 3. This door is called the Water Gate entrance. There is a metal railing around the West End and a small step down, and also an accessible ramp. On the railings are hung three announcement boards: one indicates the opening times, one advertises the current exhibition in the Cathedral, and one provides information regarding the liturgical services held in the Cathedral during the current week. These signs are often changed if there is a significant event in the Cathedral that the Cathedral staff want to advertise.

Figure 3 (left): An image of the outside of the Cathedral, showing the entrance marked by the red arrow.

Figure 4 (right): An image of the outside of the entrance to the Cathedral, showing the metal railings and signage.

Once through the gap in the railing, there is another sign, placed on the path to the entrance door on the floor, which lists the entrance prices (see Figures 5 and 6). This sign is the most notable notice outside the building for our purposes. The sign announces that “Everyone is welcome” and then provides a list of ticket prices and that the ticket is valid for a year. At the bottom, the sign reads, “There is no charge for prayer and worship.” After this sign, there is an automatic door activated by motion sensors (a feature of accessibility), and then the entrance to the Cathedral interior. Although there are several other possible

doors which could act as entrances to the Cathedral, visitors are only permitted to enter through this entrance.

Figure 5 (left): An image of the sign outside the Cathedral depicting the entrance fee prices.

Figure 6 (right): An image of the door to the Cathedral, once inside the railings, with the sign in the path.

4.1.2 Observations of actions of visitors at the entrance

Of all the visitors or potential visitors I noted showing an interest in entering the Cathedral, approximately 75% stopped to read the sign regarding entrance fees, standing still and taking it in completely. There was no visible evidence of a strong emotional response to the sign, but it did cause some debate, even amongst those who eventually paid the entrance fee. Discussions were also observed within groups. After having read the sign, members of the group asked questions such as: “Do you really want to go in? Do we have enough time? Are you sure? Shall we go and eat first?” Some walked away from the entrance, sat in the Cathedral Close for a short time, before opting to enter the Cathedral. This suggests that they needed time to think and to decide whether

they were prepared to meet the conditions of entry, but ultimately, these larger groups were less likely to enter the Cathedral.

Around 25% decided that they did not want to enter after they had looked at the sign. A few people entered the building and then came out shortly after. The vocalised reactions that I overheard from these individuals did not indicate a strongly negative reaction, but instead some surprise. I overheard many people in this group say they would pay if they had more time to spend in the Cathedral, so they could "get their money's worth." Others suggested that it was not the fact of a fee, but the amount that was a problem, with one potential visitor saying, "I'd understand if it was a fiver, but £14 is a bit steep." Almost all of the surprise or deliberation I was able to hear was expressly related to the amount, and not to the fact of a charge in itself.

It is worth noting that during these visitor deliberations and decision-making about whether to enter the Cathedral, many people were constantly coming in and out of the same entrance without hesitation or reading the signage. They were often wearing lanyards or the sash that is worn by volunteers. The same entrance and exit are used by both fee-paying visitors and non-fee-paying volunteers, exemplifying that this is a working site, whether touristic or religious. From outside the Cathedral, it was difficult to establish what the purpose of entry was. So, it was challenging to determine if these deliberations were concerning an uncertainty about whether they could enter for a service or to pray, or if they were unsure if they wanted to pay as a tourist.

Overall, from the outside, Winchester Cathedral seemed to want to display itself as a place that is open to everyone, with inclusive disability access and signage. Yet, the entrance fee sign does act as a deterrent or, at the very least, is something that puts a slight doubt into the mind of the visitor.

4.2 Inside the Cathedral

Once the visitor steps inside the door, one is immediately inside the Cathedral. The visitor enters the North aisle in a sectioned-off area, referred to by the Cathedral as the “Welcome area” and marked by the red circle on Figure 7.

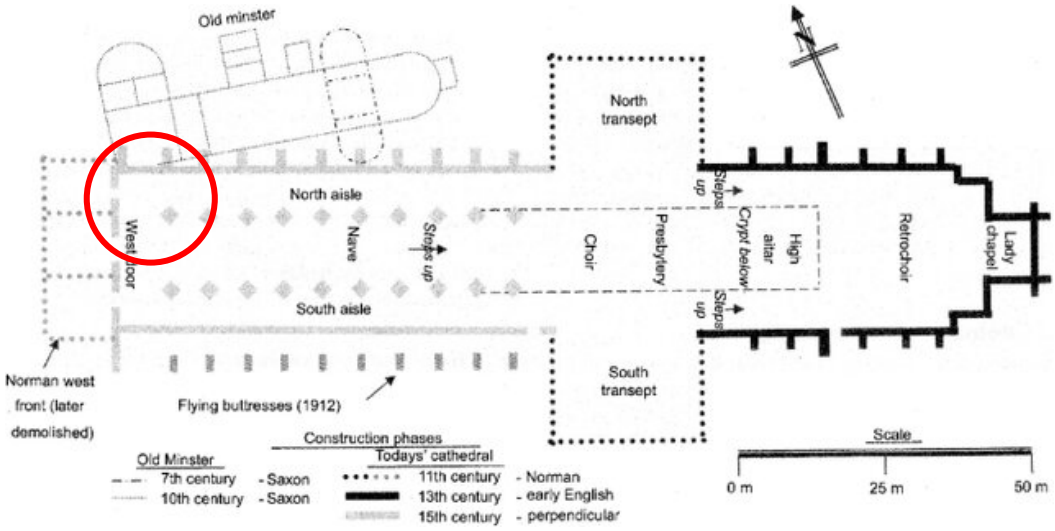

Figure 7: A map of the Cathedral detailing the different construction phases and the welcome area marked by the red circle. [89]

4.2.1 Description of the Physical Space

Entrance to the Cathedral is guided: access to the nave and side aisles is blocked off with velvet ropes, which lead one to the ticket desk, after which the visitor can follow the barriers round and into the nave. The ticket desk is a movable structure, which is designed so that it can be removed for big services or events. This spatial sequence means that, before the visitor has paid for the ticket, they are both inside the Cathedral and yet blocked from fully entering the space. The red velvet rope serves as a physical barrier, but not a visual one: one can still see into the nave and the North aisle of the Cathedral, but cannot see the choir, the nave altar, or the high altar. The visitor is also able to hear the

[89] Tatton-Brown, Tim. "The Historical Underpinning of Winchester Cathedral – Heroic or Horrific?" *ResearchGate*, 2022.

sounds of the Cathedral, such as the organ, and the hourly 'moment of reflection' which is broadcast over the speakers.

It is worth noting that the ropes are movable, not only inasmuch as they could be and are moved during some liturgical services, but insofar as they were regularly moved to allow people to pass. This produces a fascinating spatial effect: a clear barrier that some people pass with ease, yet others cannot pass, something I will examine further in my discussion. Those who were volunteers or worked at the Cathedral let themselves straight through the ropes, saying hello to the other volunteers who were welcoming visitors. Other individuals were also allowed through the rope barrier by the volunteers, most notably those who said at the door that they were coming to worship or light a candle, and individuals who regularly visit the Cathedral. Also let through the velvet ropes were guests for a wedding.

Figure 8 (left): An image of the door to the Cathedral from inside

Figure 9 (right): An image of the view standing with the door behind you after entering the Cathedral, of the North aisle and the welcome desk.

Within the space, a large poster advertising the *Kings & Scribes* exhibition was also displayed, positioned slightly to the side of the ticket path before the

ticket booth and visible from the entrance (see Figure 9). There were also visible signs of building accessibility: for example, the door was electric, and there were wheelchairs available to borrow. However, these were placed out of the way of the path (as seen in Figure 8), and there was no signage indicating that they were available for borrowing. Nevertheless, I did observe a volunteer offering one to a less able visitor.

Figure 10: An image of the welcome desk.

As the visitor walks past the signage and further into the North aisle, they are greeted by the ticket booth to their right, from which one can then proceed past and into the nave. The desk, pictured in Figure 10, is semi-circular and made of a light-coloured fronting with a dark top. It is approximately one meter tall and measures around three to four meters in length, comfortably accommodating two staff members who work behind the desk. They sit behind computer monitors used by the staff for selling tickets and in front of a large screen advertising what is included in the ticket and upcoming events. Along

with these signs, there are also printed signs and stands providing information about “Gift Aid” (a UK tax incentive).

4.2.2. Observations regarding how visitors are greeted

Upon entering, visitors are greeted by one or, at times, by two volunteers, who stand and wear distinguishing sashes and name badges. The volunteers welcome visitors and, in general, say “Welcome to Winchester Cathedral”. They then ask if the visitor is here to look around the Cathedral and explain the ticket and what is included.

Considerable discrepancy was observed in the actions of the different volunteers. For example, one volunteer started every interaction with a long introduction to the Cathedral and by handing out a “free map”. Others let the front desk give the map to the visitors. On the other hand, one volunteer simply said, “Hello and welcome to the Cathedral,” without providing any further explanation. I learned from my interviews that there is no official training or policy guidance regarding the manner of greeting or welcome: this explains the variation. Volunteers seem to be free to choose what suits them best.

If it had been established in this initial encounter that the visitor was there to look around, and if they did not already have an annual pass, the volunteer went on to explain how the ticket works: that it is valid for a year, includes a tour, and that the two exhibitions are included in the price of the ticket. They then directed the visitor to the desk, where they could purchase a ticket. This list is again given, along with directions on where to wait for the tour, and then the visitor enters the nave of the Cathedral.

4.2.3 Observations of those who do not enter

On the days of the observation, approximately 20% of those who entered the Cathedral did not pay the fee or cross the velvet rope barrier into the Cathedral nave and instead left the Cathedral without entering. Several volunteers commented to each other and to me that this was a higher percentage than usual. It must be acknowledged that this is only a very rough estimate, and exact numbers were not counted.

Often, these non-visiting individuals were either unaware of the price before passing through the Water Gate, or they simply wanted to ask a question or take a quick look. In the latter case, their body language was notably different to other visitors. These visitors proceeded more hesitantly, appearing unsure about how far they could proceed. They often leaned forward to peer around and leaned over the rope barrier. Among those who had entered the Cathedral interior without being aware of the ticket fee, I observed hesitation similar to that seen outside. Time was taken to ask questions of other members of the group as part of a decision-making process: “Do you want to? Are you sure? Do we have enough time?” These groups moved to the side slightly, and other visitors went around them while they had these discussions, not completely blocking the space but acting as a small barrier for others entering the space. In my observations, the primary reason articulated was that people did not enter because they could not ‘justify’ the price. Again, the fact that they had to pay was not in itself the named reason to turn back, but rather it was the amount that prompted consideration of whether they wanted to spend this much. The following sample of overheard remarks from these groups give an impression of the variety of spontaneous responses: “I won’t come in if I have to pay”, “We just want to have a quick look”, “not coming in, not paying that sort of money”, “I was (going to come in) but I’m not going to pay £14”.

Some of the volunteers attempted to convince potential visitors of the worth of the visit (and the fee): some stressing the age of the Cathedral, others picking a particular set of remarkable arches, or mentioning Jane Austen’s grave,

both of which are visible from the door – before crossing the ticket barrier. Other volunteers just smiled and said goodbye. Still others demonstrated a pragmatic approach which mirrored the concerns of the visitors, saying: “It’s worth it, if you have time.”

4.2.4 Praying and pilgrimage - “If you want to pray, just come through”

During my observations, there were a few examples of individuals or small groups who entered, were greeted by the welcome volunteer and said they would like to pray, light a candle or attend a service. In almost all of the cases, these individuals were let through the rope, bypassing the ticket desk, without any further questions and then were not watched. On one occasion, a visitor was sent to speak with the person on the desk, and on another, the visitor was directed towards a smaller chapel located in the East End of the Cathedral. It was not difficult for those who came to worship to make their case and were quickly ushered through without any further questions. These individuals also acted more confidently, stating their intention and expecting to be allowed through.

During my observation, I saw one self-declared pilgrim come to the Cathedral, who was told to visit the desk and was given a stamp on their ‘pilgrim passport’ and directed towards St Swithun’s shrine. Although indicated on the sign outside, free entry for worship was not explicitly offered by the welcome volunteers; instead, this was something that the visitor needed to ask for.

There was little overlap in the welcome area between those who had to pay and those who were able to pass through the barrier, with there often being only one or two groups in the area at a time. However, on the few occasions when there was any overlap, no reaction was visible from the fee-paying visitors to this process.

4.2.5 The 'annual pass'

There were many visitors who were returning with their 'annual pass.' For example, on the Friday of my fieldwork, I estimated that around half of the visitors during my observation were returning visitors. They had notably different body language from those who had not visited the Cathedral before. They appeared confident, often standing more upright and walking in without hesitation and with an air of authority, looking much less confused or questioning, and more at home in the space. They often walked straight past the welcome volunteer or just showed their ticket to them. Furthermore, I also observed all ticket holders being very careful with the ticket, which constituted an annual pass. They put it carefully in a purse, wallet or handbag, or held on to it, and did not just compress it into a pocket or throw it in the bin.

4.3.6 Observation of 'regulars'

The welcome area is also used by a range of staff and volunteers who come in and out of the Cathedral, as well as visitors who come in for regular prayer. These individuals' body language was the most comfortable in the space and were always recognised by the welcome volunteer at the door, with pleasantries exchanged and a brief discussion before or after they passed through the velvet rope barrier.

4.3 Interviews

Interviews were primarily conducted inside the Cathedral. Several key themes emerged from my discussions with paying visitors, welcome volunteers and volunteer guides, all of whom offered insight into the public's perceptions of the Cathedral's entry fee through their own views, or their experiences talking to visitors. Although both the visitors and the volunteers shared a lot of similarities,

there was a notable difference between the responses, as the volunteers tended to be more wary about the negative effects of the entrance fees.

4.3.1 Entrance fees as a "necessary evil"

One of the most dominant themes throughout all of the responses, both from visitors and volunteers, was that the entrance fees were, unfortunately, necessary. There was a widespread recognition that the cost of maintaining the building gives the Cathedral little other option, with most of the paying visitors conveying that they were happy to pay to enter if it means they can "keep all these lovely things", as one visitor expressed to me. Anecdotally, and from my own experience, visitors from overseas tended to mind even less about having to pay, seeing it as "standard".

It was the volunteers who were more aware of the potential negative impact of the fees, often describing it as a "barrier". For instance, one recounted being asked by a potential visitor, "Do I have to pay to get into God's house?" And another volunteer shared the observation that when the price was increased, they had noticed the effect on visitors: "More people come in and go back out now they have raised the prices."

A specific concern was articulated concerning the fee's impact on families, with many volunteers highlighting the financial burden of visiting with children. Some comments were made by volunteers, such as "it's expensive for a family" and "it prohibits a family," and the suggestion was made that all under-16s should have free entry. Despite this, almost all of the volunteers also noted the vast costs of running the Cathedral and how, even with the entry fees, the day-to-day expenses of the Cathedral are not covered. As one volunteer noted, "It's very sad, but it's got to be."

4.3.2 Value

One aspect that I observed during the participant observation and also arose in the interviews was the question of value. Although many expressed reservations about the extent of the entry cost, there was a strong sentiment that the Cathedral does offer good value. The volunteers reported that, particularly after touring the Cathedral, most visitors felt that their visit was worth the entrance price, considering the extensive tour and the exhibition. Several visitors and volunteers compared the Cathedral favourably with other heritage sites, either saying it is what you expect from a site of this age and magnitude or that, as one visitor put it, "As a heritage site, compared to others in the area, for what you get it's really good value."

4.3.3 Contention around the annual pass

The consideration of value was also raised in conjunction with the annual pass aspect of the ticket. Many recognised that this made the ticket great value for locals, with some visitors that I talked to expressing how much they liked being able to visit the Cathedral whenever they wanted throughout the year. Others, however, reacted negatively to this, feeling that they were being encouraged to invest in something that they could not fully utilise. Volunteers reported similar findings, telling me that they have suggested to the Cathedral management an introduction of a single-day pass for a cheaper price, but that the Cathedral staff have apparently resisted this idea, fearing it would undermine the appeal of the annual pass. The annual pass was described to me by one volunteer as a way of "trying to attract locals."

4.3.4 Community

Along with individuals' thoughts on the entrance fee, I thought it would also be useful for my investigation to ask participants who they thought were part of the Cathedral community. Most of the respondents hesitated or struggled to articulate a clear response, often asking for clarification on what I meant by the term 'cathedral community'. Nevertheless, several themes emerged from their responses. Some identified the worshipping congregation as the core of the community, while others pointed to the 750-strong team of volunteers and staff, or the 'Friends' initiative. Notably absent from the discussions were the visitors who came in and paid, as well as religious individuals not part of the worshipping community and members of the community of Winchester. One volunteer even suggested to me that there was a strong divide between the city community and the Cathedral.

A particularly powerful anecdote recounted by one volunteer referred to a local father and his adult autistic son, who visited the Cathedral every Saturday morning at the same time as part of their routine. She cited them as an example of who is part of the Cathedral community, not necessarily those who are involved in worship or management, but those who regularly enjoy the Cathedral.

Chapter V – Barriers and Boundaries: The Impact of Entrance Fees on Cathedral Accessibility and Community

5.1 Necessary Evil

From the fieldwork conducted for this research, the primary conclusion I would draw is that entrance fees are exclusionary. This is also the sentiment of the volunteers at the Cathedral and the visitors, who, although were happy to pay, recognised unprompted how the tickets act as a barrier for those who want to visit the Cathedral, even if it is necessary to pay something to cover rising running costs. Fees create a symbolic, and ultimately a physical barrier, resulting in visitors feeling less comfortable or able to enter the space for purposes that are not explicitly "religious". I saw this in my own field observations, watching a number of people who were excluded from the space as they could not or did not want to pay the fee to get in. This impression of the exclusionary potential of the fee was supported by the experiences of volunteers on the door who have witnessed similar situations. This was particularly notable outside of the Cathedral in the case of potential visitors who walked to the door, read the sign and walked away, or at the very least became hesitant to enter.

The recognition of this exclusion by many of the volunteers and the visitors was nearly always followed by the justification of the entrance fees as a "necessary evil", needed to pay for rising prices, high insurance costs, and keeping the building open. This is also what is found in similar studies. Coleman, for example, quotes a church official at York Cathedral:

> "People have said about charging, well, you've got two options. We either charge to actually get some income to maintain the ministry and mission of this building and also keep the building standing, or we don't. We can't afford to upkeep it; it will fall into rack and ruin but don't worry. The moment it does that;

> English Heritage will take it over and they will charge you exactly the same amount around the ruin. At least you are looking now at something that is still living. That's a facetious argument but nevertheless it makes the point of where we are coming from, and it's not just about the fabric, it's about the ministry and the mission and we've got to maintain that. We're maintaining that not just for ourselves but for the future generations as well. It's stewardship when it comes down to it. That's the important thing."[90]

One of the volunteers shared with me that the money raised by the entrance fees alone does not cover the daily running costs, and that they believe that even with the entrance fees, the current financial model is not sustainable. This begs the question: if the current model of raising money to cover daily running costs is insufficient, perhaps a different model is needed?

My fieldwork and the work of other researchers underscore the tangible way that entrance fees create both symbolic and material barriers. Even though visitors and volunteers alike voice a recognition of what they perceive to be their financial necessity, their unease demonstrates an underlying tension between accessibility and financial security. This tension raises pressing questions of how this affects inclusivity in the Cathedral community, and so in the following section, I will explore how entrance fees in Winchester affect the nature of the community of the Cathedral, looking particularly at the spatial impacts of the entrance fee and the nature of the annual pass.

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[90] Coleman, Simon. "Re-Living Religion: Ritual and Heritage in English Cathedrals." In *The Future of Religious Heritage: Entangled Temporalities of the Sacred and the Secular*, edited by Françoise de Jong and João Mapril, (London: Routledge, 2023): 48.

5.2 A Place of Refuge

One of the significant effects of the entrance fees on cathedrals is that it changes the nature of the cathedral from a space open to everyone, a place for refuge, even for those who do not belong to the Cathedral or Christian or city community, to a closed-off space. A barrier is imposed at the entrance to the space that is not (and does not claim to be) an expression of the values of the Cathedral community. One volunteer confided in me that it is especially difficult to turn people away who don't want to pay when it is raining, saying to me, "It doesn't feel right". This reminded me of a similar sentiment in Coleman's article, "As more than one worker in Durham told me, their cathedral is seen by locals as the city's 'largest umbrella'—a convenient place in which to stop and shelter during a rainstorm." [91] Although Coleman uses this quote to illustrate his wider point about the obscurities of cathedrals in the wider city landscape, to me it illustrates a similar point to the volunteer who I talked to. It expresses the sense that a cathedral should, or in the case of Durham does, act as a place for people to shelter or as a refuge, a safe space which can act as an 'umbrella' for anyone in society, and that the imposition of an entrance fee limits this function. The umbrella is only available to those able to pay a fee.

5.3 "Shop Windows"

This idea as a space for anyone to be able to access is also reminiscent of Muskett's evaluation of cathedrals as a "shop window". This description originates from the Archbishop's Commission on Cathedrals in 1994, which described cathedrals as "shop windows of the Church of England", emphasising their role in demonstrating the Church at its best, architecturally, musically and in worship.[92] However, in this model, the 'shopper' or cathedral visitor is a passive spectator, and fails to centre the agency of the visitor in the experience

[91] Ibid: 47.
[92] Muskett, Judith. "Mobilizing Cathedral Metaphors: The Case of 'Sacred Space, Common Ground'." *Practical Theology* 9, no. 4 (2016): 3-7.

of the site. This is opposed to the idea of inclusive heritage that we have seen above, envisioned by the Faro Convention, which aims for the visitor to be active 'participants' in all elements of heritage.

Nevertheless, this metaphor can still be used to identify key aspects of the function of cathedrals in two ways. One of these ways is demonstrating that cathedrals are valued by the wider community as a form of vicarious religion where the inactive majority become aware of the religious practice through the actions of the active minority, acting as a 'window' into the Church.[93] The other is that it is a form of evangelisation, putting Christianity on show in order to entice potential 'buyers'. A cathedral is a unique opportunity for the church to engage those with low levels of religious literacy in Britain, as it has a porous boundary with the secular world and arguably shows the church at its best.[94] Percy stresses the unique nature of cathedral worship as a "low threshold" pursuit. With this, he is referring to the sense, as we have seen previously, that cathedral worship allows anyone to come without the pressure of having to integrate within a community fully, and in return gets to experience what is often outstanding music and an elegant liturgy.[95]

Both of these understandings of this metaphor are affected by the introduction of entrance fees. Firstly, the fee means that fewer people unfamiliar with Christianity can observe the practice of the religion indirectly. For example, they would not be able to enter and witness services, individuals praying, or hear choirs practising. This may make the Christian community appear more closed off and inaccessible, potentially reducing its perceived value to the secular community as a form of vicarious religious experience. Furthermore, entrance fees also limit the cathedrals' evangelising capabilities in a similar sense, preventing some individuals from coming in and either returning to or finding a Christian way of life. Being explicit about the extent to which fees limit the ability

[93] Muskett. "Reflections on the Shop Windows of the Church of England.": 273.
[94] Ibid: 278.
[95] Martyn Percy, "Anglican Cathedrals in a Secular Society: David Martin and the Sociology of English Religion," *Society* 57 (2020): 143.

of cathedrals to realise their role helps us to be more concrete about the nature of the "evil" which is deemed "necessary". It is not simply an external evil for the visitor; it inhibits (in an, as yet, unquantified way) the cathedrals' ability to perform their role. In other words, it is also an evil for the cathedrals.

Despite there being entrance fees, there is, of course, still religious life inside the Cathedral that non-religious visitors can experience – if they pay to enter. This includes the viewing of services without participating in them, listening to announcements and the organ, and lighting candles. Entrance fees do not absolutely prevent non-religious individuals from witnessing the practice of religion in the Cathedral; they do, however, put up a barrier to these experiences. Examples of non-religious visitors witnessing religious practice from my fieldwork included visitors witnessing the wedding in the Cathedral, with many standing and watching the service. One visitor even said to me that they enjoyed looking around so much that it had inspired them to go back to church when they got home.

5.4 Ownership

It is also possible that entrance fees imposed by the Cathedral also anger those who feel a sense of ownership over the space but who are not part of the Cathedral religious community and yet feel as though they have the right of access. While such irritation was not seen overtly in my own field observations of the Cathedral, some volunteers shared anecdotes of visitors being unhappy with the entrance fee because they felt that they should be able to enter the Cathedral without any barriers, possibly because they viewed the Cathedral as a 'public space'.

Richard Voase has discussed this phenomenon, noting how people view the Cathedral differently from the way they view other public spaces. He discusses visitors' estimation of a cathedral as a "public territory." It follows from this view that the imposition of an obligatory entrance fee sits uneasily

with these visitors.[96] Voase uses the work of Altan and Chemers on the categories of human territory to illustrate his perception of views of cathedrals. According to this approach a cathedral is viewed as neither a "tertiary territory", which is "public and impersonal", nor a "primary territory", which is "private and personal." It instead sits between these two, a secondary territory which has characteristics of both. Voase writes:

> "In other words, they (the public) objected to paying an obligatory entry charge, because one does not pay for that over which one already enjoys proprietorial rights. Perhaps the best comparison is with a local town hall or a public beach. Both of these are technically in private ownership, but their purpose is seen to be fulfilled through offering open access; moreover, when visiting another city or a coastal resort, rights to enter the town hall or go onto the beach are assumed to exist on a quid pro quo basis. None of the subjects claimed that a cathedral was, in the full sense of the word, public territory; but a conviction that cathedrals fulfilled their purpose by offering open access was clear."[97]

There is also a symbolic element to the residents of Winchester's sense of ownership, relating to the fact that the local cathedral of any city in the UK is often seen as a symbol of the city and its community. As the subject of most of the tourist information, postcards and Google image results, Winchester Cathedral is also the most notable emblem of the city. Further, local schools are named after Saint Swithun and the pilgrims who visited his shrine (St Swithun's School and The Pilgrims School). Key urban community events, such as the popular Christmas market, which is held in the shadow of the Cathedral, and the graduation ceremonies of the University of Winchester which take place inside

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[96] Voase, Richard. "Visiting a Cathedral: The Consumer Psychology of a 'Rich Experience.'" *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 13 (1) (2006): 41.
[97] Ibid: 48.

the Cathedral, all of which result in the community of Winchester and the Cathedral being deeply intertwined with one another.

A notable parallel to this sense of ownership of Winchester Cathedral as a kind of "secondary territory" is Truro Cathedral in Cornwall. A relatively new cathedral, built between 1880 and 1910, Truro stands as an emblem of the strong Cornish sense of identity and independence from the rest of mainland England, with many locals tracing their connection to the Cathedral back through relatives who helped to build it. Lynda Barley identifies this connection in her work as follows:

> "Churchgoers and non-churchgoers alike regard Truro Cathedral as their cathedral; it was built with Cornish hands and Cornish materials. Its gothic architecture with the three towering spires is utilised as a regional icon for tourism and commercial development, a symbol of modern-day Cornish identity."[98]

This symbolism is so strong that the Cathedral is even the emblem of Truro City Football Club.

Truro is an interesting example to compare to Winchester, as Winchester is a significantly older cathedral, and the local connection to its construction is therefore not felt as strongly. Perhaps this partly explains in part why entrance to Truro Cathedral is free: the fabric of the building it is deeply rooted in local pride and a sense of communal ownership, associate with relatively recent memory. Winchester, in contrast, while holding important symbolic significance for the city, has older origins that may make the connection between the present urban community and the fabric of the building feel more distant. The use of entrance fees may further exaggerate this distance at Winchester by introducing a feeling of transactional access and not shared ownership and

[98] Barley, Lynda. *Truro Cathedral: Spires of Hope on the Duchy Peninsula*. Theology, 118(6), (2015): p.405.

affect who sees themselves as part of the Cathedral community. What is demonstrated here is an inherent tension between the claim that the Cathedral belongs to all in the community and is part of its identity, and the use of a fee limiting access to those who can pay it. While 'owners' may sometimes expect to pay a fee or tax to 'use' what they 'own', seldom do owners expect to pay for access to what they own. The fee, in this sense, performs the opposite of common understandings of ownership, putting the payer in the position of an external party, an outsider.

5.5 Annual Pass

One way the Cathedral has attempted to create a sense of ownership is through the annual pass. However, the function of the annual pass similarly created an insider/outsider dynamic among the non-worshipping visitors, as those who entered and already had bought this annual pass acted in a very different way from new visitors. They looked much more comfortable in the space, walking with more purpose and self-assurance, often bypassing the welcome volunteer, with some waving their ticket as they walked past. Although a lot of this visible comfort could be the result of already having visited the space, the ticket nonetheless seems to give these returning visitors a sense of power and confidence, which those who were visiting for the first time did not seem to possess. This power of the ticket is also demonstrated by how visitors treated the ticket after having bought it. I observed how visitors, after having received the ticket at the desk, carefully put it in their purse, wallet or bag, or kept hold of it: no one damaged it. This attentive behaviour was also observed in returning visitors, who carefully removed their pass from a secure place.

It seems, therefore, that the buying of the annual ticket is somewhat transformative, taking the visitor from an outsider to the space, stuck behind the ropes, to being free to move around the Cathedral as they like, to move back and forth across the pay-line without hindrance, and most interestingly, free to

come again in the space of a year. Therefore, the ticket is creating a (temporary) insider. The nature of this transformation is somewhat akin to the creation of a liminal space, an in-between or transitional space.

"Liminality" is a term that was first used in association with ritual, though it has since been applied to different heritage spaces, such as art museums,[99] or Anglican missionary churches.[100] Arnold van Gennep used the term in the context of anthropology to refer to a transitional phase or zone in rites of passage where an individual is no longer who they were, but not yet who they will become. It marks a "zone" which separates one state from another. [101] The term was then developed by Victor Turner, who used it to indicate a space or mode which temporarily suspends ordinary social norms, opening a space where individuals can step away from their practical worldly concerns and look at their world with different awareness.[102]

When applied to my observations concerning the impact of tickets on the sense of ownership, the act of purchasing an annual pass can be seen to mark such a shift. When visitors first enter the space, they are constrained by the barriers, both the physical barriers of the ropes and ticket desk, and the symbolic barriers of the sense of unfamiliarity and exclusion. However, upon gaining the annual pass, they are able to cross this threshold without hesitation, as they are now recognised participants in the life of the Cathedral and able to return as they please, within the year. This transforms how they inhabit the space, interacting more confidently, with the physical annual ticket becoming a marker of belonging that a new visitor lacks, and adding to a sense of ownership of the space as this freedom is available for a year. Therefore, the annual pass does not merely permit re-entry and provide this financial benefit, but it also helps to

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[99] Duncan, Carol. *Civilizing Rituals: Inside Public Art Museums* (London: Routledge, 1995): 11-12.
[100] Bremner, G. A. "Narthex Reclaimed: Reinventing Disciplinary Space in the Anglican Mission Field, 1847–1903." *Journal of Historical Geography* 51 (2016): 1-2
[101] Ibid: 1–2.
[102] Duncan. *Civilizing Rituals*: 11.

create a hierarchy of access that deepens the insider/outsider dynamic, creating a zone of transition from outsider to insider.

5.5.1 Value

As noted in the discussion of the results of my fieldwork above, during my observations, I noticed some tension surrounding the functioning of the annual pass. It seemed to me that the volunteers, who were faced with the public every day, noted that many people did not like the fact that it was an annual pass. Visitors suggested that while it was good value for local residents, the price is too high for just one visit, and many visitors who do not live locally felt as though they could not "get their money's worth".

This reaction suggests to me that the annual pass prompts some to think that it is the locals who are being favoured by the Cathedral, since they get the best value from the entrance fees. This observation is something I frequently came across in my research, with some volunteers even suggesting that the Cathedral use the annual pass, especially to entice locals, as well as a justification for the price. This is perhaps why the staff wanted me to use the term 'annual pass' in my interviews rather than 'ticket' or 'entrance fee'. Again, this could be seen as another way the entrance fee creates a divide between insiders and outsiders to the Cathedral, or those who visitors view as being welcomed into the community.

Some of the volunteers told me they had suggested that a day pass for a cheaper price could be introduced, something which would be more popular with visitors, particularly those who were deterred by the extent of the price. However, anecdotally, it seems that the Cathedral administration is concerned that this would entail receiving less revenue from the sale of annual pass tickets, as the daily passes would be more popular. It is the case, therefore, that the Cathedral is not particularly trying to appeal to the local community, but that instead they believe that they need to charge this price; having it as an annual

pass is the best way to justify this, while still raising adequate money. Nevertheless, the effect that this has is that many visitors feel as though it is unfair, that they cannot get their money's worth, or that the local residents' experience is being favoured.

Furthermore, also included in this idea of value is how the product, i.e. what the visitor gets for the ticket price, actually makes the Cathedral a more inclusive place. The "excellent value" of the ticket price was stressed to me by many of the volunteers and visitors, referencing the inclusion of free guides and access to knowledge and exhibitions. Winchester offers free tours, lasting 45 minutes to an hour, along with a range of information boards around the Cathedral and a vast and in-depth exhibition, covering multiple rooms and including important artefacts like the Winchester Bible and a handwritten poem by Jane Austen. It could be argued that the inclusion of these informational aspects in the ticket price is a form of inclusion in itself. It is the sharing of knowledge and talking to people, which is bringing the visitor in as part of the community and fostering a sense of belonging.

The need for this level of explanation is something which is found in other research on religious sites. Thouki references a large survey of 500 visitors to various religious sites in 2019, carried out in Europe, Duda and Doburzynski. It found that "30% of pilgrims and 80% of tourists reported needing help in interpreting the site." [103] A similar idea was also recommended by the 1979 English Tourist Board Commission on Cathedrals, as they suggested that entry fees should be "reintroduced as a method of improving the quality of the visitor experience."[104]

The suggestion that visitors need explanation and engagement furthers the implication that the visitor becomes part of the community by buying this

[103] Thouki. "Heritagization of Religious Sites": 1044.
[104] Dyas, Dee, and John Jenkins. "Introduction." In *Pilgrimage and England's Cathedrals: Past, Present, and Future*, edited by Dee Dyas and John Jenkins, (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2020): 12.

annual pass and engaging with its offerings. Furthermore, it is these elements of the Cathedral which also make it more likely for people to make further enquiries about the religious community and how to belong to it or see the value of the Cathedral as a form of vicarious religion.

What's more, it could be suggested that what is being encouraged here is a form of participation, as discussed by the Faro Convention, within the heritage site through engaging with this knowledge and participating in the organised offerings. However, this is a very specific and limited notion of participation, as the communication is delivered one way, from the expert to the visitor. This underlines a difference between insiders and outsiders to the space, as the insider with the 'correct' and 'necessary' information should be listened to, and the outsider's participation is limited to a passive reception. Therefore, although this access to interpretative information does foster a sense of belonging and encourages participation, other aspects of participation are excluded. The visitors are not able to contribute to this element of cultural life in all the forms suggested by the Faro convention including, "the process of identification, study, interpretation, protection, conservation and presentation of the cultural heritage."[105]

Nevertheless, it does seem that having to pay for entry means that those visitors who are willing and able to pay the fee are more likely to want to fully engage with these informational offers in order to get their money's worth. This was suggested by the observation during my fieldwork that many visitors decided not to enter the Cathedral and pay the price of the entrance fee because they felt as though they "didn't have enough time". One might ask: "enough time" to do what? To get one's money's worth? The comment implies that they wanted to take their time to fully engage with the space, given the amount of money they were asked to spend, rather than just taking a quick look around. What is being paid for is, therefore, not merely access (and freedom to roam

[105] Council of Europe. "Article 12." *Council of Europe Framework Convention on the Value of Cultural Heritage for Society (Faro Convention*).

about and experience the site as one wishes), but the “included” benefits. The visitor makes an on-the-spot cost-benefit analysis of whether she or he will have time to enjoy the benefits, sold as part of the fee. Therefore, in some respects, the Cathedral is more inclusive, or perhaps better, more successful in spreading knowledge, with the accompanying benefits, and this increases the probability that the visitor is more likely to engage deeply with members of the community, the built heritage, and the history of the Cathedral. However, this form of inclusion still fails to establish the extent of participation in cultural life set out by the Faro Convention.

5.6 Velvet Ropes

The velvet ropes in the welcome area of the Cathedral are one of the most visually significant impacts of entrance fees for access to the space; they deeply affect the behaviours of individuals within it. The ropes are there, of course, to block off sections of space, in order to prevent people from entering without paying and to constrain them to move around to the ticket desk. These ropes are removed during some events and services which do not require entrance fees, for example, during services outside of opening times, or school services.

As an external researcher, the ropes constitute the clearest visual marker of the effect of entrance fees on who is part of the community and who is an insider to the space. During my fieldwork, I observed how the ropes and the interaction with them divide those in the space. Although they do not create a complete barrier, as one can still see, hear, and be part of the Cathedral activities and space beyond them, they do prevent anyone from entering the nave without either moving this boundary or being guided by it to the place where they can pay for a ticket to enter. What I observed is that the ultimate insiders to the space were created or exemplified by these ropes as they were able to move them themselves, not only did the barrier not impede them, but they also had

the power to move it. These individuals were volunteers and people who worked in the Cathedral and were recognised by the volunteer at the door and lifted up the rope to let themselves into the space. This power designates the group that is the ultimate insider to the space, as they are able to move freely. This power is further underlined in the clear distinction between visitor and staff that the rope literally demarcates and communicates, creating a clear visual difference of who has the power to enter the space.

The existence of a community of “rope-movers” made possible by the presence of the material boundary of the rope, also has an impact on how we define the community of the Cathedral: it seems that all of the rope-movers knew each other, or at the very least recognised each other, and when I asked individuals about what they thought the cathedral community consisted of, almost all separated the volunteers and staff from any visitors who were part of the community, normally either the ‘Friends’ of the Cathedral group or the worshiping community.

However, it is not just the staff and volunteers who are able to cross the ropes. There is another group that can cross this boundary, but with assistance. I observed the volunteers move the ropes to allow a range of different visitors through, most of whom were asking to come in to pray or light a candle. Some were regular visitors whom the volunteers recognised and let through, and some were linked to the wedding that took place on one of the days that I carried out the observation, either guests or those working for the wedding, like photographers. This is perhaps next in the hierarchy of insiders, those who are using the building for its religious purposes, who are able to jump this boundary, even if they are unable to move it themselves. Although they are allowed to enter without a charge, there is still a barrier: they must first explain the reason behind their visit to the volunteers and only then manoeuvre the boundary.

This leaves us with the individuals who cannot traverse the boundary of the rope and instead have to go around it, paying or showing their annual pass in the meantime, and those who are physically stopped by the rope, often seen

leaning over it to get a better view of the nave of the Cathedral. The latter leave without paying or entering the Cathedral at all.

In this way, the rope boundary, there because of the entrance fee and serving, in part, as a medium to communicate the presence of a boundary, creates a hierarchy of insiders of who is able to move, or bypass the rope boundary and those who are not, fundamentally dividing those at the Cathedral for a religious purpose and those there as tourists.

5.7 Religious Visitor vs. Heritage Visitor

The biggest divide that the entrance fees are creating is that between the religious and the non-religious visitor, that is, those who are there to worship and those who are there as heritage tourists or out of curiosity. Although as we have seen there are divides within the paying visitors, made mainly by the functioning of the annual pass, the divide lies between those who are able to enter for free and those who have to pay, who is able to cross the velvet rope and who cannot: this is the divide between the religious and the non-religious visitor.

This brings us back to our earlier discussion of the difference between Winchester Cathedral as a heritage site and Winchester Cathedral as a religious site. Although Winchester Cathedral does not exclude those who are willing to present themselves as 'religious', to join a service, or ask to enter for worship, it is exclusive if visitors (religious or non-religious) do not want to present themselves in this way. The distinction between presenting religious and presenting non-religious becomes ever more problematic in an increasingly "post-secular" world in which the lines between the non-religious and the religious, belief and non-belief are in fact increasingly blurred.

Calvert recognises in his own study of Durham Cathedral how the religious and non-religious are, "divided by a 'fuzzy' line, with individuals quickly

moving from one side to another."[106] His use of the term 'fuzziness' is itself based on a report commissioned by the Foundation of Church Leadership and the Association of English Cathedrals on the present and future of English cathedrals, which concluded that "the distinction between tourists and pilgrims was 'fuzzy'".[107] Calvert argues for the importance of cathedrals being a place for this fuzzy boundary to exist:

> "Whether as a space in which to have the rings of deceased loved ones blessed, a space in which to mourn collectively, as a space in which to experiment with belief or simply a space in which to belong to a community, cathedrals occupy an important role in the wider society."[108]

The presence of entrance fees and the resulting separation of these two groups limits the Cathedral's capacity to function in this way and to provide a space for this "fuzzy" boundary. Ultimately, the answer to the question of what effect entrance fees have on the insider/outsider dynamic is that they enforce a divide between religious and non-religious visitors, excluding those who fall between these binaries and those who cannot afford to pay. In light of Association of English Cathedral report, we can say that this imposed divide neither reflects the reality of religious practice, nor does it facilitate the fulfilment of the cathedral's role to provide room for a fuzzy boundary.

[106] Calvert. *Life with Durham Cathedral*: 57-8.
[107] Ibid: 57-8.
[108] Ibid: 48-9.

Chapter VI - Reassessing Access: Conclusion and Pathways for Greater Inclusion

In this thesis, I have explored the effects that entrance fees have on the insider/outsider dynamics in a prominent English cathedral, looking specifically at Winchester Cathedral in the south of the United Kingdom. In Chapter II, I examined the issue of entrance fees to cathedrals and of inclusion generally, attending both to the application of fees in Winchester Cathedral specifically, and situating this within a wider academic understanding of inclusion at heritage sites, noting in particular the importance of the Faro Convention in this regard. It is through the Faro Convention that we come to look at ideas of a 'heritage community' and at the nature of the cathedral community, which we established is difficult to define but nonetheless important to our discussion of insider/outsider dynamics and how it is affected by entrance.

In Chapters III and IV, I described my field research in this regard. I looked at how entrance fees have a practical effect on the community and who is an insider to space, by conducting fieldwork at Winchester Cathedral and examining how entrance fees function in reality. It is through this fieldwork, which consisted of a mixture of semi-formal interviews and participant observation, that I was able to shed a new light on how this boundary operates and the ways in which entrance fees affect the insider/outsider dynamic, answering my main question of, how do entrance fees construct or reinforce the distinction between insiders and outsiders, and who is included in the cathedral community? In answer to this I examined the resulting divide between the religious worshipers or staff and volunteers, and the paying visitors, surprisingly marked by the movement of the velvet rope barrier, which creates a distinction between various levels of insiders. Another impact of the entrance fees was their nature as an annual pass, which also shaped notions of community and insider. This created a feeling of belonging once having bought the ticket, but also made non-locals feel isolated by the Cathedral; they reported feeling as though they were not prioritised by the Cathedral, as they could not get the best value for the cost of the ticket.

Although the fieldwork establishes that the entrance fees act in an exclusionary manner, it is widely reported as being understood that they are necessary. Almost all of the individuals I talked to, both visitors and volunteers, reported recognising that although not ideal, the entrance fees are necessary to pay for the large and ever-rising costs of cathedral management. We also explored how the precise nature of that "necessary evil" affects not only (potential) visitors but may actually undermine the Cathedral's own goals.

6.1 Other Possible Modes of Charging Entry

In what follows, I would like to tentatively to suggest some alternative models which may limit the costs of the ticketing practice, both for the visitors and the Cathedral itself, and make some individuals feel more welcome.

One possible idea, which was, in fact, suggested to me by many of the volunteers, was to introduce a cheaper day charge alongside the annual pass. The volunteers who suggested this to me all believed that it would make the Cathedral much more popular, as many of the people who turn away say that if the charge were less, they would consider entering, and volunteers expressed to me that since the prices "went up", they have seen more people turn away. Even the individuals who did end up entering the Cathedral expressed the view that the extent of the price requires more extensive consideration before entering. Having both of these options would mean that locals could still access the "great value" annual pass, while other visitors could enter just for the day for a cheaper price. According to one of the volunteers I spoke with, this idea has already been suggested to the Cathedral management but was rejected because it was argued that such a day pass would deter people from purchasing the annual pass, resulting in less revenue. This may be an accurate assessment; however, the potential cost against the potential benefit that a day pass could result in more people feeling included by the Cathedral.

A further idea some volunteers suggested to me was that there should be more discounts for families and children. The combined cost for a family of four with children between the ages of twelve and sixteen is currently £40, and this, for many families, is simply too high. Perhaps introducing a discounted price for combined tickets, which is in place at many attractions and other cathedrals or making all under sixteens free could be a way to make it more accessible for families.

Another suggestion is that entrance could be free or cheaper, but there could be additional charges for other attractions, such as tours or entrance to the exhibition; this is a policy implemented by many other cathedrals. To make this choice would mean weighing up the inclusion entailed by allowing free entry to the building against the inclusion of having knowledge or an understanding of the space. As we have already established, inclusion does not only refer to being able to enter the space but also the ability to interpret the space and engage with the community. Although there are questions of whether individuals would engage with the Cathedral to the same extent if these charges were to be increased, this idea would mean that more people would be able to at least enter the space. It seems unlikely, however, that this model would be able to raise enough revenue for the Cathedral.

Finally, during my fieldwork, I learned that entrance for all used to be free on Sundays. However, the Cathedral decided that they needed the income from Sunday tickets as well and so introduced a charge. Despite the financial need, having a day of giving free entry could help to combat much of the division that is created by the entrance fees. It would mean that for that day, they could remove the velvet ropes and entrance fee signage, removing the barrier for those who would have had to pay and even those who are there to pray. Although it would only be for one day a week, it would give those who feel otherwise unable to enter the Cathedral an opportunity to do so for free in a non-religious setting. Perhaps if it is too costly for the Cathedral to do this every week, then maybe it could be introduced once every two weeks or once a month

and still have a similar effect. Such a policy may even result in a rise in donations on the free-entry days.

Many of these decisions or other possible modes of charging are based on who the Cathedral wants to be part of the community. As we have established, the entrance fees have a marked impact on who feels part of the community and who does not, and so different pricing structures drawn up by cathedrals reflect their own intentions. Some cathedrals have introduced free entry for those who live in the area (either the diocese or the city) or are students at the local university, prioritising the local residents within the community, while other cathedrals have even more extensive concession options. Ultimately, it is up to the Cathedral to decide whom they want to include in their community. However, what this study argues is that it is important not to separate decision-making concerning revenue generated by fees, from decision-making concerning the Cathedral's own values and role in the formation of an inclusive community, and in the provision a place of refuge, particularly as the line between religious and non-religious becomes increasingly blurred. Generating revenue may be a 'necessary evil', but it is worth asking whether this particular method of doing so, which, as we have seen, draws multiple boundaries that have little to do with the Cathedral's values, is too costly to the Cathedral's stated mission to be worthwhile.

6.2 Further Research

To establish if these possible solutions could help in increasing inclusion and examine further the effects of entrance fees, additional research is certainly needed. The present thesis is necessarily a limited, small-scale study of one cathedral, taking place over only a few days in the spring. A more comprehensive understanding would involve further research at Winchester Cathedral, conducted over a longer period, and involving discussions with a wider variety of

visitors and cathedral staff to understand their reasoning behind the ticketing structure.

Similar phenomena can be seen at other cathedrals, most notably in Canterbury, Ely, Salisbury, Wells, and York, all of which have different pay structures. Further investigations should broaden the scope to include these and other cathedrals. A comparative approach across the group would reveal the effect of entrance fees on the cathedrals' differing notions of insider/outsider and community.

Ultimately, entrance fees shape who feels welcome in these sacred and historical spaces and yet they have become vital for the preservation of the cathedrals' material heritage. This balance was poignantly recognised by one long-time volunteer I spoke to, saying, "The Cathedral wouldn't exist without paying visitors and the hundreds of volunteers, so I thank them." This quotation reframes the positions of power, as visitors move from paying for a service and as a source of income for the Cathedral, to being recognised as the primary reason for its very existence. Although the entrance fees contribute to visitors feeling like an outsider to the Cathedral community, it is their support that is essential for the survival of the Cathedral and their contribution should be celebrated.

Appendices

Appendix A – Participant Observation Sheet

Participant Observation: Winchester Cathedral

Date:

Time of Arrival / Departure:

Day of the Week:

Weather/or another relevant context:

Approx. Number of people observed: _____

Visitor reactions to the fee:

Acceptance

Hesitation

Turning away

Other:

Notes on layout or physical barriers (gates, signs, ropes):

Outside -

Inside –

Phrases used in signage or by volunteers to describe the entrance fee:

Is it negotiable, enforced, or explained in any way?

How are visitors greeted?

Activities of visitors (only learnt from entrance – not how they act the rest of the way):

Any signs of discomfort or exclusion, or comfort and inclusion?

Notable conversations or quotes overheard:

Surprising moments or contradictions:

Reflections:

Appendix B – Interview Questions

Interview questions:

General

What is your opinion on the annual pass to enter WC?

How would you define the community of Winchester Cathedral?

Do you feel that WC is an open and inclusive place?

Who do you think the cathedral is for?

Visitors

Did the annual pass affect your decision to visit or your expectations of the experience?

What bought you to WC today?

Staff/volunteers

Have you observed or heard of visitors being deterred by the fee?

What happens when an individual wants to enter the cathedral to pray or as a pilgrim?

How is the income from entrance fees used and how is this communicated to visitors?

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